Poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō

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Karakia

E kau ki te tai e, e kau ki te tai e,
E kau raa, e Taane.
Waahia atu raa te ngaru hukahuka o Marerei-ao;
Pikitia atu te aurere kura o Taotao-rangi.
Tapatapa ruru ana te kakau o te hoe,
E auheke ana, e tara tutu ana te huka o Tangaroa
I te puhi whatukura, i te puhi marei kura o taku waka.
Ka titiro iho au ki te pae o uta, ki te pae o waho.
Piki tuu rangi ana te kakau o te hoe;
Kumea te uru o taku waka
Ki runga ki te kiri waiwai o Papa-tuu-a-nuku
E takoto mai nei;
Ki runga ki te uru tapu nui o Taane
E tuu mai nei.
Whatiwhati rua te hoe a Pou-poto,
Tau ake ki te hoe naa Kura, he ariki whatu manawa.
Too manawa, e Kura, ki taku manawa;
Ka irihia, ka irihia ki Wai-o-nuku,
Ka irihia, ka irihia, ki Wai-o-rangi,
Ka whiti au ki te whei ao, ki te ao maarama.
Tupu kerekere, tupu wanawana,
Ka hara mai te toki o Haumia e,
Hui e, Taiki e!

Mo tōkū māmā,

tōkū ūkaipō,

tōkū whakaruruhau.

E kore e warewaretia.

Abstract

This thesis explores traditional philosophies of Māori motherhood. Drawing from traditional accounts of our cosmologies, from mōteatea, whakatauki and pakiwaitara, it seeks to uncover aspects of our maternities that for many Māori mothers today have become buried under the plethora of Western maternal knowledges.

Māori maternities represent a conflicted space for Māori women and whānau in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand. Colonisation has acted to significantly corrupt a traditionally empowering and healthy philosophy of Māori motherhood. Successive legislative and social interventions have, over many generations, served to undermine the powerful position of the maternal in Māori society, to denigrate the sanctity of the Māori maternal body and to destroy a collective and supportive approach to raising children.

This thesis draws on Māori and indigenous legal theories, on mana wahine theories and on kaupapa Māori theories in its analysis. It unpacks some of the specific legislative and policy initiatives introduced by the state that have served to undermine traditional Māori maternities.

In the face of a comprehensive and targeted colonisation process, Māori maternities have survived and continue to be a site of resistance and empowerment for Māori whānau. Despite the best attempts of the state to undermine Māori maternities, Māori whānau have continued to mother in ways that reflect our traditional philosophies of mothering.

Finally, this thesis also proposes a theory of Māori motherhood that is grounded in our traditions, philosophies and ideologies. It concludes that Māori maternities are a significant space of resistance and tino rangatiratanga for Māori today.

He mihi

Ko Mamaru te Waka
Ko Parata te tangata
Ko Kahutianui te whaea
Ko MaungaTaniwha te maunga
Ko Tokarau te moana
Ko NgātiKahu, ko TePaatu ngā iwi

Ko taku mihi tuatahi ki te hungamate kua whetūrangitia, haere, haere, haere atu rā. Takahia atu rā te ara o Hinetūākirikiri, waiho ko mātou e tangi kau ake ana ki te maraenui o Hinemoana. E kore rawa koutou e warewaretia.

Ko taku mihi tuarua he mihi aroha ki tōku whānau, ki wōku mātua, wōku tuākana, teina katoa – ahakoa ngā piki me ngā heke ka tū tonu koutou hei kaitautoko, hei kaiakiaki mōku.

Kei wāku tamariki, wāku irāmutu hoki, nā koutou i whakakori i te hinengaro o tō whaea nei kia whai atu i tenei huarahi mātauranga. Kei taku tama purotu tama korikori, kei taku kōtiro piripaua rerehua rawa, kei taku potiki piripoho, otirā kei taku kare-ā-roto, tēnā koutou. Anei rā te hua o wā tātou mahi e tōku whānau.

Kei wōku rangatira o te Whare Wānanga o Waikato - Linda, tēnā koe, ko koe te whakaruruhau, te whakahihiko manawa - ahakoa te hoha o tēnei uri o Muriwhenua! E taku whaea nō te puna kōhanga reo o Kawakawa, Margie, e kore e mutu nga mihi ki a koe. Nōku anō te waimarie i tae mai koe ki Waikato. E mihi hoki ana au ki a whaea Aroha Yates-Smith, nāna i whakatō te kākano o tēnei kaupapa. Hoinānō, tenei te mihi kau ake ki a koutou e wōku whaea.

Ki waku hoa tokomaha i tautoko, i akiaki mai i ahau i ngā tau kua pahure nei – e mihi manahau atu ana ahau ki a koutou. Ka mihi hoki ki ngā koroke o MAI ki Waikato, ki ngā kaimahi o Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao – tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa.

E mihi hoki ana ahau ki te whānau o Te Kōhanga Reo o Ngā Kuaka, ki ngā kaiako o Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tōku Māpihi Maurea hoki, koutou katoa i manaaki, i tiaki, i poipoi i waku tamariki – tēnā rawa atu koutou.

Ka mutu wāku mihi me tēnei o ngā whakataukī nō te haukainga o NgātiHine, arā, *“e kore te tangata e ora mā te aroha me te pipi anake”* nā reira tēnei te mihi matakuikui ki wēnei o ngā roopu tautoko o tēnei tuhinga:

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga – MAI te Kupenga
University of Waikato
Māori Education Trust
Ministry of Health
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

Ka huri au iaianeinā ki taku kaupapa kōrero hei kōrerotanga ake māku arā;

Poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō

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“If,
you must be disciplined,
Programmed,
Time adjusted
Sleep patterned
And organised
Then how, my darling mokopuna
Will I sing you stories of your tupuna
Whilst I cradle you in my arms
Nestled
Against my breast
Breathing in harmony
Through the night”

- ***Kahu Koroheke Hotere***

Chapter 1:
Ngā whakapuaretanga
Openings

Kōrero whakataki - Introduction

This thesis considers and evaluates the socio-legal positioning of Māori mothers in New Zealand society. It examines the effect that colonisation and the introduction of Euro-Western social and legal values and models of mothering have had on Māori mothers and our traditional mothering practices. In this research I also explore how Māori whānau have actively resisted Euro-Western mothering ideologies and how Māori maternities have always been, and continue to be, important sites of resistance for Māori whānau.

The poem on the previous page by Kahu Koroheke Hotere[1] provides a succinct illustration of the hypothesis of this research - *Māori maternities are a conflicted space for Māori women and whānau in contemporary New Zealand*. Within the poem, Hotere speaks firstly to the numerous impositions that Western mothering 'experts' have introduced into our communities. Secondly, she refers to the contradictions these interventions have with our traditional methods of mothering. Lastly, it is Hotere's positioning in the poem that also speaks hugely to this thesis – she is not the biological mother of the child, rather, the child is her *mokopuna* and yet her role in the child's life asserts absolute nurturing, love and dedication of a maternal ūkaipō figure - Hotere's poem affirms the collective approach taken to the mothering of our children.

This research originally began as an exploration of the relationships contemporary Māori women have with atua wāhine. It was conceptualised that the various roles that we assume as Māori women connect us to our

[1] Kahu Koroheke Hotere "Kotahi hei pera urunga" in Shelly Davies (ed) *Waiatata* (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Awamutu, 2011) at 70.

cosmological mothers. The role of Māori women as mothers and the prominence of the maternal figure role in the stories of our atua wāhine, cosmologies and cosmogonies, gave rise to the current focus of the thesis – Māori maternities. The dearth of literature that exists regarding Māori mothers evoked further a strong incentive to devote my research to this area. The strong influences of law within the colonisation of our traditional maternities also meant that this kaupapa aligned well with my disciplinary backgrounds in Law and Tikanga/Māori studies.

The further I delved into the stories of our atua wāhine, our cosmologies, and our ancestral stories, the more it became obvious that our traditions spoke strongly to the positioning and sanctity of the maternal in our society. As a new mother myself, the stories also provided a rich and much needed source of information, strength and inspiration to draw from. I wondered why they were so hard to find and why these traditional sources of knowledge had become so comprehensively displaced, invisibilised, marginalised and ultimately replaced by the mass of Western maternal knowledge that pervades our contemporary society. The reclamation of these stories, and in particular the principles of our traditional mothering practices that are evidenced within, can provide an empowering scholarship of maternal knowledge for whānau in contemporary times.

Mana Wahine and Māori mothers

Over the last few decades a strong mana wahine scholarship has emerged that has discussed in depth the marginalisation of the feminine in Te Ao Māori, and the importance of rediscovering and reclaiming knowledges pertaining to our traditional roles and status in society. Mana Wahine theory [2] has largely focused on exploring the effects that colonisation, the introduction of Christianity and the impostion of Euro-Western socio-legal values have had on Māori women. In terms of how our roles in society have altered, Mana Wahine theories explore the overall undermining of the position of Māori women and the

[2] Mana Wahine theory will be discussed further on in this thesis (Chapter 3)

marginalisation of our roles within society. Leonie Pihama, a key commentator in this area of scholarship, comments:[3]

> Colonisation has had a major impact on the position of Māori women. Ideologies of gender and race have interacted in complex ways to corrupt many of the stories, values, beliefs and practises that are linked to Māori women.

Much of the focus of this work on mana wahine theorising has therefore been on the effect of colonisation on our political standing and leadership roles. This thesis however looks to explore a further aspect of our positioning in society that has largely remained invisible – our traditional and contemporary values of mothering, our maternal roles as women and the positioning of Māori women within the institution of motherhood.

The whānau unit as an institution has also been the subject of research in recent years[4], and these writings have philosophised and considered the traditional and contemporary formations of the whānau, the role of whānau in various spheres of society, and the evolution of whānau structures. Within this area of research and writing however it has been difficult to identify research that has specifically dealt with Māori women as mothers as a distinct group within the whānau. Where there has been research on Māori mothers, it has often been undertaken within a paticularly deficit based approach – research that has sought to analyse specific 'problems' that Māori mothers suffer from/are inclined to[5]. The aim of these particular researchers has been to find and suggest state facilitated solutions to solving these perceived problematic situations of Māori mothers. This is essentially research based on the "indigenous problem". According to Linda Smith "[p]roblematizing the indigenous is a Western obsession" [6]. She comments further that: [7]

> For many indigenous communities research itself is taken to mean 'problem' the word research is believed to mean quite literally, the continued construction of indigenous peoples as the problem.

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[3] Leonie Pihama "Redrawing the Maps: the Plural Society and its Futures" (1994) 3:2 *Te Pua* at 39.

[4] See Families Commission for a number of research publications regarding whānau: www.familiescommission.org.nz/

[5] For example see Ministry of Health "Comprehensive plan to inform the design of a national breastfeeding promotion campaign" (Ministry of Health, Wellington, 2007).

[6] Linda Tuhiwai Smith *Decolonising Methodologies* (Zed books, London, 1999) at 91.

[7] Ibid, 92.

Māori mothers, having been legally defined by the government as having specific obligations within the family structure[8], are also then constantly subjected to the intervention, control and modelling policies of the state. The emphasising of Western based, state-sanctioned mothering practices is affirmed within the homes of Māori mothers across the country, through the intrusions of various programmes such as Plunket, Parents as First Teachers, Family Start and Well-Child health policies[9]. In some instances these programmes are delivered by our own people, funded by the state to help facilitate the acquiescence of Māori mothers with the assumed superiority of Western mothering ideologies.

Māori women's health, educational and social security statistics reflect a space of marginalisation within society. And within the current economic climate, Māori mothers are also positioned as essential financial contributors for the whānau, requiring them to undertake external employment while still running a household and of course, contributing further to the whānau, hapu and iwi communities they are part of. We are also often reminded of the abuse that has occurred in Māori homes; and in graphic detail, the appalling stories of our tamariki who have suffered at the hands of their mothers/parents/whānau. The abuse that has occurred within Māori homes has particularly been directed at our women and children. The horrific stories are played out across the media and the political arena with an overall reiteratation of an underlying existence of cultural dysfunction within Māori society, and within Māori whānau generally.

Within these many depictions of dysfunction and the depressing statistics is the scrutiny and judgement of the public and the courts, which in most cases is directed at the legally responsible parents. What is not often considered are the wider whānau, hapu and iwi communities from which these whānau originate – the analysis of the situation is almost always

[8] For example see Care of Children Act 2004, s17 - When a child is born in New Zealand, legal guardianship rights are only automatically accorded to the birth mother.
[9] These programmes will be discussed further on in this thesis (Ch 6).

considered within the immediate household, with little regard given to the responsibility of the wider iwi.

This is a direct reflection of the nuclear family structure that has significantly permeated our society and has had a huge impact on our day to day living. Within the nuclear family unit, mothers are distinctively singled out and recognised specifically in government legislation and policy.[10] The deliberate construction of Māori women as 'mother' within this legally reinforced nuclear family system has been a systemic and persistently reinforced strategy over successive governments. Patricia Monture-Angus has commented on the manner within which this very same process has occurred in Canada: [11]

> The fact that the result of the tribal (that is collective) oppression of Aboriginal peoples is now individualized within legal relations and that a greater burden is being placed on women for problems of social disorder and the resulting harms, also points to the inadequacy of an individualized system of law to resolve Aboriginal issues. The impact of the individualization of our legal relations moves aboriginal nations further away from our traditions which are kinship based and collective. That women are the focus of these trends cannot escape our attention.

Euro-Western mothering values emphasise the maternal figure as the preferred and most appropriate primary care-giver and guardian of the child. These philosophies have been reinforced overtly through legislation and social policies throughout our country's history and through to present day. Ideologies of 'intensive' mothering practices and attachment theories within the modelling of nuclear family structures have been purposefully imposed upon us.

The introduction of patriarchy[12] into our society has also resulted in a redefinition of the positioning of Māori women in society. Not only have our duties as mothers been redefined for us, but the position from which we

[10] For example see Care of Children Act 2004; Adoption Act 1955; Birth Deaths and Marriages and Relationships Registration Act 2005.

[11] Patricia Monture-Angus "Standing against Canadian Law" in *Yearbook of New Zealand Jurisprudence* Volume 2 (1998) at 10.

[12] While there is a general misperception within New Zealand that our society was traditionally patriarchal, this is not the case. The imposition of patriachy into our society will be discussed further in Chapter 6. For further discussion also refer to: Ani Mikaere *The Balance Destroyed, The Consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of Tikanga Māori (*International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, Auckland, 2003).

are able to practice these duties has also been reconstructed to a position of subordination and servitude. Patriarchy has served to elevate the positioning of Māori men while consecutively denigrating the feminine role.

In addition to this, the introduction of Christianity has also been particularly effective in undermining the very foundations of our mothering ideologies. The strong cosmological mothers from which our tikanga derives have been replaced with an 'all-powerful God the father' and 'Mary the passive, self-sacrificing mother' figures. The various ways in which these ideals have been endorsed in the wider New Zealand society is a major consideration within this thesis.

Focusing this research

The focus of this research is the effect that the denigration of our traditional mothering practices and ideologies and the imposition of a Euro-Western mothering practice has on Māori women. What can be stated at the outset, and will be considered more in depth further on, is that the Euro-Western philosophy of investing primary responsibility of children in mothers contradicts our traditional tikanga, and negates the obligatory relationships that form the basis of Māori society and it's foundation in whānau structures.

This thesis will argue that many Māori mothers today are 'caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality' [13]. Many are caught between a dominant Euro-Western society that is heavily weighted in favour of an isolating and disempowering nuclear family structure while trying to balance a more empowering, but also demanding, traditional extended whānau structure. For many, our maternal roles within whānau and communities are a most significant and defining aspect of our lives, however these roles can also exist in a state of confliction – empowering us as women, but also restricting our ability to participate in other areas of

[13] This phrase was coined by Linda Tuhiwai Smith as a way of defining the conflicted space within which Māori women live in contemporary society – see Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Māori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine" in Middleton, S, Jones, A (eds) *Women and Education 2* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1997) at 48.

society. The balance between our roles/responsibilities as mothers and the many other roles we assume as Māori women can be a remarkably delicate one.

Importantly also, this research will examine the ways in which Māori women and whānau have been resisting Euro-Western mothering ideologies. What has become apparent during the conduct of this research is that our resistance has been a consistent feature throughout our histories. The resilience of many of our traditional mothering philosophies and practices is obvious, despite the best attempts of the state to remould us into the Western 'ideal mother' cast. Māori maternities have provided an on-going site of resistance and empowerment for successive generations of Māori women and whānau.

Ngā Pātai Motuhake/Research Questions:

1. How did our traditional communities position Māori mothers in society and what tikanga applied specifically to the mothering of children?
2. How did colonisation and the introduction of Euro-Western mothering ideologies, patriarchy and Christianity redefine, alter and reconstruct Māori mothers and our traditional Māori mothering tikanga?
3. What impact have these influences and impositions had on our Māori mothering practices and how have we actively resisted?
4. Can a reconsideration of Māori Maternities in contemporary New Zealand society be beneficial to us as Māori mothers?

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into five parts:

Part 1 (Chapters 2 & 3) provides an introduction and an overview of the basic ideas behind the kaupapa. It also provides an outline of the methods, methodology and theoretical framework used within this thesis –

which draws on Kaupapa Māori theories, and in particular Māori Legal theory and Mana Wahine theories.

Part 2 (Chapters 4 & 5) investigates traditional aspects of Māori mothering. Drawing on our cosmological stories, traditional mōteatea, whakatauki and pakiwaitara, this section outlines the key values that applied to Māori mothers and the mothering practices in traditional society. These chapters also identify key doctrines that underpinned Māori mothering practices prior to the arrival of Europeans and in particular, consider the prominence of the maternal figure in pre-colonial cosmologies and the recurring principle of ūkaipō.

Part 3 (Chapter 6) of this thesis then considers the early evolution of Māori mothering practices after the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand. It will look at the impact of the European influence on Māori mothering from the early 1800's through to today. In particular, the imposition and adoption of Euro-Western mothering practices and the impact of specific intervention such as Native Schooling and Native health initiatives will be discussed. This section will consider various legislative and policy induced changes to the practices and status of Māori mothering – guardianship, care and protection as well as religiously sanctioned values.

Part 4 (Chapter 7) of this thesis follows the theme of "Resistance, endurance and reclamation". This chapter explores how we have historically resisted efforts to be remoulded into a Euro-Western ideal of motherhood. This section explores specific instances of: *resistance* – deliberate constructions within our society that have counter-acted the endeavours of western society to undermine our ideologies and practices; *endurance* – where our traditional mothering ideologies have endured and *reclamation*, where we have actively sought to recover our traditional practices and utilise them in new and contemporary contexts.

Part 5 (Chapter 8) is the final portion of this thesis, and will draw together the various strands of this thesis into a proposed theory of Māori

maternities, based on our traditional approaches to mothering and the principle of ūkaipō. It will consider what we can learn from examining traditional Māori mothering practices and investigate ways in which we could benefit from further reclamation of aspects of traditional motherhood practices and values. This section will also review the international space of maternal theory and indigenous maternal theory, and consider how a theory of Māori maternities may provide further contributions to this growing area of scholarship.

"Ūkaipō" – He whakamārama

An explanation of the term "ūkaipō"

The title of this thesis is *"Poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō"*, which is drawn from a traditional whakatauki. As will be explored throughout this thesis, *te ūkaipō* is a significant term that recurs throughout our cosmologies, histories and genealogies, and one that encapsulates the essence of our traditional Māori mothering philosophies.

The term ūkaipō is a most profound and metaphoric historic concept, and is noted in one of the earlier editions of Williams Māori dictionary[14] and also appears in a number of mōteatea[15]. While the word itself appears often, little discussion of its actual meaning has been documented.

'Ūkaipō' is made up of three separate words: Ū – breast, Kai – food or to feed, Pō – night or darkness. We can see the term therefore has a literal interpretation of 'night-feeding breast'. He Pātaka Kupu lists the meaning of the term as the following:[16]

> Ūkaipō:
> 1. Te wahine nāna i puta ai tētahi tamaiti ki te ao, nāna rānei ia i whakatipu (whaea)

[14] Herbert W. Williams *A dictionary of the Māori language* (Govt. Printer,Wellington,1917) at 547.
[15] George Grey "He waiata, na Ngati-Kahungunu" in *Ko Nga Moteatea, Me Nga Hakirara O Nga Māori* (The Honorable Robert Stokes, Wellington, 1853) at 274.
[16] Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori *He Pātaka Kupu* (Penguin, North Shore, 2008) at 1030.

2. Te wāhi nō reira mai te tangata, kei reira anō ētahi mea e arohaina ana e ia (kāinga)

So firstly, ūkaipō is referred to as a term for mother; acknowledging her as the person who provides the 'night-feeding breast' and thus life and sustenance to a child. Secondly, it is a term that denotes a place or space that a person feels a life-long physical and spiritual connection towards. This physical connection is established at birth when the child first feeds from his mother's breast.

These explanations provide a starting point for us to consider this term, but throughout this thesis I would like to also offer more whakaaro around the concept of ūkaipō as a recurring and profound principle of our customary mothering philosophies.

"Poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō"

"Nurture the child with the night-feeding breast"

Chapter 2:
Te Tukanga Rangahau
Methods & methodologies

Kōrero Whakataki – Introduction

This thesis draws on kaupapa Māori theoretical bases including Mana Wahine and Māori Legal theory in it's analysis. Significantly, I have chosen to use a Māori legal framework of analysis, that is, I will consider the qualities and features of Māori mothering within our traditional legal structures and contrast this with the Euro-Western ideologies that were then introduced. I believe that considering this research within a Māori legal framework of analysis provides space for me to explore this kaupapa holistically within a Māori worldview, drawing from our cosmologies, waiata tawhito and whakatauki. It also provides us with a strong grounding from which to deconstruct and examine Euro-Western mothering practices as an institution that has been created and incessantly reinforced through successive social and legislative ratifications.

By considering the traditional tikanga that applied to Māori mothers we are able to consider and compare how these customary principles were then affected by the introduction and imposition of Euro-Western mothering and motherhood values. Many of these values are strongly reflected within the legislative and social history of New Zealand and continue to be reinforced in present day legislation.

Within the current climate of treaty settlements and post treaty settlements, it is timely to reconsider the priorities within our society and especially within New Zealand's legal domains. There is an obvious emphasis on treaty, economics, land and governance issues and there is no denying that these are all important issues to us. However it is also important that we create space to consider other aspects of the law that

are affecting us as Māori. *He wahine, he whenua ka ngaro ai te tangata*[1] – it is important to balance our energies so it is not just our land that is being focussed upon – the commodification of our whenua has been a hall mark of the colonisation process, yet we still seem to subscribe to the capitalist notions it embraces. This issue will be discussed further on in this thesis.

Positioning myself in this thesis

> *My methodology is deliberately subjective so as to accommodate and represent multiple, complex and sometimes contradictory experiences. Mana wahine does not seek to appear neutral.*[2]

My motivation to research this kaupapa is driven by my own experiences. As a mother/aunty/big sister to a number of tamariki throughout my life I have developed my own viewpoints, conceptualisations and theories about motherhood and mothering. I am therefore writing from a subjective point of view within this thesis.

As a daughter/niece/mokopuna I have been 'mothered', primarily with the absolute love and security provided to me by my own ūkaipō, but also by many other women, aunties, and wider whānau who have loved me and invested their time and care into me. I have suffered also the devastating experience of 'motherloss' - the aching emptiness that comes with losing a ūkaipō figure in your life - *Tangi kau ana te hau ki runga o te marae nui o Hinemoana*[3] – the grief of absolute desolation.

As a "legally defined" biological mother I have experienced the challenges of living in a society that is structured to favour a white middleclass of

[1] This whakatauki can be translated as "For women and land do men perish". This proverbial saying will be discussed further in this thesis (Chapter 5).

[2] Naomi Simmonds "Mana Wahine Geographies: spiritual, spatial and embodied understandings of Papatuanuku" (M.Soc.Sc Thesis, University of Waikato, 2009) at 51. see also Jessica Hutchings "Te whakaruruhau, te ukaipo: mana wahine and genetic modification" (PhD thesis, Victoria University, 2002); Leonie Pihama *Tihei mauri ora: Honouring our voices: mana wahine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework* (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2001); Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Nga aho o te Kakahu Matauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in Education" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996).

[3] This saying literally refers to a mourning period and likens the anguish associated with such loss with the notion of being adrift in the ocean where no land can be seen. The ocean is the domain of Hinemoana.

mothers. I have struggled as a first-time Māori mother, living in an urban centre away from the support of an extended whānau network and anguished over decisions about my children. I have been frustrated, uncertain and fearful at times. The interventions of well-meaning Pākehā nurses/midwives/social workers with their copious amounts of pamphlets, 'how to' booklets and even their insistent letters about my children's' immunisations and health checks were a prominent part of my early mothering experiences. While there were a number of other experienced Māori women in my life to give me advice during this time, I often still gave in to the interventional strategies of these Pākehā experts who overtly asserted their authority in my mothering journey.

As an aspiring scholar I have also grappled with the intellectual pull of writing/studying/working while also trying to appease my own emotional pull back to my children. And as a working mum, felt the 'mother-guilt' that comes with leaving your children in the care of others - despite the fact that I was a Kōhanga reo kid myself, the decision to enrol my own children in Kōhanga was still a very difficult one.

These experiences all inform my positioning in this thesis. They inform how I have grown to see the world, because my worldviews are grounded in my past experiences, my future dreams and my present realities. They reflect also my bilingual, bicultural upbringing, within both cultures of Māori and Pākehā. My whānau have, without any doubt, strongly influenced my own approaches to mothering.

My lived experiences therefore inform my thesis and contribute to the voices that speak to my writing. I was raised within the tribal boundaries of NgātiHine[4] in Te Tai Tokerau[5], where I was privileged to have been part of the early Kōhanga reo movement; to have been raised in 'te reo me ngā

[4] NgātiHine is an iwi (tribal grouping) in the northern part of New Zealand.

[5] Tai Tokerau is a general name for the northern part of New Zealand which encompasses a number of tribal groups, NgāPuhi being the largest. My particular genealogical connections are more directly linked with Muriwhenua which encompasses a number of iwi in the very most Northern point of the country. Refer appendix 1 for map of Muriwhenua iwi.

tikanga o Te Tai Tokerau' and to have had instilled in me a very strong sense of my tūrangawaewae – my place to stand.

My positioning in this thesis is therefore from the perspective of a NgātiKahu[6] woman, a mother and all the other intersecting diversities that I as a person represent. As a Māori woman academic, this is considered a more than appropriate space from which to consider this research. As Naomi Simmonds has commented: [7]

> The entanglement of all of those subjectivities constitutes my position in this research and influences the research interaction (and my understandings of them). It is widely recognised by Māori women academics that our embodied subjectivities are not disconnected from our research and research practices.

My approach to this kaupapa is therefore reflective of my own experiences. I acknowledge absolutely that my own voice, whakaaro and ideas are woven throughout this thesis. This is not to detract from the authenticity of the research; rather in my opinion it contributes to the legitimacy of this research. I am writing from inside the worldview of a Māori mother.

Methods of Research

My approach to researching this kaupapa has been an eclectic one involving five main methods:

Method 1: *Toku reo ūkaipō*

Use of personal experiential aspects of Māori mothering

Throughout this thesis I have drawn from my own experiences and knowledges, because after all I am a Māori mother, and my motivation for writing this thesis has been a direct result of my own experiences as a

[6] NgatiKahu is an iwi within the Muriwhenua boundaries refer appendix 2.

[7] Naomi Simmonds, above n2, at 51; see also; Jessica Hutchings "Te whakaruruhau, te ukaipo: mana wahine and genetic modification" (PhD thesis, Victoria University, 2002); Leonie Pihama *Tihei mauri ora: Honouring our voices: mana wahine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework* (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2001); Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Nga aho o te Kakahu Matauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in Education" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996).

Māori mother. It was decided early on that this research would be positioned as a theoretical exploration of Māori mothering, rather than a qualitative examination of Māori women's experiences using interviews and analysis of Māori women as mothers. I have therefore where appropriate tried to include and write about my own experiences and to also use my 'voice' within this thesis.

One of the aims of this thesis is to consider the position of Māori mothers in society. What must be considered early on is the diversity that exists within our people means that what constitutes a Māori woman in contemporary society is by no means a categorically defined homogenous group.

Rather, there cannot possibly be any singular definition of a 'Māori woman' in contemporary New Zealand. The reality is that the challenges we face as Māori women and as mothers living in contemporary New Zealand society are complex and multifaceted, as Tuki Nepe has commented:[8]

> The reality for Maori women in New Zealand is that they have to survive in two worlds: the Maori world and in the Pakeha world. Each world has its own separate reality. Each has its own values, mores and beliefs and each demand conformity and allegiance. In her daily experiences a Maori woman is constantly in transition from one reality to the other.

When considering our experiences of mothering and motherhood, these diversities are even more pronounced. As articulated by First Nation scholars, Dawn Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbierre Lavell: "...there is no universal or essential experience of aboriginality, much less aboriginal motherhood"[9]. This is definitely accurate for us as Māori also - our experiences are so diverse, so fluid and ever-changing that we need to be

[8] Tuki Nepe "The Conscientisation and Politicisation of Māori Women" (1992) *Te Pua* 1:1 at 16.

[9] D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbiere Lavell "Thunder Spirits, Reclaiming the Power of our Grandmothers" in *Until our Hearts are on the Ground* (Demeter Press, Toronto, 2006) at 2.

careful in placing a label on ourselves and attempting to define our experiences as universal. As Ani Mikaere has expressed:[10]

> It is absolutely vital that the full range of Māori women's experiences be validated. Colonisation has impacted on individual women in so many ways. The life experience of a woman who has grown up away from the marae, with neither language nor strong whānau connections are just as much part of what it now means to be Māori as those of the woman who has grown up in a rural, marae-centred Māori community, is fluent in the language and secure in her iwi identity. All Māori women are involved in the struggle, some consciously, others without even realising it; whether rural or urban, whether fluent or not, whether they choose to bear children or not, whether lesbian or heterosexual, whether proud or ashamed of being Māori. Ultimately we are all connected by whakapapa to one another and to our Māoriness. To question the authenticity of one another's Māori womaness, as though there is a standard definition to which all real Māori women must conform, is to deny the complexities of colonisation. It is also highly destructive, introducing divisiveness which Māori women can ill afford.

My approach in this research has been to consider the experiences and realities that I have observed to have common links between us as Māori mothers with the acknowledgement that these are not intended to be generically Māori ideas.

Most importantly though I feel it is crucial to state that I am not seeking to critique, analyse or provide best practice advice to Māori mothers. Our Western societies have already exhausted themselves in that area. The last thing I would want is for this research to contribute to the overabundance of 'how to...' literature on mothering out there.

I was advised early on that "kaupapa Māori research is transformative research" that is, my research must be of benefit to te iwi Māori. And in that sense, this research is really about challenging the Euro-Western models that are imposed upon us, and questioning the persistent Pākehā voice that tells us we are not good mothers and that we need to follow their (expert/scientific/professorial) advice to be good mothers. This thesis seeks to provide another point of view to the way in which we mother. It seeks to uncover some of the reasons behind our struggles and our triumphs.

[10] Ani Mikaere *The Balance Destroyed, The Consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of Tikanga Māori* (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, Auckland, 2003) at 141-142.

Like all forms of mana wahine research, it seeks to address an imbalance – in our positioning as mothers in New Zealand society and in our access to culturally relevant information about mothering while also providing a voice that speaks to the everyday aspects we face as mothers.

What I present in this thesis is a viewpoint – an alternative to the consistent messages that we are exposed to and expected to follow. Pākehā society has sought to construct us in a specific mould of motherhood, but in reality, motherhood can be, traditionally was and should continue to be, about empowerment - the power to make decisions as to how our tamariki are raised, who raises them and who gets to decide.

Method 2: *Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro*
Informal dialogues with whānau

The knowledges of my whānau and friends are also reflected in the writing of this thesis because they have in fact had a huge impact on my mothering journey and thus on my own perspectives and philosophies of motherhood. Early on in my research a non-Māori colleague made the comment to me that *"If your research is going to consist of sitting around with your friends and family members and talking then that's not research."* On reflection though, the most integral parts of my research have actually come from those exact spaces of deliberation – where I have sat with different members of my whānau and wider community and in a casual, informal sense talked about my research. I have heard their stories, thoughts and ideas during these times, in the form of long stories, brief comments and everything in between. These are the moments that have affirmed my research and have kept it real; and helped ground me within an experiential kaupapa Māori research space. As Carwyn Jones has asserted, this type of discussion amongst the whānau group of a

researcher can be helpful "to keep the research grounded in the concerns and experiences of [the] community"[11].

My research method therefore included constant discussion, questioning and 'whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro' with other people in my life and their opinions, advice, directions, corrections and stories are essentially what helped direct and mould my own thought processes and priorities within this thesis. This, I assert, is a kaupapa Māori research process, emulating our traditional forms of learning through discussion and reflection, through wānanga and whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, through debate and deliberation. It is therefore a valid and legitimate method of research for this thesis.

Method 3: *Te Reo Tuhituhi*

Identification and analysis of historical written sources (primary and secondary) concerning traditional Māori maternities.

Chapters 4 & 5 necessitated the gathering of evidences of our historical mothering customs, maternal philosophies and practical approaches to Māori mothering. This was not an easy feat, as it required a very broad approach to searching and locating archival material that in many cases does not speak directly to the kaupapa. Many references to Māori maternities are located within the texts of manuscripts that are written specifically about other things. This then required a wide-ranging approach to the process of identification of sources using internet and library search engines, but also a significant amount of time simply trawling through books and documents. In undertaking a review of relevant historical and contemporary literature and analysis of historical manuscripts and records pertaining to Māori mothers, many hours were definitely spent reading materials that sat on the periphery of the kaupapa as such. Much of the most relevant material was in fact located on the advice of others (mostly

[11] Carwyn Jones "The Treaty of Waitangi Settlement process in Māori Legal History" (PhD Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 2013) at 55.

whānau) who directed me to a particular piece of writing they felt might be relevant.

A common issue that arises when considering European or English-based historical texts is that there is often a tendency for the accounts to be descriptive in nature and, as will be discussed further on, they also often portray Māori women in an imbalanced light. The origin of the authors of these accounts and the process in which they came to print are also important considerations to take into account when consulting these writings. Leonie Pihama asserts that the authors' ethnicity, religious positioning and gender can often be strongly evident in the writings themselves:[12]

> …there has been a consistent reading of Māori society through the lens of the coloniser. Those readings have been highly influenced by the cultural, racial and gender beliefs of those in control of the process of documentation.

Aroha Yates-Smith has referred also to the fact that in a number of circumstances the European ethnographers involved only consulted with and recorded the information of male informants, and deliberately excluded potential female informants – a reflection of the patriarchal demeanour of European society of the time which placed power and knowledge in the male gender.[13] Takirirangi Smith comments:[14]

> Colonial ethnographers interpreting whakapapa kōrero were mostly male and sourced their information from other men, or interpreted manuscripts with the assumption that all knowledge 'belonged' to and was controlled by men.

Takirirangi Smith also notes that by the time the accounts were recorded, Māori society was already in the grips of colonial rule - "Patriarchal views held by colonial ethnographers, missionary impact and the influence of

[12] Leonie Pihama *Tihei mauri ora: Honouring our voices: mana wahine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework* (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2001) at 172.
[13] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith *Hine! e Hine!; rediscovering the feminine in Māori spirituality* (PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, 1998) at 43-44.
[14] Takirirangi Smith "Aitanga: Māori Precolonial Conceptual Frameworks and Fertility – A Literature Review" in Paul Reynolds and Cherryl Smith (eds) *The Gift of Children: Māori and Infertility* (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2012) at 4.

Christianity had already taken place by the time pre-colonial evidence was being recorded in the literature"[15].

Ani Mikaere refers specifically to the records obtained by Percy Smith and Elsdon Best, which are often drawn on by contemporary writers and considers them to be "appallingly misogynist interpretations of Māori cosmogony which led inexplicably to patriarchal characterisations of our tikanga"[16]. Ani Mikaere comments further: [17]

> ...these people often claimed affection for the subjects of their research in the same way that one might express fondness for a pet. They had no respect for the people of the cultures that they were so intent on cataloguing and describing for a Pākehā readership.

Ethnographic and historical accounts are therefore not always reliable sources of information for us as researchers. While they can be useful in providing some insight into our traditional societies, they must always be taken at face value, and accompanied by a general awareness of the origin and background of the writer.[18]

For that reason, my approach in this thesis has been to privilege wherever possible Māori authored historical documents with an emphasis on those that are written in Te Reo Māori (Māori language based). These documents reflect a more genuine interpretation of our society, and by virtue of the language that they are written in they are grounded in our world views. By placing an emphasis on te reo Māori primary sources including mōteatea, whakatauki and pakiwaitara, this research resists knowledges of the academy that conventionally places an importance on the evidences of English based sources and of non-Māori ethnographers.

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ani Mikaere "From kaupapa Māori research to re-searching kaupapa Māori: making our contribution to Māori survival" in Jessica Hutchings, Helen Potter, Katrina Taupo (eds) *Kei Tua o Te Pae hui Proceedings: the challenge of Kaupapa Māori research in the 21st Century* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington 2011) at 34.

[17] Ibid, at 36.

[18] For further discussion see also: Robyn Kamira "Te Mata o te Tai--the edge of the tide: Rising capacity in information technology of Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand" *Electronic Library,* Vol. 21 Iss: 5 at 465 – 475.

Waiata, mōteatea and whakatauki are in fact our traditional forms of historical documentation; these sources were traditionally used to record customs, whakapapa and references to important events and moral ideologies, as Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal has commented:[19]

> Many traditional chants contain much historical information. As traditional Māori culture was oral and non-literate, songs (and other kinds of oral compositions) were vitally important repositories of knowledge and ways by which knowledge was preserved and transmitted to others.

These sources therefore represent authentic, traditionally based methods of recording our histories, traditions, philosophies and worldviews – a rich source of traditional literatures as Ani Mikaere comments (citing Whatarangi Winiata):[20]

> With the ability to conceptualise one set of phenonomena, namely the environment, an irresistible activity for our tupuna was to apply their minds to other domains including the world at large in all of its dimensions from creation to extinction. With a language available to them to convert concepts (and conceptualisations) into words, then waiata, karakia, whakatauki and soon a whole literature became outlets for the fertile mind, triggered by experience and invigorated by its own latent energy and creativity.

The most significant aspect of these traditional methods of knowledge retention is their endurance into contemporary society. Waiata, mōteatea, whakatauki and pakiwaitara continue to be an important source of knowledge for current generations, providing us with an insight into the worlds of our tūpuna. Joeliee Seed-Pihama has commented specifically on the role of these oral knowledges in our contemporary society:[21]

> ...ancestral sayings played an important role in regulating behaviour within traditional Māori society. As recorders of tradition, ancestral sayings may be used as windows through which information on past events, places, people and behaviour...can be observed.

[19] Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal "Mōteatea traditional Māori Song Poetry" at 3. Retrieved from http://www.charles-royal.com/assets/moteateatraditionalsongpoetry.pdf
[20] Ani Mikaere (Citing Whatarangi Winiata), above n16, at 32.
[21] Joeliee Seed-Pihama *Māori Ancestral sayings: a juridical role?* (Te Matahauariki Institute, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 2005) at 4.

In a legal context, these sources of information are an acknowledged source of authentic traditional law. Carwyn Jones has noted the importance of consulting such sources as indicators of traditional law:[22]

> The different sources of law, whether those are waiata, kōrero purakau or kōrero tuku iho, our legal traditions are embedded in these essentially mnemonic devices, ways of helping to remember the important legal principles that are contained within them. That means when we come to talk about law, when we come to engage in formative legal communication like legal argument and legal reasoning we need to do so in a way which can help us look at those different sources of law, sources of law which are different from a piece of legislation or a reported judgement. The sources of law are different and so the way that we talk about them and the way that we engage in legal argument, think and identify important legal principles does need to be different.

The privileging of these Te Reo Māori sources of information therefore, over that of European and English based historical accounts, is a deliberate action on my part – to ensure that there is a kaupapa Māori grounding in my research and to provide a more authentic insight into our traditions.

While this information has always been there, the process of bringing it to the forefront and in framing it within a maternal theory framework was challenging. In many cases it meant trawling through documents that discussed other aspects of society and made brief mentions of mothers, maternities or childrearing. Some insights into our traditional values of the maternal lay hidden within discussions of completely different topics. In that sense this research has also been about "reclaiming, reconnecting and recording ways of knowing which were submerged, hidden or driven underground"[23].

Advances in technology, and in particularly the digitisation of historical documents, has ensured that as researchers we now have easier access to historical sources of information; however my research also required visits to the National Library and New Zealand Archives in order to source

[22] Carwyn Jones *Māori Legal Theory as an exercise of self-determination* (Manu Ao Seminar, 24 August 2011) retrieved from www.manu-ao.ac.nz [seminars tab].
[23] Linda Tuhiwai Smith *Decolonising Methodologies* (Zed books, London, 1999) at 69.

the original documents. This was also to ensure the published version of the information authentically reflected the original information recorded.

Method 4: *Te reo o te Kāwanatanga*

Review and analysis of historic and contemporary legislation, case law, social and health policy and other aspects of the New Zealand public sphere concerning state intervention/construction of Māori maternities.

Chapter 6 of this thesis addresses the process of colonisation and as such, involved a comprehensive search of legal databases, parliamentary debates, records from the journals of the House of Representatives, and policy documents. It also included a literature search of key Māori commentators on relevant subjects, including Ani Mikaere, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Moana Jackson and Leonie Pihama.

Historic and current New Zealand legislation is freely accessible online, however case law and especially early case law is not as easy to find. In order to search for relevant cases I had to revert back to physical methods of locating this information using the book indexes that referred only to the legislation that was invoked in the cases as a reference point for the case. Often this proved a fruitless search, as most often the cases that were reported on that mentioned Māori mothers were land succession cases, where applicants were seeking determination on land interests[24]. Early Māori family law cases were scarcely reported formally within case reports although they were frequently reported in the newspapers of the time[25].

Early Māori newspapers also contain a number of relevant references, as did other New Zealand based newspapers. These media sources often provide an unfiltered viewpoint, an insight into some of the injustices and prejudices occurring at particular times. These became available during

[24] This will be discussed further in Chapter 6.
[25] This is discussed further in Chapter 6

the course of my research and provided an interesting source of information.

Parliamentary debates, Journals of the House of Representatives, and historical and current policy documents and associated commentaries were accessed through internet searches and the University of Waikato library (sometimes interloaned from other libraries).

Method 5: *Ngā korero o ngā iwi taketake o te ao*
Review of International literature on Motherhood, Maternal theory and Indigenous maternal theory.

While the area of maternal theory is relatively sparse within New Zealand, there is a large volume of international literature available. Chapter 8 considers some of the literature in this area of scholarship including the writings of key proponents of maternal theory. Most importantly however, Chapter 8 considers the writings of indigenous and black maternal theorists, many of whom have made significant contributions to this body of knowledge.

This literature was identified using an internet search which took me to the Association for Research on Motherhood (ARM) [26] website. This international organisation publishes a number of journals and books on maternal theory and other aspects of motherhood and mothering. Within this body of literature I was able to identify key indigenous writers on the subject; including Kim Anderson, Dawn Lavell-Harvard, Jeanette Corbierre Lavell and Randi Cull, and Black writers bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins.

Obtaining copies of these publications was not straightforward as they were not held within our university or local libraries and necessitated the

[26] This organisation is now known as the MIRCI (Motherhood Initiative for Research and Community involvement) accessible at http://www.motherhoodinitiative.org/

use of the interloan system. Some of the books were held in other New Zealand libraries; however others needed to be interloaned from Australia.

Engaging with other Indigenous whānau

As mentioned earlier, this research hopes to contribute to a wider discourse emerging on indigenous motherhood. I was hugely inspired by the literature that has emerged internationally[27], as it provided a further sense of purpose to my own research. As First Nation scholars Dawn Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbierre Lavell have commented[28]:

> The voices of our sisters, and their accounts of our longstanding resistance to the imposition of patriarchal motherhood and all it entails, can be a source of empowerment in the struggle for revolution.

Indigenous feminisms have also stood alongside Māori feminisms as a dissenting voice within the Western feminist movement. While we all experience diverse realities in our respective lands and in our respective colonial environments, the similarities of our struggles can provide us with a source of collective strength. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith has commented "...colonized peoples share a language of colonization, share knowledge about their colonizers and in terms of a political project, share the same struggle for decolonization" [29].

Hawaiian scholar Haunani Kay Trask has also commented:[30]

> As indigenous women we come from diverse communities at varied levels of forced assimilation, economic exploitation, religious missioning, political and cultural oppression, and physical extermination as peoples. Many of us are survivors of earlier genocidal campaigns while some of us are no doubt fighting current genocidal efforts. Clearly we are vastly different from each other, not only geographically, but culturally, linguistically and historically as well. And yet, I believe, we indigenous women share many more similarities than differences. We have a common heritage as aboriginal peoples, that is, as First Nations of the

[27] For example see: D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbiere Lavell (eds) *Until our Hearts are on the Ground* (Demeter Press, Toronto,2006); Kim Anderson *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* (Canada: Second Story Press, 2001); Kim Anderson *Life Stages and Native Women: Memory, Teachings, and Story Medicine* (University of Manitoba Press, 2011); Lisa Udel "Revision and Resistance: The politics of Native Women's Motherwork in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* Vol. 22, No. 2 (University of Nebraska Press, 2001) at 43-62.

[28] Dawn Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbierre Lavell, above n27, at 5-6.

[29] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n23 at 46.

[30] Haunani Kay Trask "Neocolonialism and the co-optation of indigenous social political structures: The imposition of Patriarchal systems" in *Te Whakamarama Law Bulletin* (Issue 10, Pipiri 1991) at 11.

> world. We are all land-based people, and for some of us, also sea based people, who are attuned to the rhythms of our homelands in a way that assumes both protection of and an intimate belonging to, our ancestral places. We have all been colonised by imperialist powers more or less resistant to our human rights of self-determination. And, at this moment, we face grave problems that range from environmental poisoning, nuclear radiation, and high infant mortality, to land dispossession, economic marginalisation, and militarisation of our areas. These large commonalities bring us together as indigenous women fighting for our peoples, our lands, and our survival.

The articulation of indigenous maternal theories internationally has been a strong marker of our collective indigenous resistance to colonialism and it is hoped that this thesis can contribute somewhat to providing a Māori voice to this emerging scholarship.

Mātauranga Māori in the academy

I want to at this point acknowledge the significant tension that we, as Māori researchers experience as we undertake kaupapa Māori research within the very Western environment of the New Zealand University system. Most definately, we walk a tightrope between the Western academic world and te ao Māori, it has only been at the end of my journey that I have begun to realise just how much of the information that I uncovered in my rangahau journey has not actually been written about in this final thesis.

At various points of my journey, I realise that I have applied a 'filter' to what I have discovered, and in some instances I have made a conscious decision not to bring particular knowledges into the realm of the academy[31]. There are some aspects of our mātauranga that are simply not appropriate to be recorded within a written document that in reality I have little control over once submitted to the academy. This is not to say that the knowledge itself should remain hidden from view, as there are many other Māori forums within which this knowledge can be shared and expressed safely. But my experience in the academy so far has not planted a strong confidence that this thesis provides such a forum and for that reason, I openly admit that there have been filters applied.

[31] Current University of Waikato policy allows full public access to all higher degree theses via digital repository. Restrictions and embargoes are granted only for a short period after submission and usually only for commercial reasons.

As an example, a number of photographs of Māori women and children (often in pīkau) were taken in the early stages of the colonial period, and are recorded as depictions of Māori mothers. The huge volume of these photographs made me briefly consider an analysis similar to that undertaken by Julia Emberley[32], on the portrayal of indigenous mothers as 'madonna and child'. I felt uneasy however about firstly including and secondly critiquing/analysing the pictures of these tūpuna within this thesis. While these images are easily accessible sources through the National Library, many of the women and children in the photos are unidentified, there was no way to ascertain their identities and as such, no way to consult with their whānau about their inclusion.

Other information I also felt uneasy about including were stories and waiata that were learned during my upbringing in Tai Tokerau. Some of these stories represent an oral literature that has survived through many generations of colonisation. To commit this knowledge to paper, however relevant it may be to my thesis, did not feel appropriate. This includes some of the stories of my tūpuna and waiata/mōteatea that I have been taught to me kanohi ki te kanohi over the course of my upbringing. In my opinion, the transmission of this type of knowledge should follow the traditional oral methods with which it was taught to me - wānanga, hui-ā-whānau, or simply stories related to me directly by my whānau. These are the forums within which our knowledge truly belongs; I have therefore applied filters also to the inclusion of this material.

I realise that this most definitely contradicts the very idea of doctoral research; after all, shouldn't I be trying to uncover and present the most comprehensive and in-depth information on the topic? That was the original intention when I began this research; however from very early on I began to feel uneasy at the level of interest from non-Māori researchers in my topic, particularly from those in the education and health sectors. I

[32] See Julia Emberley *Defamiliarizing the aboriginal: Cultural practices and decolonization in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2009).

realised that this research, in order to truly be transformative, to benefit our people, needs to be a filtered research for the academy, and that the knowledge transmission of the full extent of my findings needs to be firmly located within our own communities.

One of the strategies/filters I have applied to try and reconcile this academic tension is to try and use references that I am personally confident are already accessible to a wider public audience (ie. have already been published or referred to in other documents, freely accessible within libraries). Where this is not the case, I have made an effort to highlight the respective information and to include references to the sources from which it comes, but I have chosen not to reproduce the information in its entirety. I encourage the reader to seek out the full information for themselves, and also to seek the histories from their own whakapapa that may provide more relevance.

A second filter of sorts relates to the utilisation of te reo Māori sources. I have also made a deliberate decision not to provide literal translations for some of the references that are included, unless the authors themselves have provided a translation. This is to again ensure that the knowledge receives some protection in the academy, but also to maintain the authenticity and meaning of the original quote. In these situations, I have included (in footnotes or in text) a gloss translation that highlights the main whakaaro in the passage.

I decided early on to write this thesis in English, primarily because many of the legal references I have drawn from are in English, but also because it is hoped that this thesis will be of relevance to other indigenous cultures across the world. In saying that, I have used a number of key Māori words and phrases within the text. I think it is important that the words that have been used are read in the context that they are included within the thesis. For that reasons I have included an ‘annotated’ glossary at the end of this thesis - this is an attempt to provide a more accurate description of what are often complex terms, not appropriately explained with a single word translation.

This chapter has sought to lay some of the foundations of this thesis, the reasons behind my choice of topic, and some of the methods and methodologies of the research process. The next chapter looks specifically at the theoretical underpinnings of the research, namely, kaupapa Māori, mana wahine and Māori legal theories.

Chapter 3:
He mātātupu, he mātātuhi, he ariā
Theoretical foundations

> ...theory at its most simple level is important for indigenous peoples. At the very least it helps make sense of reality. It enables us to make assumptions and predictions about the world in which we live. It contains within it a method or methods for selecting and arranging, for prioritising and legitimating what we see and do. Theory enables us to deal with contradictions and uncertainties. Perhaps more significantly, it gives us space to plan, to strategize, to take greater control over our resistances. The language of a theory can also be used as a way of organising and determining action. It helps us to interpret what is being told to us, and to predict the consequences of what is being promised. Theory can also protect us because it contains within it a way of putting reality into perspective.[1]

Kōrero Whakataki - Introduction

As stated earlier, this thesis draws on Kaupapa Māori theoretical frameworks of analysis, including Mana Wahine theory and Māori legal theories. The focus of this research is the effect that the denigration of our traditional mothering philosophies and the imposition of a Euro-Western mothering practice has had on us as Māori. It is mooted here that the Euro-Western philosophies of investing primary responsibility of children in mothers, of medicalising treatment of the maternal body, and of imposing nuclear family structures & function, severely contradict our customary maternal tikanga.

One of the issues we face when writing as Māori researchers is the conflict of writing within a Western academic framework. The process of ensuring that we engage adequately with prescribed 'academic' aspects of our research while also grounding our research in te ao Māori is no easy feat. As students within this system we are often encouraged to consult with the white expert theorists, to consider their ideas and to 'apply' it to our own musings and whakaaro.

[1] Linda Tuhiwai Smith *Decolonising Methodologies* (Zed books, London, 1999) at 38.

It is not hard for me to admit that this has always posed a challenge for me. I remember as a first year law student struggling through a compulsory 'Law and Societies' essay assignment on the "Pākehā Theories" – post-structuralism, feminism, postmodernism, Marxism. The struggle for me lay not just in understanding the words on the page but also in trying to comprehend why they were so important in the context of things –trying to find some scraps of relevance while attempting to follow the "academic addiction that promotes the ongoing injections of work from 'dead white men'"[2].

In hindsight, I can see that one of the struggles I faced arriving at University was the fact that I had grown up and been educated in what were the beginnings of the Kōhanga Reo/Kaupapa Māori movement[3]. While I think this educational pathway helped ground my education firmly in kaupapa Māori worldviews, I think it also made it hard for me to understand the worldviews and ideologies of other cultures. The Law subject discipline[4], so firmly entrenched as it is in Western legal dogma, is not by default the most convivial educational environment for a 'Kōhanga kid'. As Linda Smith has commented: [5]

> Most of the 'traditional' disciplines are grounded in cultural worldviews which are either antagonistic to other belief systems or have no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems.

Those of us who had come from this type of early schooling environment were grateful therefore to have had some strong Māori legal mentors present within the Waikato Law faculty staffing, who encouraged and nurtured our needs to have kaupapa Māori spaces within this Faculty.

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[2] Leonie Pihama "Tīhei mauri ora: Honouring our voices: mana wahine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2001) at 91.

[3] This movement will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

[4] For more discussion see Stephanie Milroy "Waikato Law School: An Experiment in bicultural legal education" (LLM Thesis, University of Waikato, 1996); Ani Mikaere Colonising myths-Māori realities: he rukuruku whakaaro (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2011) at 3; Patricia Monture-Angus has also commented regarding her experiences in teaching law in Canada: Patricia Monture-Angus "Standing against Canadian Law" in *Yearbook of New Zealand Jurisprudence* Volume 2 (1998) and *Journeying Forward – Dreaming First Nations Independence* (Fernwood Publishing, Halifax, 1999).

[5] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n1 at 65.

I was also fortunate to have undertaken a conjoint degree qualification that allowed me to include Māori studies within my qualification. In a practical sense this meant that for six hours per week, I left the learning environment of the law school and immersed myself within a holistically Māori learning environment of the School of Māori and Pacific Development.

For those of us of the Kōhanga/kaupapa Māori generation, having genuine kaupapa Māori space within our educational experiences is not just important in political terms. By virtue of the mammoth efforts that were invested in us by our whānau to nurture us within this environment, continuing our educational experience at tertiary level within a kaupapa Māori framework of education has really become a genuine right.

This then requires that we look for opportunities to carve out and establish genuine kaupapa Māori spaces within the institution. In regards to the discipline of law, this means ensuring that our tikanga, our philosophies and our ideologies are considered and valued within this very Western based discipline - so that those who are going out into the world to practise law have some knowledge and understanding of the relevance of Māori legal philosophies and are hopefully able to engage with our communities in an appropriate manner. It also requires that we ensure that we have room to generally consider and theorise about 'law' from within our own kaupapa Māori grounded space.

I have faced challenges studying within the legal discipline and in terms of this research, the particular area of law that interests me most - Māori feminist jurisprudence – is not a valued area of scholarship in the legal arena. My attempts to enrol my doctoral study with the Waikato Law School were disappointing. There was no appropriate supervision available and while a genuine attempt was made to find support for me externally, eventually I was advised that I would be better off enrolling in the School of Māori and Pacific Development. My kaupapa did not really

belong in the legal discipline – where Western values pervade the importance placed on areas of law.

This turned out to be a positive step for me as it has allowed me to consider law from within a holistically kaupapa Māori setting. Rather than trying to import Māori ideas and values into the Western discipline of legal studies, I have been able to locate my research within the domain of Māori studies and consider the relevance of law to us as Māori. The School of Māori and Pacific Development easily provided a supportive space within which to engage with kaupapa Māori research holistically and productively.

The development of Māori studies as a subject over the last few decades has seen it evolve into a field of inter-disciplinary study. As has been discussed recently by the Manu Ao academic forum: [6]

> Māori studies is...inter-disciplinary and incorporates a range of disciplinary areas...Māori studies is neither to be limited by boundaries of discipline. To confine itself to the structures of other disciplines may impose inappropriate or artificial boundaries on the field of Māori studies. Taking a broad approach also gives opportunity for Māori studies to adapt to the needs and demands of an increasingly knowledgeable audience and provide a Māori perspective on all matters of interest to Māori.

Relocating my legal research into the domain of Māori studies has allowed me the flexibility to draw from legal concepts where appropriate, without being constricted to follow the stringent legal academic prescriptions located within the law discipline. It has provided a much more holistically Māori space to explore, consider and philosophise about the legal traditions of Te Ao Māori. Most importantly however, locating my research within a school of study that recognises and values the importance of theorising from a Mana Wahine perspective has meant that the experience of doctoral study has also been an empowering one. The importance of making space for our research has been noted by Linda Smith: [7]

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[6] Manu Ao Academic Forum *Understanding the nature of inter-disciplinary Māori studies and its contribution to Māori development* (2010) retrieved from http://www.manu-ao.ac.nz [academic forum link]

[7] Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Nga aho o te Kakahu Matauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in Education" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996) at 117.

> Making space within institutional structures is a necessary part of Maori academic work. This space has to be made within the very sites of struggle in which we are located. Therefore we are engaged in making space through struggles over power, over what counts as knowledge and intellectual pursuit, over what is taught and how it is taught, over what is researched, why it is researched and how it is researched and how research results are disseminated.

This next portion of this chapter will outline the various strands of my theoretical kete - Kaupapa Māori theory, Mana Wahine theory, and Māori Legal Theory, which once weaved together provide me with a theoretical foundation for my kaupapa.

He ariā Māori - Kaupapa Māori theories

> In terms of the impact of colonisation on our knowledge, on our beliefs, our reo, our world views, epistemologies, everything has been disrupted. What kaupapa Māori theory does generally, philosophically, is seek to return to old ways of thinking in order to interrupt some of those processes. It brings our ways of thinking forward into a contemporary context where we can draw upon the deep knowledge that our people have had for many generations, and understand the messages and the meaning in that knowledge to then be able to transform the colonised reality within which we live.[8]

Kaupapa Māori theory, as articulated in the academic world, essentially developed out of the political movements and community developments in the late seventies and early eighties. It is however widely acknowledged by all proponents of the theory that it is a theory that has a much longer history, and is reflective of our traditional cultural practices that are thousands of years old. Kaupapa Māori affirms that "our people have always been engaged in the knowledge expression, articulation, interpretation and analysis"[9], and as Ani Mikaere states "our tupuna have always been philosophers and theorists, explorers and empiricists" [10]. Leonie Pihama also asserts that: [11]

[8] Leonie Pihama "A conversation about Kaupapa Māori theory" in Jessica Hutchings, Helen Potter, Katrina Taupo (eds) *Kei Tua o Te Pae Hui Proceedings: the challenge of Kaupapa Māori research in the 21st Century* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington 2011) at 50.

[9] Ibid, at 49.

[10] Ani Mikaere "From kaupapa Māori research to re-searching kaupapa Māori: making our contribution to Māori survival" in Jessica Hutchings, Helen Potter, Katrina Taupo (eds) *Kei Tua o Te Pae hui Proceedings: the challenge of Kaupapa Māori research in the 21st Century* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington 2011) at 32.

[11] Leonie Pihama, above n8, at 49.

> As indigenous people theory is something that our tupuna have always done. We've explained things; we've tried to frame things; and we've tried to analyse and interpret things, for generations, for thousands of years – so the whole notion of theory is not a new thing.

An important aspect of Kaupapa Māori theory is that Māori focussed research is centralised. Rather than speaking from the margins, from the constructed space of 'other', kaupapa Māori research is grounded within the world view of Māori. This privileges "the histories and experiences of Māori, rather than having to research, write or talk back to Western dominance"[12].

Kaupapa Māori research is a process of decolonisation and creates space for Māori researchers to consider, analyse, and deconstruct imposed colonialisms. As Leonie Pihama has commented "Kaupapa Māori theory provides a basis from which to actively critique dominant discourses that marginalise or invisibilise Māori people"[13]. She comments further:[14]

> Essential to kaupapa Māori theorising is an act of deconstructing dominant constructions that have been imposed upon Māori people through processes of both overt and hegemonic violence. This allows Māori people to move outside of dominant constructions to reconstruct Māori institutions within our definitions and frameworks.

By theorising about our societies, our positionalities, our tikanga and practices, and the impacts of colonisation, Kaupapa Māori researchers effectively engage in a process of decolonisation and resistance:[15]

> Decolonisation has a lot to do with our thought processes; with how we look at interrupting colonisation; how we question; how we reflect; how we question and challenge; some fundamentals that we may hold that may not be ours, that may have derived from a colonial context or from colonial Western understandings and views. We are decolonising all the time, which has a strongly political intent.

Kaupapa Māori research is therefore not just a theoretical approach but the practise of conducting research. It encompasses a holistic methodology that privileges Māori practices within the entirety of the

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[12] Naomi Simmonds "Mana Wahine Geographies: spiritual, spatial and embodied understandings of Papatūānuku" (M.Soc.Sc Thesis, University of Waikato, 2009) at 19

[13] Leonie Pihama "Tungia te ururua, kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke: A critical analysis of Parents as First Teachers" (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1993) at 60.

[14] Ibid, at 13.

[15] Leonie Pihama, above n8, at 50.

research process – from conception to enactment it is comprehensively "underpinned by Māori philosophies of the world that has Māori foundations, that has Māori understandings"[16].

Kaupapa Māori theory is fluid[17] and reflexive, and as it "transcends most institutional disciplines of knowledge"[18] is also interdisciplinary. A key aspect of Kaupapa Māori, as Leonie Pihama has noted, is also the transformative emphasis of the research:[19]

> The other political intent is transformation: If it's not actually making a key impact in terms of transforming these realities, and not just for our tamariki and rangatahi, but for our whānau as a whole, why is it being done. Transformation can come in many forms too – sometimes what we think is a smallish thing can have a really huge intergenerational impact.

The privileging of te reo and tikanga are an essential feature of Kaupapa Māori research as it acknowledges the legitimacy and authenticity of our own articulations of our society:[20]

> Operating from within Māori culturally preferred methodologies Kaupapa Māori theory validates Te Reo Māori and Tikanga Māori as constructed by Māori people. It is a theory of resistance which reveals the power relations within society and in exposing dominant and subordinate positioning works towards their transformation at both macro and micro levels.

Kaupapa Māori theories therefore provide a foundation platform from which to consider my research. Within Kaupapa Māori, I have considered two strands that I feel best assist in the exploration of Māori maternities – Mana Wahine theories and Māori legal theory.

Mana Wahine/Māori Feminist Theories

> *Mana wahine theory is a particular form of kaupapa Māori theory that validates the mana of Māori women. The term mana wahine theory serves as an overarching term for a range of Māori women's theoretical approaches each of*

[16] Leonie Pihama, above n8, at 49.
[17] Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Storying the development of Kaupapa Māori: A review of sorts" in Jessica Hutchings, Helen Potter, Katrina Taupo (eds) *Kei Tua o Te Pae hui Proceedings: the challenge of Kaupapa Māori research in the 21st Century* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington 2011) at 10.
[18] Ibid, at 11.
[19] Leonie Pihama, above n8, at 51.
[20] Leonie Pihama, above n13, at 58-60.

which have the fundamental belief that to engage issues from a Māori women's viewpoint is both valid and necessary.[21]

Within the kaupapa Māori theoretical framework, Mana Wahine theories emerge as a particularly relevant strand of analysis for this research, as Naomi Simmonds has remarked:[22]

> One of the most important features of Kaupapa Māori...is the space to legitimise spirituality, mythology, oral tradition, tikanga and lived experiences in shaping Māori women's understandings and relationships of the world.

Māori feminist theories, or mana wahine theories, focus on analysing the effects of colonisation on Māori women. These theories refer to the creation of a gender imbalance in Māori society as a result of the imposition of European values. Leonie Pihama makes specific reference to this: [23]

> …colonisation has had a major impact on the position of Māori women. Colonial ideologies have constructed particular discourse related to Māori women which have contributed significantly to the denial of particular roles and status….Māori women's knowledge has been marginalised and Māori women's roles redefined in line with colonial notions.

Pihama refers to the development of Mana Wahine theories as a response to "colonial constructs"[24] resulting from the "imposition of racist, sexist, heterosexist, classist ideologies"[25]. Mana Wahine theory is a reassertion of Māori Women's knowledge and experience:[26]

> Mana wahine theoretical frameworks have emerged as a means by which to describe Māori women's analyses, they are Māori women's views of the world, which are located in Māori women's experiences and understandings of the world.

Mana Wahine theories also emerged within the Māori political and societal movements of the environment the late 1970's and 1980's, when an increasing number of Māori women began to theorise, explore, analyse and ultimately expose the gender inequalities that had developed within

[21] Leonie Pihama above n2, at 255.
[22] Naomi Simmonds, above n12, at 19.
[23] Leonie Pihama, above n2, at 257.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid, at 258.

our societies since colonisation.[27] They were critical of Western feminisms that were emerging at the time which were seen to be ethno-centric and to privilege a white middle-class of women. As Riria Wainohu has commented: [28]

> Aware of the cultural ethnocentricism of Pakeha feminism, they reject it's practice which essentially sees white women striving not to become a newly defined being but rather seeking to be as good as a white man: in condemning the patriarchy they nevertheless try to succeed with it.

By distinguishing Māori feminisms from Western feminisms, Mana Wahine theorists sought essentially to make space for Māori women's experiences and to privilege Māori women's perspectives, voices, stories and histories. [29] Mana Wahine theory therefore provides a theoretical and methodological space where the colonial silencing of Māori women's voices and experiences can be confronted and "the dominance of Western masculine scientific knowledge can be unpacked"[30]. As Leonie Pihama has asserted "It is important that Māori women take control of spaces where our stories can be told. This includes theoretical space. Our voices have been silenced for too long" [31].

Mana Wahine theorising therefore involves the deconstruction of the marginalising colonial processes that have impacted on Māori women and to challenge the colonial imposition of race, gender and class ideologies that position Māori women in an inferior position, not only to non-Māori but also in relation to Māori men:[32]

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[27] See: Kathie Irwin "Towards theories of Māori feminism" In P Bunkle, K Irwin, A. Laurie and S Middleton (eds) *Feminist voices: women's studies texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand (*Oxford University Press, Oxford Irwin 1992); Kathie Irwin " Māori feminism" in Witi Ihimaera (ed) *Te ao mārama 2: regaining Aotearoa- Māori writers speak out*. (Reed, Auckland, 1993); Ngahuia Te Awekotuku *Mana wahine Māori : selected writings of Māori women's art, culture and politics*. (New Women's Press, Auckland, 1984); Rangimarie Rose Pere "Taku taha Māori : my Māoriness" In Witi Ihimaera (ed) *Te ao mārama 2: regaining Aotearoa- Māori writers speak out* (Reed, Auckland, 1991); Ripeka Evans " Māori women as agents of change) *Te Pua: a journal* 3(1) 1994. Linda Tuhiwai Smith: Māori women: discourses, projects and mana wahine. In Sue Middleton and Alison Jones (eds) *Women and education in Aotearoa 2* (Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992).

[28] Riria Wainohu "Correcting the Stories" in *Te Whakamārama - The Māori Law Bulletin* (Pipiri 1991) at 6.

[29] See above n27.

[30] Naomi Simmonds, above n12, at 35.

[31] Leonie Pihama, above n2, at 234.

[32] Riria Wainohu, above n28, at 5.

> Patriarchal anthropologists and social scientists have essentially rendered Maori women "invisible". They have promoted the idea that men alone exercised authority in Maori society, and that only Maori men can now determine what it tikanga and what are appropriate cultural objectives. Transferring Victorian and white models of social structure upon Maori, they determine that the role of Maori women (like Pakeha) was inferior or subordinate.

As has been noted earlier within the discussion of Kaupapa Māori theories, Mana Wahine theory also affirms the actions of our ancestors within this resistance movement. As Pihama states; "there have always been Māori women challenging the fundamentals of colonial patriarchal organisation".[33] She comments further:

> The development of mana wahine theory as is currently being articulated is founded upon a range of historical movements which Māori women actively participated in...Māori women have always been mobilising against oppressive acts. Mana wahine theory then has an incredibly strong foundation that reads from mana wahine as expressed within whakapapa, through development of Māori women's movements as a means of engaging issues.[34]

Mana wahine theory is thus an assertion of our *tino rangatiratanga* as Maori women; an assertion of our right and absolute authority to determine our own destinies, to analyse and to critique, to reassert, reclaim and rewrite.

Māori Legal Theory

"Māori Legal Theory" is a relatively new concept in itself, although it actually draws together many strands and concepts that have emerged within Māori legal forums over many years. As students of the Waikato law school in the late nineties, our Māori legal theoretical understandings were based on discussions around customary legal practices, considerations of our tikanga, traditional values and practices as 'law' and the basis of our traditional legal framework. We also learned about aspects of Western state imposed law that affect us as Māori and of course much consideration and time was spent on unpacking the impact and

[33] Leonie Pihama, above n2, at 235
[34] Ibid, at 256.

implications of the Treaty of Waitangi[35] and other constitutional based issues.

Proponents of Māori customary law recognise that traditionally, Māori forms of law and legal practice existed. This area of scholarship seeks also to confront the presumptions of the early settlers of New Zealand who labelled Māori societies as living within a lawless social system. As Durie has noted "An historic constraint on the discovery of Māori law has been the opinion that Māori did not have one" [36]. Moana Jackson also comments: [37]

> Western sociologists and jurists have consistently asserted that systems incompatible with their own were not 'legal', and that societies not based on their constitutional framework were without law.

One of the basic texts we were first referred to as Māori law students was Moana Jackson's *He Whaipaanga Hou.* Despite being written over two decades ago, this report, championing the need for a parallel justice system for Māori, is still one of the most relevant exemplars of customary legal theorising and "it remains one of the most important discussions of tikanga Maori as a system that includes laws and legal traditions, and reflects a distinctive Maori legal culture"[38]. Within it, Jackson identifies the 'blindness' of Western society to the legal traditions of other cultures:[39]

> It is one of the tragedies of western history that the culture – specific nature of its own systems of law has blinded it to the existence of law in other societies. This monocultural myopia, when coupled with the economic demands of an imperial ethic, has led to a dismissal of other cultural systems as not being "legal", and a subsequent imposition of the western way. Māori society was one of many colonial victims of this shortsighted monolegalism.

As Jackson establishes within *He Whaipaanga Hou*, Māori law scholarship asserts that our traditional tikanga, associated values, and practices,

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[35] Refer appendix 2.
[36] Eddie Durie "Custom Law: Address to the New Zealand Society for Legal & Social Philosophy" (1994) 24 VUWLR, ET Durie, *Custom Law*, (Unpublished paper for Waitangi Tribunal members and later referred to the Law Commission), January, 1994.
[37] Moana Jackson *Māori and the Criminal Justice System, a new perspective: He Whaipaanga Hou* (Department of Justice, Wellington, 1987).237.
[38] Carwyn Jones "The Treaty of Waitangi Settlement process in Māori Legal History" (PhD Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 2013) at 32.
[39] Moana Jackson, above n37, at 36.

aggregated into a robust system of law. This system provided a regulatory framework for society; however it differed from the European systems of the time, as Jackson further notes:[40]

> ...although the Māori system shared with the Pakeha a clear code of right and wrong behaviour, its philosophical emphasis was different. The system of behavioural constraints implied in the law was interwoven with the deep spiritual and religious underpinning of Māori society so that Māori people did not so much live under the law, as with it.

Sir Eddie Durie has also written extensively on the customary legal systems of our tūpuna, noting the sophisticated nature of the decision-making processes employed within it. He states: [41]

> The capacity of elders and others to select from a variety of norms, from traditional wisdom, and find the one that is most suitable to resolve the problem for the particular case – that is remarkably sophisticated form of law in my view.

As Durie notes, Māori custom law can be defined as "the values, standards, principles or norms to which the Māori community generally subscribed for the determination of appropriate conduct"[42]. Our traditional societies were ruled by a values based system of law, ensuring the conduct of individual and groups within society towards each other: [43]

> The Māori legal system is predominantly values, not rules based. It encapsulates a certain way of life that depends on the relationships between all things, including people and gods, different groups of people and people and everything in the surrounding world.

Durie makes a distinction between custom law – "law generated by social practice and acceptance" – and institutional law – "law which is generated from the organs of a super-ordinate authority"[44]. Thus, the spiritual realm was a significant part of the traditional Māori legal system; the inter-

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[40] Ibid, at 235.

[41] Eddie Durie, *Presentation notes: Symposium, Indigenous Knowledge; Rights and Responsibilities, 9th June 2006 @ National Archives, Wellington* (2006) retrieved from www.hrc.co.nz

[42] Eddie Durie "Will the Settlers Settle? Cultural Conciliation and Law" *Otago Law Review* 8 1996, at 452.

[43] Jacinta Ruru, "The Māori encounter with Aotearoa : New Zealand's legal system" in Benjamin Richardson, Shin Imai and Kent McNeil (eds) *Indigenous Peoples and the Law: Comparative and Critical Perspectives* (Oxford, Hart Publishing, 2009) at 113.

[44] Eddie Durie, *Custom Law*, (Unpublished paper for Waitangi Tribunal members and later referred to the Law Commission), January, 1994.

relationships between physical and spiritual worlds were of upmost of importance. This provided a spiritual underpinning to the customary system, and a focus on maintaining the balance between individuals and groups in society, in both a physical sense and a spiritual sense *(whanaungatanga)*. As Moana Jackson has commented:[45]

> The traditional Māori ideals of law had their basis in a religious and mystical weave which was codified into oral traditions and sacred beliefs. They made up a system based on a spiritual order which was nevertheless developed in a rational and practical way to deal with questions of mana, security, and social stability. Like all legal systems, it covered both collective and more specifically individual matters.

The tikanga that underpinned these behaviours are age-old and derived from cosmological beginnings and the spiritual realms.[46]

> In traditional times…there was a religious system and a kin group of Atua (Gods) that were descendants of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku, the primal parents. Tapu was an important part of the religious system and it was like an invisible policeman that was always around. Once the system of tapu controls was understood, people could live their lives in relative harmony with the Gods.

These origins of our laws acted as markers of the lessons and ideals established by the ancestors, and reaffirmed the connections between the living, and also with those gone before (*whakapapa*)*:*[47]

> The explanations for these rights and obligations, their philosophy, grew out of, and were shaped by, ancestral thought and precedent. The reasons for a course of action, and the sanctions which may follow from it, were part of the holistic interrelationship defined by that precedent and remembered in ancestral genealogy or whakapapa. The whakapapa in turn tied the precedents to the land through tribal histories, and so wove together the inseparable threads of Māori existence.

There was an overall emphasis on maintaining balance (*utu*) and ensuring that everything in society was well-looked after and respected (*manaakitanga*). As Moana Jackson asserts; "Legal duties were manifest and included the ancestrally defined responsibility to maintain order and to protect the land by ensuring a balance between interlinked animal, plant, spirit and human worlds"[48]. Sir Eddie Durie has also commented:[49]

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[45] Moana Jackson, above n37, at 39
[46] Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori , Living by Māori Values* (2003) at 247.
[47] Moana Jackson, above n37, at 40.
[48] Moana Jackson, above n37, at 40.

> The land, people and life forms were thought to be governed by cycles. By the law of utu, what is given is returned or that taken is retrieved. “Utu was not just “revenge”, as popularly portrayed; it was a mechanism for the maintenance or harmony and balance. Survival depended on the maintenance of the cycles of nature, and on the maintenance of cycles in human relationships. The latter is illustrated in the careful Māori attention to reciprocal obligations, the maintenance of blood links through arranged marriages and the institution of gift exchange.

The discussions around customary law are important in that they recognise and affirm our pre-colonial laws and institutions. This is important for three reasons: firstly, it recognises and reasserts the presence of our own traditional legal constitutions; secondly, it provides a platform that allows us to ground ourselves within a kaupapa Māori space from which to critique the imposed Western systems in this country, the impact on and confliction with our traditional legal frameworks that these have had. Lastly, and most importantly, it also allows us to consider the endurance of our traditional tikanga and legal practices, the resistance and resiliencies our society has shown in maintaining our traditions. Despite contradictory state law imposing itself in our society, there are many examples of our customary legal practices having endured - within a parallel legal system that is grounded holistically within Te Ao Māori and essentially flies under the radar of the wider New Zealand society. This is an area that needs more discussion, more exploration and theorising because it is an area that is empowering and decolonising.

Within Māori legal scholarship it is common to refer to tikanga as ‘Māori Law” and to use the two terms interchangeably. Our very beginnings as a society, the beginnings that established our tikanga – the values that underpin our customary legal system, these can all be traced back to our cosmologies. It is not unusual to see discussions regarding our customary legal system begin with a listing/explanation of our particular underlying values; however my unease with this approach is that it can appear to be a slightly shallow way of really considering our traditional system of law. Realistically, if we are to gain a fuller understanding of the values underpinning our customary legal structures then we need to consider the

[49] Eddie Durie “Custom Law: Address to the New Zealand Society for Legal and Social Philosophy” *(24 Victoria U. Wellington L. Rev. 1994)*, at 329.

wider picture and origin of those values. Our tikanga are derived from our spiritualities, from the realm of the spiritual and we must always remember that and pay heed to the beings and presences within that world if we are to truly gain an understanding of the values themselves. As Tamati Kruger has also noted:[50]

> If there is no connection between tikanga and the philosophical baseline that underpins it, then tikanga becomes random activity with no direction. The tikanga becomes an endangered concept as we then lose sight of what the Tikanga was originally intended to express.

It is important then, when theorising about our traditional laws and frameworks, that we begin by considering the spiritual origins of those laws located within our cosmological stories and other traditional pakiwaitara. As will be discussed further in this thesis these sources provide rich insight into our legal traditions, and the assertion of these sources as relevant and important to New Zealand's legal traditions.

"Māori Legal Theory" is therefore about us as Māori, asserting a space for ourselves within the New Zealand legal sphere. As Carwyn Jones has noted, the process of Māori engaging and theorising about the law and developing further the idea of Māori Legal Theory is important because it provides an opportunity for us to influence the creation of law in New Zealand:[51]

> …it's important that we develop a field of Māori Legal Theory in order to progress and advance issues of self-determination. Māori legal theory describes ways of thinking about law that are based on the experiences and philosophies of Māori communities. If we recognise that the contested nature of the concept of law gives particular prominence to the cultural and political values of the theorist then having indigenous, and in our case, Māori cultural and political values inform theories of law becomes important. Especially when we recognise that legal theory is never purely descriptive but always makes…normative claims about how law ought to operate and those normative claims influence the generation of law itself.

[50] Tamati Kruger, cited by Pou Temara "Te Tikanga me ngā kawa" in *Te Kōtihitihi: Ngā Tuhinga Reo Māori* Volume 1 (University of Waikato, Hamilton, 2011) at 12.

[51] Carwyn Jones *Māori Legal Theory as an exercise of self-determination* (Manu Ao Seminar, 24 August 2011) retrieved from www.manu-ao.ac.nz [seminars tab]

Carwyn Jones also noted the importance of Māori theorising about the law and engaging with kaupapa Māori and Indigenous legal theories, he sees Māori legal theorising as an expression of self- determination:[52]

> Indigenous legal traditions are central to discussions of self-determination because they provide the legal basis for our assertion of self-determination. For example, in Aotearoa, the legal foundation of Māori rights and obligations associated with tino rangatiratanga is sourced in our own legal traditions - our tikanga, our mātauranga, and our kōrero tuku iho…developing ways of thinking about Māori legal traditions that are consistent with Kaupapa Māori and are grounded in the culture and experiences of Māori communities is crucial to progressing issues of tino rangatiratanga/self-determination.[53]

Gordon Christie, a Inupiat/Inuvialuit legal scholar, has also written extensively on "the need for direct…investigation into the question of whether Indigenous peoples inhabit a conceptual space from which emerge particular, distinct and essential theoretical understandings of the law"[54]. Christie asserts that the law has had a significant part to play in the colonisation of indigenous peoples:[55]

> It is undisputable that much of the 'heavy work' of colonialism has been carried out by the law, and indeed by the construction of the dominant system on a foundation of racist and colonial theoretical presumptions and positions. Indigenous legal scholars in Canada have vital work to do in (a) revealing the ways in which the dominant system has functioned to trap indigenous aspirations within webs of theory and 'principle', (b) building indigenous theoretical perspectives on both the dominant legal system and Indigenous legal orders, and (c) articulating how indigenous understandings and conceptualisations underpin the theoretical perspectives presented.

Christie acknowledges that there could never exist a "single indigenous theory about the law" [56] but conceives that there is "a plurality of Indigenous legal theories, sitting parallel and in contrast to the myriad 'mainstream' legal theories that exist, each indigenous theory emanating

[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] G Christie "Indigenous Legal Theory: Some Initial Considerations" in Benjamin Richardson, Shin Imai and Kent McNeil (eds) *Indigenous Peoples and the Law: Comparative and Critical Perspectives* (Oxford, Hart Publishing, 2009).
[55] Ibid, at 231.
[56] Ibid, at 203.

from a particular Indigenous conceptual framework or world view" [57]. Christie states:[58]

> ...we should consider the possibility that even within an indigenous collective there will not be raised a simple homogenous voice, that Indigenous communities will naturally contain degrees of diversity of opinion and perspective, just as we see within non-Indigenous communities.

In that regard, "Māori Legal Theory" can also contribute to the wider legal scholarship developing across the globe amongst indigenous peoples.

As alluded to earlier, while the idea of a succinct "Māori Legal Theory" is new in concept, the reality is that there has already been much discussion, theorising and conceptualising in this area over the last few decades. Moana Jackson[59], Ani Mikaere[60], and Sir Eddie Durie[61], among others[62] have all significantly contributed to the development of Māori Legal Theory. More recently, Nin Tomas[63] and Carwyn Jones[64] have also made significant contribution to this area by employing this approach within their doctoral research.

The purpose of these theorising exercises is as Jones asserts – an act of self-determination in itself. But on a wider scale it is also so that we influence legal traditions in this country: [65]

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[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Moana Jackson *Māori and the Criminal Justice System, a new perspective: He Whaipaanga Hou* (Department of Justice, Wellington, 1987).
[60] Ani Mikaere Colonising myths- Māori realities: he rukuruku whakaaro (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2011) and see also: *The Balance Destroyed, The Consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of Tikanga Māori* (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, Auckland , 2003).
[61] Eddie Durie "Custom Law: Address to the New Zealand Society for Legal & Social Philosophy" (1994) 24 VUWLR, ET Durie, *Custom Law*, (Unpublished paper for Waitangi Tribunal members and later referred to the Law Commission), January, 1994.
[62] See for example: Jacinta Ruru "The Māori encounter with Aotearoa : New Zealand's legal system" in Benjamin Richardson, Shin Imai and Kent McNeil (eds) *Indigenous Peoples and the Law: Comparative and Critical Perspectives* (Oxford, Hart Publishing, 2009) at 111.
[63] Nin Tomas "Key concepts of tikanga Māor (Māori custom law) and their use as regulators of human relationships to natural resources in Tai Tokerau, past and present" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2006).
[64] Carwyn Jones "The Treaty of Waitangi Settlement process in Māori Legal History" (PhD Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 2013).
[65] Carwyn Jones, above n51.

> …if we want to see our cultural and political values reflected in law, our visions of justice given effect to by law, then we need to present modes of thinking about law which are based on those values, and that in itself is an exercise of self-determination.

This thesis will employ the use of "Maori Legal theory", specifically by drawing on it to consider, unpack and examine our legal traditions pertaining to Maori maternities, and the impact of state imposed legal conventions upon these traditions. It is hoped that this thesis will therefore have the twofold effect of providing a relevant source of information for Māori mothers and whānau, while also making a contribution to future legal developments in this area.

Interweaving the three approaches of Kaupapa Māori, Mana Wahine and Māori legal theory.

This kaupapa has in a sense required me to weave together three strands of a 'theoretical kete'. By employing these theories together I have been able to re-search and re-assemble the specialist mātauranga that relates to Māori concepts of mothering and maternities. Kaupapa Māori has helped establish a research space that supports my question, coming from a Maori world view and it frames my methodology. Mana Wahine theories support a positive focus on women as mothers without negating the role of fathers and other whānau members. Finally, Māori legal theory shows how tikanga can be interpreted as a legitimate form of the law and that our pakiwaitara, mōteatea and whakatauki can provide valid insights into the legal traditions of our tupuna.

Whakarāpōpoto - Summary

This chapter has sought to establish a framework from which to consider the research in question - Māori maternities. In summary, three aspects that will be explored within this thesis are:

Ngā kōrero ō neherā/Traditional customs

Exploring and theorising about the traditional and customary socio-legal approaches to Māori maternities that existed within our societies prior to

the arrival of Pākehā. This is not just at a superficial, values based level; but rather, by consulting deeper with accounts of our cosmological and tribal histories to consider the particular experiential aspects of our tikanga. Priority sources of this knowledge include moteatea, pakiwaitara and whakatauki. Critical consideration will also be given to English language and European/Western ethnographer's accounts.

Ngā ngārara muia o te Pākehā/Colonising actions

This entails exploring the ways in which Western values and legal concepts have been imposed within our society, how this conflicts with our traditional values and systems of law and how this has affected us. Specifically, this involves exploring aspects of the policy, law and religion that have expressly sought to mould, absorb, extinguish or interfere with our traditional maternal tikanga.

Okea Ururoatia/Resistance, endurance and reclamation

Exploring our ways of resisting Western maternal impositions and in particular ways in which we have asserted our tino rangatiratanga – this may be in the form of *resistance* – deliberate constructions within our society that have counter-acted the endeavours of western society to undermine our ideologies and practices; *endurance* – where our traditional mothering ideologies have endured or *reclamation,* where we have actively sought to recover our traditional practices and utilise them in new and contemporary contexts.

This next chapter (Chapter 4) will therefore begin with an outline of the role of *Te Ao Wairua* in the development of the fundamental and underlying tikanga of traditional Māori maternities. It will pay particular attention to the role of the 'cosmological mother' in the establishment and maintenance of these tikanga in the spiritual and physical realms of our tūpuna. Following on from that, Chapter 5 will consider the practical applications of those tikanga within our traditional communities.

Te Wahanga tuarua – Ngā kōrero o neherā

Chapter 4 – Nā Hina te pō, nā Hina te Ao
The cosmological mother

Chapter 5 – Ko te wahine te whare tangata, te kai whakatupu tangata, Tiheimauriora!
Pre-colonial Māori mothering

"Indigenous ideologies of motherhood are grounded in Native spirituality, as metaphors of the powerful maternal body are based in pre-Christian cosmologies that speak to the authority of women's ability as life-givers. The female body was synonymous with the power of creation and the ability to sustain that creation."[1]

- Kim Anderson

[1] Kim Anderson "Giving life to the people: An Indigenous Ideology of Motherhood" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007) at 765.

Chapter 4:
Nā Hina te pō, nā Hina te ao
The cosmological mother

Kōrero Whakataki - Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to begin a consideration of the positioning and characteristics of Māori mothers in our traditional societies. In our quest to re-examine the traditional tikanga that pertained to Māori mothers it is important that we look to our cosmologies and in particular the stories of our atua wāhine. The roles that our atua wāhine assumed within the creation of the world and the creation of human life provide us with strong examples of the power of the maternal.

Within the stories of our atua it is possible to identify specific principles and practices that applied to mothers and to the 'mothering' of children. These stories tell us much about the value placed on the maternal figure in society, the profound sanctity of the maternal body and the important collective approach to the mothering of children.

The title of this chapter, "*Nā Hina te pō, nā Hina te ao*"[2], loosely translates to mean, *"Hina, the authority of the night; Hina, the authority of the day".* It refers to Hina (also known as Hineteiwaiwa[3]) and her role in the movement of day to night, a significant period within our spiritualities that is representative of a transitional phase.

> For Māori, the end of night and the beginning of day is an important spiritual time. The first breath of life in a new-born baby, the beginning of a season, the start of a new project – all are imbued with both a sense of optimism and a sense of unease.[4]

Hina is personified by the moon and accordingly is the controller of night and day. She represents also a maternal figure in our lives, having

[2] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna* (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2003) at 313.
[3] Hineteiwaiwa and her stories will be considered further on in this chapter.
[4] Linda Tuhiwai Smith *Decolonising Methodologies* (Zed books, London, 1999) at 104.

perpetual influence and responsibility for our wellbeing and existence. The transition between Te Ao (the world of light) through to Te Pō (the world of darkness) is a recurring theme within our cosmologies and the role of atua wāhine within this is paramount and will be explored in depth within this chapter.

The preceding chapter discussed the spiritual nature of traditional Māori society and in particular the role of the spiritual realm in the traditional legal system as a mode of regulating the behaviour of individuals towards the environment and towards each other. As will be explored further in this chapter, a fundamental part of this regulatory spiritual system was the maternal influence, imperative to the maintenance of an overall complementary balance in society, and necessary for the productive existence of the iwi as a whole.[5] The prominence of the maternal figure within our spiritualities reinforces the importance of their influence on our traditional society. This maternal positioning within the cosmologies is strongly illustrated by the recurring themes pertaining to Te Ūkaipō, te whare tangata, and mana wahine in general within the stories.

It has been said that "Creation stories strongly influence culture. They often form the foundation for economic, family and political relations"[6] and that "the creation story represents the central axis from which the Māori perceived all living things came"[7]. Ani Mikaere also considers it vital to consult our cosmological stories when exploring our roles as Māori women:[8]

> A discussion of the roles of women and men according to tikanga Māori must begin with our creation stories. Māori cosmogony not only provides the key to an understanding of how our tūpuna viewed the world and their place within it; it also informs our present conceptions of ourselves and therefore continues to shape our practices and beliefs.

[5] See also Ani Mikaere *The Balance Destroyed, The Consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of Tikanga Māori* (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, Auckland, 2003).
[6] Kim Anderson *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* (Canada: Second Story Press, 2001) at 71.
[7] Tuakana Nepe *Te Toi huarewa Tipuna: kaupapa Maori, an educational intervention system* (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1991) at 8.
[8] Ani Mikaere, above n5, at 13.

One thing we must think about when we are revisiting our cosmological stories is the manner in which our perceptions and considerations of these stories has evolved over the years. It is safe to say that our cosmologies, spiritualities, and religious systems were the subject of strong colonial intervention. They were in fact a specific target of those that arrived to our shores, especially those that arrived with a religious agenda. The introduction of Christianity into our society was undoubtedly one of the most destructive tools of colonisation that have impacted on us[9].

The reality for Māori today is that the knowledge that exists is fraught with contradictions and conflictions; Christianity has permeated our society, existing alongside, and in some cases superseding, our knowledge of our traditional spiritualities.

I have personally observed a lot of fusion of the two religious strands in particular regarding the place of Christian and non-Christian karakia in today's society. For instance, it is not unusual to attend a hui and hear both traditional and Christian karakia being used within the same hui (sometimes even by the same person). This fusion of conflicting religious systems seems very common and accepted within our communities. Certainly, tribal variations contribute to this also.

In the process of decolonising this knowledge it is essential that we engage with those conflicting stories, unpack them, revisit them and reconsider them from our own individual and collective perspectives. While the inherent tikanga that underpin our society do not change, the application and interpretation of them has a more fluid, practical function that is reliant on our self-responsibility and autonomy. As Pou Temara has commented:[10]

> Ehara i te mea me mau taketake koe ki te tikanga. Ko te tīwhiri o te tikanga, ko tāna noho ki te ārahi i te tangata kia puta te ihu. He rerekē te whakamāori a tēnā, a tēnā, i te tikanga, he rerekē te whakatinana a tēnā, a tēnā i te tikanga. Ko tō tātau taha tangata tēnā.

[9] The impact of Christianity will be discussed further in chapter 6.
[10] Pou Temara "Te Tikanga me nga kawa" in *Te Kōtihitihi: Ngā Tuhinga Reo Māori* Volume 1 (University of Waikato, Hamilton, 2011) at 11.

We should not be afraid to reconsider the stories of our cosmologies, to reassess them, critique them and to come up with our own relevant interpretations. As Ani Mikaere has said:

> The task of drawing together an account of Māori cosmogony from available sources is...fraught with difficulty. The vast majority of accessible material has either been recorded by white male anthropologists and ethnographers, or it has been based upon their work. Nevertheless, it is posited that a re-examination of available sources from a fresh perspective, one which is not located from within an oppressive tradition of entrenched patriarchy, is both useful and revealing.[11]

It is also important to note that our perspectives of these stories change as we grow, as our life experiences contribute to the platform from which we view the world. My understandings of our stories are significantly different from what they were when I was a child. They also changed considerably when I became a mother. The maternal aspects, and especially the biological maternal aspects of the stories, are much more apparent to me now having experienced pregnancy, childbirth and motherhood myself. It is indeed important that we continually theorise and re-theorise about these stories as we grow, that we understand the fluid nature of the stories, but most of all that we continue to draw strength from the power and authority that the atua convey within the stories throughout our lives. I am certain that the stories will continue to influence and guide me as I grow older, and assume other responsibilities in my life.

[11] Ani Mikaere, above n5, at 13.

The Cosmological Mother

Te Ao Wairua – the spiritual realm

> *A central feature of Māori cosmogony is whakapapa…vital to the continuation of whakapapa are both the male and female elements. The female reproductive organs and the birthing process assume major significance throughout the creation stories.*[12]

The prominence of the maternal figure in our traditional cosmological stories and the role our atua wāhine played in the creation of the world provides a strong illustration of the origins of many tikanga relevant to us as mothers. As Ani Mikaere has noted:[13]

> The role of women as whare tangata means that they played a particularly important role in their whānau, hapu, and iwi. The importance of this role is reinforced by Māori cosmogony, which recognised the significance of female sexual and reproductive functions in the creation of the world. The potency of female sexuality is implicit in the womb symbolism of Te Kore and Te Pō and in the birth of Papatūānuku and Ranginui's children into Te Ao Marama.

It must be reiterated that there are many versions and interpretations of our cosmological stories, and as stated above there is really no universally accepted rendition. Tribal variations, along with other influences such as Christianity, and even the sensationalism of our stories as entertaining 'myths', have all contributed to the diversity that exists today. I have attempted therefore to cover some of the major themes and principles and in particular those that give an insight into the traditions of Māori mothering that evolved from the cosmologies. Where appropriate I have also drawn from Māori authors who have written on the topic. But it is also fair to say that these interpretations of the stories are my own, gathered throughout my life thus far, both from within my childhood in Ngāti Hine and my university years in the Waikato.

[12] Ani Mikaere, above n5, at 13.
[13] Ani Mikaere *Colonising Myths – Māori realities: He Rukuruku whakaaro* (Huia publishers, Wellington, 2011) at 187.

Te Whānautanga mai o te Ao - the creation of the world

> ..the cosmic creation of the universe at the core of the whakapapa Māori. It is here that the primal family, Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth mother) and their children, the atua, the supreme beings, and their interaction, form the template for human behaviour. So the world of the spirit was real and of enormous importance to the world of humans. The first parents and their childrearing practices were found here.[14]

The first stage of the cosmology is Te Pō (the darkness). The realm of Te Pō is a complex and recurring theme within our stories and will be discussed more in depth further on. Within the darkness of the world the emergence of Papatūānuku (earth) and Ranginui (sky) occurred and within their tight embrace they sustained the realm of Te Po, while conceiving a number of children (atua) between them.[15] Correlations between the realm of Te Pō and the gestational state of the female womb have been noted - "Te Pō has been likened to a womb, within which both Papatūānuku and Ranginui were conceived. Papatūānuku, a female being, was the earth and Ranginui, a male, was the sky"[16].

Within the ongoing darkness, Papatūānuku nourished her children at her breast until such a time as the children grew to become uncomfortable with the cramped conditions of their existence. It was then that they sought to push their parents apart, to emerge from the darkness of Papa's body and into Te Ao Mārama (the world of light). A time of unrest occurred as the children fought over how to emerge from their dark environment into the light, eventuating with Tāne placing his feet on Rangi and his hands on Papa and pushing with all his might. As Ani Mikaere comments "as the children became restless within her, Papa experienced discomfort such as that felt during labour"[17].

And so the children of Rangi and Papa emerged into the world of light:[18]

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[14] Kuni Jenkins and Helen Mountain Harte *Traditional Māori parenting: A historical review of literature of traditional Māori child rearing practices in pre-European times* (Te Kahui Mana Ririki, Auckland, 2011) at 2.

[15] Takirirangi Smith "Aitanga: Māori Precolonial Conceptual Frameworks and Fertility – A Literature Review" in Paul Reynolds and Cherryl Smith (eds) *The Gift of Children: Māori and Infertility* (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2012) at 5.

[16] Ani Mikaere, above n5, at 14.

[17] Ibid, at 15.

[18] Takirirangi Smith, above n15.

> The term atua is often translated as god but more definitively may be translated as potential being (a) from beyond (tua). It implies the potentiality of transfer between existence in this world (Te Ao Marama) and potential world that exists beyond (Te Po).

The parallels between the beginnings of the world and the processes of conception, gestation and birth are quite prominent. The role of the maternal is quite unquestionable, as Ani Mikaere had noted:[19]

> The progression from Te Kore, through Te Pō and on to Te Ao Mārama is an ongoing cycle of conception, development within the womb, and birth…The female presence at the beginning of the world is all encompassing. The female reproductive organs provide the framework within which the world comes into being.

One of the children remained with his mother. Ruaumoko, the pōtiki, stayed with his ūkaipō Papa, and remains there to this day. Ruaumoko is credited with causing the movements of the earth and in particular earthquakes, as he continues to move within Papa's womb.

That our creation stories engage with the processes of pregnancy and birth reflects the prominent and valued role of the maternal body. The positioning of the maternal figure as an essential part of the process also gives insight into the prestige accorded mothers. Within this also we see our earth mother Papatūānuku as a centralised and integral character.

Te Ao Mārama – The world of light

Once born into the world of light, the atua children of Rangi and Papa separated out into their own domains of talent and guardianship. Each living aspect of the world was guarded by both female and male atua and as Aroha Yates-Smith has established, the feminine in our spiritualities existed in a complementary relationship with that of the masculine[20]. While the stories of female atua were usually left out of European accounts of the cosmological stories[21], evidence exists to support the notion that for each male atua there also existed a female atua, and that together these deities worked in harmony to maintain the balance of society.

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[19] Ani Mikaere, above n5, at 16-17.
[20] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith *Hine! e Hine!; rediscovering the feminine in Māori spirituality* (PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, 1998).
[21] Ibid.

For example, Tangaroa is noted as the atua of the sea, however he co-exists with Hinemoana. Hinemoana is credited with the creation of all the species of the sea, while Tangaroa is vested with the responsibility of taking care of them. Tangaroa is said to be the agitator of the seas, while Hinemoana provides the softer calming influence. Another example is Hinerauwharangi, who works in partnership with Tāne Mahuta to care for forest and birdlife. Hinerauwharangi is credited with the care and growth of all living things, and is personified in the leaves and greenery of the trees *"Ka hoka a Hinerauwharangi i konei i a ia"*[22]. Her presence at tangihanga in the form of pare kawakawa is thus also noted.

The complementary roles evident in the guardianship and management of the various elements of the world provide us with an exemplary blueprint of the complementary importance placed on both genders for the guardianship and care of children.

Ko Hineahuone: Te whānautanga mai o te hunga tangata

The birth of humankind

Within the story of Hineahuone, we are able to draw many aspects of maternal prominence. Tane, one of Papa and Rangi's sons, embarked on a quest to create humankind. Within this he sought the advice of his father, who in turn advised him to return to his mother. Tane then sought advice from his mother, who sent him in various directions to seek the *uha,* the female element. As his journey progressed Tane created many other species in nature, but the human female element eluded him. Each time Tane would return to his mother who would send him to another part of her body to search for the *uha*. Finally, after Tane had created a number of species across the world, Papatūānuku sent him to *Kurawaka*, her genital area, with the advice to mould a human form from the red ochre earth that existed there. Upon Tane forming the female figure and

[22] Apirana T. Ngata "Nga Moteatea: He Oriori, mo Tuteremoana, na Tuhotoariki (Ngai Tara) - Na H. Te Whatahoro nga kupu, nga whakamarama" *JPS Volume 57 1948 Supplement,* at 257-296.

breathing life into her, Hineahuone (Earth maiden) was born with the sneeze of life - *Tiheimauriora!*

The sanctity of the maternal body is again captured within this story; highlighted by the many failed attempts to create humanlife, save until Tane was directed to the genital area of Papatūānuku where the power of life existed. Again we see the importance of the maternal role within this process, both in providing the direction to Tane, and in being essential to the success of his endeavour in a physical and spiritual manner.

Te hunga tangata: Ko Hinetītama, ko Hine-nui-te pō

Hineahuone and Tanematua procreated to produce the beautiful dawnmaid Hinetītama. "*Ko Hinetītama koe, matawai ana te whatu i te tirohanga*"[23] (You are Hinetītama, the eyes water at the sight of your beauty). Hinetītama and Tanematua then married and in turn produced their own offspring, including Hinerauwharangi (mentioned above). According to Hirini Moko Mead, Hinetītama's relationship with her daughter Hinerauwhārangi is made particular mention of:[24]

> In respect of childbirth…Hine-titama and her daughter Hine-rau-wharangi are remembered and respected as a mother and daughter model. In some ceremonies [this] divine mother and child are honoured and their names are remembered.

There came a point when Hinetītama sought to find out who her father was, and upon consulting with the pou (posts) of the house, she learned that her father was in fact her lover Tane.

It is said that this was a turning point for Hinetītama, who was upset at having had this fact kept from her and at the manner with which Tane had treated her. Disenchanted, Hinetītama took control of the situation and returned to Papatūānuku, te ūkaipō, to the origin of all living things, to assume the role of Hinenuitepō, goddess of death, where she could

[23] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n2, at 229. This phrase is used in contemporary times to acknowledge the beauty of a woman.
[24] Hirini Moko Mead *Tikanga Māori, Living by Māori Values* (Huia publishers, Wellington, 2003) at 290.

welcome her descendants as they passed on from the world of light into the darkness of death.

Although Tane pursued Hinetītama and pleaded with her to return, Hinetītama refused saying "Maku e kapu i te toiora o a taua tamariki - (By my hand will our children be kept unharmed)"[25]. The story of Hinetītama, and her movement into the realm of darkness, provides again an example of the absolute sanctity of the maternal body. To treat the maternal body with any sense of disrespect was forbidden:[26]

> …incest caused a transformation for Hine-titama, a movement from the world above to the world below, from the dawn and the world of light, to the night, and darkness. Incest is a kind of death.

Hinetītama, in her prominence as a mother within both realms of Te Ao Marama and Te Pō, reiterates also the perpetual role of the maternal figure in the life of the person. As Ani Mikaere has summarised: [27]

> Three female figures play a crucial role in the creation of mankind. Papatūānuku provides both the materials and the advice to enable Tane to form Hineahuone. Hineahuone…gives birth to the first true human being, Hinetitama. Hinetitama …exercises absolute control over her own destiny…which cements her firmly into the spiritual consciousness of all her descendants.

Ko Hineteiwaiwa - he whaea, he ruahine, he wahine, he whaiaipo

The stories of Hineteiwaiwa

Hineteiwaiwa is one of the daughters of Hinetitama and Tane. She is also referred to as Hina or Hinauri and is personified by the moon. She exists in a complementary role to her father Tane, in providing the ultimate archetype for us as women to follow.

Hineteiwaiwa is said to provide authority for things pertaining to women. She is the; "...patron of new life and she presides over the whole process of conception, formation of the foetus and the ultimate birth of the infant"[28].

[25] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove, above n2, at 279
[26] Hirini Moko Mead, above n24, at 246.
[27] Ani Mikaere, above n5, at 19.
[28] Hirini Moko Mead, above n24, at 290.

Hineteiwaiwa's experience of pregnancy and the subsequent birth of her son Tūhuruhuru set down the tikanga pertaining to those particular states. The birth of Tūhuruhuru was said to be a troubled one, whereby she used karakia to ease the pain and assist in the birth of her child[29]. Her continued role as kaitiaki of women in childbirth has been noted by Makereti[30] and the karakia that she used during the birthing of Tūhuruhuru *"Te Tuku o Hineteiwaiwa"*[31] has continued to be used by subsequent generations of women in childbirth and continues to be used today.

Hineteiwaiwa presides also over the reproductive cycles of women, and is said to have been the first *ruahine* of the world credited with laying down the tikanga pertaining to the lifting and placing of tapu and noa.[32] She is also considered the patron of *raranga*, the domain of weaving: "Te Wharepora a Hineteiwaiwa"[33], the weaving house of Hineteiwaiwa, and she is credited also with the laying down of the tikanga pertaining to that art.[34]

Hineteiwaiwa not only provides us with practical exemplars of the role that the maternal figure had in society, but also the sanctity and authority that this provided society. Her role was not just restricted to the mothering of her own children but rather a wider contributing role within the community.

Ngā whaea a Maui – the mothering of Maui-tikitiki-a-Tāranga

The stories of Maui are rich in maternal metaphors within each of his many quests, his successes, and his ultimate demise.

Maui's birth story introduces us to Tāranga, his mother, who upon giving birth to Maui prematurely and apparently stillborn, cuts off her hair and wraps him in it, giving him the name Maui-tikitiki-ā-Tāranga. She places

[29] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith, above n20.
[30] Makereti *The Old-time Maori* (Victor Gollancz Limited, London, 1938) at 119.
[31] Refer appendix 3.
[32] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith, above n20.
[33] Greta Regina Aroha Yates, *Ko Te Whare Pora o Hineteiwaiwa* (MA Thesis, University of Waikato, 1980).
[34] Ibid.

him into the ocean, and calls on the atua to take care of him. This powerful action has been commented on by author Patricia Grace:[35]

> Maui-potiki is my youngest child…I gave birth to him on the beach, secretly. He was stillborn. I cut off my topknot of hair, wrapped him in it and put him on the sea…I knew the power of my hair. I …felt great pride in knowing that this child was my own creation, that through my actions he had been given special powers which would be used in attaining great gifts for mankind.

Tāranga's actions were quite significant; the hair of a person is a most potent source of tapu - "…cutting the hair…of anyone…was surrounded with tapu. The hair comes from the most tapu part of a person"[36]. Her action of cutting her hair during this time of upheaval and grief has continued into contemporary times.

Maui's subsequent survival, his revival and upbringing by his *koroua* (grandfather), Makea Tutara, is thus credited to Tāranga's actions in placing him in the care of the atua. His education and immersion in the mātauranga of his koroua was also key to his future endeavours.

Tāranga's actions in wrapping Maui in her hair also succeeded in establishing an unbreakable bond between herself and her child, and once he had grown, Maui found his way back to his mother, assuming the name Maui-pōtiki.

In addition to Tāranga and Makea Tutara, Maui's kuia also play a pivotal role in his various adventures. It is with the jawbone of his kuia, Murirangawhenua, that he fishes up the North Island and that he uses to subdue Tama-nui-te-ra. As Kuni Jenkins comments:[37]

> When Maui wanted to go fishing, he had to employ the cooperation of his grandmother. She possessed magical powers and knowledge which Maui needed. Maui is credited with having fished up the North Island of New Zealand. The formula and strategy actually belonged to his grandmother

[35] Patricia Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa, *Wahine Toa: Women of Māori Myth* (Collins, Auckland, 1984) at 40.
[36] Hirini Moko Mead, above n24,at 300.
[37] Kuni Jenkins "Reflections on the Status of Māori Women" (1992) 1:1 *Te Pua* at 41.

Ani Mikaere also asserts that Murirangawhenua's actions were quite deliberate:[38]

> Muriranga-whenua knew only too well the magical qualities of her jawbone and that with it; Maui would be able to better the lives of humankind. She therefore gifted it to him and to her human descendants.

Maui's quest to control fire also required the cooperation of his kuia, Mahuika, goddess of fire. Maui sought her out and repeatedly requested her flaming fingernails to procure fire for his village. Each time she gave him a fingernail with instruction on how to care for it, Maui would disobey her instructions and let the fire go out. His continued defiance and disrespect of her eventually angered her to the point where she cursed him, throwing her second-to-last fingernail at him, engulfing him in flames. Maui was saved only by the intervention of another one of his kuia, Whaitiri, who sent rain to put out the flames. Mahuika then gave her final fingernail to Hinekomako[39] for safekeeping.

Maui's final quest was to obtain immortality, and he sought to do this by destroying his ancestress, Hine-nui-te-pō. His attempt to kill her by crawling into her vagina was fatal for Maui, and provided the last lesson of his life – that the maternal body was powerful beyond anything else:[40]

> As the colours swirled around him, Maui remembered how he had felt rocking on the ocean, long ago, wrapped in the hair of his mother's topknot. He felt warm and safe and even though he was going to a different time, self and place, he was still going home…

The stories of Maui provide us with particularly strong examples of the role of the maternal figure in our cosmologies. They reiterate the prominence of the maternal role, the sanctity of the maternal body and the role of the wider whānau in the education and socialisation of children - "The tales of...Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, are particularly instructive as to the influential roles that women held"[41].

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[38] Ani Mikaere, above n5, at 21.

[39] Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones "He oriori mo te Rangitumua" in *Ngā mōteatea: he maramara rere nō ngā waka maha, Volume 1* (Auckland University Press, 2004) at 81.

[40] Peter Gossage, Merimeri Penfold *How Maui defied the Goddess of Death – Te Taki a Maui i a Hine-nui-te-po* (Lansdowne Press, Auckland, 1985) at 19.

[41] Ani Mikaere, above n13, at 209.

He atua wāhine, he ūkaipō - other cosmological mothers

As described above, our cosmological stories provide us with numerous examples of the maternal influence within our spiritualities. There is no doubt as to the significance of the role our atua wāhine played in the creation of the world, of humankind and of the laying down of many significant tikanga pertaining to us as women.

What is not often noted however is that there existed a number of other atua wāhine whose role and influence in society was also paramount. Whaitiri, mentioned within the Maui story above, is the atua of thunder[42], and is considered also to be the goddess of war. Her temper is legendary "Ka mahi nga uri o Whaitiri"[43] yet she saves Maui from certain death and is also credited with assisting Tawhaki in his pursuits.[44] Whaitiri is also referred to in one account as being the goddess of the realm of darkness who separated Rangi and Papa:[45]

> Ko Rangi e tu nei, te tane o Papa-tu-a-nuku, a i te wa i wehea ai raua; ko Whaitiri te atua kuia tua-tahi o ngāpo, nana i whakahua te karakia i wehea ai raua.

Hinetūākirikiri presides over a specific area on the beach, that is, the area between the high-tide mark and land where the sand is soft and debris is minimal. This area is said to form an easy pathway for us to walk on - *"he ara no Hinetūākirikiri i waiho e kore e tutuki te waewae"*[46]*.* But this pathway is also said to be for those who have passed on, guiding them back to Hawaiiki.

Hinetuahoanga[47] is the atua of particular types of stone. While she is often not mentioned by name, she is credited with providing guidance and

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[42] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n2, at 165.
[43] Ibid. "*Ka mahi nga uri o Whaitiri"* – a saying referring to a person who 'blusters and rages'.
[44] See also: Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n2, at 215; Henare Potae "Ko nga korero o Tawhaki**"***JPS Volume 37 No. 148 1928*, at 359-366
[45] J White *The Ancient History of the Māori -Volume I* (Wellington, Govt. Printer: 1887) at 44.
[46] Elsdon Best "Some Honorific and Sacerdotal Terms and Personifications Met with in Māori Narratives" (1926) 35 *JPS* 241.
[47] Elsdon Best, "Honorific Terms, Sacerdotal Expressions, Personifications, etc. Met with in Māori Narrative" (1926) 36 *JPS* 290; Margaret Orbell *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend* (1995) at 64.

advice to Rata when he is attempting to build a waka using rakau from Tane's forest.

He whakarāpōpoto – Summary

The Cosmological Mother

An analysis of our cosmological stories provides us with a striking illustration of the prominence of the maternal figure in our stories. From the emergence of our physical world, the creation of our humankind and the many interactions between the atua and their descendants it is apparent that the spiritual realm plays a significant role in the development and maintenance of tikanga pertaining to mothers and the mothering of children.

The above stories from the realm of the atua allow us to see the origins of our mothering tikanga. Through Papatūānuku we trace the origins of the role of Māori women as mothers. We see also the origins of the mana and esteem accorded to the whare tangata. And of course we see both these roles encompassed within the profoundness of the term Ūkaipō. These aspects of mana wahine were developed further within the important cosmological roles played by Hineahuone, Hinetitama and Tāranga, and again within the stories of Hineteiwaiwa and Hinerauwharangi, along with many of the other atua who epitomise the whaea figure.

When considering the maternal figure in our cosmological stories, three recurring ūkaipō themes emerge:

He ūkaipō, he mana atua - the prestige accorded to the Māori maternal figure

Within the stories the role of the maternal figure was prominent and accorded prestige and respect. The perpetual nature of the mother figure throughout the course of a person's life is reflected within the cosmological stories of Papatūānuku, Hineahuone and Hinetitama/Hinenuitepō in particular. The role of the maternal in bringing life into the world and caring

for that life in both the physical world and the spiritual afterlife was a recurring theme. As Tuakana Nepe has asserted:[48]

> The significant role of the whaea – the mother as the bearer of this new life, is assimilated and knitted to Papatuanuku...to Hine-hau-one...and Hinetitama...What is reciprocally significant too is that at the end of life, that is at death, the body of flesh and bone is returned back to Papatūānuku.

He ūkaipō, he whare tangata – the sanctity of the Māori maternal body

The maternal body was considered tapu, and the cosmological stories reflect the potency of that sacred element. This is particularly reflected within the story of Hine-nui-te-pō but also reiterated throughout all the stories of the atua. The maternal body is powerful beyond measure.

> Not only do the female organs form an integral part of the creation of the world, but they constitute the pathway into this world for all human life and, through Hinenuitepo the pathway out again. With respect to both the creation of the world and human life itself, the birth canal runs between the realms of Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama.[49]

He ūkaipō, he pā harakeke – collective and empowering maternal practices

Within the stories we can also see that there was a collective approach to the mothering of children. This is especially apparent within the stories of Maui, where his care, education and socialisation was undertaken by a number of wider whānau members, male and female. We see also the special relationships that exist between mothers and children, and that despite there being collective approaches to child rearing, by virtue of the principle of ūkaipō, children are still drawn back to the maternal figure, to the realm of darkness, to the night-feeding breast.

Within the next chapter we will consider how these aspects of mothering evident within the cosmologies were then reflected within the everyday practices of our tūpuna. This will be explored within the three themes above.

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[48] Tuakana Nepe, above n7, at 35.
[49] Ani Mikaere, above n13, at 216.

Chapter 5:
Ko te wahine te whare tangata, te kaiwhakatupu tangata, Tiheimauriora e!

Kōrero Whakataki - Introduction

Having considered the prominence of the cosmological mother in our creation stories and the values and tikanga that are sourced from the stories of our atua, we now turn to the manner in which these legal principles of mothering were then applied practically within traditional Māori society. The prominence of the ūkaipō principle reflected in the positioning of the maternal figure, the sanctity of the maternal body and the strong collective approach to the rearing of children, manifests in a physical sense within the lives of our ancestors. This chapter considers specific examples of the practices of our ancestors, as evidenced within moteatea, whakatauki and pakiwaitara.

The everyday conduct of Māori women under the laws and institutions that governed Māori society were in every sense complementary to that of Māori men[1]. Atua wāhine were the fundamental instigators and creators of the tikanga pertaining to the conduct of Māori women and, as seen from the outlines of our cosmologies in the previous chapter, they provided women with the archetypes of their everyday conduct.

Papatūānuku, along with the other atua wāhine, provided guidance and protection for Māori mothers in their particular undertakings. As mothers, the hononga with Papatūānuku were especially important, as Tuakana Nepe has noted:[2]

[1] Ani Mikaere *The Balance Destroyed, The Consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of Tikanga Māori* (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, Auckland , 2003).

[2] Tuakana Nepe *Te Toi huarewa Tipuna: kaupapa Maori, an educational intervention system* (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1991) at 27.

> The whaea is bound spiritually to Papatūānuku the Earth mother and is endowed with the power of birth...she is te whare tangata – the nurturing bed the safe haven, for the seed of life.

Specific tikanga served to ensure the wellbeing of Māori mothers during pregnancy and childbirth. As reflected within the cosmological stories, the guardianship and the role of mothering a child was not reserved solely for women or even for the biological parents of the child; rather, the practice of 'mothering' was a kinship based responsibility. Māori children had many mothers, and were raised collectively by both female and male relatives. The importance of tātai whakapapa and ensuring the survival of each generation placed great importance on the correct raising of children. In addition to the collective approach to the raising of children, a special relationship also existed between mother and child – a relationship encapsulated within the term ūkaipō which will continue to be explored in this chapter.

"Ko te wahine he whare tangata, he kai whakatupu tangata". The title of this chapter is sourced from a waiata that was composed by Piripi Cope to acknowledge the life of Te Rarawa kuia Dame Whina Cooper. This particular line of the song pays heed to women as 'whare tangata' (literally = houses of humanity) and their crucial role in the carrying and nurturing of all humankind. Dame Whina, in her tireless lifelong service to our people, exemplified such a role, and was thus also referred to as 'te whaea o te motu'(mother of the nation).[3]

'Te whare tangata' is a key concept of our mothering philosophies - "Te whare o te tangata, in reference to the womb, is the only source from which all new life flows"[4]. This, along with other key terms, will be discussed further in this chapter.

This chapter will also explore in greater detail the three themes developed in the previous chapter, outlining the characteristics and development of Māori mothering and how this positioned Māori mothers within our

[3] For more about Whina Cooper see: Michael King *Whina* (Hodder and Stoughton, Auckland, 1983).
[4] Waerete Norman "He aha te mea nui" (1992) *1:1 Te Pua, at 8.*

traditional societies. In this chapter I draw from three sources of information:

Nga tuhinga reo Māori/Māori language based written sources:

I have placed an emphasis on utilising Te Reo Māori sources of reference (karakia, moteatea, oriori, whakatauki). As discussed earlier, these sources portray a more pure form of insight into traditional structures and values. As Pou Temara has noted:[5]

> Ko tēnei momo tikanga, ko te momo tikanga i hangaia i runga nga mātauranga o te Māori, I runga i ana kōrero ōnehe, i ana kōrero ōkawa, i ana kōrero ōwaiata, i ana kōrero ōkarakia tae atu ki ana kōrero ōatua. Koinei nga tikanga he iho atua ō ratau, he tapu ēnei tikanga.

Nga tuhinga o te ao Māori/Written works by Māori authors:

Much theorising has been developed and information been recorded by our own people. The writing of Makereti[6] for instance contains a wealth of information regarding women, children and traditional social customs. More contemporary writings also provide much needed commentary and analysis for the existing literature.

"The Observers":

I have made an effort to separate sources of information that have come from the 'pen of the Pākehā'. Kuni Jenkins has referred to the proponents of these written sources as 'observers'[7] and I would like to follow that line of thinking. These are the words of outsiders that have sought to describe what they saw in our traditional societies. In many instances what is recorded are the contrasting aspects that they observed in relation to their own childrearing and mothering practices. As Kathryn Rountree has acknowledged:[8]

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[5] Pou Temara "Te Tikanga me nga kawa" in *Te Kōtihitihi: Ngā Tuhinga Reo Māori* Volume 1 (University of Waikato, Hamilton, 2011) at 10.

[6] Makereti *The old-time Maori* (Victor Gollancz Limited, London, 1938).

[7] Kuni Jenkins and Helen Mountain Harte, *Traditional Māori parenting: A historical review of literature of traditional Māori child rearing practices in pre-European times* (Te Kahui Mana Ririki, Auckland, 2011).

[8] Kathryn Rountree "Re-making the Māori female body" in *Journal of Pacific History* Vol 35, No1 [2000] at 49.

> ...we see Māori through European eye: a vision or visions which were heavily and unavoidably influenced by gender, culture, class and historical positioning of the observers...all the observers were men; thus, when we peer over the observers shoulders, we cannot help but look through the lens of the male gaze.

These writings do provide some insight into things, if only to tell us the features of our traditional society that Pākehā found interesting or different to their own. In some sense it allows us to consider that there were aspects of our traditional practices that intrigued the visitors that arrived on our shores.

The information presented in this chapter is from a number of sources, and where appropriate, I have also drawn on my own iwi stories. The information overall however represents the writings and whakaaro of people from a cross-section of iwi, hapu and whānau. It is important to reinforce again that while there are a number of similarities across our tribal histories, the information below is not intended to represent a universally Māori viewpoint. Rather it should be considered in its context of representing some of the many varied and multi-layered viewpoints that collectively present a diverse story of our maternal traditions.

Te reo ūkaipō/The language of mothering:

Some of the strongest markers of our traditional custom can be sourced in our language, and in particular we can consider some of the terms that are applied to mothers.

While there is much iwi diversity in the actual terms, a common theme that has emerged is that the term for 'mother' refers both to a biological or whāngai mother of a child and other female relatives of the same generation[9]. This formula follows also for males.

Rose Pere has commented:[10]

> The word mother has a wide range of meaning in Māori kinship terminologies, no distinction is made among the related women of one's parent's generation. One's aunt in English becomes one's mother. In Māori an individual uses matua (father)

[9] Makereti *The Old-time Maori* (Victor Gollancz Limited, London, 1938) at 47.

[10] Rangimarie Rose Pere "To us the dreamers are important" in Shelagh Cox (ed) *Public and Private Worlds: women in contemporary New Zealand* (Wellington, Allen & Unwin, 1987) at 55.

> for all male relatives and whaea (mother) for all female relatives in his or her parents' generation.

Some of the terms that denote a maternal relationship include; whaea, ewe, karawa, koaka, kokara, tia, tiaka, ūkaipō, whaene, whawharua[11]. Words also exist for grandmother/other elder female relative; i.e. hakui, kuia.

The words above, while reflecting regional diversity, all share the same meaning and are used interchangeably for mother, aunty or other female relative[12]. As Rose Pere has commented, our language essentially does not have an equivalent term for English 'mother'[13].

There are also a number of other key terms in our language that connect back to the maternal. These profound terms in our language carry much significance in both a spiritual and physical sense:

The word *'atua'* meaning god/goddess or spiritual authority also has the meaning of menstrual blood - *te awa o te atua*. *'Whānau'* also has a multi-layered meaning, and can refer to a familial group while also carrying the meaning of 'childbirth'. '*Hapū'* refers again to a larger familial group (or sub tribe) but is also the state of pregnancy. And finally *'whenua'* carries the meaning of land and of the placenta. This connection to the land is most significant as Rose Pere asserts:[14]

> The "whenua" (placenta) is the lining of the womb during pregnancy, by which the foetus is nourished, and is expelled with the foetus and the umbilical cord following birth. Whenua is also the term used for land, the body of Papatūānuku, the provider of nourishment and sustenance to humanity.

The burying of the whenua/placenta after birth is a hugely profound and important event to Māori, reinforcing the deep physical and spiritual connections of the child and mother to Papatūānuku, the earth mother.

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[11] Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori *He Pātaka Kupu* (Penguin, North Shore, 2008).
[12] See also Makereti, above n9, at 47.
[13] Rose Pere, above n10.
[14] Rose Pere *Ako: Concepts and Learning in the Māori tradition* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, Wellington, 1994) pg 19.

He ūkaipō, he mana atua -

The prestige accorded to the Māori maternal figure

Within traditional Māori society, women took essential leadership roles within the iwi and especially in the nurturing and survival of future generations, as Ani Mikaere has commented:[15]

> Iwi histories that have been passed on orally from generation to generation present a picture of a society where women and men featured in all aspects of life, and fulfilled all manner of roles. It is clear from such histories that Māori women occupied very important leadership positions in traditional society, positions of military, spiritual and political significance.

As 'repositories of knowledge', women were again positioned in a role of importance, both in providing safe-keeping of that knowledge, but also in take a lead role in the transmission of that important knowledge to the next generation:[16]

> Prior to contact with Western illiteracy, Māori relied exclusively on oral means of transferring knowledge. Waiata, pepeha and whakatauki were important means of transmitting knowledge, vehicles through which ancient concepts and beliefs have been handed on to us today. That women played an important role in the maintenance and transmission of iwi history and knowledge is clear from the number of waiata tawhito that have been composed by women...it seems entirely logical that those responsible for the physical survival and continuance of the iwi should also play a significant role in the survival of its history and therefore its identity.

The prestige accorded to women as bearers of the next generation is hugely prominent within our histories. The whakatauki "*He wahine, he whenua, ka ngaro ai te tangata*"[17] recognises the valued and important position that Māori mothers occupied in society. Without women to produce life and without Papatūānuku to sustain that life, humankind would not survive. Rose Pere comments:[18]

> The proverbial saying "He wahine, he whenua, a ngaro ai te tangata" is often interpreted in English as meaning "by women and land men are lost", but it can

[15] Ani Mikaere *Colonising Myths - Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro* (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2011) at 191.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna* (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2003) at 134.
[18] Rose Pere, above n14, at 20.

> also be interpreted as meaning that women and land both carry the same role in terms of providing nourishment and without them humanity is lost.

Waerete Norman also comments on the profound connection between Māori women and land and their roles in the nurturing of human life as reflected in this whakatauki:[19]

> Women and land were intertwined, part of each providing nourishment and sustenance to 'iwi'. This 'whakataukii' also illustrates the primary importance of Maori women 'te mana o te wahine' as nurturers and guardians and protectors of the generations.

The positioning of women as *'ūkaipō'* is again noted in the context of their relationship with land and with Papatūānuku - "*Ko te whenua te wai u mo nga uri whakatupu;* wai u means milk from the breast, likening sustenance from the land to the milk from a mother's breast"[20].

The value that women brought to the tribe as whare tangata was vital. "*He puta taua te tane, he whānau tamariki te wahine"*[21] refers to the role of men to defend the iwi against external threats while the role of women is to have children. These roles are of equal value to the iwi, both ensuring the survival of the people: [22]

> Placing further value on women as whare tangata was the concept of mana whakapapa as discussed earlier. Women were essentially the custodians of the next generation and the mana of the whānau, hapu and iwi, depended on the strong survival of the tatai whakapapa.

Because of the huge value placed on this maternal role within the iwi, the loss of a woman was considered calamitous; it represents the loss of wharetangata, the loss of a mother. This is reflected in the whakatauki "*Mate i te tamaiti, he aurukowhao; mate i te wahine he takerehaia"* and "*Te mate ki te tamaiti he pakaru niao, te mate ia i te wahine he pakaru takere waka"*[23]**.** These whakatauki both use a metaphoric waka to depict the gravity of loss the iwi faces with the death of a woman. While the death of a child is compared to the breaking of a minor lashing structure within the

[19] Waerete Norman, above n4, at 7.
[20] Ibid, at 9.
[21] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 113.
[22] Mikaere, A, *The Balance Destroyed: The Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori* (1995) 30.
[23] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 286, 377.

waka, the death of a woman is likened to a major split in the base of the waka - catastrophic.

Further evidence of the value placed on the maternal figure in society can be derived from the whakatauki "*Ahau, a! He tamaiti kei taku aroaro.*"[24] (*See me! Pregnant*.), a proclamation of a woman who has conceived a child. The phrase "*Ai pi"*[25] refers also to women who produce numerous children. Such women were considered to be of the upmost value to the iwi.[26]

Huge importance was accordingly placed on women who displayed characteristics of being able to raise a family: "*Aitia te wahine o te pā harakeke"* (marry a woman of te pā harakeke)[27]. This whakatauki is a direction for men to seek out a woman capable of producing and rearing a family and working industriously within the whānau.[28]

> The expression "he tapu, he tapu, he tapu rawa atu te wahine" refers to the very special quality that women have in regard to their role as "whare tangata" (houses of humanity). A healthy culture and economic activity are dependant on the total health and well-being of the people.

The conception of a child of rangatira (chiefly) status was a cause of celebration. The pregnant mother was doted upon and indulged in order to ensure the strong development and birth of the child, and for the wellbeing of the mother also. Makereti notes in particular that mothers were accorded special treatment during pregnancy:[29]

> If it happened that a wahine rangatira (woman of rank), who was married to a tangata rangatira (man of rank) became hapu (pregnant) with her first child, this important event was hailed with great rejoicing and ceremonial feasting. Gifts were brought and presented to the young mother, in the way of choice foods, so that she might feed her child that it might be born strong and healthy. If she longed for any kind of food, it was procured for her, no matter how difficult it was to get…These foods although procured for the mother, were really for the child….This food not only helped feed the child but helped the mother to get plenty of milk in her breasts.

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[24] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 14.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid, at 15.
[28] Rose Pere, above n14, at 26.
[29] Makereti, above n9, at 112.

Ensuring the wellbeing of a breastfeeding mother was also a consideration[30]. A noted oriori from Te Aitanga a Mahaki, composed by EnokaTe Pakaru refers to the calling of a whale as sustenance for the mother of the child, so that she may produce milk for him: [31]

Pō! Pō!
E tangi ana tama ki te kai māna!
Waiho, me tiki ake ki te Pou-a-hao-kai,
Hei ā mai te pakake ki uta rā,
Hei waiū mō tama;

Po! Po!
My son is crying for food!
Wait until it is brought from the pillars-of-netted-seafood,
And the whale is driven to the shore
To give you milk, my son.

The relationship between a person and the maternal figures in his/her life was an ongoing one, a lifelong connection that transcended the realms of the physical and spiritual. This is further reflected in the following passage by noted Nga Puhi scholar Hare Hongi, who recorded his understandings of Hawaiiki, relating them back to the womb of the maternal[32]:

> Tena koe, o te kimihanga me te hahaunga, mehemea kei whea rawa te whenua e kiia nei ko Hawaiki; ara, te whenua i putake mai ai te iwi nei te Maori. Ehara, kahore, e kore ano tena e kitea. Tuatahi te Hawaiki i putake mai ai te tangata Maori, ko te takapu o tona whaea; ko tena waahi pouri hoki tena. Tuarua te Hawaiki ko te kopu tonu o te tupuna, o Papa-tu-a-nuku; ko tena waahi pouri ano tena. Tuatoru te Hawaiki, ko te Ao-o-te-po, ko te Ao-o-Rua-mata-kerekere, o Rua-mata-pouri, o Hine-nui-te po. Koia ena ko nga Hawaiki i putake mai ai te iwi Maori; e ai ko oku nei kaumatua. E hara katoa nga Hawaiki tu-a-motu i te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa; he ingoa whakatau ena, he ingoa tapatapa. Erangi a aku e ki ake nei, ko te tuturu Hawaiiki; ko te waahi i hangaia mai ai te tangata, Inahoki:-
>
> "I hiku kau ano te putanga mai o te tangata ki tenei ao;
> A, ka hoki atu ki te taha i hangaia mai ai"

> Greetings unto thee who so strenously sought the whereabouts of the original Hawaiki-land; the land whence originated the Maori race. Ah, that may not be; for methinks (as a land) that cannot be found. The first Hawaiki (to which Maori refers his being) is the actual womb of his mother; that is a place of total darkness. The second Hawaiki (to which he refers his origin) is the fertile womb of his ancestress, Mother Earth (Papa-tu-a-nuku); that also is a place of total darkness. The third Hawaiki (to which he refers his origin) is the realm-of-darkness; the realm of Rua-mata-kerekere, Rua-mata-pouri, Hine-nui-te-po. Those are the "Hawaiki" from which the Maori race originated; as my elders

[30] Kuni Jenkins and Helen Mountain Harte, *Traditional Māori parenting: A historical review of literature of traditional Māori child rearing practices in pre-European times* (Te Kahui Mana Ririki, Auckland, 2011) at 19.
[31] "Po,Po – a famous oriori from Tauranga" *Te Ao Hou, December 1965*
[32] Hare Hongi "He Kupu Poroporoaki, tangi aumihi atu hoki ki a Te Mete" *JPS: Vol 31 1922, No122,* at 76.

> taught to me. These islands Hawaikis of the Pacific Ocean of Kiwa, are merely nickname. Those which I have here set down are the true Hawaiki whence originated man. For instance: -
>
> "Man's appearances in this world is purely transient,
> For, in a trice, he returns to the place whence he was created.

Hongi's philosophy regarding Hawaiiki reinforces the strong cyclical maternal themes that took prominence within traditional Māori society, inclusive of the the recurring principle of te ūkaipō which positioned the maternal figure as an integral part of traditional worldviews.

As can be seen from the above examples, the Māori maternal figure was prominent and accorded prestige and respect. A Māori child was mothered by many but would always return to the 'night-feeding breast' – a pattern repeated over the course of their lives and upon death. The prominence and enduring influence of the maternal was particularly represented in the ongoing relationship with Papatūānuku, the exemplary mother.

He ūkaipō, he whare tangata -
The sanctity and power of the Māori maternal body

The maternal body was considered tapu and specific tikanga were enforced to ensure this was upheld. This particularly applied during menstruation, pregnancy and childbirth but also within their everyday roles as women. The role of ruahine in lifting and placing tapu also linked back to the role of women as whare tangata; the Māori maternal body was considered potent and was sanctified by the iwi throughout their lives. "Female strength lies at the core of Māori existence, and is sourced in the power of the female sexual and reproductive functions"[33].

As discussed in the previous section, the significance of Māori women as whare tangata, houses of humanity, along with their other roles positioned the maternal figure in an important role in society. The concept of whare tangata is a significantly profound one, and goes beyond the physical role of producing life. The very power that exists within the darkness of the womb, the potentiality of life, sustenance and death, explicitly marks the

[33] Ani Mikaere, above, n15, at 209.

sanctity and profundity of the maternal body. This was evident within both the physical and spiritual traditions relating to the conduct of Māori mothers.

Mate marama/Atua rere - menstruation

The potentiality of the female reproductive body was exalted. During menstruation, women were considered highly tapu[34] and therefore were not expected to work around food and participate in various other activities within the tribal life. This was recognition of both the potency of their maternal blood flow and the physical toll it took on their bodies. Menstruation was a time for women to rest, and to reconnect back to Papatūānuku through the flow of their blood back to her. Rose Pere comments:[35]

> Within the Māori context, the continuity of descent-lines and the flow of ancestral blood through the generations is of the upmost of importance. Any suggestion, therefore, of the tangible evidence of ancestral blood as being "contaminated and unclean" is quite incongruous with Māori thought. If a woman conceives then the menstrual blood remains in the womb, and has a vital role in the development of a future ancestor.

Pregnancy

As mentioned above the pregnancy of a woman of high rank in the iwi was met with celebration. The pregnancy of any woman of the tribe however was also a positive for the iwi, as it meant the strengthening of the numbers and therefore the mana of the people[36]. The pregnant maternal body was treated similarly to that of the menstruating body, considered highly tapu and requiring careful conduct on behalf of the whānau. Rose Pere notes further that the tikanga existed in order to ensure the wellbeing and safety of the maternal body in these states:[37]

> Women were regarded as highly tapu during pregnancy and menstruation. On these occasions they were not allowed to plant, procure, prepare, and work around food of any kind, or be involved with any special project or ceremony. The

[34] Rose Pere, above n14, at 25.
[35] Ibid, at 25-26.
[36] Makereti, above n9, at 113.
[37] Rose Pere, above n14, at 25

> observances of tapu ensured that pregnant women, particularly, did not over–exert themselves in any way or be exposed to anything that could jeopardise the pregnancy. Pregnant women, where possible, received the foods of their choice, as well as those tribally selected as being important for a pregnant women's diet.

Makereti comments that women went about their duties until they became closer to their time of confinement, when a special house was built for the expectant mother to birth in (whare Kōhanga)[38]. This ensured both the spiritual safety of the mother and child, but also of the wider community while the mother was imbued in such a tapu state. Once in this house the woman would await the birth of her child, and be attended to by assistants until her baby was born and the appropriate ceremonies had occurred to lift the tapu that existed:[39]

> Here she would live with someone who saw to her wants in carrying food from the kainga. The food would be brought halfway from the kainga by someone who had cooked it, and the attendant would get the food from there. A woman was considered tapu for a certain time before and after confinement, that is, until after the tohi or Tua had taken place about seven or eight days after the birth of the child.

Childbirth

Births were attended by tohunga (male and/or female) who ensured the correct karakia were used to support the birthing of the child. Relatives of the woman in labour might also be in attendance, assisting her through her pains and physically supporting her also:[40]

> When the time came for the mother to whakamamae, have labour pains, her mother, grandmother and other relatives were with her, especially if it were her first child. They would sit close to her as she knelt in front of the hunga whaka whānau i aiaa, the one who was attending to her. The attendant sat on the ground of the whare (a temporary structure) with her knees up to her chin. The young mother knelt in front of her with her legs apart, while the attendant pressed her knees lightly on the upper part of the poho (abdomen of the patient), thus helping to force the child downward.

Karakia were used to both facilitate the movement of the child and to assist the mother in her spiritual and physical journey: [41]

[38] Makereti, above n9, at 113.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith *Hine! e Hine!; rediscovering the feminine in Māori spirituality* (PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, 1998) at 163.

> During the birth karakia had a powerful effect on the woman, providing her with a source of strength in at least two ways: first by invoking her forbears to be present to protect her and the child, and second in a hypnotic way, by drawing her out of her pain.

A number of karakia existed to assist in this matter and one of the more widely recorded karakia is traced back to Hineteiwaiwa herself. *Te Tuku o Hineteiwaiwa*[42] used particularly during difficult births, and is said to have been composed by Hineteiwaiwa when she underwent a difficult birthing experience with her first child, her son Tuhuruhuru; Aroha Yates-Smith has commented: [43]

> Should there be difficulties at the birth the karakia 'Te tuku o Hineteiwaiwa' might be recited to aid the process by invoking Hineteiwaiwa...and to encourage the mother, reminding her that Hineteiwaiwa herself had had difficulties delivering her own child, Tuhuruhuru.

As mentioned earlier Hineamaru, tupuna rangatira of NgātiHine, was also said to have suffered a great difficultly giving birth her first child, Whe, invoking the need for particularly powerful karakia. Kene Martin recounts the story of this: [44]

> I Omapere a Hineamaru me ana tohunga tiaki i a ia, e noho ana i roto i tetahi whare. Ko nga tohunga e awhina ana i te whaea ki te whānau i tana pēpi. Ko te pēpi tuatahi tenei a Hineamaru. Ka mirimiritia tana mamae, ka karakiatia, kia puta wawe mai te pēpi engari e kore te pēpi e puta. E takoto huri koaro ana i roto i te whare tangata o tana māmā. Kua roa kē ratou e whakawhānau ana i a Hineamaru, kua tino hemanawa kē nga tohunga, ka mea tetahi ki ana hoa. "Me poka." Ka urua atu nga karakia tino tapu kia tiakihia te whaea me tana pēpi i te wa o te pokanga. Kātahi ka pokahia te kēkē o te whaea (ehara i te kōpu), ka kumeatia mai te pēpi ki waho, ki te Ao Marama.

The story of Hineamaru's birthing experience is remarkable in that it provides us with an example of what Western medicine would term a caesarean section. But also it is evidence of the intense care and dedication towards women during childbirth. The existence of karakia that were so powerful as to facilitate a birth by caesarean section substantiates the importance placed on the welfare of the women. The story of the birth

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[42] See Appendix 3.
[43] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith above n41, at 165-166.
[44] Kene Martin "Te Putanga mai o te pepi ki te Ao Marama" in Te Runanga-a-iwi o Ngapuhi *Ae Marika* Issue 2, November 2010, at 9. This passage relates the story of Whe's birth. Hineamaru was in great difficulty as Whe was presenting breech and required the usage of significant karakia to facilitate the birth. (translation not provided)

of Hineamaru's first child is indeed a strong indicator of the sanctity of the maternal body.

After birth, ceremonies would occur that had the objective of lifting the tapu that existed upon the mother and child. These ceremonies also provided a formal opportunity to welcome the mother back into the folds of the people, and to welcome the new addition to the iwi. A ritual cleansing (waituhitanga) was said to occur for the mother at this time, the bathing of her post-birth body in water.[45]

The final action after the birth of the child was the returning of the whenua (afterbirth) to Papatūānuku. This was undertaken with great care, usually before the pito (umbilical cord) fell off. This event is a most important occurrence, signifying and reinforcing the eternal connectivity between mother, child and Papatūānuku[46].

Ruahinetanga/Menopause

The maternal body continued in its powerful state after the onset of menopause. Upon entering menopause, many women undertook greater leadership responsibilities as ruāhine, whose responsibilities included facilitating and regulating variance in the degree of tapu or noa pertaining to an object, person or kinship group. The role of the ruahine in placing and lifting of tapu and noa was vital. Ruāhine were usually high-ranking women of a non-childbearing age who acted as mediums between the institutions of tapu and noa[47]. This was achieved not only by their own tapu status in society, but also by their utilisation of various karakia deemed appropriate only for the knowledge of a ruahine: "The term ruāhine applies to a women of high rank, who possessed knowledge of karakia and ritual behaviour which enabled her to carry out her tasks among her people…."[48].

[45] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith above n41, at 173; Makereti, above n9, at 125-126.
[46] Makereti, above n9, at 113.
[47] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith above n41, at 161-62.
[48] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith above n41, at 161-162.

Thus, ruāhine were seen to be an important and fundamental part of Māori society, holding essentially the power to balance and traverse the complex institutions of tapu and noa, and also acting as an important link between the spiritual and physical realms. As mentioned earlier, the tikanga pertaining to the conduct and abilities of ruāhine is said to have been initially laid down by Hineteiwaiwa[49].

The sanctity of the Māori maternal body is overwhelmingly evident in the above examples. The community recognition of this sacredness is also apparent, marked by the physical and spiritual support provided to women during particular times. The intense value of the maternal body in the future survival of the iwi exalted the positioning of the feminine in traditional Māori society.

He ūkaipō, he pā harakeke:
The collective and empowering approach to mothering children

The emphasis placed on whakapapa, the interrelationship and continuity of genealogical descent lines, placed children in a position of importance within the tribal group. As Linda Smith has asserted:[50]

> In Māori world views, a child is part of a complex system of whakapapa which includes those people immediately around the child and the tipuna of whom the child is a living manifestation. This system locates the child in a whānau or extended family, in a hapu or enlarged whānau, in an iwi or tribe, and across other iwi. The concept of whānau is regarded as the basic social unit within which individuals developed their core relationships.

Children were seen to be a living embodiment of those that had gone before, and an essential element to the future survival of the people. For this reason, children were treasured and indulged and the adults in their

[49] Ibid, at 158.
[50] Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Nga aho o te Kakahu Matauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in Education" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996) at 262.

lives strived to provide a conducive whānau environment within which children could grow, learn and thrive. As Makereti once commented:[51]

> When a marriage took place in the old days one of the most important things in the minds of the couple was the children they would have. The Māori were anxious to have children, as many as they could have. Whether boys of girls, they were all welcomed, no matter what class they belonged.

The whakapapa relationships between children and other people within the group were complex, meaning that from birth a child was treated in accordance to their relationship to others around them. The knowledge of their whakapapa was an important aspect of their education as it helped form their worldview, and it established their place within the group: [52]

> A child is born into a set of complex relationships. They can be tuakana to others who are much older in age than the child. Similarly, a child on one whakapapa line can be a tuakana to someone, and through another whakapapa line, can be their teina.

These whakapapa complexities ensured that, regardless of age, children were treated with respect. The intricacies of the genealogical connections meant that a child could be positioned in a senior tuakana line and consequently treated with the level of respect accorded to that positionality.

These connections also reaffirmed the collective approach to the care and upbringing of an individual child. Because many different individuals had familial connections to the child, there was a collective vested interest in the successful raising of that child. This meant significant involvement from an extended family network, the mothering of the child was not solely a role undertaken by the biological mother of the child[53]. "Within traditional Māori society parenting and following through the development of a child were the responsibility of the whānau as a whole"[54]:

> Biological parents were not necessarily the primary caregivers of children. Adults of the same generation as the parents were referred to by the same term, for

[51] Makereti, above n9, at 112.
[52] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n50, at 262.
[53] Rose Pere, above n14, at 65.
[54] Rose Pere, above n14, at 58.

> example the term for mother, whaea or koka, was used for aunties and other women of the same generation.[55]

Māori women traditionally therefore did not occupy a maternal space in the European sense of the word, as Miraka Szaszy once commented: [56]

> The life of the Maori woman was not based on the concepts of 'Motherhood' and homemaker...a specific term for 'mother' is comparatively recent. The woman who bore a child was a lover, or a means of procreation ensuring tribal continuity, but never quite the 'mother of children' as seen through the eyes of the child today...

This whānau structure and collective approach to raising children provided mothers with a supportive environment that allowed them to contribute to the whānau and hapu in other ways, and to undertake significant responsibilities within the community. As Ani Mikaere has noted: [57]

> This form of social organisation ensured a degree of flexibility for women not possible within the confines of the nuclear family. The presence of so many care givers and the expectation that they would assume much of the responsibilities of child rearing, enabled women to perform a wide range of roles, including leadership roles.

Rose Pere has also commented on the effectiveness of such an environment as advantageous both for the raising of children and for the continued growth and development of their parents as members of the wider community: [58]

> Nga matua (parents) of the community's young had a support service that many of us envy today. This generation of young men and women in traditional society not only had time to extend themselves in all areas of learning, but were left relatively free actively to develop the economic and physical well-being of the community as a whole. Although these young parents were part of the parenting system, alongside other members of the whānau, the older generations had the greatest responsibility for, and influence over the learning and development of the young. This type of support system enabled individuals to learn a wider range of skills and to develop their own potential and strengths.

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[55] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n50, at 266

[56] Miraka Szaszy cited in Jenny Phillips *The Mother Experience* (Penguin, Auckland, 1988) at 15.

[57] Annie Mikaere " Māori women: Caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality" in *Waikato Law Review* (Volume 2 1994) at 128.

[58] Rose Pere, above n14, at 58.

This is not to say that we should romanticise the traditional life of a Māori mother or think that her enviable support system provided her with a leisurely life. Rather, Māori women undertook maternal roles within the wider community and her obligations towards her wider whānau still placed huge demands on her. As Miraka Szaszy also commented: [59]

> ...the duties of a Maori woman – mother, wife or sweetheart – went beyond her own family and were primarily those of fulfilling the needs of the whole extended family group. She was the community worker and a community hostess...the qualities basic to this role were generosity, kindness, hospitality, love, grace and dignity, and the instilling of such qualities was fundamental to her early training – and this was the province of her grandmothers...the pre-European Maori woman was an extremely graceful, dignified and serene human being.

Essentially, the traditional Māori approach to the mothering of a child was a robust system that ensured the wellbeing of both mother and child and ultimately the wider whānau and community. By providing a nurturing and supportive whānau environment, and working collectively to provide the optimum utilisation of an individual's skills the strength of the community was promoted and in turn could flourish: [60]

> The daily existence and survival of the whānau, and so the hapu and iwi, is dependent on the matua and whaea. They are the guardians, the protectors, the labourers, the do-ers that will ensure the very survival of Māori society.

While acknowledging that there was overall a collective approach to the raising of children within traditional society, we need to also consider that within this there still existed specific duties performed by both the male and female parental figures. The maternal figures are often credited as 'repositories of knowledge', the holders of the mātauranga of the iwi, and the responsibility for ensuring that mātauranga was passed down on to the next generation.[61]

A significant method of transferring such knowledge was the oriori. This is often referred to as a lullaby however it by no means resembles the lullaby of Western culture. Rather, the oriori was a song composed especially for

[59] Miraka Szazy, above, n56, at 15.
[60] Tuakana Nepe *Te Toi huarewa Tipuna: kaupapa Māori, an educational intervention system* (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1991) at 27.
[61] See Ani Mikaere, above n1, at 55.

a particular child or children. The songs contained stories and account of the ancestors and were sung to the child from a very young age, sometimes even while they were still in the womb[62]. Rose Pere has commented on the special role of oriori: [63]

> Many of the chants and songs that lulled babies and children off to sleep gave detailed accounts of their tipuna. These oriori (lullabies) revealed both the strengths and weaknesses, both the succeses and failures of the tipuna. Children could identify very closely with these forebears as being "down to earth", very ordinary beings, capable of both error and achievement. Mythological figures and supernatural influences had very human characteristics and qualities about them also, so that they become part of one's whakapapa.

The importance of passing this knowledge on to children was significant - "Children themselves were markers of history and repositories of knowledge" [64] . Māori women were particularly noted as traditional composers of oriori, but men also were known to have composed them. Special or high-born children were celebrated by the entire tribal group - "Children of great mana were made a fuss of, and special oriori, or lullabies, were composed in their honour and sung by the hapu and the iwi"[65].

Oriori thus had a twofold effect of both ensuring the vital lessons and knowledges from the past were maintained for the next generation, while also reinforcing the value and tapu of the child, both to the child and to the whānau surrounding the child [66] - "Oriori repeated the messages confirming how tapu they were, in the most beautiful language"[67]. Kuni Jenkins comments: [68]

> Such positive sounds and treatment surrounded the children from conception instilling in them love, security, inquisitiveness and confidence. They had the freedom to fearlessly see and learn about all parts of whānau and hapu life. They became observant, curious, thoughtful and adept adults able to meet and deal with anything.

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[62] Pei Te Hurinui Jones "Puhiwahine – Māori poetess: Te oriori a Puhiwahine" *Te Ao Hou* (No 31, June 1960) at 18.
[63] Rose Pere, above n14, at 59.
[64] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n50, at 265.
[65] Hirini Moko Mead *Tikanga Māori, Living by Māori Values* (Huia publishers, Wellington, 2003) at 51.
[66] Kuni Jenkins and Helen Mountain Harte, *Traditional Māori parenting: A historical review of literature of traditional Māori child rearing practices in pre-European times* (Te Kahui Mana Ririki, Auckland, 2011) at 12.
[67] Ibid, at xii.
[68] Ibid.

The usage of pūmotomoto and other types of flutes to transmit oriori and moteatea knowledge to children and young babies has also been noted. The song would be sung through the flute directly onto the baby's fontenelle – "...the instrument was chanted through and was traditionally played over the fontanelle of an infant to implant songs and tribal information into the child's subconscious"[69].

Pūmotomoto is a type of traditional flute; however, due to the particular usage of this flute to sing to babies, the word also has a further meaning of fontanelle [70]. Pūmotomoto were used also during pregnancy, placed directly onto the mothers' stomach so that the baby could be sung to in utero. The again illustrates the profound value and care appropriated towards the maternal body – the recognition of the pregnant body and the potentiality of the unborn child growing within.

As children were educated and socialised in their immediate environments, they learnt alongside the adults and participated in the everyday life of the tribal group. "Children played an active part in many of the formal as well as informal activities of life in the community."[71] Children were encouraged particularly to participate and be a part of the tribal environment. *"Ka mahi koe, e te tamariki moe pori"* (Well done, youngsters who sleep near relatives.[72] The inclusion of children in tribal affairs meant that they would grow up familiar with the important aspects relevant to their people[73]. "In Māori society it is recognised that one who stays close to his parents and their friends will probably become well-versed in local history and traditions"[74].

Men had pivotal roles in the education of young boys, and women in the education of the girls – "*Nga tamariki tane ka whai i te uretu, nga tamariki*

[69] Te Aka Māori Dictionary – retrieved from: www.mdictionary.co.nz
[70] Ibid.
[71] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n50, at 266.
[72] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 164.
[73] Makereti, above n9, at 151.
[74] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 164.

wahine ka whai i te ūkaipō."[75]**.** Children were often identified at a young age as having particular talents and strengths and were then provided with the appropriate guidance and mentorship to fulfil their potential, usually at the hands of the elders within the tribal group "...the primary responsibility for the education of children lay with kaumatua, not with their parents"[76]:

> Many iwi had 'sacred' sites within the iwi territory, where children were dedicated in tohi rites. These dedications were an integral part of the education of a child, in that the kaumatua and tohunga were involved in determining the educational needs and opportunities of their mokopuna.[77]

The success of a child's personal growth and development was seen to be a collective effort. *"Nau i whatu te kakahu, he taniko taku".* (You wove the cloak I made the border)[78]. Indicating that - "...parents provide the long-term daily guidance necessary to develop a child's character while further training is gained from those skilled in certain specialties"[79].

Children were cherished and doted upon, their future importance to the iwi was such that whānau worked hard to ensure that from the moment of their birth they were provided with the opportunities, attention and respect that they needed for their growth and development. The following is a song of endearment sung to young children and babies:

Taku hei piripiri	*My pendant of scented fern*
taku hei mokimoki,	*my pendant of fragrant fern*
taku hei tawhiri,	*my pendent of scented gum*
taku kati taramea.	*my sachet of sweet scented speargrass*[80]

The importance of providing children with the care and attention from early on in their development was also noted: *"Ko te rata te rakau i takahia e te moa".* (The rata was the tree trampled down by the moa.)[81] This whakatauki refers specifically to the Rata vine, which if crushed in its

[75] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 330.
[76] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n50, at 266
[77] Ibid.
[78] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 319.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid, at 353.
[81] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 258.

infancy cannot grow straight. It denotes the importance of ensuring that children are provided with the optimum environment with which to grow as "early influences cannot be altered"[82], As Rose Pere asserts - "Traditional Māori learning rested on the principle that every person is a learner from the time they are born (if not before) to the time they die"[83].

Neglecting or abusing a child was considered a crime in traditional Māori society. "The Māori never beat their children, but were always kind to them"[84]. As Hirini Mead has commented: [85]

> Today adults generally tend not to notice the mana of a child, preferring that children are seen not heard. It was not like this in traditional society. Neglect of the mana of the child could result in the parents being punished. Allowing the child to be burnt or otherwise damaged were serious offences.

While the spiritual and physical repercussions of neglecting or abusing a child helped ensure the safety of children[86], the collective approach to the upbringing of children and the involvement of a number of adults, meant also that children always had love and affection in their lives and enjoyed at all times the love and security of a network of parents. Rose Pere comments that "If a child had personality clashes or other communication difficulties with their natural parents they had a range of 'other parents' they could turn to for support and understanding"[87]..

Kuni Jenkins also asserts:[88]

> Having a team of relatives as carers for children meant that they could be passed on to someone else as a distraction for an unreasonable or unsafe demand. This also meant that there were many people watching caregivers as a further way to ensure care for the children.

Thus, "Children were generally well-treated in traditional society and there was great affection accorded to them"[89]. According to Makereti, children

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[82] Ibid.
[83] Rose Pere, above n14, at 66.
[84] Makereti, above n9, at 137.
[85] Hirini Moko Mead, above n65, at 51.
[86] Henry M. Stowell (Hare Hongi) *M-English Tutor and Vade Mecum* (Whicombe and Tombs, wellington, 1911) at 88.
[87] Rose Pere, above n14, at 66.
[88] Kuni Jenkins and Helen Mountain Harte, above n66, at 25.
[89] Hirini Moko Mead, above n65, at 51.

"were fearless, for they met with love everywhere, and in their homes they were petted and loved by their parents and relatives"[90].

And as reflected in the whakatauki, "*He kai poutaka me kinikini atu, he kai poutaka me horehore atu, ma te tamaiti te iho*"[91] adults were expected to prioritise the wellbeing of the children as "the welfare of the children ensures the future strength of the people"[92], in this instance, parents are instructed to give the choicest, most nutrient rich parts of their meal to their children.

Children were breastfed by their biological mothers or by another female relative. Breastfeeding was undertaken for a good period of time, usually past the first year after birth[93]. Makereti notes also that mothers took great care in introducing solid food to their babies:[94]

> A child would still be at its mother's breast when it began to walk, and sometimes for a long time afterwards. A woman first gives the child food when it is nine months or more old, unless she has not much milk, then earlier. But a mother nearly always had plenty of milk for her child.

The term kaimānga refers to this particular food and the manner with which Māori mothers would prepare the food for their babies by chewing it and gradually feeding to her baby:[95]

> When she gives ordinary food to her baby she is careful of what she gives it, and masticates it well before giving it to the child, either straight from her own mouth to the child's, or taken from her mouth with the two first fingers and thumb, and so given to the child. This method might be used until the child was weaned, and sometimes afterwards.

Although a collective approach was taken to the day to day raising of children, the many specific references made to mothers within whakatauki, mōteatea and the historical stories indicates that women and children still very much enjoyed strong and close relationships and held each other in

[90] Makereti, above n9, at 146.
[91] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 81.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Makereti, above n9, at 136.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.

high regard. Children were always seen to return to the night-feeding breast – *te ūkaipō*.

This enduring connection between mother and child was noted in the whakatauki "*He aroha whaereere, he potiki piri poho"*[96] referring to the profound love that exists between mother and child. Literally, this refers to the manner in which young children often cling their mother for comfort and love. Hirini Moko Mead notes:[97]

> Because of a mothers love for her child, the child clings to her. A mother normally treasures her child more than anything else in this world. She would rather suffer than see her child in any form of misfortune.

Makereti notes also that;

> A mother could not bear to hear her child cry, especially at night. She would take it up in her arms and croon over it, singing oriori, or lullaby songs, to soothe it. The Māori had many of these songs, and some mothers made up their own, some being very beautiful and poetic. [98]

The intensity of grief expressed by mothers upon the death of a child also signifies a profound connection between mother and child. Makareti commented that "Their oriori over their dead children are most heart-rending, expressing the intensity of the grief they feel for the loss of their little ones"[99].

We can conclude that mothering practises in traditional Māori society were undertaken using a collective approach, with other female and male relatives in the wider whānau playing important roles. In terms of guardianship, children belonged to the entire whānau and were 'mothered' by a number of others not just their biological parents. Significantly, children were seen to be an embodiment of their ancestors and the future of the iwi/hapu, therefore physical discipline was not a feature. Children were instead treated with the upmost respect, indulged and cherished, and included in everyday activities of the whānau unit. Children were also educated and socialised within their immediate environments, important

[96] Hirini Moko Mead, Neil Grove above n17, at 66.
[97] Ibid
[98] Makereti, above n9, at 135.
[99] Ibid.

knowledge was passed down to them through the maternal figures in their lives (who were often repositories of knowledge for the hapu) as well as other relatives.

Although this collective rearing of children was a significant aspect of traditional Māori society, the relationships between mother and child followed closely the features of our cosmological stories – that is, they reinforced the profound and eternal relationship between children and their *ūkaipō.*

The 'Observers'

As mentioned earlier, many of the visitors to our shores made commentary regarding the mothering practices of our ancestors. While these are to be considered outside observations from the 'colonial gaze', they do in a sense illustrate particular aspects of our mothering practices that drew the interest of the colonialists.

Accounts refer to mothering practices that are characterised by affection and warmth. Children were exclusively breastfed, sometimes by their mother but often also by other female relatives of the tribe[100].

> The child who is not doomed to perish at its birth is nursed with affection and tenderness, either by the mother or by some other woman of the tribe, who gives it her breast. It remains unclothed and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, but often take refuge in the warm blanket of the father or mother. It is lulled to sleep by songs which are called nga oriori tamaiti...[101]

The hardiness of Māori mothers is commented on with Nicholas observing that in one case "...the infant was only two days old and the mother, though having so recently experienced the sufferings of childbirth, looked as jolly and strong as if nothing had occurred"[102].

[100] Ernest Dieffenbach *Travels in New Zealand [Vol.II]* [Capper reprint, 1974] at 27.
[101] Ibid.
[102] J. L Nicholas *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand [Vol.I]* (London, James Black and Son,1817) at 253.

Many of the accounts refer to the role of the father or male relative in the early care and rearing of children, especially boys:

> During the greater part of its infancy it is taken care of by the father, who evinces admirable patience and forbearance.[103]
>
> The New Zealand father is devotedly fond of his children, they are his pride, his boast, and peculiar delight; he generally bears the burden of carrying them continually within his mat whose rugged texture must be very annoying to the tender infant.[104]
>
> At the age of eight or ten years, they appear to be initiated into all the customs and manners of their ancestors by being the constant companions of their fathers and attending them in all public councils and in the field of military glory.[105]
>
> Boys are chiefly under the care of their father and he will talk and behave towards them as if they were fully grown men.[106]

Men were not only expected to partake in the childrearing duties, but from all accounts cherished and enjoyed the opportunity. Polack refers to two men who lost children and went on to preserve them and carry them around for many years afterwards, such was their grief[107].

Ethnographers often commented on the precocious nature of Māori children – attributed to the manner in which they were treated and raised. Many also recount with apparent surprise that the children attended important tribal assemblies, and were allowed to participate by asking questions which were then answered with equal respect accorded to adults

> The boys are brought up entirely by the men; and it is not uncommon to see young children of tender years, sitting next to their parents in the war councils apparently listening with the greatest attention to the war of words uttered by the chiefs. [108]
>
> ...the precocity of the children may be seen in the young urchins, who have scarcely the power to walk, steering large canoes without aid. This heedless mode of treatment renders the children very hardy, morally and physically; so that a little native boy is half a man when a European child is first placed at school.

[103] Ernest Dieffenbach, above n101, at 26.
[104] J. S Polack, *New Zealand [Vol.I]* (Christchurch, Capper reprint, 1974) at 374.
[105] J Elder *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden* (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, Ltd. And A. H. Reed For The Otago University Council, 1932) at 193.
[106] William Brown *New Zealand and its Aborigines 2nd ed.* (London: J. & D. A. Darling, 1851) at 39.
[107] J.S Polack, above n104, at 376.
[108] Ibid, at 378.

> They talk of, and with, strangers, without any feeling of awkwardness or bashfulness.[109]
>
> They may also ask questions in the most numerously attended assemblies of chiefs, who answer them with an air of respect, as if they were of a corresponding age to themselves. I do not recall a request of an infant being treated with neglect, or a demand from one of them being slighted.[110]
>
> The chiefs take their children from their Mothers' breast to all their public assemblies, where they hear all that is said upon politics, religion, war etc. by the oldest men. Children will frequently ask questions in public conversations and are answered by the chiefs. I have often been surprised to see the sons of chiefs at the age of four or five years sitting amongst the chiefs and paying close attention to what was said.[111]
>
> Even in the great assemblies of the chiefs children may be seen sitting as quietly, and apparently listening with as much attention as their parents. They will frequently...ask questions, which will be answered with as much respect as if propounded by old men.[112]

Dieffenbach was perplexed at what he perceived to be a lack of formal (systematic) education, but acknowledged the children's strong intellectual development despite this:

> Scarcely anything can be said as to the education of children, which is left almost entirely to nature. They early acquire those arts which are necessary for their maintenance and preservation. They are a cheerful, affectionate set of urchins, indefatigable in annoying the visitor from distant Europe by their curiosity...from their continued contact with the adults all their mental faculties are early developed, although they pass their youth in doing nothing, or in innocent games.[113]

Regarding discipline, observations were that adults "seldom or never punished" [114] the children, but that the children did not often require correction, such was the nature of their upbringing and constant contact with adults:

> ...any foul action the embryo warrior may be guilty of, causes rather a smile than a tear from the devoted parent.[115]
>
> The obstinacy of the children exceeds belief; the son of a chief is never chastised by his parent. [116]

[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid, at 379.
[111] J Elder, above n105, at 193.
[112] William Brown above n106, at 39.
[113] Ernest Dieffenbach, above n100, at 30.
[114] J.S Polack, above n105, at 378.
[115] J.S Polack, above n105, at 34.
[116] Ibid, at 378.

> They are not deficient in obedience to their parents, although the latter do not exercise their authority very strictly, but allow their children to do what they do themselves. Where there is no occasion for burthening them with restrictions they do not understand, as is the case in civilised nations, there are fewer occasions for correction. [117]

Brown makes particular comments regarding Māori mothers, commenting that they do not appear to be as doting as mothers of other 'climes'. He bases this conclusion on his observation that mothers do not appear to lavish attention on their children. He also states however that the children don't seem to need as much attention and they have much more manageable dispositions than other infants he has observed.

> Love of children is not a prominent feature of the New Zealand character. Children are certainly treated with great kindness and forbearance, indeed they are rarely corrected; but mothers show none of the doting fondness for their offspring almost universal among females of other climes. This is strikingly proven by the absence of all those little wiles and endearments which a fond mother lavishes on her offspring. But if the New Zealand mother be deficient in the little arts of amusing her children, they themselves stand in less need than the infants of other countries, not being of that of mischievous, restless and unmanageable disposition which characterises other children; but from infancy manifesting the quiet and tractable temper which distinguishes the full grown man. If children here are not treated with intense affection, they are at least the objects of great consideration.[118]

Elder refers to the precocious and confident nature of the children he observed "never under embarrassment when they address a stranger whom they never saw"[119]. This was also noted by Brown:

> The nature of the children, not less than the treatment of them, tends to render them very precocious mentally as well as physically. Children of three and four years old may be seen by themselves paddling and managing their canoes with great dexterity.[120]

Essentially, the written observations of the mothering practices of traditional Māori society provide us with an insight into the manner in which European visitors viewed our tupuna and their customs. Overall, there is a somewhat perplexed tone throughout the records. The children were well-developed, physically strong and displayed intellectual precociousness and intelligence. They were like this despite being

[117] Ernest Dieffenbach, above n100, at 31.
[118] William Brown above n106, at 38.
[119] J Elder, above n105, at 193.
[120] William Brown above n106, at 39.

mothered in a collective and relaxed manner, without physical discipline and while being allowed to participate in the everyday activities of the iwi alongside their parents and adult whānau members. The contrast that this had with the mothering practices of Europe at the time would have been quite prominent and thus quite perplexing for the ethnographers.

Kōrero whakakapi - Conclusions

We can conclude that Māori mothers were not treated with an individualistic positioning in traditional Māori society, except during crucial points in time – pregnancy and childbirth – during which strict tikanga applied to ensure the welfare of mother and child. Once the child was born, it was not mothered by any one person but rather had a number of mothers from within the whānau – both male and female - who cared for it and ensured its wellbeing and education. The collective approach to raising a child and the constant interaction with adults meant that children were observed to be precocious, fearless and well developed socially, mentally and physically. It also meant that women were able to undertake other responsibilities within the wider community.

Māori mothers perplexed some ethnographers by the fact that they did not appear to lavish attention on their children; an indication perhaps that ethnographers failed to recognised the collective approach that was being taken to the raising of that child. Māori fathers were observed to play a significant role in the raising of their children, with some commentators referring to them as the primary carers of the child.

Although a collective approach was taken in the day to day raising of children, the many specific references made to mothers within whakatauki, mōoteatea and the historical stories indicates that women and children still very much enjoyed strong and close relationships and held each other in high regard. Children were always seen to return to the night-feeding breast – te ūkaipō.

This chapter has looked at some of the traditional philosophies applied to mothering practices, the maternal body and the positioning of the maternal

in traditional society, with the overall conclusion that Māori mothers experienced a strong and supportive environment within which to undertake their maternal roles. The extreme value that was placed on women as carriers/life-givers of the next generation meant that their role as mothers was a revered one and that their positionality in society was exalted.

The next chapter will consider the impact that the European arrival to New Zealand has had on these traditional maternal philosophies. It will look at the manner in which colonisers imposed their own ideologies of motherhood upon Māori, resulting in the denigration and marginalisation of our traditional maternities.

Te Wahanga tuatoru

Chapter 6 – ***Ngā ngārara muia***

Colonising te ūkaipō

“Colonisation has always been about much more than simply the theft of land, the decimation of an Indigenous population by introduced disease and the seizure of political power. It has always been about recreating the colonised in the image of the coloniser. Our colonisers regarded our collectivism as beastly communism, our language as inferior and our spiritual beliefs as heathen.”

- **Ani Mikaere** *(He Rukuruku Whakaaro)*

Chapter 6:
Ngā ngārara muia
Colonising te ūkaipō

Korero Whakataki/Introduction

This chapter of my thesis considers the impact of European arrival to New Zealand on Māori maternities. It will look at the manner in which colonisers sought to impose their own ideologies of motherhood upon Māori women. Various interventions have been imposed over the past two centuries that have resulted in the denigration and marginalisation of our traditional maternities. This chapter is a review of this perpetual project of colonisation that has occurred.

The previous chapter discussed the successful models of mothering that existed within our traditional societies. It also highlighted the perspectives of the early missionaries and ethnographers on these models. These early expressions of bewilderment marked the beginning of what was to become a comprehensive and sustained attack on our maternal traditions, an attack which has resulted in a very precarious positioning of Māori women and girls within our contemporary society. With the introduction of Christianity, and the social and legal ideals of tauiwi, the traditional Māori socio-legal systems and spirituality were eroded. The impact that this had on Māori mothers was devastating, their role within society was diminished and reconstructed to fit the patriarchal ideals of a British society and a new Christianised ideal of motherhood. The social construction of Māori women into these new roles was fashioned insidiously. Through community based interventions the coloniser targeted familial structures, maternal bodies and the manner in which children were raised.

This chapter is entitled ‘ngā ngārara muia’ – ‘the swarming insects’. It is in reference to the manner in which the colonisation of our people occurred – infestation. The reconstruction of Māori mothers into what was perceived to be an ideal European model of mothering began at the earliest point of

European contact. Along with many other aspects of Māori society at the time, Māori mothers didn't fit into the imported ideal mould of colonial England, and thus required intervention, remedying and ultimately – remoulding:[1]

> The attempt to remake us in the image of our colonisers, otherwise known as cultural genocide, has included the deliberate assault on our reo, our tikanga and belief systems. Our language was replaced with English, our tikanga with English law and our belief systems with Christianity.

The state's determination to impose their own ideologies of mothering reflected a comprehensive failure on their part to recognise the maternal systems already in place in Māori society. This entailed a holistic and comprehensive attack on our culture, as the importation of English colonial and Christian values into New Zealand, and the reinforcing of those within the legal frameworks, worked to destabilize our traditional maternities. As these structured interventions infiltrated all aspects our traditions, the significance of the maternal figure within society became distorted, our maternal bodies were subjected to medical regulation, and the control over the rearing of our children was invested in patriarchal frameworks of a Western education system.

The manner in which women were reconstructed into the mould of the ideal colonial mother was a deliberate and stealthy attack on our tikanga and our familial values, as Linda Smith has noted:[2]

> Family organization, child-rearing, political and spiritual life, work and social activities were all disordered by a colonial system which positioned its own women as the property of men with roles that were primarily domestic.

Arrogance underpinned the attitude of the coloniser who failed to recognise an already successful collective mothering approach in existence and chose instead to impose their own idealised perceptions of the 'good mother'. By only considering Māori women in the light of their

[1] Ani Mikaere *Colonising Myths - Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro* (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2011) at 162.
[2] Linda Tuhiwai Smith *Decolonising Methodologies* (Zed books, London, 1999) at 151.

own ideal wife/mother mould the state failed to recognise that Māori women's' maternal roles were a part of their wider valued role in society, and that the mothering of children was a role undertaken by many others within the collective group. Thus, Māori mothers were effectively constructed to fall short of the expectations of the state. Parliamentary records in the early 1900's reflected the conflict that Māori women faced, having been thrust into a newly constructed role of the self-sacrificing mother and then judged upon their ability to live up to that model:[3]

> I wish to inform you that the majority of Māori mothers are absolutely unfit to rear and look after their children, being ignorant of the laws of health and otherwise careless…I have often remarked to Native women that a common household fowl or hen could rear and look after her chicks better than a Native woman.

Essentially, the state has, both in an historical and in a contemporary setting, only ever viewed Māori mothers in light of their own English expectations and ideals of 'good mothering' practices - based on an intensive, self-sacrificing model of mothering, where the balance of responsibility for the rearing of children belonged to their mother. Māori mothers have through the years been viewed within a 'Western mothering gaze' and judged thereof. This reflects also the experiences of other indigenous peoples in the world as Randi Cull has commented:[4]

> The theme that links the state's past and present treatment of Aboriginal mothers involves the non-empirically supported, implicit notion that Aboriginal women are 'unfit' parents in need of state observation, guidance and at times intervention.

The perceived failure of Māori mothers to live up to a Western mothering ideal has resulted in a comprehensive attack on Māori mothers and their apparent deficiencies as mothers (in the eyes of the state). This is in turn creates a justification to society that more and more state intervention and solution-seeking is required. As Randi Cull has also observed:[5]

> The state has been instrumental in creating a negative stereotype of Aboriginal women as being inherently 'inferior' people and 'unfit' parents. This stereotype

[3] "Papers relating to Census of the Maori Population" [1906] AJHR III H-26A at 14.
[4] Randi Cull "Aboriginal Mothering Under the State's Gaze" in D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbiere Lavell, *Until our Hearts are on the Ground* (Demeter Press, Toronto, 2006) at 141.
[5] Ibid.

> justifies and legitimises the state's inappropriate and unjust scrutiny of Aboriginal mothers.

This chapter will outline some of the specific interventions that the state sought to impose on Māori society, to reconstruct us into the mothering ideologies of Western society. It is important to note that these interventions were undertaken with a very comprehensive approach – Christianity, patriarchy, capitalism and the eugenic intrusion of successive governments combined to form a holistic and destructive attack on traditional Māori maternities.

This chapter will attempt to draw out some specific examples, but it should be noted that the limitations of this thesis do not allow room for me to cover each area in depth. There are many areas that need further research and these are duly noted within the text.

This chapter is broken into two sections:

> Section 1: The colonial project – a discussion of early interventions into Māori motherhood after the arrival of Europeans to our shores that established a Euro-Western foundation to maternities in New Zealand.
>
> Section 2: The ongoing project of colonisation – discussion of the further entrenchment of Western maternal practices after the initial wave of colonial intervention and the effect of internalising the colonial importations of tauiwi.

The colonial project

The colonial project of the European arrivals to our shores included a policy of assimilation based on the desire to remould Māori into what they viewed as their own superior image. This goal of assimilation required that Māori essentially assumed the identity of Pākehā, that they surrendered their own identities, tikanga, and spiritual beliefs and adopted a superior

European way of living. Paulo Freire refers to such actions as "cultural invasion", employed as a means of possessing an indigenous people:[6]

> Cultural invasion, which serves the ends of conquest and the preservation of oppression, always involves a parochial view of reality, a static perception of the world, and the imposition of one world view upon another. It implies the 'superiority' of the invader and the inferiority of those who are invaded, as well as the imposition of values by the former, who possess the latter and are afraid of losing them.

This paternalistic approach taken by the invading colonisers reflects an overall arrogance on their behalf as they failed to recognise the social systems already in existence in Māori society. The imposition of their own worldviews, values and ideologies was a natural step for them[7] that "...involve[d] invasion – at times physical and overt, at times camouflaged with the invader assuming the role of a helping friend"[8]. As Linda Smith has commented:[9]

> From the establishment of the first mission station in New Zealand in 1814 until the 1960's, the main official policy of the Pakeha towards Māori was to convert them into Brown Britons. Conversion was cheaper than conquest, but a humanitarian motive should also be acknowledged. To people who could conceive of no higher state than Britishness, making it available to ''natives' seemed an act of enlightened generosity.

The essential goal of the colonisers to recreate Māori into their own image required a broad-based attack on our society and worldviews. The inherent belief that the ways of the coloniser were superior to that of the indigenous people they were invading reflects not only a paternalistic attitude, but also, as Cree/Metis scholar Kim Anderson has identified; a sense of maternalism: [10]

> …[m]issionaries assumed the superiority of "white" motherhood, infantilized Native peoples, and 'mothered' the Native women and girls they encountered by trying to reshape them as the guardians of Christian morality.

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[6] Paulo Freire *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972) at 129.

[7] Ibid, at 142. Freire states: [in] cultural invasion, the actors drive the thematic content of their action from their own values and ideology; their starting point is their own world, from which they enter the world they made. In cultural invasion the actors superimpose themselves on the people, who are assigned the role of spectators, of objects.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Judith Simon, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Fiona Cram *Civilising Mission?: Perceptions and representations of the Native Schools system* (Auckland university Press, 2001) at ix.

[10] Kim Anderson "Giving life to the people: An indigenous ideology of motherhood" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007) at 770.

Cherryl Smith and Mereana Taki have noted also that "Colonial ideology has always portrayed Māori people as perpetual children"[11]. This was particularly observed with the actions of missionary wives, whose writings often make mention of 'their Native girls'[12], but also, as the colonial invasion progressed, within the constant references back to our "great white mother"[13] - Queen Victoria.

While this may appear to have been a simple importation of their own values of the time, other indigenous scholars have suggested that there was actually a more deliberate approach by the colonisers to target women within indigenous societies. As Andrea Smith (citing Paula Gunn Allen) comments:[14]

> …colonizers realised that in order to subjugate indigenous nations they would have to subjugate women within these nations. Native people needed to learn the value of hierarchy…and the importance of women remaining submissive to their men. They had to convince "both men and women that the women's proper place was under the authority of her husband and that a man's proper place was under the authority of the priests".

Thus, the pacifying of indigenous women and the removal of their ultimate maternal authority within society was a key task in the pursuit of their colonising objectives because "..in order to colonize a people whose society was not hierarchal, colonizers must first naturalize hierarchy through instituting patriarchy"[15].

Māori maternities and especially the prestige accorded to the Māori maternal figure therefore represented a site of resilience and continuity for Māori society and created a significant predicament for those who sought to progress the agenda of assimilation.

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[11] Cherryl Smith and Mereana Taki "Hoihoi Wahine Pakeha" in *Te Pua* (1993) 2:1 at 40.
[12] For example see Kathryn Rountree "Re-making the Māori female body" in *Journal of Pacific History* Vol 35, No1 [2000].
[13] For example see; "The Maoris" *The Colonist* (Nelson, Friday, Mar. 16, 1906) at 2, and "Fleet Week" *Poverty Bay Herald* (Poverty Bay, 23 April 1908) at 5.
[14] Andrea Smith (citing Paula Gunn Allen) *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, South End Press, 2005) at 23.
[15] Ibid.

Julia Emberley comments that "the Aboriginal mother emerged as a key figure of biopolitical and imperial rule. She stood in direct conflict to a European patriarchal organization of power"[16]. And, as First Nation scholar Randi Cull has also identified, this then placed the indigenous mother in a precarious position:[17]

> Assimilation policies created a situation in which each birth of an Aboriginal child implicitly violated the state's goal of dominating and at times exterminating the Aboriginal peoples...[w]ith this type of ethos in place, the Aboriginal mother became, whether explicitly stated or not, an enemy of the state.

While Māori children have previously been identified as the target of civilising policies of the past[18], there has been little discussion of the how colonisers may have also targeted Māori mothers to advance their assimilation goals. According to Julia Emberley, the aboriginal mother also became a target through which the coloniser could seek to further 'civilise' indigenous societies. While speaking specifically to the situation of First Nation peoples in Canada, her discussion does provide some relevance for our own experiences also. Emberley refers to women as: [19]

> ...the instrument of civilisation who would produce and reproduce the culture of the proper body; from hygiene to sexuality, from the governance of children in the domestic sphere to the management of servitude and labour in the household, from the control of reproduction, racialized lines of descent, and their social and political economies of inheritance, the Mother was the agent of imperialism and capitalism in the interrelated spaces of empire and colony.

Through the use of laws and force, traditional Māori society was deconstructed and reconstructed to fit into a new, Pākehā focussed, New Zealand society; one based on imported societal and religious values. The next section of this thesis will look at some of the specific interventions that were implemented to reinforce the colonisers' objective of conquering the maternal power of Māori women.

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[16] Julia Emberley *Defamiliarizing the aboriginal: Cultural practices and decolonization in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2009) at 46.
[17] Randi Cull, above n4, at 144.
[18] Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Nga aho o te Kakahu Matauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in Education" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996) at 282.
[19] Julia Emberley, above n16, at 7.

He ūkaipō, he mana atua – colonising our cosmologies and the prestige of the maternal figure

The strategies to undermine, colonise and assimilate Māori maternities were comprehensive, and involved an overall quest to impose values of patriarchy upon our society. European colonisers brought with them ideals of their own European society which positioned women and children in the ownership of men, both in personal and public spaces[20]. Julia Emberley comments:[21]

> In the public domain, bourgeois men occupied positions of power in juridical, government, financial, medical, military, and knowledge institutions. In the domestic sphere, power was maintained through the patriarchal figure of 'the father' and the economically, legally, and state sanctioned control of patrilineal descent.

These values sought not only to diminish women in their various roles of authority in society and to ensure the emergence of a male privilege, but also to remould them into self-sacrificing mothers and housewives, under the 'ownership' of men. These goals were reinforced in all facets of society leaving no room for escape - a total infestation.

The positionality of the Māori maternal figure in society was therefore turned on its head. Rather than being a representation of eternal power, prestige and authority, Pākehā society regarded the maternal figure as a source of weakness and potential corruption. Maternal power was something to be controlled, regulated and used for male gain; a commodity useful for appeasing the male ego and ensuring the successful maintenance of male privilege: [22]

> The destruction of the gender balance that had characterised tikanga Māori and its replacement with patriarchy was just one more aspect of the assimilation process that sought to transform us into brown versions of our coloniser.

[20] Legally, women were the property of men. Mikaere, A, *The Balance Destroyed: The Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori* (1995).
[21] Julia Emberley, above n16, at 4.
[22] Ani Mikaere, above n1, at 206.

The drive to move Māori mothers into an English nuclear housewife/mothering model was sanctioned and promoted by the many Christian organisations and churches that fast became flourishing institutions in New Zealand: [23]

> The colonial state constructed Māori women as a group requiring domestication. The role of the state in domesticating Māori women was also supported by the churches. Christian teachings stressed the importance of such notions as 'marriage', 'home', 'motherhood' and 'work'. Sexuality was, of course, confined to marriage.

The manner in which Māori women conducted themselves was of great annoyance to Pākehā. As established in the previous chapter, Māori women enjoyed a freedom of movement, authority and expression that was alien to the English migrants who arrived to our shores, as Kathryn Rountree has noted:[24]

> ...Māori women deviated considerably from the English ideal of womanliness... To the early 19th Century English missionary woman, the Māori woman symbolised complete absence of control: she was unclothed or scantily dressed, her hair hung loose, she cared little for housework, was free with her affections, moved freely about the countryside, slept or swam as the mood took her, and killed prisoners as any male warrior might. Māori women's apparent absence of control contrasted sharply with the numerous controls and restrictions placed on 19th century, middle-class women with respect to dress, conduct and their freedom to move outside the domestic sphere. The latter's sexuality was covered and controlled according to strict and narrow prescriptions. ...Māori women's relative sexual freedom posed a threat not only to English notions of propriety and Māori's speedy acceptance of Christian morality...

Christianity was perhaps the most debilitating of all colonising tools brought to these shores by the European. It had the effect of undermining the spiritual basis of Māori society, destroying the reliance and interaction with the spiritual realm that existed, and replacing it with another more invasive and individualistic belief system. With the foundations of Christianity being laid in New Zealand in the 19th Century, missionaries began to deconstruct Māori spirituality and there began a restructuring and

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[23] Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Māori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine" in Middleton, S, Jones, A (eds) *Women and Education 2* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1997) at 44.

[24] Kathryn Rountree, above n12, at 58.

redefinition of the religious underpinning of society. Māori cosmologies in particular came under attack, as Ani Mikaere has noted:[25]

> The reinterpretation of Māori cosmogony by Pakeha ethnographers...recast the powerful female figures into passive roles while simultaneously inflating the significance of the male characters. The birthing symbolism inherent in the transition from Te Kore, through Te Pō and into Te Ao mārama, was rendered secondary to a newly discovered version of creation that was overwhelmingly male–centred.

Of most significance within the effects of the introduction of Christianity into Māori spirituality was the conception of one supreme male God (Io), which facilitated an easier conversion of Māori to Christianity. The cult of Io is an extremely contestable one. Its impact on Māori society was significant; its authenticity however, was definitely questionable. Ani Mikaere provides a detailed breakdown of the doubts behind the existence of Io and the likelihood that Io was very much a postcolonial construct[26]. Hirini Moko Mead has also questioned the pre-European existence of Io based on the recount of Te Matorohanga, who has been credited with 'revealing' Io to early New Zealand society:[27]

> Te Matorohanga placed Io at the head of the divine family and above Rangi and Papa, the primeval parents. I have great difficulty with the concept of Io and with the very notion that Io was so exalted that the people did not know about him and were not supposed to hear his name.

The effect on Māori women of the purported Io character was twofold. In the first instance, Io was used to make Christianity more acceptable to Māori. Io in some regards legitimised the Christian faith and allowed it to be adopted by our tūpuna without them fearing the entire loss of their traditional spirituality. Effectively, it allowed an easier transition from Māori spirituality to Pākehā Christianity.

In the second instance the adoption of the Io figure also meant that Māori spirituality now shared an extremely powerful male father figure with Christianity, a displacement of the complementary and gender balanced traditional Māori spirituality - "Both women and the human system of

[25] Ani Mikaere, above n1, at 194
[26] Ibid, at 220.
[27] Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori, Living by Māori Values* (2003) at 309.

reproduction, which necessarily includes both male and female contributors, became secondary to the all-powerful, all-male creativity of Io"[28].

The creation stories also became aligned more with Io, and in most instances, the feminine contribution was restructured, reinterpreted and invisibilised. The strong feature of te ukaipō became lost in this reinterpreted version, which in many written accounts strongly reflected the biblical creation stories, as Gudgeon demonstrates:[29]

> The chief lesson to be derived from Māori mythology is, that after Io had by mere force of his will started the powers of nature into action the world developed itself by evolution, light springing out of darkness…

The introduction of Christianity therefore included an overall restructuring of the stories pertaining to the traditional cosmologies, to Atua Wāhine and to Māori spirituality in general. This restructuring sought to align the spiritual aspect of Māori society with the spirituality of the European, with the effect of converting Māori to Christianity. Takirirangi Smith comments:[30]

> Missionaries de-spiritualized pre-colonial views towards land and the environment by campaigning against the views of tohunga and associating the precolonial Māori world views with heathenism. The spirituality of land, associated with Papatūānuku, the earth mother or forebear of all natural things on Earth was negated through the promotion of a patriarchal view by declaring Rangi-the-sky and heaven and the missionary concept of God as the ruler of heaven and earth.

Where atua wāhine could not be fitted into this new restructured Māori spirituality, their roles were played down, and eventually made redundant, with devastating consequences. Christianity is patriarchal in theory and in practice. The very structure of Christianity promotes a male god image above all others. This undermined the strong maternal positioning within Māori spirituality:[31]

> They sought to reduce the significance of the womb symbolism...and to cancel out the principle of gender balance inherent in the union of Papa and Rangi by inventing a supreme male god as creator.

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[28] Ani Mikaere, above n1, at 220.
[29] Lieut-Col W.E Gudgeon "Māori Religion" (1905) 14 No.3 *JPS,* at 110.
[30] Takirirangi Smith "Tohu and Māori Knowing" in Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga *Traditional Knowledges Conference Proceedings* (University of Auckland, 2008) at 268.
[31] Ani Mikaere, above n1, at 228

This is reflected not only in the biblical scriptures, but also within the clergy and structural leadership of the church. Christianity both reflects and reinforces the notion of a patriarchal society, and thus works hand in hand with the state in the colonising of indigenous women:[32]

> Religions centred on the worship of a male God create 'moods and motivations' that keep women in a state of psychological dependency on men and male authority, while at the same time legitimating the political and social authority of fathers and sons in the institutions of society.

Christian teachings involved not only the introduction of a male dominated religious structure, but, as Helene Connor has identified, also reinforced the role of passive self-sacrificing maternal figure within society: [33]

> The theology of subordination also constructed women as intellectually and morally inferior to men and created a model ideal womanhood and femininity for women to aspire to. This carefully contrived ideal was modelled on the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus and Queen of Heaven; she was the ultimate paragon.

Mary, mother of Jesus, pure, passive and full of grace, was carefully contrasted with other 'villainous' female figures, whose perceived sexual power, self-determination and lack of restraint was an example of bad behaviour: [34]

> Mary stood for piety, subservience and goodness, whereas Eve and also Mary Magdalene represented the fallen woman, fallen from innocence, corrupt and corrupting. The Virgin Mary was the epitome of maternal love and charity. Yet for all her virtues, the Church did not hesitate to stress the subordinate role of Mary to Jesus, nor was worship of her to detract from the dignity and efficacy of Christ.

The effect of contrasting these female figures within the faith reinforced the need for Māori women to reject their 'wayward ways' and to fall in to line with the model of servient housewife, under the authority of her husband, to become the devoted and sacrificial mother to her children.

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[32] Carol Christ "Why Women need the Goddess: Phenomenological, Psychological and Political Reflections" in Carol Christ, Judith Plaskow (eds) *Womenspirit Rising – a Feminist Reader in Religion* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979) at 275.

[33] Helene Connor "Reclamation of Cultural Identity for Māori women: a response to 'prisonisation'" in Alison Jones, Phyllis Herda, Tamasailau Suaalii *Bittersweet: indigenous women in the pacific* (University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2000) at 127.

[34] Ibid.

Eve and Mary Magdalene both exhibited behaviours that were abhorrent to the Christian faith:[35]

> The creation story of Eve and later the Catholic dichotomy of the two Mary's the virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, had a powerful and complex effect upon models of 'ideal' womanhood influencing European colonisers. Eve, was constructed as both corrupting and corruptible. She was seen as a wilful temptress who lacked self-control over her appetites and passions and was morally inferior to Adam. These...patriarchal and misogynist interpretations of Eve served to position men as being superior to women and viewed patriarchal social order as being divinely created and natural.

Māori women, with their relative sexual freedom, their positions of authority and their apparent lack of domestic and maternal responsibility, posed a threat to the missionary project of assimilation. Māori mothers occupying influential roles within Māori society were seen as a menace to the overall objectives of colonising missionaries, as Kathryn Rountree has noted:[36]

> Missionaries drive to reform indigenous women [was due] to their fear of female power and female sexuality. Nineteenth century evangelical Christianity held no place for either. Female power interfered with God's ordained patriarchal authority and potentially ran up against the missionaries' own authority over indigenous peoples. If conversion were to be effected, indigenous women had to be brought under control, to show decency and restraint, to be obedient, modest, faithful and pious wives according to the model provided by the missionary.

According to Rountree, diminishing the sexual freedom that Māori women expressed was a key objective of the missionary project as "...domesticating the indigenous women according to English middle-class ideals was an important part of the missions bigger plan to save souls"[37], she comments further:[38]

> ...the missionaries, especially the missionary women, were preoccupied with transforming Māori women's appearance and restricting their sexual expression...Women's nudity and their long, unbound hair, along with their apparently greater sexual freedom, were viewed as signs of moral degeneracy.

The introduction of a new source of role-modelling for Māori women in the English housewife/mother tradition undermined the role of atua wāhine as

[35] Ibid, at 126-127.
[36] Kathryn Rountree, above n12, at 63.
[37] Ibid, at 54.
[38] Ibid, at 52.

exemplars for the maternal conduct of Māori women. Their ever-important kaitiaki role during mate marama and whakawhānau tamariki was also destabilized by the patriarchal attitudes to these essential functions. The positioning and prestige of the maternal figure was effectively challenged by the Western patriarchal and religious institutions that quickly became entrenched in the early New Zealand landscape.

2. He ūkaipō, he whare tangata – Colonising the Māori maternal body

> *Indigenous mothers suffered the real effects of colonial policies. Their sexuality and bodies were subject to regulations for the purposes of establishing and reaffirming racial purity and patriarchal governance in the family – its rule of women and children.*[39]

A substantial aspect of the imposition into our maternities has been justified by science. The process of imposing and reinforcing scientific and medically based maternities has been systematically imposed within communities through policy and where required - prescribed by law. Paulo Freire has identified this as a common approach of the 'oppressor': [40]

> More and more the oppressors are using science and technology as unquestionable powerful instruments of their purpose: the maintenance of the oppressive order through manipulation and repression. The oppressed as objects, as 'things', have no purposes except those their oppressors prescribe for them.

The medicalisation of childbirth, child development, education and nutrition theories have combined to construct scientifically based ideal maternal practises. These scientific justifications for intruding on the Māori maternal systems already in existence were promoted by community based groups and further codified within the legal system:[41]

> …as science came to play an increasingly influential role in society, in the wake of industrial revolution, scientists decided that motherhood and childrearing were too important to be left to individual women relying on their experiences and

[39] Julia Emberley, above n16 at 169.
[40] Paulo Freire above n6, at 36.
[41] Sue Kedgley *Mum's the word: the untold story of motherhood in NZ* (Auckland, Random House, 1996) at VII.This book provides an in-depth discussion of the medicalization process within New Zealand generally.

> instincts alone…[M]otherhood was progressively redefined along scientific lines and turned into a science or 'craft' that women learnt from experts and by reading books.

The imposition into the values underpinning the sanctity of the maternal body was further facilitated by an intrusion into Māori women's birthing practice, justified increasingly by Western science and research. This intrusion meant that Māori mother's experiences of childbirth became subject to male dominated medical theories.[42]

> As the twentieth century dawned a succession of mostly male experts (using science as their justification) began to advise women on the way they should give birth and bring up their children, and how they should and should not mother.

The Māori maternal body was a key target of a colonising religious and state order that sought to demonise the potency of the Māori maternal body and to denigrate its sanctity. As evidenced within the cosmologies, pre-colonial Māori society acknowledged the extreme sanctity and potency of the Māori maternal body. The European that arrived to our shores however, brought with them ideologies of sin and pollution in their teaching regarding the Māori maternal body, as Ngahuia Murphy reveals in her research on Māori menstruating practices:[43]

> …colonial ethnographers…consistently portray the female genitalia as devoid of tapu and the source of female inferiority…the political imperative behind such argumentation, which proceeds to frame menstrual blood and menstruation within the same negative discourses maintains the hegemony of a colonial patriarchal order.

Ngahuia states that "what was once seen as a powerful universal force has come to be viewed as something putrid, something abhorrent"[44], and comments further that "equating menstrual restrictions with female inferiority has been a powerful vehicle for forwarding colonialist discourses of male supremacy and female subordination"[45]

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[42] Sue Kedgley, above n41, at VII.
[43] Ngahuia Murphy "Te Awa tapu, te awa wahine: an examination of stories, ceremonies and practices regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world" (MA Thesis, University of Waikato, 2011) at 18.
[44] Ibid, at 126.
[45] Ibid, at 98.

Again, this is a common theme that impacted on indigenous women as articulated by Kim Anderson:[46]

> When 'God the father' took over from 'mother the creator', sin was introduced to Indigenous women's bodies. Menstruation became the curse, and "illegitimate" birth had the potential to be a source of shame. Ceremonies that legitimated women's lifegiving powers went underground, female spirits were considered evil and women were no longer recognized as spiritual leaders.

The act of introducing Western methods of childbirth was further reinforced by the undermining of traditional childbirth practices, and an attack on traditional Māori midwifery practises ensued. The Māori Councils Act 1900[47] established state controlled and sanctioned Maori councils, and authorised these councils to pass by-laws specifically for "…regulating the proceedings of tohungas, and the punishment by fine of those…who practise upon the superstition or credulity of any Māori in connection with the treatment of disease"[48].

While this Act didn't outlaw the practising of tohunga altogether, it did require councils to 'regulate' their practises and to impose fines. Councils could also issue licences[49] to those they approved of. Obviously however, these provisions didn't suffice, because in 1907 Parliament passed the Tohunga Suppression Act[50] which went one step further and specifically outlawed the practising of traditional medicinal practices and spiritually based healing methods. Takirirangi Smith has commented that this in turn redefined the role of tohunga in Māori society:[51]

> Colonial interpretations variously describe tohunga as priests, wizards, skilled persons et cetera. The redefining of the word tohunga with colonization which culminated with the legislation of the Tohunga Suppression Act also had the effect of separating or underplaying the pre-colonial understandings. The notion of an expert with an understanding or ability to read, interpret and convey

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[46] Kim Anderson "Giving life to the people: An indigenous ideology of motherhood" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007) at 767 – [citing: Kim Anderson *A recognition of being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood*" (Toronto, Second Story Press, 2000) and Jordan Paper "Through the Earth Darkly: The Female Spirit in Native American Religions" in Christopher Vecsey (ed) *Religion in Native North America* (University of Idaho Press, 1990) at 3-19.]

[47] Māori Councils Act 1900, s16.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Also note that 1904 saw the introduction of 'licensing' of all midwives in New Zealand. For more discussion refer to Sue Kedgley, above n41.

[50] Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, s2.

[51] Takirirangi Smith, above n30, at 268.

> knowledge about tohu – already marginalized through colonisation when the act was introduced became further subordinated by a colonial discourse concerned with 'witch doctors' shamanistic practices and "heathenism".

By the 1920's Māori women childbirth practises were evolving rapidly and by the late 1920's a movement to hospitalise childbirth and replace midwifes with doctors took hold in New Zealand[52]. As Helen Mountain Harte has remarked, Māori women in particular were encouraged to go to hospitals to have their babies "…due to a number of factors including poor housing, unhygienic conditions, the high incidence of skin diseases, and the inability of the midwife to cope with abnormalities"[53].

Naomi Simmonds also comments:[54]

> The state…was instrumental in marginalising those Māori institutions surrounding childbirth....When Māori women were slow to move into hospitals to birth, the state began to link eligibility for benefits to birth registration, which had to be done at hospitals with doctors in attendance. The marginalisation of mana wahine existed in a very material sense, forcing many Māori women to birth in foreign spaces.

The impact of European birthing practices upon Māori maternities was discussed in the British Medical Journal in the early 1930's. Dr Violet E Hastings commented on the negative impact that European childbirth practises were having on Māori women: [55]

> The history of the Māori is a good demonstration of the effects of civilized life on maternal mortality. In pre-European times a death in childbirth was practically unheard of. Now that the Māori woman has adopted our mode of life the maternal mortality has risen….

Further debate amongst British medical professionals ensued in following journal editions[56], discussing the reasons why Māori women may have birthed easier in pre-contact periods. The positioning of mothers in

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[52] Sue Kedgley, above n41 at 77.

[53] Helen Mountain Harte "Home Births to Hospital Births: Interviews with Māori Women who had their Babies in the 1930s" in *Health & History* (2001, 3) at 88. (Citing: "Report of the New Zealand committee of inquiry into Maternity Services" [1938] III AJHR H31A.)

[54] Naomi Simmonds "Mana wahine: Decolonising politics" in Women's Studies Journal, (Vol 25 No.2, December 2011) at 20.

[55] Violet Hastings "Maternal mortality" BMJ Vol1 No. 3713 (Mar 5 1932) at 445.

[56] See: TL Paget "Maternal Mortality in Ms" BMJ Vol1, no 3822 (Apr 7 1934) at 644-645; K. Vaughan "Maternal Mortality" BMJ Vol2. No 3802 (Nov. 1933) at 942.

childbirth was a significant factor identified as the likely cause for Māori women's demise as the fixed hospital practice of the time demanded women birth while lying on their back.

This is supported by Helen Mountain Harte's research into Māori childbirth. Helen interviewed Māori women who had given birth in the 1930's and one of the common themes that emerged was that Māori women objected strongly to being positioned on their back. There were also consistent references to the abusive manner with which they were treated by nurses during childbirth, and many of Harte's participants also expressed a preference to birth at home[57].

This disregard for the sanctity of the birthing body is reflective of an overall disrespect of maternal bodies that was firmly rooted in the colonial attitudes towards indigenous women, and the colonisers desire to control and commodify the bodies of indigenous women:[58]

> From early on, colonial policies were implemented to regulate the bodies of indigenous women by controlling their sexual, reproductive and kinship relations. What these polices point to is the centrality of the reproductive body to colonial governance; that the reproductive body had to be regulated and controlled for colonial rule to secure its racial and heterosexual hegemony.

Māori maternal bodies therefore became a target of colonial rule as colonisers employed violent measures to enter into the realm of the spirituality of Māori women and the commodifying of our roles in society[59]. What should be further noted also are the correlations between the manner in which the Māori maternal body has been treated and the mirrored actions that occurred in the dealings of the settlers in regards to our earth mother, Papatūānuku. Native American scholar Andrea Smith has asserted this also: [60]

> The connection between the colonization of Native people's bodies and Native lands is not simply metaphorical. The colonial/patriarchal mind that seeks to control the sexuality of women and indigenous peoples also seeks to control nature.

[57] Helen Mountain Harte, above n53.
[58] Julia Emberley, above n16, at 46.
[59] For further discussion regarding this process in regards to indigenous women see Andrea Smith, above n14.
[60] Andrea Smith, above n14, at 55.

If we are to consider the manner in which our mother, Papatūānuku, was treated by the coloniser we can see that she also was pillaged, abused, and ultimately applied a principle of ownership. As Ani Mikaere comments this was sourced within "the idea of the inherent rapability of Māori woman to Māori land"[61]: She comments further:[62]

> I doubt many of us would consider it too great a stretch of the imagination to describe the present-day desecration of Papatūānuku as an extreme form of sexual violence. In reality, the rape of Papatūānuku is almost inevitable in light of the fact that Pākehā land tenure positions her as neither an atua nor ancestress, but rather as the property of men.

Ani Mikaere draws correlations between the manner in which colonisers sought to own and control Māori women's bodies and the way in which they sought to own, control and ultimately exploit Papatūānuku:[63]

> For what is rape/colonisation if not the unwelcome and violent invasion of another's space. And what is it that drives a rapist/coloniser if it is not some deep-seated insecurity about their own identity, some perverted need to subordinate another in a desperate attempt to feel complete?

Māori breastfeeding practices also came under scrutiny of the state, as Native Medical officers were appointed across the country as part of a government initiative to address concerns about the health of the Māori population and to further support the promotion of western medical practices.

One Native Medical officer from Rotorua in 1885 attributed a high Māori infant mortality in the area to the dwelling of whānau within wharepuni, and the consumption of kangawai and kotero. In particular he saw the poor state of infant survival as due to the extra exposure to these aspects of Māori life that they received through their mothers breast milk:[64]

> In my opinion, the production, the severity, and the spread of these diseases are determined by two main factors: first, the influence of the wharepuni; secondly, the consumption of putrid food…with his blood vitiated by the foul air of these hotbeds of disease he has neither strength nor inclination to work…I am inclined

[61] Ani Mikaere, above n1, at 158.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid, at 159.
[64] "Reports From Native Medical Officers" [1885] II AJHR G-02a at 8.

> to credit the wharepuni with more than half the infant mortality. Not only is the child injured directly by this devitalizing influence but indirectly through the mother, whose milk is diminished in quantity and impoverished in quality by the same cause.

As Marewa Glover has discussed previously, the health of Māori mothers was a factor in the adoption of artificial breastfeeding practices as "given poorer Māori health, artificial feeding was seen as beneficial"[65]. The introduction of Truby King's theories on maternal and child health, conveyed through the Plunket initiative[66], also saw an increasing number of Māori women begin to use artificial feeding practices – "Māori women…sensed or were told that their infant care practices were unhygienic and their milk was inadequate and/or inferior to introduced alternatives"[67].

There was also a widely held belief that "a law was passed in 1909 forbidding Māori women to breastfeed, at least in public"[68]. While no such law ever existed, the discouragement of Māori women to breastfeed by state health authorities because of their apparent poor health or diet of kangawai, could easily have been perceived by Māori women to be a legally sanctioned policy.

By the 1930's Māori mothers were less likely to be breastfeeding and one reason provided was that the inclination of extended whānau to want to share care for the infants. The accessibility of tinned milk meant that they were able to take the child for longer periods of time[69].

[65] Marewa Glover and Chris Cunningham "Hoki Ki Te Ukaipo: Reinstating Māori Infant Care Practices to Increase Breastfeeding Rates" in Pranee Liamputtong *Infant Feeding Practices: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Springer, New York, 2011) at 250.
[66] Plunket will be discussed further on in this chapter.
[67] Marewa Glover and Chris Cunningham, above n65, at 253.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Linda Bryder "New Zealand's Infant Welfare Services and Māori, 1907-60" in *Health & History* (2001, 3) at 77.

He ūkaipō, he pā harakeke – undermining our collective childrearing practices

Native Schooling

One of the earliest and most successful colonising tools introduced was the education system. This began in the early 1800's (1816) with the mission schools – set up with the key aim of converting Māori to Christianity.[70] The format of the schools was diverse, with some acting as day schools for children who would attend and then return home to their whānau at night. Others however were residential schools with children accommodated in dormitories, or sometimes within the homes of the teachers.[71]

The early system itself was quite complex, as it appears that there were a number of different formats to the structure of the schools depending essentially on the particular characteristics of the communities in which they were established – inclusive of the support of iwi, resources and teacher availability.

In 1867 the Native Schools Act[72] sought to regulate the manner in which Māori children were receiving education - the intent being quite clearly stated to be assimilating Māori – "...the system had been established in accordance with the 'civilising' agenda of the nineteenth century state specifically to facilitate the 'Europeanising of Māori"[73].

These schools operated separately to the public schools until the 1950's[74], and rested heavily on the values and ideals of English education in the 1800's, which placed all authority in teachers to teach and discipline the children. While whānau contributions of food and clothing were appreciated, adults and elders were not welcomed or considered appropriate teachers to instruct the children.

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[70] Judith Simon, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Fiona Cram, above, n9, at ix.
[71] "Story: Mātauranga – Māori education" retrieved from *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* -http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/matauranga-m-education/2
[72] Native Schools Act 1867
[73] Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n9 at 3.
[74] Ibid, at 1.

> [S]chooling separated children from their whanau in a physical sense, and assumed both the primary role of socialisation and the formalised role of education, thus usurping the roles of kaumatua, tohunga and whanau.[75]

The Native schooling system was for the most part a day school – where children attended for the day and then returned to their families in the evening. Linda Smith has commented on the 'civilising mission' of the native schooling system, a system that targeted Māori children in order to progress the colonisers objectives - "Children were the means through which their communities would be civilised"[76].

> ...the civilising mission of New Zealand's colonial project was to be carried out through the education of Māori children from the development of the first mission schools it was children who were separated out as a group to be 'educated' and 'civilised'.[77]

In addition to the Native schools there existed what were termed industrial schools, reformatory schools which often served as orphanages. Less documentation and discussion exists on these schools but they were in effect residential institutions, where Māori children and young adults were placed to be immersed in the teachings of the church – away from their respective whānau and hapu.

> The institution exists and is conducted mainly for the benefit of the native races. No charge whatever is made for board, residence, or training of the scholars. They receive all the benefits of the school and are sent back to their hapus and tribes in the hope that thus a civilising and Christian influence may be exerted upon their fellow-countrymen.[78]

There is a scarcity of research into the effect of these particular schools on Māori children, and yet by all accounts these schools reflected an intensive assimilation process. Many of the records of these schools are sealed and not easily accessible to the public. However from what I have managed to locate, some of the children attending these schools were sent there by their whānau while others were removed from their parents

[75] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n18 at 270.
[76] Ibid, at 255.
[77] Ibid, at 256.
[78] "The Cyclopedia of New Zealand – Auckland Provincial District" (Cyclopedia Company Limited, Christchurch, 1902) at 206.

care by the state. Some of the schools record very young children residing there, mostly between the ages of six and ten, but occasionally younger than that; one record referred to babies attending the school, who were too young to learn.[79]

Other indigenous people [80] experienced a similar disruption to their mothering practices, as Kim Anderson asserts in regard to the Native schooling experiences in Canada: [81]

> Th[e] system greatly disrupted traditional parenting techniques, breaking the intergenerational ties of parenting and education between parents, grandparents and children

Native Schools essentially reinforced the notion that children were to be the civilisers of Māori. By targeting young children for conditioning, the colonial objectives could be achieved and perpetuated for future generations, a reinforcing of the oppressor's values as Paulo Freire substantiated:[82]

> …a rigid and oppressive social structure necessarily influences the institutions of child rearing and education within that structure. These institutions pattern their own action after the styles of the structure, and transmit the myths of the latter. Homes and schools (from nurseries to universities) exist not in the abstract, but in time and space. Within the structures of domination they function largely as agencies which prepare the invaders of the future.

Native Schools also facilitated the introduction of corporal punishment, as the disempowerment of whānau oriented mothering approaches was coupled with sanctioning of European modes of childrearing. "The colonists…imported English and Scottish common law principles of reasonable chastisement – that parents, care-givers and teachers could

[79] "Native Schools - Reports of Inspectors" [1862] AJHR I E-No.4.
[80] Much discussion has occurred regarding Residential Schools in Canada: see for example the bibliographic resource of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation - http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/bibliography.pdf
[81] Kim Anderson, above n10, at 770-771.
[82] Paulo Freire above n6, at 123.

use reasonable force to correct the behaviour of children".[83] This saw the promotion of discipline in the form of physical abuse towards children:[84]

> Many thousands of migrants arrived including missionaries who brought with them a belief in the necessity and efficacy of physical punishment of children. This belief was partly based on traditional practice and its apparent effectiveness in getting children to conform to adult expectations, but it was also founded on a religious justification derived from certain passages in the Old Testament.

Māori were encouraged to beat their children, for their own good, as the Christian doctrine of 'spare the rod, spoil the child' was promoted as a spiritually based justification for doing so:[85]

> ...during the missionary period [Māori] were subjected to strong, well-intentioned Christian messages about the vital role that physical punishment played in shaping children's moral and spiritual development.

Under this imported common law the 'control' and right to punish belonged to men and was not just limited to his children, but also included his wife, servants and school pupils.[86]

Paulo Freire has noted that this particular strategy of imposing an authoritarian approach within the home assists to further reinforce the dictatorial modelling in the wider society:[87]

> …the parent-child relationship in the home usually reflects the objective cultural conditions of the surrounding social structure. If the conditions which penetrate the home are authoritarian, rigid, and dominating, the home will increase the climate of oppression. As these authoritarian relations between parents and children intensify, children in their infancy increasingly internalize the parental authority.

As has been noted previously[88], a common reason for children receiving punishment was the use of Te Reo Māori. **–** **"**..corporal punishment was

[83] Beth Wood *Unreasonable Force* (Save the Children, Wellington, 2008) at 32.
[84] Ibid, at 22.
[85] Beth Wood, above n83, at 91.
[86] Ibid, at 70.
[87] Paulo Freire above n6, at 123.
[88] For example see Rachael Selby *Still Being Punished* (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 1999).

meted out to any child caught conversing in Māori at school, whether in the classroom or on the playground"[89].

Patricia Hill Collins has commented that the very act of denying a child the use of their native language constitutes an attack on the maternal as "Speaking the language of one's childhood is a way of retaining the entire culture and honouring the mother teaching that culture"[90] . She states that:[91]

> By forbidding children to speak their native languages, and in other ways encouraging children to assimilate into Anglo culture, external agencies challenge the power of mothers to raise their children as they see fit.

The significance of the maternal figure in the transmission of indigenous languages has also been noted in a previous study, which found that children's linguistic development was heavily influenced by the languages spoken by their mother[92]. By physically separating children from their maternal figures on a daily basis, the transmission of te reo Māori was disrupted and replaced forcibly with the colonisers language[93]:

> Schooling created disjunction between home and school, which eventually had an impact on the language children spoke at school and at home, on the ways of behaving, on ways of knowing.

As part of the strategy to colonise our language, Native schools also imposed a new system of naming upon Māori children, and actively changed children's' names to fit with a patrilineal Christian and surname system. Many children were renamed by the teachers or had their Māori names transliterated into English ones, while others had their names shortened[94]. This then had the effect of reinforcing the male authoritarian

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[89] Ani Mikaere, above n1, at 81.
[90] Patricia Hill Collins "Shifting the Center: Race, Class and Feminist Theorizing about Motherhood" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007, at 320.
[91] Ibid, at 319.
[92] Mary Jane Norris "The role of First Nations women in language continuity and transition" in *Restoring the Balance: First nation women, community and culture* (University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, 2009) at 347.
[93] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n18, at 270.
[94] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n2, at 157.

role in the family institution. Haunani Kay Trask has commented on a similar renaming process undertaken in Hawaii:[95]

> Naming has been, for many of us, a theft of matrilineal descent. In the case of Hawaiians, legal imposition of Christian, English and patrilineal names meant the loss of our ancestral names. This imposed system greatly weakened and in some areas, destroyed our indigenous practice of genealogical naming.

By imposing a system of naming that was based around the adoption of a paternally sourced surname, the state effectively elevated and reinforced the ideology of paternal supremacy, as Linda Smith has noted:[96]

> As a result of Christian baptism practices, which introduced Christian names and family names, and schooling practices, where teachers shortened names or introduced either generic names or nicknames, many indigenous communities hid their indigenous names either by using them only in indigenous ceremonies or by positioning them as second names.

The 1924 Birth Deaths and Marriages Act[97] also made specific regulatory requirements of parents. It further placed responsibility on parents to name their children, a deed that traditionally was not their responsibility (or right), but rather belonged to the elder relatives of that child. The express prescriptions contained in the Birth, Death and Marriages Act essentially reinforced the ideal that only the biological parents of the child had control of this process.

What can also be said about all the forms of early schooling aimed at Māori in the early 19th century is that the aims were to assimilate - not just by imposing new knowledge systems, but also by interfering with and ultimately decimating the educational and socialising systems already in place. The prestige of te pā harakeke, the collective approaches to the raising of children was interrupted, contributing to an overall strategy towards the construction of the nuclear family model:[98]

> Schooling brought children to the centre, it constructed new ways of thinking about them, that is, new concepts of childhood, and in doing so, regulated not only childhood and the lives of children but also parenthood, motherhood, fatherhood and other social groupings.

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[95] Haunani Kay Trask *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (University of Hawaii Press 1999) at 104.
[96] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n2, at 157.
[97] Birth Deaths and Marriages Act 1924
[98] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n18, at 256.

One of the schools that was established early on in New Zealand was the St Stephen's Native Girls School in Auckland. It was established to provide a space to "train the girls to become Christian Mothers and probably also help-mates to Christian native teachers"[99]. In 1846 sixteen girls were in residence in the school and by 1850, four of them had married the Māori men who were teachers at the school.[100] While Māori girls were taught to be good nuclear housewives, Māori men were taught to be farmers and labourers, Linda Smith comments:[101]

> The differentiation in schooling between boys and girls had both moral and economic underpinnings. The curriculum was designed, quite explicitly in the 1900s, to fit Maori into the labour market as the semi-skilled, manual, working class. Children had to be taught to know their place and accept a status that was not based on their rangatiratanga, but on their ability to perform certain tasks deemed appropriate for Maori. For boys, this was to be farmers and labourers on other people's farms. For girls, it meant learning to be the wives of farmers and labourers and to perform basic domestic tasks.

Devastatingly also, Native schools targeted mothering practices by introducing the subject of mothercraft into the state ordained curriculum. From a young age, girls began to undertake studies in Westernised methods of mothercraft alongside their studies in housework and cooking.[102] This will be discussed in more depth further on in this chapter.

The industrialised nuclear mother

The process of imposing a nuclear family structure upon indigenous people has been identified as a common theme within the colonisation of indigenous people's motherhood. Cree/Metis writer Kim Anderson has noted: [103]

> With colonization, this powerful role of the mother and the position of women in the family came under attack. Social, economic and political power was ripped away through the imposition of the western family structure. European 'family values' were a keystone in the conquest strategy.

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[99] "Biography of Margaret Kissling" retrieved from *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* - http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1k13/1

[100] "Biography of Margaret Kissling" retrieved from *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* - http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1k13/1

[101] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n18, at 277.

[102] Linda Bryder, above n69, at 79.

[103] Kim Anderson "A recognition of being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood" (Toronto, Second Story Press, 2000) at 83.

The movement of Māori women into these nuclear family models proved devastating for our traditions of mothering. Schooling not only reinforced the nuclear family model, teaching the virtues of good housewifery and subservience, but also helped entrench the idealisation of an industrialised society. The state sought to reclassify Māori into economic modes of production based on a nuclear family structure. Hawaiian scholar Haunani Kay Trask makes the point that "[i]n nuclear families, women's power, as the power of the mother generally is reduced from life-giver to domestic servant"[104]. She asserts also that: [105]

> When industrial capitalism penetrates our societies, our people are driven into the labour market where production takes place outside the family which decline to a mere consumer unit. This sundering of our function also severs our people from their traditional work. The devaluing of traditional cultural kinds of work accompanies the forcing of our people into the labour market.

As Leonie Pihama has commented also, power relations within whānau changed considerably with a new emphasis being placed on the male paternal figure in the family becoming the financial breadwinner for the family unit: [106]

> ...family relationships were altered considerably through Industrialisation. With industrialisation came a shift in the dynamics between work and family. Work became located separate from the family, from the domestic unit... The family was soon redefined within which there rose the position of husband as 'breadwinner' on whom all the family depended.

Urbanisation, and the policy of separating Māori families into specified urban areas, saw a further entrenchment of the nuclear family base within the new industrialised identity for Māori mothers - "housing policy encouraged 'pepper potting' – dispersing the Māori population to prevent residential concentrations" [107]. Ruruhira Robin notes that this had the further effect of undermining mana wahine:[108]

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[104] Haunani Kay Trask above n95, at 105.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Leonie Pihama *Tihei mauri ora: Honouring our voices: mana wahine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework* (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2001) at 160.
[107] "Story: The New Zealanders" retrieved from *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* - http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/the-new-zealanders/12
[108] Ruruhira Robin "They separate the mana" in *Te Whakamarama Law Bulletin* (Issue 10, Pipiri 1991) at 2.

> They separated us from the land, the mana of the land. ...They used the law, the ture Pakeha...It separated us from the land and told us that the mana was in the quarter acre section and the job in the factory and the Pakeha money - mana moni. And because our women didn't get much of these things their mana got separated out and wasn't as important...

While schools served to interrupt the daily interaction of whānau with tamariki, moves were also underway to undermine entirely the familial structures of traditional society. Colonisers believed that "...the Maori sense of whanau was seen as the antithesis of what Maori people needed to be if they were to become civilised or modern"[109].

The collective childrearing practices of Māori, within which whānau life was the foundation, came under attack. The nuclear family structure was reinforced as not just an ideal familial grouping, but the only tangible option for Māori, as Ani Mikaere notes:[110]

> The missionaries and early settlers were convinced that the institutions of marriage and family formed the foundations of civilised society. They sought to remove Māori marriage from within the whānau context and to remould it into a nuclear family arrangement.

Māori women were separated out into a new model of motherhood, one that isolated them from their extended support networks and placed on them all responsibility for the day to day care and wellbeing of their children. As time went on Māori women began to be pressured more and more into fulfilling the nuclear housewife mother/role "which defined her husband's property and which compelled her to narrow her focus to the domestic sphere"[111]. Ani Mikaere comments further: [112]

> One of the most damaging effects of colonisation for Māori women was the destruction of the whānau. The disruption of Māori social organisation was no mere by product of colonisation, but an integral part of the process.

This deliberate reconstructing of Māori women into the nuclear structure undermined the important support structure of te pa harakeke. It left Māori

[109] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n18, at 277.
[110] Ani Mikaere, above n1, at 230.
[111] Ibid, at 199.
[112] Ibid, at 196.

women in a vulnerable position – forcing dependency on their husbands, and isolating them as mothers within the confines of a domestic home: [113]

> They became dependant on their husbands as breadwinners while they became increasingly isolated as caregivers at home. Some women were expected to work both outside and inside the home as economic hardship required them to contribute financially while Christian values about what constituted a good wife and mother compelled them to maintain that role as well.

The introduction of European values relating to guardianship and responsibility for the care of children also reinforced mothers as being entirely responsible for the welfare of children. In 1906, parliamentary debates reveal that Māori mothers were increasingly coming under scrutiny, and proposals were made to legally enforce their compliance with this role, with a drive to;[114]

> …make it compulsory for all Māori mothers to seek the advice of the nurses with respect to their health and care at all times…In the case of inattentive or careless mothers, their children should be taken over by the nurses.

As Māori whānau moved increasingly into nuclear family living arrangements, the roles of Māori women as mothers became more and more defined. Māori women were increasingly pressured to accept a subordinate role in society based on the ideal Pākehā woman – the self-sacrificing nuclear mother and the obedient housewife. Helene Connor notes that this meant a significant shift in thinking for Māori women: [115]

> The ideal woman was supposed to be submissive, modest, quiet, altruistic, self-sacrificing, patient, pure and caring. She was to be schooled in household management and etiquette and was to create a domestic paradise for her husband and children.

As has been discussed earlier, the housewife role was a significant feature of the education of girls within schools. This was reinforced within the wider population with the introduction of the Native Land Act[116] which began to individualise land title and force Māori to live on individualised

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[113] Ibid, at 197.
[114] "Papers relating to Census of the Maori Population" [1906] AJHR III H-26A at 14.
[115] Helene Connor, above n33, at 127.
[116] Native Land Act 1862 (and subsequent Native Land Acts) in determining ownership, the court restricted names on the title to no more than 10 owners, any other tribal members who had interest were effectively dispossessed.

pieces of land. The Raupo Houses Act[117] was also in force at this time, prohibiting the building of raupo whare, meaning that Māori were forced to live in houses resembling more and more their Pākehā counterparts. In the early 1900's Te Rangi Hiroa noted that:[118]

> The communal system of living has been disintegrated by the individualization of land. The crowded cluster of huts is no more...It is becoming difficult to distinguish between Māori habitations and those of white countrymen.

Māori women were now being expected to undertake mothering duties within a new individualised mould of the nuclear mother. The breakdown of traditional family structures compounded the predicament of Māori mothers, who were left without the robust supportive network that would have surrounded them in pre-colonial times. Maternal knowledges that were passed down from generation to generation became disjointed in this patriarchal, nuclear family environment. Māori women were expected by the state to fend for themselves and to assume care of their children as a Pākehā woman would.

Colonising Māori mothercraft practices

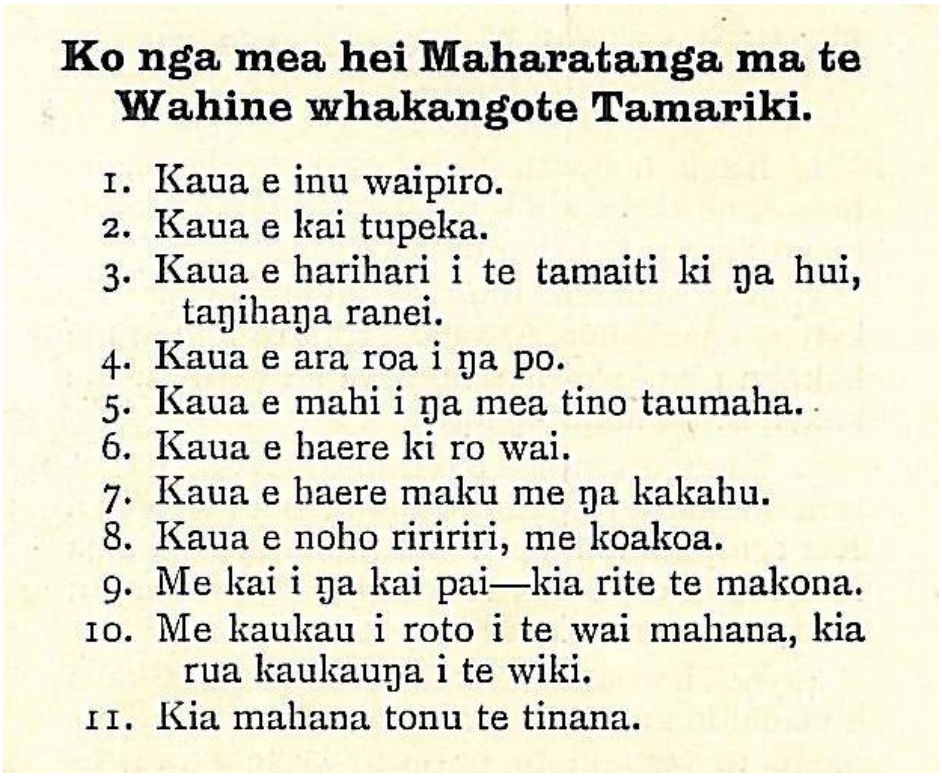
As mentioned already, Native Schools played a significant role in the transmission of Western mothercrafts to Māori women and girls. These early interventions were then further endorsed through community based initiatives that specifically intruded on maternal practices.

The state directly blamed Māori mothers for the increasingly poor health of Māori children. Māori mothers were perceived to be incapable of proper care for their children and were seen to be ignorant of the appropriate mothercraft methods. This perceived failure of Māori mothers led to a series of state initiatives undertaken to provide them with set instructions on how to best raise their children. As Randi Cull has also noted:[119]

[117] Raupo Houses Act 1842 – This Act introduced a tax on those living in traditionally constructed whare and also introduced a fine for any person caught building new houses in the same fashion.
[118] "Department of Health: Annual Report of Director-General of Health" [1925] AJHR III H-31 at 49.
[119] Randi Cull, above n4, at 143.

> ...the state blamed Aboriginal women for their children's social and medical problems...[M]others were considered to be the source of the problems (as opposed to the dramatic changes in their lifestyles) and the dire social conditions experienced since colonization. Mothers were portrayed as ignorant and unable to properly care for their children; as such, the state sought to "teach" the native mothers the proper way to care for children...

Instructions to Māori mothers were made clear in a series of publications championed by Sir Maui Pomare, a Māori member of parliament noted for his "concern for the preservation and betterment of the Māori race"[120]. The first booklet, published in 1909, was entitled "Nga Kohungahunga me nga kai ma ratou"[121] (Infants and their foods) and was published by the Health Department as a booklet specifically targeted at Māori women. The content included advice for pregnant mothers (centering on their diet) and also included explicit instructions for breastfeeding mothers to ensure the wellbeing of their children:[122]



Ko nga mea hei Maharatanga ma te Wahine whakangote Tamariki.

1. Kaua e inu waipiro.
2. Kaua e kai tupeka.
3. Kaua e harihari i te tamaiti ki ŋa hui, taŋihaŋa ranei.
4. Kaua e ara roa i ŋa po.
5. Kaua e mahi i ŋa mea tino taumaha.
6. Kaua e haere ki ro wai.
7. Kaua e haere maku me ŋa kakahu.
8. Kaua e noho rirririri, me koakoa.
9. Me kai i ŋa kai pai—kia rite te makona.
10. Me kaukau i roto i te wai mahana, kia rua kaukauŋa i te wiki.
11. Kia mahana tonu te tinana.

The publication strongly promoted breastfeeding, including advising mothers to seek another female to breastfeed their child if they were

[120] Maui Pomare *Ko ngā tamaririki me ngā kai mā rātou* (Pōneke, Tari mo te Ora, 1916) at 1.
[121] Maui Pomare *Nga kohungahunga me nga kai ma ratou*, (Turanga Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta, ki te Perehi ki Te Rau, 1909).
[122] Ibid, at 3.

unable to - “Ki te kore to te whaea me kimi i tetahi wahine atu...”[123]. Breastfeeding however was promoted as being a God ordained activity:

> Ko tenei mea ko te ngote a te pepe i te u o te whaea he mea pai ki te tamaiti, he mea whakaora i te whaea. Ka tere tona ora mehemea ka tukuna e ia kia ngotea ona u e tana tamaiti – na te Atua tenei ture i hanga.[124]

Subsequent editions[125] of the publication specifically made reference to the poor state of Māori children’s health and accorded blame directly on the ignorance of the Māori mother.

> He tokomaha ke nga tamariki Maori e matemate atu ana. E ata mohiotia atu ana he tini nga mea o ratou e mate atu ana i te he marire o te tiaki a nga whaea...e noho kuare noa iho nei ki nga tikanga mo te whangai me te tiaki i nga tamarirki.
>
> Too many Maori children are dying, many of them we know through neglect because their mothers...are ignorant of the right way to feed and care for them.[126]

The booklets were published in Māori and English, and while the first editions were targeted specifically at Māori mothers, a later edition, revised by Miria Pomare (wife of Maui Pomare), took a slightly different approach by referring to parents collectively rather than solely mothers[127]. She also added specific advice for the care a mother should receive and specific directions for the birthing process in particular[128].

These booklets, while specifically targeting Māori women and using Māori language, did not draw in any way on traditional Māori methods of mothercraft or tikanga pertaining to pregnancy and birth, but rather were based entirely on Western prescriptive methods of mothercraft developed by Pakeha male ‘experts’. The strategy of this period was to purge Māori women of their traditional approaches to motherhood and, as Linda Bryder

[123] Maui Pomare, above n121, at 2.
[124] Ibid.
[125] The booklet was revised and reproduced in large quantities – with three four editions in total published in 1916, 1936 and 1939. In 1916, 4000 copies were printed and distributed across the country. For more discussion refer to Linda Bryder, above n69, at 76.
[126] Maui Pomare, above number 121, at 1.
[127] Maui Pomare “The Māori mother and her child” (Dept. of Health, Wellington, 1939) at 10-11.
[128] Ibid, at 18-20.

has commented; “by the end of the 1930s Maori mothers were well versed in certain aspects of Western style ‘mothercraft”[129].

The above booklets and the introduction of state sanctioned Western mothercraft practices are representative of a significant shift in Māori maternities which sought to invest responsibility of childrearing with the biological mother of the child. The severe disruption of the passing down of traditional mothercraft practices meant that Māori women became increasingly reliant on state support of their new maternal obligations. Despite the mass production of the above booklets, it is clear however that the support of Māori mothers was lacking in many regards.

The world-renowned Plunket system for instance, which provided Pākehā women with support in pregnancy and mothercraft, has been noted to have specifically excluded Māori women. Founded in 1907, Plunket was championed by Dr Truby King whose scientifically based infant care practices were seen to be world leading and received international acclaim for its approach to reducing infant mortality.[130] Plunket aimed to provide support to mothers during pregnancy and postnatally with advice on mothercraft and trained nurses (usually unmarried women) to deliver the services within communities in the form of home visits and community based clinics. Plunket was a service intended for all mothers, however early services were seen to exclude Māori mothers, as Linda Bryder has commented: [131]

> New Zealand had a system that was widely believed to be responsible for its low infant death rates, and yet it was a system that was unavailable to, or not utilised by the Māori people who, with their high infant mortality rates were arguably most in need..

Bryder notes that the deliberate exclusion of Māori mothers was initially due to a “territorial dispute between Plunket and the Dept of Health”[132], as the Department of Health had a Native Health Nursing Scheme for Māori,

[129] Linda Bryder, above n69, at 79.
[130] Ibid, at 67.
[131] Ibid, at 68-69.
[132] Ibid, at 69.

(aimed at the entire population not just mothers and children), however there also appeared to be some racial hostility towards Māori mothers:[133]

> Plunket was very much a monocultural organisation run by European women who raised funds and met socially. Moreover in some areas they preferred to have minimal contact with Maori.

Bryder notes that some Plunket nurses would not attend to Māori mothers "refusing to see Māori babies who were brought to the rooms"[134]. And that the nurses were instructed that they "must not visit Māori pahs or give advice to those living in Māori fashion"[135].

This placed Māori mothers in a dire predicament, having been isolated into the role of a nuclear mother and left without extended whānau support, this further lack of support for Māori mothers within the state system meant that they were essentially left to fend for themselves. While the Pomare booklets that they were provided went some way to assisting them in the learning of Western methods of mothercraft, the underlying assumption that Māori mothers were ignorant and inadequate in the mothering duties effectively stereotyped Māori mothers in a negative, demeaning way. Māori mothers were effectively constructed to fall short of the expectations of the state.

Criminalising Māori maternities

As discussed earlier, approaches to addressing Māori child mortality rates squarely focussed on attributing blame on the incompetency of the mothers of these children. In 1904 Dr Maui Pomare is quoted reinforcing blame on Māori mothers for the poor Māori infant mortality rate that had emerged:[136]

> Dr Pomare says that from careful observation and figuring he is able to state that half the Māoris born in New Zealand die before they are four years old. This alarming infant mortality is attributed to the utter ignorance of the Māori mother as to the proper care of her young.

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[133] Ibid, at 75.
[134] Ibid, at 74.
[135] Linda Bryder, above n69, at 70 (Citing: H. Deem to S. Ludbrook, 10 December 1952, Plunket Society 581, HL)
[136] "The Native Population" (Wairarapa Daily Times, 18 April 1904) at 5.

Mothers therefore became the focal point of a flawed maternal system that had been imposed on Māori society. Having been singled out and constructed as the sole individual responsible for the wellbeing of their children, Māori mothers now faced the intervention, scrutiny and critical denigration of the state and of wider society. Randi Cull notes:

> The Aboriginal women that come under the scrutiny of the children protection agencies are being measured and judged by the standards of the ideal white, middle-class, nuclear family. The more a mother deviates from that norm, the more she is vulnerable to state observation and intervention.[137]

While the introduction of new maternal systems for Māori mothers ensured the privileging of Western knowledges, the introduction of a new system of legal control also ensured that Māori were given little option but to comply with the newly introduced sanctions of society. The English derivatives of this system served to ensure that the values of English society were firmly entrenched in the political and social structures of the new colony and increasingly "legislation criminalised the Māori way of life"[138].

> The English legal system exercised both an institutional and an intellectual influence on the legal systems of New Zealand....There was a common conceptual framework as to what the role of law in society was and ought to be. There was a general consensus as to the tasks a legal system ought to perform...this consensus both drew upon and perpetuated the assumptions that the English Court system and English law were in principle superior to those of any other country.[139]

While the churches and community based initiatives sought to disseminate the messages of proper maternal conduct, the state also moved to ensure that these values were then codified into legislation. Three key pieces of legislation introduced early in the 19th century further endorsed and ratified these practices: The 1847 Marriage Ordinance, 1847 Registration Ordinance and the 1846 Destitute Persons Ordinance all reinforced the values of marriage and the place of women in society as housewives, dependant on their breadwinning husbands.

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[137] Randi Cull, above n4, at 146.

[138] Jacinta Ruru, "The Māori encounter with Aotearoa : New Zealand's legal system" in Benjamin Richardson, Shin Imai and Kent McNeil (eds) *Indigenous Peoples and the Law: Comparative and Critical Perspectives* (Oxford, Hart Publishing, 2009) at 111.

[139] Peter Spiller *A New Zealand Legal History* (Wellington, Brookers, 1995) at 1.

The Neglected and Criminal Children Act 1867[140] which established the earlier mentioned industrial schools and residential institutions intended for the care and education of neglected children, also provided for these schools to be utilised as reformatories[141]. The 1882 Industrial Schools Act [142] further provided for these schools and also established the managers of the schools as the legally sanctioned guardians of the children who were admitted[143].

In 1890 the Children's Protection Act[144] also came into force. This act was passed to prevent cruelty and exploitation of children, and while the act allowed for parents to physically discipline their children[145], parents could be penalised for neglecting or ill-treating them.[146] Usually a fine would be imposed however the legislations also made provision for children could be removed if abuse or neglect occurred.[147]

The early 1900's also marked the beginning of the demonisation of Māori mothers in mainstream New Zealand newspapers. In 1929, the Evening Post reports a case of a "Cruel mother"[148] where the disciplining of a Māori child came to the attention of the courts. The article refers specifically to a Māori mother beating her child, the fine imposed in this case, £5.[149] In the Auckland Juvenile Court in 1922, four Māori children, referred to as *"Children of chance",* were removed from a mother because she was seen to not be keeping a clean and wholesome home. The mother allegedly kept an untidy house while also allowing a number of different men into her home.[150] In June 1915 a featured articled in the Wanganui Chronicle was a *"Māori mother's neglect"*[151] where a mother was fined £1 for failing to get medical assistance for her child in time. The child died of influenza

[140] Neglected and Criminal Children's Act 1867
[141] Neglected and Criminal Children's Act 1867, ss3-4.
[142] Industrial Schools Act 1882.
[143] Industrial Schools Act 1882, s26.
[144] Children's Protection Act 1890
[145] Children's Protection Act 1890, s14
[146] Children's Protection Act 1890, ss, 3
[147] Children's Protection Act 1890, ss, 3 & 7.
[148] "Cruel Mother" *Evening Post* (Wellington,15 August 1929) at 13.
[149] Ibid.
[150] "Children of Chance" *NZ Truth* (Wellington, 11 November 1922) at 5.
[151] "Maori mother's neglect" *Wanganui Chronicle* (Wanganui, 15 June 1915) at 8.

and the mother was determined neglectful for not having taken the child to the hospital in time.[152]

The 1909 Native Land Act sought to regulate the adoption practices of Maori[153]. In line with the state's intentions to imbue guardianship and responsibility of children in parents, this act sought to legalise and define the customary practise of whāngai by requiring such arrangements to be formally registered in the Native Land court. The Act however specifically outlawed the customary fluid arrangements regarding whāngai and sought instead to impose a more stringent and defined 'adoption' status.

Whāngai children often came to the attention of the Native Land Court, and while generally they were accorded rights of succession, the Native Land Act also sought to further determine the entitlements of all children based specifically on a blood quantum qualification. This was defined as:

> "Native" means a person belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand, and includes a half-caste and a person intermediate in blood between half-castes and persons of pure descent from that race.[154]

Rather than being based on whakapapa and their descent from prominent ancestors, Māori children were now redefined and any child who was seen to have less than half Māori blood quantum was automatically deemed to be European. Regardless of whether the child was considered by their iwi as Māori, the courts imposed their own interpretation of whakapapa on them.

The Native Land Act 1909 also served to assist the State in redefining Māori whānau and imposing Western ideologies of land ownership and succession to land interests. By creating a system that only allowed a person's direct descendants and (legally sanctioned) whangai children to succeed to land interests, the Act effectively redefined the notion of whakapapa, making it lineal and inflexible[155].

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[152] Ibid.
[153] Native Land Act 1909 ss 161-170.
[154] Native Land Act 1909 – Interpretation.
[155] Native Land Act and subsequent amendments.

The Act also specifically prohibited Māori adoption of European children[156]. Despite this, it appears that a number of European children were raised by Māori, and while these children assumed all rights of whangai within their Māori communities, their status as whangai was negated by the Native Land laws at the time.

In 1919 the Native Land Court in Masterton determined that an adoption of a Pākehā child was illegal, despite that child being raised entirely by a Māori whānau and in particular a Māori woman. The succession to her Māori land interests was not allowed.[157]

The Education Act 1877[158] established compulsory schooling for all New Zealand children and while this original legislation provided some flexibility in its application to Māori attendance at school[159], the subsequent 1894 School Attendance Act[160] did not. School attendance became compulsory for Māori children, and parents who did not ensure their children were attending school became liable. In the early 1900's further provision was made that empowered the state to remove children from their parents and place them in industrial schools if they did not attend school regularly enough[161].

These acts also began to define who could be considered as the parents of children and asserting that the definition of a parent "includes guardians and the householder in whose family a child resides"[162]. While this might seem to be a broad definition, in practical measures the immediate birth parents of the child were in most cases singled out as responsible in court proceedings. The following case was reported in the Marlborough Express in July 1910: [163]

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[156] Native Land Act 1909,s164.
[157] "Maori Will Case" *Evening Post* (Wellington, March 28 1919) at 8.
[158] Education Act 1877, s89.
[159] Education Act 1877, s10.
[160] School Attendance Act 1894, s14 – Required Māori children to attend Native Schools at least 6 times per week.
[161] School Attendance Act 1901, s19
[162] School Attendance Act 1901, s2.
[163] "Anything but school" *Marlborough Express* (Malborough, 9 July 1910) at 6.

ROUNDING UP THE TRUANTS.

Willy-nilly, the youth of the Empire must be educated, that they may be efficient citizens, but there are—there always has been—a certain percentage who will neither go voluntarily, nor be led to school. Hence the truant officer, an official created by the necessity of compelling this percentage to go to school. His task is a difficult one, if the experiences of Mr J. Dineen (truant officer for the Wellington Education District) are any criterion. Rounding up the school truants in the city is more or less of a commonplace, work-a-day business—visits to the homes of the delinquents, cautions, with Police Court proceedings at regular intervals as a means of compelling persistent offenders to fulfil their duty. But in the country districts, the daily routine is brightened by a little comedy now and then. For example:

There was one (related Mr Dineen to a Dominion representative) a certain Maori youth whose attendance at school was far—very far—from satisfactory. Cautions, warnings, threats having been found to be vain, the truant officer decided to prosecute, and so vindicate the provisions of the School Attendance Act. Then a difficulty arose. With characteristic astuteness, the Native community conspired to evade or browbeat the Law. No one would admit being the parent or guardian of the boy. But the "bluffers" were out-bluffed. When the other cases were being taken in Court, the truant officer, in a casual way, referred to this particular case, and suggested that the boy, having no visible guardianship, should be committed to the Industrial School. Instantly was heard from the back of the Court a lusty protest, and the father of the boy shouldered his way to the front. The feint was successful.

A number of other cases[164] were brought to Magistrates courts regarding Māori children's truancy from school. The reasons for the alleged truancy were often matters that were seen to be unacceptable for the courts, such as the child not wanting to attend or the whānau not liking the treatment of the child within the school. These reasons were seen to be failings on behalf of the parents rather than good reasons for their children's absences. The real threat of penalty, removal and nullification of parental rights was a strong assertiveness of the state's authority over Māori children.

These early laws challenged the presumption that Māori whānau had authority over the interests of their children; rather, the state asserted through such legislation the assumption that decisions about the appropriate manner of raising children belonged with the state. Traditional collective child-rearing philosophies were outwardly rejected by the judiciary with the ideals and values of child-rearing of European society reinforced within the courts. This served to provide another means of constructing Māori women as bad mothers and of Māori women and men as holding parental responsibility as nuclear parents.

In 1912 it was decided in the Wellington Magistrates Court that the care provided by a Māori whānau for a nine-year old boy was neglectful. The proceedings occurred after the European mother sought custody, despite the child having resided with the Māori whānau for over eight years. The child had been raised by his Māori father's whānau and by all accounts was well-looked after physically and emotionally - "It was evident that he was much attached to his Māori relatives"[165]. However, upon investigating the child's educational knowledge the judge decided to return the child to his mother - "The child looked well-cared for and well-dressed but his

[164] See for instance "Untitled" *Marlborough Express* (Marlborough, 4 November 1910) at 3; "London to Manchester by Air" *Auckland Star* (Auckland, 29 April 1910) at 4; "Truancy" *Feilding Star* (Fielding, 4 April 1912) at 2; "Magistrate's Court" *Feilding Star* (Fielding, 6 November 1913) at 4.
[165] "With the Maoris" *NZ Truth* (Wellington, Saturday Oct 26 1912) at 7.

education was sadly neglected and it was undesirable that he should remain in the custody of the natives"[166].

The most significant concern regarding the child's education was actually his left-handedness; he had not received medical attention for persistently using his left-hand for tasks. This was considered to be neglectful treatment and the child was immediately removed from the whānau and given over to his mother – "A scene ensued outside the court when the child was handed over to the mother. He cried bitterly and clung passionately to one of the Maoris[167].

This essentially is an example whereby a traditional philosophy of child rearing has been significantly undermined. The whānau in this situation had nurtured the child according to Māori tradition – accepting his left-handedness as natural and not seeking to change him, to chastise him or punish him for this. They had, in line with Māori tikanga, respected the mana of this child.

These pieces of legislation, and the resulting proceedings that resulted in the courts, are evidence of a holistic and legally reinforced process of colonisation. The attacking of Māori maternities occurred within an imposed legal system that sought to ensure that Māori had no choice but to accept a new system of parental authority.

This section has sought to outline some of the early intrusions into the maternal realm of Māori whanau. The next section of this chapter will consider how this process of colonising Maori maternities has been a sustained process and continues to be a reality for Maori today.

[166] "With the Maoris" *NZ Truth* (Wellington, Saturday Oct 26 1912) at 7.
[167] Ibid.

The perpetual project of colonisation

Cartoon Otago Daily Times (August 2010)[168]

We cannot talk about colonisation as something that occurred in the past when European cultures and their missionaries arrived on our shores, because the reality that serves us all as indigenous people is that colonisation is a 'perpetual project'. As Ani Mikaere asserts: [169]

> Colonisation is not a finite process. There has not yet been an end to it in Aotearoa. We cannot dismiss it as part of our recent past, as something which might, at most, inform our present...colonisation endures as a major force in our present reality.

For Māori mothers, the seeds of Western maternal ideologies were sown very early into the colonisation process, however the entrenchment and further advancement of these interventions entailed a sustained process of assimilation that has occurred over subsequent decades. The previous section detailed some of the specific legislative sanctions that were

[168] "Cartoonists View – Tremain" *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin, August 12 2010) at 16.
[169] Ani Mikaere, above n1, at 244.

imposed however these were merely the foundation of the colonising attack on our maternities.

Throughout the last century the state has continued to scrutinise, regulate and intervene in the realm of Māori maternities, from our birthing bodies to the raising of our children. Current government policies and legislation continue to reinforce the nuclear family structure and to assert the state's expert authority over all aspects of our mothering journeys:[170]

> [In 1961] assimilation was replaced by the policy of integration which focused on integrating the Māori population into the economic and political mainstream, while helping them maintain limited aspects of Māori culture...in the Māori view it differed little from assimilation in practice.

Current legislation also continues to reinforce the compulsory attendance of children in state schooling systems.[171] It ensures also that every child learns from a state sanctioned curriculum that is constantly reviewed and regulated by state authorities.[172] At present there are public servants proposing to make preschool education compulsory for children of beneficiaries[173], and others that are seeking to change the compulsory schooling age to 4 years old[174]. Parents who receive government benefits are specifically targeted to subscribe to Plunket and Well-child development initiatives[175]. Beneficiaries (and their teenage daughters) are also encouraged to take (long-term) contraception[176]. While these policies are promoted in the guise of the government addressing child welfare, in reality they reinforce the inter-generational ideology that the state has overall authority and control of Māori maternities.

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[170] Joan Metge and Jacinta Ruru "Kua tutū te puehu, Kia mau" in Mark Henaghan and Bill Atkin (eds) *Family Law Policy in New Zealand* (LexisNexis, Wellington, 2007) at 59.
[171] Education Act 1989, s20, see also s 24 which applies a penalty to parents who fail to enrol their child in school.
[172] Education Act 1989
[173] Paula Bennett "Welfare Reform paper E – Social Obligations for parents" *Office of the Minister for Social Development* (2012) retrieved from http://www.msd.govt.nz/
[174] http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/education/7641487/Call-to-lower-school-age-to-four
[175] Paula Bennett, above n173. While this policy is not ethnicity based, over 40% of those receiving domestic purposes benefits are Māori .
[176] "Financial support for access to contraception" *Ministry of Social Development Fact Sheet* (2012) retrieved from: http://www.msd.govt.nz/

The Māori maternal birthing body continues to be regulated by specific legislation that controls the spaces we birth in and the persons that are able to assist us in this[177]. Government policies continue to promote intervention in the maternal practices of Māori mothers, with Wellchild initiatives that assert further the superiority of Plunket mothercraft ideologies, and reinforce the inferiority of Māori mothercraft practices. While there have been many attempts to make these programmes more attuned to Māori tikanga by having them delivered by Māori practitioners, the base foundation of the programmes continue to be rooted within Western ideologies of mothercraft, which again reinforces the perceived inferiority of traditional Māori mothering practices. Practices that continue to be invisibilised and trivialised as the state continues to endorse and impose Western-based scientific mothercraft theories[178]. As Patricia Monture-Angus once commented:[179]

> All of these programs are mere"add-ons"…which all operate on a shared presumption: if we can teach Aboriginal people more about our system then that system will work for them and they will accept it. Many of the programs and developments are packaged as cultural accommodations. This should be recognized for what it is, a misappropriation of culture. The programs are really based on the notion of Aboriginal inferiority…

The conflict that exists within current family law policy has been the focus of previous studies[180] the most significant of which emerged in the early 1990's. Donna Durie Hall and Joan Metge noted that the laws and policies

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[177] Health Practitioners Competency Assurance Act 2003

[178] See for instance: Plunket – www.plunket.org.nz; WellChild - www.wellchild.org.nz. For a discussion of PAFT programme see: Leonie Pihama "Tungia te ururua, kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke: A critical analysis of Parents as First Teachers" (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1993).

[179] Patricia Monture-Angus "Standing against Canadian Law" in *Yearbook of New Zealand Jurisprudence* Volume 2 (1998) at 12.

[180] Joan Metge and Jacinta Ruru "Kua tutū te puehu, Kia mau" in Mark Henaghan and Bill Atkin (eds) *Family Law Policy in New Zealand* (LexisNexis, Wellington, 2007); Joan Metge and Donna Hall "Kua tutū te puehu, Kia mau" in Mark Henaghan and Bill Atkin (eds) *Family Law Policy in New Zealand* (LexisNexis Butterworths, Wellington, 2002); Joan Metge and Donna Durie-Hall "Kua tutū te puehu, Kia mau" in Mark Henaghan and Bill Atkin (eds) *Family Law Policy in New Zealand* (Oxford University Press, Auckland,1992); Di Pitama, George Ririnui, Ani Mikaere *Guardianship, Custody and Access: Māori perspectives and experiences* (Ministry of Justice, Wellington, 2002); Moana Jackson "Maori rights and the care of Maori children" in *Te Whakamarama Law Bulletin* (No.3, Paengawhawha,1990).

detrimentally affecting Māori whānau were based largely upon four general assumptions of the state:[181]

> First it is assumed that the family which is the ideal form to be protected and promoted by law is the nuclear family consisting of a man and a woman married to each other and the immature children under their care and control.
>
> Secondly it is assumed that marriage is basically at contract between individuals and that it gives their spouses rights and responsibilities towards each other which take precedence over all pre-existing ties.
>
> Thirdly it is assumed that the guardianship of children, consisting of day to day care of a child and the right of control over the upbringing of a child belongs to the child's parents by natural right and to the exclusion of others, except where that are disqualified from exercising that guardianship. Other relatives, whatever degree of personal attachment have no legal right unless conferred by legal process.
>
> Fourthly it is assumed that the responsibility for making sure that the parents are fulfilling their responsibilities to each other and their children and for deciding what they do if they are not is the business of the state. No one else has a right to intervene unless authorized by the state.

Subsequent editions of this publication traced the changes of the policies and legislation, and in 2006 it was noted that while attempts were being made to accommodate Māori ideals of parenthood within new legislation, this had been relatively ineffective. The authors specifically commenting that "[m]any of the recent changes can be categorised as haphazard and superficial. Much work remains to be done"[182].

The guardianship of children continues to be defined by the state with the authority of guardianship invested in the biological mother in the first instance, with the biological father only assuming rights after satisfying particular criteria. This has been reinforced by subsequent legislation that ultimately places the state in the position of authority over Māori children. As Moana Jackson commented in 1990:

> The notion of Maori rights in the guardianship, care and custody of their children is defined by the DSW...In particular it is framed within the context of 'whānau decision-making'. In theory this envisages an assertion of rangatiratanga by iwi over the welfare of their children. In practice it is a right of input controlled strictly

[181] Joan Metge and Donna Durie-Hall "Kua tutū te puehu, Kia mau" in Mark Henaghan and Bill Atkin (eds) *Family Law Policy in New Zealand* (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992) at 60.

[182] Joan Metge and Jacinta Ruru "Kua tutū te puehu, Kia mau" in Mark Henaghan and Bill Atkin (eds) *Family Law Policy in New Zealand* (LexisNexis, Wellington, 2007) at 47.

> by the state....the Director General of Social Welfare remains the ultimate guardian of all children, including Maori children.[183]

A subsequent review of the legislation Moana Jackson is referring to led to the enactment of a new act to address the care and guardianship of children. However, this legislation (The Care of Children Act 2004) has merely paid lip service to the concerns of Māori and in actuality, continues to reinforce the nuclear family structure as the preferred model. The Act continues to ensure that no one apart from the biological parents have any automatic legal responsibility or access to a child unless they are formally accorded such responsibility through the court system[184]. This is only done on their application and only with the consent of the courts[185]. As Jacinta Ruru has commented: [186]

> Just as Māori had concerns with the Guardianship Act, the Care of Children Act still over-emphasises the nuclear family to the detriment of whanau, hapu and iwi. Given that children are to be considered the responsibility of their whānau as well as their parents, it is inconsistent with tikanga Māori that the Act still mostly only allows a childs parents to initiate proceedings respecting guardianship, custody of or access to a child and to attend court hearings as of right, while other relatives may do so only with the leave of the court. Their access to the court is dependant on the understanding and goodwill of the judge.

The state therefore still grounds its family based policies on the idealisations of the nuclear family. This then places a further emphasis on the biological mother as having ultimate responsibility for the well being of her children while, consequently disempowering te pā harakeke and the authority of wider whānau members. The legislative approach has effectively acted to comprehensively construct Māori into nuclear based social groupings: [187]

> In the 1990's, whether from choice or circumstances beyond their control, many Māori live lives centred on the nuclear family and are not part of a whānau that functions as a group. Many factors have contributed to this situation. Prominent among them have been changes consequent upon absorption into a market economy and deliberately assimilative measures: the individualization and alienation of Māori land, the hiring and payment of labour on an individual basis,

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[183] Moana Jackson "Maori rights and the care of Maori children" in *Te Whakamarama Law Bulletin* (No.3, Paengawhawha,1990) at 15.
[184] Joan Metge and Jacinta Ruru, above n182, at 65.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Joan Metge and Donna Durie-Hall, above n181, at 66.

> migration in search of employment and higher living standards, ‘relocation’ and pepperpotting. While the family laws under consideration were not the primary cause, they reinforced the process by their focus on the nuclear family as an isolated unit by provisions that stressed individual responsibility and by their failure to provide recognition to whanau.

This section of the chapter has sought to discuss the colonisation of Māori maternities as a perpetual project. Although it has provided only a brief account of some of the contemporary aspects of law and policy affecting Māori maternities, it has highlighted specifically that the overall undermining of and intrusion into our maternal customs has been a sustained process and continues to this day.

Whakarāpōpoto/Summary

Māori maternities have experienced a sustained attack from the early arrival of missionaries and settlers to New Zealand. The foundation principles which were laid down in the earlier period before, and immediately after the signing of the Treaty, were then built upon by successive interventions and strategies on behalf of the state. After pushing Māori women into the nuclear mother role, Government sought to then increase scrutiny and intervention.

This chapter has considered some aspects of the colonial intervention into traditional Māori maternities. While the confines of this thesis do not allow for a comprehensive analysis of all relevant evidences, this chapter has sought to provide an outline of a number of specific instances where Māori maternities have come under attack, and have been the subject of colonisation. In particular, this chapter has highlighted some examples of colonisation that have occurred and some of the explicit interventions of the state that undermined and denigrated our traditional maternities.

The next chapter will consider some of the ways in which we have resisted these interventions and in particular, how many of our maternal traditions have endured through the colonisation process and continue to be practised today. While the next chapter will discuss specific instances of our resistances to the colonisation of our maternities, what also needs to

be stated at this point is that while our resistance has been consistent, the states response to that has also been consistent. Colonisation is a process that constantly reacts and evolves in the face of resistance.

Te Wahanga Tuawha

Chapter 7 – *Okea Ururoatia*

Resistance, Endurance and Reclamation

"One of my favourite stories is about the vitality and resilience of Indian law. People sometimes think that Aboriginal cultures have been destroyed. This can never be true. The songs, the language, the ceremonies all live in the land. They belong to mother."

- **Patricia Monture- Angus**[1]

[1] Patricia Monture-Angus *Journeying Forward – Dreaming First Nations Independence* (Fernwood Publishing, Halifax, 1999) at 159.

Chapter 7:
Okea Ururoatia
Resistance, endurance and reclamation

Kōrero Whakataki/Introduction

The previous chapter discussed some of the specific intrusions into the realm of Māori mothering over the last two centuries. It discussed in particular the comprehensive nature of the attack on our traditional maternities. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight and discuss how through years of colonisation, we have continued to sustain and develop sites of resistance despite the unrelenting attack that has occurred with the imposition of Western ideals of mothering.

The title of this chapter is *"Okea Ururoatia"* this is in direct reference to the whakatauki: *"Me mate ururoa, kei mate wheke"*[2] (do not die like an octopus but rather fight as would a shark). I feel it captures the essence of our Māori resistance to all impositions of colonisation, but particularly to us as Māori women. Despite the onslaught that was discussed in the previous chapter, there has been an unrelenting perseverance on our behalf to continue to mother our children in the way our tikanga dictates. It is hoped that this chapter can contribute to other discussions of Māori resistance that serve as empowering discourses that we as whānau can draw from. And, as D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbiere Lavell have commented, our resistances to Western mothering impositions can also be a source of empowerment for all women. They state:[3]

[2] This whakatauki also has special meaning to me personally, as it was a significant line in a waiata composed by one of my aunties, Evelyn Tobin, for our kapahaka group Te Roopu o Pewhairangi in the early 1990's. The actions that accompanied this line were strong, forceful and deliberate. They invoked *te ihi me te wana*, and for that reason this whakatauki always resonates very strongly with me. *Me mate ururoa, kei mate wheke, Okea Ururoatia, aue, aue hiii!!!*

[3] D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbiere Lavell "Thunder Spirits, Reclaiming the Power of our Grandmothers" in *Until our Hearts are on the Ground* (Demeter Press, Toronto,2006) at 3.

> [T]he historical persistence of our cultural difference generation after generation (despite the best assimilative efforts of both Church and State) is a sign of our strength and our resistance. That we have historically, and continually, mothered in a way that is 'different' from the dominant culture, is not only empowering for our women, but is potentially empowering for all women.

This chapter attempts to acknowledge some specific instances of our resistance to the imposition of Western maternities into our society. Following on from the previous two sections, the resistances are discussed within the three ūkaipō principles established earlier. I have also included a brief case study that considers the integral role of Kōhanga Reo in providing a site of resistance to Western maternities. Again, it is important to acknowledge that what follows below are merely highlighted observations and that the resistances that exist within our society, in both historical and contemporary contexts, are incredibly diverse and numerous, and occur at both a personal individual level as well as at wider community levels. The restrictions of this thesis mean that I could not possibly capture all aspects of our resistances.

Tino rangatiratanga

Discourses of resistance, endurance and reclamation

Within a discussion of Māori resistance to Western mothering ideologies, it is important to first contextualise our actions in terms of the wider discourse of Māori resistance that has always been, and indeed continues to be, a feature of our colonisation experience. Our resistance to colonising entities and practices is not merely a product of contemporary enlightenment or conscientisation, but rather an unfailing and constant mode of action, characterised by our assertions of tino rangatiratanga, our absolute authority, autonomy and self-determination. As Leonie Pihama states:[4]

> Māori resistance has been evidenced throughout the period of contact between Māori and Pakeha. Resistance has taken many forms: military, pacifist, religious, political and has encompassed many iwi hapu and whānau groupings.

[4] Leonie Pihama "Tungia te ururua, kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke: A critical analysis of Parents as First Teachers" (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1993) at 52.

As discussed in the previous chapter the law has been a tool with which Western Mothering ideologies have been formally imposed and entrenched into society. Ani Mikaere comments that there is more to the process of resisting these legal impositions than seeking "mere improvements in the Pakeha system as being the ultimate goal"[5]. Ani comments:[6]

> We have to remember that our tikanga is the product of our tino rangatiratanga, whereas creations of Pakeha law – the Māori land Court, the Children and Young Persons Act, or the Waitangi tribunal, for example are the products of Crown sovereignty…we need to think beyond the confines of the Pakeha legal system, to remind ourselves constantly about what it is that tino rangatiratanga ultimately means.

The subscription to the superiority of these laws can be seen to be a significant barrier to the reclamation of our traditional maternities. Tino rangatiratanga is therefore also about questioning the place of the state legal system within our lives, it is about challenging, as Stó:lō scholar Lee Maracle states:[7]

> [the] central belief that we have dragged home, that their law, their world, is superior to our own. There is a journey to this belief, and there is a journey to its undoing. It is not self-governance to take up another nations legal system and entrench it in our nations.

Tino rangatiratanga is also about asserting our traditional legal systems and the tikanga that were established within our cosmologies. This requires a constant questioning of the tikanga that we follow today – and asking ourselves – no hea tera? Where is that from? The assertion of our maternal traditions is a process that must be consciously and critically undertaken:[8]

> Mounting resistance requires us to think clearly to act thoughtfully and, above all, to be fearless in our determination to reclaim our own understandings of justice. These understandings are still to be found within the philosophical frameworks

[5] Ani Mikaere "Tikanga as the First Law of Aotearoa" in *Yearbook of New Zealand Jurisprudence (*Volume 10, 2007) at 26.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Lee Maracle "Decolonizing native women" in Barbara Alice Mann (ed) *Daughters of Mother Earth: The Wisdom of Native American Women* (Westport, Praeger Publishers, 2006) at 38.
[8] Ani Mikaere *Colonising Myths - Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro* (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2011) at 172.

> that served our ancestors so well for so long. They contain within them timeless concepts that are capable of being applied in a contemporary context. They are part and parcel of reasserting our tino rangatiratanga which has never been willingly relinquished.

The last two centuries have seen the minimalising and undermining of our traditional Māori maternities and, most devastatingly, the comprehensive demonising, ridiculing and undermining of Māori mothers in New Zealand Society. This has been coupled with a constant promotion of the superiority and virtuousity of Western mothering roles. These persistent actions of colonisation, reinforced by law, entrench themselves within our societies and distort our traditional knowledges of the maternal. They create a hegemonic environment within which Māori mothers are subject to constant message of inferiority. Such an environment lends itself to a self-perpetuating validation of Western superiority. As Graham Smith has commented:[9]

> Hegemony is a way of thinking – it occurs when oppressed groups take on the dominant group thinking and ideas uncritically and as 'common-sense', even those ideas may in fact be contributing to forming their own oppression. It is the ultimate way to colonize a people; you have the colonized colonizing themselves!

The internalisation of distortions pertaining to our maternities is an inescapable consequence of colonisation. Māori maternities have been the subject of a sustained attack for over two centuries, inevitably at some stage, these consistently denigrating messages and ideals of tauiwi are likely to become, or already have become, internalised, as Ani Mikaere has observed:[10]

> Over time, and in response to overwhelming pressure from our colonisers to conform to their demeaning perceptions of us, some of our practices have evolved to mimic the colonised theory, thus embedding the patriarchy that stemmed from Western philosophy deeper and deeper within tikanga itself.

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[9] Graham Hingangaroa Smith "Kaupapa Māori Theory:Theorizing Indigenous Transformation of Education & Schooling" Paper presented at the *'Kaupapa Māori Symposium' NZARE / AARE Joint Conference* (Hyatt Hotel, Auckland, N.Z December 2003) at 3.

[10] Ani Mikaere "From kaupapa Māori research to re-searching kaupapa Māori: making our contribution to Māori survival" in Jessica Hutchings, Helen Potter, Katrina Taupo (eds) *Kei Tua o Te Pae hui Proceedings: the challenge of Kaupapa Māori research in the 21st Century* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington 2011) at 34.

The manner in which Māori have resisted, survived and activated against such internalisations is a key attribute of the strength and enduring power of our maternities. Māori women and whānau have historically and continually engaged in processes of conscientisation, transformation and resistance. This has necessitated critical and careful consideration of our situations in order to disrupt the hegemonies that exist within the maternal realm of New Zealand society:[11]

> The counter strategy to hegemony is that indigenous people need to critically 'conscientize' themselves about their needs, aspirations and preferences. This calls for a freeing up of the indigenous imagination and thinking given that one of the most important elements of colonization is the diminishment of the indigenous ability to actually imagine freedom or a utopian vision free of the oppressor. Thus a critical element in the 'revolution' has to be the struggle for our minds, the freeing of the indigenous mind from the grip of dominant hegemony.

As Lee Maracle has stated in regard to her own people, the process of reasserting our traditions is not a simple one, but rather is a complex process that requires understanding the conditions of our current situation, in spite of being subjected to a continual attack:[12]

> Liberation is not simple. Re-feminizing our original being is not a matter of gaining equality with Native men, sharing the work of providing for family, obtaining decent jobs and education, moving out into the world and struggling to make the law work fairly for us. First we must understand the conditions under which we currently live. It is difficult to critically examine our current condition while the power to alter or maintain it rests with those outside ourselves. It is particularly difficult to face the absurdities of belief and disbelief we have internalized while we are still besieged from the outside. But examine it we all must.

Graham Smith also makes the point that Māori transformative action is best understood as a cycle and "that every Māori is in the struggle whether they like it or not, whether they know it or not"[13].

[11] Graham Hingangaroa Smith, above n9, at 3.
[12] Lee Maracle I am woman – a Native perspective on sociology and feminism (Vancouver, Press Gang Publishers, 1996) at xi.
[13] Graham Hingangaroa Smith, above n9, at 13

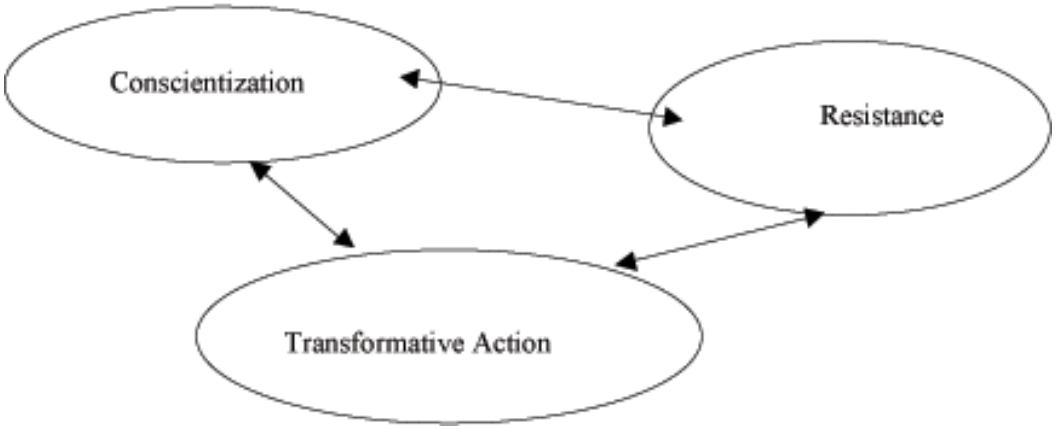

Image: Conscientisation – resistance – transformative action[14]

Graham Smith asserts that "multiply formed oppressions" imposed by the state require Māori to utilise "multiply formed resistance strategies". He believes that "[th]e intervention strategies applied by Māori in New Zealand are complex and respond simultaneously to multiple formations of oppression and exploitation"[15]. The comprehensive and invasive nature of the colonisation of Māori maternities supports this assertion. The multiple strategies that have been employed by the state, and by religious and community groups, have meant that Māori mothers and whānau have had to critically and consciously find creative and culturally grounded solutions to their efforts to engage in transformative action within the maternal realm:[16]

> It is at the local level that indigenous cultures and the cultures of resistance have been born and nurtured over generations. Successful initiatives have been developed by communities themselves using their own ideas and cultural practices. Considerable reserves of confidence and creativity within many communities have generated a wide range of social, educational, health and artistic initiatives. The cultural revitalization movements have tapped into a set of cultural resources that have recentred the roles of indigenous women, of elders and of groups who had been marginalised through various colonial practices.

Māori resistance to Western maternities therefore necessitates the utilization of many different forums and actions. While "radical action has

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[14] Graham Hingangaroa Smith, above n9, at 13: Individuals and groups enter the cycle from any position and do not necessarily have to start at the point of conscientization… Māori experience tends to suggest that these elements may occur in any order and indeed may all occur simultaneously.

[15] Ibid, at 12.

[16] Linda Tuhiwai Smith *Decolonising Methodologies* (Zed books, London, 1999) at 110.

played a significant part in the resistance movement of Māori"[17] there are many other aspects of our resistance that take place within our communities and whānau that are just as effective and that recentralise our spiritualities and maternal traditions as a critical site of empowerment and authority.

> While the political protests are still a feature of Māori action, what needs to be seen alongside the protests are the range of initiatives and cultural revitalizations projects which have been advanced. For Māori a purposeful dream has been conceptualized partially around key cultural concepts such as tino rangatiratanga, whanau, hapu, iwi, te reo, and tikanga Māori. These concepts, which are embedded in the Māori language and worldview, provided a way of coming together on Māori terms. [18]

While this chapter highlights some key examples of our resistance to Western maternities, it also acknowledges that there are many other instances of resistance that occur within our society, both on an individual and a collective basis. The process of resisting Western maternal impositions is undertaken by many women and whānau, in many different forms and utilising many different methods and forums.

> While some communities focussed primarily on cultural revitalization, others either as separate organisations or as small groups of individuals became much more intent on engaging, on reorganising political relations with the state. Challenges have been made by indigenous communities with varying degrees of success both through courts and through the legislature. The constitional challenges made by indigenous nations have deeply disturbed the colonial comfort of some states.[19]

Asserting tino rangatiratanga within the realm of Māori maternities therefore may take the form of protest and placards, political activism and other radical actions. But it is also to be found in the simple everyday interactions we have with our children, whānau and communities. It is found in the pages of books and journals and theses that Māori women are increasingly utilising to challenge the impositions of the state, while simultaneously challenging the constraints of Western academia. It is found on an everyday scale within our educational institutions, hospitals, community and health organisations and on our marae. Māori women are increasingly asserting their tino rangatiratanga and their right to mother in

[17] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n16, at 108.
[18] Ibid, at 109.
[19] Ibid, at 111.

the way that gives authority and recognition to our own mothering traditions and tikanga. As Lina Sunseri asserts in regard to her people, the very act of mothering within indigenous societies can be seen in itself to be an act of resistance against the state:

> Oneida women see mothering as a political act, as a way to participate in the sustainability of the self and the community. They do so by bearing and nurturing their own children, taking care of others children, and providing for the whole community, in order to resist forms of racial discrimination and cultural genocide.[20]

At this point I will again reiterate the earlier discussions regarding our diversities as Māori, as Māori women, as whānau. Our experiences of mothering, the struggles, challenges and successes on a daily basis, are significantly diverse and can exist in a number of different whānau formations. The experiences of many of our mothers who are mothering their children alone are diverse, as are the experiences of our mothers who are mothering within lesbian relationships. Many mothers are isolated in their mothering journeys; others are immersed within extended whānau networks. Regardless of these diversities amongst us, what can be said about our collective experiences of our mothering journeys as Māori is that they reflect a common theme of state intervention that has recurrently compelled us to engage in actions of resistance.

It is important also to acknowledge that there are many other aspects of our maternities and of our journeys as mothers that continue to be less than empowering spaces, where our daily lives involve situations of risk, of violence, of hardship of poverty of struggle. These are spaces within which our focus as mothers is not *resistance* but in the first instance – *survival*.

Because colonisation is a neverending process, our maternities and our maternal traditions continue to be subjected to the scrutiny and marginalisation of the state. The maternal spaces that we occupy, that we

[20] Lina Sunseri "Sky woman lives on: contemporary examples of mothering the nation" in *Canadian Woman Studies* 26.3-4 (Winter-Spring 2008) at 23.

reclaim and that we construct for ourselves, will always be under threat of new forms of colonisation: [21]

> ...the crown is always searching for ways to enter our space...The consummate predator, it lurks constantly at the margins, watching and waiting for any opportunity to invade and occupy.

It is important also to consider the words of the late Patricia Monture–Angus, who on many occasions during the course of her life reiterated the message to her people that "resisting is not a condition of life that we are satisfied with. Simply put, Aboriginal women deserve more"[22]. Monture-Angus asserted further that: [23]

> Mere resistance is not transformative. It often acts solely to reinforce colonial and oppressive relationships, not to destroy them. This is because resistance can be no more than a response to the power someone else holds. Responding to that colonial power actually can operate to affirm and further entrench it….resistance is only the first step, and it is a small step in recovering who we are as original peoples.

Resistance is a present reality for many Māori mothers. Our maternities represent a colonised space within which we will always find ourselves under threat of scrutiny, marginalisation and intrusion, but as Patricia Monture-Angus also once asserted; "Change will come not from institutions but from the people. . .[b]eing self-determining is simply about the way you choose to live your life every day"[24].

Our resistances, our endurances, our resiliencies, our actions of transformation that we undertake as mothers within our whānau are significant regardless of whether they involve small or large actions, whether they are undertaken as large iwi collectives or as individuals; they consitutute conscious actions that generate 'ripples of change'. It is these ripples of change that reverberate through our lives and have ever-lasting impact on our future generations.

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[21] Ani Mikaere, above n8, at 159.
[22] Patricia Monture-Angus *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader* (Toronto, Inanna Publications, 2009) at 4.
[23] Patricia Monture-Angus "Standing against Canadian Law" in *Yearbook of New Zealand Jurisprudence* Volume 2 (1998) at 16.
[24] Patricia Monture-Angus, above n1, at 159.

As will be discussed below many of our resistances are spaces in our everyday lives where we make choices; choices to follow an alternative pathway to that which the state/Pākehā have set out for us; choices to follow these paths regardless of whether they are scientifically ordained, state funded or follow the norms of the society that we live in.

Tino rangatiratanga for us as Māori mothers can simply involve our everyday actions as mothers; as the next part of this chapter will explore. Tino rangatiratanga is the language that we speak to our children, it is the names we bestow upon them, the songs we sing to them, the whānau and the individuals that we surround them with, the tikanga we immerse them in, the educational experiences we choose for them. Tino rangatiratanga involves the decisions we make around our birthing experiences, the tikanga we follow during our pregnancies and during our mate marama. It is the choices we make every day, whether consciously or subconsciously. We should not underestimate the impact of these everyday actions on our children and more importantly on our future generations. Our everyday survival, resilience and persistence as Māori mothers is in itself a marker of our resistance.

He ūkaipō, he mana atua -
Resisting patriarchy and reclaiming the feminine in our spiritualities

As has been reiterated throughout this thesis the stories of our tupuna and our atua provide us with much needed guidance in our resistance efforts. The clinical and medicalised nature of my first birthing experience was a significant catalyst for me to seek out some of these stories and knowledges. Much strength can be drawn from learning and re-learning the stories of our tūpuna and our atua wāhine. This need not be a hard task – as discussed earlier, our communities posess an exceptional ability to preserve knowledges in forms that can be passed down through generation to generation. As a child I was taught a waiata about

Hineamaru [25] which is a clear example of the inter-generational preservation of important traditional knowledges. The lyrics of the waiata affirm the significant actions of Hineamaru within her crucial leadership role; it affirms also her maternal role in the community. This waiata reflects a significant feature of my upbringing in NgātiHine, where the actions of Hineamaru, as a leader/mother/warrior of her people, were constantly discussed, affirmed and celebrated.

Reclaiming and reasserting our spiritual realities is an important space of resistance for Māori mothers. The denigration and medicalisation of our bodies has been a key aspect of the colonisation of our maternities and the sanctity and profound spirituality accorded to the Māori maternal body space. This has resulted in the denigration of our positioning in society which is a key factor of the colonising of Māori maternities. The reclamation and reassertion of our maternal spiritualities are a feature of our resistance to Western mothering ideologies. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith has commented: [26]

> Concepts of spirituality which Christianity attempted to destroy, then to appropriate, then to claim, are critical sites of resistance for indigenous peoples. The values attitudes, concepts and language embedded in beliefs abut spirituality represent in many cases, the clearest contrast and mark of difference between indigenous peoples and the West. It is one of the few points of ourselves which the West cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control...

In a contemporary sense Māori women have begun to reclaim and draw strength from traditional knowledges pertaining to the feminine in Māori spirituality. Aroha Yates-Smith in her research on traditional Māori spiritualities has also helped forge a pathway for all to reclaim hidden knowledges about atua Wahine. Aroha's research recovered the significance of the feminine in Māori spirituality, and drew together a significant body of knowledge that had become buried under a plethora of colonial and anthropological intervention. Aroha comments:

> Modern Māori women have inherited mana wahine from ancient times…The fundamental role of women remains as creator and mother, thus fulfilling the

[25] Lyrics not published.
[26] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n16, at 74.

> generative function previously carried out by Papa, Hineteiwaiwa, Hinekorako and many other Atua Wāhine … [27]

Aroha's research provides Māori women with a "spiritually uplifting, consciousness-raising and empowering"[28] body of knowledge.

> It is suggested here that the achievement of Māori women, once empowered with the knowledge of their 'Hine' heritage, would be greatly enhanced. Women…value the recognition given to the Atua Wāhine and acknowledge the sense of security and the increased self-esteem that come with connecting with the feminine powers.[29]

Aroha's research joins the substantial body of writing within Mana Wahine discourses that have emerged over the last three decades which, as discussed earlier[30], have contributed significantly to the repositioning, reclamation and understanding of the status of Māori women. These theories are now entrenched aspects of the academic arena and without any doubt assert the importance of recognising the complementary positionality of Māori women within traditional societies. These theories provide articulated discussion points for contemporary mana wahine collectives such as Te Whainga Wahine and Te Wharepora Hou[31], who of course join a number of already established Māori women driven roopu such as the Māori Women's Welfare League.

These roopu exist on a national basis but reflect also the everyday assertions within our communities that the positionality and roles of our women are integral to the survival and development of our people. Despite the impositions of Western patriarchy on our society, Māori women have continued to take leading roles in our communities and to challenge state sanctioned ideologies that undermine this. Māori women have been at the forefront of many of our key activities of resistance over the years, a frontline positionality that has consistently challenged Euro-Western notions of the role of women in society. This assertion of mana wahine has

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[27] G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith *Hine! e Hine!; rediscovering the feminine in Māori spirituality* (PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, 1998) at 271.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Aroha Yates-Smith "Reclaiming the Ancient Feminine in Māori Society: Kei wareware i a tātou te Ūkaipō!" *He Puna Kōrero – Journal of Māori and Pacific Development* (2003 4:1) at 16.
[30] Refer chapter 3 – he mātātuhi, he mātātupu he ariā.
[31] http://tewhareporahou.wordpress.com/

not been without it's difficulty, it has required a considerable amount of energy to be invested into conscious raising activities. Reasserting the authority and prestige of the Māori maternal figure requires conscious and deliberate actions that disrupt the patriarchal hegemonies that have been constructed within our society. As Ani Mikaere comments:[32]

> This involves recognition of the impact of colonisation on both men and women, a peeling off of the layers of oppression and a rejection of those patriarchal values that have no place in healthy, strong whānau.

Despite the influence of Christian religions on our spiritualities, Māori women and whānau have continued to affirm the place and presence of atua wahine in our lives. In the face of the imbalanced space that this knowledge exists, many Māori women do still continue to affirm the presence and importance of our atua through the use of whakatauki, karakia and waiata.

This is especially apparent in regards to our mother Papatuanuku, whom we continue to affirm the positionality and importance of. After nearly 200 years of capitalist appropriations it would have been easy to lose sight of our ideologies and values regarding Papatuanuku, however we continue to affirm her as our mother and as having a sustaining role in our lives. Maringi Brown asserts that "[t]he honouring we bestow on Papatuanuku reinforces the importance and significance of the role a mother plays"[33]. She comments: [34]

> We refer to our connection to the land as, "Ko Papatuanuku e takoto nei" ("earthmother lying here before us"). Papatuanuku embodies the earthly elements of our universe. She is the eternal mother and is separated from our celestial father, Ranginui (Skyfather). She lies below us, he above us, and we exist in the space they have permitted between. We are their children as were our ancestors before, as will be our grandchildren yet to come. It is said that when we die we will return to her. We will return to the earth. However none of our traditions says she has left us, none of our stories says she is separated from us. In fact they say the exact opposite. We acknowledge her presence repeatedly. Our traditions and daily exchanges revere her and acknowledge her omnipresence.

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[32] Ani Mikaere *Colonising Myths - Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro* (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2011) at 202.
[33] Maringi Brown "Motherloss" in Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga *Traditional Knowledges Conference Proceedings* (University of Auckland, 2008) at 145.
[34] Ibid.

As Maringi emphasises; "the essential spirituality of Papatuanuku and being beyond death ensure that she, of all, will be mother to her daughters forever" [35]. This unbreakable connection between Māori women and Papatūānuku reinforces, as Naomi Simmonds has commented; "a reciprocal relationship with Papa as she looks after and nurtures them and therefore they must look after her as a physical space"[36]. This positioning of Papatūānuku as an integral figure within the lives of Māori mothers ensures her constant and eternal place in our lives and reinforces the prestige accorded to the maternal figure within Māori societies.

He ūkaipō, he whare tangata
Reasserting the sanctity of the Māori maternal body

Resisting colonising impositions that challenge the sanctity of the Māori maternal body has been a significant feature of our histories. This is a constant work in progress as what initially started as a resistance to religious and societal values about the maternal body gave way to a relentless need to challenge successive scientific impositions into our lives.

As a teenager, I learned a waiata written by Pakiri Otene a prominent ancestress of the Hokianga[37]. This waiata is a most profound example of mana wahine. It discusses in detail the particular characteristics that Pakiri seeks in a man, as we were taught this song we were taught also the appropriate actions to perform when singing it, one of the lines that is emphasised when we sing this waiata is *"to ringa toro mai, paheke rawa i taku tinana!"* (your hand reaches out and caresses my body) the corresponding actions reflect the line quite literally and as young women

[35] Maringi Brown, above n33, at 145.

[36] Naomi Simmonds "Mana Wahine Geographies: Spiritual, Spatial and Embodied Understandings of Papatūānuku" (M.Soc.Sc Thesis, University of Waikato, 2009) at 110.

[37] The words of this waiata, while hugely profound, I have chosen to exclude from this thesis. For more discussion on this waiata see: Margie Hohepa "Hokianga Waiata a nga tupuna wahine: Journeys through mana wahine, mana tane" in *Te Pua 2:1 1993*, at 24-26

we were taught to pukana and move our hands over our body as if there really was a man there.

This is a strong example of resistance to the impositions of the Western culture. The actions of our ancestress captured in the words of this song that she herself composed, have been passed down generation to generation of young Māori women. Her message to us, that we are the determinants of our own destinies and that as Māori women our sexualities and desires are relevant and important, is a significant message of resistance.

Our histories speak strongly of the actions of tino rangatiratanga, and as Māori we are always looking to our past, to our tupuna, for strength and inspiration in this. The stories of our tupuna serve to impress on us the strength and autonomy of our tupuna, while providing practical guidance and inspiration for our own contemporary battles.

As evidenced throughout this thesis, many of our ancestral stories, ideologies and practices are encapsulated within waiata, whakatauki and karakia. Traditional, and even more contemporary, waiata form a strong body of oral literatures within which our resistances are captured. These continue to be taught to children from a young age, ensuring the retention and endurance of these significant knowledges. Our oral knowledges and especially our waiata are therefore a form of resistance in themselves, they are in fact songs of resistance, and serve as methods of retaining and asserting important legacies left by our tupuna. They become historical markers of the assertion of our tino rangatiratanga and represent a particulary efficient and resilient method of knowledge transmission from mother to child.

Māori women continue to affirm the traditions of our tupuna in regard to our bodily conduct, by following traditional tikanga that affirms the sacredness and sanctity of the Māori maternal body. From a young age Māori girls are taught appropriate conduct and the importance of upholding the sanctity of their bodies. Traditions and beliefs regarding the

cutting of hair and the conduct of women during pregnancy and menstruation in particular are still a prominentl feature of Māori women's everyday conduct. The experiences of Māori women in regard to the practise of bodily tikanga continue to follow many of our traditional customs pertaining to our bodily conduct and practised (in a contemporary setting) by Māori women of all ages[38]. A key aspect of this is that Māori women also continue affirm their spiritual connections to the atua wahine, and in particular Papatūānuku, Hine-nui-te-pō and Tāranga. As Wikitoria August has commented: [39]

> Knowledge of the power that was passed down through whakapapa from Papatūānuku and other Atua Wāhine, allows Māori women to stand tall, to be respected and to respect themselves and others. [W]e carry our tipuna with us and we owe it to them, and to future generations to be proud of Māori women, their bodies, their spirituality, their sacredness, and to be proud to be a Māori woman.

Māori women have also notably shown significant resistance to Western birthing practices and in many cases undertaken deliberate reclamation of traditional birthing practices. This was noted in accounts of Māori birthing, where Māori women who had birthed in hospital chose to birth at home for subsequent births[40].

Naomi Simmonds has also explored Māori women's experiences of childbirth and found that there continues to be an ongoing resistance to Western medical practices. Māori women have always found and continue to find childbirth an important site of resistance to colonising environments[41]. Naomi asserts that:[42]

> Despite the marginalisation of mana wahine maternities they still exist and are enacted, in various and often hybrid ways, through Māori women's birthing experiences. ...the women that have shared their birthing experiences have all affirmed that they are not passive recipients of continued colonising discourses but instead are able to negotiate multiple, complex, and at times contradictory

[38] For more discussion refer to Wikitoria August *The Māori female - her body, spirituality, sacredness and mana. A space within spaces* (M.Soc.Sc Thesis, University of Waikato, 2004) at 94.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Helen Mountain Harte "Home Births to Hospital Births: Interviews with Māori Women who had their Babies in the 1930s" in *Health & History* (2001, 3) at 53.
[41] See Naomi Simmonds "Mana wahine: Decolonising politics" in Women's Studies Journal, (Vol 25 No.2, December 2011).
[42] Ibid, at 10.

> geographies, owing to their location in post colonising Aotearoa, by (re)claiming, and often (re)creating, mātauranga wāhine pertaining to pregnancy and childbirth.

The activism of Māori whānau has also resulted in a significant shift in practise within hospitals and birthing centres around the country. Where the whenua of babies was once discarded without consultation or discussion, it is now established practice to return the whenua to whānau after a birth. The recognition of the significance of this practice to Māori has been an important concession for the New Zealand Health System. It has also resulted in reclamation of the ceremonies and practices around the burial of whenua, and a reaffirmation of the important and significant spiritual connections to Papatūānuku.

Ngahuia Murphy's research on Māori theories and practices around menstruation has also uncovered significant aspects of the way in which we consider our maternal bodies. Ngahuia's approach to the kaupapa was not only courageous but ground breaking, as she privileged Māori women's stories and authorities on the matter and presented a thesis of empowerment and reclamation. Ngahuia states: [43]

> Drawing out narratives which speak to the tapu of Māori women's reproductive organs challenges colonial ethnographers, and recent authors, who consistently portray the female genitalia as devoid of tapu and the source of female inferiority…the political imperative behind such argumentation, which proceeds to frame menstrual blood and menstruation within the same negative discourses maintains the hegemony of a colonial patriarchal order.

The reclamation and reassertion of the sanctity of our maternal bodies has been a key aspect of our resistance. There is much more work to be done to ensure our safety within these spaces continues to be maintained and, where needed, recovered. This involves not only actively challenging the institutions and individuals that continue to threaten our bodily maternities, but also asserting ourselves (unapologetically) where needed.

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[43] Ngahuia Murphy "Te Awa tapu, te awa wahine: an examination of stories, ceremonies and practices regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world" (MA Thesis, University of Waikato, 2011) at 18.

He ūkaipō he pā harakeke

The endurance of our collective mothering practices

The maintenance of our whānau roles within the lives of our children has also been a considerable site of resistance for Māori maternities. Although current New Zealand laws continue to privilege the nuclear family form,[44] many Māori whānau continue to approach the raising and caring of children in a collective and holistic manner. Despite the impact of colonisation, we have continued to ensure that our children have space within our kaupapa Māori environments to learn and be nurtured. Grandparents in particular continue to often take an active role in the raising of their mokopuna[45]. As Rose Pere has commented: [46]

> I slept, ate, played, worked and learnt alongside four generations, and was never excluded from anything my grandparents were involved with, including attending celebrations, tangihanga (ceremonial mourning).

The role of grandparents in the raising of children has been subject of recent research by Cherryl Smith who comments that:[47]

> For Māori, the task of raising grandchildren is considered an honour. It is generally considered that mokopuna raised by grandparents are treasured because they will learn the knowledge of the older generation.

Racheal Selby has also commented that "Grandparents will wait with joy and enthusiasm for the birth of their mokopuna"[48]. She comments that this is often because their own children were raised buy their parents, therefore it is a practice that continues to be passed down generation to generation. Selby comments:[49]

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[44] Discussed in previous chapter.

[45] For more discussion see: Cherryl Smith "Māori Grandparents raising mokopuna full-time" in *Traditional Knowledges Conference Proceedings* (University of Auckland, 2008) and Families Commission *Tūpuna – Ngā Kaitiaki Mokopuna* (Families Commission, Wellington, 2012).

[46] Rangimarie Rose Pere "To us the dreamers are important" in Shelagh Cox (ed) *Public and Private Worlds: women in contemporary New Zealand* (Wellington, Allen & Unwin, 1987) at 55.

[47] Cherryl Smith, above n45, at 261.

[48] Racheal Selby and Lily-Rose Nomfundo Milisa "Why Lily-rose? Naming children in Māori and Xhosa families" in *Women's Studies Journal* (21:2, 2007) at 23.

[49] Ibid.

> ...the strong tradition...of this practice remains today in many Māori families particularly where the child's grandparents did not have daily responsibility for their own children. It is their opportunity to raise a child from birth. For mothers who seek to continue their careers or pursue further education or have larger families, they welcome this commitment from their parents to them and their children.

Cherryl Smith notes that it is not only grandparents but other female and male relatives who often play a significant role in the raising of children: [50]

> Grandparents are just one group within whānau that can assume care of children; there are also brothers and sisters of parents, older children of siblings, uncles and aunties who can assume care of children. The broader extended whānau can also offer care for children. Numerous arrangements exist in whānau where grandparents, uncles and aunties can live under one roof or where care of mokopuna is shared between parents and grandparents.

The practice of whāngai continues to be a feature of our contemporary maternal practice. Although whāngai practices have been under legislative attack for centuries[51], the practice still continues; sometimes in a modified form that incorporates legal transfer of responsibility to another family member, but often also in a traditional form where the care of a child is a more fluid arrangement.[52] A recent study of Māori infertility indicated that for many Māori experiencing infertility, the practice of whāngai was seen to the most appropriate to address this, with undergoing fertility treatment a secondary option[53].

The importance of the collective whānau encapslated within Te Pa Harakeke concept continues to be a key aspect of our resistance to Western maternities. The nurturing of children intellectually, spiritually and physically, while also ensuring that there is space for our children in our cultural activities, are defining features of Te Pā Harakeke. It ensures that our children receive the education and matauranga that affirms their roles as our future leaders of the people. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith has noted: [54]

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[50] Cherryl Smith, above n45, at 262.
[51] For more discussion see Cheryl Smith "Tamaiti Whangai and Fertility" in Paul Reynolds and Cherryl Smith (eds) *The Gift of Children: Māori and Infertility* (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2012).
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid, at 202.
[54] Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Nga aho o te Kakahu Matauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in Education" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996) at 113.

> My education within the Māori community in which I grew up was one of constant exposure to open debate and contestability of ideas, to being encouraged as a child to sit in on adult debates and to contribute on the same terms as adults if I wished, to an excitement about new ideas, to a security about our identity and an exposure to kaumatua who valued and appreciated eloquent and substantive debates and whaikōrero on the marae.

The introduction of the western childrearing ideal that 'children should be seen and not heard' has posed a significant challenge to our traditions of including children in our activities; however it is also heartening to frequently observe that this ideal is rejected in many aspects of our society. Sustaining a collective approach to the raising of our children, and sharing our mothering duties with other women in our lives ensures that our children have constant access to the maternal guidance they are entitled to. Maringi Brown-Sadlier refers to this as the *puni kuia*:[55]

> ...the puni kuia - [t]his is the cluster of female relatives that every mother has a duty to create around her daughter in order that she will never feel abandoned of a mother's love.

By ensuring our children have access to other 'mothers' in their lives, we also ensure that we as mothers have our own space within which to participate more fully in society.

Re-naming and re-claiming

As discussed in the previous chapter there has been a deliberate interference in the naming of children. This interference involved the changing, shortening and anglicising of children's names, (primarily within the Native Schools), and the legal investment of naming responsibility and obligation in the parents of a child. Despite these interferences however there has been a consistent reclaiming and reaffirmation of our naming traditions and in particular the roles of extended whānau within this. Selby comments:[56]

> Māori also regard the naming of children as an important task and one which should not necessarily be left to the parents of the newborn; more often naming has been the responsibility of the grandparents. This reflects the important role of grandparents, the belief that a child's name is significant , that the child belongs

[55] Maringi Brown, above n33, at 145.
[56] Racheal Selby and Lily-Rose Nomfundo Milisa, above n48, at 23.

> to a wider circle than the parents, that a name can be a gift to a child, that there may be expectations of the child in the future as a result of the gift of the name.

These naming practices have also evolved to reflect a reclamation of tribal histories and in particular ancestral names, as Linda Smith has observed:[57]

> A more recent assertion in Māori naming practices has been to name children again with long ancestral names and to take on new names through life, both of which were once tradiational practices . Children quite literally wear their history in their names.

The resistance of naming our children and bestowing upon them significant tribal and traditional names is not merely an action that occurs at birth, but rather signifies a lifelong statement of resistance. This occurs because giving a child a significant ancestral of historical names brings with it a responsibility to protect the authority and prestige of that name. For many, this necessitates being particularly assertive with any interactions with non-Māori, to ensure that the names are not mispronounced, shortened or misspelt. Giving your child a Māori name also requires you to teach that child that they are not to allow people to denigrate their names. As mothers we learn to be assertive at medical appointments, with school teachers, with non-Māori acquaintances – to ensure that our children understand that we can not be tolerant of those that continually mispronounce the taonga that is their name:[58]

> The last decade of the twentieth century has seen a revival of pride in many indigenous cultures and with it the return to the use of traditional names for children and less patience for nurses and teachers who stumble over pronounciation of names...incorrect pronounciation is a mark of disrespect for the individual, their family and their ancestors and children in turn have an underlying disrespect for teachers, social workers, doctors and service providers who refuse to correctly pronounce Māori. Māori are unwilling to accept weak attempts any more. They expect an intelligent response and correct pronounciation of Māori names is a mark of respect.

This is resistance in action, and it not only asserts our tino rangatiratanga but it also provides space for us to impress upon our children valuable lessons of resistance and of standing strong in the face of colonising action against us, however large or small that may be.

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[57] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n16, at 157.
[58] Racheal Selby and Lily-Rose Nomfundo Milisa, above n48, at 28.

CASE STUDY: Kōhanga Reo as a resistance to Western mothering impositions

I have mentioned earlier within this thesis that I am a mokopuna of the Kōhanga Reo movement. Kōhanga Reo were Māori community driven preschool centres established from the early 1980's on onwards and set up with the intention of reviving language and customs among Māori whānau and hapu. Leonie Pihama refers to the development of Kōhanga reo as "Kaupapa Māori theory in action"[59]:

> The development of Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are acts of resistance to dominant Pakeha ideologies [that] illustrate the concrete context within which Kaupapa Māori Theory is located.[60]

The Kōhanga Reo movement is often referenced as a powerful marker of our resistance to colonisation. Initially established as autonomous learning institutions, Kōhanga Reo are also seen to "represent a powerful practical expression of self-determination"[61]. Linda Smith comments: [62]

> The 'flax roots' of Māori social and educational developments have become important sites of struggle, not just with dominant Pakeha forms of power, but with Māori forms of power.

Kōhanga Reo symbolize a kaupapa Māori movement that emerged from within Māori communities involving, as Graham Smith has observed, a number of communities and individuals who sought "to take action for themselves and were willing to go outside of the constraints of the system to achieve it"[63]. The integral role of women within this movement has also been noted by Linda Smith who comments that "Māori women…have been politicised more through Te Kōhanga Reo than any other initiative" [64].

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[59] Leonie Pihama "Tungia te ururua, kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke: A critical analysis of Parents as First Teachers" (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1993) at 59.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ani Mikaere, above n8, at 82.
[62] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n54, at 110.
[63] Graham Hingangaroa Smith, above n9, at 13.
[64] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n54, at 110.

The Kōhanga Reo that I attended – Kawakawa Te Kōhanga Reo, was started in 1984 and I just caught the first wave of children embraced by this kaupapa. As a child I had no appreciation of the struggles and efforts, the politics and practicalities of the movement. I knew only the benefits of being immersed in my language, being surrounded by caring adults while learning alongside my siblings and whānau, and enjoying the beginnings of what have become lifelong relationships. My Kōhanga did not have a playground or the latest educational resources, these were obtained over time. However, what was significant about Te Kōhanga Reo o Kawakawa in the 1980's was that parents attended alongside their children, and many of these parents attending were also reclaiming their reo and learning as their children learnt. Kōhanga Reo in its earliest phase was a learning institution for the whole whānau, not just for pre-school children: [65]

> Te Kōhanga Reo is not a general panacea for all Māori needs, but it began at a critical historical juncture and effectively created new priorities; whānau development, the restoration of certain pre-native school relationships, the claiming of te reo Māori by native speakers and the assertion of the legitimacy of Māori ways of knowing and doing things, These priorities have had a profound pedagogical impact beyond early childhood education.

As was characterised by my early experiences, the establishment of Kōhanga Reo provided a space of empowerment for whānau as a whole, not just for children. Whānau were welcomed into the centres, as active contributing members of the Kōhanga rather than passive participants of an education system.

Within this collective and supportive learning environment, Kōhanga Reo affirm our traditional mothering tikanga, providing a modern day environment for the flourishing of Te Pa Harakeke. Adults within the Kōhanga whānau are referred to as whaea or matua or other regional variations of mother/father. Children are provided with the benefit of having a number of adults – parents, elders 'mothering' them and caring for them. This also effects an assertion of the traditional positioning of children as taonga and the importance of raising them to understand their

[65] Ibid.

significance within the world. Children are centralised and immersed within a holistically Māori environment.

> Their days are filled with being included in their education, interacting with their kaiako and all the whānau who assist in the Kōhanga. Few, if any, are passive students, who are taught from afar in the Western ethos of the almighty teacher and the ignorant student. They are active, intelligent, enthusiastic, inclusive, articulate young Māori, groomed to succeed in whatever they choose.[66]

Kōhanga Reo acted not only to reclaim our childrearing traditions but also as a means of purging our society of Western influences, an act therefore not only of resistance but also of decolonisation that upholds "Māori aspirations for the right to make choices and take control of the destinies of Māori children"[67]. Kōhanga Reo are a space within which to innovate and assert our traditional maternal matauranga and to reclaim our philosophies and values pertaining to children[68]. As Cherryl Smith asserts:[69]

> What Kōhanga and kura have done is to remember the past whilst creating new ways in which to envisage the future, in this way they exist as decolonising agents for they inherently act not only to resist domination but also create new structures and new ideologies.

Within Kōhanga Reo the prominence of the maternal figure emerges. Māori women have risen to the fore and this is evidenced by the roles they have assumed, as kaiako and as managers and leaders. As cited above, Linda Smith has noted the integral role Māori women have played in the establishment and maintenance of Kōhanga Reo[70]. This has involved a reassertion of the role of the maternal in the passing down of knowledge and education, Māori mothers are able to take an active role in the education and teaching of their children and wider whānau. Within Kōhanga Reo, Māori mothers reclaim their positions of maternal authority and are accorded respect for these very roles.

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[66] Aroha Mead "Maori Leadership" in *Te Pua* (1994) 3:1, at 12
[67] Leonie Pihama, above n59, at 83.
[68] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n54, at 262.
[69] Cheryl Smith "Kimihia te Maramatanga – Colonisation & iwi Development" (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1994) at 157.
[70] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, above n54, at 262.

My experience of Kōhanga Reo has not only been as a child but over the last few years also as a mother myself. My children's attendance at Kōhanga Reo has revealed other significant aspects of the movement to me, and in particular the support that Kōhanga provide to whānau in raising their children and providing culturally relevant and grounded parenting advice. Kōhanga Reo are a rich source of support for whānau navigating the experiences of raising young children. In addition to having a number of caring whaea and matua that assist with the physical care of the children, whānau are also provided with a source of support in many aspects of mothercraft. Kōhanga Reo emulate in a contemporary sense the traditional support system that existed for parents and whānau.

The importance of whakapapa and of viewing children holistically as part of a wider collective of whānau (which is inclusive of te hunga wairua*)* is also integral to the kaupapa of Kōhanga Reo:[71]

> …children do not come by themselves but bring with them an "invisible rōpū" who is always with them. We need to recognise this rōpū in everything we do with children... They are the culmination of generations of chiefs and rangatira. They therefore cannot be viewed as being needy or from a deficit model. They are full and complete and bring with them their history, their ancestors, and their rōpū.

Because of this approach to the caring of children within Kōhanga, and the cultural significance placed on whanaungatanga and whakapapa, the relationships that are established between kaiako and whānau, between kaiako and children, and between the children themselves are lifelong relationships. Kōhanga Reo do not provide an early childhood education service, but rather provide an extensive network of whānau, of parents and of brothers and sisters. While many kōhanga continue to be tribally based where the whānau may be closely connected by whakapapa anyway, other Kōhanga Reo are urban based and bring together a number of whānau from diverse tribal backgrounds, providing an environment whereby these tribal affiliations are transcended and new relationships are forged.

[71] "Te Whatu Pokeka" retrieved from - http://www.educate.ece.govt.nz (Te Whatu pokeka)

Kōhanga Reo have of course also provided a forum within which to reclaim our reo. The endurance and reclamation of our reo and tikanga within our everyday lives is a significant element of our resistance to Western Maternities. Our reo provides us with an exclusive avenue for expressing our tino rangatiratanga, in a way that is consistent with our tikanga. It allows us to write, sing, and debate resistance in forums that are naturally exclusive of Pākehā. The reinvigoration of our reo has been a strong marker of our resistance activities over the last few decades and the endurance of our oral literatures within this is a solid indication of the strength of our resistance.

Our language has also proved a particularly strong measure of our resistance to Western mothering ideals. As our first generation of kōhanga kids now enter into parenthood, they experience on a daily basis the powerful entity that is the reclamation of the maternal reo. The capacity to convey messages and life lessons to children in te reo Māori helps ensure that their understanding of the world is grounded within a holistically kaupapa Māori environment. Te reo Māori provides us with a kaupapa Māori space within which to engage with our children, and because the primary mode of communication is in te reo Māori, automatically their understandings of the world are also grounded in te Ao Māori. Ani Mikaere has observed within her children the benefits of having such a kaupapa Māori grounded environment:

> I attribute their high expectation of themselves and those around them, their self-confidence and their positive outlook to the support and affirmation that they found in their early years of Kōhanga reo and kura.[72]

Ani also highlights the extreme pride and optimism that the Kōhanga Reo movement has provided for our people. We are now beginning to see the fruition of the movement, as our first generation of Kōhanga kids begin to assume roles of leadership within our communities. Their grounding in te reo me nga tikanga provides them with a platform of strength and pride

[72] Ani Mikaere, above n8, at 84.

from which to conduct themselves. They walk easily between the two worlds that we live in, and traverse the cultural boundaries between Pākehā and Māori worlds. As Aroha Mead has noted:

> The Kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa generation are a generation of Māori unlike any other. Their experience of colonisation has been tempered by the provision of an intensive mana māori motuhake education. They are able to live comfortably in both worlds Pakeha and Māori. They are fluent in both languages and cultures and that are being trained to look to their taha Māori for sustenance, direction, expertise and vision. They have very high expectations of Māori leadership.[73]

Ani Mikaere has also commented on the impact she predicts the Kōhanga/kura kaupapa generation will have on our people:

> My ultimate source of optimism is my four children. All of them have been through Kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. In my most downcast moments, when I have difficulty seeing the point of it all, I simply look at them and take satisfaction in the knowledge of what I have unleashed on the world.[74]

Kōhanga Reo and the ongoing project of colonisation

While Kōhanga have served to provide a source of empowerment and a site of resistance for Māori, there is of course another element that emerges within the movement, and that is of the states response to Kōhanga. Within months of the establishment of the first Kōhanga reo in 1982, the state began to seek avenues to regulate and control them. A report to the Minister of Social Welfare in 1984 reveals the strategy employed to encourage Kōhanga Reo to become 'licensed'. [75] The department sought to provide financial incentives for Kōhanga to register themselves as early childhood centres (and thus become subject to the regulatory gaze of the state). The department noted "the reluctance of some Kōhanga Reo to become licensed under the child care regulations"[76] as they perceived the Department would "interfere in what it considered to be essentially a Māori domain"[77].

[73] Aroha Mead, above n66, at 12.
[74] Ani Mikaere, above n8, at 96
[75] "Report of Acting Director–General to Minister of Social Welfare" (19/10/84) – retrieved from New Zealand Archives "Royal commission on social policy: Research papers included in submissions Database: Te Kōhanga Reo".
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.

> ...in the interests of the children and the enforcement of the standards set under the childcare center regulations there may be some advantages in this department continuing to have a financial stake in the Kōhanga Reo program. It will be more difficult to encourage individual Kōhanga Reo to upgrade to the standards required in the Regulations without the incentive of access to subsidy funding.[78]

Kōhanga Reo that agreed to become licensed childcare institutions were allowed to access training grants for their staff and subsidies for their children. The emphasis on following regulatory standards set by the state in return for funding places them under the scrutiny of the state and in 1990 Kōhanga Reo were integrated of into the formal New Zealand education system, moving the overall governance of Kōhanga Reo from the Ministry of Māori Affairs into the Ministry of Education. From this point on, all Kōhanga Reo became subject to a "policy and compliance regime designed for teacher-led education systems"[79]. This created significant difficulties for Kōhanga Reo: [80]

> …the system has struggled to cope with the significant cultural difference that kōhanga reo have presented, and the fundamental difference in kaupapa. The policy system endeavoured to make kōhanga reo 'fit' through a series of compromises both to its funding and compliance regime, and to the kōhanga reo model.

This movement into the Education system has threatened the cultural integrity of Kōhanga Reo as the drive to make them fit into the regulations and standards for Early Childhood Education set by the Ministry conflicted with the foundation of the kaupapa. This led to the filing and hearing of a claim in the Waitangi Tribunal who found that there have been serious failings by the Govcernment in their treatment of Kōhanga Reo. According to the Waitangi Tribunal, Kōhanga Reo have been pressured into becoming Māori Language versions of Western Early Education centres: [81]

> These compromises were ultimately insufficient to satisfy the respective objectives of the Ministry of Education and the kōhanga reo movement, and the

[78] Ibid.
[79] Waitangi Tribunal "WAI 2336: Matua Rautia - The report on the Kōhanga Reo Claim" (Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2012) at 324.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Waitangi Tribunal, above n79.

> result has been an increasing and resisted pressure for the inclusion of the Māori model for language transmission into the western model of teacher-led early childhood education.

They found also that an imbalance of funding related to their regulatory controls had led to a significant undermining of the kaupapa and that this in turn had resulted in a decline in the number of whānau attending Kōhanga Reo.

> The ongoing tension between the early childhood policy, funding and regulatory regime and the kōhanga reo model has coincided with a significant decline in kōhanga reo enrolments which has had serious implications for the survival of the Māori language. The kōhanga reo model has the ability to contribute to both language survival and education success. However the policy regime has not provided for this.[82]

The Waitangi tribunal has set out a number of recommendations for redressing the inequalities and failings of the state in regard to Kōhanga Reo[83].

It is important to note that despite the actions of the state towards Kōhanga Reo, the movement has continued to occupy an authentic and important role as a site of empowerment and decolonisation for our maternities. Kōhanga Reo have survived in the face of inadequate support and undermining acts of the government. The experience of Kōhanga Reo however does provide a key example of the actions and reactions of the state when dealing with Māori resistance. As Cherryl Smith asserts – constant vigilance is required:

> The spaces we have created such as kura kaupapa Māori and Kōhanga Reo cannot be just apolitical spaces because the potential of these concepts will be lost. There are no 'state havens' away from colonisation. There needs to be constant vigilance because our children live in relationship to a dominant group.[84]

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[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid, at 339-340.

[84] Cherryl Smith, above n69, at 170. For further discussion see also Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Storying the development of Kaupapa Māori: A review of sorts" in Jessica Hutchings, Helen Potter, Katrina Taupo (eds) *Kei Tua o Te Pae hui Proceedings: the challenge of Kaupapa Māori research in the 21st Century* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington 2011) at 12; Ani Mikaere, above n8, at 81 & 203.

Our maternities will never be safe from the interventions of the state, from the influences of the Western world and the politics associated with such assertion of tino rangatiratanga. However, it is important to continue to forge pathways for the assertion of our traditional maternities, despite the intervention of the state, our spaces of maternal empowerment have proven to be significant sites of resistance, of tino rangatiratanga, for our people.

Korero Whakakapi/Conclusion

This chapter has sought to discuss some spaces of resistance that exist within the realm of Māori maternities. It has highlighted in particular the strength of our endurance in the face of colonialism and successive state sanctioned intervention into our maternal spaces.

Despite the onslaught of colonising practices, many Māori whānau continue to follow our traditional maternal tikanga, to seek spaces within society that are conducive to the practice of these traditions, and where necessary, to establish our own kaupapa Māori grounded spaces within New Zealand society. The fact that we have continued to mother in the way that our tikanga asserts we should speaks strongly to the enduring power of the maternal influence in our lives. Our cosmological mothers continue to provide guidance and authority in our everyday lives as Māori mothers.

The next chapter of this thesis attempts to draw together the various threads of this research and to propose a theory of Māori motherhood that is grounded in our traditions, our tikanga and our philosophies. It is essentially a chapter that will consider Māori maternities as a whole, from their origins to their contemporary place in modern society. It is a chapter that asserts further that despite the best efforts of a colonising agenda, Māori women continue to find spaces of resistance and decolonisation within which to assert our own tino rangatiratanga.

Te Wahanga tuarima –

Chapter 8 – Poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō

Towards a theory of Māori motherhood

When our ancestor Tane sought to create the first human being he was advised to return to his mother, Papatūānuku, for direction. Papa directed him to various parts of her body where he produced flora and fauna and each time he returned to her for advice. Eventually Papatūānuku advised him to go to Kurawaka, to form a being in her image from the red ochre that lay there. Hineahuone, the first human being was created from the earth of Tane's ūkaipō, Papatūānuku. Her human form emulated the maternal body of Papatūānuku, an everlasting model of maternity that endures today. The maternal bodies of Māori women serve to ensure that we never forget the prestige of te ūkaipō, the night feeding breast that sustains us throughout our lives.

Chapter 8:
Ngā kōrero whakakapi -
“Poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō”
Towards a theory of Māori motherhood

Kōrero Whakataki

This thesis has explored the socio-legal positioning of Māori mothers in our society. It has examined the effect that colonisation and the introduction of Euro-Western social and legal values and models of mothering have had on Māori mothers and our traditional mothering practices. In this research, I have also explored how Māori whānau have actively resisted Euro-Western mothering ideologies and how Māori maternities have traditionally been, and continue to be, important sites of resistance for Māori whānau.

This chapter attempts to draw together the various strands of this thesis and to conclude with a proposed theory of Māori motherhood that is entrenched in our traditions, our tikanga and our philosophies. It is essentially a chapter that will consider Māori maternities as a whole from their origins to their contemporary place in society. It is a chapter that further asserts that despite the best efforts of a colonising agenda, Māori women have sustained, resisted and, where needed, reclaimed our own mothering practices and philosophies. As has been highlighted within this thesis, our histories speak strongly of the maintenance of our traditions, our outright defiance of impositions of the state and our conscious efforts to reclaim spaces of authority and sovereignty in our maternities.

A final purpose of this chapter is to consider the place of Māori maternal theories within a global context, to contribute to a growing body of indigenous maternal theory which is necessarily distinct from Western maternal theory.

Poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō: Theorising Māori motherhood

Maternal Theory is a recognised academic subject that has been written about considerably in the international arena. Over the last few decades this area of scholarship has developed into a separate academic domain that is multidisciplinary, with discussions emerging from feminist, women's and gender studies and a number of other discourses. These writings combine to provide a dais from which motherhood has been considered from numerous angles and points of focus. Adrienne Rich, in her 1976[1] book *"Of Woman Born",* first theorised the place of mothers, mothering and motherhood in Western society. Rich's commentary was considered a controversial and critical analysis on what she referred to as a 'constructed institution' of motherhood: [2]

> [There are] two meanings of motherhood...the potential relationship of any woman to her powers of reproduction and to children; and the institution, which aims at ensuring that that potential – and all women - shall remain under male control.

Central to Rich's theory of motherhood is the idea that the term *motherhood* is a patriarchal one – "the patriarchal institution of motherhood which is male-defined and controlled and is deeply oppressive to women while the word *mothering* refers to women's experiences of mothering which are female defined and centred" [3]. Motherhood, according to Rich, is an oppressive institution for women because it constructs women within a role of self-sacrificing servitude.

Thus, a key theme of early and subsequent Western maternal theorising is the idea that motherhood was a source of oppression, a "source of subordination" [4] and that expectations of mothers to perform in a constructed self-sacrificing model are patriarchal in origin. These theories are grounded in Western feminism and discourses to address the issues

[1] Adrienne Rich *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as experience and institution* (Norton, New York, 1976).
[2] Adrienne Rich "Introduction From Of Woman Born" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007) at 7.
[3] Andrea O'Reilly "Feminist Mothering" in *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007) at 794.
[4] Carol Sanger "M is for the Many Things" in *Southern California Review of Law and Women's Studies* (Vol. 1, No. 18, 1992) at 20.

raised by maternal theorists who also largely draw from Western feminist theories.

These Western feminist based foundations have permeated the discussions that have emerged within international maternal theory and as will be discussed below, the majority of theorising that exists focuses primarily on the 'plight' of white middle-class mothers and has had little consideration of the mothering experiences of other cultural and social constructs.

Resisting white/Western ideologies and theories of motherhood

A distinctive voice within maternal theory is that of women of colour, who have sought to distinguish their experiences and ideologies from that of the dominant Western maternalism. [5] While establishing their own discourse of mothering, these authors have also sought to deconstruct and critique the imposed ideologies of white motherhood. As Patricia Hill Collins has commented:[6]

> Existing feminist theories of motherhood have emerged in specific intellectual and political contexts. By assuming that social theory will be applicable regardless of social context, feminist scholars fail to realize that they themselves are rooted in specific locations, and that the specific contexts in which they are located provide the thought-models of how they interpret the world. While subsequent theories appear to be universal and objective, they actually are partial perspectives reflecting the white middle-class context in which their creators live. Large segments of experience, specifically those of women who are not white and middle-class have been excluded.

Patricia Hill Collins asserts that mothers cannot be seen in isolation of their ethnic and social/economic backgrounds [7] and refers to the interconnected element of race, work and family experiences. She challenges the idea that mothers can be considered within a single context of motherhood, separate from their wider family, ethnic and economic situations.

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[5] See for example: Patricia Hill Collins "Shifting the Center: Race, Class and Feminist Theorizing about Motherhood" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007); bell hooks "Homeplace – A Site of Resistance" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007).

[6] Patricia Hill Collins, above n5, at 326.

[7] Ibid, at 312.

bell hooks is also critical of the feminist liberation movement, which she feels advocates the position that motherhood is a restrictive and denigrating experience and a source of oppression for women. She asserts that the home has been a site of 'resistance' for black women. Motherhood, according to hooks, is "one of the few interpersonal relationships where [black women] are affirmed and appreciated" [8]. 'Homeplace', the special domain of women, is something hooks considers integral to resisting the domination and oppression of Western society.

Indigenous women have also established a strong and distinctive voice theorising motherhood. [9] Lisa Udel comments that "...Native women condemn Western feminism for what they perceive as a devaluation of motherhood and refutation of women's traditional responsibilities" [10]. Cree/Metis scholar Kim Anderson is also critical of Western maternal theories and asserts that traditional gendered forms of mothering are a source of empowerment for women:[11]

> Indigenous ideologies of motherhood are distinct from patriarchal western models of motherhood, and this means that strategies for empowered mothering are also distinct. Rather than seeking to break gendered patterns of family dynamics, Native women may seek to reintroduce gendered roles and responsibilities that come from a time when Native motherhood signified authority. Native mothers do not necessarily seek their status as autonomous individuals, and Native youth may not feel the need to individuate by separating from the maternal authority of their mothers, aunties and grandmas.

Central to the development of indigenous motherhood theories is the identification of key aspects of the colonisation process that directly

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[8] bell hooks "Revolutionary Parenting" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007) at 146.

[9] See for example: D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbiere Lavell (eds) *Until our Hearts are on the Ground* (Demeter Press, Toronto,2006); Randi Cull "Aboriginal Mothering Under the State's Gaze" in D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbiere Lavell, *Until our Hearts are on the Ground* (Demeter Press, Toronto,2006); Kim Anderson "Giving life to the people: An indigenous ideology of motherhood" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007);

[10] Lisa J. Udel "Revision and Resistance – The Politics of Native Women's Motherwork" in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* (22.2, 2001) at 44.

[11] Kim Anderson "Giving life to the people: An indigenous ideology of motherhood" in Andrea O'Reilly (ed) *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings* (Demeter Press, Ontario, 2007) at 775.

affected indigenous motherhood. While our experiences as indigenous peoples diversify greatly, what can be noted is the persistent and determined nature with which the colonisers sought to impose their own philosophies of motherhood and family structure upon us as indigenous peoples. In regards to mothering, indigenous peoples across the world have a shared experience of colonisation, intervention and resistance.

D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbiere Lavell refer to the importance of sharing our indigenous mothering experiences and the value they have as a source of empowerment for indigenous and aboriginal mothers:[12]

> This expression of our experiences as Aboriginal mothers is of great importance not only because it provides alternatives to the oppressive model of motherhood provided, and promoted by the dominant patriarchal culture, but also because it provides a position outside of the dominant culture from which to critique.

Leesa Watego, Australian Aboriginal academic, has also made significant commentary on the positioning of Aboriginal mothers and mothering. In a presentation to the MIRCI-A[13] she asked "who tells the story of Aboriginal mothers?"[14] Leesa asserts that the story of aboriginal mothers is "told to Australia by White people – white academics, white teachers, white critics, white curators"[15].

While indigenous theorists discuss the need to reclaim and revive traditional native motherhood ideologies, they also warn against the romanticizing of the situation. The evolution of our social and economic structures means that caution must be exercised when considering the place of traditional mothering ideologies in our society. "Taken uncritically,

[12] D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeanette Corbiere Lavell "Thunder Spirits, Reclaiming the Power of our Grandmothers" in *Until our Hearts are on the Ground* (Demeter Press, Toronto,2006) at 3.
[13] MIRCI-A is the Australian branch of the Motherhood Initiative for Research and Community involvement.
[14] Leesa Watego "Guess there's no parenting manual for that" Conference Presentation (MIRCI-A, Mother's at the Margins Conference, April, 2011).
[15] Ibid.

ideologies of Native mothering run the risk of heaping more responsibility on already overburdened mothers".[16] Patricia Hill Collins comments also: [17]

> Yet, like all deep cultural themes, the theme of motherwork for physical survival contains contradictory elements. On the one hand, racial ethnic women's motherwork for individual and community survival has been essential. Without women's motherwork, communities would not survive, and by definition women of color themselves would not survive. On the other hand this work often extracts a high cost for large numbers of women. There is a loss of individual autonomy and there is submersion of individual growth for the benefit of the group. While this dimension of motherwork remains essential, the question of women doing more than their fair share of such work for individual and community development merits open debate.

The above writings provide us with a body of knowledge from which to consider further a Māori theory of motherhood. It is, as can be seen from the above discussions, not just a discourse from which we as Māori women can draw strength from; but rather joins a global chorus of indigenous mothering ideologies that collectively challenge Western based mothering ideologies while empowering indigenous women. Most importantly, it reasserts our voices and our authority to express our own viewpoints and perspectives on mothering – to tell our stories rather than having them told for us.

Ūkaipō - The night-feeding breast

A Māori theory of motherhood can be sourced within our traditional cosmologies; the stories of our atua and the stories of our ancestors. There are of course many versions of these stories that not only reflect the diversity within our people, but also the comprehensive attack by the colonising written world of Western society. However, these stories have survived, the voices that emerge from them now are reflective of our conscious decisions to speak to the stories of our ancestors from within our own individual and collective realms of mātauranga. And within the diversities that exist, there are also strong universal themes that emerge

[16] Kim Anderson, above n11, at 775.
[17] Patricia Hill Collins, above n5, at 315.

with the retelling of our stories, and these in particular provide us with consistent messages regarding Māori maternities.

Ūkaipō is a most significant and profound concept consistently reflected within these stories. Literally referring to “the night-feeding breast”, Ūkaipō is reflective of a person’s everlasting connection with the maternal (both in the physical and spiritual realm); a person will always be drawn back and return to the ‘night-feeding breast’ of the mother. In life this occurs in a physical manner with the relationship between mother and child, and in death this also occurs with the return to Papatūānuku, the eternal mother from whom all humankind originates from.

Our traditional cosmologies reinforce the importance of ūkaipō, the prominence of the maternal figure in the creation of the world, in the creation of humankind and in the finality of death, all involve the reiteration of the power of the maternal body and the recurring theme of returning to the night-feeding breast. Traditional Māori maternities reinforced the spiritual underpinnings of *ūkaipō* by placing significance and authority on the role of the maternal – in both life and death.

This spiritual foundation to our maternities is also reflected further within our physical everyday traditions and in particular with the esteem mothers were held within society as bearers of the next generation. Key terms denote further the significance of the maternal figure in Māori society such as whare tangata, whenua, atua, hapu, and whānau; terms of significance in the Māori world that are inexplicitly intertwined with the prestige and sanctity of the maternal.

Traditional Māori maternities also reflect a supportive and collective approach to the mothering of children with the involvement of wider family members and especially grandparents. The mothering of children was a role undertaken by many within the collective group and was not just restricted to the biological mothers of children – all women are mothers regardless of whether they physically gave birth to children. ‘Mothering’ did not just involve the care of children but also other important maternal roles

within the wider community, as leaders, teachers, keepers of tribal knowledges and within spiritual and formal ceremonies.

Finally, traditional tikanga affirmed the sanctity of the Māori maternal body wherein which our traditions view the maternal body as a source of eternal power and recognise a cyclical system of rebirth and renewal through te awa atua – menstruation, and the tapu and sacredness accorded to the maternal body during pregnancy and birth. The respect accorded to the Māori maternal body was not just of practical significance but rather reflected a recognition of the profound spiritual significance of the female body in traversing the spiritual boundaries and in bringing life into the world from Te Pō (the realm of darkness) to te ao mārama (te realm of light).

Colonising Māori maternities

The manner within which Māori mothers were targeted in the colonisation process involved a deliberate and sustained attack on our traditional maternities. Colonisers sought to impose their own ideologies, principles and practices of motherhood upon Māori women and Māori whanau. Māori mothers were targeted as entities within Māori society that could be civilised and moulded into European citizens.

The colonisation of traditional Māori maternities involved a comprehensive attack on maternal customs and, most devastatingly, a sustained undermining of the spiritual underpinnings of our maternities through the introduction of Christian values. A significant devaluing of the feminine in our traditional spiritualities comprehensively destabilised the spiritual significance of ūkaipō and whare tangata, which in turn denigrated our maternal positioning and value.

The imposition of patriarchy and the introduction of the nuclear family mould also contributed to an overall degrading of the maternal in Māori society, by undermining the position of the maternal within the whānau network while simultaneously promoting the superiority and authority of men. Māori whānau were the target of colonisation through the imposing

of individualised integration and assimilation policies that sought to impose a nuclear family structure and to invest primary caregiving responsibility in women. This was further reinforced by successive legislative and policy initiatives of the state.[18]

A new system of education was introduced (and in many instances forcibly imposed upon Māori children), that separated children from their traditional educational and social environments within their wider whānau, and instead placed them under the authority of state-sanctioned teachers and missionaries who enforced Western based pedagogies and curriculums. A significant role of these schools was the assimilation of Māori children, with their native language a specific target of extermination.

The destruction of traditional land tenure also further reinforced the individualisation of Māori whānau, isolating Māori mothers from their traditional support networks, and creating and increasing reliance on state-based support programmes. Western mothering practices were introduced and in many cases imposed on Māori mothers, and the seclusion that characterised the nuclear family structure isolated Māori mothers from their traditional family support networks and traditional mothercraft practices, creating a reliance on state support within their new roles as mothers. This support came in the form of prescriptive, scientifically based mothercraft practice, enforced by state-sanctioned health practitioners and community workers. Failure to adhere to the strict instructions of Western mothercraft resulted in Māori mothers being subjected to more and more intervention, scrutiny and marginalisation.

Western science strongly contradicted the sanctity of the Māori maternal body and instead promoted a medicalised approach to the pregnancy and birthing experiences of Māori women. Māori birthing practices came under attack with the introduction of specific legislation that criminalised tohunga who assisted women in birth. Māori women were increasingly persuaded to birth in hospitals under the scrutiny of Pākehā male doctors and were discouraged from breastfeeding their children in the interests of ‘hygiene’.

[18] Refer chapter 6

The colonising of Māori maternities has been effective in constructing a conflicted space for Māori women and whānau. While our Pākehā counterparts navigate the challenges of motherhood within a society that is structurally favoured for their own cultural constructs, Māori mothers on the other hand are caught between the Western and Māori maternal realms. The inherent need of Māori whānau to follow the maternal traditions of our tupuna, whilst attempting to do so within a society that has consistently moved to undermine those traditions, has meant that Māori mothers are engaged in a perpetual process of resistance, reclamation and survival.

Resistance and reclamation

> Lot of our young ones talk about the reclaiming of nga mea Māori and that's what we need to do...reclaim nga whakaaro o nga tipuna. Because we are all joined together by the whakapapa our mana is all joined together...and each tamaiti, kotiro, every wahine has her own mana that makes her special...but joins her to everything else...and it is up to our wahine to decide what their role is in this ao hurihuri...to make mana wahine strong again because without it there can be no mana Māori.[19]

Despite the ongoing attack on our maternal traditions, Māori maternities have survived, and have found new spaces of expression and empowerment within *te ao hurihuri nei.* The resistance to the ongoing intrusions of Western maternal ideologies has been a continual process that has stemmed from the earliest moment Pākehā arrived on our shores. Māori mothers have been engaged in actions of resistance, reclamation and reassertion for centuries.

Māori women have continued to sustain their positionality as ūkaipō, of wharetangata and holdfast to the prestige and authority that accompanies it. The maternal roles of Māori women within whānau and within their wider communities continue to emulate Papatuanuku, the eternal earth mother from whom all descend. Her prominence within Māori society continues to

[19] Ruruhira Robin "They separate the mana" in *Te Whakamarama Law Bulletin* (Issue 10, Pipiri 1991) at 3.

be a significant and defining factor of our maternities. Māori women draw strength from her examples and in particular continue to occupy positions of authority and leadership in te ao Māori.

Throughout the colonisation experience, Māori mothers have found spaces within which to assert and, where necessary, to reclaim the sanctity and prestige accorded to their maternal bodies. More recently this has taken the form of deliberate and conscious efforts to reclaim birthing practices and the rongoa, karakia and ceremonies that accompany these events.

Māori mothers resist further by continuing to have children, in the face of negative and contradictory advice of the state and despite specific policy initiatives intended to reduce birth-rates[20]. Māori women continue to have children at a higher rate than other women in New Zealand[21], to begin having children at a younger age[22] and to birth more successfully with significantly lower rates of medical intervention[23].

Despite the contradictory legislative provisions, Māori whānau continue to engage in collective practices to raise their children. Grandparents in particular take an active role in the raising of their mokopuna, as do other relatives. Mothering in this context is not a task reserved solely for women but requires the collective the efforts of the entire whānau.

The reclamation of our language has been a key aspect of our resistance to Western maternal impositions, allowing us to communicate key values, morals and life messages to our children. The role of the Kōhanga Reo movement in facilitating resurgence in te reo speakers, as well as providing a space within society for the expression of Māori maternities, has been paramount. Kōhanga Reo continue to be significant sites of resistance for Māori maternities, providing holistically Māori space within

[20] As discussed in Chapter 6: n173-176.
[21] Ministry of Health *Report on Maternity, 2010*. (Ministry of Health, Wellington 2012).
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

which Māori whānau can access, practise and learn culturally grounded and appropriate maternal practices.

These resistances are not without their challenges. By virtue of the fact that they outwardly defy the authority of state sanctioned, medical and scientifically proven policies and the objectives of the state, these actions and sites of resistance themselves become targets of further intervention. Māori maternities will forever be a site within which Māori women will continually have to resist new forms of colonisation. This means that contemporary Māori maternities are a conflicted space for Māori women and whānau today. Māori mothers in particular are caught in the contradictions of this, having to navigate the challenges of mothering in a way that is culturally and spiritually relevant, while at the same time withstand the constant intervention and impositions of the state. Despite this, Māori maternities are a significant site of resistance and decolonisation and continue to provide a space of empowerment for Māori whānau in contemporary times.

Recommendations and suggestions for future research

This thesis has considered the socio-legal positioning of Māori mothers in our society. It has examined the effect colonisation and the introduction of Euro-Western social and legal values and models of mothering have had on Māori mothers and our traditional mothering practices. In this research, I have also explored how Māori whānau have actively resisted Euro-Western mothering ideologies and how Māori maternities have always been, and continue to be, important sites of resistance for Māori whānau.

This research has sought to capture a particular strand of Māori maternities that has not been previously discussed. The restrictions of doctoral study have required me to take a much narrower approach to this research that I had originally envisaged. As such this thesis has been limited to mainly theoretical aspects of Māori maternities. However, throughout the journey it has become obvious that there are so many

other aspects of our maternities that could benefit significantly from further consideration.

Ngā reo o ngā whaea Māori – the voices of Māori women

This thesis has established outright that Māori mothers are mothering in ways that are significantly different to other mothers in New Zealand. We are mothering from within very different social and economic circumstances, and many from within non-nuclear based family settings. We also know that Māori mothers begin having children at a much younger age than non-Māori, that they are more likely to have more children and are more likely to birth naturally and without significant medical intervention. The voices, whakaaro and experiences of Māori mothers are a distinctively rich source of knowledge about these aspects of motherhood.

Research that provides an insight into these particular experiences of Māori mothers and particularly research that incorporates narrative or photovoice techniques could be of significant benefit to other Māori mothers and whānau as well as other communities of mothers in New Zealand.

Ngā mahi-ā-whaea - Traditional and contemporary mothercrafts

Written references to traditional mother crafts are piecemeal and hard to locate. This is partly due to the inaccuracy of Western ethnographers in recording these knowledges, but also because I believe that many of our traditional mothercrafts exist in an oral and practical state in our contemporary society. The current practices of Māori women in regard to their conduct during pregnancy, during menstruation and during early motherhood could provide a significant wealth of knowledge for Māori women today. Traditional Māori mothercrafts, inclusive of practices and tikanga during pregnancy and childbirth, need to be brought to the forefront within such research. Such research could radically challenge Western perceptions of childbirth and pregnancy.

There has been growing concern about the breastfeeding rates of Māori mothers[24] and yet to date there has been little research and discussion on our traditions around breastfeeding (including co-breastfeeding which was considered common practice in traditional society). Research into the reclamation of our traditional breastfeeding practices and contemporary expressions of it could significantly progress initiatives to increase breastfeeding practise amongst Māori women.

Resourcing Māori mothers

Despite the fact that Māori mothers account for 25% of births[25] in New Zealand each year there has been little effort to provide culturally relevant information, resources and support. While early mothercraft booklets were provided specifically for Māori mothers, this practise is now seemingly obsolete. Māori mothers are provided with the same English-based glossy brochures that all other women receive, none of which have particular relevant information for Māori women and certainly do not have any consideration of Tikanga Maori. New Zealand parenting websites[26] are also reflective of a very monocultural, middle-class approach to providing support and advice to parents in New Zealand, an approach that further reinforces the idealisations of the nuclear family structure.

The appropriate resourcing and support of Māori mothers (and whānau) is an area that requires significant research. This research needs to be culturally grounded in our own philosophies and to reflect our tikanga, rather than privileging Western based mothering ideologies.

Ante-natal/Postnatal Support for Māori mothers:

There is a significant shortage of Māori midwives in this country, meaning that many Māori women are reliant from the outset on Pakeha and other

[24] See: Marewa Glover and Chris Cunningham "Hoki Ki Te Ukaipo: Reinstating Māori Infant Care Practices to Increase Breastfeeding Rates" in Pranee Liamputtong *Infant Feeding Practices: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Springer, New York, 2011); Ministry of Health "Comprehensive plan to inform the design of a national breastfeeding promotion campaign" (Ministry of Health, Wellington, 2007).

[25] Ministry of Health, above n22.

[26] For example: www.huggiesnz.co.nz, www.treasures.co.nz; www.ohbaby.co.nz; www.essentialmums.co.nz

non-Māori midwives to assist them to navigate what is a very tightly regulated system of pregnancy and birthing. Regardless of what 'cultural guidelines' have been developed by the midwifery council, the practise of these by non-Māori midwives cannot come close to the experience of having a Māori midwife in the birthing room.

The New Zealand maternity system is highly regulated and Māori women who become pregnant have no option but to participate within it. Research that considers the support of Māori mothers during antenatal and postnatal phases, and especially research that provides Māori whānau with an opportunity to discuss their experiences, could be highly beneficial.

Te ao ture - Legal research and the effects of legislation

Ongoing research is required to tackle the inequalities that are obviously present within the law. This especially has an effect on family formations and the support networks that are constructed around parents and children. The requirement that relatives must apply to the court to ascertain legal rights to a child has been a long identified problem[27], yet despite law reform having been undertaken in recent years it has continued to perpetuate the exact same processes. The law continues to privilege the nuclear family and to redefine the concepts of collective raising of children, especially in respect of whāngai. This not only has implications in terms of child welfare, care and protection situations, and adoption, but also affects how Māori whānau are able to access social security benefits. Creative solutions are required on behalf of the legislature and the judiciary to address the shortcomings of the current legislation.

Mana wahine, mana tane, mana tangata -

Analysis of effect of colonisation on Māori fathers:

While Māori women have been engaging with Mana Wahine theorising and a critical analysis of the effects of colonisation on our positioning in

[27] For instance see: Moana Jackson "Maori rights and the care of Maori children" in *Te Whakamarama Law Bulletin* (No.3, Paengawhawha,1990);

society for many decades now, there is a significantly silent voice within Kaupapa Māori discourse and that is the voice of Māori men.

Colonisation has served to construct the positioning of Māori men as much as it has Māori women. Particularly relevant to this research is the manner within which the roles of Māori fathers were diminished. Māori fathers were removed from the active roles they played in the daily lives of their children; they were induced into labouring mahi and were expected to undertake authoritarian positions within the family unit. Regardless of whether their responses to this have impacted on the positionality of Māori women (as some mana wahine theorising has asserted), it is still important to critically discuss the effect that colonisation has had on their traditional roles.

> A crucial part of restoring Māori law must be the realisation that the oppression of Māori women cannot be justified on the basis that it is traditional. The privileging of men over women was never part of our tradition. Māori men must confront the fact that colonisation has made them collaborators with the colonisers against their own women. They must take responsibility for dismantling their own colonised expectations of female and male roles.[28]

Such research should ideally be instigated and undertaken by men themselves, and could be engaged within a wider discourse that explores the idea of Mana Tane theory.

Māori mothering and post-Treaty governance

The current climate of post-Treaty settlements has resulted in a significant shift in the economic and cultural positioning of iwi. Many tribal authorities post-settlement are now able to position themselves as key players in the New Zealand commercial sectors. It is important however to ensure that our values, our tikanga and our ideologies are not compromised within this new positioning in society. While investment and the generation of wealth amongst our people could provide key relief to some of the impoverished conditions of life we are subjected to, this investment should not be at the cost of our tikanga. Rather than continuing to place our reliance on the social welfare and education systems of tauiwi, the post-treaty economic

[28] Ani Mikaere *Colonising Myths - Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro* (Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2011) at 202.

environment may provide significant opportunity for iwi to invest in their own social and educative initiatives. Such initiatives could be completey independent from the state and therefore from their scrutiny, control and regulation. Opportunity would exist further for iwi to develop within this their own systems and programmes to support Māori mothers and to promote, revive and assert our traditional mothering philosophies. This is an area that needs further research and consideration.

Kupu whakamutunga

It is hoped this research will be of some benefit to Māori whānau and in particular Māori mothers who as stated in the beginning of this thesis are essentially *caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality,* that is, navigating dual spaces of maternities in New Zealand. This research has not sought to provide a how-to booklet, but rather an alternative viewpoint to the consistent voices we hear as Māori mothers. It has considered the idea of a Māori theory of motherhood. In light of the emergence of international maternal theory and especially indigenous maternal theories, it is important to ensure that we create space within our society to 'tell our own story of motherhood'. This is to further assert that we are not to be defined or discussed by the experiences of non-Māori, and that we are also not be constructed on the margins of their theories, but rather that we affirm our own kaupapa Māori grounded spaces from which to philosophise about our own experiences.

Māori maternities differ greatly from Western maternities. We acknowledge and celebrate our gendered roles within our societies, and the special and integral role that that maternal plays in all aspects of our lives. We hold special significance within our iwi, our hapu and our whānau, as mothers, as leaders, as keepers/teachers of important knowledges and most importantly – as carriers of the next generation. These maternal roles construct us within a most powerful positioning in Te Ao Māori, and yet as this thesis has explored, these same roles are not so respected within the Western world.

This thesis concludes that it is up to us as women, and as whānau, to reassert our traditional maternal standing within our communities. Such reassertion can take many forms – the smallest of actions within our own families or larger actions in challenging the state constructions in existence. Our maternities are a key site of resistance for Māori communities and provide significant spaces of empowerment and transformation action.

The title of this thesis *"Poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō*" is based on a whakatauki that was recounted to me as a first-time mother a few years ago. The whakatauki reinforces metaphorically the connections between mother and child, but it was also explained to me as a practical method for calming an unsettled baby – *poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō*, that is, to hold the child so that they are facing in the direction of their tūrangawaewae – their physical ūkaipō. This resonated with me as thinking back I had often done this subconsciously with my son when he was unsettled, walking around my back yard or sitting on the back porch of my house which faces to the North, to our tūrangawaewae and to our physical 'ūkaipō'.

Despite the interruption that has occurred within our maternities, this whakatauki struck me as a significant piece of traditional mothercraft that has survived the onslaught of Western maternal impositions. I felt it was an appropriate title for this thesis because it captures a strong philosophy of our Māori maternities – that when we are in need, when we are in a period of unsettlement or conflict, we must remember to turn to our ūkaipō - to our physical and spiritual mothers, to our motherlands, to Papatūānuku - for sustenance and guidance and for restoration of soul and body. This is not to say however that these maternal roles in our society exist in a mode of selflessness and endless giving, but rather that we must remember to also nurture our mothers in return. Given the appropriate respect and authority, our ūkaipō are an eternal source of wisdom, love, guidance and sustenance - metaphorically, spiritually and physically.

Kia tūtuki ai te kōrero

Poipoia te tamaiti ki te ūkaipō

Kīnaki

Whakarongo, whakarongo rā

Toro mai te aroha ki te hau pō

Ka rere rā te karanga, te pōwhiri

Hōmai te aroha ki ahau nei

Mate i te wā, mate i ngā marae maha, mate i te pō

Tikina, tangihia

Ko Papatūānuku e tōtoro nei, i te ao, i te po, huihui ka moe

Tēnā rā koutou katoa

Kupu whakamārama - Glossary

atua(1)	Spiritual Being/God
atua (2)	menstrual blood/menstruation (te awa atua)
atua wahine	our spiritual ancestresses/goddesses
hapū (1)	sub-tribe, collective group
hapū (2)	pregnancy/conception
Hawaiiki	Original homeland of Māori
hononga	connections
hui	meeting, gathering, assembly
iwi	tribal grouping
kaimānga	term for food fed to young infants, first chewed and softened by an adult before being fed to them.
kanohi kitea	literally 'the seen face', refers to the principle of being physically present for matters of spiritual or tribal importance
kanohi ki te kanohi	literally translates to 'face-to-face'.
karakia	incantation/prayer
kaupapa	topic/plan/principle
Kaupapa Māori	pertaining to/grounded in Māori principles
kete	woven flax basket
Kōhanga reo	literally 'language nest'; refers to nationwide Māori language and cultural development initiative aimed particularly at preschool children and their whānau. Established in the 1980's.
kuia	grandmother/elderly woman
Kurawaka	genital area of Papatūānuku (the Earth mother), marked by the red ochre earth there, (birthplace also of Hineahuone)
mana	authority, prestige, power accorded to a person/whānau/hapu/iwi

mana wahine	power /prestige/authority accorded specifically to women
manaakitanga	principle of hospitality, of caring and kindness to others
mātauranga	Knowledge/Learning
Maui-tikitiki-ā-Tāranga	literally '*Maui of the topknot of Tāranga'* refers to the ancestor Maui and in particular the name he assumed at birth after being wrapped in the topknot (hair) of his mother)
mokopuna	grandchild or descendant
mōteatea	Traditional and ancient song/chant
Ngāti Hine	iwi based in the far North, named after prominent female ancestor Hineamaru
Ngāti Kahu	iwi within the Muriwhenua boundaries of the Far North, named after prominent female ancestor Kahutianui
Ngāpuhi	largest iwi grouping in New Zealand located in the Northern area.
noa	free from tapu, free from spiritual restriction
oriori	song/chant usually composed for children to convey important tribal knowledges and whakapapa, sung to children from a yound age.
Pākehā	person of European descent.
pakiwaitara	legend, story
pepeha	tribal saying.
pīkau	to carry on the back; also refers to a particular method of carrying a child wrapped in a special way on the back of an adult. Used metaphorically also to refer to a leader that carries significant responsibility for particular kaupapa *(kaipīkau)*
pōtiki	youngest child, often favoured. Maui was a pōtiki.

pūmotomoto	special flute used to play songs to children and infants. Design allows for the flute to be played directly onto the fontenelle of a baby.
rangahau	to seek or search knowledge/research
raranga	to weave, process of weaving.
ruāhine	women of non-childbearing age with the ability and authority to lift and place tapu. Integral to many spiritual ceremonies within the tribe.
tapu	under spiritual restriction/prohibition. Key regulatory aspect of the Maori legal system.
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te ao wairua	the spiritual realm
te iwi Māori	the Māori people
te pā harakeke	Metaphoric term for the whānau unit. Literally refers to the structure of the flax plant which reflects a child/parent/extended whānau structure, with the young shoots at the centre of the bush which are surrounded, protected and nourished by the older leaves of the flax around them. The young shoots and the leaves immediately surrounding them (nga matua/ parents) are never harvested as it would stifle the growth of the entire plant.
Te Rarawa	iwi within the Muriwhenua boundaries.
te reo Māori	the Māori language
te reo me ngā tikanga o Te Tai Tokerau	the language and customs of the Northern area of New Zealand
te hunga wairua	beings of the spiritual realm
tikanga	refers to the traditional customs, laws and values that dictate the behaviour of individuals and collective groups with each other and with the wider environment. Tikanga are derived from the spiritual realm and in particular the stories of the atua. (tika = correct)

tino rangatiratanga	upmost of authority, sovereignty, self determination
tohunga	expert
tūpuna	ancestor (also tīpuna)
tūrangawaewae	‘a place to stand’ (homeland)
utu	the maintenance of balance thorough reciprocal action. Key regulatory function within the traditional Maori legal system.
waiata	song/chant
waiata tawhito	old/ancient song
waituhitanga	blessing/baptism
whaea	term for mother also: ewe, karawa, koaka, kokara, tia, tiaka, ūkaipō, whaene, whawharua
whānau (1)	familial grouping
whānau (2)	relating to birth (whakawhānau, whānautanga)
whakaaro	thought/idea
whakarāpōpoto	summary
whakatauki	proverbial saying
whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro	to debate, moot, discuss
whakapapa	genealogical and familial connections and also tātai whakapapa – recital or record of whakapapa
whānaungatanga	maintenance/acknowledgement of relations/relationships between people.
whāngai	traditional form of care and guardianship of a child whereby the primary care is assumed by an adult other than the biological parent of the child. A fluid and flexible arrangement, often referred to as Maori form of adoption(though significantly different from European adoption).
whare	house/building
wharepuni	traditional communal building
whenua (1)	land
whenua (2)	placenta

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Appendix 1: Iwi of Muriwhenua

Appendix 2: Māori Version of the Treaty of Waitangi

Preamble

Ko Wikitoria, te Kuini o Ingarani, i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga, me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani-kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te Wenua nei me nga Motu-na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei.

Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana.

Na, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aianei, amua atu ki te Kuini e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.

Ko te Tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu-te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu-ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te Wenua-ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini-Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

(Signed) William Hobson,
Consul and Lieutenant-Governor.

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu.

Ka meatia tenei ki Waiangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga.

Appendix 3: Te Tuku o Hineteiwaiwa

TE TUKU O HINE-TE-IWAIWA

Raranga, raranga täku takapau,
Ka pukea e te wai,
Hei moenga mo aku rei.
Ko Rupe, ko Manumea,
Ka pukea: ê! ê!
Mo aku rei tokorua ka pukea.
Ka pukea au e te wai,
Ka pukea, ê! ê!
Ko koro taku tane ka pukea.
Piki ake hoki au ki runga nei:
Te Matitikura, ê! ê!
Ki a Toroa irunga,
Te Matitikura, ê! ê!
Kia whakawhānaua aku tama
Ko au anake ra.
Tu te turuturu no Hine-rauwharangi;
Tu te turuturu no Hine-te-iwaiwa.
Tu i tou tia me ko Ihuwareware;
Tu i tou kona me ko Ihuatamai.
Kaua rangia ana e Rupe.
Kei tauatia, ko an te inati,
Ko Hine-te-iwaiwa.
Tuku iho irunga i tou huru,
I tou upoko,
I on tara-pakihiwi,
I tou uma,
I to ate,
I ou turipona,
I ou waewae.
E tuku ra ki waho.
Tuku ewe,
Tuku take,
Tuku parapara.
Naumai ki waho.

APPENDIX 4:

Maui Pomare Nga kohungahunga me nga kai ma ratou*, (Turanga, Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta, ki te Perehi ki Te Rau, 1909)*

NGA KOHUNGAHUNGA ME NGA KAI MA RATOU.

Na MAUI POMARE, M.D.

TURANGA:
Na te Wiremu Hapatu i ta, ki te Perehi ki Te Rau.
1909.

Ko nga Take o nga Mate Tamariki.

KO te kai tuatahi a te tamaiti ko ŋa toto o te ʌhaea, ara ko ŋa toto e haereatu ana ma roto i te pito, no reira, ka timata ano te hapu o te wahine, me mutu te kai i ŋa kai kino, ara i ŋa kai ahua pirau, penei me te kotero, me te kaŋa wai, me te koura pirau, ika pirau ranei. Ko tenei mea ko te toto e ahu mai ana i roto i ŋa kai—ka pai ŋa kai, ka pai ŋa toto ; a ka kino ŋa kai, ka kino ŋa toto. No reira ka hapu te wahine me timata rawa tana tiaki i tona tinana kia ora ai tana tamaiti i roto i a ia, kia pakari ai. Kaua rawa te wahine hapu e kai rama tupeka ranei. He maha ŋa pepe e hauraŋi ana, ko te kaho rama i inu ai taua pepe ko te u o tona ʌhaea kai rama. Kati, ko te nuiŋa o ŋa mate e pa ana ki te iwi kohuŋahuŋa e ahu atu ana ma te waha,

ara he he no ŋa kai e hoatu ana ma ratou. E mohio ana au nui ke atu ŋa tamariki e mate ana i te tau i te he o ŋa kai a aua tamariki i ŋa mate katoa e pa ana ki te tinana taŋata.

Ko te U o te Whaea te mea tika, a ko ta te atua hoki tena i homai ai hei ngote ma nga pepe.

Heoi ano te mea e mohio ana au e tino tika ana hei ŋote, ara ko te u o te ꝛhaea mehemea he wahine ora te ꝛhaea. Ki te kore to te ꝛhaea me kimi i tetahi wahine atu, ara mehemea kei te tino ora tona tinana. Ki te kore enei e taea katahi tatou ka kimi i tetahi miraka ke.

Kia tae ra ano ki te ꝛhitu, a pai atu ki te waru ki te iwa marama o te tamaiti, ka ꝛhaka-mutu ai te ꝛhakaŋote ki te u o te ꝛhaea. Ko te ꝛhaea e hoha ana ki te ꝛhakaŋote i tana tamaiti ki tona u, mehemea kaore ona mate a e pai ana tona miraka ki tana tamaiti, kei te kohuru tena wahine i tana tamaiti—pai atu me mutu tana haŋa tamariki.

Ko tenei mea ko te ŋote a te pepe i te u o te ꝛhaea he mea pai ki te tamaiti, he mea ꝛhakaora i te ꝛhaea. Ka tere tona ora mehe-mea ka tukuna e ia kia ŋotea ona u e tana tamaiti—na te Atua tenei ture i haŋa.

Ko nga mea hei Maharatanga ma te Wahine whakangote Tamariki.

1. Kaua e inu waipiro.
2. Kaua e kai tupeka.
3. Kaua e harihari i te tamaiti ki ŋa hui, taŋihaŋa ranei.
4. Kaua e ara roa i ŋa po.
5. Kaua e mahi i ŋa mea tino taumaha.
6. Kaua e haere ki ro wai.
7. Kaua e haere maku me ŋa kakahu.
8. Kaua e noho riririri, me koakoa.
9. Me kai i ŋa kai pai—kia rite te makona.
10. Me kaukau i roto i te wai mahana, kia rua kaukauŋa i te wiki.
11. Kia mahana tonu te tinana.

Ko te U o te Whaea te Kai ma te Tamaiti.

Eŋari ki te kitea he mate to te ꝛhaea, a kaore ranei ona miraka, a e kino ana ranei ŋa miraka ki te tamaiti, me kaua te tamaiti e ꝛhakaŋotea ki te u o te ꝛhaea eŋari me kimi he kai ke ma te pepe.

Mehemea e pai ana ŋa miraka o te ꝛhaea eŋari ia kaore e nui ana hei ꝛhakamakona i te tamaiti, me ꝛhaŋai ki te u o te ꝛhaea, a me etahi atu kai hoki.

Etahi mea hei Maharatanga mo te Pepe.

1. Kaua e hoatu he paraoa, he heko, he taewa, he ti, he tiihi, he arorutu (arrow root) me etahi atu kai tino maro.

5. Kia mahana tonu te tamaiti i ŋa wa katoa, eŋari kaua e wera. I ŋa ra matao me kakahu i ŋa kahu mahana, a i ŋa ra wera me kakahu i ŋa kahu aŋiaŋi.

3. Kia ma tonu ŋa patara miraka, ko ŋa patara kuikamo (cucumber), ŋa patara papai. Kia rua patara ma te tamaiti. Ko te ma o ŋa mea katoa e pa ana te miraka ma te tamaiti, koia tena te mea nui.

4. Kia hou tonu te kai ma te tamaiti, kaua e waiho kia maŋeo te miraka. Ko ŋa kai kua haere te piro, ki te pupuru, ki te pirau, he paihini ena tu kai ma te tamariki.

5. Kaua e tukuna kia eke te raŋo, te puehu ranei ki ruŋa i ŋa kai ma te tamariki, ko te take he mate kei ŋa waewae o te raŋo e hari haere ana, a he mate kei roto i te puehu. Me mohio te taŋata ki ŋa wahi e haeretia ana e tenei mea e te raŋo, a ka arai kia kaua e haeretia a ruŋa o ŋa kai a te tamaiti. Ko tenei mea ko te puehu e uru ana ŋa mea kino katoa ki roto—te mare taŋata, te tutae hoiho, te aha atu hoki—no reira, araja kei tau he puehu ki roto i ŋa kai a to tamaiti.

6. Kia rite ŋa haora o te vhaŋaitaŋa i te tamaiti, kaua e purua-tonutia. Ko te miraka ora a te kau ora te miraka ma te tamaiti.

Ko nga Tikanga mo nga Kai ma te Pepe.

1. Kaua e vhaŋaia te tamaiti ki ŋa kai ke atu i te miraka me te kirimi, kia tae marire rawa ŋa marama ki te vhitu.

2. Mai i te vhanautaŋga tae noa ki te ono o ŋa wiki me vhaŋai tonu te tamaiti i ŋa haora e rua katoa o te awatea, a i ŋa haora e toru o te po.

3. Ko te meiha i te miraka me penei:—Kia kotahi kapu miraka, kia rua kapu wai kua kohuatia, ka maka ki roto i tetahi hohipena (enamelled saucepan) kua oti te vhakatapu mo ŋa kai anake a te tamaiti. Ka mutu ka uta ki ruŋa ahi, a ka timata kau ana te koropupu ka tāki, ka maka kia kotahi tipuna huka paŋo (brown sugar) ki roto, ka korori kia rewa, ka ririŋi i te miraka ki roto i tetahi tiaka kua oti te horoi ka kohua ka taupoki, ka waiho i tetahi wahi ma matao hoki. Kia piraŋitia ka maka ki roto i te patara ŋote, ka hoatu i te patara ki roto i te wai mahana, a kia mahana te te miraka i roto i te patara ka hoatu ai ma te tamaiti. Kaua e hoatu makariri te miraka.

4. Kaua e wareware kia tino ma ŋa patara, me horoi ki te wai mahana ka mutu ka tuku ki roto i te wai koropupu mo te meneti mo te rua meneti ranei, ka waiho ai kia maroke. He ma te roŋoa nui mo te tamaiti.

Ko te Meiha o te Whangai.

I te wiki tuatahi kia 3 teepu punu miraka i nga haora e rua o te awatea, a i nga haora e toru o te po.

I te wiki tuarua kia 4 kia 5 ranei teepu punu miraka i nga haora e rua o te awatea, a i nga haora e toru o te po.

I te wiki tuatoru kia 5 kia 6 ranei teepu punu miraka i nga haora e rua o te awatea, a i nga haora e toru o te po.

I te wiki tuawha kia 6 teepu punu miraka i nga haora e rua o te awatea, i nga haora e toru o te po.

I te wiki tuaono kia rite te nui o te miraka me te wai, a kia rua teepupunu kirimi e maka ki roto i te patara mo te kainga kotahi.

I te wiki tuawhitu kia 7 teepu punu miraka i nga haora e rua o te awatea, a i nga haora e toru o te po.

I te wiki tuawaru kia 7 kia 8 ranei teepu punu miraka i nga haora e rua o te awatea, a i nga haora e toru o te po.

I te wiki tuaiwa kia 8 kia 9 ranei teepu punu miraka i nga haora e rua o te awatea, a i nga haora e toru o te po.

I te wiki tekau kia 9 kia 10 ranei teepu punu miraka i nga haora e rua o te awatea, a i nga haora e toru o te po.

I te wiki tekau-ma-tahi kia 10 kia 11 ranei teepu punu miraka in nga haora e rua o te awatea, a i nga haora e toru o te po.

Kia hahe punu ti huka paŋo e maka ki roto i ŋa kapu katoa o ŋa miraka ma te pepe, ara kia kotahi tipunu huka paŋo e maka ki roto i ŋa paina (pint) miraka katoa.

Ka tae ki te hitu o ŋa wiki ka timata te hakanui haere i ŋa miraka me te hakaroa haere i ŋa haŋaiŋa. Ka tae te tamaiti ki te toru marama, a tae noa ki te hitu, me hakarahi haere te miraka, a me te iti haere o te wai, ara kia rua ŋa kapu miraka kia kotahi to te wai, ka kohua me te hakareka, ka mutu ka maka he kirimi ki roto kia toru kia ha tipunu ki roto i te miraka i ŋa kaiŋa katoa.

Kia ha haŋaiŋa i te ra, kia rua i te po mehemea e ara ana te tamaiti i te po. Mehemea i te hanautaŋa mai te timataŋa o te tamaiti ki te kai miraka kau, me timata i te 32 teepu punu i te ra, a ka hakanui haere kia rua kia ha ranei teepu punu i te wiki te nuiŋa haeretaŋa ake a taea noatia te hitu o ŋa marama.

Ka tae ki te hitu marama kua timata te puta o ŋa niho, ko etahi e tere atu ana te timata, ko etahi e roa atu ana i te hitu marama ka tahi ano ka puta ŋa niho. Ka timata te puta o ŋa niho ka timata hoki te hakaiti haere i te wai o ŋa miraka, a te hakanui haere i te kirimi, a ko te putaŋa o ŋa niho he tohu tena kua tae ki te takiwa e tika ai te hoatu i etahi kai ke atu hei hoa mo te miraka. Hei reira hoatu ai i ŋa kai tamariki, ara

Benger's Food, Mellin's Food me etahi atu kai, eŋari kia ata hoatu i te tuatahi. Me ki kia kotahi kaiŋa o te tamaiti i aua kai tamariki i te ra me te titiro a te vhaea mehemea e pai ana taua kai ki te tamaiti. He kai pai te paraoa mata eŋari me omu kia haere te kara o te paraoa me to te witi ka maka kia kotahi tipunu o taua paraoa kua omutia ra ki roto i te kai a te tamaiti, ka kororirori kia ata hanumi pai ka hoatu ai kia kaiŋa e te tamaiti.

Hei tenei takiwa, ara i te takiwa kua timata te puta o ŋa niho, ka hoatu he iwi hipi kaua he miiti i ruŋa hei ŋauŋau ma te tamaiti; ehara i te mea hei kai eŋari hei vhakaputa i ŋa niho, hei vhakakaha i ŋā paewai o te tamaiti. Eŋari ki te taka taua iwi raka ki ruŋa i te puroa i te repo ranei kaua e vhakahokia ki te waha o te tamaiti ŋauŋau ai, eŋari me hakiri tena ka hoatu he iwi hou.

Ko ŋa pounamu ŋauŋau a ŋa tamariki me horoi katoa kia ma ka hoatu ai.

Kaua rawa e hoatu ŋa ŋoteŋote vhakamutu taŋi (comforter) a te Pakeha nei ki ŋa pepe. He mea kino atu aua mea—e puta mai ana etahi mate kino i te paruparu o aua mea.

Mai i te taeŋa o ŋa marama o te tamaiti ki te tekau-ma-rua a taea noatia te tekau-ma-waru o ŋa marama me hoatu kia rua tekau a tae atu ki te rua tekau-ma-vha teepu punu miraka kia vha hoatutaŋa i te ra, me ŋa ka

tamariki hoki, a me etahi atu kai—paraoa kua vhakaŋawaritia ki miraka, he parete (porridge), he raihi, he heeki ŋawari kaore i maro te tunu, he wai miiti, manu ranei; a me te ata hoatu haere i ŋa kai ma te pakeke.

Nga Miraka Tini.

Kia mohio ki ŋa miraka tini, kaore e penei te pai o ŋa miraka tini me o ŋa miraka kau, a kaore hoki e rite te pai o ŋa miraka kau penei me ŋa miraka taŋata. Eŋari ia mehemea kaore rawa e taea te tiki miraka kau kati me penei te haŋa i te kai ma te tamaiti:—Kia kotahi punu miraka tini, kia rua punu wai. Mehemea ko ŋa miraka reka nei kaua e maka he huka paŋo ki roto. Kaua e hoatu ko ŋa miraka kei ruŋa i te tini e mau ana enei kupu he miraka kua taŋohia te kirimi (skimmed or separated). Mehemea he miraka pena kaore he kai o roto i tena miraka, kua riro te taŋo te paiŋa o tena miraka a e kore e ora te tamaiti. Kia kaha te tiaki i a tatou tamariki!

Te Ora me nga Mate o te Tamaiti.

1. Mehemea ka taŋitaŋi te tamaiti, a ki te ruaruaki, a ki te torohi ranei, tirohia ŋa paru, a, mehemea ka kitea he pokurukuru miraka e

ma ana i roto me ꞏhakahoki iho te nui o te kai, me ꞏhakarahi ake ranei ko te wai o roto i te kai, a kia tapu tonu ŋa haora ꞏhaŋaiŋa.

2. Kia mohio ko te rahi o te puku o tenei mea o te pepe e toru e ꞏha teepu punu ka ki, a ki te tino nui ake i tena ka waiho hei ꞏhaka-pupuhi i te puku, hei timataŋa mate. Kaua e ꞏhakakiia te patara, eŋari me ata haere i ruŋa i ŋa tohutohu kua tohutohuŋia nei ki a koutou.

3. Kaua e hohoro te hoatu kai i ŋa taŋihaŋa katoa o te tamaiti, eŋari ata tirohia ŋa take i taŋi ai, akuanei ehara i te hiakai, he hiawai ke, kati hoatu he wai hei inu ma te tamaiti. He mea pai te wai eŋari ko ŋa wai kua oti te kohua.

4. Kia mohio ko etahi tamariki he nunui ake i etahi, a e tika ana kia nui ake he kai ma era. No reira kia mohio ki a tatou meiha, ko te tikaŋa o ȧua meiha mo te nuiŋą o ŋa tamariki kaore mo te katoa (average).

5. Kaua e natia te hope o te tamaiti ki te kahu. Kau e tukuna kia makariri ŋa waewae o te tamaiti. Kaua e maŋere ki te titiro me-hemea kua maku te tauera o raro i te kumu, a ka hoatu he mea maroke. Kaua e herea kia kiki rawa ŋa kaka. Kaua e mahia kia roroa rawa ŋa kakahu, eŋari kia kaha ŋa riŋa me ŋa waewae ki te kori. Kaua e kakahuria te tamaiti ki ŋa mea katene (cotton), hei ŋa mea wuru, paranene kaua te mea e karaŋatia nei he paranarete (flannelette).

APPENDIX 5:

Maui Pomare Ko ngā tamaririki me ngā kai mā rātou (Pōneke, Tari mo te Ora, 1916)

Reo Maori, Reo Pakeha. In Maori and English.

KO NGA TAMARIRIKI
ME
NGA KAI MA RATOU.

NA MAUI POMARE, M.D.

He mea tapiri mai ki o a nga Neehi o nga Takiwa Maori.

TARI NO TE ORA, PONEKE, 1916.

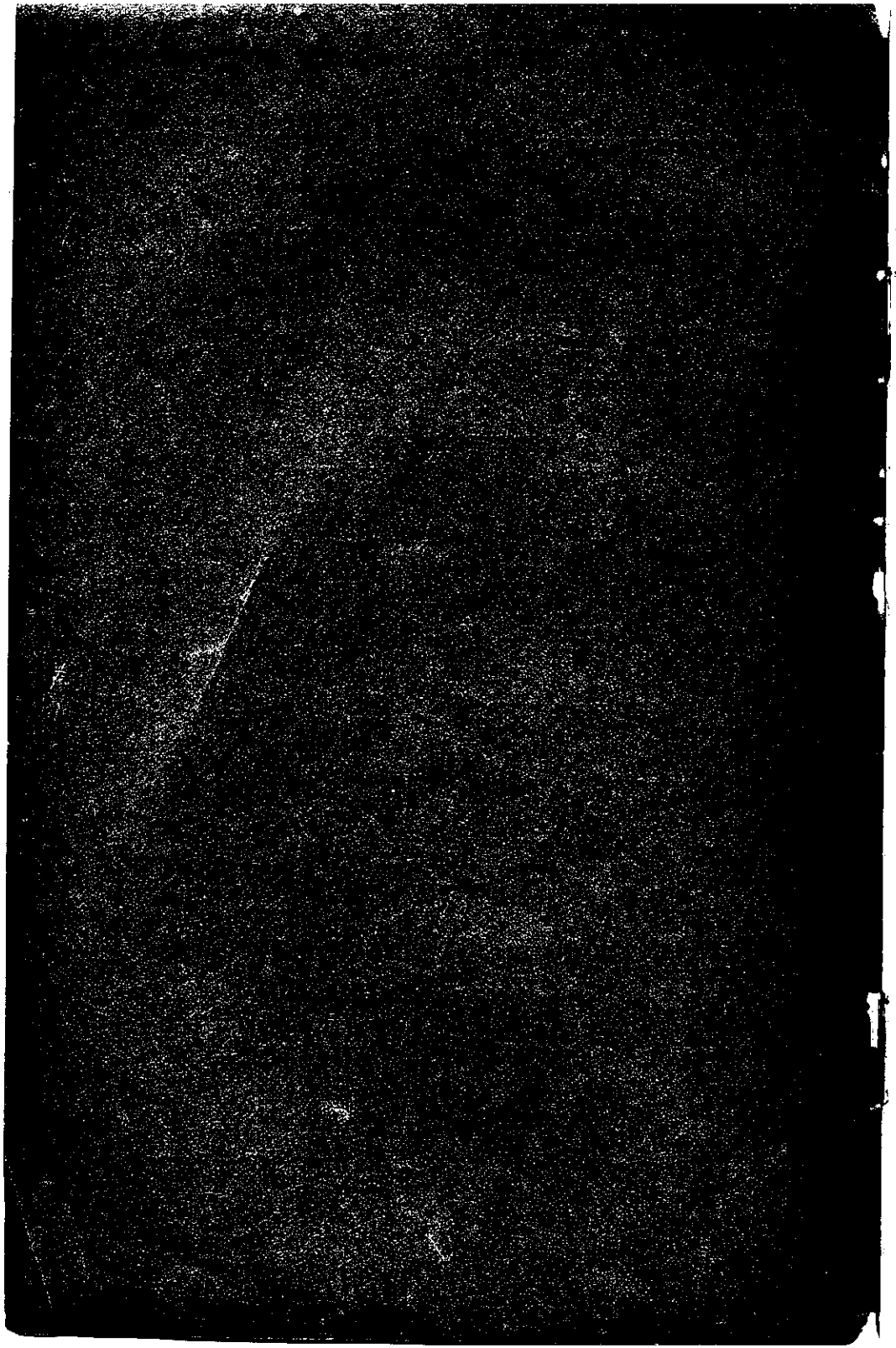
INFANTS AND THEIR FOODS.

BY MAUI POMARE, M.D.

With additions by District Nurses for Maoris.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, WELLINGTON, 1916.

Wellington:
[illegible]
1916.



Reo Maori, Reo Pakeha. In Maori and English.

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Wellington:
MARCUS F. MARKS, Government Printer.
—
1916.

KUPU WHAKAMUA.

He tokomaha ke nga tamariki Maori e matemate atu ana. E ata mohiotia atu ana he tini nga mea o ratou e mate atu ana i te he marire o te tiaki a nga whaea; penei hoki i nga whaea tai-tamariki Pakeha e noho kuware noa iho nei ki nga tikanga mo te whangai me te tiaki i nga tamaririki. E tumanaako atu ana tenei e ma nga kupu tohutohu kua kohia ake ki te iti pukapuka nei e awhina atu nga mea e aro ana.

Na, kia ata mohio mai, ko te ora o tenei hanga o te tangata e whakakaupapatia iho ana i roto tonu o te tau tuatahi o te whanautanga mai; otira, kei te ahua o te ora i te Marama tuatahi te mohiotia ai nga ahuatanga o muri mai.

Ko te nuinga o nga tamariki e ora ana i te whanautanga mai; otira, he ruarua nei nga mea ora, nga mea kaha, i te pahuretanga o te Marama tuatahi, tuarua.

Ki te tikanga, e takato noa iho ana te kai-arai mo tena ahua. E hara i te mea na nga tamariki ake te take i matemate ai ratou; ko te take ke kei te he o te whangai.

Kei nga matua me te Neehi e tiaki nei i te whaea nga ritenga e oraora ai e matemate ai ranei te tamaiti whanau hou; a, ko te timatanga hei te whaea tonu; ina hoki ra me whai ki nga kupu tohutohu nei, ko te nuinga na Takuta Pomare, a, e mohiotia iho ana toona ngakau-nui ki te whakaaro huarahi e ora ai e piki ake ai toona iwi Maori.

PREFACE.

Too many Maori children are dying, many of them we know through neglect because their mothers, like many young Pakeha mothers, are ignorant of the right way to feed and care for them. We hope the advice contained in this small book may help many.

Remember that the child is practically made or marred in the first twelve months of life, and steady uninterrupted progress in the first month largely determines what follows.

Nearly every baby is born healthy, yet few are as strong and well as they should be at the end of a month or two.

This falling-off can easily be prevented. Babies do not make themselves delicate and sickly; they become so through faulty feeding.

It is the parents, and the nurse who looks after the mother when the child is born, who make him either well or ill, and the beginning must be with the mother, as the following advice, mostly by Dr. Pomare, whose concern for the preservation and betterment of the Maori race should be well known to every Maori, will show.

KO NGA TAMARIRIKI ME NGA KAI MA RATOU.

Ko nga Take Matemate o nga Tamaririki.

Ko nga kai tuatahi a te tamaiti kei nga toto tonu o te whaea, e rere atu nei ma roto o te tangaengae. No konei, ka hapu ana te wahine me whakamutu te kai i nga kai kikino, ara, ahua kometo, pirau nei; penei i te Kotero, te Kaanga wai, te Koura pirau, me te ika pena. Tenei mea te toto e ahu ake ana i nga mea e kainga ana; ki te papai nga kai, ka papai hoki nga toto; ki te kikino nga kai, ka kikino hoki nga toto. Na konei ki te mea ka hapu te wahine me timata rawa taana tiaki i toona tinana, kia ora ai kia pakari ai te tupu o te tamaiti kua noho mai ra i roto i te takapu. Kaua rawa te wahine hapu e kai i te waipiro, i te tupeka ranei. He maha ke nga Tamaririki e whakahaurangitia ana, ko te kaaho waipiro i inu ai ko nga u tonu o te whaea inu waipiro. Ano hoki ra, ko te nuinga o nga matemate e pa nei ki nga tamaririki e ahu atu ana ma te waha; ara, he he o nga kai e whangainga ana ki a ratou. E mohio iho ana au e he nui ke nga tamaririki e matemate atu ana i te he o nga kai e whangainga atu ana, i o nga matemate ke atu e pa nei ki te tinana tangata.

Ko te U o te Whaea te Mea Tika, a, ko ta te Atua tena i Whakarite ai hei Ngote ma nga Tamaririki.

E mohio atu ana au e heoi rawa te mea tino tika e ora ai te tamaiti ko te waiu tonu o te whaea; mehemea ra he wahine ora te whaea. Ka kore i to te whaea ake, me whakarite atu ki ta tetahi, ki ta te wahine tinana ora. Ka kore enei mea erua, hei reira ka whakarite ai ki te miraka nei.

Kia tae ra ano ki te whitu, a, pai ke ki te waru me te iwa Marama o te tamaiti, ka whakamutu ai te whakangote ki te waiu o te whaea. Ko te whaea whakahoha atu ki te whakangote i te tamaiti ki te waiu, mehemea ra he tinana ora a e ora ana te tamaiti i taana waiu, he wahine kohuru tena i te tamaiti, pai ke me mutu rawa taana whakawhanau tamariki.

INFANTS AND THEIR FOODS.

Causes of Ailments in Children.

THE first nourishment which the (unborn) child receives is the blood of its mother per medium of the umbilical cord. It therefore follows that when a woman conceives she should abstain from eating injurious foods—that is to say, such foods as are unsound in the shape of potatoes, maize which has been steeped in water, and putrid fish. Blood is formed from the food which is eaten: if the food be good the blood is good; conversely, if the food be bad the blood is bad. So that when a woman conceives she should take extra care of herself in the interests of her unborn babe and its proper development. A pregnant woman should not on any account drink strong drinks or smoke tobacco. Many babes become drunken by imbibing the milk from the breasts of their grog-drinking mothers. Most of the ailments to which infants are subject are generated through the mouth—that is to say, through the injurious foods with which they are fed. I happen to know that more deaths of children annually occur through wrong feeding than from any other causes whatever.

The Mother's Breast is the Proper Food-source, and it is what Nature has provided to suckle the Baby.

In my opinion the best food-source is from the breast of the mother, provided the mother is a healthy woman. Where necessary some other and healthy woman should be sought (to suckle the child). Failing these we turn to some other milk-source.

The child should be suckled for at least seven months, but better still for eight or nine, before being taken from the breast of its mother. The mother who wearies of suckling her child—if she be healthy and her milk be good for its nourishment—is killing it; better that she cease to bear children.

Ko tena mea ko te whakangote i te tamaiti ki te waiu o te whaea, he mea tino pai, he mea e puta ai te ora ki a raua tahi. Ka tere tonu i kona te ora ake o te whaea—na te Atua tena i whakarite mai.

Ko nga Mea hei Maharatanga iho ma nga Wahine Whakangote Tamaririki.

1. Kaua e inu waipiro.
2. Kaua e kai tupeka.
3. Kaua e harihari i te tamaiti ki nga hui, ki nga tangihanga.
4. Kaua e ara-roa i nga po.
5. Kaua e mahi i nga mahi taimaha.
6. Kaua e kaukau ki roto ki te wai-waho.
7. Kaua e kakahu haere i nga kahu maku.
8. Kaua e noho pukuriri, erangi kia hara-koakoa.
9. Me kai ki nga kai papai—kia pai te makona.
10. Me kaukau ki te wai-mahana, kia rua kaukauranga i te Wiki.
11. Tiakina te tinana kia mahana tonu.

Ko te Waiu o te Whaea hei Oranga mo te Tamaiti.

Engari, mehemea he mate kei te whaea, ki te mea ranei ka kore ona waiu, a, e kawa ana ranei te waiu ana ngotea e te tamaiti; kaua te tamaiti e whakangotea ki kona, me kimi ke atu he kai e rite ana.

Mehemea e pai ana te waiu o te whaea engari na te iti ka kore ai e makona te tamaiti; me whakangote ano ki te waiu a me tapiri atu ki etahi kai e rite ana.

Etahi Mea Maharatanga e Aro ana ki te Tamaiti.

1. Kaua e whangainga atu ki te paraoa, ki te heeko, ki te taewa, ki te ti, tiihi, arorutu (*arrowroot*); me ena atu kai ahua maro, puioio hoki.

2. Tiakina tonutia te tamaiti kia mahana i nga wa katoa; engari kei werawera rawa. I nga rangi makariri me kahu atu ki nga kahu whakamahana; a, i nga rangi werawera me kahu ki nga kahu angiangi..

The practice of suckling the baby at its mother's breast is one that is advantageous to both the mother and the child from a health point of view. She who nurtures her infant at her breasts regains her own health the sooner—that is a provision of nature.

Matters which Suckling Women should keep in Mind.

1. Not to take strong drink.
2. Not to smoke tobacco.
3. Not to take an infant to large assemblies or to tangis.
4. Not to sit up late at night.
5. Not to do laborious work or lift heavy weights.
6. Not to bathe (in open water).
7. Not to go about in damp or wet clothes.
8. Not to be bad-tempered, but to cultivate cheerfulness.
9. To eat only of good foods—till properly satisfied.
10. To take bi-weekly baths in warm water.
11. To keep the body warm always.

The Breast of the Mother the Food-source for the Child.

But should the mother be ill, should she make little milk, or should her milk disagree with the child, then the child should not take the mother's breast; other foods must be sought for it.

In cases where the mother's milk agrees with the child, but proves to be insufficient for its proper nourishment, then it should be fed partly with the breast and partly with other foods.

Other Matters in connection with the Infant.

1. It should not be fed with flour, sago, potatoes, tea, cheese, arrowroot, or other strong or solid foods.

2. The child should be kept warm always, but never heated. In cold weather it should be clad in warm clothes, and in warm weather it should be clad in light material.

3. Kia ma tonu nga pounamu takotoranga miraka; ko nga pounamu papai ko nga mea kukama (*cucumber*) nei; kia rua tahi nga pounamu ma te tamaiti. Ko tetahi mea tino nui tenei, ara, kia ma tonu nga mea katoa e ringihia nei ki te miraka ma te tamaiti.

4. Ko nga kai ma te tamaiti hei nga mea hou; kaua e waiho kia mangeo te miraka. Ko nga kai kua puta ake te haunga, kua tu a-pirau, he rongoa whakamate ena ki te whangainga atu.

5. Kaua e tukua kia tau he rango, kia eke ranei he puehu ki nga kai ma te tamaiti; notemea he mate tena e haria haeretia na ki nga waewae rango; a, kei roto hoki kei te puehu e noho ake ana. E mohio noa atu ana te tangata ki nga waahi tautara e tauria nei e te rango; no reira araia atu kei tauria hoki nga kai ma te tamaiti. Whai hoki, e uru ana nga mea kikino katoa ki te mea nei ki te puehu, te maremare tangata, te tutae kararehe, te aha atu hoki; no reira tiakina kei rere he puehu ki roto ki nga kai ma te tamaiti.

Ko nga Kai e rite ana ma te Tamaiti.

Tae noa te tamaiti ki te whitu Marama, neke ake, hei te miraka kiriimi tinana ora anake he kai. Hei te miraka ora o te kau orahekai.

Mai o te whanautanga taka noa ki te waru Wiki me whangai te tamaiti i ia toru haora i te aoatea; a, mehemea ka ara ake i te po kia kotahi kia rua ranei whangaingatanga atu. He rite tonu te kino o te hono rawa o te whangai ki te kino o te whakatiki atu.

Te Tiaki me te Taka i te Miraka Kau.

Ko te tamaiti e whakangotea nei ki te waiu o te whaea e ora ana ki tena; ko te mea kahore i pangia ki nga mea rawaho whakakinokino nei i nga kai.

Mehemea e kore e ahei kia whakangotea ki te waiu o te whaea, a, ka whakainumia atu ki te miraka kau, kia tupato tonu ki tenei, hei te mea hou, mea tino ma. Na, me timata atu ki te whakaaroaro ki te kau naana te miraka:—

1. Ki mua atu o te mirakatanga me horoi nga u o te kau ki te wai ma, kia tino ma nei.

3. The milk-bottles should be kept perfectly clean and sweet: this is important and absolutely essential. The "cucumber" bottles are the best to use, and there should always be two on hand for the child.

4. The food of the child should be perfectly fresh. Avoid tainted or sour milk. Foods which emit an odour, which are tainted or sour, are poisonous to the child.

5. Do not allow flies or dust to settle on the child's food, because diseases are disseminated by flies' feet and by dust. A person has only to reflect on the places where flies are in the habit of alighting to know that flies should be prevented from settling on infants' foods. As to dust, it is mixed with all kinds of bad things—human phlegm, droppings of animals, and so forth—therefore see that dust does not settle on children's foods.

The Right Sort of Food for the Baby.

Do not feed the child on anything but fresh whole milk until it is well over seven months old; let it have good milk from healthy cows.

From birth until eight weeks old the child should be fed every three hours during the day and once or twice during the night if it is awake. To feed the baby too much is as bad as to starve it.

The Care and Preparation of Cow's Milk.

When the child is fed in the natural way with the mother's own milk from the breast it receives the fresh pure milk which it needs, with no fear of anything contaminating it.

When for any reason the baby cannot have its mother's milk and cow's milk is substituted the greatest care is necessary so that this can be as fresh and pure as possible, and we must begin with the cow first.

1. The cow's teats must be thoroughly washed with clean water before it is milked.

2. Ko te tangata miraka me matua horoi rawa ona ringa ka tauera atu ai ki te tauera ma; ka miraka ai i te kau.

3. Ko te pakete hei rerenga iho mo te miraka me tohu mo tena mahi anake, a, me tino horoi ki te wai wera me te hopi i te mutunga iho o ia mirakatanga. Na, i mua o te mirakatanga me whakarekare rawa ki te wai-koropupu, kaua e whakamaroketia atu, me huri taupoki he whakamaroke whakamimiti.

4. He pai kia wehea atu te tunga miraka i te whare nohoanga tangata; he kino rawa te ruuma moenga tangata, te kihini hoki, i te werawera. Pai atu me hanga ki te pouaka he nohoanga ka whakatare ai ki waho o te whare; ki te taha marumaru, ranei, ki raro rakau-tupu.

5. Mahinga nohoanga: Akina atu te taharunga, me te tahararo o te pouaka Kanara nei. Whakakahangia atu nga koki e wha. Orea atu he kowhao ki tetahi o nga taha ka whakairi atu ai ki te Patu o te whare, ki te titi. Hei te waahi rerenga puhanga hau. Waiho ki kona tu ai te miraka mo nga haora e rima i te makariri, me nga haora e wha i te raumati, i mua atu i te takanga hei kai ma te tamaiti mo tena ra. Kia tupato hoki, kei whakairia te tunga ki runga ake o tetahi awakeri, tautara ranei, putanga haunga ranei. Kia teitei ake ano i te whenua te whakairinga tunga.

6. Whakarekarea atu te haaka (*jug*) ki te wai-koropupu hei takotoranga mo te miraka i muringa iho o te tataringa iho ki te mahirini (*muslin*), ki te taretare horoi riihi nei ranei, hei te mea ma. Uhia atu te haaka ki tetahi mahirini ma, kia kapi katoa te haaka, ka whakatu ai ki roto ki tetahi ipu wai-matao ki te pouaka kua kiia ake ra. Ko te mahirini kia iri tatu ki roto ki te wai na, ko te pai ka iri maku tonu, tuarua, e kore e rere i te hau.

Kia rima kapu (*cups*) ki, e whakatu pena ma te tamaiti.

Pai ke kia rua tahi nga mahinga penatanga o te miraka hou i te ra. Otira ano, mehemea e pai ana te mahi me te tiaki ko te ora pai tonu te miraka mo nga haora e 24, mehemea ka whakawerawerangia ki te wera e kore nei e taea te inu atu e te tangata pakari nei, ka whakamataotaotia whakahohorotia ki te whakatunga atu o te haaka ki roto ki te wai-matao hou.

2. The person who milks the cow should wash his hands well and dry them on a clean towel before starting to milk.

3. The bucket or can used to receive the milk should be kept for milk alone, and should be thoroughly washed with hot water and soap after each milking, and before the milking must be well rinsed out with boiling water and *not dried*, but turned upside down to drain.

4. The milk should never be kept in the house, especially in any room where people sleep, or in a hot kitchen. It should be kept in a safe outside, hung on the coolest side of the house, or under a tree.

5. To make safe: Knock the top and bottom out of a candle-box, brace the four corners, bore holes in one side, and hang on nail on the house. Choose as draughty a place as possible. Let the milk sit there for five hours in the winter and four hours in the summer before you prepare the baby's food for the day. Remember the milk-safe must not be hung near a drain, manure-heap, or any bad smell. Hang the safe well up off the ground.

6. Strain the milk through muslin or a clean dish-towel before putting it to set into a scalded jug. Cover the jug with a clean piece of muslin reaching to the bottom of the jug, and stand the jug in a basin of cold water in the safe. The muslin should hang in the water so that as well as being kept moist it will not blow off the jug.

About five cupfuls of the new milk should be set for the baby.

It is best to have fresh milk twice a day if possible, but with care it can be kept quite well for the twenty-four hours by heating it till it is just too hot for an adult to drink, and cooling it quickly again by standing the jug in fresh cold water.

Ko te Taka o te Miraka mo te Ra-tahi.

Kia takatu katoa enei mea ki te teepu, kia ma te teepu,—

He kapu rahi.
He haaka e o atu ai te 4 te 5 ranei kapu-ki.
He haaka iti iho.
He ti-puunu.
He maripi.
He teepu-puunu, ki runga ki tetahi pureti ma.
He wai-raima, mehemea e ahei ana.
He huka.

Kia takatu ano hoki te ti-kera wai-koropupu me te hopane kia hawhe te ki i te wai-koropupu. Me matua kohi katoa atu nga mea ki te wai-wera, kaua e whakamarokeroketia. Hei reira ka tiki atu ai i te haaka miraka i te nohoanga mai ra.

Tena, kokoa ake ki te teepu-puunu kia rua nga kianga kapu o te miraka whakarunga, nohoanga hinu. Ko te toenga atu mo te hunga kainga.

Meatia atu he kinga teepu-puunu huka ki nga kapu wai-koropupu e toru me te hawhe. Whakaranua atu ki nga teepu-puunu wai-raima kia rua. Whakahuia atu ki te miraka. Whakaturia atu te haaka nei ki roto ki te hopane e hawhe ra te ki i te wai-koropupu. Whakawerawerangia atu ki te ahi kia piki pai ake te hinu-miraka ki runga, ranei kia pena te wera e kore ai e ahei kia inumia e te tangata pakari nei; otira, kaua e tukua kia koropupu.

Waiho i kona tu mai ai mo etahi meneti ruarua nei, a, ka tango mai i te haaka ka whakatu ki roto ki te ipu wai-makariri. Mehemea e ahei ana me hiki atu ki raro o te teepa (ara, *tap*, rerenga wai) kia heke tonu iho ai te wai makariri hou ki roto ki te ipu e tungia na e te haaka. Ka kore i tena kia ahuwhenua ki te riringi atu i te wai o te ipu kua ahua werawera haere na, ka riringi wai hou atu ai; he whai tenei kia tere tonu te whakamatao o te miraka na, ko te mea pai rawa hoki ia. Ka mutu tena ka whakatu atu ai i te haaka miraka nei, i roto ano i te ipu wai makariri kua uhia na te haaka ki te mahirini e tatu iho na ki roto ki te wai—ki roto ki te pouaka kua rite mai ra hei tunga.

Me waiho atu te teepu-puunu ki roto ki te ipu, hei kororirori i te miraka ki mua o ia whakakinga i te pounamu ma te tamaiti.

To prepare the Milk for the Day.

Have ready on the table, which should be scrubbed clean,—

Large cup.
A jug that holds four to five cupfuls.
A smaller jug.
A teaspoon.
A knife.
A tablespoon on a clean plate.
Lime-water, if possible.
Sugar.

Have ready on the fire a kettle of boiling water and a saucepan half full of boiling water. Scald everything before using; do not dry them. Then bring in the jug of milk from the safe.

Now take off with the large spoon two cupfuls of the top of the creamy milk. The remaining milk can be used for the family.

Mix a tablespoonful of sugar with three and a half cupfuls of boiling water. Add two tablespoonfuls of fresh lime-water. Stand the jug containing this milk-mixture in the saucepan half full of boiling water; heat over the fire until the cream rises well on the milk or until it is somewhat too hot for an adult to drink, but do not boil it.

Keep it at that heat for a few minutes. Then lift the jug into the basin of cold water. If you can let a tap run in the basin, or renew the cold water a few times so as to cool the milk rapidly, that is best. Now put this prepared milk—standing in the basin of cold water with the clean cloth over the jug, the ends of the cloth in the water—in the candle-box safe.

Keep the large spoon in the water in the basin to stir the milk every time you fill the baby's bottle.

As soon as you prepare the milk in the morning collect all the baby's bottles and teats—there should always be two

Ka mutu te takanga atu i ia ata o te miraka ma te tamaiti, kohia ake nga pounamu me nga u, kaua hoki e kotahitia engari kia rua atu, ka horoi ai ki te wai-wera me te hopi, kia tina ma rawa. Kohia atu ki te hopane wai-makariri ka whakatu atu ai ki te ahi a koropupu noa mo nga meneti ruarua. Ka mutu, a ia whangaingatanga, me matua whakarekare atu te pounamu me te u ki te wai-makariri, mo muri ki te wai-koropupu, ka hoki ai ki te pouaka turanga miraka. Kaua e waiho kia puranga ana i te whenua aua mea.

Ki te tikanga ko te miraka i penatia te mahinga e tau ana hei oranga mo te tamaiti tae noa ki te toru ki te wha o nga Marama. Otiia, mehemea kahore tahi he waiu o te whaea i te Marama tuatahi, me whakaranu atu ano te miraka i penatia na te mahinga—ki te wai-kohua. Ko te mehua me rite ki te kotahi kinga teepu-puunu miraka ki te ono kinga teepu-puunu o te wai-kohua i hukaina. (Me kohi tonu he kinga teepu-puunu huka ki te paita (*pint*) wai.)

Ko ia whangaitanga i te Wiki tuatahi me ahua whakakaha ake, a, ko te taenga ki waenga o te toru o nga Wiki e kai ana te tamaiti i te mehua kotahi kinga teepu-puunu miraka takanga ki te toru teepu-puunu wai-kohua hukaina.

Hei reira ka penei ai te whakakahanga ake, o te mehua,—

Te 7 o nga ra, miraka takanga he hawhe, wai-kohua hukaina he hawhe;

Te 14 o nga ra, kia 2 waahi miraka takanga, kia 1 waahi wai-kohua hukaina;

Te 21 o nga ra, kia 3 waahi miraka takanga, kia 1 waahi wai-kohua hukaina;

Te 28 o nga ra, kia 4 waahi miraka takanga, kia 1 waahi wai-kohua hukaina;

a me ata pena haere tonu te whakakahanga ake o te miraka takanga. Mo te tamaiti whanau-wawe me whakangoikore i ena te kahanga miraka takanga.

Mehuatanga o te Kai.

Mehemea he tamaiti ora nei, ka kore he waiu o te whaea, me timata i te ra toru te whangai ki te takanga miraka kau i runga i tenei aronga, ara,—

—wash thoroughly with hot water and soap, put in the saucepan with cold water over the fire, and let them boil for a few minutes. After every time of using they should be rinsed out with first cold then boiling water, and put in the safe with the milk. They should not be left lying about.

This prepared milk should suit the baby until the third or fourth month, but if there is no mother's milk during the first month boiled water must be added to the prepared milk, beginning with 1 part of the milk to 6 parts of boiled water and sugar (always put a tablespoonful of sugar to a pint of water).

At every feeding during the first week the milk must be made just a little stronger, so that by the middle of the third day the baby is having 1 part of the prepared milk from the safe and 3 parts of boiled water and sugar.

Strengthen the food day by day so that the baby is getting—

On the 7th day, prepared milk 1 part, boiled sweetened water 1 part;

On the 14th day, prepared milk 2 parts, boiled sweetened water 1 part;

On the 21st day, prepared milk 3 parts, boiled sweetened water 1 part;

On the 28th day, prepared milk 4 parts, boiled sweetened water 1 part;

and go on increasing the proportion of prepared milk gradually.

If the baby is premature, use the milk weaker than above.

How to measure the Food.

If an average healthy baby and it is necessary, because there is no mother's milk, to give it cow's milk, begin on the third day.

Feed it according to this scale:—

Ahua Taimaha.	Te Kaumatua.	Whangainga i roto i ia 24 Haora.	Te Rahi mo ia Whangainga.	Whakaranunga Kai.	Takiwa Whangainga.	Haora Whangainga.
7 pauna	Ra toru	6	1 kinga teepu-puunu	1 waahi miraka takanga, 3 waahi wai-kohua hukaina	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
	Ra wha	6	1½ kinga teepu-puunu	1 waahi miraka takanga, 2 waahi wai-kohua hukaina	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
	Ra rima	6	2 ki 2½ kinga teepu-puunu	1 waahi miraka takanga, 1 waahi wai-kohua hukaina	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
7¼ pauna	Ra whitu	6	2½ ki 3 kinga teepu-puunu	1 waahi miraka takanga, 1 waahi wai-kohua hukaina	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
7½ pauna	Ra tekau	6	3 ki 3½ kinga teepu-puunu	2 waahi miraka takanga, 1½ waahi wai-kohua hukaina	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
	Timata toru wiki	6	4 ki 4½ kinga teepu-puunu	2 waahi miraka takanga, 1 waahi wai-kohua hukaina	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
	Timata wha wiki	6	4½ ki 5 kinga teepu-puunu	3 waahi miraka takanga, 1 waahi wai-kohua reka	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
8¼ pauna	Timata rua marama	6	5½ kinga teepu-puunu	5 waahi miraka takanga, 1 waahi wai-kohua reka	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
	Waenga rua marama	6	5½	Miraka takanga	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
10½ pauna	Toru marama	6	6	Miraka takanga	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
12¼ pauna	Wha marama	6	7	Miraka takanga	Ia 3 haora	6, 9, 12, 3, 6, 10.
13¾ pauna	Rima marama	5	8	Miraka takanga	Ia 4 haora	6, 10, 2, 6, 10.
15 pauna	Ono marama	5	9	Koia ano	Koia ano	Koia ano.
16 pauna	Whitu	5	10	Koia ano	Koia ano	Koia ano.
16¾ pauna	Waru	5	11	Koia ano	Koia ano	Koia ano.
17½ pauna	Iwa	5	12	Koia ano	Koia ano	Koia ano.
18 pauna	Tekau	5	3	Koia ano	Koia ano	Koia ano.

Average Weight of Baby.	Age of Baby.	Number of Feedings in 24 Hours.	Quantity at each Feeding.	Composition of Food.	Intervals of Feeding.	Feeding-hours.
			Table-spoonfuls.		Hours.	
7 lb.	3rd day	6	1	1 part prepared milk, 3 parts boiled and sweetened water	3	6, 9, 12 noon, 3, 6, 10 p.m.
	4th day	6	1½	1 part prepared milk, 2 parts boiled and sweetened water	3	Ditto.
	5th day	6	2 to 2½	1 part prepared milk, 1 part boiled and sweetened water	3	,,
7¼ lb.	7th day	6	2½ to 3	1 part prepared milk, 1 part boiled and sweetened water	3	,,
7½ lb.	10th day	6	3 to 3½	2 parts prepared milk, 1½ parts boiled and sweetened water	3	,,
	Beginning of 3rd week	6	4 to 4½	2 parts prepared milk, 1 part boiled and sweetened water	3	,,
	Beginning of 4th week	6	4½ to 5	3 parts prepared milk, 1 part boiled and sweetened water	3	,,
8¼ lb.	Beginning of 2nd month	6	5½	5 parts prepared milk, 1 part boiled and sweetened water	3	,,
	Middle of 2nd month	6	5½	Prepared milk	3	,,
10½ lb.	3rd month	6	6	,,	3	,,
12¼ lb.	4th month	6	7	,,	3	,,
13¾ lb.	5th month	5	8	,,	4	6, 10 a.m., 2, 6, 10 p.m.
15 lb.	6th month	5	9	,,	4	Ditto.
16 lb.	7th month	5	10	,,	4	,,
16¾ lb.	8th month	5	11	,,	4	,,
17½ lb.	9th month	5	12	,,	4	,,
18 lb.	10th month	5	13	,,	4	,,

Kia mohio tonu hoki te whaea, e hara i te mea e riterite ana te ahua o nga tamariki katoa; ko etahi e hiahia kia ahua rahi ake he kai, ko etahi kia ahua iti iho. Engari mehemea ka ahua rereke te ahua i te kainga i ena mehuatanga, he mea pai kia whakaranua atu ano ki te wai-kohua. Kei etahi tamariki ka hiahia ki te iti iho o te rahi a kia kaha ake te miraka. Ko ena ahua me whakainu atu ki te wai-kohua, kia iti nei, i waenga o nga whangaitanga miraka.

Ko te tamaiti i ohorere pea te mutunga o te waiu o te whaea, me whangai tonu atu ki te miraka takanga kau nei, kia kaha i te tuatahi te whakaranu atu ki te wai-kohua, ka matakitaki atu ai i te ahua o te kai me te ora, te aha ranei, o te tamaiti.

Wai Hua-rakau.

Mehemea he mate tou-puni ta te tamaiti, mehemea hoki e hara i te waiu o te whaea te kai, he mea pai rawa kia whakainumia atu i ia ra ki te wai hua-rakau hou, kia itiiti nei, ake i te toru o nga Marama, ahu ake. He wai Arani te mea tino pai, erangi he pai ano te Wai Remana, Aporo, Kerepi. Kia tupato, kaua i nga hua-rakau ahua pirau nei. Kia pai te taka i taua wai i mua tonu i te whakainumanga atu; a, kia pai hoki te tatari ki te mahirini, kahu peeke paraoa ranei. He pai kia whakainumia atu i waenga i nga whangaitanga, i te wa e ara ana te tamaiti. Mehemea he wai kawa, wai Remana te wai, me whakaranu atu ki te wai-kohua, reka; kia rua puunu pena ki te kotahi puunu wai hua-rakau. Me timata, mehemea ka toru nga Marama o te tamaiti, ki te ti-puunu, kia tekau nei nga maturuturutanga mehemea ka kotahi tonu te Marama o te tamaiti e tou-puni na. Ko te tamaiti kua kotahi te tau e pai ana kia rua nga teepu-puunu iti i te ra. Atu i te ono o nga Marama o te tamaiti e tau ana kia whakaranua te miraka takanga ki te miraka tinana o te kau, kia ruarua nei nga teepu-puunu; a, mehemea ka pai ana ki te tamaiti, he pai kia ahua whakakahangia atu ano te miraka.

Whakamutunga Ngote Waiu.

Mehemea, i te take marama ano, ka whakamutua e te whaea te ngote u a te tamaiti. Me whangai atu ki te miraka

The mother must always remember that babies are not all quite alike, and that some children need a little more and some a little less; but if a baby seems a little upset by feeding in exactly the quantities in the above table, it is always wiser to add a little more boiled water. Sometimes a child can take a less quantity but of stronger milk; then a little boiled water alone can be given between the feedings so that the baby can have enough fluid.

If for any reason a baby is deprived of its mother's milk, you must start the prepared cow's milk well diluted at first, and strengthen it gradually, watching the effect.

Fruit-juice.

If the baby suffers from constipation, especially if not fed on mother's milk, it is very good to give it a little fresh fruit-juice every day from the age of three months upwards. Orange-juice is best, but the juice of lemons, apples, or grapes may be used. Make sure that no part of the fruit is decomposed. Prepare the juice immediately before giving it to the baby, and strain carefully through a clean piece of muslin or flour-bag. It is best to give it between the child's feedings when it is awake. Always put twice as much boiled water, and a little sugar if the juice is sour, as lemon-juice. Begin with a small teaspoonful if the child is three months old; ten drops only is quite safe to begin with for a baby of a month old if it is constipated. By the time the child is a year old it may have as much as a small tablespoonful twice a day. From six months old a few tablespoonfuls of whole cow's milk can be added to the humanized milk for the baby, and if it agrees with it it can be gradually made a little stronger.

Weaning.

If for any cause the mother must wean her baby, let the cow's milk be prepared from this scale that has been given, according to the child's age. For instance, if it is deprived of its mother's milk at three months old, then see that the

takanga ki ta te mehua kua whakaritea atu nei; ara, me whakarite atu ki o nga Marama o te tamaiti. Mehemea ka toru nga Marama o te tamaiti i te mea ka whakamutua na, me rite te kaha o te miraka takanga mo tena ahua. Engari mo nga whakainumanga tuatahi me ata whakangoikore atu ano te kaha, a, ka whakakaha haere ake ai ki te tikanga na.

Whakamutunga Ngote u, Whangainga hoki a te Pahuretanga o nga Marama e Iwa.

A te ekenga ki te iwa o nga Marama e tika ana kia whakaarohia te whakamutunga ngote u. E ahei noa atu ana i kona, a, hei ora hoki mo te whaea. Otira, ki Te Ika-a-Maui nei he ahua werawera te ahua, a he mea ano e uaua ana te whiwhi o te miraka kau ora nei; no reira, mehemea e ora pai ana te whaea he mea pai ano kia whakangotea te tamaiti taka noa ki te kotahi tau o te whanautanga mai. Me tapiri atu ano ia he kai, ki te *Benger's* me *Mellin's*, ki te *Allenbury's* me *Horlick's Malted* miraka, hei timatanga, erangi he rahi te utu o enei. He rite te pai o te Paare me te Otimira *jelly*, he ngawari te taka, he iti hoki te utu. Pai ke me timata ki te Paare *jelly*.

Te Taka mo te Paare Jelly.—Ka mutu te tino horoi o te Peara Paare me tuku nga teepu-puunu e wha ki roto ki nga kapu wai-mahana e wha ka waiho ai kia tu mo te haora kotahi. Whakakoropuputia ka waiho atu ai kia ata hanga te koropupu mo nga haora e toru. I te mea e wera ana ano me tatari ki te mahirini, ki te tatari angiangi ranei, ki roto ki tetahi haaka kua ma rawa atu na te horoi ki te wai-koropupu, e hara i te mea whakamaroke. Uhia atu te haaka ki te taretare ma ka whakatu atu ai ki roto ki te wai makariri, pai ke te wai-rere nei. Whakaturia atu ki te nohoanga miraka a te tamaiti. Me whakahou tonu tenei i ia ra, ka koko iti atu i te tote.

Raihi Jelly.—Me pena ano te taka, he pai tenei mo te mate ahua tikotiko a te tamaiti.

Ooti Jelly.—Me pena ano te taka, erangi mehemea e mahia ana he Otimira me rite te mehua o te Otimira ki te wai-koropupu, mehemea kia rua o tetahi kia rua hoki o tetahi, a, kia pai te maoa o te Otimira. Whakakoropuputia me te kororirori a ka tatari ai ka whakatu ai ki te waahi anu tu ai.

milk is of the right strength for that age; but for the first two or three feedings make it a little weaker, and increase it gradually to full strength.

Weaning and Feeding after Nine Months.

At nine months it is time to consider weaning the baby. It can be done usually safely by that time, and is better for the mother as well; but in the North Island, where the weather is frequently hot and good cow's milk sometimes difficult to get, so long as the mother is well it is often better to breast-feed the baby until a year old. It requires something else as well, however. Benger's and Mellin's foods, also Allenbury's and Horlick's malted milk, are good foods to begin with, but these are expensive, while barley and oatmeal-jelly are just as good, and quite cheap, also very easily made. It is best to begin with barley-jelly first.

To make Barley-jelly.—Soak four tablespoonfuls of pearl barley (after well washing it) in four cupfuls of warm water for an hour. Let it boil; then let it boil very slowly for three hours. While hot, strain through clean muslin or a fine gravy-strainer into a jug which has been thoroughly washed with boiling water but not dried. Cover the jug with a clean cloth and stand it in cold water—running water if possible. Keep in the cool safe with the baby's milk. This should be made fresh every day. A little pinch of salt may be added.

Rice-jelly can be made in the same way, and is good if the baby is inclined to have diarrhœa.

Oat-jelly.—Make in the same way also, but if there is porridge made, take equal parts of well-boiled porridge and boiling water, bring to a boil, stir well, then strain and cool and keep in the same way.

To begin spoon-feeding with these jellies, give only one tablespoonful the first time; then give two tablespoonfuls with a few tablespoonfuls of milk three times a day; gradually

Mehemea me puunu te whangai ki nga *jelly* nei kia kotahi tonu te teepu-puunu i te whangainga tuatahitanga. Hei muri ka whangai atu ai kia rua teepu-puunu me etahi teepu-puunu miraka ruarua nei kia toru whangainga i te ra. Whakakahangia ata-hangatia ake a te rahinga ake o te tamaiti, ka koko atu ai he huka ki roto. Ka eke ki te iwa o nga Marama e pai ana kia whangainga atu ki te rohi tunu-ahi pai, a, ki te kiri rohi, a waahi rohi tonu ranei hei kai. Otira, taka noa te tau me miraka te nuinga o te kai. Kia mahara ano hoki, e akoako noa iho ana te tamaiti ki te ngaungau kai, a kaua hoki e tahuri e whangai maori atu ki te kai maro i te ekenga o nga Marama ki te tekau nei.

Pai ke me whangai atu ki te *jelly* Paare, Ooti ranei, ka hoatu mea atu ai hei ngaungau noa iho, ki te wheua, kiri rohi maro, rohi tunu-ahi ranei, atu i te iwa Marama ki te tau, hei whakamohio atu i te tamaiti ki te whakamahi i nga niho me nga kauwae.

Mehemea ka timataria te whangai atu ki te rohi tuku miraka nei, tena te tamaiti e mangere ki te whakamahi i nga niho. Kia taka ra ano te tau ka pai ai te whangai atu ki te rohi tuku-miraka, ki te Otimira, Raihi, Wai-heihei, wai-hipi, wai-piiwhi, ti, aha nei. Kaua e whakarere atu i te tamaiti kai kiri-rohi, rohi tunu-ahi ranei; kei horomia atu a ka raoa.

Ko nga Tohu Mate o te He o te Whangai.

Mehemea e kaha rawa ana te miraka whangai tuatahi ki te tamaiti ka mamae te kopu. Tena ka kitea ki te tetere o te puku i te hau me te hiwihiwi ake i nga waewae. Kei reira ka kitea nga miraka maro me te kano pounamu nei i roto i nga tikonga; ka kore i te tikanga kano kowhai, maeneene pai nei. Ka pa tonu te ruakiaki, te matemate me te kohoi haere.

Mehemea ka kitea te ahua pena o te tamaiti pai ke te whakamutu whakarere i te miraka, mo te haora kotahi, rua atu; a hei kona ka whakainu atu ai ki te Kaata-roira (*castor-oil*), kia kotahi tonu te whakainumanga atu; a, hei nga wa whangai hei te wai-kohua reka anake mo nga haora tekau ma-rua, neke atu mehemea e aro ana. Hei reira me timata ano ki te miraka tino ngoikore, me te whakakaha haere ake.

increase as the child gets older, and give a little sugar. At nine months the baby might also have a little crisp toast, a tough crust, or some bread at meal-time; but until a year old the food should be mostly milk. Remember that the baby is only learning to eat, and do not stuff it with a lot of solid food at ten months old.

It is better to give only the oat or barley jelly, and the bone or hard crust or toast to nibble at, from nine months to a year old, and so let the child learn to use his teeth and jaws.

If you start feeding him with bread and milk he will be too lazy to use his teeth. One year old is soon enough to begin with bread and milk, porridge, rice, sago, chicken-broth, mutton-broth, beef-tea, &c. Never leave a young baby alone with a crust or piece of toast to nibble at, in case too large a piece chokes it.

The Signs of Illness through Wrong Feeding.

If the milk is given too strong at first the baby will have abdominal pain, and you will see that its abdomen is swelled with wind and it pulls its legs up. Then the motions will become green and contain heavy milk-curd, instead of being yellow and smooth as they should be. The baby will soon begin to vomit and get ill and thin.

If at any time a baby shows these symptoms it is always best to stop the milk altogether; give it nothing for an hour or two, then a dose of castor oil (only one), and at feeding-time give only boiled sweetened water for twelve hours, or longer if necessary; then begin the milk again, very weak at first, and gradually increase it. If the baby does not very quickly recover it should be taken to a doctor or to the Natives' District Nurse.

It is a mistake to feed the baby too often at night even from the first. The child's stomach needs a rest, and so does

Ka kore e tere te ora ake o te tamaiti me hari atu ki te Takuta, ki nga Neehi Takiwa Maori nei ranei.

He mahi pohehe te honohono o te whakainu atu i nga Po, ahakoa ano i nga Po timatanga. E hiahia tahi ana te kopu o te tamaiti me to te whaea ki etahi wa okioki. Mehemea ka mataara, ka tangi i nga Po, e hara i te mea he tohu hiakai tonu tena; tirohia atu mehemea e maroke ana a e pai ana hoki te takoto. Mehemea ka whakaingoingo tonu a kahore ano i tae noa ki te haora hei whangainga, whakainumia atu ki te wai-wera.

Kia Tupato nei.—Pai ke me whangai atu te tamaiti a ia toru haora (ki te tikanga ka makona ki tena) i te aoatea. Mehemea ka whangainga atu i te ono o nga haora i te ahiahi, tena ko te parangia a atu ki te tekau o nga haora; a, mehemea ka whangainga ano i kona tena e parangia, ahakoa ano araara, a te ono atu ano o nga haora i te ata, ka timataria atu ai ano te whangai atu.

Ki te mea ka ma nga kai, ka rite ai hoki nga haora o te whangai atu ki nga kai tika, ki te ma ana nga kahu tika, ki te whakaha i te hau-ora (haunga atu te hau-anu); ko te tikanga hei tamaiti ora tonu tena.

Ko nga Miraka Tini.

Kia ata mohio ki nga miraka tini, e kore ena e rite te papai ki o a nga miraka kau, me te miraka kau e kore ano e rite ki te waiu tangata te pai. Otira, mehemea e kore e tutata te miraka kau, me penei na te mahi kai ma te tamaiti, ara: Kia kotahi te puunu miraka tini ka whakahui atu ki nga puunu wai erua. Mehemea ko nga miraka e reka nei, kaua e kokoa atu he huka-pango ki roto. Kaua e whangainga ki nga miraka kua tangohia atu na nga kiriimi a e mau penei ana nga tuhituhinga (*skimmed or separated*). Ko ena ahua miraka kua tangohia ketia nga painga, a, e kore te tamaiti e ora ki ena. Whakaorangia a tatou tamaririki.

Tapahanga Niho.

A te ono o nga Marama ka timata te putaputa o nga niho. Hei reira me hoake tetahi mea maro hei ngaungau, e hara i te mea hei kai. Hei te wheua heihei, wheua hipi (kia iti

the mother. If it cries in the night it is not necessarily hungry. See that it is dry and comfortable; if still fretful and not the right time to feed it, rather give it some hot water.

Note carefully.—It is best to feed the baby regularly every three hours (it is quite often enough) during the day. If fed at 6 p.m. it will generally sleep until 10 p.m., and if fed then can quite well sleep or go without until 6 a.m., when the day feedings should begin again.

Clean and regular feeding with the right sort of food, clean and comfortable baby-clothes, fresh pure air (but not draughts), will generally keep a baby well.

The Tinned Kinds of Milks.

Understand about tinned milks: tinned milks are not as good as cow's milk, neither is the milk of cows as good as human milk. But if cow's milk is not procurable, prepare the child's food in this way: To one spoonful of tinned milk add two spoonfuls of water. If the tinned milk is of the kind already sweetened, do not add brown sugar. Do not feed with milk from which the cream has been taken and labelled "skimmed" or "separated." From those kinds of milk the nourishment has been already abstracted, and the child can get no nourishment therefrom. Save our children.

Teething.

At six months the child's teeth will begin to appear; it then wants something hard to chew, but not to eat. A chicken or a chop bone from which all but a trace of meat has been removed may be given it at meal-times. Pieces of greenstone can be given to children to gnaw while teething: these should be well washed first. Never on any account give the baby a "comforter" to make it cease crying, as the Pakeha does: they are most harmful—some bad diseases are caused by these dirty things.

rawa he kikokiko e piri atu ana), me hoatu i nga wa whangai. He pai ano hoki nga kuru-pounamu a te Maori nei hei pena; engari me matua horoi kia ma rawa i te paru. Kaua rawa atu e hoatu i nga kamata ngaungau (*comforter*) a te Pakeha nei hei pena, hei whakamutu noa i te tangi; he nui nga mate kei ena, mate kino rawa, i te paruparu.

Mate Tamaririki.

1. Mehemea ka tangi whakaingoingo te tamaiti, a, ki te ruaruaki, ki te torohi ranei, tirohia nga paru, a, ki te kitea he pokurukuru miraka e ma ake ana whakaitia iho te nui o te kai, whakarahia ake ranei te wai mo roto mo te kai, a, kia tuturu tonu nga haora whangainga.

2. Kia mohio ki te rahi o te puku o tenei hanga o te whanau hou, e toru e wha teepu-puunu kua ki; ki te rahi ake i tena ka waiho hei whakapupuhi i te puku, hei panga mate. Kaua e whakakiia te patara, me ata hoatu i runga i nga tohutohu nei.

3. Kaua e hono tonu te whangai me ka tangi te tamaiti. Tirohia te take i tangi ai. E hara pea i te hiakai he hiawai ke. Na, whakainumia atu ki te wai Maori. He mea pai tena erangi hei te wai kua whakakoropuputia.

4. Kia mohio, ko etahi tamaririki he nui ake he kaha ake i etahi, a, e rite ana kia nui ake he kai ma ena. Ko te tikanga o a tatou mehua e rite ana ma te tokomaha tamaririki, engari, e hara i te mea mo katoa, katoa (*average*).

Ko nga Kakahu.

Kaua e natia te hope o te tamaiti ki te kahu. Kaua e tukua kia makariri nga waewae. Kei mangere ki te titiro ki te maku o te napikini i te kumu a ka hoatu ai he mea maroke. Kei herea kia kiki rawa nga kahu, kaua hoki e mahi kia roroa, engari kia watea nga ringa me nga waewae ki te kori. Kaua e kakahuria ki nga kahu katene (*cotton*), hei nga kahu wuuru, paranene, kauaka i te paranarete (*flannelette*).

Kaua rawa e whakataimaha i te tamaiti ki nga kakahu, erangi hei nga mea rite anake. Kaua i nga mea taratara nei, kei tangi te tamaiti i te whakangaokookoa. He pai ke te hiraka, te wuuru, me o nga huru-hipi angiangi nei.

Sickness of the Child.

1. Should the child cry fretfully, and vomit frequently, or should its bowels be upset, examine what it passes. Then, should there be traces of lumpy or clotted milk, either reduce the quantity of milk or increase the proportion of water in its food, and be particularly careful that it is fed at quite regular intervals.

2. Understand that the stomach of a young baby is large enough to contain from three to four spoonfuls of food only. If much more than that be given to it it will cause distension of the stomach and start illness. Do not fill the feed-bottle, and be guided by the directions here given to you.

3. Should the child cry, do not rush at once to feed it. First endeavour to ascertain the actual cause of its crying: it may not be from its hunger; it may be from thirst. In that case give it water to drink. Water which has first been boiled is good for it.

4. Understand that some children are bigger and stronger than others, and that these should be given more food. Know then that in making up food-quantities as here set down the quantities are proper for the normal or average child: for special cases special quantities must be made up.

Clothing.

Do not constrict the waist of the child with clothing. Do not let the child's feet get cold. Do not neglect to change its wet napkins. Do not tie the clothing too tightly. Do not let the garments be made too long for it, but let the arms and legs have freedom. Do not clothe the child with cotton material, but with wool-flannel, avoiding flannelette.

Never put too many clothes on a baby, but see that those used are of the right sort. They must not be rough and coarse or the child will cry because of an itchy skin. Silk and wool or very fine woollen garments are best.

At night use a long-sleeved shirt and long-sleeved flannel gown; a small-sized napkin with a pad of old rag between the legs.

During the day, a fresh long-sleeved shirt, a flannel petticoat with flannel bodice, and a dress of suitable material

Hei nga po kia roroa nga ringaringa o nga haate me nga paranene kaone. Kia meroiti te napikini a hei te mea taretare noa ki waenga kuwha.

I nga aoateatanga me kakahu atu ano he haate ringa-roa ma i te paru, me te panekoti paranene me te paranene poto mo te tinana; me tetahi kahu ano e rite ana mo te wa raumati, mo te wa makariri hoki; apiti iho ki nga tokena huru, kia rarahi ano. Kia tangorongoro katoa nga kahu, kaua e kiki.

Mo nga mea whanau hou kaati anake i te takai paranene nei, kia ora ra ano te pito.

Napikini.—Mehemea he mea paranene kaua e kuhua ake ma nga huwha, me whakakonumi noa iho ki raro ki te tamaiti. Kaua e rahi rawa nga napikini, a, ka paruparu ana kia tere te tango atu.

Kaua e waiho noa iho i nga napikini kia puranga ana i te ruuma, i whea atu ranei; he mea kino rawa i te po. Kaua hoki e akiri ki te wai takoto roa ai, erangi horoia atu. Kaua ena e horoia ki te houra ki te puruu ranei.

Kaukauranga.

Pai atu me whakakau te tamaiti ki mua o te whangainga whakamutunga i te ahiahi po. Ka mutu whakamoea tonutia atu. I te ata me horoi anake ko te mata me nga waewae. Kia tae ra ano ki te wha o nga Wiki ka tuku ai i te tinana ki roto ki te wai; kia neke atu mehemea he tamaiti ahua kiko-kore. Kia tere te horoi me te uhi tonu i te tamaiti, ki te tauera pea; ko nga waahi anake e horoia ana me tahanga. Hei te whakamaroketanga kia kaha te mirimiri ki te tauera. Kaua e horoi ki te taha o te ahi, he hau-anu kei kona; hei te koki mahana o te ruuma horoi ai. Hei nga hopi papai ano. Kaua i te kopuputai (*sponge*), erangi hei tetahi taretare tauera ngawari na, me kohua atu i te mea e kohuatia ana nga kakahu o te tamaiti. Kaua e whawha paura atu, engari mehemea e ahua mamae ana te kiri me mea atu ki te hinu boracic, ki te white vaseline ranei.

Hau Hou (Manawa Ora).

Ko te hiahia tenei o te tamaiti i te po i te aoatea, he hau hou. Kaua e whakamoea ki to te whaea moenga. Me motu-

according to the season; large-sized socks or booties. All clothing must be loose.

For young babies only use a flannel binder until the cord is healed.

Napkins.—If a flannel napkin is used do not put it between the legs, but fold underneath the child. Never use very large napkins. Change whenever they become soiled.

Never leave dirty napkins about, especially in the room at night. Never leave these soaking, but wash as soon as possible. Do not use blue or soda when washing these.

Bathing.

It is best to bath the baby in the evening before the last feeding-time. It should then be put straight to bed. In the morning wash its face and legs only. Do not put it in the bath or basin until it is four weeks old, and even later if it is thin. Wash quickly a little at a time and keep the rest covered. When you dry, rub well with the towel. Do not bath before a fireplace—it is draughty—but in a corner of a warm room. Use a good toilet soap. Never use a sponge, but a piece of soft towelling, which should be boiled when you boil its clothes. Do not use powder, but if there is any skin soreness use boracic ointment or white vaseline.

Fresh Air.

The baby needs fresh air night and day. It should not sleep in its mother's bed, but by itself in a cradle or basket near a wide open window, sheltered from the draught by a towel hung over a chair at the head of the cot. It is best if the weather allows to put it on the veranda all night if you can make a wire-netting arrangement to keep the cats off the bed. It does not matter how cold the air is so long as the baby is covered up, warm, and protected from draughts.

Keep the baby outside as much as possible all day If in a pram put the hood down and have the baby in the shade of a tree. It is better than putting it on the side of the house—the heat from the house is too artificial. If a mosquito-net is used it should be hung at least 3 ft. above the child's face.

hake he moenga (*cradle*), kete maana kia tutata ki te Wini tuwhera, me whakairi atu he tauera hei arai hau-anu ki te moenga, ki tetahi nohoanga (*chair*) i te upoko o te moenga. Kei nga po papai, pai kete whakamoe ki te Mahau tonu o te whare ao noa te ra; me mahi atu te moenga ki te Waea araarai nei, hei arai atu i nga Ngeru. Ahakoa ano e maeke ana te hau, e kore te tamaiti e he ki tena; mehemea ra e rite ana e mahana ana nga kahu hipoki atu, mo te hau-anu.

Me waiho ake te tamaiti ki waho ake o te whare mo te roanga o te ra. Mehemea he *pram* te takotoranga, tukua iho te potae o taua mea, ka whakatu atu ai ki raro ki te rakau-tupu kia marumaru ai. He pai ke te rakau na i to te patu maru o te whare, e rereke ana hoki te mahana o tenei. Mehemea e hipokina ana te tamaiti ki te araarai-waeroa nei, hei poreku, kia toru ake putu te teitei ake o tena i te kanohi o te tamaiti.

Kahore he painga o te waiho i te tamaiti kia takoto i te papa o te whare, whanawhana ai nga waewae; he hau-anu te kino o tena.

Hei aha atu nga Paneti-potae na i te mea Katini, Rinena ranei; ka whakanoho atu he pare kia marumaru ai nga kanohi.

Kaua rawa e whawha atu ki nga *quilt eider-down* nei.

Pai atu kia rua tahi nga whariki me nga urunga mo te moenga, kia watea tonu ai tetahi te whakairi ki te waahi hauhau.

He mea kia maroke tonu ai a raro o nga whariki o te moenga, me hora atu he pukapuka nupepa nei ki te angiangi paraikete i raro tata ake o te tamaiti; pai ke tena i te maketoiha.

Me hipoki atu te tamaiti ki tetahi paraikete angiangi, hou; te take ko nga paraikete tawhito, mahana, he taimaha rawa. Kaua e hipokina atu te kanohi, engari ke, whakakonumitia atu te paraikete ki te kohamu.

It is not good to lay the baby on the floor to kick: it is too draughty.

A little cotton or linen hat with a brim to shade the face and eyes from the sun and strong light is better than a bonnet for the baby.

An eider-down quilt must never be used.

It is a good plan to have two cot mattresses and pillows, so that one can be always airing.

To keep the bedding dry put a few thicknesses of old newspaper under the top fold of the under blanket: it is better than mackintosh.

The baby should be covered with a new light blanket: old blankets to be warm enough are too heavy. Do not cover the face, but put a fold of blanket round the back of the head.

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