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**Violation of Te Whare Tangata - The Maternal Body:
Young Women's Journeys Through Pregnancy
and Partner Terrorism**

A thesis

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of the requirements for the degree

of

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by

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Abstract

Partner terrorism is a leading social issue in Aotearoa. It occurs with such frequency and ferocity that it is often considered an epidemic. This has placed us in the shameful position of being the highest ranked nation in the western world for the prevalence of intimate partner violence. This research explored young women's experiences of intimate partner violence during pregnancy. Eleven women aged 14 - 17 years when pregnant were interviewed. A mana wāhine theoretical perspective was employed, guided by a kaupapa Māori research methodology. Pūrākau was used as a method to present and validate the women's voices.

The key findings identified that these relationships began with the potential of any other relationship. However, they typically followed a pattern of co-habitation and entrapment through pregnancy and financial dependence. It was evident the partner terrorism was brought into these relationships by the terrorist partners, and was the first experience of this violence for many of the women. The terrorism continued to escalate. Separating from their terrorist partners did not result in the women being any safer, with some continuing to experience life-threatening acts of terrorism post separation. Pregnancy did not serve as a protective factor: the violation of te whare tangata generally occurred before, during and after pregnancy. Often, the acts of terrorism escalated following the birth of their pēpī, with their partner's terrorism being a direct assault on ūkaipō, disrupting bonding and mothering practices. Many of the women were able to recognise the terrorism to which they were subjected only in hindsight. Despite this, they showed ingenuity and resilience in the ways they resisted the terrorism in efforts to keep themselves and their pēpī safe. Breaking free of these relationships demanded intervention and support from outsiders. The women remain strongly committed to the welfare of their pēpī.

He Tuku: Dedication

I am grateful to have been loved and to be loved now and to be able to love, because that liberates. Love liberates. It doesn't just hold; that's ego. Love liberates. It doesn't bind. Love says, 'I love you...

—Maya Angelou, *And Still I Rise*

To

MY GRANDMOTHER

Tuihana Marsh (nee Rikihana)

Taku Hei Tiki, Toku Kuia

THIS THESIS

IS

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

Ngā Mihi: Acknowledgements

“I think a hero is any person really intent on making this a better place for all people”

—Maya Angelou, *Facebook*

With the above quote in mind; I am deeply grateful to the women I met for sharing their difficult and personal stories with me vis-à-vis their journey with and through partner terrorism and pregnancy. For many of them this was the first time they had shared their pūrākau with anyone. I am humbled by this taonga, and have been left with an overriding impression of the immense courage and trust it took for them to do this.

The motivation behind the sharing of their journeys was interwoven and altruistic; it can be summed up with the following quotation from Lyanla Vanzant (n.d.): “I’ve seen the good, the bad, and the ugly. Lived it and I’m still here to talk about it and help someone else if I can”. Essentially, the women who shared their life experiences with me had a united focus as they sought to help other women, believing that if their story could forewarn one woman, and let her know that she can leave her journey with partner terrorism and choose to have another, different story, then their time sharing with me would be well spent.

Thank you, Phenomenal Women! Mana Wāhine!

I also have an immense outpouring of gratitude to all who believed in me and my ability to accomplish this piece of research, as well as those who supported me to remain true to the research kaupapa. I appreciate your tautoko, and your kind words of encouragement; it was so nice to have your best wishes and aroha with me on this journey.

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Ngā Kupu Whakamārama - Glossary

Language is important when it comes to creating meaning. Cradling my findings within concepts of te ao Māori (the world of Māori) allows for insight into the world view we have as Māori. Te Reo (language) is a gateway to this understanding; in te reo each aspect of a word, each syllable and its sound has whakapapa, an origin story, within which you see the connection to other words, to our tīpuna, atua, and to the wider environment.

Aotearoa	New Zealand (Original name of New Zealand, translates as: Land of the Long White Cloud)
Aroha	love, compassion
Atua (1)	God/Goddess, Supernatural Being, Spiritual Being
Atua (2)	menstrual blood/menstruation
Atua wāhine	Goddess/ Spiritual Ancestresses
Hapū (1)	sub-tribe, collective group
Hapū (2)	conception/state of pregnancy
Hau	essence/vitality of a person, place or thing
Hine-ahu-one	the first women – as created by Tane
Hinengaro	psychological health/wellbeing, mind, intellect, consciousness, thought
Hine-nui-te-po	Goddess of the underworld, as she receives the dead. Transformation of Hine-tītama.

	Also known as, Goddess sunlight and stardust.
Hine-te-iwaiwa	Goddess of the moon and reproductive cycles of women, Goddess of birth and motherhood, Goddess that resides over the esoteric knowledge and ceremonial arts of women. Creator of the haka.
Hine-tītama	daughter of Tane and Hine-ahu-one; Goddess of the dawn binding night and day. Hine-tītama also transitioned into Hine-Nui-te-po.
Ira tangata	Mortal element, Human genes, Human element, mortals
Iwi	tribe/grouping of families related through a common ancestor, human bone
Kai	food, to eat
Kainga	home, house or dwelling
Kaitiaki	guardian, custodian, caretaker, trustee
Kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face (literal translation), in person
Karakia	prayer, incantation
Kaumatua	elderly person with status within whānau, Kuia, Koroua
Kaupapa	topic, plan, principle, theme
Kaupapa Māori	pertaining to/grounded in Māori principles
Kawa	marae protocol, customs

Korero	to speak, talk, narrative
Koroua	elderly man/ elder (male)
Kuia	elderly woman
Kupu	word(s)
Mana	authority, control, power, influence, prestige; afforded to a person, whānau, hapū, iwi
Mana wāhine	authority, control, power, influence, prestige; afforded specifically to a woman
Manaakitanga	principle of extending hospitality, caring and kindness to others
Māori	Sovereign Peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand
Mauri	life force, energy of a person, sustenance
Mātauranga	learning, knowledge, personal wisdom
Mātauranga tuku iho	ancestral knowledge and practices, traditional
Orioi	song, chant, lullaby usually composed specifically for children as a way to instil tribal knowledge and whakapapa.
Pākehā	non-Māori, person of European descent
Papatūānuku	maternal body, earth mother, earth
Pakiwaitara	myth, legend, story
Pūrākau	story, myth, legend
Putorino	traditional flute

Ranginui	Sky Father
Taonga	treasured goods, possession
Tapu	to be sacred, under atua protection, under restriction or limiting condition or measure. A key regulatory aspect of Māori law.
Tautoko	to support, advocate, exclamation of agreement.
Te Ao	the world of light/life, physical world
Te Ika a Maui	North Island of New Zealand (Original name of North Island, translates as: The Fish of Maui)
Te Kore	the nothing, the real of potential/creation, chaos
Te Motu-Tapu-a-Tinirau	the sacred island also known as Mokoia, located in Lake Rotorua
Te Pō	the darkness/night
Te ao Māori	the Māori world
Te ao tawhito	the old world, the world of ancestral wisdom
Te reo Māori	the Māori language
Tikanga	traditional customs, practices, laws, values, procedures, which define appropriate behaviours and protocols for individuals and groups to adhere to.
Tīpuna	ancestor

Tīpuna whare	ancestral house
Tohunga	expert/authority/master in chosen profession/field
Tono	to make a request, demand, ask for
Toi Māori	Māori arts
Tuku iho	transmission of knowledge, something handed down
Tūrangawaewae	place of belonging, place where a person has a right to stand
Ūkaipō	mother, night feeding breast/source of sustenance, term of endearment for Papatūānuku (earth mother)
Utu	response, restoration of balance, a regulatory function within Māori society
Waka	traditional canoe
Waiū	milk
Wāhine	woman
Wairua	spirit, soul, essence of a person
Waiata	song, sing, chant
Wānanga	learning institution, to meet in order to deliberate, discuss.
Whānau (1)	family group (including extended family)
Whānau (2)	to give birth, to be born
Whakapapa	genealogy, ancestral decent, to layer

Whakaaro	understanding, opinion, thought
Whakatauākī	proverb, tribal saying
Whakawhānau	to give birth, birthing
Whānaungatanga	relating to relationships between people and the act of maintaining and acknowledging these relationships
Whāngai	traditional practice of sharing and caring for children. Commonly associated as adoption, but is significantly different from the Western concept of adoption
Whare tangata	house of mankind/humanity, womb, uterus
Whāriki	woven mat, tapestry
Whenua (1)	land
Whenua (2)	placenta

Chapter 1: He Kōrero Tātaki: Introduction

Each time a woman stands up for herself, without knowing it possibly, without claiming it, she stands up for all women.

—Maya Angelou, Facebook

Violence in varying forms has been a part of many societies and women's worlds since time immemorial (Garcia-Moreno, Zimmerman, Morris-Gehring, Heise, Amin, Abrahams, Montoya, Bhate-Deosthali, Kilonzo, Watts, 2014). Globally, the protection of women seems to be a nebulous concept that is neither fully understood or embraced by those who make up society, nor adequately embodied in the laws that govern them. Too many women are denied the right to their own safety, to education, to choose what happens to their own bodies, to make decisions about their futures, to make informed choices regarding the wellbeing of their children, to justice, and to equality.

Despite significant progress towards greater gender equality, diversity and the inclusion of women's voices in various arenas, women continue to be constantly threatened by exploitation, violence and abuse, and along with their children are often collateral damage in war (Ellsberg, Arango, Morton, Gennari, Kiplesund, Contreras, & Watts, 2014). Discrimination and injustice against women are both a health threat and a human rights crisis (Ellsberg et al., 2014), and the widespread abuse of and violence against this gender, regardless of age, is the most pervasive and unaddressed violation of human rights (Arango, Morton, Gennari, Kiplesund, & Ellsberg, 2014; Bailey, 2010; Devries, Kishor, Johnson, Stöckl, Bacchus, Garcia-Moreno & Watts, 2010; Garnweidner-Holme, Lukasse, Solheim, & Henriksen, 2017).

Intimate partner violence (IPV) or partner terrorism, as it will be referred to in this thesis, has plagued women in many parts of the world for centuries, but is a more recent phenomenon in te ao Māori (Cram et al., 2002 Durie, 2001; Papakura, 1938; Mikaire, 2011). Despite research being conducted and awareness being raised in recent decades, this controlling and coercive form of

violence continues. It defies laws and legislation, persists in the face of education and interventions, and maintains its surreptitious presence despite best efforts to identify it, name it, and shame it. Its persistence and effects are deeply concerning, particularly its egotism and the doggedly recognisable way in which it over stays its welcome in all countries, towns, and communities, gaining unrestricted access to women in 'the safety' of their homes without prejudice the world over.

Pregnancy is a vital time with regard to partner terrorism as it places women in a vulnerable position, and young pregnant women more so, with those under the age of 20 years being twice as likely to experience partner terrorism (Bailey, 2010). Unfortunately, the prevalence of pregnancy-related violence is not fully known. The literature presents mixed findings as to whether pregnancy is a prelude to violence, or if it serves as a protective factor against partner terrorism (McMahon & Armstrong, 2012). Whether or not violence is present or increases during pregnancy is unclear, but what is clear is that pregnancy is an impuissant time for a woman's maternal body, and that as awareness of this pervasive global health issue increases, its prevalence among young adolescent women has become more widely reported (Koker, Mathews, Zuch, Bastien, Mason-Jones, 2014).

Teenage and adolescent dating violence has been identified as a significant public health concern and a serious problem in Aotearoa and internationally (Beres, 2017; Smith, Mulford, Lutzman, Tharp, Niolon & Blachman-Demner, 2015). It is associated with both long and short term consequences, in a variety of social, health and mental health areas, with impacts ranging from impaired performance to death and chronic disease. This violence contributes to a host of other social issues, such as youth violence, youth suicide, bullying, teen pregnancy, sexual violence, the lack of representation by young people in the education and employment sector, all of which are evident at high levels across Aotearoa New Zealand (Herbert & Mackenzie, 2014).

Aotearoa New Zealand ranks highest in the western world for prevalence of partner terrorism, and despite numerous nationwide attempts to respond to it, there has been little progress in decreasing this phenomenon (Herbert & Mackenzie, 2014; Hoeata et al., 2011). Partner terrorism occurs in Aotearoa New Zealand with such frequency that it is considered a problem of epidemic proportions, as its consequences are known to flow through families and generations like an infectious disease. It is, without doubt, regarded as a leading social issue in Aotearoa New Zealand (Herbert & Mackenzie, 2014; Hoeata et al., 2011), due to the ability of this terrorism to escalate in intensity when left without intervention, provoking widespread fear and concern.

Violence toward women and children within their whānau, hapū and iwi, was not a part of Te Ao Māori and was not commensurate with Māori values (Cram, Pihama, Jenkins & Karahana, 2002; Durie, 2001; Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002). However, this was disrupted through colonisation (Johnston & Pihama, 1995), and as a result, now Māori rates of partner terrorism and family violence are as high as they are in many parts of the world (Hoeata, Nikora, Li, Young-Hauser, & Robertson, 2011). As a result, another cause of growing concern regarding the issue of partner terrorism within New Zealand, is its over-representation among Māori (Marie, Fergusson & Boden, 2008). However, while it is important to address partner terrorism within whānau, this issue is without boundaries of culture, wealth or education, and is being inflicted on women and their children, from every walk of life across the globe.

Research Aims

This research did not begin with a hypothesis, as it was exploratory and theory generating, rather than theory testing. The objective of this research was to explore young teenage women's experiences of intimate partner violence and conflict during pregnancy and to give them a forum for their pūrākau to be heard. Its intention was to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experience of partner terrorism while pregnant, and to enable young women to express this. Its focus was on young pregnant women, as it aimed to develop insights into

what support they felt they needed, what was helpful to them, and the various ways in which they maintained their resilience.

Ko Au Ahau: Positioning Myself as the Researcher

I recognise that as the author of this thesis, I not only bring the knowledge gathered for the purpose of this thesis, but I also bring myself to this research project. When I turn up to the page to write, I bring my emotions, values, doubts, understanding, culture, prejudices, and my colonised locus, all of which have undoubtedly influenced my writing, my interpretation of the research findings, and ultimately my crafting of the women's pūrākau that were shared for the purpose of enhancing understanding.

I have never experienced or witnessed conflict, partner terrorism, nor violence of any kind in my family, whānau or personal relationships. I therefore, entered into this research with no knowledge of the experiences that women in relationships with partner terrorism face. I had no hypothesis to prove or disprove, but rather came with the desire to seek understanding. In a bid to educate myself and get in touch with the reality of this violence and its consequences, I joined the Women Against Violence Education Group (WAVE). My participation in this network ensured I was well informed and educated by the 'experts', whom I perceive to be the women who have experienced this form of terrorism.

Through the retelling of participants' stories, I become their author, and through my writing I hope to nurture and give a voice to the journeys shared by these phenomenal women. I hope that I have done so respectfully and in a way that highlights their strengths and resilience, through the creation of narratives of triumph.

Mana Wāhine Theoretical Perspective

The wellbeing of women and their pēpē are at the heart of this research. Therefore, an ethical assumption of this project has revolved around elevating

awareness of the devastating effects of partner terrorism, colonial violence and historical trauma, while uplifting and highlighting women's rights, especially the rights of wāhine Māori. I follow the lead of Naomi Simmonds who commented:

My methodology is deliberately subjective so to accommodate and represent multiple, complex and sometimes contradictory experiences. Mana wāhine does not seek to appear neutral. (Simmonds, 2014 p.51)

The mana wāhine theoretical perspective has risen out of the cultural and political struggles of wāhine Māori. It is located in a wider pūrākau of indigenous struggle, having evolved from and being supported by Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology (Simmonds, 2011). Its emergence signals the unwillingness of wāhine Māori "to continue to try to 'find' ourselves in the words, texts and images of others" (Simmonds, 2011, p. 13).

Wāhine Māori is often considered synonymous with feminism, but is in fact more dynamic and complex, as it collides at the intersection of being a woman and being Māori (wāhine Māori) and falls into the crevasse of distinctions between the two. The multiple oppressions, struggles and marginalisation's that are intrinsic in the lives of wāhine Māori are never about just being a woman or just being Māori (Pihama, 2001). Instead, they are a combination of what it is to be a woman, what it is to be Māori, and what being a Māori woman means; these complex identities cannot be understood in isolation from one another (Pihama, 2001). The culmination of experiences of oppression and marginalisation announces itself through historical trauma, which can be seen in statistics where wāhine Māori's health, education, and employment statistics reflect the space of marginalisation within our societies that they inhabit (Gabel, 2013).

As women we have been defined in terms of our differences to men. As Māori, we have been defined in terms of our differences to our colonisers. As both, we have been defined by our differences to Māori men, Pākehā men and Pākehā women. The socioeconomic class in which

most Māori women are located makes the category of Other an even more complex problematic. (Smith, 1992, p. 33)

Our struggle as wāhine Māori can never be fully understood by Pākehā feminists, however, they can take a stance of support in the creation of, and (re)claiming of a space to explore our own journeys, and the sharing of our pūrākau, in our own way, and on our own terms. This can hold a space for us to “(re)define and (re)present the multifarious stories and experiences of what it means, and what it meant in the past, to be a Māori woman in Aotearoa New Zealand” (Simmonds, 2011, p. 12).

The marginalisation of wāhine Māori, and the undermining of our roles and positions in society are both effects of colonisation. The imposition of Western culture, its values and systems, and the introduction of Christianity have all been a large focus of mana wāhine theory (Gabel, 2013). Wairua discourse is also an important element of mana wāhine theory, as it recognises that the lived realities of wāhine Māori are entwined with spiritual geographies, and can be used to provide a space to validate and legitimise the spiritual, emotional and cultural understandings of wāhine Māori and their relationship with the maternal body, and atua wāhine (Simmonds, 2011).

The impact of colonisation on the positioning of wāhine Māori in society and the ways in which their realities have been constructed have been both damaging and traumatising (Pihama, 1994). This is evident in the ways that the pūrākau, beliefs, practices and values associated with wāhine Māori have been corrupted through the complex ways in which ideologies of race and gender have collided (Pihama, 1994; Gable, 2013). The altering of pūrākau has been effective in making wāhine Māori and girls, invisible through the over writing and whitewashing of their roles and positions in iwi, hapū, whānau and society in general. This has literally un-created them within historical accounts (Pihama, 1994).

Through the application of a mana wāhine perspective, the dominant hegemony that continues to posit Māori women as ‘other’ are challenged, and

mātauranga wāhine (knowledge of Māori women) is validated (Simmonds, 2011). At its foundation, mana wāhine promotes and acknowledges the diverse narratives and experiences of wāhine Māori, providing a space that affords the exploration of this diversity from a position of power (Johnston & Pihama, 1995; Simmonds, 2011). We are capable of, and do offer analyses of our own positions, from our own experiences and adroitness, affording ourselves the freedom and scope to present and represent our world. “In doing so there remains a desire to be visible in our differences... We are different, and those differences count” (Johnston & Pihama, 1995, p. 85).

Colonisation has, and continues to, impact on iwi, hapū and whānau, Māori society in general, and on wāhine Māori in particular. The widespread misrepresentation of their status, and the silencing of their voices meant that wāhine Māori mātauranga, philosophies and theories were gagged. However, wāhine Māori have begun to assert their positions and status within their communities and society (Smith, 1992; Jenkins & Pihama, 2001). While the concept of mana wāhine has become common in academic discourse, it is also widely enacted through various mediums, such as, iwi, hapū, whānau and marae based initiatives, arts, political activism and “in the lived embodied struggles of individual Māori women” (Simmonds, 2011, p.13). The result is that stories of wāhine Māori are being redefined, and are no longer relegated to the genre of myth and the figment of cultural imagination; this highlights both the importance and the need for wāhine Māori to “take control of spaces where our stories can be told” (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001, p.294).

Many Māori mothers are caught in the “contradictions of a colonised reality” (Gable, 2013, p.7), where ideologies, theories and practices around mothering within the concept of a nuclear family structure have been imposed upon us. However, as Māori women, and academics, we must hold to our awareness and err on the side of caution when it comes to speaking on behalf of other Māori women, as unequal power relations can restrict us in our attempts to speak on their behalf. Therefore, it is important to recognise that in our desire

to share pūrākau, we may inadvertently contribute to exclusion (Simmonds, 2011).

Mana wāhine is every Māori women's birth right, an inheritance gifted from Atua Wāhine; Papatūānuku, Hineahuone, Hineteiwaiwa, Hine Tītama, and Hinenui te Pō, among others. The mana, authority, power, and dignity of wāhine Māori is acknowledged through the complexity of mana wāhine (Simmonds, 2011), and has provided me with a space to examine and share the complexity and diversity of the pūrākau of the phenomenal women who participated in this research. It also affords me the means to focus on the analysis in a way that upholds the mana of all wāhine, drawing on the concepts of atua wāhine and te ao Māori (the Māori world) to support me in doing so.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Part One: The Beginning - Colonial Violence and Wāhine Māori

Ngā hiahiakia kia titiro ki te timatatanga, ā, ka kite ai tātou te mutunga

You must understand the beginning if you wish to see the end.

“This whakataukāki articulates the notion that what happens within a particular present context does not exist within a vacuum, but is a result of the past”.

(Te Puni Kokiri, 2010)

Korero Whakataki - Introduction

This section provides an historical context from which to understand the experiences of Māori women. The literature discussed focuses on wāhine Māori as whare tangata and ūkaipō, their position in traditional Māori society, and the impact of the colonial violence on these roles in society. This historical overview has been used to establish that traditional Māori society was incongruous with an environment of partner terrorism. This type of violence toward women was virtually unheard of, it was condemned and not tolerated prior to colonisation. In order to orientate the reader toward the research kaupapa, the focus shifts in the following section, to teenage dating violence and young women’s experiences during pregnancy in modern society.

The societal structure and philosophy that underpins wāhine Māori

The harmony that flowed through traditional Māori society is best understood in context of te ao Māori (the Māori world view). This begins with the creation of the universe, and identifies the connectivity and whanaungatanga between all life and the environment, highlighting the role of balance within these relationships (Mikaere, 1994; Mead, 2016; Smith, 1996). Conversations about the roles of men and women should therefore, begin with creation stories, as the Māori maternal body, female strength, and the power of the female sexual and

procreative abilities are at the heart of our cosmology (Gabel, 2013; Mikaere, 2011; Murphy, 2011; Simmonds, 2014).

Men and women share a deep bond that is often likened to the primordial parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, who while separated, merge at the horizon, showing connection; the sacred seed and river meet as one (Murphy, 2011). Balance between the sexes is demonstrated in many ways (Murphy, 2011) as everything comprises, both a male and a female aspect to complement each other. Gender balance within Māori society was upheld through tikanga Māori, and it is evident that protecting and maintaining the sanctity of mana wāhine and whare tangata were collective responsibilities and required dedication (Mikaere, 2011; Pihama, 2012).

Māori identity is rooted within whakapapa, tikanga and kawa (King, Hauser, Li, Rua, & Nikora, 2012; Nikora, 2007). This is the reason why in te ao Māori, cosmology is given in the form of whakapapa with the various stages of cosmology presented as generations extending from Te Kore (the chaos, or nothingness), Te Pō (the darkness) and Te Ao (the light) (Mead, 2016; Mikaere, 2011; Nepia, 2012). These stages of creation are recurring themes, present within our pūrākau (Gabel, 2013).

Māori social structure is based on lineage and family grouping: whānau, hapū, iwi and waka. The iwi was the sum of its hapū, the hapū an aggregation of groups of whānau, and the whānau three or four generations of parents and children (Durie, 2001). The waka, the largest kin group, was the aggregation of iwi connected by common ancestors. One belonged to these groups as a consequence of whakapapa (Ministry of Justice, 2001; Walker, 1990).

The wellbeing of the whānau and hapū were of utmost importance to Māori, with the survival of the whole being dependant on each individual. According to Papakura:

The Māori did not think of himself [*sic*], or do anything for his own gain. He [*sic*] thought only of his people, and was absorbed in his whānau, just

as the whānau was absorbed in the hapū, and the hapū in the iwi. (1938. (1938, p. 60)

Traditionally, individuals were focused on inspiring and uplifting the spirit and wellbeing of their whānau and hapū, and in turn maintained their mauri and mana through the wellbeing of the collective.

A whānau generally comprised of up to three or four generations operating as one family unit, under the watchful eye of kaumatua (elderly people with status within the whānau). These kuia (elderly women, grandmother figures) and koroua (elderly men, grandfather figures) would ensure accountability and responsibility among the group (Pihama, Jenkins, Middleton, 2003; Pihama, 2012). While each individual had their own inherent significance and were valuable parts of the whole (Papakura, 1938; Mikaere, 2011), the main function of the whānau in traditional society was the creation and nurturing of tamariki and pēpē (Mikaere, 2011; Ministry of Justice, 2001). Women were also valued members of their whānau, hapū and iwi (Mikaere, 1994; 2011; Murphy, 2016; Simmonds, 2011; Yates-Smith, 1998), and were affirmed and supported throughout the course of their lives (Mikaere, 1994; Mikaere, 2011; Murphy, 2016).

The worth of mana wāhine was reflected in these patterns of relationships, including whānau living, where the whānau dynamics centred around the care and wellbeing of the women as the cherished bearers, who bring forth the next generation. Serious repercussions would ensue for anyone who did not respect their value, with tapu, mana and utu used as corrective and protective measures to hold individuals to account. These customary practices had immense power within traditional Māori society and essentially operated like a legal system (Ministry of Justice, 2001). The support network of the whānau thus allowed for women and pēpē to be supported, affording women the opportunity to carry out a range of roles and duties, including roles pertaining to leadership (Papakura, 1938; Mikaere, 2011; Pihama, 2012).

The harmony between the roles of men and women can be identified through language, which provides a powerful indication that hierarchy between sexes did not exist. Mikaere (1994) points out that both the personal pronoun (ia) and the possessive personal pronouns (tana/tona) are gender neutral. The sanctity of women can also be seen through the duality of words used to describe them. This is evident in words such as, whānau, meaning both family and to give birth; hapū, meaning subtribe and also the state of pregnancy and being pregnant; and whenua meaning land and afterbirth or placenta (Murphy, 2011; Simmonds, 2011). The most significant word that acknowledges the interconnectedness between wairua and the role of Māori women in procreation is, te whare tangata; the house of humanity or mankind, which also refers to the womb (Mikaere; 2011; Pere, 1991; Simmonds, 2011).

In marriage, women were considered tapu and were looked after by their husband's people. It was almost unknown for a man to leave his wife in traditional Māori society, with mutual love and affection generally binding them together to the end of their lives. (Papakura, 1938). Married couples were excited to begin a family, as one of the most treasured things to Māori was to have children, so if women provided their husband with children "He esteemed her more" Papakura (1938, p. 126). The sex of the child was irrelevant, as boys and girls were equally important and accepted (Salmond, 2016). With regards to parents, "The love they bore their children was very great. Indeed, this love for their children was one of the most wonderful things in the character of the Māori" (Papakura, 1938, p. 118).

Pregnancy was celebrated by the community, especially between a couple who were both of high status (Pere, 1994). Gifts of food were commonly given to mothers to be, and their cravings would result in her choice of kai being procured for her. While the mother was the overt recipient of such gifts, they were also given for the nourishment of the pēpē, and to support the mother in developing waiu, breast milk (Papakura, 1938; Murphy, 2011; Pere, 1994).

So highly regarded was a baby, that love and adoration were extended to it even while in utero. An example of this is the way in which a pūtōrino (traditional flute) was placed upon the mother's puku to sing to the baby (Murphy, 2011; Pere, 1994). This 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" (Gabel, 2013, p. 88).

During pregnancy, restrictions were placed upon women to ensure the maintenance of their health and wellbeing (Gabel, 2013; Papakura, 1938; Pihama, 2012). While pregnant, a women's ū (breasts) and matamata (nipples) were tended to with care and mirimiri to ensure a healthy supply and flow of waiu, ready for their pēpē following birth. Māori women would nurture and sustain their pēpē at the breast until they could run around, and at times much longer (Gabel, 2013; Papakura, 1938).

Despite restrictions, pregnancy in traditional society did not impinge upon or alter a women's natural way of life; she was tended to with great care due to the important nature of pregnancy, and the magnitude of this contribution and gift of the next generation. As a woman approached her final stages of pregnancy, she would be confined to a temporary kainga, which was specially built for her, where someone would live with her and attend to her needs. This seclusion and care would continue for a period of time post birth (Papakura, 1938; Mikaere, 1994; Simmonds, 2014).

Evidence of the inherent nature of Māori maternal knowledge abounds, with repeated examples of collective practices and modelled behaviours and attitudes performed around pregnancy, childbirth and mothering recorded (Gabel, 2013; Murphy, 2011). As a result, pregnancy and whakawhānau, birthing, were uncomplicated and a part of everyday life (Simmonds, 2014). Papakura (1938) supports this whakaaro, sharing that Māori women did not appear to suffer the pain and trauma of Pākehā women (Simmonds, 2014).

Parenting in te ao Māori was not the sole responsibility of the mother; while mothers did tend to their pēpē with love and care, they also benefited from

built in support within the whānau and hapū (Pihama, 2012). However, it is important to refrain from romanticising the traditional lifestyle of a Māori mother with regard to the enviable network of support available to her. As it should be recognised that the maternal role of Māori women exceeded that of her own immediate needs, with obligations that saw her called upon by the wider collective to help provide and maintain a nurturing and supportive whānau environment for the wider community (Gabel, 2013; Szaszy, 1998).

The duties of Māori women as mothers and wives were extensive, extending outside their own family as community workers (Szaszy, 1998). These obligations called upon Māori women to support the wider collective by helping to provide and maintain a nurturing and supportive whānau environment for the wider community (Gabel, 2013; Szaszy, 1998). The significance of this work to the wellbeing of the whānau collective meant that mana wāhine were prized and trusted among that collective, as the daily survival of whānau, hapū and iwi were dependant on women's role as *whare tangata*, the guardians, protectors, workers and providers who ensured the existence and survival of Māori society (Nepe, 1991).

Marriage is an example of the balance between genders. Before colonisation, *mana wāhine* and *mana tane* existed as complimentary parts (Mikaere, 1994; Pere, 1994; Simmonds, 2011). Prior to colonisation surnames were not used and women did not take their husband's names, but kept their own (Papakura, 1938). Children were also given their own names and did not take either their mother's or father's names. They were connected to both sides of their families, and would inherit their parent's *whakapapa*, and iwi affiliations equally (Mead, 2016). There is a common misconception that the male gender denotes superiority within *te ao Māori*; this is refuted by Mikaere (1994) who acknowledges that it is often assumed that because leadership roles in traditional Māori society were predominantly held by men, greater value was placed upon their roles and positions in society in comparison to women. However, evidence abounds refuting this perception (Mikaere, 1994; Murphy, 2011).

The colonisation of our tikanga has been identified as being at the crux of the destabilisation of the principles of balance that were inherent in the relationships between Māori men and Māori women (Mikaere, 2011; Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 2012; Smith, 1992). Simmonds (2011, p. 24) argues that “Colonisation has attempted to disrupt the balance between mana wāhine, mana whenua, mana whānau, and mana atua”, and has also disrupted the balance between mana tane and mana wāhine (Mikaere, 1994; Mikaere, 2011). The first partnership that was impacted through colonisation was the partnership between Māori men and Māori women. When Western values began to influence Māori society, Māori men began to exclude Māori women, privileging themselves with patriarchy, and making themselves partners with our colonisers. Patriarchal power was used against Māori women to elevate their positions, denigrating the role of women (Gabel, 2013), but as Mikaere (2011) reminds us, “The privileging of men over women was never part of our tradition” (p. 202).

Colonisation also served to disrupt Māori social order, which was dependent upon the whānau structure (Pihama, 2012; Smith, 1992), such as the traditional education system, which was undermined through the introduction of the concept of an immediate (nuclear) family (Gabel, 2013; Murphy 2011). The nuclear family model assisted in the isolation of Māori from their natural support systems, and disrupted the nurturing and the dissemination of knowledge, which had previously been located within relationships with one another (Pihama et al., 2003). The impact of this shift in whānau structure is summarised in the *Te Rito* Report, which states:

The privatisation of whānau relations within a nuclear family model effectively removed for the majority of Māori fundamental mechanism of support, responsibility, obligations and accountability.

What happened in a private individual home now became the ‘business’ only of those who lived within those four walls.

The eyes of the whānau were removed, the obligation to our collective well-being became increasingly difficult to sustain and as the Pākehā legal

system took more and more control, the mechanisms of communal accountability declined. (Pihama et al., 2003, p. 21)

The weight of history cannot be disregarded when considering the current dialogue about violence in the lives of Sovereign Peoples (often referred to as First Nations or Indigenous Peoples), and the cultural genocide that impacts on, and contributes towards, the tragedies in which they find themselves (Cram et al., 2002). The colonisation experiences of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand is reflected in the history of colonisation in Australia, where the Sovereign Peoples of Australia have been subjected to various forms of violence. Leaving a legacy of drug and alcohol abuse, that is evident in First Nation communities today (Cram et al., 2002).

Although some Sovereign Peoples have been able to move forward with astounding resilience, many have not been able to escape the impact of historical trauma and continue to fight to address the consequences of colonisation (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010; The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence, 2000). In Australia, acts of physical and sexual violence are being perpetrated within some families and across communities to a degree previously unheard of in the traditional communities of Sovereign Peoples, with many of the targets of this violence being women and children (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010; The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence, 2000).

Similarly, violence within Māori communities should be recognised as a consequence of colonisation. Like other Sovereign Peoples the world over, Māori have been subjected to the erosion of their identities, both culturally and spiritually, contributing to the fragmentation of the whānau and community systems that traditionally maintained control and social order, and sustained relationships and social obligations (Cram et al., 2002; Smith, 1996). The general consensus amongst a wide range of researchers, authors, academics, and kaumatua is that colonisation has been instrumental in the fracturing of

relationships, impacting on the way whānau now operate (Durie, 1985; Herbert, 2001; Milroy, 1996; Smith, 1996).

The position of Whare Tangata in traditional Māori society was naturally protected from violence

In traditional Māori society the symbolic power of mana wāhine as the bearers of mankind and future generations, and their importance in sustaining whakapapa is inherent in cosmological narratives and spiritualities highlighted by themes pertaining to whare tangata, ūkaipō and mana wāhine. The prominence and sanctity of the maternal figure within these spaces signify their status and influence on traditional Māori society (Gabel, 2013).

Creation stories influence culture, establishing the foundation of family, economic and political relations (Anderson, 2001), as such, it is imperative to confer with these bodies of knowledge when exploring our roles as Māori women (Mikaere, 2003).

However, through the introduction of Christianity, Māori women's procreation practices and understandings were assaulted (Gabel, 2013; Murphy, 2011; Simmonds, 2011). Colonisers and Christianity were quick to marginalise and shame the roles of Māori women in procreation, and with it the power and tapu of their sacred and maternal roles as whare tangata (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 2012). This resulted in an assault on language, and terms such as whare tangata being abolished, thus greatly undermining mana wāhine wairua knowledges (Gable, 2013; Jackson, 1992; Johnson, Manning, Giordano, & Longmore, 2015).

As discussed earlier, women were held in high esteem in traditional Māori society, with terms such as Te whare tangata exemplifying their status, stature and power as mana wāhine (Gabel, 2013; Mikaere, 1994; Murphy, 2011; Pere, 1994; Pihama, 1994; Simmonds, 2014; Yates-Smith, 1998). Whakatauākī, mōteatea and pūrākau establish a mother's role in traditional society as a revered one; considered as the personification of the sacred maternal body, Papatūānuku; women were of paramount importance in ensuring the survival of

the whānau and hapū, through procreation (Gabel, 2013; Pere, 1994; Murphy, 2011; Simmonds, 2014;). This is embodied in the following concept: “Te whare o te Tangata - the only source from which all new life flows” (Robertson & Oulton, 2008, p. 6).

The community’s recognition of the sanctity of the Māori maternal body is evident in the physical and spiritual support afforded women at different times in their lives (Gabel, 2013; Pere, 1994). Striking expressions, acknowledging the sanctity of the maternal body and the state of pregnancy abound in Māori pūrākau, waiata, and whakatauākī (Gabel, 2013). An example of this is: he wāhine, he whenua, ka ngaro te tangata; humanity would be lost without women and land. This example serves to highlight the traditional Māori philosophy of women and demonstrates the ways in which the sacredness of whare tangata were cemented in to everyday life and practice. Further insight is provided by Pere (1994), who states that in the Māori context, the repletion of whakapapa, and the cascade of ancestral blood through generations is paramount. When a woman becomes pregnant, the flow of blood remains within her womb, its role in the development of a future tīpuna all-important (Mikaere, 1994). This in turn highlights the very special quality of women in their role as whare tangata (Gabel, 2013; Pere, 1994).

Expanding on this even further, the view of whare tīpuna as a whare tangata, is affirmed by the position of carved figures of esteemed female ancestors above the doorway of many whare tīpuna. Her presence is considered a form of protection as she holds her descendants safe within her womb, within her whare tangata, further supporting the mana and sanctity of Māori women their ability to protect their descendants in their womb, whare tangata (Mikaere, 1994).

The eventual breakdown of the Māori philosophy of mana wāhine is described by Yates-Smith (1998) and Mikaere (2011) who state that research on Māori spirituality’s was conducted by white male ethnographers, who viewed Māori society through the lens of outsiders, and colonisers (Gabel, 2013; Pihama,

2001). As such, the cultural, racial and gendered positioning's of these authors are evident (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 2012). An example of this is demonstrated in the way they favoured the pūrākau of male Atua and tīpuna and served to misrepresent and re story the roles and voices of female Atua and tīpuna as passive, to privilege the male presence, masculinity and adventure (Gabel & Simmonds, 2016; Smith, 1992).

Māori spiritualities and knowledge were considered tales of superstition (Johnson, 1998), so the nullifying of Māori spirituality made way for the establishment of a new hierarchy of information, where Māori female atua were replaced with colonial ideologies of God. The focus was shifted away from the womb, and the symbolism of te kore, te pō and the balanced relationship of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, to a soul supreme male God. This led to the swift obliteration of the female presence, supplanting mana wāhine with ideologies of shame and sin (Simmonds, 2014), un-creating the power of the feminine in our pūrākau and whakapapa of creation (Mikaere, 2011). As a result, the balance between male and female elements was destroyed. The sacred maternal body became to be seen as secondary to man, in the presence of the all-powerful "God as male, God as ruling, God as natural... God as white" (Pihama, 2001, p. 155). This was then entrenched quickly into legislation by the state, an example of which is the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 (Simmonds, 2011).

The coloniser's view is exemplified in the writing of Best (1924), where he discusses the creation of male and female, noting:

On the whole Māori leaned towards agnatic filtration, the male, he possess [*sic*] greater mana than does the female, for is not man descended directly from the gods, while woman had to be created from earth!". (Best, 1924, p. 89)

Enlightenment from a mana wāhine perspective of the creation of the first woman, Hine-ahu-one, is provided by Mikaere (2003):

Three female figures play a crucial role in the creation of humankind. Papatūānuku provides both the materials and the advice to enable Tāne to form Hineahuone. Hineahuone, while given physical shape by Tāne clearly possesses an awesome sexual power that comes from deep within her female being. It is she who gives birth to the first true human being, Hinetītama. Hinetītama is a woman who expects and exercises control over her own destiny. (Mikaere, 2003, p 19)

The distortion between the two accounts is obvious, and emphasises the way in which colonial male ethnographers such as Best, isolated women from pūrākau that spoke to the mana and tapu of mana wāhine and the sacred maternal body (Simmonds, 2014).

The philosophy of educating and raising tamariki in traditional Māori society were protective factors against violence

Māori both derive from, and return to Papatūānuku, highlighting the continuum of life and death. The preservation of the mauri and mana of children is essential for the preservation of forthcoming generations (Ministry of Justice, 2001). The importance and sanctity of a person is highlighted by certain attributes: every child is heir to a number of spiritual attributes which are quintessential to their development and wellbeing; spiritual, social, psychological. These attributes relate to the importance of life, and comprise of an individual's personal tapu, mana, mauri, wairua and hau; and identify the relation of ira tangata to the cosmos, and to the Gods, ira Atua (Mead, 2016).

The love Māori bestowed upon and held for their tamariki was magnificent, Papakura (1938) states that Māori had great love for their children and were unselfish in their love for their children; describing a bond that was infallible. She further argued that no other race could hold a candle to this love Māori had for their children (Papakura, 1938). This is supported by Samuel Marsden, whose 1820 letters are described by Reed in (1900, p. 14) and is quoted as saying "there were no finer children in any part of the world than those of the Māoris [*sic*]". Children were considered the living embodiment of

their ancestors, and as such were deeply treasured and indulged, regardless of age. With the whānau and hapū collective striving to provide an environment that would support them in their growth and development through all stages of life (Gabel, 2013; Mead, 2016). This is further supported by Papakura (1938) and Pere (1994) who state that the nurturing and raising of children was considered to relate to their entire ancestral lineage as descendants of Māori ancestry, and not just to the individual child (Pihama et al., 2003). This is reflected through the whakatauākī; He kai poutaka me kinikini atu, he kai poutaka me horehore atu, ma te tamaiti to iho: the welfare of the children ensures the future strength of the people. This whakatauākī identifies the expectation that adults are expected to prioritise the wellbeing of children (Gabel, 2013).

Parenting practices in traditional Māori society were assumed by both parents, with the support of both male and female relatives in the wider whānau who also assumed significant roles and responsibilities (Gabel, 2013; Pere, 1994, Pihama, 2012; Reynolds & Smith, 2012). Māori children are born into a whānau, hapū and iwi and are therefore considered the responsibility of the collective. This network and support system of raising children also provided a supportive environment for the mothers, allowing them to support and contribute to the whānau in ways that were in alignment with their own personal skill and knowledge set. This ensured the optimum utilisation of skills to maintain the strength of the collective community and the ability of all members to thrive (Gabel, 2013; Mikaere, 1994; Pere, 1994).

Early colonial accounts confirm the role of fathers and other close male members of the tribe in the nurturing and raising of children, particularly young boys; “During the greater part of infancy it is taken care of by the father, who evinces admirable patience and forbearance” (Dieffenbach, 1974, p. 26). Gabel (2013) states that some ethnographers referred to fathers as the primary caregivers, demonstrating they had a significant role in the upbringing of children (Cruise, 1824; Salmond, 2016). Gabel (2013, p. 94) states that men were expected to participate in raising children, further stating that they “from all accounts cherished and enjoyed the opportunity”. Earle (1832) and Taylor (1855)

concur, stating that fathers were seen nursing and tending to their children with tenderness and good humour.

While a collective approach was taken to the raising of children, it is also clear through depositories of knowledge such as whakatauākī, pūrākau, and oriori that the bonds between mother and pēpē were close and strong (Gabel, 2013). The bonds between mother and child features in our cosmology narratives, where profound and perpetual bonds were established between child and ūkaipō (Gabel, 2013). This is demonstrated in the way tamariki and pēpē were seen to return to their mothers and the night feeding breast – ūkaipō (Pere, 1994; Murphy, 2011). Mead (2016) concurs that Māori children were lavished with great affection. He extends on this by sharing that traditional society acknowledged and treated children with the utmost of care and respect, recognising their inherent mana, a social quality requiring the acknowledgement and respect of others (Smith, 1996). Failure to do so could result in punishment for parents, and any damage to a child, including accidents were considered a serious offence (Makere, 1938; Mead, 2016; Pere, 1994). Children of great mana would be celebrated, and oriori would be composed as a tribute in their honour and sung by the hapū and iwi. Firth, quoted a proverb as evidence: “He aroha whaereere, he potiki piri poho’ (A mother’s love, a breast-clinging child)” (Mead, 2016, p. 56). Essentially children were doted upon and cherished from birth, with any neglect (accidents) or abuse considered a crime in traditional Māori society (Gable, 2013; Pere, 2016).

The importance of the Māori world view in the care and education of Māori children is acknowledged by Royal-Tangaere (1991), who acknowledges teaching and learning as being a shared developmental philosophy. This sought to recognise and uphold the uniqueness of every child and their position in the whānau, hapū and iwi (Pihama, et al., 2003). Whilst being nurtured and embraced by at least three generations, the environment allowed for children to be educated by their elders. Children were taught about life and living in ways that provided them with examples of their realities; for example, their position within society, elements of tradition and knowledge that allowed them to be

knowledgeable of the day to day understanding who they are and how they fit within the whānau, including narrations that allowed them to know of places, people and events of historical importance (Pihama et al., 2003).

Nurturing of children included being spoken to, sung to and played music from conception, “Instilling them love, security, inquisitiveness and confidence” (Jenkins, 2011, p. 12). They were provided freedom to experience and learn about all aspects of whānau and hapū life and as a result, developed great awareness, were insightful curious, observant, and adept and resilient as adults (Jenkins, 2011). This is supported by Papakura (1938, p. 146), who states that children “Were considered fearless, for they were met with love everywhere and in their homes were petted and loved by their parents and relatives” (Gabel, 2013; Mead, 2016, Pere, 1994).

Historical accounts abound with evidence of the way children were treated, and the way in which missionaries and colonisers were taken back by the manner in which Māori children were indulged. At the time the prevailing view of missionaries and colonisers with regards to children, were that they were chattels rather than taonga. Accounts attest to the way they were treated with prodigious affection and remarkable tenderness, with solicitous care bestowed by parents (Cruise, 1824; Earle, 1832; Reed, 1900; Savage, 1807). Taylor (1855), remarked that parental love was one of the finest traits he witnessed.

Similarly, the 1820’s letters of Marsden, as described by Reed (1900) paint a portrait of harmonious relationships, where he states that Māori men were kind to their women and children, advising he never witnessed any behaviour to the contrary. He comments that there were no arguments or any sign of violence toward the women, or aftermath of it, nor did he ever witness a child being smacked or admonished. There was also no favouritism toward children based upon their sex (Cruise, 1824). Commentaries remark on practices which are characterised by affection, nurturing and warmth, describing children as being wholly breastfed by their mothers and other close female members in the tribe (Dieffenbach, 1974; Nicholas, 1817). Men are also described as being

nurturing and having “Admirable patience and forbearance” (Dieffenbach, 1974, p. 26).

Children, however, became key targets in the political agenda and violence of colonisation, through the introduction of native schooling, one of the most powerful tools in colonisation. Mission schools were established in the nineteenth century with the intention of converting Māori to Christianity (Smith, 1992). In 1867 the Native Schools Act influenced the way Māori children were to be assimilated in to colonial culture, with authority invested in teachers to teach and discipline children, while their parents and elders were relegated to the background in educational matters, deemed unfit to teach and instruct their own children (Gabel, 2013).

Simon, Smith and Cram (2001), discuss the mission schools as sites in which Māori children were targeted as a group to be ‘civilised’ and educated. Māori girls and women were systematically marginalised from their whānau, through the imposition of domestication (Gabel, 2013). This disruption to mothering and parenting practices is an experience also shared by other indigenous peoples; Anderson (2001) explains the way the Native schooling system disrupted traditional styles of parenting, amputating the intergenerational flow of knowledge, education and parenting between grandparents, parents and children.

The school system was also instrumental in restructuring gender roles within Māori society. Missionaries redefined the roles and status of mana wāhine, through the schooling system and the importation of colonial philosophies of family (Pihama, 2001). Dominant gender beliefs and gender roles that reflected the nuclear family structure were imposed upon Māori children, whānau, and hapū, replacing Māori structures and mātauranga Māori, specifically knowledge of whakapapa, and links to and between whānau, hapū and iwi (Jenkins, 1992; Pihama et al., 2003; Smith, 1992). The fragmentation of the whānau was the consequence of such ideologies (Pihama, 2001).

This was not unique to Aotearoa. Cree Elder Ing (2006) stated that there was a forced separation of Sovereign Canadian children from their parents, and communities by religious groups, to boarding schools. Similarly, Emmett (2006) talks to the stolen generation of Torres Strait Islander (Sovereign Peoples of Australian) children who were also separated from their families, stating that “Natal absorption through slavery or assimilation acts to alienate indigenous children” (Emmett, 2006. p. 237). The Bringing Them Home Enquiry (1997) identified that these separations have permanently scarred not only those individuals, but also later generations who also feel the effects of the loss of their cultural inheritance, tradition, language, family and community connections.

Native schools were strategically positioned in the heart of Māori communities, “Like Trojan horses” (Pihama et al., 2003, p. 17). Their objective to undermine and annihilate the subtler aspects of Māori life such as perspectives, philosophies, value systems, currency, and the spiritual aspects that bonded people to each other and their turangawaewae.

Pūrākau identify traditional structures that were protective factors against violence

Pūrākau are often symbolic and thick with meaning, their legitimacy and purpose specific (McRae, 2017). They are used to illustrate traditions, principles, morals, and models of behaviour that apply to everyday life (Lee, 2005), while also demonstrating the intricate nature of concepts such as mana, tapu, noa, and utu, which are important in understanding how balance was maintained and punishment for breaches administered (Ministry of Justice 2001; Jackson, 1988). The philosophy of pūrākau can be demonstrated in the way they reflect social practices of the time, and, or, serve as educational and authenticating functions; they are ideals to which one can aspire, and be measured against (Ministry of Justice, 2001, p. 9).

Māori cosmology is abundant with pūrākau of mana wāhine, whom abound with qualities of compassion, strength, wisdom, courage and ingenuity (Mikaere, 1994; Mikaere, 2011). These cosmological accounts stressed the

inherent importance of mana wāhine, and their role in sustaining whakapapa, and facilitating movement and balance between the states of tapu and noa (Murphy, 2011; Pere, 1991; Simmonds, 2011).

Māori pūrākau provide examples and insight into ways in which violence was responded to, if it should occur (Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002). Here the pūrākau of Niwaraka and Mataora is used as an example to demonstrate this:

Niwaraka, returned home to her people in Rarohenga after being mistreated by her partner, Mataora. By returning to her whānau, Niwareka brought her abuse into a wider context of accountability preventing her from being isolated by Mataora, averting further abuse. This also meant his mistreatment could be fully assessed by the whānau.

Mataora followed Niwareka to Rarohenga, upon arrival he was confronted by her whānau. Uetonga, the father of Niwareka challenged him on his conduct, declaring that any violation or act of violence against his daughter was an act of violence against all of Rarohenga.

Following an intervention by her whānau, there was discussion and negotiation and Niwareka chose to forgive and Mataora, believing he had demonstrated his love for her, and his regret for his behaviour toward her. With the violence challenged, and the whānau having full disclosure Niwareka and Mataora felt freed from the abuse and able to move on with their lives together, leaving this abuse behind them (Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002).

This pūrākau reminds women that they have the power to take action when faced with abusive behaviour (Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002). Pihama et al., (2003) expand on this by identifying the actions of Niwareka's, father Uetonga, and brother Tauwehe as an intervention while also acknowledging Niwareka, who was empowered to make her own decisions while her whānau were there to support and provide guidance.

Pūrākau has the power to re align us with the thinking of our tīpuna. The pūrākau of Niwareka and Mataora reinforces that our tīpuna were fearless in

their stance, rebuking, any form of violence against their women, including verbal violence (Pihama et al., 2003). Māori women were provided examples of how to respond to such incidents through pūrākau. Māori women were positioned within sacred pūrākau “As active transformers of difficult situations” (Pihama et al., 2003, p. 35), demonstrating their personal power, and influence within Māori society.

Through the re-storying of our pūrākau, the focus was shifted from the influence of formidable female figures (Johnston & Pihama, 1995; Mikaere, 1994). Where the strength of female atua were found to be irrefutable, they were then re-cast, and portrayed negatively. The silencing and dumbing down of the feminine presence in our cosmologies was not only reserved for our Atua wāhine, but served to inform the colonisers perceptions of wāhine Māori (Murphy, 2011; Simmonds, 2014; Smith, 2012).

Further insight is given, again by Smith (1999) who state that Māori women were relegated to perceptions that bound them to identities attached to men, such as wives and children, or in sexual terms as partners. Those with “chiefly” positions were considered exceptions, not the rule. Colonial, Pākehā men deemed Māori women to be appealing, when white women were unavailable. The relative autonomy of Māori women was regarded as sin, denoting a need for discipline. Such notions were enforced through Christianity, which dictated the rules of correctness and defined spaces appropriate for the administering of suitable female activities, such as the home.

Māori mothers did not fit the colonial ideals, and as such required “intervention, remedying and ultimately remoulding” (Gabel, p. 102). Smith (1999), further expands on this arguing that all aspects of whānau life were assaulted; the whānau structure, the raising of children, spirituality, political and work life, education and social structures were all disrupted by the imposition of a colonial system that prioritised men, and positioned women as their property. This then afforded them roles that were predominantly domestic (Johnson et al., 2015).

The colonial attitude was laden with ignorance and arrogance, failing to acknowledge and recognise not only the social systems already in existence, but also that Māori women were highly valued members of society, and mothering was a role espoused by the collective. As such, Māori women did not meet the standards of the state (Gabel, 2013; Pihama, 2001). The conflict faced by Māori women is living up to the colonial model of ‘good’ mothering practices, and the comprehensive attacks on their inability to mother is summarised by parliamentary records from the early 1900’s, as cited by Gabel (2013) which reflected the character assassination of Māori mothers:

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. (Gabel, 2013, p. 103)

Mana wāhine knowledges were stolen “Erased, repressed and (mis)represented in ways that subverted the mana and tapu of the reproductive capabilities of women” (Simmonds, 2014, p. 117). As a result, Māori women underwent an assignation; this was reinforced through the introduction of the colonial concept of family leaving women vulnerable (Mikaere, 2011; Murphy, 2011; Pihama, 1994).

Violence within the whānau structure was not tolerated in traditional Māori society

The literature identifies that there are strong assertions that violence within the whānau structure was not tolerated within Māori society prior to colonisation (Balzer, Haimona, Henare, Matchitt, 1997; Pihama et al., 2003; Smith, 1992; Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002; Mikaere, 2011; Papakura, 1938).

Durie (2001) has asserted that the presence of violence within te ao Māori was incongruous. He argues that there is no historical support for claims that women were subordinate to men, and vice versa, or that violence and aggression towards women and children were tolerated in traditional Māori

society. He states that an unsafe home demanded an expeditious whānau retort, its precedence an assurance that safety is provided. Safety guaranteed, the emphasis is on individual healing, the restoration of healthy relationships and to strengthen individual identities Durie (2001).

The origin of such violence is also challenged by (Cram et al., 2002), who state that violence against women and children is not culturally Māori and does not belong to Māori. Jenkins and Philip-Barbara (2002) support these assertions by stating that our histories are abound with accounts demonstrating the abhorrence of our society toward family violence. Such acts against your own blood; whānau, children, women, parents or grandparents were not commonplace (Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002). Pere (1994) extends on this by asserting that any assault on a woman regardless of nature was considered a potentially fatal course of action, resulting in death or being disowned and outcast by whānau and hapū (Balzer et al., 1997; Murphy, 2011).

In line with the current discussion, there is general consensus within the literature that there was zero tolerance for violence within the whānau (Pihama et al., 2003). This is further supported by observations made by colonisers and missionaries as shared above in the section pertaining to observers.

Traditional Māori society had swift consequences for violence against wāhine Māori should it occur, reinforcing its unacceptability

There is a general unanimity in the literature that should violence within the whānau occur, direct action would be taken, to both support the assaulted, and deal with the perpetrator (Pihama et al., 2003; Balzer et al., 1997; King et al., 2012). Instances where violence was perpetuated drew a collective response (Balzer et al., 1997), demonstrating the power of whakapapa and whanaungatanga within the whānau, hapū and iwi structure. As a direct result of the interconnectedness of relationships, any form of violence toward someone within this network was considered a transgression against the entire whānau and hapū, collective (Milroy, 1996). As such the response to the violence would come from the entire community collective (Pihama et al., 2003; Balzer et al.,

1997), If it occurred it was identified, discussed openly and swiftly addressed (Murphy, 2011; Pere, 1994).

The consequences were common knowledge, and no one tolerated a person if they were violent (Milroy, 1996). Milroy (1996) concurs, stating traditional Māori society had no concept of men having ownership over the home and family, as is congruent with the phrase 'his house, his castle'. The community intervened to prevent and punish any form of violence against a partner overtly. Such an intervention was elemental with regard to providing both an intervention and prevention. Mikaere (1994) also supports this argument stating any occurrence of abuse toward women or children were deemed whānau affairs, and as such, action would inescapably be taken against the perpetrator.

The collective response to such violence is summarised by Jenkins and Philip-Barbara (1992) who argue that our histories are abound with examples of right action by whānau and hapū in the face of violence; demonstrating mana in their responses. They also share that our histories acknowledge the extreme measures wrongdoers would go to, in re-establishing their mana. In some instances, mana was not restored and those who committed violence against their family were left bereft, in some instances they would be cast out to sea, disavowed, or taken into the forest to live in isolation. Violence was deemed a threat to the wellbeing of the whānau and hapū and was dealt with fittingly. The mana of the person assaulted was restored through reckoning; the action taken to restore the balance, and through the support of the collective. This reckoning would be exacted with the full weight of the collective behind it (Pihama et al., 2003). Milroy (1996) stated that this type of perspective and way of responding to violence was enforced into the early 1900's.

Colonisation disrupted protective factors in traditional Māori society undermining wāhine Māori and their roles

Research on family violence indicates that it is essential to understand the colossal carnage created by colonisation before we can respond effectively to it

(Te Puni Kokiri, 2010). There is no repudiating the carnage of colonial violence, and the devastating impact it has had on all Māori. Colonisation is an infinite process, not a finite one; to which there has been no end for whānau, hapū and iwi (Jackson, 1992; Mikaere, 1994; Simmonds, 2014). Colonisation “Is not simply part of our recent past, nor does it merely inform our present. Colonisation is our present” (Mikaere, 1994, p. 6). In line with this, Simmonds (2014, p. 106) makes the point that colonisation “is on-going. It is an ever-evolving system of ideologies, processes and practices that continue to inform and be informed by Māori women’s realities”.

It has been argued by a range of authors (Balzer et al., 1997; Mikaere, 1994; Simmonds, 2011; Gabel, 2013; Smith, 1992; Yates-Smith, 1998) that colonisation has been instrumental in the marginalisation of Māori women, where Māori women have been ‘othered’ in a dominant Pākehā society, and defined through the voice of the coloniser (Pihama et al., 2003; Smith, 1992). Smith (1992) explains the way Māori women have historically been constructed as ‘Other’ by patriarchy and white feminists. Membership to this group means as women we have been elucidated by our differences to our colonisers. As Māori women, our differences to Māori men, Pākehā men, and Pākehā women also define us. Our socioeconomic position to which many Māori women are subscribed further contributes to our assignment of ‘Other’ (Johnston & Pihama, 1995; Smith, 1992).

Colonisation served to defame mana wāhine maternities through the force of Christianity, the institutionalisation of birthing, the criminalisation of Māori birthing practices, and associated authorities (Simmonds; 2014). Consequently, these are lived experiences which continue to be experienced, negotiated and resisted by women and whānau in various ways (Simmonds, 2014).

The consequences of the fragmentation of Māori world views, knowledge, cultural systems and relationships has clearly impacted Māori in ominous ways, influencing the physical, emotional spiritual and intellectual

realms and social order (Pihama et al., 2003). Fragmentation is a key feature in the way Indigenous Peoples are alienated, and all aspects of our being disordered (Herbert 2001; Smith, 1992).

Colonial disruptions in the history of mana wāhine are abound; Māori women have specifically been impacted by the way Māori knowledges have been historically and contemporarily (mis)appropriated and (mis)represented (Simmonds, 2001).

The impact of this hit right to the heart of who we are as Māori (Jackson, 1992; Pihama et al., 2003). This disruption can be summarised by identifying that the status of Māori women prior to colonisation was established and ingrained in the exigent need to maintain the integrity of the whānau, hapū, iwi (Mikaere, 1995). The survival and prosperity of the collective, was contingent on the principle of balance being preserved, this extended to the equilibrium between male and female which was upheld at all times. Colonial violence propelled Māori into a perilous state of imbalance: Loss of land through appropriations (theft) and mechanisms of the Native Land Court unleashed ruination on the relationship between people and their natural environments. The balance between whānau, hapū and iwi was ruptured as a result of the violent individualisation of land title through the Native Land Court, the connection between people and their atua were irrevocably eviscerated through introduced diseases and Christianity, and the balance between men and women were blighted, through patriarchal assumptions that underpinned the law and Christian teachings (Mikaere, 1995).

Te Puni Kokiri (2001, p. 14) argues that “Colonisation is an act of violence upon all whānau Māori and therefore is a form of family violence for Māori”. Robertson (1999) discusses the impact of colonial violence in the construction of partner terrorism within Aotearoa, stating that it is not merely an act by specific men against specific women, but that it is a culturally supported *modus operandi*.

Dominant readings of Christian theology, certain aspects of capitalism and an andro-centric British legal tender system, together with the process of colonisation, have played a role in maintaining the subordinate position of women and implicitly, sometimes explicitly, condoning violence against them. (Robertson, 1999, p. 285)

With regards to violence against women, the most important struggle for Māori women takes place on the home front where oppression is sustained on a day to day level (Mikaere, 1995; Smith, 1992). This is supported by The Royal Commission for Social Policy, who concluded in 1996 that the home was an unsafe place for scores of Māori women; in their homes they were being subjected to physical and sexual abuse by Māori and non-Māori males alike (Gabel, 2013). It was also identified through submissions by Māori women's groups working with women who had experienced such atrocities, that this violence taking place in the home was a direct result of the destruction of the whānau structure, also linking this violence to the history of colonial violence (Gabel, 2013; Mikaere, 1995; Pihama, 2012, Smith 1992).

Gabel (2013) agrees that the abuse that occurs within family homes has been predominantly aimed at women, and children, with the overall reiteration of cultural dysfunction within Māori whānau and society. Arguing that the scrutiny is directed at mothers, with no consideration for the wider collective community; whānau, hapū and iwi from which they originate. She makes the point that mothers are characteristically and specifically singled out in policy and legislation, as being responsible for the care of children under the nuclear family concept that has infiltrated our societies and impacted our day to day living. Resulting in the redefining of Māori women in society to positions of subordination and servitude (Gabel, 2013).

The pre-meditated and methodical destruction of the structures of whānau and hapū, and the force with which Māori women were ushered away from the whānau structures into the Pākehā defined nuclear model of family as being liable for rendering them vulnerable (Gabel, 2013). This stripped woman of

their independence, and made them dependant on their husbands, while simultaneously serving to isolate them as primary providers on the home front, laden with the responsibility of childcare and housework (Gabel, 2013; Mikaere, 1995). The responsibility of which would normally be shared out among various whānau members, became the burden of one, isolated woman, regardless of whether she too was earning an income outside the home. Due to economic hardship, in some instances women were also required to work outside of the home; driven by the espoused Christian values of what constituted a good wife and mother to maintain this role also. The consequence of this is that husbands were then perceived to be heads of the household, leaving women to feel obligated to stay with them regardless of ill treatment (Gabel, 2013; Murphy, 2011). An example of this is shared by Milroy (1994, p. 157).

My parents brought me up to say that once you are married that's it and when my husband started abusing me I was about six months pregnant, that was the first time. And I thought I'm married to him I just have to put up with it.

The disparity between such beliefs and the traditional whānau philosophy prior to colonisation is clearly evident in this example. An illustration of the reality of the colonisation of whānau is manifest in the extract by Milroy (1994), when compared to the experience below, of marriage to Pākehā, in the mid 1980's:

Just before she got married, an uncle of John Arthur gave him the advice that "you've got to let her know right from the start who's the boss". So the first morning after they were married John Arthur kicked Wetekia out of bed and told her to go and get him his breakfast. Wetekia got up, put her clothes on, walked down to the beach, and swam home. John Arthur waited for her to come back: after two weeks he went down to see when she was coming home and her father told him, "You can't treat her like that, she's ariki." He learned he had to treat his wife with respect.

(Macdonald, Penfold and Williams, 1991, p. 205-206)

Māori maternal bodies became a target of colonial violence, through colonial attitudes towards indigenous women, and the devaluing of the intrinsic value of our roles as ūkaipō and whare tangata. The way the Māori maternal body was being treated mimicked the settler's deeds toward Papatūānuku (Simmonds, 2011). Smith (1999) makes the same association, asserting that the connection between the colonisation of the bodies of Native peoples, and their Native lands is not a coincidence. The colonial mind wished to control the sexuality of women and Natives peoples, and also wished to control nature. Mikaere (2011) also identifies parallels between the way colonisers sought to own, control and exploit Papatūānuku, and the way they sought to own, control and exploit women's bodies:

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 but their own identity, some perverted need to subordinate another in a desperate attempt to feel complete?. (Gabel, 2013, p. 117)

Despite Māori women being the most overt losers, the resulting imbalance within the whānau structure has been to the detriment of all Māori (Mikaere, 1995). The Pūao-Te-Atatū report (1988) summarises this detriment, by stating that New Zealand history post colonisation has been a history where key institutional decisions on issues critical to Māori, such as education, justice and social welfare have been made for us, not by us. The inappropriate structures of Pākehā involvement have served to disrupt and weaken the traditional structures of Māori society at its core; whānau, hapū and iwi. As such maintaining responsibility for our own people has been virtually impossible.

Anishinabe activist Winona La Duke, identifies the situation for Native Americans in a way that is applicable to Māori, sharing that traditionally, Native societies maintained balance in all things, including gender, where the natural way of living demonstrated women were never subordinate to men, and vice versa (Mikaere, 2011).

As such a debilitating legacy of colonial violence for mana wāhine has been the way it imposed upon us an alternate reality of who we are; shaping and distorting truths of who we are, changing the way we perceive ourselves, and providing a barrier to our knowing ourselves as mana wāhine (Gabel, 2013; Mikaere, 1995). In spite of having a long and opulent heritage of leadership, mana wāhine have been relegated to positions subservient to men, and through the colonising of our cosmology and pūrākau, the diminishing our roles in our communities, and being marginalised by the crown, have been tethered to a sense of powerlessness and negative self-image (Mikaere, 1995; Simmonds, 2014).

A necessary part of colonisation, according to Jackson (1992), is the denial of mana wāhine and their status; which lead to the destruction of the Māori soul. He states that Māori assumed an internalised state of alienation, giving way to self-rejection, due to the amputation of the philosophy's that underpin and give meaning to their identity. This self-repudiation was so entrenched; it ate away at the Māori soul, consequentially a sense of incompleteness evolved in their humanity, which they believed only becoming Pākehā could fulfil.

Jenkins (1992) associates the abuse of women and children with the diminished understanding and appreciation of mana wāhine. Through the redefining of Māori women through colonisation, the untethering of them to roles involved with tapu and noa (Mikaere, 1995). Christian missionary's transference of their cultural mores onto Māori women also had a devastating impact on mana wāhine knowledges and mātauranga. Their discourses painted a portrait of Māori women as being "wanton, immoral and undisciplined" (Simmonds, 2011, p. 14). Mead (1994) argues that the sexism within Māori society originates from colonisation, and is an issue that is as established in international indigenous communities as is the isolation of lands and resources (Jackson, 1992; King et al., 2012).

These experiences of colonisation are not unique to Māori women, Sovereign Peoples and women the world over have experienced colonial violence; the systematic displacement from their whenua and deprivation of their ancestral knowledge and practices (Anderson, 2001; Simmonds, 2011; Smith 2005). Lavell-Harvard and Corbiere-Lavell (2006) share a point about the shared experiences of indigenous women; stating that if nothing else, we share the experience of being fundamentally different, and opposed to the dominant culture. Through colonisation the structures that support identity have also been assaulted through the undermining of whenua, tūrangawaewae, whānau, reo tikanga and marae (Balzer et al., 1997; Durie, 1985; Herbert, 2001; Jackson, 1992). As a political act colonisation, adopts cultural superiority and with it the power to dominate and control (Lawson, 1998).

This is also supported by Puketapu-Andrews (1997) who makes the point that this is cultural abuse, which serves to isolate our people and creates an environment where identity can be compromised. Identity involves having both knowledge of, and access to knowledge of whakapapa, linking us to whānau, and back to our tīpuna and tūrangawaewae. Whakapapa is what makes Māori, Māori. It is what gives us the right to the identity as Māori. Arguing that colonisation and the cultural abuse that ensued, has severely impacted on our sense of identity (Puketapu-Andrews, 1997).

The comprehensive and targeted processes of colonisation have impacted and undermined the position of Māori women and Māori maternities; ideologies of gender and the introduction of Christianity have corrupted pūrākau and cosmological narratives, and the foundation of values, beliefs, and customs that are associated with whare tangata, ūkaipō, and traditional philosophies of mothering (Gabel, 2013). The imposition colonial law and patriarchal values have impacted and marginalised our roles within society, corrupting practices linked to Māori women. The consequences of which are highlighted in health, educational and welfare statistics, which reflect a space of marginalisation for Māori women within society (Gabel, 2013; Johntson & Pihama 1995).

Under the law Māori mothers are defined as having specific obligations within the family structure (Gabel, 2013). As a result, they are constantly subjected to structural violence through 'intervention', control and policies. Western based, mothering practices are affirmed and emphasised, through the intrusion of various government sanctioned 'educational' programmes delivered within the homes of Māori mothers: Plunket, Family Start, Parents as first teachers, and health policies (Gabel, 2013). Designed to facilitate the familiarity of Māori mothers with the assumed authority of western mothering ideologies.

Imposed ideologies of motherhood upon whānau, hapū and iwi, lead to the "Denigration and marginalisation of our traditional maternities" (Gabel, 2013, p. 98). Much more than the larceny of land, colonisation, while it served to obliterate a population of sovereign peoples, and seize political power, its real purpose has been to recreate, us, the colonised, in the image and likeness of our colonisers (Mikaere, 2011).

Kōrero Whakakapi - Summary

Traditional Māori society had naturally built in structures and philosophies that ensured society and whānau environments were naturally protective for women and tamariki. Traditional philosophies of raising and educating tamariki were also protective factors against violence. Colonisation is a form of family violence for Māori (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). Colonial violence silenced our voices and representation within Māori cosmology as mana wāhine, ūkaipō and whare tangata. Bringing with it negative re-storying of our female sexuality and mana, through the blatant disregard of our roles in our communities. It dislocated women from the whānau unit and its support networks, and introduced isolation through urbanisation. Its impact in the construction of partner terrorism makes it a culturally supported modus operandi (Robertson, 1999).

Part Two: Adolescence and Teen Dating Violence

We owe our children – the most vulnerable citizens in any society – a life free from violence and fear. . . . We must address the roots of violence.

—Nelson Mandela, *World report on violence and health*

(World Health Organization, 2002, p. ix)

Korero Whakataki - Introduction

The women in my study were adolescents when they formed their relationships with their terrorist partner. The particular issues facing adolescent women in violent relationships is referred to as “teen dating violence”, the term I have chosen to use. Other terms are also used, more or less interchangeably: intimate relationship violence, teen Intimate partner violence, adolescent relationship abuse, IPV against adolescents (Mulford, & Blachman-Demner, 2013; Nardi-Rodriguez, Pastor-Mira, Lopez-Roig & Ferrer-Perez, 2017), peer violence (Reidy, Ball, Houry, Holland, Valle, Kearns, Marshall, & Rosenbluth, 2015), adolescent dating violence (Mercy & Tharp, 2015), and partner abuse (Senior, Helmer, & Chenhall, 2017).

This literature is relevant to the women in my research, despite the quick progression of their relationships, and movement into cohabitating.

Adolescence is typically when entry into the world of romantic relationships begins (Garthe, Sullivan, & McDaniel, 2017). Dating and teenage romances are a typical aspect of adolescence, and can be central in shaping, contouring and impacting development and interpersonal growth in profound ways (Garthe et al., 2017; Mercy, & Tharp, 2015; Miller, 2018; Smith et al., 2015), including better understanding oneself in relation to others (Garthe et al., 2017). Unfortunately, a key negative aspect of such relationships is the high occurrence of dating violence (Garthe et al., 2017). Adolescence portends a time of dynamic change, and is a pertinent period of development, with intense social and emotional growth, development in reasoning and thought regulation, as well as

maturation in empathy (Savasuk-Luxton, Adler-Baeder, & Haselschwerdt, 2018; Miller, 2018). This developmental vulnerability can mean romantic relationships are exciting but also confusing (Concept Systems Inc, 2014). Young couples are at particular risk, with TDV typically beginning in early adolescence reaching its highest point in young adulthood (Lewis, Sullivan, Angley, Callands, Divney, Magriples, Gordon, & Kershaw, 2017; Miller, 2018).

TDV is a relatively new area of research, with the first research emerging in the 1980's, and statistics of physical forms of TDV published in 2000 (Garthe et al., 2017). Sexual violence and abuse are common aspects of teen dating (Miller, 2018). Unhealthy relationships can begin early in life, and have lasting implications into adulthood (Preble, Black, & Weisz, 2018), with both male and female adolescents experiencing (Reidy et al., 2015) and tolerating abuse in higher rates than adults (Nardi-Rodrigues et al., 2017). TDV is a serious and pervasive phenomenon that affects the lives of millions of adolescence each year (Garrido, & Taussig, 2013), making the understanding and prevention of TDV crucial as it is the first overt manifestation of violence in the context of a romantic relationship (Mercy & Tharp, 2015), and serves as a foundation for the expectations and experiences of future relationships (Savasuk-Luxton et al., 2018; Peterman, Bleck, & Palermo, 2015).

TDV has garnered attention as a pervasive global issue of concern. It is a violation of human rights (Gage, Honoré, & Deleon, 2016; Koker et al., 2014; Savasuk-Luxton et al., 2018; Preble et al., 2018; Reidy et al., 2015) and has serious consequences for the health of young women (Garnweidner-Holme et al., 2017; Gibson, Callands, Magriples, Divney, & Kershaw, 2015; Trabold, McMahon, Alsobrooks, Whitney, & Mittal, 2018; Rempel, Donelle, Hall, & Rodger, 2018). TDV against adolescent girls is being perpetrated at staggering rates (Koker et al., 2014; Nardi-Rodrigues et al., 2017) and is a systematic and ubiquitous problem among adolescent and young adults (Gage et al., 2016; Peterman et al., 2015).

TDV can be a precursor to IPV in early adulthood and adulthood (Greenman & Matsuda, 2016; Mendoza & Mulford, 2018; Reidy et al., 2015; WHO, 2010), with adolescence seen as a crucial period that is developmentally relevant to the onset, escalation and persistence of TDV into adulthood (Reidy et al., 2015). Adolescent couples tend to be mutually violent (Gibson et al., 2015; Lewis et al., 2017), with young people identifying violence as an acceptable part of dating relationships (Senior et al., 2017). One in three women experience IPV, however young women are at higher risk, with those, 15 to 24 year's experiencing the highest rates of perpetration of TDV (Miller, McCauley, Tancredi, Decker, Anderson, & Silverman, 2014; Peterman et al., 2015).

Defining teen dating violence

A dating relationship can be amorphous in the eyes of young adolescents and also fleeting, and as such is defined as a relationship taking place between a boyfriend and girlfriend, someone you go out with, hook up with, or hangout with in an intimate or romantic way (Reidy et al., 2015).

Teen dating violence (TDV) is a pattern of behaviour used to coerce or exert power over another, in the context of a dating relationship (Gibson et al., 2015). It includes physical, emotional, verbal and, or sexual abuse (Gillum, 2016; Garnweidner-Holme et al., 2017; Noonan & Charles, 2009; Rempel et al., 2018). TDV also includes threats (Koker et al., 2014), the harassment, and stalking (Rempel et al., 2018) of any person between 12 and 19 years in the context of a current or past dating, romantic or consensual partnership or relationship including married couples (Gillum, 2016; Mendoza & Mulford, 2018; Smith et al., 2015), or by someone who wishes to be in an intimate relationship with an adolescent (Koker et al., 2014).

TDV has evolved with technology and is no longer confined to traditional settings where face to face contact takes place, like meeting up in schools or local communities. Adolescent social environments are now more expansive due to social media and wireless technology becoming essential components in the day to day life and communication of teenagers. Dating negotiations between

adolescents happen frequently through these forums, providing constant access to dating partners and potential dating partners, and as a result, increased rates of victimisation, and perpetration of TDV (Coker-Appiah, Haileab, Breland-Noble, 2015; Smith et al., 2015). As such, technology has served to increase the vulnerability of adolescence, and is an impending hazard due to the way it increases the ability for a person to bully, threaten, stalk, and control their partner (Coker-Appiah et al., 2015). Pre-teens and adolescents often use internet technology to perpetrate TDV, and harm their partners (Coker-Appiah et al., 2015). Stalking, psychological and sexual abuse can also be perpetrated digitally (Smith et al., 2015).

Different factors can influence the way TDV manifests within adolescent relationships, such as equity and the power to make decisions. Relationships that have imbalances in power and equity have elevated rates of violence (Bancroft, Silverman, and Ritchie, 2012; Gibson et al., 2015; Pence, & Paymar, 1993; Stark, 2007). In most instances TDV is a way to get the other person to do what is wanted, to obtain power and control, to humiliate and or inculcate fear and submission, and, or as a means of retaliation against a partner (Adams, 1991; Bancroft et al, 2012; Foshee and Langwick, 2010; Higgins, 2013; Silverman, & Williams, 1997). TDV occurs across a range of ages, cultural backgrounds, religions, socioeconomic status, neighbourhoods, and sexual orientation, in much the same way as happens with IPV among adults.

While TDV has much in common with IPV, the literature identifies five main differences between adult IPV and TDV; the first is that adolescents have limited experience with romantic relationships and conflict management (Mendoza & Mulford, 2018). When teenagers begin dating they are in a crucial developmental stage, where social, emotional, physiological and cognitive changes are taking place, and the brain is still developing. Moreover, the parts responsible for impulse control, the tempering of emotions, and foreseeing consequences do not develop until early 20's, as such it is difficult for an adolescent to navigate situations requiring good conflict resolution (Gage et al., 2016).

Secondly; as adolescent romantic relationships typically develop within peer groups, peers have an indelible impact on adolescent dating (Garthe et al., 2017). As such, for most pre-teens, and teenagers peer relationships and influences dominate, with the pressure to conform being a powerful agent within these relationships (Miller, 2018). Therefore, their relationships are more likely to be impacted by the influence of peers and friends (Mendoza & Mulford, 2018; Concept Systems Inc, 2014).

Thirdly, adolescents may not recognise that conflict or violence is a part of their relationship, and if they are able to, may not know what to do about it. They may also choose to remain in a relationship with TDV due to misconceived beliefs around the acceptability of dating behaviours and TDV (Gage et al., 2016; Hertzog & Rowley, 2014).

Forth, violence is more likely to be bi directional in TDV relationships, where in IPV relationships one partner typically acts as the aggressor. Therefore, adolescent males and females can both be victims and perpetrators of TDV (Preble et al., 2018), however, males are more likely to cause severe injuries, and perpetrate sexual abuse than females (Gage et al., 2016; Mumford, Liu, & Taylor, 2016; Preble et al., 2018).

Lastly, Mendoza & Mulford (2018) state, typically, teen relationships do not have the same imbalanced power dynamic found in adult IPV, with teenage girls often not being dependant on their partner for financial support.

Warning signs and low intensity violent behaviours

Warning signs are identified as non-violent or low intensity violent behaviours; low intensity violent behaviour are subtle and or difficult to detect, and are used by adolescent males against the autonomy, psychological and social wellbeing of young women, in an attempt to gain or maintain control over them (Nardi-Rodriguez et al., 2017). Some behaviour strategies present in TDV include: 1) Controlling behaviours such as ownership, possession and jealousy; 2) Isolation strategies such as isolating young women from their families and social networks; 3) Devaluing; 4) Threats and intimidation; 5) Emotional blackmail; 6)

Coercion or sexual abuse; 7) Physical violence; 8) Misogynistic behaviours (Nardi-Rodriguez et al., 2017).

It has been identified that adolescents are particularly tolerant of controlling and devaluing behaviours. These are identified as warning signs of TDV (Nardi-Rodriguez et al., 2017). Controlling behaviours include jealousy, monitoring her mobile phone and social media accounts, accusations of cheating, speaking badly of her family, isolating her from family and friends, wanting to know where and who she is with. Devaluing behaviours include, undervaluing her, comparing her contemptuously to other girls, ignoring her, using silence as a way to punish her, publicly and or privately insults and ridicules her (Nardi-Rodriguez et al., 2017).

Moreover, it has also been identified that adolescents are not always able to recognise when they have been exposed to TDV, and face challenges in noticing unhealthy aspects of their own relationships. However, they are more likely to recognise and observe warning signs or risk factors in their friend's relationships (Concept Systems Inc, 2014; Nardi-Rodriguez et al., 2017). This may be because it's easier for them to identify the behaviour when it is happening to someone else. It has also been established that adolescents can more easily identify behaviours associated with TDV through a questionnaire as opposed to the context of a real relationship (Nardi-Rodriguez et al., 2017). This could also explain why females are presumed to tolerate such behaviours, where in fact it could be their low capacity to detect them.

Warning signs and low intensity violent behaviours are likely to be present at the beginning of a relationship, with tolerance potentially a risk factor for girls continuing in a cycle of violence (Arriaga, Capezza, & Daly, 2016). It has also been identified that aggressive behaviours are more likely to be tolerated when in committed relationships (Arriaga, Capezza, & Goodfriend, 2018)

Relationship characteristics

TDV is more prevalent among couples who live together but are not married (Johnson et al., 2015), in casual sexual relationships, or among those who break

up and recouple often while dating. There was increased risk of violence if there were arguments in the relationship regarding infidelity and sexual monogyny, finances, and the amount of time spent with friends. The communication style during arguments was also influential in amplifying the risk of violence, for example if couples used negative forms of communication, by 'fighting dirty' (Mendoza & Mulford, 2018) and lack of partner validation (Copp, & Johnson, 2015).

Research shows that adolescents generally move away from TDV/IPV as they transition to adulthood (Johnson et al., 2015), and develop better quality relationships. However, this is not necessarily so (Greenman & Matsuda, 2016; Reidy et al., 2015; WHO, 2010). Abuse decreases with relationships that take on greater meaning and increase in salience, commitment, trust, and intimacy in the relationships (Greenman & Matsuda, 2016; Johnson et al., 2015; Noonan, & Charles, 2009).

TDV can significantly interfere with young women's educational attainment (Adams, Greeson, Kennedy, & Tolman, 2013). Education and performance can be affected through direct acts of violence resulting in injury, inhibiting her ability to attend school, or complete educational requirements, sabotage of her school work, books and equipment such as computer or lap top that are necessary for her to be a contender, through controlling behaviours that prevent her from attending school, and through manipulation and psychological abuse where she is persuaded to renege on her vocational and educational aspirations (Adams et al., 2013; Collin-Vézina, Hebert, Manseau, Blais, & Fernet, 2006; Glass, Fredland, Campbell, Yonas, Sharps, & Kub, 2003).

Such partner terrorism can shape the economic trajectories of young women, directly and indirectly by interfering with their education and employment, controlling their access to finances, and damaging their credit rating (Adams et al., 2013). The more, young women invest in their education, the greater the potential for higher income and reduction of financial strain

(Adams et al., 2013). Financial concerns can serve to keep women trapped in relationships fuelled with violence (Goodman, Smyth, Borges, & Singer, 2009).

TDV can also contribute to a trajectory of instability with regards to jobs and housing for young women and mothers, the consequences for those with low incomes, or those struggling to make the transition from welfare to work can be harsh (Adams, Tolman, Bybee, Sullivan, & Kennedy, 2012; Adams et al., 2013). In such circumstances TDV creates financial complications that exacerbate the conditions of poverty, trapping young women in relationships fuelled with violence (Adams et al., 2013). TDV can also run interference with educational achievements through pregnancy, as the coercive control in these relationships leaves many young women unable to protect themselves from pregnancy (Miller, Decker, McCauley, Tancredi, Levenson, Waldman, Schoenwald, & Silverman, 2010), and possibly impact a young woman's ability to continue in school due to pregnancy and entrapment.

Reproductive coercion is a concerning form of TDV (entrapment)

Reproductive coercion is defined as, contraceptive sabotage, pregnancy pressure, unduly influencing her decision to fall pregnant (Northridge, Silver, Talib, Berger, Coupey, 2016), pregnancy coercion, and influencing the outcome of the pregnancy (Maxwell, Nandi, Benedetti, Devries, Wagman & Garcia-Moreno, 2018). It is also considered a unique form of sexual abuse (Smith et al., 2015).

As perpetrators of physical and or sexual and emotional abuse, some male partners control their adolescent partner's fertility and actively seek to impregnate them (Miller, Decker, Reed, Raj, Hathaway, & Silverman, 2007). This compromises her self-advocacy and capacity in negotiating safe sex and protective measures for her reproductive wellbeing (Maxwell et al., 2018). It is important to highlight here that adolescents are at greater threat of entrapment than adult women in relationships with TDV (Coker-Appiah et al., 2015). This behaviour is associated with the decreased use of contraception, or abstinence of contraception, and as such the increased risk of unintended pregnancy and

abortion, and repeated and rapid pregnancies (Maxwell et al., 2018), and IPV in adult women. Moreover, it disproportionately affects high school aged girls (Miller et al., 2014; Northridge et al., 2016), and is more common in relationships where women experience intimate partner terrorism (Fanslow, Whitehead, Silva, & Robinson, 2008). Also consistent with IPV in adult women is that reproductive coercion in adolescents is linked with sexual violence (Miller et al., 2014), unprotected sex, sexually transmitted infections and IPV (Northridge et al., 2016). Unprotected sex is also linked to increased risk in communicable diseases such as HIV (Gillum, 2016).

The most common forms of reproductive coercion identified are being told not to use any form of birth control, forcing sex without a condom, removal of a condom during sex with the intention of initiating pregnancy, threatening to end the relationship if the young woman doesn't fall pregnant and deliberately breaking the condom to initiate pregnancy (Miller et al, 2007; Northridge et al., 2016). Rape also undermines young women's ability to protect themselves from pregnancy.

Mounting evidence identifies that unintended pregnancy is more prevalent in relationships with TDV and IPV, highlighting the ways young women are compromised in their decision making. Rape, fear of the violence escalating if she refuses sex, and the challenge involved in negotiating contraceptive and condom use in the context of TDV relationships, denote an elevated risk of unintended pregnancy and communicable diseases (Maxwell et al., 2018; Miller, Jordan, Levenson, & Silverman, 2010).

Teenage pregnancy and dating violence

Teenage pregnancy is identified as a serious social problem as young mothers are more vulnerable to poor economic outcomes, than women who have babies at a later age (Branson, & Byker, 2018). Moreover, trajectories for children born to women who delay childbearing are associated with better outcomes, including increased schooling, and higher earning capacity (Branson, & Byker, 2018).

The risk of violence is elevated for adolescent and young women (Lewis et al., 2017; Garnweidner-Holme et al., 2017), particularly so during pregnancy (Devries et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2017; Peterman, Bleck, & Palermo, 2015; Silva, Lemos, Andrade, & Ludermit, 2018; Rempel et al., 2018). Moreover, young women who experience TDV are more likely to fall pregnant (Lewis et al., 2017), with serious consequences for the health and wellbeing of both young women and their babies in utero (Lewis et al., 2017; Silva et al., 2018).

TDV can occur in pregnancy, and has consequences for mothers and their developing babies. It also accounts for a large and fundamentally unrecognised proportion of “maternal mortality” in the developed world (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002, p. 102). Teenage mothers are more likely to experience IPV during pregnancy than adult women (Krug et al., 2002), which adversely impacts physical, emotional, psychological, and reproductive health, and can result in pregnancy complications (Cooper, 2013; Levey, Gelaye, Koenen, Zhong, Basu, Rondon, Sanchez, Henderson, & Williams, 2018; Silva et al., 2018). It is also linked with reproductive coercion, which is considered a form of coercive control (Bancroft et al., 2012; Stark, 2007), unintended pregnancy, repeat and rapid pregnancy, high blood pressure, preeclampsia, edema, placenta previa, miscarriage, premature labour and birth (Bailey, 2010), low birth weight, can impact upon the way a baby is delivered, poor weight gain in mothers, delayed engagement of prenatal care, damage to baby in utero, vaginal bleeding, hyperemesis and hospitalisation, psychiatric morbidity and increased risk of mental health complaints such as depression (Exner-Cortens, Eckenrode, & Rothman, 2013; Trabold et al., 2018), and post-traumatic stress (Chisholm, Bullock, & Ferguson, 2017; Gibson et al., 2015; Reidy et al., 2015; World Health Organization, 2010). TDV, like IPV in adults, is also linked to homicide (Coker-Appiah et al., 2015; Cooper, 2013; Garnweidner-Holme et al., 2017; Krug et al., 2002; Preble et al., 2018; Rempel et al., 2018; Silva et al., 2018), which is the number one leading cause of death to a mother and her unborn pēpē during pregnancy, ahead of suicide and vehicular accidents (Cooper, 2013).

Findings of a study by Cha, Derek, Chapman, Wan, Burton, & Masho (2016), highlight that a male partner's intentions influence reproductive decisions. It is these partner's intentions as opposed to the women's intentions that influence repeat and rapid pregnancy (Cha et al., 2016). Women who experience repeat and rapid pregnancy, or, pregnancies with little space in between are at an elevated risk of experiencing pregnancy related mortality, obstetric fistula, and uterine rupture (Maxwell et al., 2018). They also face an increased risk of giving birth prematurely, and their babies are likely to have a low birth weight and be small for gestational age (Bailey, 2010; Cooper, 2013; Devries et al., 2010; Levey et al., 2018; Maxwell et al., 2018). Previous research has indicated that IPV is more common in families with several children, conjecturing that the added stress of parenting and providing for a large family increases the potential for risk of IPV (Maxwell et al., 2018). However, more recent research by Krug et al., (2002) highlights that the onset of violence can precede the birth of children, with 80% of violence occurring within the first 4 years of a cohabitation. This suggests that the IPV may be a risk factor for multiple pregnancies (Krug et al., 2002).

Adolescents who have babies report experiencing greater levels of conflict than other adolescent couples, and also report a history of IPV, which is also greater than their peers (Lewis et al., 2017). TDV can also significantly impact a mother's ability to parent, and compromise a child's development (Garnweidner-Holme et al., 2017). Thus rates of TDV are likely to be higher among pregnant and parenting adolescent couples due to the stressful passage to parenthood. This transition is more stressful for adolescents due to fewer resources and their navigation of adolescent developmental tasks (Lewis et al., 2017).

Pregnant women who experience TDV during pregnancy rarely divulge their experiences, with less than a quarter doing so (Katiti, Sigalla, Rogathi, Manogi & Mushi, 2016). Similarly, help and medical care are seldom sought (Mendoza, Gómez-Dantes, Montiel, Hernández, Rincón, Lozano, & Icaza, 2018).

Stigma, guilt, shame and the humiliation experienced by the young women could play a role in inhibiting them from seeing help (Rempel et al., 2018).

Mothering

Social positioning creates diversity in circumstances and the way women carry out their roles and duties as mothers. The pressure to mother within the context of social constructions that are “Privileged, restrictive and exclusionary” (McDonald-Harker, 2016, p. 9), serve to further marginalise and stigmatise teen mothers and mothers in relationships with partner terrorism. Such groups are particularly stigmatised, judged and vilified for mothering within the context of partner terrorism (McDonald-Harker (2016). Findings from Peled and Gil’s (2011) identify that failing to live up to such constructions of mothering lead women to feel guilty (Lapierre, 2008; Roberts, 1999). Mothering is further challenged by their partner’s ability to undermine the women’s integrity as mothers through their ability to manipulate their parenting in situations where they may stand to gain praise and public recognition of fathering (Bancroft et al., 2012; Troon, 2014).

Structural violence

This type of violence serves to intensify the struggles mothers face. Galtung (1969) states that structural violence is a subtle and methodical processes through which social structures harm and disadvantage specific groups of people. Structural violence is dynamic and multifaceted and occurs in face to face interactions as well as through media reports and policy documents (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot, & Tankel, 2014). Both structural violence and partner terrorism involve systemically patterned abuse, however, while partner terrorism is enacted by an intimate partner, structural violence is enacted through inequalities in access to opportunities, resources, misogynist attitudes, sexism, and racism (Gatling, 1969).

It is also consistent with findings that highlight the way women are unjustly victimised through such agencies and their failure to recognise the continuation of the partner terrorism following separation (McMahon & Pence,

1995; Shalansky et al., 1999; Troon, 2014). Previous research highlights the way women are exposed to further trauma through the lack of understanding and professionalism of government and community organisations and their workers (Lawson, 2010; Hodgetts et al., 2014; Herbert & Mackenzie, 2014; McDonald-Harker, 2016).

Risk factors associated with teen dating violence

Evidence suggests that risk factors for TDV may be the same as those identified with IPV in adult relationships (Lundgren, & Amin, 2015). For example, gender inequality is considered to be at the root of IPV at a population level, with exposure to violence in childhood also a risk factor on an individual level (Ludgren, & Amin, 2015). Gender inequality encompasses, social norms that tolerate behaviour, attitudes, laws and policies that enable gender inequality, unequal social norms that allow gender based violence, controlling male behaviour, behaviours and attitudes that serve to disempower girls and women, and a lack of empowerment of women and girls. Exposure to prior victimisation, bullying, poor parental practices, and the abuse of alcohol and substances are also risk factors for IPV and TDV (Lundgren, & Amin, 2015; Savasuk-Luxton et al., 2018).

Depression and low self-esteem while outcomes of TDV, also serve as risk factors, with young women suffering from symptoms of depression more likely to experience TDV than those who do not (Coker-Appiah et al., 2015). All these health effects are amplified during pregnancy (Chisholm et al., 2017).

Peers are hugely influential as agents of socialisation, for both prosocial and violent behaviour (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The approval of peers is sought from early to late adolescence, with dating norms and expectations also being learnt during this time. Peers may model and reinforce the behaviours of those they associate with: for example, if conflict is seen to be managed with violence then this behaviour may be imitated by others within the peer group, in their own romantic relationships, using this behaviour as an example of how they should act and manage conflict. Several studies have found that adolescents who

observe TDV among their peers are more likely to engage, or experience it in their own relationships (Foshee, Reyes, & Ennett, 2010; Reed, Silverman, Raj, Decker, & Miller, 2011).

Garrido and Taussig (2013) report that over half of all dating teenagers who participated in their research reported being a perpetrator or victim of TDV. Their study identified an association between exposure to IPV and TDV victimisation, however, they did not identify an association between IPV exposure and TDV perpetration (Garrido & Taussig, 2013). While studies (Garrido & Taussig, 2013) identify exposure to IPV as a risk factor for future experiences of TDV, it has also been identified that many young people who are witness to IPV do not go on to become perpetrators or victims of TDV (Garrido & Taussig, 2013). In a study by Kinsfogel and Grych (2004), 63% of participants disclosed they were exposed to IPV through their parents, however, only 20% reported perpetrating aggression in their teen dating relationships. This suggests that there are protective factors preventing the risk of TDV as a consequence of exposure to IPV.

Family separation, social isolation and discrimination may increase vulnerability to TDV (Garnweidner-Holme et al., 2017), as does cohabitation and marriage (Lundgren, & Amin, 2015). There is an increased risk if women are Indigenous and, or pregnant, with added stress associated with finances, parenting, work, and community also predicting conflict and violence in relationships (Lewis et al., 2017). Adolescent pregnancy is also a risk factor for TDV as it may be a time of amplified risk, with pregnancy resulting in additional expectations being placed on the relationship, changing it, and with the stress of commitment due to pregnancy adding to the pressure for those who are unprepared. Such stressful life events impact relationships and increase opportunities for violence (Lewis et al., 2017).

Protective factors

Adolescence is a time characteristically where young people disconnect or distance themselves from their families, making them vulnerable to enduring

extremely precarious situations (Coker-Appiah et al., 2015). Thus, unsurprisingly, supportive relationships with peers and family, as well as having access to parenting support, are protective factors in preventing continuity between TDV and IPV (Greenman & Matsuda, 2016). Healthy and open communication between adolescents and parents is identified as an important protective factor against dating violence (Preble et al., 2018). Research indicates that young women do seek the guidance and support of their parents when faced with challenging situations, such as TDV (Black et al., 2015; Preble, 2018).

Entrapment - Why stay

Psychological and emotional abuse are common, can be subtle, and are often challenging to identify as they can be veiled as gestures of love, and, or, passed off as a joke or game (Arriaga et al., 2018; Marshall, 1999). Nonphysical acts of partner terrorism are also more harmful than is recognised (Arriaga et al., 2018), and can lead to young women misinterpreting the risk, and continuing in relationships fuelled with TDV (Arriaga et al., 2018; Nardi-Rodriguez et al., 2017). This is concerning considering violence is considered to gradually increase, evolving in intensity over time (Gage, Honoré, & Deleon, 2014; Nardi-Rodriguez et al., 2017).

Arriaga et al., (2018) report that most young women do not leave their relationships when their partners become aggressive, and instead resort to justifying, denying or minimising the aggression. Unaware of the risk to their wellbeing and safety. Leaving is difficult, and in seeking help for their situations women face humiliation, re victimisation, and further trauma. Disclosing their situations in the process of seeking help exposes them to being undermined, and dismissed (Wilson, 2014). Abrahams (2010) reports that leaving is a potentially life threatening course of action for women to take, noting that the majority of women who are killed by their partners are killed while planning to leave, or following separation (Abrahams, 2010). Leaving does not bring an end to the terrorism (Abrahams, 2010; Bancroft, Silverman, and Ritchie, 2012; Fanslow & Robertson, 2010; Murphy, 2002; Robertson; Busch, D'Souza, Sheung, Anand, & Balzer, 2007). In actual fact, separation is a time of increased risk for future acts

of terrorism (Mbilinyi et al., 2007), including being stalked, harassed, and threatened (Abrahams, 2010; Bancroft et al., 2012; Fanslow & Robertson, 2010; Murphy, 2002; Robertson et al., 2007; Seuffert, 1996).

Significantly, research also highlights that through access to children following separation, terrorist partners continue to inculcate fear in the women (Bancroft et al., 2012; Mbilinyi et al., 2007), undermine them as mothers, and use their children against their mothers (Cunningham & Baker, 2007; Lapierre, 2010; McMahon & Pence, 1995; Peled, 2000; Radford, Hester, Humphries, Woodfield, 1997; Shalansky, Ericksen, Henderson, 1999; Troon, 2014). This, results in double victimisation (Dutton, 1995; Holden & Ritchie, 1991).

Korero Whakakapi - Summary

This section provided a synopsis of prior literature relating to teen dating violence, with a specific focus on young adolescent women during pregnancy, and literature related to mothering in the context of partner violence. The consequences of the terrorism in the lives of young pregnant woman were defined along with the difficulties they face in breaking free from such relationships. In the next chapter, I move on to describe the research methodology, and the methods I used in this study, along with the method of analysis.

Chapter 3: Te Tukunga Rangahau: Methodology

When you stand and share your story in an empowering way, your story will heal you and your story will heal somebody else.

—Iyanla Vanzant, *Brainy Quote*

Korero Whakataki - Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed overview of the research design. It identifies and reflects on the research methodology and methods chosen to conduct and analyse this research.

A qualitative approach was taken in the data collection process to obtain and gain a personal understanding of women's lived experiences and encourage the unfolding of their stories through semi structured interviews. This research design sits within a Kaupapa Māori framework.

There are several purposes to this chapter; each chapter begins with an overview of the advantages of using qualitative research methodology, and the methods are outlined. Following this, Kaupapa Māori methodology will be defined, its relevance to this research and how it is applied in this research. This will be followed with a definition of pūrākau methodology and how it is applied to this research.

Ensuing this the initial planning in terms of research design, recruitment, participant descriptions, and the interview follow-up procedures will then be described. This is then followed by an outline of ethical considerations and finally, a description and justification of the method used for data analysis.

The chosen methods are guided by Te Ao Māori (Māori world view) as demonstrated by a Kaupapa Māori theoretical position; the intention of which is to provide context, critique and empowerment to the lived realities of the women who participated in this research project.

Methodology and research design is important to whānau, hapū and iwi, with regards to the protocols and procedures used by researchers around engagement being of utmost importance. Positioned as the kaitiaki (guardians) of their knowledge, the focus for the researcher and participants was on the protection of, and benefits to participants, and the appropriateness of the methods chosen (Durie, 2011; Smith, 2012). "Methodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed and shapes the analyses" (Smith, 1999, p. 144).

The impetus for the use of Kaupapa Māori research methodology in this research is consonant with the underlying assumption that:

Māori people are best equipped to find solutions to challenges affecting Māori, based on a long history of endurance, resilience and survival . . . and if upholding the mana of the people is the primary aim, Māori agency in Māori affairs is critical. (Tomlins-Jahnke & Mullholland, 2011, P. 2).

Kaupapa Māori Theory, Method & Methodology

Definition:

While the meaning of 'Kaupapa' in te reo (Māori language) is multifaceted, for the purpose of this thesis I will refer to a definition of Kaupapa as relating "to notions of foundation; plan; philosophy; and strategies" (Pihama, 2010, p. 9). Kaupapa Māori theory, method and methodology therefore refers to a distinctly Māori ideology. From this perspective the legitimate, and valid knowledge naturally inherent in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) is acknowledged, forming the foundation of a distinctly Māori way of looking at and understanding the world (Smith, 2012; Pihama, 2010).

Kaupapa Māori methodology and theory is rooted in philosophies and research processes that derive from a Māori paradigm; placing value, meaning and significance on a distinctly Māori way of doing things (Smith, 2012; Pihama, 2010), all of which were present in Te Ao Māori prior to Western influence, and as such provides both challenge and resistance to the dominant Western world

view of conducting research, which is implemented in a way that best serves the researcher and their agenda (Nikora & Robertson, 1999). Knowledge from a Kaupapa Māori perspective is, or at least should be, used to educate and elevate the wellbeing of the whānau, hapū and iwi (Papakura, 1938). In the realm of research, knowledge is used to empower the people it is about; empowerment of the whānau, hapū and iwi is seen as a solution to vulnerability and disadvantage, therefore opportunities for empowerment across research should be emphasised (Durie, 2011). The manner in which the research should be conducted is guided by principles that uphold the interests and mana of the collective (iwi, hapū, whānau). The researcher becomes accountable to the people the research is about, their collective agendas and aspirations for the research and the betterment of the iwi, hapū and whānau (Nikora & Robertson, 1999), while at the same time having individual ethical responsibilities.

Research is deeply implicated in the political and colonial context, and as a tool of colonisation it has been fundamental in the destruction of indigenous knowledge through lack of consultation, and the defiling, devaluing, and defining of Indigenous practices, philosophies, and knowledge (Mikaere, 1995; Smith 2012). This results in the knowledge and pūrākau of iwi, hapū and whānau, being misrepresented and interpreted through western frameworks and paradigms (Lee, 2005; Smith, 2012). Research methodology is difficult to discuss in relation to indigenous peoples, without first understanding the involvedness of imperial and colonial practices in the ways knowledge is pursued (Lee, 2005; Smith, 2012).

As such a very real concern for iwi and Māori collectives is how the research will be interpreted, and used, and that others may benefit. These concerns around the ownership of their contributions are grounded in historical abuses (Durie, 2011).

Linda Smith (1999, p. 187) builds on the work of Graham Smith (1990, p. 2), in identifying four core primary elements of Kaupapa Māori research, stating that it:

is related to 'being Māori';

- is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;
- takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and
- is concerned with the 'struggle for autonomy over our own culture and well-being'

While Māori are not homogeneous, there are paradigms and pedagogies that are unique and personal to our development and culture and to our way of doing, thinking and being. Kaupapa Māori methodology advocates for iwi, hapū and whānau's fundamental right to collectively pursue the goal of self-determination, to assert their own aspirations, manifest their own outcomes; place their own energy into the conception, development, and interpretation of research and research findings both as a solution and form of resistance to the ongoing impact of colonisation (Nikora & Robertson, 1999; Tomlins-Jahnke & Mulholland, 2011).

Kaupapa Māori methodology validates Mātauranga Māori and the complexity of cultural knowledge contained within this dynamic structure, and the way it provides for iwi, hapū and whānau in the analysing and interpretation of contemporary and historical matters (Pihama, 2010). In doing so, Emery (2008, p. 74) states, "Kaupapa Māori activates and operationalises the self-determining endeavours" of whānau, hapū and iwi.

According to a report produced by Te Puni Kokiri (2004), a considerable proportion of research involving intimate partner violence has been conducted and interpreted based on western archetypes of violence. This has resulted in violence being conceptualised and validated from a Western view point, and has done little to identify and report findings in a way that reflects the true extent of the phenomenon. Further recognising that while partner terrorism is not a uniquely Māori phenomenon, Western paradigms fail to take into consideration context when looking at this terrorism, in that it is not viewed in the context of historical, cultural, social, or philosophical positions for iwi, whānau and hapū.

Such processes result in the understanding and experiences of whānau, hapū and iwi being misrepresented; their lived experiences displaced and

silenced in the absence of their authenticity and voice, and deficit theories that 'blame' Māori (Nikora & Robertson, 1999) and their journeys instead appropriated and defined by the researcher as the "expert". The consequences of which have implications for not only the stereotyping of Māori, but also the creation and development of potential interventions, including government funding and policy direction.

Application and benefit of kaupapa Māori research

The initial research design did not begin with a focus on kaupapa Māori research or concepts other than with the application of kaupapa Māori principles to the engagement process, which is a natural way of engaging for me. However, as I progressed through the interviews and began to experience the pūrākau shared by these women, it evolved into a piece of research guided and supported by kaupapa Māori methodology. This approach was expressly critical in guiding me in caring for and protecting the stories of the women; kaupapa Māori is rigorous, good quality research, that does not assume a dominant view, and is therefore more able to meet the needs of a wider range of women with sensitivity and empathy (Irwin, 1994).

Due to the sensitive nature of this research it was essential to have a foundation rooted in principles of mana and trust, so that the journeys shared by these phenomenal women would be encouraged to unfold, and result in the gathering of meaningful pūrākau. The principles of Kaupapa Māori theory were engaged as a strategy to provide a safe environment for the participants and to support the unfolding of their journeys through partner terrorism. Regardless of cultural background I feel these principles engage and acknowledge the humanity of all peoples, and in doing so is appropriate in supporting the variety of women who took part in this research project and the histories they came with.

Vulnerability and exclusion from participation is a common experience for Sovereign peoples the world over, loss of voice and power being one consequence of this. By placing an emphasis on the empowerment of the

women, and seeking opportunities to encourage it through the research process is the best possible solution to vulnerability (Durie, 2011). This methodology has been employed with the intention that the research and findings be mana enhancing, and provide insight into the lived experiences of my participants from a culturally responsive perspective. In an effort to ensure that the themes and findings contained within are not assigned inappropriately as culturally distinct; or as being specific to Māori. Kaupapa Māori methodology and theory has been invaluable in the gathering and analysis of the women's stories, and in framing their journeys, using pūrākau methodology for the purpose of this thesis. It is a relevant and appropriate approach to use when supporting the self-determination of the women, ensuring that their authority, dignity and wellbeing is upheld.

Kaupapa Māori has become a foundational approach to research that involves participants of iwi descent, and has evolved to create other approaches tailored to the needs of the research projects and communities they are carried out with. Pihama's doctoral research (2001) *Tihei mauri ora: Honouring our voices: Mana wāhine as Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework*, develops a mana wāhine theoretical approach or flavour of Kaupapa Māori, honouring the voices of wāhine Māori; Lee-Morgan developed the pūrākau theoretical approach through her doctoral research (2008), which is also based in Kaupapa Māori, and focus on the cultural use of narrative. I did not design the research using pūrākau but it emerged and fits; given the pūrākau the women share this seemed an appropriate approach to include within my research project.

Pūrākau as method

The term pūrākau is most recognisable through its association with Māori tribal and historical stories of creation and adventure, it is synonymous with titles such as mythical stories, myths and legends, pakiwaitara (McRae, 2017), and sacred stories (Murphy, 2016). Simmonds and Gabel (2016) define pūrākau as statements that derive from both our current lived realities, and historical narratives; meshing past, present, and future realms of knowledge. Ka'ao is the Hawaiian transliteration of myth, the meaning of which translates to "the

meshing of the cosmos” the “netting of the Universe” (Tangarō, 2007, p. 6), perfectly capturing an indigenous perspective of pūrākau and the potential of knowledge and wisdom contained within them. “The oral tradition is considered by Māori as the most important historical tradition for Māori” (Royal, 1992, p. 20). Aotearoa New Zealand is founded on this rich tradition of oral histories and narratives; an immemorial custom evident in indigenous cultures around the world.

Pūrākau. This kupu (word, concept) meshes two words pū and rākau. Pū, as a noun, refers to the root, base, source, or foundation of the rākau (tree). Rākau (noun) as fore mentioned makes reference to the tree. The symbolism of the tree tells a story of the interconnectedness within te ao Māori (Lee, 2008); the connection with Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), and Ranginui (Sky Father) the first parents in our cosmology pūrākau demonstrate this interconnectedness present in the imagery of a tree. The roots (pū) being embedded in the earth (Papatūānuku), and the way that a tree grows (upward) symbolising the (re)connection with Ranginui. This epitomises the interconnectedness between the natural world and mankind; whakapapa; the connection between the physical and spiritual worlds; the past and the present. This is reflected in the way iwi, hapū and whānau view the world.

In the context of ‘Pūrākau’ Lee (2008) makes reference to a core component of the methodology; listening for te pū o te rākau; the heart of the story. This draws one’s attention to the core or the heart of the personal narrative and helps the researcher to focus in on the essence of the story, the reason for its telling; the way in which the narrative influences the growth and development of the individual, and the way they shape our identity and give our lives meaning. There is acknowledgement for the way in which these ‘stories’ shape who we are, how we see ourselves, and how we engage with the world around us.

Pūrākau is a form of oral narrative naturally inherent in te ao Māori (the Māori world), that connects and nurtures a process of unity and engagement

through the story telling and sharing process (Lee, 2005). Pūrākau are often symbolic and thick with meaning, their legitimacy and purpose specific (McRae, 2017).

An ancient discipline, oral narratives can be traced back to the ancient Greeks whose poems and songs still generate interest and analysis today from oral historians (Mahuika, 2012). As a vehicle used by Māori and many Sovereign First Nations peoples, oral narratives are used to mobilise teachings, impart wisdom, and continue the flow of intergenerational knowledge and tribal traditions, to ensure their continued existence from generation to generation (mātauranga tuku iho). They underpin Māori culture, bring forward the voices of the past, are steeped in richness and oft poetic in nature, carrying a connection to Te Ao Tawhito (the old world) (McRae, 2017).

Oral narratives are a distinct style used to evoke whakapapa, tikanga and mātauranga Māori, which provide a repository of collective wisdom and philosophy, providing a valid and noteworthy representation of te ao Māori (McRae 2017). The effectiveness of Māori oral traditions is unmistakable as evidenced by the resilience and survival of pūrākau across the generations, which clearly demonstrates the power and validity in a distinctly Māori way of collecting and sharing pūrākau, stories, and journeys (Waititi, 2007). Their reliability as a source of information is supported by McRae (2017) who acknowledges the long-lasting influence and value of oral traditions to iwi, whānau, and hapū despite the disruption and impact of colonisation. Oral traditions embody both the old world and the world of today where the written and oral worlds collide (McRae, 2017); an essential connection to the past, present and future generations of knowledge, experience and understanding (Mahuika, 2012). “To borrow Umberto Eco’s words, it is the knowledge of the past that ‘forms the basis of every civilisation’ the sum of experience and learning acquired over generations” (McRae, 2017, p. 11).

Oral traditions are not just to be heard and remembered, but something to be experienced (Mahuika, 2012). They are vital to the survival of Sovereign

Nations, to the aspirations of their peoples, and their individual and collective identities (Mahuika, 2012).

My use of pūrākau

Through the process of colonisation, many pūrākau have been bowdlerised, and also subjected to reinterpretation; as a result, the meaning and purpose of many of these have been uprooted, disrupting the balance and identity contained within the rich context of these sacred stories (Simmonds & Gable, 2016). The power, and sacredness specifically associated with the maternal body has been disabled through the reconstruction of pūrākau pertaining to cosmological accounts (Simmonds & Gable, 2016), resulting in the marginalisation of the role of wāhine Māori in te ao Māori.

The challenge for Māori women in the 1990's is to assume control over the interpretations of our struggles and to begin to theorise our experiences in ways, which make sense for us. (Smith, 1992, p.34)

By sharing their pūrākau the women in my research are assuming control and are continuing the oral tradition in a way that helps them to construct meaning. The telling of stories, sharing of oral histories and pūrākau occurs naturally through the process of a conversation (Binney, 2001); the personal histories being shared becoming a vehicle for the development of understanding and learning. Story telling is a process that involves the retrieval of memory and as such links the past and the present in a way that allows the receiver of the pūrākau to construct meaning. These meanings have the potential to inform understanding, and influence change (Binney, 2001).

The pūrākau of the women in my study needed to be written in a way that “Engage(s) the reader in critical thinking and deep reflection, with the aim of inspiring action” (Hutchings & Lee, 2016, p. 6).

The value of pūrākau, personal narratives, or oral histories within the context of this research is affirmed by Jackson (1998), who affirms that through the process of talking and sharing personal narratives, we reclaim the past in

order to make sense of it for ourselves (Jackson, 1998). Additionally, Bishop (1996) states that pūrākau, story-telling represents a multiplicity of truths, and as such is a culturally appropriate way of representing the diversity of truth, allowing myself as the researcher access to the pūrākau to ascertain how the women understand their social relationships (Emery, 2008); while allowing the participant to retain control rather than the researcher (Bishop, 1996).

Methods

Ethical considerations

The research was approved by the School of Psychology Research and Ethics Committee. Key points which needed to be addressed were ensuring (a) that the women were able to give their free and informed consent, (b) that participation did not compromise the women's safety and well-being, (c) that the women's anonymity was protected and (d) that they had control over the use of their information. How these concerns were addressed and other aspects of the process are outlined below.

Criteria for participation

As the focus was on young pregnant women and mothers, the criteria for participation were that women had to have been pregnant at or prior to the age of 17, while in a relationship that they perceived as having conflict or violence at the time.

Another criterion for participation was that the women had to have been living free from the relationships they experienced this conflict and intimate partner violence for at least one year.

Recruitment

The women for this research project were recruited through a snowball effect. This technique is common in qualitative research, and enabled myself as the researcher to access participants via other individuals including the participants themselves.

There were four avenues of recruitment; social media, women against violence education group (WAVE), a class of tertiary students and the participants themselves.

The first stage in the recruitment process was to circulate a recruitment poster via the use of social media, specifically a public post on my personal Facebook page. This post was re posted on two other occasions until I had twelve potential participants.

A second opportunity to recruit participants came from an invitation to present my research project to a class of degree students at a tertiary institute. During my korero with the students I made it clear that their participation would be purely voluntary and I was simply presenting an opportunity to participate in this research as an open offer. I further reassured them that there would be no pressure from the learning institute or staff about participation, and that their choice to participate, or not participate would not compromise their relationships with lecturers. I reiterated that staff would not be seeking confirmation of participation from the students, but were offering to extend an opportunity by providing access to my contact details so the women could volunteer themselves if they wished to have more information or participate by contacting me directly. I also left information sheets (Appendix A) and a list of board topic areas behind following my korero (Appendix B).

The third avenue of recruitment came from my participation in a 12-week education group for women who had been in, or were in relationships fuelled partner terrorism. The rationale behind joining this group was to find out exactly what IPV is and understand and gain insight in to how it affects women and their families from the women who experience it.

At the first group meeting I was transparent about reasons for being there, and identified I was not there to recruit or conduct research, but for personal education, and the desire to be educated from women who know about this violence, as opposed to my reading about it, or hearing second hand information. Having never experienced this type of violence myself, the aim was

to use this avenue to inform myself so I could go into my communications with the women who volunteer with some insight and understanding.

At some point during the course of this group process I was approached by the facilitator who advised some of the woman had approached her asking more about my research. She asked if I would talk more about it with them. I approached the women one on one, and gave them information sheets and topic areas, and left it up to them to contact me upon the completion of the group if they were interested in volunteering.

The fourth, unexpected, source of participants were some of the women I interviewed. That is, some participants approached other women following their interview with me inviting them to also share their story.

The initial point of contact with these women was made through the methods they chose: text message, phone call, Facebook private message, and email, where I introduced myself, the university and the research. I also clarified the participation criteria and sort permission to send them further information in the form of information sheets (Appendix A), and a list of a board range of topic areas (Appendix B), so they could make an informed decision about their participation.

Once the additional information (information sheet, and list of broad topic areas) were sent, women were left to contact me on their own accord if they were interested in volunteering, or if they had further questions. Information was sent via hardcopy to participants addresses by NZ post, or electronically by email, or uploaded to Facebook private messages.

The process from there unfolded differently for each woman. Communication went back and forth allowing for further discussion about the research and provided me the opportunity to become more familiar and comfortable with the women, and they me. Once I ascertained the women's availability for interviews, times and dates were co-ordinated, and the preferred location established. For some women, it was their home: for others, I booked a

private room at a school, wananga, or polytechnic (and one interview was conducted via telephone). In some instances, these pre-interview discussions were conducted kānohi ki te kānohi.

I ensured the women were informed about the content of the interviews so there would be no surprises, or misunderstanding of my intentions and the aim of my research.

Description of participant group

The contributors of this research consisted of women who had reflected upon their time as young pregnant woman, and viewed themselves as having been in a situation where they experienced conflict and intimate partner violence.

The women ranged in age from 14 to 17 years at the time they entered into their relationships, and came from hometowns all over Te Ika a Maui. While I did not intend to recruit participants specifically of Iwi descent, the preponderance of the women were of Iwi decent, with the exception of one who was of Pākehā descent.

Most of these partnerships were the first personal experience of intimate partner violence for the women, with the vast majority never having witnessed this type of behaviour in their home environments.

The women/contributors of this research will be identified by the following names and pseudonyms: Mel, Kiri, Kahira, J, Desirae, Keli, Sarah, Janie, Olivia, R, Joy.

Pūrākau - Semi structured interview procedure

Face to face communication is a method of engagement that is interactive and consistent with Māori, this is also referred to as kanohi ki te kanohi. This way of interacting helped to provide a safe and trusting environment (Patton, 2002).

Broad research questions, were used to shape the discussion. My aim was to promote a dialogue that supported the unfolding of the women's realities. Specifically, open ended questions were used to support and create this space

for a story telling atmosphere ensuring the women's voices and experiences were acknowledged, and their mātauranga brought forth through conversation.

Semi-structured interviews accompanied with open-ended questions are a flexible approach to gathering information. This combination supports the exploration of topics without restricting the natural flow of a conversation, or hindering the women's choice of direction within the conversation, allowing their individual experiences to emerge and unfold (Savin-Bagen & Major, 2013).

Through the interviews I was guided by the women as to how to engage, and found each one different. It was important to be aware that sharing pūrākau which reflect on painful histories can cause distress. Therefore, it was important to attempt to alleviate the distress where possible. The choice of location for interviews was one attempt at this. That is, I ensured that the interviews took place in a discreet and non-threatening environment. It was equally important to invite the women to bring support people with them should they wish, and to ensure ahead of the interviews that support was available to them following their interviews, either through their own networks or via myself should they wish to talk about the content shared. I also provided information sheets on support agencies and professionals should they feel the need to speak to someone.

Prior to the conversations unfolding I would bless and clear the energy of the rooms I had booked for the interviews, and take flowers to place on the table. Later giving these to the women. I also shared kai with some women prior to commencing the interview process, I went for a walk with some of them to help them relax, and offered them a drink and something to eat upon arrival. For some this was reversed, we walked together and talked following the interviews to help them unwind and debrief, I also sat with one of the women and had a hot drink to ensure she was okay before she left.

I also asked the women if they would like to begin with a karakia and invitation for healing prior to the discussion, and again upon completion of it. I also ensured the women understood that this was their time to use it as they

wished, sharing they could stop the conversation at any point, and choose to answer, and decline to answer any of the questions at their discretion. I reiterated that my interest was in their story, and while I had topic areas or questions that they were prompts to encourage the conversation.

A natural way of sharing and processing events in our lives is through connection and conversation with other women. However, this wasn't a typical balanced conversation as I was seeking information, as such the questions were useful to break the ice, until we developed a rapport and interactive flow with each other. Once this happened the women began to open up and the conversation flowed.

Some questions were generated as a result of earlier discussions with other women. For example, I would share something that other women had experienced and ask whether that had also been the experience of the interviewee. As I did more interviews I found I reverted to questions less and only when the women wished to be prompted during the discussion. Essentially the discussions unfolded with the women sharing their pūrākau much in the same way you would re tell a story, questions in response to their stories were interactive and prompted more understanding.

All the women declined to have support people with them, which highlighted the very privileged position I was in, and the very difficult and private experiences they were willing to share with me and not someone close to them. Discussions lasted between one and two and a half hours, with the majority of conversations lasting around two hours.

I produced another copy of the information and topic areas sheets I had previously provided prior to our meeting, to ensure they had the contact details of myself, my supervisors and the complaints contact details should they have any questions or concerns following the interviews.

Following the confirmation of consent (Appendix C), I offered the women information sheets on family prevention and intervention services and Contact

details for people working with family violence networks in NZ should they wish to speak with someone else about their experiences following their discussions with me.

The women's pūrākau were voice recorded with observations noted down after each session. Recordings were then transcribed verbatim as soon after the interview as possible, and were re-listened to and cross-referenced against the transcripts, and corrected until they reflected a word-perfect reflection of the recorded interviews. To maintain the authenticity of the women's expressions, I bolded any words they stressed or emphasised. I transcribed eight of the interviews: two transcribers completed the other three (Appendix D – Transcriptionist Confidentiality Form). Only women who were comfortable for their transcripts to be transcribed by another person were done this way. I followed the same process above in checking these transcripts to ensure accuracy.

Post Interview follow up – Transcript amendments

I made attempts to contact each woman after her interview to see how she was. Not all responded. I had no concerns about the women I was able to contact as our communication was positive.

Once the pūrākau were transcribed, I attempted to contact the women to arrange a time and place to meet kānohi ki te kānohi where appropriate to go over their transcripts. I was aware of how difficult it was for them to discuss the contents so wanted to make sure they were not re-traumatised by this process and thought being with them might help them, and gave me the opportunity to gauge their reactions.

I also posted hardcopies of the transcripts via NZ post, to the women who could not meet face to face, including a paid, self-addressed envelope for the return of these. In two instances I sent the transcripts via email, as one of the women had lost her hardcopy, and the other preferred to receive hers via email so she could use track changes when amending her pūrākau.

Transcripts were offered so the women could have control over their stories, and have the chance to amend them if they wished. I highlighted all identifying information in the transcripts such as names of individuals, schools, names of towns, street names, hospitals and the like, so the women could be aware of these. Women were given control of how they wanted their stories to be presented, and could add or delete content as they felt appropriate.

Due to the content and nature of the transcripts I invited the women to go through their transcripts in their own time, with some taking weeks, others months. Where possible we then arranged to meet again so I could receive the transcripts, and to go over any questions and or changes they had made, or wanted made. In the event we could not meet in person discussions over transcripts also went back and forth via email or Facebook. In one instance I did not receive the hardcopy back as the woman just didn't get around to returning it.

Very few changes were made by the women who saw their stories. Some chose to use their own names on the transcripts, while others chose to take an alias or use an initial. One woman corrected my spelling, and one took out a comment she had made as she didn't want her current partner to ever come across it. Identifying information was deleted or changed in ways that did not affect the general veracity of the story.

Unfortunately, I was unable to successfully contact all of the women following the interviews, and as a result I was unable to give these women the opportunity to review their transcripts and edit any of its contents. In these instances, I took it upon myself to edit out any identifying information to ensure both their safety and anonymity.

Some women declared in the interviews that they did not need to go over the transcripts once they had been produced, however I offered every woman I could contact the opportunity once transcribed.

I remained in contact, albeit infrequently, with the women I could contact, and did approach them for their feedback and essentially their approval on the title of this thesis. Their responses were very favourable, some of them were as follows: J, told me: “to me this title is strong and honest and real. Just like you. Just like the women you interviewed”, Kahira said: “Yes I luv the title” and Keli told me: “Trust your gut”. I will contact them again to let them know I have submitted this thesis, and again to fill them in on the outcome.

Analysis – Mana wāhine pūrākau

The way the women made sense of their worlds, and the lessons they learnt aligned with kaupapa Māori and pūrākau methodology through the creation of narratives of triumph and empowerment.

I saw a larger narrative, beyond each individual pūrākau. I also saw the way they weaved a whāriki of triumph and empowerment amongst the narratives of anguish. The women moved across diverse topics and sometimes, they circled back on themselves as they attempted to make sense of and construct a deeper understanding of their journeys with partner terrorism. In the retelling of these stories, my goal is to inform understanding and influence change. Doing so in a manner that enables the reader to understand the essence of the pūrākau as presented in my thesis.

In analysing these pūrākau, first and foremost, I listened for te pū o te rākau; the heart of these personal stories, to help me focus in on the essence of them and the reason for their telling. It is not just the telling of these stories that is important, it is the understanding of them; pūrākau proves a valuable ally in learning how the women make sense of their journeys. This also helped me to stay focused on kaupapa Māori qualities of the research and not be drawn back in to the Western view of analysis which in my view is largely intellectual in nature.

In preparation for my re telling of these pūrākau I first analysed the pūrākau of Atua wāhine and mana wāhine; Papatūānuku, Hineahuone, Hineteiwaiwa, Hine Titama, Hinenui te Pō, Niwareka and Mataora, Te Ao-

Kapurangi. Using my understanding of these pūrākau, I then extracted themes from the women's korero that aligned or contrasted with the identification of lessons, messages, and morals that came out of the Atua wāhine and mana wāhine pūrākau. Therefore, pūrākau provided the analysis through the re-storying of the women's korero, and mana wāhine provided the framework for the analysis.

I further developed the themes by identifying the topics that were at the heart of the women's korero, and then made connections to those that they shared in common. I then extracted quotes from their korero to exemplify each theme, being careful to ensure their words and voices were reflected as much as possible throughout the re-storying.

The process of pūrākau also had an element of decolonising the women's stories through re-storying. History has been written by the victor; the sharing of the women's pūrākau here is their opportunity to tell their history, their way. After all, this is the reason the women participated in this research project. These pūrākau of triumph set the women apart as role models, as mana wāhine, much like our Atua wāhine and tīpuna mana wāhine in our pūrākau.

Korero Whakakapi - Summary

This chapter has attempted to provide the foundations for this thesis, the rationale behind the choice of topic, the methodology and methods engaged in the research process. It has also summarised my use of pūrākau as a method of analysis, using mana wāhine pūrākau as the framework. This next chapter looks at the presentation of the themes identified among the women's korero, and my pūrākau of their journeys.

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion

You may shoot me with your words. You may cut me with your eyes. You may kill me with your hatefulness. But still, like air, I'll rise.

—Maya Angelou, *And Still I Rise*

Korero Whakataki - Introduction

The semi structured interviews conducted with the 11 women, yielded results within six themes: Nga ra o mua - looking back to look forward (the journey); Terrorism; Violation of te whare tangata the maternal body; The disruption of the ūkaipō; Acts of Resistance, The journey out - Te Kore, Te Pō, Te Ao.

These six themes are reflective of the women's experiences and give voice to their pūrākau; representing both their individual and collective perceptions of their journeys through partner terrorism and pregnancy. Within each of the six themes, a number of sub themes presented themselves, these will be discussed in the following pages. Evidence to support each theme and sub theme will be offered, followed by a summary of the findings for each of the six themes.

I have cradled my findings within concepts of te aō Māori to allow for greater understanding of the women's journeys, and to provide insight into the world view we have as Māori. Te reo (language) is a gateway to this understanding; in te reo, each aspect of a word, its grammatical gender, each syllable and its sound, has whakapapa, a pūrākau, or an origin story. The language and concepts I use are intrinsic in shaping the way the reader will perceive and understand my retelling of the women's pūrākau for the purpose of this thesis; the language and concepts cannot be separated from the findings. In order to retell the pūrākau I have chosen to orient the reader by beginning each theme with a combination of whakatauākī, korero tuku iho, and mātauranga.

Theme One: Nga Ra O Mua: Looking Back To Look Forward (The Journey)

Ngā hiahia kia titiro ki te timatatanga, ā, ka kite ai tātou te mutunga; you must understand the beginning if you wish to see the end.

In order to understand the current context of these women's journeys, we must first look back. I draw upon this whakataukāki here to impress upon the reader the understanding that partner terrorism does not exist within a vacuum, but is the fruit of past events (Jackson, 1988; Ministry of Justice, 2001). Understanding our history involves understanding how our people viewed partner terrorism (Te Puni Kokiri, 2010).

Nga ra o mua; looking back to look forward, is an aphorism that emphasises the recounting of one's steps of awareness as a way to proceed into the future. It also "Emphasises the significance of whakapapa as a point of beginning for any undertaking that involves Māori knowledge" Royal (1992). This identifies the position taken when sharing a story is significant, and highlights the 'beginning' as a natural point to begin sharing, and imparting wisdom and knowledge. By taking this position when sharing their pūrākau the women are demonstrating their awareness of all that has transpired, sharing their insights and understanding while simultaneously signalling they are forging a new path forward.

The following quote by Orson Welles (n.d.): "If you want a happy ending, that depends, of course, on where you stop the story" highlights perfectly the position of the women at the time we met, their stories and the ever-changing circumstances they face with their journeys. A journey is a story in motion, and as such the pūrākau of these women are ongoing and dynamic, in motion; incomplete, and without end. While these stories are without end, they do have a beginning. Every story begins somewhere, its beginning instrumental to the intention of the story teller and the purpose of the story. The women were asked to begin their stories however and wherever they wished to. Typically, they began at the 'beginning' by walking backward into the future.

Each woman's journey and pūrākau is shared with the purpose of making an emotional connection to inspire change in the perspectives of others; our fears, hopes, attitudes and values can be influenced by the power of a single pūrākau, and its connection to the collective pūrākau. Therefore, the intention here is to use the sculpting power of a story to inspire a greater awareness and understanding of partner terrorism and its consequences. Each of the women's pūrākau is unique; each forms a part of a much bigger pūrākau, a pūrākau of hope and triumph.

In sharing their pūrākau, some of the women were visibly empowered. As Kahira began sharing her journey with partner terrorism, she told me:

I want my story to be heard, I want... I don't care who hears, I don't care if they know my name, I don't care if they know his name, you know stuff like that. I don't care that they know where I'm from. Why? Because it's the truth. I wanna be able to give back.

In this extract, not only is she saying she wants to share her pūrākau, she is making a declaration. She is declaring in the face of the dominant narrative of contemporary society where partner terrorism is considered shameful, and should be hidden away, that she is unafraid of speaking up. She is unashamed of sharing her journey through partner terrorism, is unafraid of it being publicly known, and being associated with her pūrākau and all that it encompasses. She is claiming her pūrākau, and her voice; taking ownership of her journey and her right to be heard. From her perspective this is her time, her platform; a platform for her to use her voice in an empowered way, to empower other women.

Kahira is not alone in this stance as other women shared similarly; Janie confidently declared that she is comfortable sharing and being associated with her pūrākau and all it encompasses; she is proud to be "One of the women who made it out, and in a better life". She too, is speaking out against partner terrorism openly, refusing to remain silent. Many of these women kept their situations secret for fear of not being believed, or because they felt ashamed; in

some ways this silence gave their terrorist partners power. Speaking about it here, is a way for them to take their power back.

Everyone has a story to tell, and while we can keep our stories to ourselves, true meaning and understanding comes from the sharing and witnessing of them. I witnessed the power in the women telling their own stories, their own truths with their own words. While this was difficult, for some it was empowering, and liberating for others. They were not only telling their story, but were on a journey through the process of telling their story, answering questions as they felt appropriate, starting and stopping where ever and whenever they liked. They directed the flow of the conversation, while making sense of their experiences through the process of narrating their own stories, sharing new perspectives, and declaring memories and details previously unavailable to them as they surfaced. All the while sharing and affirming their understanding while discovering and forging meaning among the threads that make up the whāriki of their journeys thus far, reclaiming their identities through the telling of 'their' story.

The women's stories began with declarations of their identity; claiming who they were and their potential prior to the evolution of these relationships. Acknowledging that they had lives, dreams, and aspirations prior to these relationships and this partner terrorism as a way to validate themselves, and from there they lead me gently, and thoughtfully, through the stages of their relationships; back and forth between states of te kore, te pō, and te ao. Sharing their understanding of the conflict and partner terrorism they experienced along the way. It was clear with each of the women that the details were important, that the things they were sharing were important to them, they were gifting themselves empowerment; using their voice; as a way of taking their power back, and reclaiming their identity.

Keli's quote below demonstrates not only her commitment to sharing her story, but also signals its importance. In sharing such detail, she is demonstrating the importance of imparting meaning and understanding.

I felt I missed a lot... so we might have to go back and talk about some of the things that happened during the years that we were together (laughing). I skimmed past a lot of important stuff.

Here, Keli is like the other women who demonstrate through their participation in this research that they are declaring they have a voice; that they have control over their story, have a choice in sharing their understanding and mātauranga around their experiences. And in doing so are re writing out dated and fictitious narratives about their, and other women's experiences of partner terrorism. They are standing up for the way they would like to be perceived.

The evolution of the relationships

The women were aged between 14 and 17 years when they met their partners. Typically, their partners were older by between four and ten years. At the time, most of the young women were living at home with their families, attending their local high school and had no source of income. In contrast, the men had been out of school for some time and were generating an income from employment and, or, in some cases, criminal activities.

Whether they were living in a two-parent or a single-parent home, for the majority of the women their homes were violence-free. For example, Keli noted:

I was brought up in a single family, single parent home. There wasn't violence, or crime or anything like that. I think I was just a bit naïve to what people were capable of at that stage.

This was consistent with Joy's experience; she was also raised by her mother as her only parent, and shared "I wasn't exposed to it (violence) in my formative years." However, upon moving to live with other whānau members when she was older she became exposed to partner terrorism through witnessing her caregivers.

Kiri, J, Olivia and Mel all came from two-parent homes and also declared that their first experience of this type of violence came from their terrorist partners. Kiri's response was representative: "My parents never argued. We

grew up in a really happy house”. Janie, who was raised by her grandmother also declared that she was not raised with violence in the home: “No! No. We were not brought up in that way”.

The women were attending high school at the time these relationships formed, and shared their educational experiences in a way that clearly signalled that their lives were full of potential and promise prior to these relationships. Kiri, pregnant for the first time at 16 years of age and attending high school, told me:

Looking back on it now I was really academically driven, and sports driven up until I met (partner).

Olivia said: “I was actually really good at school, in the top classes and stuff”, while J shared she was in a position to apply for university a year early due to her academic attainments.

There were exceptions to this pattern where a couple of the women had left school prior to meeting their terrorist partners, but were still living at home with their families. Sarah shares a part of her story in a quote below where she is clear about ending her journey with high school. In a statement of determination, agency and strength, that highlights her independent and forthright thinking, and her ability to act for herself she declares she is leaving high school.

As soon as I turned 16 I marched into the office and un-enrolled myself, I was quite proud of myself. I walked in there and was like... “I’m 16, today I don’t want to go to school anymore give me my paper I’m gonna sign it and I’m outta here”. So that’s what I did on the morning of my 16th birthday. Then fell pregnant later on that year, and then had baby the next year.

Although some of the women had previous boyfriends, the relationships they were telling me about were the first serious relationships for most. For example, Kiri recalled meeting her terrorist partner:

He was 19 at the time. He actually lied to me about his age funny enough, he's the only boyfriend I ever had, the first and only boyfriend I ever had.

J who was 16 when she met her terrorist partner shares her insights into her perception of what men were like based her previous experiences, which were limited to sports and community dances.

Before that I had a guy I was hanging out with, well there were a couple. A guy at sport and a guy from (overseas) and I was into Christianity... that was the access I had. So he was really nice and kind and gentle, and the guy that I sort of went with at sport which was just ya know the odd kissing, but he made me feel good. Again gentle, kind, nice. So I thought all guys were a bit like that. Cause my Dad's... ya know he's not... he's a bit of an idiot but he's not... never violent or horrible. So I wasn't used to men being controlling.

It is important to identify that while there is some evidence supporting the intergenerational transmission of violence, that is not really the case here, as the majority of young women grew up in homes free from violence.

Janie, Olivia and Mel, had babies at the time they entered into these relationships. Olivia noted: "My baby would have been about two months old when I met my daughter's father, so my oldest got brought up (as) his". Mel was 13 when she first became a mother, and as with Olivia, her first child was brought up by her partner as his own.

Similarly, Janie was 16 when she entered the relationship, and at the time was raising her baby sister. As the relationship unfolded, she recalled: "Then things got serious with my ex, and my Grandmother took full time care of her so I could live my life". However, eventually she was encouraged by her terrorist partner to take on the care of her sibling's baby, whom they raised together.

A common pattern was that these relationships evolved swiftly. Keli shared with me:

I had never met him before. One of my friends had said to me... had warned me right that day, she was like don't even look at him. Very fast mover I guess... we kinda met and then we didn't really see each other for a couple of weeks, and then he was at a party or came to somewhere mutual again and that's when we kinda got more serious from there. Couple of weeks later we were in a full on relationship.

Similarly, Joy also shared:

There were phone calls and then seeing each other. (It) didn't take long. A couple of weeks maybe. Certainly less than a month and then it was a relationship, and cause um being very young and in school we would really only get to see each other on the bus from school, on the way home from school, that sort of stuff. And he actually only lived down the road.

It is perhaps not surprising that the relationships developed quickly given the initial impressions the men created. Olivia relished the attention her partner gave her pēpī:

When I meet this man he used to come up to my mum's every single night He was great with my baby which buzzed me out, and ummm he used to buy him things and all this sort of stuff and I just thought this fella was the bee's knees.

Similarly, Desirae recalled:

I started going out with this guy. And he brought me everything you know. Always brought me stuff. I had no money, I was this kid and worked at McDonalds and that.

To a "kid" with no money, Desirae's partner seemed to provide "everything". For J, the relationship offered escape; she told me:

I thought he was pretty amazing. In fact, I found an old diary... where I had said all these things in the diary about him. He was really fit and good

looking. My parents were a bit odd, very odd... so he was a bit of an escape in some ways.

Kiri told me, while:

He was really well off... cause he had been working since he was 15. And so he had a flash car, he had a lot of money and all that stuff, but that wasn't... looking back on it, it would of look like that was what I saw, but it wasn't, it was the whole nice to be noticed thing.

Kiri again,

I used to look at my friends and think 'why would you stay with a person who doesn't have a job?' I always use to think like that, cause to me that was priority, and it shouldn't have been I should have been the priority.

These partners presented themselves as providers, caring individuals that would make great fathers, and partners. They made clear they desired the company of these young woman and sort to win them over through their actions and declarations, such as idolising them, providing them with undivided attention, and hope. The swift nature in which the relationships became intense saw the young women living with their partners within weeks.

Living arrangements

Consistent with the rapid development of the relationships, many of the women were soon living with their partners: either he moved into her family home, or they found accommodation together as a couple. For example, Keli recalled:

Yeah. He wanted me to move in, he had a flat. We got a flat, and I convinced my mum even though I wasn't living with her that if I was to move in with him, I'd still go to school. Cause I was still at school then, and blah blah blah convinced her that it would be alright, and I wanted to move out of where I was... and we moved in yep.

Here it is evident that, for Keli, setting up house involved negotiation and explicit decision-making. With Kiri, it seemed that it almost happened by stealth.

He came and he didn't leave. He came to visit for dinner one night, and he stayed and he never left. He went to work, came back. Went to work, came back. Came back with a bag... and another bag. But none of us said anything.

Like Kiri, Janie didn't seem to have much say, she recalled: "There wasn't much courting, he was just always at my house all of the time... He just wouldn't go away".

It was common for the women to become pregnant early in the relationship. Janie and Kiri, were notable exceptions; Janie was in her relationship for eight years before her first pregnancy, and Kiri's pregnancy occurred after being in a relationship with her partner for two years. The circumstance in which she and the other women became pregnant are discussed in theme three: violation of te whare tangata – the maternal body.

Korero Whakakapi - Summary

This theme has offered insight in to an overall understanding, of how these young women entered into these relationships and their natural progression. In the next theme I go on to explain the nature of partner terrorism and the women's experiences of it.

Theme Two: Terrorism

In order to adequately understand the impact of this violence on the young women and their pēpē and recognise their resilience in these situations, it is necessary to first understand the nature and the extent of the violence to which they were subjected. Here, language becomes important.

Through my engagement with the women, the process of transcribing and analysing their pūrākau, it became evident to me that many of the words commonly used to describe violence against women failed to convey the reality of what the women had lived through. Expressions such as violence, abuse,

intimate partner violence, domestic abuse, partner violence, abusive, physical assault, humiliation, battered and battering are nebulous, and do not acknowledge the magnitude of what the violent behaviour encompassed and its consequences. They are terms which failed to accurately identify this specific form of violence. My objective in this thesis is to create meaning with the language I am using, to represent the pūrākau of these women. For this reason, terrorism, terrorist, terror, and partner terrorism are the terms chosen to represent respectively, the violent acts committed against the women who participated in this research project and their pēpē, the partners who committed the acts, the reaction to the terrorism, and the name by which it shall be baptized for the purpose of the retelling of the women's stories. This is consistent with Johnson's (1995) example 'intimate terrorism' which I have adopted here. By using a term ordinarily assigned by media to identify bombings, mass shootings and other depraved acts carried out in pursuit of political aims, I am drawing attention to important features of the violence directed against these women. The term evokes fear and elicits deep concern. It draws attention to the purpose of the violence: that is, to terrorise is to create chaos, inculcate fear and to ensure compliance by the terrorised, while simultaneously hinting at the consequence of that 'act', which is the creation of terror (or extreme fear) and trauma.

The use of the word terrorism draws attention to the acts of violence, and calls out the terroristic methods used by the partners as terrorists, to control and exercise coercive power over women. Its focus is not 'just' the presence of physical force or violence, but rather the recognition that whatever tactic is being employed, it is being engaged with specific purposes, as mentioned previously, to create terror. Terrorism therefore encompasses all the tactics regardless of type: physical, sexual, psychological and emotional.

As with terrorism committed for political purposes, the targets of partner terrorism are not just the direct victims. Instead, these are acts of violence intended to make others fearful and compliant. If she isn't afraid 'enough' for herself, she will be afraid for these others. It generates an awareness in the

women of their inability to control what happens to those around her, which pushes boundaries on fear, and elicits compliance.

The tactics of terrorism

As mentioned above, the tactics of the intimate partner terrorist encompass several types of violence: physical, sexual, psychological, emotional, and includes, social isolation, entrapment and financial control. As will become obvious, the full impact of the terrorism lies, at least in part, from the way these various forms are intertwined. Nevertheless, it is useful to briefly review the experiences the women shared with me about each form of this terrorism.

Physical forms of terrorism

All the women were exposed to physical violence of varying degrees through the course of the partnerships, with the exception of one women. Kiri did not experience any physical assault to her maternal body until after she had separated from her terrorist partner. Thoughtful detail was shared around the physical violence experienced at the hands of their terrorist partners. The women's attitudes towards the physical violence were candid and raw. They did not hold back to spare themselves by revisiting these scenes; their courage and strength amidst their sufferance is evident.

Physical 'acts' of violence experienced by the women involved kicking, punching, strangling with forearm, choking with hands, pushing, shoving, rough "play fighting", strangling, pinching, biting, pushing his thumbs into her eye sockets until the thumbs slip into the sockets behind her eye, head butting, dragging her by the hair, putting pressure on her head by squeezing it, holding her down, physically restraining her, pushing her out of a moving vehicle, holding her up against a wall or fence. Physical violence also involved the use of objects such as a spanner or a hammer. Vehicles were also used in various ways. Joy was run down. Janie was in the car when her partner deliberately crashed it. Joy was pushed out of a moving car. Kahira was pushed in front of an oncoming vehicle. The act of mimi/urinating over the women and throwing objects at them were also physical 'acts' of terrorism that were experienced. Kahira had a bike helmet

used as a weapon against her. Keli, Janie, Desirae and Kiri all spoke about ornaments and other objects being thrown at them. Janie shared that “Everything out of the fridge was on the wall, everything in the cupboards was on the wall”. In fact, Keli shared:

Anything that he could throw, or get his hands on he’d use as a weapon, but the gun was always scary cause it’s like... you can die, you can die anyway, but to me ya know it’s a gun!

Near death experiences, and or violent acts that left the women fearing for their lives were not uncommon. As Olivia shared:

He’s broken my ribs, knocked me out, he’s (sobbing)... I wouldn’t even be able to count how many black eyes, and cut lips, and split eyebrows and shit like that... I wouldn’t even be able to count... (Once) he almost killed me. He got 15 months for that... injure with intent.

Equally horrifying, Janie and her tamariki survived an unsuccessful murder suicide attempt. Janie recalled, “He tried to kill us in a car accident”, his motivation:

“If I can’t fucking have you no one is having you” ...He just went straight ahead into the railway crossings, there is a post there and he just went straight into it.

Fleeing was not necessarily an option, as Mel found:

He gave me two black eyes, after that he dragged me around on the ground with my hair and punched me at the same time. When I tried to run down to the road, he grabbed me by my hair, and I was down the steps and pulled me back inside and gave me a hiding. He’s got a thing of trapping me, and if I move he’ll hit me. Yeah. He won’t let me go until he’s satisfied.

It was also evident that the physical violence was directed very strategically, as Keli explained:

He wouldn't hit me in the face very often (laughing) anywhere visible to the public. It was mainly like... when I'd get a hiding it would be to around the back of my head, neck, all parts of my body that could easily be hidden. I've only probably once or twice, maybe in the whole 7 years had like bruises on my face. The rest was all the back of the head. I mean there would be like **huge** lumps, there would be cuts and stuff, but my hair would hide cuts, my clothes would cover bruises. But yeah it was not often I got punched in the face.

Unlike the political terrorist who wants maximum exposure for his violence, the intimate partner terrorist remains in the shadows, and has a much smaller, very particular audience in mind.

Sexual forms of terrorism

Sexual violence is a particular kind of physical violence. Not all of the women shared pūrākau of sexual violence. Those who did spoke openly about their experiences, their bravery evident as they determinedly shared their stories. Keli noted that her partner would "Rape me quite often" while Desirae told me that her partner would "Get me in a head lock, if I didn't give him sex: ya know? That sort of stuff. Yeah. Then I was forced". R, shared that her experience was "out of it"; she told me:

I would find that we would go to bed and I would say that I didn't want to have sex, and he would be like "oh yeah" and he would just kinda continue to try, until I would say "look I don't want to have sex". Then I would find that I would wake up in the middle of the night and he was on top of me having sex.

Sometimes, the women would be forced to play out particular sexual scripts. Desirae shared an example of this:

He used to force me to have sex with him in (public) sight... like the bushes and stuff. He had quite a perverted side to him.

As will be evident in a later theme, the violation of te whare tangata, sexual violence played a particular role in denigrating women. Keli told me that:

After a hiding I'll have cuts and stuff and he would, ummm, you know... like urinate on me, and then rape me and, you know, I'd just you know take myself out... I would do things like dissociate myself from my body, I **would** fight back in my head, so you know, just kinda kept a little bit of me I guess alive... I just tried to do things to keep my soul alive.

Keli was unable to protect herself from the physical and sexual violence, but like other women, showed resilience and ingenuity in working out ways of keeping herself psychologically and spiritually unbroken.

Many of the terrorist partners were unfaithful. Having sex outside the relationship can be seen as a form of sexual abuse, one which highlights the terrorist's disrespect and lack of care for the women and their relationships. It also calls out their confidence in being able to control the women and keep them in these relationships. Their cheating left the women feeling invalidated, and undermined their mana, self-worth and dignity. As Kiri said:

He was quite mean actually. Umm... I still have low self-esteem now. He used to cheat a lot. He was very unfaithful. And if I found something out, and I'd confront him about it, it was always my fault for his behaviour.

Similarly, Desirae told me:

Yeah so though my whole pregnancy... during that time he was sleeping with other women. Yeah there was a lot of that sort of stuff going on and that's where the insecurity and that came into it.

In fact, confronting their partners about infidelity could be dangerous. For Mel, physical violence often arose in the context of arguments, and those arguments "Were mostly around cheating: that's what would start it."

Psychological and emotional terrorism

The psychological and emotional dimensions of partner terrorism were potent themes to emerge from the women's pūrākau. They were powerful and effective weapons in controlling the women through the inculcation of fear. They served to further disempower the women, and diminish their mana, wairua and mauri. For some women, the emotional abuse was the worst. Mel told me:

Emotional hurts me so much more than just getting a hiding. A hiding you just get left with bruises and bumps or whatever, and emotional it just hurts, it just scars you.

Similarly, Kahira noted:

It was the mind games, yeah it was the mind games. Yeah sometimes, it's just best to get a hiding to be quite honest because the mind games were just traumatising.

Threats were a significant form of psychological terrorism; terrorist partners often resorted to threats to control the women. Threats to kill were horrifyingly commonplace among them, as Keli noted: "Yeah, he's threatened to kill me all the time". Significantly, the threats were sometimes directed against others. When Keli was contemplating leaving the relationship she told me:

He would say that if I left he was gonna kill my mum, and burn down her house, and that he'd kill me. So that kinda kept me there... it may seem really surreal, and that he'd actually do that, but I believed all of his threats... I believed (the threats) because I knew what he was capable of, and I had the gun (used against me) before, and I've been choked and ya know all the stuff I knew he was capable of and the stuff that I'd seen him do to other people...

Some threats involved their pēpē; Janie and Kiri's partner's threatened to take their pēpē away from them. Mel was told that her partner would "Never see the kids again, he won't be a part of their life", while Keli was told she would never see her daughter again as her partner would run off with her. Other

threats were made against close friends and pets. Kiri was threatened with being reported to Child Youth and Family. On another occasion, her terrorist partner told her “I’m going to fucken kill you, and kill those kids, and kill myself.” Threats by partners to commit suicide were particularly incapacitating and crippling for the women.

Emotional abuse and put downs were common. As highlighted in previous research by Edleson and Tolman (1992), this form of terrorism is often perceived by women as deepening their trauma, and being more devastating than the physical acts of terrorism. This was also supported by the women in this current study. Mel talked about some of the emotional abuse she was subjected to:

Name calling, belittling me, saying that I’m fat and all that kind of stuff, that I’m not worthy to anyone, that I’m just a waste of space all that kind of stuff... Yeah and throughout the whole relationship, if at any time the physical violence died down there was still always the emotional violence. It was always one or the other, or both! . . . A lot of the name calling, like slut and all that kind of stuff, every time we’d have an argument he’ll say it’s your fault because of this, this and that. It really got drummed into my head that I was worthless, and I wasn’t worth anything.

Similarly, Joy was told that she was “Fat and ugly. No one wants you, look at you... you’ll never get anyone”. The cacophony of threats and verbal abuse overwhelmed the women’s ability to separate fact from fiction to the extent that some of them believed they deserved what was happening to them. Emotional abuse often resulted in women taking on board the terrorists view of themselves, defining their self-perceptions of their capabilities as women and mothers. It provided fertile ground for the development of mental health issues such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, depression and suicidal ideation. This was evident in Kahira’s comment: “You know I thought I WAS ugly, I thought I WAS no good, I thought I HAD to be with this man.” As Kiri put it,

“When someone tells you something over and over, you end up believing it, ya know?” At that point, the terrorist has achieved his objective.

Many of the terrorist partners resorted to mental torture through mind games in “punishing” the women. By Keli’s reckoning, such emotional abuse was worse than the physical. She recalled:

I kept the special baby clothes, and the first toy that we brought and everything in a suitcase. And every time we’d have a fight he’d take the suit case with him as another way of punishing me, and I don’t know why I was so attached to that stuff but I had become really attached to it - to the baby clothes and the baby’s first toy - and he’d take it every time. Just little things like that. That I can remember quite clearly, that affected me more than any of the physical stuff. I can recall a lot of the physical stuff, but it’s not things that I will play over in my head.

Social isolation

Isolation was a tactic used by some of the terrorist partners to obtain and maintain control of the women. It was fundamental in further stripping the women of their mana, support systems, and their sense of safety. By losing their natural support networks the women were more likely to be reliant on their terrorist partners and less likely to be able to live independently of him.

Relocation was one tactic of isolation to emerge from the women’s pūrākau. For example, moving to another town or place that is remote or out of the way proved effective. Keli recalled:

I remember another time in our relationship quite well into the relationship where we had moved out to the middle of nowhere, and he had his gun out again and that was really scary, just having no phone, no neighbours, and knowing that he was wanting to kill me.

Isolation could be achieved without relocating. Some of the men isolated their partners from social networks through sabotaging their friendships and relationships with family and whānau members. Keli again:

Ah it was really early on. It was talking to other people, talking to other guys, having my friends come around, he started to do things like hit on my friends... not hit them physically, but hit on them. And then I would not want them to come around cause I started blaming the girls instead of blaming him, and that's (how) the isolation started coming in. It was just the way he I guess managed to get a few of my good friends out of my life... so by the time we got to the next pregnancy, even though I was only 17, I was definitely... you know, I had no friends left, a couple of really close ones that would umm smile at me in the street maybe.

Janie recalled how the lies her partner would tell her isolated her from her family and whānau, she said “That is what he ended up doing, was turning me against” my family; he would make sure she believed “Everything was my family’s fault”. Janie also told me, they “Moved so many places” because her partner told her they needed to get away from her family to have “A fresh start”. However, with the benefit of reflection and hindsight, she noted that wasn’t the true reason behind moving:

But what it was... he was pulling me away from my family, and as soon as we’d do that the drinking would start again, the anger would start again... and it would never go away.

Forcing women away from the structures of family and whānau, and separating them from the foundations of kinship, isolated them from their natural support structures, leaving them feeling ashamed and responsible for their situations. This Isolation reinforced the women’s sense of helplessness and served to enhance their vulnerability while simultaneously enhancing the terrorist partners control over them. Kiri noted:

He had the money card, and he would take the car keys to work too so I couldn’t use his car. Yeah, and I didn’t get my license till I was 19... I think. We used to ring a taxi and then have my mother pay for the taxi. “I lost the keys Mum; I can’t find them (laughing)”.

Leaving the women at home with pēpē and tamariki without any vehicle was also a way to isolate them, as was the case with Olivia, Kiri and Janie. In fact, Janie said, her partner would go out drinking “and take the vehicle leaving us stranded”. This highlights the lack of care, compassion, and conscience these partners had for not only the women, but also their pēpē and tamariki.

Financial control

The use of financial control was evident in the women’s pūrākau. It was sometimes cited as a reason they remained in a relationship fuelled with partner terrorism. This was the case for Kiri who unexpectedly became pregnant while at high school. She told me that because her partner was the provider, she stayed with him longer than she might have otherwise.

So I just thought if he left, how was I going to feed my kids? My kid cause we only had one kid back when I’d think and think and think about what if I just left. If I just got up now and packed our stuff and left... But everything was his, he paid all the bills, the cars were his, everything was his. The clothes I wore he brought.

Kiri’s experience was a common one. Lack of financial independence and control increased the women’s dependence on their terrorist partners, and decreased their confidence in themselves and ability to cope alone.

Experiences of financial control shared by the women included theft of money (Joy), taking their money card for their personal use (Janie, Olivia, Joy), using the women’s source of income (benefit) for their own personal use (Janie, Mel), and blackmailing women with threats to expose them for benefit fraud (Keli). In Keli’s situation she shared

He made me be on the benefit. So he would say if you leave I’m gonna tell... you’re gonna go to jail because I’m going to tell them that you’ve been on the benefit.

Not allowing women access to money and being in control of the finances, such as grocery shopping kept the women dependant. If their partner

disappeared for a few days, as was the case for some of the women (Janie, Olivia and Kiri), there would be no kai in the house and the women were left with no way of providing for themselves or their tamariki. This was at times used as a punishment and reinforced compliance in the women. Straight out theft was part of it for Joy: “He certainly stole, he stole from me.”

Janie recalled that the benefit was “The only income I had”, and made it clear that as far as her partner was concerned, the money she received, “That was for him”, saying he would “Never last long in a job. He just couldn’t keep a job”. The consequences of this meant Janie and the kids were often deprived of kai:

Most times we had to go without food because he wanted alcohol, smokes and drugs. I was bludging from my family. Always borrowing from them. They turned their back on me.

Financial control limited the women’s freedom of choice, access to essentials and kai and also limited their perceptions of their future actions, and was a barrier to their independence. Debt and financial security could also impact on their ability to rebuild their lives following separation.

Terrorism in context

As can be seen, the women identified a number of terrorist tactics used against them. However, whatever specific tactic was being used in a particular context, it was always, in its impact, an act of psychological warfare. That is, the specific acts are best understood in the context of a total package employed to inculcate fear in the women, silencing them, generating compliance, and giving the terrorist partner control and ownership over them.

The terrorist works strategically. The women were clear in their understanding that their terrorist partners choose how and when they would decide to terrorise the them. They talked about terrorism as a clandestine act committed in the privacy of the home where the terrorist partners have easy access to the women. Home is a place we think as being an environment of

warmth, familiarity and love; of shared stories and memories. A place we can escape from our worries; a refuge; a place the women should feel safe. All of this was compromised by the very partners who are supposed to protect and nurture. Joy noted that the violence was:

Certainly not in front of friends. Of course, he doesn't want to make himself look bad. (He) would deny anything in front of... family.

Mel told me "It's more behind closed doors where people can't see". Similarly, Janie said, "He used to play nice in front of everyone. But behind closed doors he was different". J shared that it happened when they were alone at his place which was in a rural area and quite isolated, or when they were alone in his car, which he would use as a weapon by driving recklessly with her in it.

While women lived with continuing fear, the specific acts of terrorism that engendered that fear varied in the frequency and intensity. Some women experienced them daily: for others they occurred at certain times such as when their terrorist partner was in a 'bad mood' or when they became upset or maniacal. At times women could read their partners and were able to identify when they would strike. For example, Mel, who was 14 when she met her partner at high school, shared insight into his behaviour and the way she could identify when things were escalating toward physical acts of terrorism.

The way that he looked at me yeah. When I could see that he was just looking straight through me, I knew that I was about to get a hiding cause he wasn't listening to anything that I was saying, or what was going on around us. Yeah.

Mel demonstrates insight and awareness in being able to read her partner's behaviour. Her observations could be considered a survival tactic, potentially crucial to her ability to smooth over situations and deescalate her partner terrorist. Kahira shared a similar sense of awareness of her partner's changing moods and her ability to predict what was to come, she recalled:

We'd watch a programme and a name would come up. Somebody would call someone something and he would look at me and I knew I was going to get a hiding. I just knew.

Other times the women could not identify, if, when, how or why the terrorism would happen. It was unprovoked, random and unpredictable, blindsiding them. For example, Olivia told me:

A lot of times I wouldn't even be expecting it. There was one time I was standing in the kitchen, and **boom**. I woke up knocked out on the kitchen floor, with all of the kids... it was like a halo of kid's faces (laughing) above me, and I didn't even remember seeing him whack me.

Similarly, Kahira recalled the random and unpredictable nature of the terrorism explaining, "Sometimes I'd wake up to a punch in the head". This left me with the impression that one of the things that gives terrorism its power is its unpredictability.

The evolution of the partner terrorism

It was a pattern among the women for the partner terrorism to be present in the early stages of the relationships in some shape or form, and for their partners to be consistent with their behaviour. By this I mean that their behaviour did not regress from these early displays of partner terrorism. However, it was a pattern for the violence to escalate through the course of the relationship and for their tactics to become more ferocious and unpredictable, yet predictable. For example, Keli recalled that while the terrorism was present from the beginning, that it became "life threatening" as it progressed. In hindsight she was able to identify things that contributed to the escalation of the terrorism, such as isolation.

Yeah It was there from the beginning, but... it wasn't as intense as it was. It did get worse over time, and then slipped in things like isolation, cause at the start I wasn't so isolated, and I had a bit more freedom. Well I felt I did (laughing), your friends and stuff and then over time you know the

isolation came in, more control... the violence was way more... life threatening, I guess, than the start.

Similarly, Kahira shared that “Over time the hidings just got worse and worse”. Sarah also noted: “And then it kept on getting worse and worse”, sharing that the violence got worse towards the end of the relationship. Similarly, Janie said, “It was a continuous thing for nineteen years and in the last year it got worse. It didn’t take alcohol to get him mad anymore, he just got mad”.

But while the violence did escalate, it is important to note that a striking feature of the nature of the terrorism was its early presentation in relationships. For example, Kahira said:

I was 14 years old when I met my ex-husband, and so obviously we got together and it wasn’t actually long before umm the, his bad behaviour came to light. He was very loving to his friends and to me, but there were just signs where later on down the track it was just nah, this is not a good thing.

This is consistent with previous research, which showed that 50 per cent of abused women experienced partner terrorism within the first year of moving in together or marriage (Dobash, & Dobash, 1985).

Keli also describes the early presentation of the terrorism, giving some insight into the way it presented and unfolded. She told me that it began with him being “Emotionally and verbally abusive”. She described his behaviour toward her, saying: “He was controlling, and he’d put me down, and call me names”. She recalled, this behaviour was present “Pretty much from the start”, and that it escalated from there. She told me: “Then it was physical”. Keli told me she couldn’t remember, “The very first time he hit me, or pushed me. I can’t remember the first time”, suggesting that maybe her “Coping strategies have blocked things out”, that violence became a natural part of her day to day life:

It was violent every day; it wasn’t just a little bit. It was just so much physical. It was so much violence that it’s quite hard to pin point different

times. There are certain things that stick out for me, like I remember clearly the gun incident, I remember the violence would get worse at night time. So he would be pinching me under the table if we were at dinner, because we were around mum. Then there was all this weirdo kind of stuff he'd do, like my brother would come and stay and he'd start accusing me of like... your wanting to hook up with your brother, real sick, real weird kinds stuff so that kind of built a wall between me and my brother cause we were so close. But I felt uncomfortable being myself around him in case (partner) took it the wrong way and they'd come to visit and I wouldn't be there. And this is really early on in the relationship, like pre-miscarriage kind of stuff (Keli).

Keli's words above paint a very vivid picture of the terrorism she was exposed to, only weeks into this relationship. She was being controlled through coercion, with many tactics already in play; threats, the use of a weapon, the sabotage of her relationships to the point she is isolating herself from people closest to her.

Olivia, a mother to a baby of a few weeks old, knew the behaviour she was being subjected to was not okay, she told me:

I noticed the control freak side of him... and just even arguing, if he tried to call me a name or something, see I've never put up with that in my life so at first I'd just be like "fuck off".

Assertive, strong and aware of her boundaries Olivia was not going to be pushed around, tolerate or accept this type of violence toward her. She is independent and had successfully provided for herself and her pēpē all this time. She was not letting this guy step all over her. She explained:

Then when he used to try hit me... oh actually I don't even think I let it get to the point of him trying to hit me, it was usually me going after him, now my house is getting all smashed up at this time and ummm "blah blah blah" and I remember him saying to me, "look if you don't try'n gun

after me so much ... I won't have to do whatever to..." he won't have to do whatever to me. And for some reason from that day onwards even though that was like a crock of shit, for some reason I listened and I never laid a finger or anything on that man ever again (crying). I didn't see any of this until I was officially his partner.

Unfortunately, the gravity of the power dynamics is clear in her words, which highlight the impact of the violence on her ability to stand up for herself, and what she believed in.

Sarah said that for her initially the conflict would unfold with arguments, she told me:

We would argue, and he would quite often stand over me, and literally stand over me and talk down at me or yell down at me. All those types of things trying to make me feel belittled I suppose, just to get that upper power eye.

Mel attributed the root of the partner terrorism to infidelity. Below, she outlines in more detail the jealousy and cheating aspects of a classic teen dating violent relationship:

I was probably three months into the relationship and then he cheated on me. And then his insecurities started from then, and me with the way I used to think I used to get real angry and just act out on revenge. So I done it back to him and that's when the violence started... After I cheated on him I just felt really guilty, and so I told him and that hurt him. About two weeks later he just got in a rage and started hitting me, started punching me and that. In the head, it was always the back of the head so there was no bruises or anything that's visible. Yeah. And I just kept quiet about it, and I just stayed with him and it just kept getting worse and that.

Despite Mel clearing her conscience about their relationship, the violence didn't stop at one act of violence, it continued, and escalated from there.

Janie told me “It started with arguing and restrictions” where her terrorist partner would round up her younger cousins, invite them to stay at her home and then leave them with her and go out. This was a common tactic among the terrorist partners. However, Janie was aware of the intention behind it. She told me he would do this “So I wouldn’t follow him or go looking for him, so I’d be stranded at home with the kids”. He’d be gone for days at a time, and return “As if nothing had happened and then start picking at me like I had a problem”. She shared:

Everything was at his beck and call. He would come to me in a drunken bootie call, have sex and then leave, be gone for days, in and out of my life. I didn’t know anything else. It was just happening. We got serious and moved in together, he was coming home angry and drunk. Accusing me of infidelities. He always put me down, telling me I have nothing else or anybody else. That I’ll never do better than him. Effectively he was taking me away from my family. This went on for 19 years and I still didn’t think it was violent.

Effectively her terrorist partner is using entrapment and isolation to maintain control. However, Janie is aware of the way he is using her as a sexual object, and the way he maintains his freedom within the relationship to do as he pleases, all the while restricting her freedom.

The women were also well aware of their partner’s ability to control their behaviour, choosing when and how to behave, as Keli noted:

At first before he showed that he was abusive, to my mum he was charming, he would always shower her with gifts and say nice things to her, that’s why he would do things like pinch me under the table cause at that stage she didn’t know. But then there were people that he didn’t give a shit... who he was doing this stuff in front of. Mainly my friends, definitely family, like his family that all knew what he was like and the rest of the brothers. It was normal to them, and if it happened at their

house then they would be minimising and excusing his behaviour, and putting the blame on me, saying well ya kinda...

In Kiri's situation, physical violence did not occur until she separated from her partner. In fact, she told me:

Throughout the whole relationship (partner) didn't so much as raise his voice to me, there was no physical violence. (However) looking back on it now, there was a lot of emotional torture, as I think of it. And physical violence actually came when we separated.

However, it later became clear that Kiri's initial account seriously minimised the terrorism during the relationship. She shared some aspects of how the partner terrorism presented and evolved within her relationship:

It all started with him locking me out of the house and locking me in the bathroom, and he used to throw things as well, when he used to get mad cause our arguments would get really intense. it was like he was going to hit me with it but he didn't he threw it, but we were still very close and in each other's bubble when he did it. **So** that was actually quite scary, cause I'd never seen him lash out like that.

Kiri is clear that when it came to being locked out or in the bathroom that "He never actually pushed me in the bathroom, or pushed me outside". Nevertheless, while Kiri told me that her partner "Never actually physically hit (her) until (they) separated, threats and "throwing things" were part of the terrorism:

Remember, and I'm sure I mentioned this earlier but if I didn't say or do something the way he wanted it, that's when it would start, he'd start threatening about taking (eldest child) away and stuff when we were younger. So if his dinner wasn't ready when he got home from work... Oh my lord! Doors be getting slammed. Yeah. Everybody would just feel the tension. Not just me, the baby too. Kids aren't dumb. Yeah.

Thus, although separation was a catalyst for a sudden escalation to physical, and possibly life-threatening violence, in other ways, it was a logical extension to the pattern well established during the relationship.

The consequences of the terrorism

The impact of the terrorism was often overwhelming for all of the women regardless of the tactics employed by their terrorist partners. Typically, the pattern was the same, the partner terrorism defeated the women bit by bit. It changed them, and it shaped the way the women saw themselves and the world around them. Kiri recalled:

Looking back on it now, I was really academically-driven, and sports-driven up until I met (partner) and I'm not saying that's his fault. I just changed, everything about me changed.

The terrorism corroded the women's dignity, self-worth and identity.

Kahira described it as a sort of death, saying:

It got to the point where... I was just, mentally, I was dying through abuse that was happening.

It was not uncommon for the women to be immobilised by fear, and when they did call for help, their situation was not understood. Olivia explains her experience of this:

It got to the point where I'd be frozen looking at a shadow outside my window, and even though I've got protection on my window and my house between us I couldn't breathe and (starting to cry) and I couldn't move. Even to get my phone to ring the cops. So I don't know... and because of the fact that I was ringing up every night or almost. Same old shit that comes with cops... cops would come over... he was gone by the time they came over, blah blah blah. Everyone was kind of treating me like a mad woman.

Olivia's desperate calls for help were not effective and immediately undermined. Already in a dubious position due to her history of calls about her terrorist partner, the 'cops' clearly did not respond in a way that was reassuring. Instead their presence became punitive and served as further abuse. Certainly a difficult situation to face time and time again when powerless in the face of the looming threat of a partner terrorist.

The ongoing and accumulative effect of the terrorism took an unsurprising toll on the women's mauri and wairua.

You know I thought I was ugly, I thought I was no good, I thought I had to be with this man (Kahira).

Looking back on it now, there was a lot of emotional torture (Kiri).

Attempts to negotiate the violence were draining and undermined the women's ability to care for themselves, to parent and to be available for their pēpē. It undermined their clarity of thought, decision making and their ability to negotiate the partner terrorism. In some cases, it undermined their will to live as both Kahira and Keli's stories show.

(I) thought about taking myself out, split second, looked up on the fridge and there was a bottle of pills and my first thing, I'm tired, I'm physically tired, I'm mentally tired, I just can't do this anymore (Kahira).

While Keli shared: "Yeah but I remember sitting there like 'Shall I just kill myself?' You know?".

Whilst in these moments the women's resilience prevailed, the terrorism was unforgiving and taxing on them to the point that death was contemplated; it was a means to an end, a way out, possibly their only way out. As such it was common for the women to experience a sense of powerlessness and overwhelm. For some, alcohol and, or, drugs offered an escape of sorts from this. Mel's pūrākau clearly identified that her mauri and vitality was eroded by the terrorism, as was the case for all the women. She recalled her desperate attempts to find a way to recover and cope:

Oh it was real ugly, I had no confidence in myself. I didn't care how I dressed up every day, I don't care what I looked like, I gained so much weight after that. I ended up drinking just to escape everything, and to at least have a happy time, that kind of stuff. Yeah.

Similarly, Janie shared that she reverted to drugs to escape the terrorism:

My life with him was drugs. I used drugs with him just to escape it all too. It was not until I left him that I had gone off it and just concentrated on getting my kids back. I got rid of my sickness I had an operation, that helped a lot to. All the stress that was added from him put me down a lot and it didn't help. But then once I left I managed to get back on my feet.

Almost inevitably, the impacts of the terrorism on the women seriously undermined their capacity to be present and engage with their tamariki. As I will show later in theme four, in these ways the ūkaipō is compromised.

Korero Whakakapi - Summary

This theme provided insight into the way the terrorism evolved, highlighting the nature and extent of the terrorism and the impact of this type of violence on the young women and their pēpē. While also emphasising their resilience in these situations. In the following theme I will discuss the ways these acts of terrorism impacted the women during pregnancy, and the impact of their pregnancies on the terrorism.

Theme Three: Violation of Te Whare Tangata - The Maternal Body

Whare Tangata:

1. He tapu te tinana o te wahine no te mea he whare tangata
2. Ko te wahine te whare tangata o te ao Māori – ā he mea whakanui
I tona mana whakawhānau oranga

As discussed in Chapter 2, *whare tangata* translates as the house of mankind/humanity, and is where procreation begins. It is also used to describe the womb and the uterus of a woman. This term is a direct reference to a woman's sacred maternal body, highlighting the sanctity of both women's maternal bodies and their state of pregnancy.

The integral relationship between, women, pregnancy and *whenua* (land) is embedded in our stories of creation, where the foundation of the roles of women within Māoridom are understood. Simmonds and Gabel (2016) share the strength they drew learning and relearning the *pūrākau* of *atua wāhine*, a desire which was triggered for them during pregnancy. They argue that this knowledge provides a "Rich, much-needed and empowering body of knowledge that can transform how the maternal body, maternal 'work' and maternities more generally are understood" (Simmonds & Gabel, 2016, p. 148).

Here I will outline the evolution of the partner terrorism, with specific focus on pregnancy which is a crucial time for both mother and *pēpē*. I will explore the women's understanding of life changing experiences for mother and child; such as pregnancy, birthing, and mothering, and the role they played in the formation and maintenance of these relationships. Along with its impact on the partner terrorism and the form it took during this sacred period.

Entrapment

Entrapment through pregnancy was a theme among the women. At times pregnancy resulted from mutual consent, and other times as the result of sabotage or unprotected sex and rape, over which the women had no control, leaving them vulnerable and open to pregnancy, and disempowered in the evolution of their situations which further limited their freedom and autonomy through coercive control.

J, shared that she became pregnant as a result of rape:

Before that there were three rape attempts. One was an attempt that didn't happen and then... ya know, not completely. And then the other

two he did. And umm it was all soo... and that's when I got pregnant. I think I got pregnant with the first one. And then there was another one.

It is important to emphasise that the fact J remained in the relationship following the rapes, does not mean she trusted him.

Pregnancy for some of the women was most welcomed; they desired to have a baby and took no measures to prevent pregnancy. For example, Keli recalled:

We weren't on any contraception. We weren't using any contraception, I think we talked about it a lot, and I wanted a baby.

In other instances, it was a surprise. This was the case with Sarah who recalled that she did not realise she was pregnant "until I was about five months pregnant." However, she also shared "I'd always wanted a baby but never planned it". In contrast, Kiri became pregnant after her partner interfered with her contraceptive pills. As Kiri noted, pregnancy marked the onset of the abuse:

I got pregnant with (eldest child) two years after we met, going on three years after we met. He started (the violence), cause I was stuck now. I was stuck with him.

Kiri also shared that her terrorist partner openly admitted his agenda to trap her, sharing that his confession came "When he was shit-faced drunk and (he) thought it was hilarious, he thought it was absolutely funny". Kiri was devastated:

I sat there and felt so disgusted cause when I found out I was pregnant, all I thought was my life is over, it's done, this is me forever. Raising a child. I was so distraught. But I was so mad, how funny he thought it was. Cause that's his exact words were. Yeah I knew you were stuck then.

This sentiment was repeated by Kiri's partner when a nurse was discussing her options with her.

He was very happy (about the pregnancy), I remember the nurse making a comment to me about... "Have you decided if you're going to keep it? You're really young..." not trying to (push an opinion) ... she's just (saying) it's okay to (make a different choice) ... And he kind of snickered and said "Well she's got no choice". And you don't think about these things until you look back.

Kiri also said: "After having (eldest child) I just felt stuck", meaning she felt like she had no choice but to continue in the relationship, due to now having a pēpē, and what she felt were the needs and rights of her pēpē in being able to grow up with his father in his life. To her this was paramount.

Bancroft et al., (2012) and Stark (2007) state that the abuse of women through entrapment is a form of coercive control, and that is used to trap women in situations where they are expected to respect the dominance of their terrorist partner, which leads to them performing transitionally feminine and subservient roles. This is reflected in Kiri's situation where her partner undermined her integrity, and also denied her equal opportunities both professionally and personally in comparison to his own.

It was a common pattern, where having become pregnant the women felt that they 'should' be in a relationship with the father of their unborn child. Mel's words provide an example of this "Yeah that's one of the main reasons we got together because we had a kid together and that". Kahira, also made reference to the impact of her pregnancy on her relationship status below. For her, being pregnant ultimately 'sealed her fate' and informed her choice to remain in a relationship fuelled with partner terrorism. Pregnancy was the 'deal breaker' in that it meant to some extent she now had no choice but to continue in the relationship; naturally, entrapment ensued. Like other women, Kahira also resorted to blaming herself for getting in to this relationship and for not knowing better. Her perspective was informed by her experiences of growing up in a family marked by partner terrorism. She told me:

Right then I should have known but because I was brought up in a home where violence happened pretty much on a daily basis it's just, it's just, unfortunately it's just a normality and then also you have this thought... he really likes me, just its crazy and you don't understand that until you get older anyway umm so then I got pregnant.

Janie shared how entrapment was used in her relationship through her role as ūkaipō. After giving her baby sister to her grandmother to raise so she could pursue her relationship, she was encouraged to whangai another.

We ended up with my sister's baby. He wanted her. But he wanted her so I couldn't go anywhere, so I'd stay at home is what I realised.

It was a pattern for the women to go on to have multiple pregnancies to their terrorist partners which further limited their independence. Kiri who went on to have three pēpē to her partner, shares an experience below which highlights the way her pregnancies were used to exercise coercive control over her, drawing attention to the unequal power relations that underpin partner terrorism and the way it contributes to gender subordination. With the benefit of hindsight, Kiri well understands the way pregnancy was used as a form of entrapment. Manipulation was used to keep her in her place; barefoot and pregnant, and confined to the home. Thus limiting her access to the community, whānau and friends dictating her choices and contributing to her isolation. Kiri recalled:

Oh, (eldest child) was 5 years old when we got pregnant with our second child, and he kind of convinced me for that too, to get pregnant again. Well (eldest child) is old now, he's off to school he doesn't have to stay at home with Mum. Thinking about it now... (My partner's thinking was that our boy) doesn't have to stay at home with mum. What's she going to do during the day... she needs to have another baby!

Kiri's insight into her experience above gives some perspective into how partner terrorism acts as a form of social control over women, serving to limit

their opportunities, and ultimately undermine their integrity as woman and mothers.

Bancroft et al., (2012) discuss control as an overarching characteristic of terrorist partners which often takes this form, where by undermining the women's efforts in attaining independence, the terrorist partners increase their power and control within the relationship. The areas of a relationship that a terrorist partner will choose to focus on dominating, is determined by their cultural training. Therefore, their focus will be directed in some areas more than others, depending on which aspects of the relationship they feel most inherently justified in exercising power and control over.

What pregnancy meant to the women - Nuclear family composition

As shown in the previous section, becoming a mother was instrumental in the evolution and maintenance of the women's relationships. These young wāhine demonstrated resilience and courage by embracing their pregnancies and their journeys as mothers to be, regardless of whether or not the pregnancy was expected.

There was a common aspiration among the women to have a 'complete' family: one with a mummy, a daddy and a baby. In their eyes, this was the ideal, reflecting the coloniser's values rather than the traditional whānau. Notably, this wish for a nuclear family was evident regardless of whether their pregnancies were planned or not.

Sarah discussed her position at the time of her pregnancy acknowledging she was prepared to minimise the partner terrorism in favour of a greater dream, which was to have a happy family. This however, was contingent on having a father for her baby. Sarah gives some insight in to what family means to her. Through her re-storying, she also demonstrates a strategy and means of coping with the partner terrorism.

I was lost in this little dream, where I was going to be a mum, and we were going to be happy. So I shut out all those ugly things, and all I wanted to see was the nice stuff.

Kiri also shared that despite her pregnancy being unplanned, she still hoped for her ideal family. “That’s what I wanted, I wanted the Mum, and the Dad and the children”. Kiri grew up in a home with both her parents, while Sarah had parents who separated when she was young. Clearly that experience did not cause her to abandon her hopes of attaining the hegemonic ideal family. Instead, as was the case with the other women, having mother, father and baby living together was foundational to her idea of a happy and successful family, and in turn, of being a successful mother.

Joy also had expectations of her relationship and the father of her baby. These included that the relationship would evolve into buying a home together and getting married. This construction of what life as a young pregnant woman should be, was informed in part by television. Below Joy shares her attempts to understand the gap between her expectations and the reality of her relationship, along with her desire to be loved by her then teenage partner amongst the confusion of all she was experiencing.

I (I’d) think... what have I done? why does this person...is this person hurting me? How can I fix it? Why don’t they love me? And all those things you think... what’s wrong with me?” Umm why doesn’t he... you know? love me?... why doesn’t he see that I’m growing this baby? and all those things... that you think will happen in a relationship because that’s what you see on the TV (laughing) and that’s what your expectation... of this relationship is. That “Ohhh he’s going realise how much he loves me... and we are going to be happily ever after... and were gonna get married and buy a house, and raise our child” and... stuff like that. And umm it certainly wasn’t like that.

Joy’s romanticised ideas of what her relationship should look like and how it should evolve, verses, the reality of her situation, and the way it unfolded

for her as a young pregnant woman of 15 was difficult for her to negotiate. She, like many of the women, saw it as her job to make the relationship work, and took it upon herself to “fix” the relationship, all the while questioning herself, as to whether she was to blame for the behaviour she was experiencing.

Pregnancy for Keli took on a different meaning, due to the isolation enforced upon her by her partner. “I remember finding out that I was pregnant and being really excited about having someone else in my life, I guess”. Essentially, it brought Keli comfort to know she was not going to be alone: that there would be more to her life than it was offering at that time.

R also wanted a nuclear family but for her, there was an additional factor. She saw her pregnancy as an opportunity to get away from her family, and create a family of her own. Having been responsible for caring for her younger siblings she felt she might as well. Similarly, Sarah told me:

I was young, and I was caught up in the fact that I was having a baby. I had always wanted a baby, and now that I look back I think ‘Why gosh, I should have enjoyed my freedom while I had it’. But saying that I was so happy to be hapū, and finally gonna have my own baby, cause I’d been raising everyone else’s, cause I had my younger sibling, but (other sibling) had their first child young as well, so I had been helping with (siblings baby) here and there. I actually really loved babies, and had always wanted one, and I finally had this opportunity to have one, and have this ideal happy family situation, I was living in a dream world all right.

Women’s definition and recognition of partner terrorism during pregnancy

It is important to understand that the women’s construction of partner terrorism played a part in how they perceived and reported on the violence during pregnancy. For some, partner terrorism during pregnancy was not necessarily considered ‘violence’ during pregnancy if it was not physical, or, if it was physical, but not directed at their puku.

Kahira provided an example of this when she told me that, apart from her last pregnancy, she was never hit while she was pregnant, saying, “During this time he actually never touched here” motioning to her puku. However, she immediately proceeded to describe her injuries on other parts of her body: “But from here, back from here (gesturing to her thighs and hips) right down, I would be black and blue”.

Her pūrākau draws attention to the way she perceived the terrorism, and the way her re-storying of the terrorism may have served as method of coping through pregnancy in the following example:

When I was hapū with the third yes he would punch me up, but he never... I wasn't like black and blue when he hit me that time.

With Olivia, it was unequivocal. Her reflection of the evolution of the partner terrorism included graphic details of how she was violated as *whare tangata*.

He used to smash up the house then, or else he'd be grabbing me and flinging me around, or umm hitting me in the head. It wasn't until later on in that pregnancy with that baby, with that particular pregnancy, I used to be curled up on the ground protecting my stomach (to protect baby) He didn't give a shit and he would be booting me in the back, up my ass, in my head... umm and I don't really know what I could say because it didn't matter how, it didn't matter when, it didn't matter if I was pregnant, (it) didn't flippin matter. There would be time where I would be breast feeding my babies and I'd just get (crying) a smack in the nose from nowhere, and blood would be dripping all over my little babies. It was getting to the point where I thought something would be wrong with my baby, and I was prepared to give her away (starting to cry). I just thought there was too much sadness, madness, and badness (sobbing) when I was pregnant with that baby. Umm and the labour was absolutely no problems, like I'm the baby maker from Nam (Vietnam).

Mel could distinguish different levels of partner terrorism at different times, and through different pregnancies. She told me:

Yeah it was alright that pregnancy, he didn't like hit me much cause we didn't really argue that much then. And I left him then, we had a break cause he punched a hole in my mums wall. Yeah he was angry, so I left him and I went to stay in (name of town) with my nan.

Impact of pregnancy on evolution of the partner terrorism

In previous research, the relationship between pregnancy and partner terrorism is often debated and equivocal: it appears that for some women, pregnancy is a protective factor while for others, it can mark the beginning of the violence (Bø & Bjørkly, 2010). In this study, however, I recruited only women who had experienced partner terrorism and conflict during pregnancy.

The focus in this section is to discern the impact of the women's pregnancies in the evolution of the partner terrorism, establishing whether pregnancy acted as a protective factor, or if it served as a risk factor precipitating the partner terrorism.

Because the relationships were so quick to form, and in most instances pregnancies swift to follow, the evolution of the partner terrorism seemed to be fluid. Where the partner terrorism was present prior to pregnancy, it did not stop as a result of the pregnancy. Pregnancy did not serve as a protective factor for these women.

It was not uncommon for pregnancies to make things more difficult for the women. At times pregnancy came with accusations of infidelity and claims by the terrorist partners that the babies were not theirs. It seemed to give the men a 'reason' or 'justification' to exercise further control and dominance over the women, a deliberate act to prevent them from feeling 'too' secure or comfortable in their relationships.

An example of this is provided by Keli's baby's father who was unrelenting in his jealousy, to the point of relegating her to his sister's bedroom,

so she was out of sight when visiting his family home. This was to ensure she was not around his brothers or other males. The presence of other males would place her in an invidious situation. Despite her having no contact with other men his incessant jealousy did not stop shy of accusations such as: “He’d say it (the baby) wasn’t his. You know, we’d have an argument and he’d say it wasn’t his”.

Anything the terrorists could use like this acted as ammunition, wearing down the women, eroding their mauri, and making them feel like they were walking on egg shells. It was another way to reject the women, launch negativity toward them, screaming they were not good enough, and un-ruffle their security within themselves and in their relationship.

It was not common for the terrorism to change as a result of pregnancy. In Mel’s situation, the partner terrorism was present from the onset of her relationship right through pregnancy and continued following the birth of her children. She noted that it changed from physical violence to emotional violence for a period of time during one of her pregnancies telling me: “It really did slowdown in the second pregnancy. It wasn’t until the end of my pregnancy it started back up”. Of this, she said:

I can only remember one time when he did hit me when I was pregnant the second time. Yeah and that’s when he came home from work... cause he used to just get drunk on the way home from work. And his mate came over to see him and I tried to wake him up and he just smacked me on the side of the face.

Clearly, being pregnant did not protect Mel from abuse, even if the frequency reduced at some points. Like Mel, Olivia also experienced partner terrorism prior to the onset of pregnancy: her pregnancies did nothing at all to change the father’s behaviour toward her as *whare tangata*.

Joy also shared, that with the benefit of hindsight, she believed pregnancy did not protect her from partner terrorism. She believed she was the

target of this violence saying “I believe it was all towards me”, and as such being pregnant was irrelevant.

The fact that I was having a baby was... it just happened, whether I was hapū or not the situation would have been the same I believe.

Desirae felt that pregnancy “heightened” his propensity for terrorism.

That a baby’s presence does nothing to deter the terrorism toward te whare tangata, gives a gloomy and somewhat depressing insight into partner terrorism.

Some of the women reported that they experienced abuse for the first time during pregnancy. Kiri fell pregnant with her first pēpī at 16, two years into her relationship. This is when she noticed the onset of the partner terrorism.

When I got pregnant... Two years after we met, going on three years after we met. He started, cause I was stuck now. I was stuck with him... He used to tell me how fat I was and how ugly I was. And this is when I was pregnant. Yeah. And I was stuck with him now. When I was pregnant is when he would go missing. He’d leave on a Friday and come back on a Sunday night. ‘What’s she gonna do, she can’t go out and do anything cause she’s pregnant.’ Yeah, and I already knew to avoid conflict, so just don’t do anything.

Sarah shared an incident that depicts very clearly the type of abuse she was exposed to during her pregnancy.

What had happened was he had come over one time and he played a song to me, and the song was an Eminem song, and it was Stan. And in the song it talks about his partner being five or six months pregnant, and locking her in the boot and driving her over a bridge. And he was going on about this mean as song, “Yeah its cool as, have a listen to it”. And he played it to me, and after... I must have been sitting there thinking “What the hell?”, cause after he played the song to me, I’m not sure if he went to the toilet or if he’d left or what. But I went into (siblings) room and sat

on the bed and was in tears, saying “Bro, I don’t know what the hell this fella’s up to. He just came and played me this song”, and then I told her what the song was about. And why the hell would you do that to your missus who’s five or six months pregnant. . . . I was sitting there thinking “What!? Are you going to tie me up, put me in a boot and drive me off a bridge?” There’s a hell of a lot of bridges in (town). It’s like fucken crazy, bastard’

Sarah shared that she knew the potential for physical violence was there, and through the process of sharing and reflecting, she had memories surface about the terrorism during pregnancy:

I think partly it’s kinda a bit of both, when I think about our relationship. He really did have me under the thumb, aye, whenever, and it wasn’t that he had ever... until that big outburst... it wasn’t that he had actually physically been violent with me, but I knew there was the potential there aye, and when he got angry... cause we argued all the time. I saw it quite regularly... he would actually... (pause) wow... (realisation) We did used to push and shove each other while I was pregnant... wow (crying, at this new realisation). We did used to push and shove each other while I was pregnant... wow (crying).

The presence of family and whānau in the evolution of these relationships varied depending on the living arrangements. This will be discussed later on in the section covering risk factors.

Miscarriage

Miscarriage and near losses were direct result of the partner terrorism on pregnancy, and as a result whare tangata. As Keli shared:

Ummm I lost the first baby. I remember we started to buy baby clothes and stuff, I only got to 12 weeks. I remember him chasing me around, we had moved back to mums for some reason, and he was chasing me around with his gun for something, I don’t remember what it was for

now. He was chasing me around, he was gonna shoot me for something, and mum had tried to stop him and he threw her down the stairs. It wasn't long after that, that I miscarried. But it was violent. When we did miscarry the first baby, I started spotting and we went to the hospital and they said the baby had died weeks ago but my body hadn't let go of it. So they had to do a DNC and clean me out, and he repeatedly... after that happened he continued to tell me it was my fault, like it was my body. He'd say it was your fucked up body that caused our baby to die blah blah blah. So with the second pregnancy when I started bleeding, later on I found out it was because of a hiding. The placenta had come away from the uterus and that's what caused the bleeding so that was the next pregnancy. But the abuse continued, I mean he wasn't physical for the time I was in hospital but he was sexually abusive and emotionally abusive while I was in hospital. He was 4pound, he was teeny tiny little baby. But the reason why I had all the bleeding, why it wouldn't stop is cause the placenta had come away... what was it called, a placental abruption. It had come away in one of the assaults.

J shared that she was in denial about being pregnant until she suffered a miscarriage. Desirae suffered two miscarriages, and when I asked if they were a direct result of violence she said "YEP! As a result of the violence that happened"

I miscarried, and I remember after that he gave me a bleeding mouth and yeah I think after that the hidings just kept getting worse and more and more everyday kind of thing. Yeah and it wasn't until I was pregnant with my third child he'd just give me real bad hidings (Mel).

Korero Whakakapi - Summary

The violation of te whare tangata was explicit in the women's pūrākau, where the partner terrorism was present prior to pregnancy, it did not stop as a result of the pregnancy. Pregnancy did not serve as a protective factor for these women, with some experiencing partner terrorism for the first time during pregnancy. While miscarriage is a direct result of the partner terrorism against te

whare tangata, it is also an example of the way a pēpī's safe place, ūkaipō, within the whare tangata (the womb) has been disrupted through the partner terrorism. Such disruptions will be explained further in the following chapter the disruption of the ūkaipō.

Theme Four: The Disruption of The Ūkaipō

Ūkaipō:

Te wahine nāna I puta ai tētahi tamaiti ki te ao, nāna rānei ia i whakatipu (whaea).

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

— Māori Language Commission, *He Pātaka Kupu*
(Māori Language Commission, 2008, p. 1030)

Ūkaipō is a “profound and most historic concept” (Gabel, 2013, p. 11); it’s mentioned in numerous mōteatea, whakatauākī and also, in earlier editions of the Williams Māori dictionary (Gabel, 2013). Ūkaipō is a “Recurring and profound principle of our customary mothering philosophies” (Gabel, 2013, p. 12).

Ūkaipō encompasses three words: Ū (breast), Kai (food or to feed) and pō (night, or darkness), an unembellished interpretation of ‘night-feeding breast’ (Simmonds & Gabel, 2016). The meaning of ūkaipō however, is far more intricate than this and serves to exemplify the sanctity of the maternal body, demonstrating the power and prestige bestowed upon mothers and the role of mothering (Simmonds & Gabel, 2016).

As the meanings above illustrate (He Pātaka Kupu), in the first instance, ūkaipō is a reference for mother, (ū) while drawing attention to a woman’s breasts, also identifies the mother as the provider of the ‘night-feeding breast’, and as such te pū o te ōra, the source of sustenance and nurturing for a pēpī.

This sustenance is both physical and spiritual, highlighting the vital and nonpareil role women play in the cherishing and nurturing of pēpē and young children. This term, however, is not exclusive to biological mothers, but is extended to all women who play a role in the raising and nurturing of a child regardless of whakapapa, accenting the collective and empowered approach to mothering and raising children in te ao Māori (Simmonds & Gabel, 2016). In the second instance, ūkaipō makes reference to a connection with a place of belonging. A space or place to which a person is bonded spiritually and or physically, usually established in childhood and can be the land where their whenua (placenta) has been returned to Papatūānuku to be nurtured (Simmonds & Gabel, 2016).

A sense of a security and comfort is normally associated with such places. Therefore, ūkaipō takes on the meaning of a safe place, which in the first instance is the womb (whare tangata), where the nurturing and protection of the potential for life is embraced. However, this is not always the case: for example, this would be compromised where a mother is on drugs while pregnant. In the second instance it is at a mother's breast where nurturing and sustenance is bequeathed, and where the practice of mothering, and bonding between mother and pēpē is further enhanced. Lastly for the purpose of this thesis, the ūkaipō or safe place is the home environment where a child should be protected, feel safe, and be able to aspire to their full potential under the guidance and nurturing of the whānau. Undoubtedly, partner terrorism will disrupt these. It goes without saying that partner terrorism is a direct assault on ūkaipō across all its meanings.

This chapter shares women's perspectives of mothering through partner terrorism. A common theme among the women's pūrākau was the way in which their partner's terrorism undermined their ability to be ūkaipō to their pēpē; to nurture, mother and protect their pēpē the way they would have liked to. Hence the focus of this section is the disruption to te ūkaipō: the ways in which their partner's acts of terrorism compromised the safety of the children and disrupted the bond between mother and pēpē.

Challenges of mothering with partner terrorism

It was evident that the women had an awareness of the impact of partner terrorism on the way they saw themselves as mothers, impeded their ability to develop a healthy bond with their pēpī, and undermined and obstructed their role in the nurturing and mothering of their pēpī and tamariki.

Regardless of at what point the partner terrorism became a part of these woman's lives, it was a common theme among them to recognise a noticeable escalation in the frequency and intensity of the partner terrorism following the birth of their pēpī. As shared by Kahira "I had my baby and then it wasn't long before he was punching me up". Kahira shared that the partner terrorism intensified following the birth of her first baby. While there had been earlier incidents of terrorism she explicitly told me "It was more after I had my baby. It was more after I had my baby. Everything started after my baby". She also attributes this escalation at this point in the relationship to him believing that because she had a child to him, that he now "owned" her.

As a new mother at the age of 15, Kahira was living with her partner and his family. She told him that she wanted to take her new baby to see her aunty. Unexpectedly, this was met with an act of terrorism involving a bat, which she identified as the "First time" she experienced this level of physical violence. She also described her disbelief that it happened in full view of his family, with no intervention.

After I had my baby he owned me and that's what he would say. "Your mine". He was 16 years old when I had my baby and at that age he had that type of mentality. Scary. That's when the punching started. That's what I couldn't get over was that he was physically hurting me and his family were there and not one of them stood up. And then he grabbed a bat. Yep he grabbed a bat and that's when I just thought "Oh my gosh!" But right then... I still didn't walk away from it.

For Sarah, being pregnant did not alter her partner's behaviour: "I don't think he treated me any differently (than) before we realised I was having a baby". However, she did notice a difference following the birth of her pēpī:

Once baby came... it kind of did move... Once baby come he wanted to know where I was every minute of the day, what I was doing, and all that kind of stuff.

Thus, for some woman, the terrorist partners became more controlling once their pēpī arrived, with an obvious escalation in physical acts of terrorism.

Disruption of home as a safe place

Partner terrorism had an indelible influence on the atmosphere the families were living in, providing further disruption to the ūkaipō as a safe place. A home is supposed to be a place where you can feel safe and uncompromised. However, the women found themselves living in unsafe, uncomfortable and unstable environments where their safety and the safety of their pēpī was compromised. This is the environment where they were expected to nurture the family; their ūkaipō or safe place, disrupted by the partner terrorism. Furthermore, living in the environment where the terrorism was taking place meant there was no reprieve.

One of the fundamental aspects of Māori society is the sense of belonging. Being a part of a wider network where maintaining relationships is an important part of whānau life, where everyone has a place and role to fulfil; and caring for young and old is equally paramount. It is therefore common for Māori whānau to band together and support each other. This is especially common when it comes to the raising and nurturing of tamariki and pēpī. The involvement of the father and mother's parents, grandparents and siblings creates a network and an intricate support system of aroha, support and manakitanga not only for the pēpī and tamariki, but also their parents. This network was noticeably absent for many of the women, for example, Olivia was isolated living in a town where she knew no one. Surrounded only by her partner's family. Keli was isolated from

her mother and support networks as was Mel, although her parents supported her as much as possible given she was choosing to remain in this relationship.

The whānau network, and support systems the women initially had prior to these relationships were disrupted through partner terrorism. As mentioned earlier in theme one, isolation as a tactic of terrorism can occur through the isolation of the women from their family and whānau, emotionally and or physically. It is also important here because it has implications on a mother's ability to regain and maintain her wellbeing; physical, spiritual and emotional. In turn, this has implications on her ability to bond with and mother her pēpē. Without access to a healthy support system, and the strength and mauri that come from these bonds and connections women will not be in a position to provide an optimum environment and care for their pēpē.

Mel provides some insight into her disrupted home environment. As a young mother of three, she was also and sole provider in the home which included some of her partner's family. He had "Started turning to drinking a lot" and she was "Getting frustrated" with carrying the weight of providing for and nurturing the whānau.

I really started getting frustrated because his mum and his three brothers came and lived with us at that stage at our house, and she was just a drug addict. And it just didn't work very well. She wouldn't do anything for the kids so that caused a huge amount of fights between me and him. And he always seemed to back his family up. So he'd, like, lock the door in our room and give me a hiding, or if I run into the toilet to hide, he'd, like, smash the door down and just keep punching me over and over again. Yeah.

There was a sense of familial obligation and expectations among the women. Mel was fighting to survive with the added responsibility and burden of providing for her partner's mother and three siblings. The additional stress of negotiating these relationships and the disruptions they brought to her family, and home environment created further arguments between Mel and her

terrorist partner. It entrenched them further in poverty, made day to day life more stressful, and while it was not the reason for the partner terrorism, it did nothing to offer respite from it. It is also very clear that the presence of his family did nothing to deter his propensity for this violence. Mel again:

Yeah that was real hard, and then she went on home detention. She (partners mother) always said she'd find a house and that in 3 three weeks... next minute she's on home detention for three months. I just couldn't take it anymore. I just couldn't handle looking after my kids and looking after her kids, and just relying on my one income to feed the whole household and that. Yep that was a huge thing. To me I was fighting about food, but we needed the money to get the food kind of thing. I was always fighting to survive with him, and with his family being there. Yeah that was our main struggle.

While Mel is open about the extent of her struggle, she has a clear understanding of how she would like to run her home and what that environment needed to look like for her to meet the needs of her pēpī, tamariki and herself. It is also clear she has expectations of the other people in the home. Her desire to be supported evident in her sharing her disappointment at their lack of support with the care of the tamariki, both her own and others, and the way she was relegated to caring for them also. Mel demonstrates insight into her situation, and in "Fighting to survive" she is highlighting her strong advocacy for the wellbeing of her family. This also reflects that she placed her tamariki high on her list of priorities and was fighting for them and herself as best she could. Her resilience to carry on as ūkaipō clearly demonstrated here.

The presence of Mel's parents in the background was a source of support for her. While they did not live with her and were unable to influence her relationship choices, they did provide kai for her and their moko. In carrying out their role as ūkaipō, they alleviated some of Mel's stress and struggle.

The impact on a mother's ability to bond with her pēpī

A particularly graphic example of the disruption of ūkaipō was given by Kahira.

Sometimes I would be breastfeeding my baby and he would be having sex with me, and if I was crying he would lay in to me and I'm trying to breastfeed my baby.

Here, Kahira is essentially, being raped while her pēpē is quite literally at her breast. Through Kahira's remarkable resilience and bravery, she has been able to provide her pēpē with physical sustenance, however, she is in no position to nurture her pēpē. Instead of breastfeeding being a time of intimacy and bonding for Kahira, it has become another instance of terror. One might also wonder about the impact on her pēpē when what should be a particularly safe, comfortable and reassuring moment becomes tainted by terrorism and distress. By using these moments to force himself on Kahira in an act of sexual terrorism, her partner has not only violated her: he has made a very strategic and direct attack on ūkaipō.

Bonding with their babies is an important part of ūkaipō, due to the partner terrorism this was a struggle for some of the women at various points in their relationships. Desirae experienced this with two of her children: in both pregnancies she was exposed to acts of partner terrorism such as being raped, thrown down stairs, and punched. She told me:

I remember when she was born... just kind of looking at her and turning my head away. Hmmm. And I never... it's not that I didn't want to bond with (her)... it's just the whole experience of not a good relationship. I didn't enjoy the pregnancy. I had a difficult labour.

The pressure of being pregnant and becoming a mother in an environment filled with partner terrorism meant Desirae was exhausted before her baby arrived. She was worn down by the partner terrorism, and her battle to nurture a relationship with the baby's father. At the time of her pregnancy she was experiencing rejection; rejection of her love and desire for a relationship with her baby's father, as well as the rejection of her baby by the father through the continued acts of partner terrorism during her pregnancy.

Only in retrospect was Keli aware of the way her bond with her pēpī had been affected by the terrorism. When she escaped her relationship, she was supported by Women's Refuge. As a part of that process, her relationship with her daughter was observed. Keli said: "I remember reading what one of the advocates had noted about our bond". Dismayed by the advocate's assessment: "I didn't even think it was that bad, but they were all worried that our bond wasn't as close as it should be". Keli shared how this was "an eye opener" for her, reflecting:

Wow it must have been... like back then maybe that was something else that I was blocking out, that it was that bad... Ahhh (exhale) I had to learn how to be a mum, I had to learn how to be the mum I wanted to be. It was hard, like (baby) and me had a really broken bond when we left, and that took a while to rebuild and even still ya know we're not as close as what we should have been.

While Keli had been clear about her excitement at becoming a mother, she was unaware of how the partner terrorism had disrupted her bond with her daughter. With having so much to negotiate and consider while living in a climate of partner terrorism, she had not had the time and energy to observe something as intimate as her bond with her baby.

Kiri described the importance of the bond between herself her pēpī. Developing and maintaining a healthy bond with each pēpī became a strong focus for her. Each new addition brought concern about how adding to her family might impact her ability to maintain current bonds and create new ones. Her middle child was just one-year-old when she found out that she was 3 months pregnant again. Struggling to understand how she could stretch herself to accommodate and provide for another pēpī while maintaining and enriching the bonds she already had, she contemplated her agency and choice in this situation, and the possibility of doing things differently.

I wanted (to) abort (youngest child) cause I was finding it really hard to keep the bond with (eldest child), and still be 100% there for (middle

child). Cause they had such a big age gap, and it was me and (eldest child) all the time, from birth... me and him, me and him... and then this other baby comes along, (eldest child) has to go and do manly things with Dad cause "I don't have time to take you to the park, cause I got a new born." So that was hard. I didn't want (youngest child). He told me that... he was quite fine with the idea of abortion that was fine, but he told me I was going to have to get a bus there and a bus home, because he wasn't going to take the day off work for that. Cause yeah. That just made me feel horrible, like I'm in this alone. So I didn't go through with it. Kept (youngest child).

In the absence of a healthy support system, whānau support, and a supportive partner, Kiri struggled with some aspects of mothering: living with partner terrorism was not helping her. In contemplating her options with this pregnancy, she was exercising agency looking for a way to manage her situation as a mother, and keep herself and her whānau as healthy as possible. As ūkaipō she demonstrated insight into the needs of her tamariki and pēpī, and what she perceived as limitations to give of herself equally to all of her children. She had a deep awareness of her responsibilities as their mother to provide them with adequate amounts of her time and attention, as well as maintaining their care and nurturing. Kiri was very in tune with her first tamariki and able to sense the drain of additional siblings on their bond. Wanting to protect their relationship, overwhelmed, exhausted and feeling guilty for not being able to continue to give him her full undivided attention she considered her options as she perceived them to be at that time.

Janie also recognised that her role as ūkaipō was disrupted through the partner terrorism, and discussed this in relation to her ability to bond with her children, recalling:

When I had my second child he (partner) used to take him from me. It is how he used to hurt me. I wasn't close to my second child, because he kept on taking him and also our daughter we raised.

It is no surprise some of the women experienced trouble bonding, considering the fact they were experiencing partner terrorism during their pregnancies. This was a factor for Desirae, and inhibited her ability to bond with her pēpē. She told me: “I didn’t enjoy the pregnancy”, and then she had a “difficult labour”. The whole experience was disruptive to her ability to bond. In her words:

I remember when she was born just kind of looking at her and turning my head away. Hmmm. And I never... it’s not that I didn’t want to bond with... its just the whole experience of not a good relationship.

Mothering with limited energy, freedom, and power

Partner terrorism disrupted different aspects of mothering. Some of the women declared that they were unremittingly exhausted due to living in constant fear and hypervigilance while negotiating the partner terrorism. A common theme was the way in which the women were undermined and undervalued in their roles as mothers. In contrast, the fathers’ lacked any accountability for the children. While the fathers had the freedom to act autonomously, the women often had the sole responsibility for nurturing and parenting their pēpē, but as a result of the terrorism, had limited energy, freedom and power to mother in the way they wanted.

An extract from Olivia’s pūrākau serves as an example of a common experience among many of the women with regards to the way this terrorism leached their energy, leaving them drained as young women, mothers and partners, unable to provide for their children in the way they would like to.

I would just hope that the boys are never (starting to sob) like that, and my girls never put up with it. But I don’t really know, because with all this battling and shit, and trying to even keep my rights to my children, it’s kind of overwhelmed anything that I would want to teach... any extra efforts or lessons I’d like to put into my kids anyway. That’s why I say: it’s a waste of fucken living.

Olivia clearly had expectations of herself as a mother and the standard of care which she would like to provide her tamariki. She would have liked to have the time and space to support their development, and teach them that violence is not acceptable. However, she was overwhelmed by the partner terrorism and its consequences to the point where she shares that her life is wasted because she cannot do any of this, and essentially all she is doing is battling, which is “A waste of fucken living”.

As will become clearer in the pages that follow, these young women also experienced the brunt of the blame, judgement and consequences for the partner terrorism, and for being in such relationships. They were looked down upon by neighbours, as was the case with Sarah; and like Kiri, many are vilified by their partners. In many instances, they were blamed for the acts of terrorism they endured by their partners and in some cases also their family, as was Keli. They in turn, blamed themselves, and like Olivia and Sarah, also experienced structural violence through intervention, social workers, police, and court processes. This highlights the different standards and expectations mothers are held to in comparison to fathers and draws attention to the social construction of the mother’s role in parenting. It also highlights the perception of society and the community in the way women are perceived to be the problem in these relationships. Scrutiny is directed at mothers, with them being singled out in policy and legislation as being responsible for the care of children under the nuclear family concept that has infiltrated our societies, and has had an impact on our day to day living. This has resulted in the redefining of Māori women in society to positions of subordination and servitude (Gabel, 2013). The women’s experiences reflect that colonial expectations of mothering are dominant and enduring.

McDonald-Harker (2016) explains that there is a divide between the perceived ‘right way’ to mother and the lived experiences of women due to the diversity in social positioning, and circumstances in which they carry out their roles and duties as mothers. The pressure to mother within the context of social constructions that are “Privileged, restrictive and exclusionary” (McDonald-

Harker, 2016, p. 9), only serve to further marginalise and stigmatise teen mothers and mothers in relationships with partner terrorism. Such groups are particularly stigmatised, judged and vilified for mothering within the context of partner terrorism (McDonald-Harker (2016)).

The whakapapa of such experiences leads back to our colonisers who imposed ideologies of motherhood upon whānau, hapū and iwi, leading to the “Denigration and marginalisation of our traditional maternities” (Gabel, 2013, p. 98). Much more than the larceny of land, colonisation, while it served to obliterate a population of sovereign peoples, and seize political power, its real purpose has been to recreate, us, the colonised, in the image and likeness of our colonisers (Mikaere, 2011).

The women displayed great strength and resilience in endeavouring to navigate their situations and challenges with their terrorist partners. Olivia was very emotional as she talked about the challenges she faced mothering in the context of partner terrorism. Olivia’s construction of what being a good mother and partner means can be seen in her comments below, along with her tenacity and determination in fulfilling this role and her duties as a mother and ūkaipō for her pēpē. The demands of being a new mum, becoming an instant mother to her terrorist partner’s children from a previous relationship, as well as becoming pregnant early in the relationship, put overwhelming pressure on Olivia. She told me:

The majority of the time I was so busy... keeping the house clean, I was like a robot housewife. He had it mean, (starts sobbing): I’d have breakfast ready, I’d have the kids off to school and ready before 9, I’d have his breakfast ready, and lunch ready by 12. The whole house would be clean and I’d probably have dinner prepared too and doing baking and shit between. Like that’s all I done, pretty much the whole time I was in (name of town).

In Olivia’s mind, there is no choice: she was a “robot”. She spent “pretty much the whole time” servicing the needs, not only of her children but also the

needs of her partner. But at the same time, she took a certain amount of pride in her ability to do all of this.

I was evil step mother for about maybe a year. But I just kept at it, and I just treated them all as I treat my own son. In the end it was easy. You could have chucked 20 kids in the mix and I would have had it sweet. So I learnt how to be a mother and all that pretty quick. By 18 is when I would have had my second baby, and by the time I had her I was pretty clued up on everything... how to handle a hiding, how to cook for 20, ya know, how to soldier up all these kids just so we can get through the day because it will end up being me on my own looking after them.

Olivia took pride in her ability to find a way to live in this climate, and in her own strength, resourcefulness, determination, and ability to “Soldier up” and survive. Notably, this included being able to “Handle a hiding” which is a testament to her ability to deal with, cope with, adjust to, and “get on with it” attitude. It is clear that caring for her and her partner’s tamariki, and his, from a previous relationship, was exclusively her responsibility. Essentially, she was parenting alone, looking after the children “On (her) own”. In contrast, the father is largely absent. He is complying with the archaic perspective of mothering being a women’s role. It is still a dominate discourse, and one she took upon herself to fulfil to the best of her ability, by being the ‘best’ mother she could, by dutifully tending to everyone’s needs but her own; her needs of course are never mentioned. It is also an indication of domestic servitude or modern day slavery. Parenting alone and without a willing partner can be a confronting experience, especially when entered into with the perspective of being in this together. However, Olivia, like all of the women, handled it with great fortitude, and without complaint. Her experiences, like those of many of the women, were draining and undermining, yet they displayed great resilience.

The impact of partner terrorism on te ūkaipō is also evident in Keli’s pūrākau. Keli spoke of having no power over what was happening with her daughter, who was left in her mother’s care while she was in hospital as a result

of the partner terrorism. With the wellbeing of her unborn child under threat, Keli remained in hospital until she gave birth. During this time, she endured threats and sexual assaults from her partner.

(He) would turn up like in the middle of the night and just grab (my daughter) and be like “I’m taking (her)”... He would just have these weird kind of episodes and he’d just turn up and take her, and mum wouldn’t see her for days. I mean he would bring her up to me, and I be like horrified... cause she was kinda the only thing I ever had, and she was my princess and my... ya know she was my life and I just... her whole room, her whole everything was created... that was my only kind of outlet. So everything was about her, so I always dressed her well, I always made sure her hair was done, and that. She was my world, so he’d start turning up with her at the hospital and I don’t even know where he was getting these raggedy old clothes from but that used to stress me out, seeing her come to visit and she’d always have a bag of McDonalds or something, a big huge bag of lollies or a block of chocolate that she was eating and it was just horrifying and I was just “Oh my gosh”. And I couldn’t question it, because he would just have a go at me. Yeah, so that was horrible: just watching her not being looked after properly. I remember there was a time where the house was shot at, and she was in the front bedroom. When I got out of hospital finally, there was still like the bullet holes through the fence and the windows. It was that part that was stressful, just continuously worrying about her.

Keli took pride in being able to provide for her daughter, there was pleasure and comfort in being able to dress her well, provide healthy kai choices, and provide her with a beautiful bedroom. But this was undermined by the father, who knew how to inculcate anxiety and fear through the way he parented in her absence. With little to no control over Keli while she was in hospital, his fronting up with their daughter in ‘rags’ and with junk food, could have been a calculated attempt to (dis)-stress her so she would return home, where he could then regain full power and control over her. It is also clear her voice and power

are absent, unable to raise her concerns for her daughter, due to immense disempowerment in this situation. This disempowerment and silencing are also reflections of her reality while living in a climate of partner terrorism.

This behaviour aligns with previous literature that supports the notion that partner terrorists knowingly and purposefully use acts of psychological terrorism with the resolve to control their partners, and or to re-establish control within the relationship. This also reflects the current understanding around the behavioural and attitudinal attributes of partner terrorists, their sense of control and entitlement in relationships and society (Adams, 1991; Bancroft et al., 2012; Silverman & Williamson, 1997; Stark, 2007). These types of belief systems serve to legitimise the way terrorist partners perceive themselves as superior to women, the way they enforce their opinion that they have an elevated status in society and that their relationship with women is essentially a master-servant one (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Troon (2014) argued that such opinions and attitudes are protected through acts of violence and are therefore upheld as being typical or accepted (Silverman & Williamson, 1997). This is a characteristic in the present findings.

Children used as weapons against mothers

As mentioned previously in the first theme introducing partner terrorism, fathers were not beyond recruiting their children into the terrorism by proxy of their power. Keli shared some of the ways her daughter was used as a weapon against her. "She was my princess... she was my life". Giving depth of understanding to the injury she would have felt at having her daughter used against her in this way she told me:

I remember him crying when (baby) was born and he was being supportive during that role. But that's probably because he was... I don't know. It didn't change him. The abuse just changed. So he then used (baby) as a tool against me as well. So when she was old enough, he would get her to call me names, spit at me, she'd ride in the front, I'd ride in the back. Things like that. I would try to be consistent with like

boundaries and stuff with her, and he'd just break all of that and undermine my parenting. He and her would sit there and he'd be like we want a new mummy aye, and she; would be like "Yip!" She was only like two I think then. Yeah so I guess... before she could talk it wasn't too bad.

This type of behaviour, including the manipulation of tamariki leads to the mothers and their mothering being further undermined and sabotaged, resulting in double victimisation (Dutton, 1995; Holden & Ritchie, 1991). Using tamariki and pēpī as tools to 'make' the women compliant were also ways the fathers used them as weapons against their mothers. One way this was experienced was through threats to 'steal' them away. Kiri shared her experience of this, telling me that once she "Felt better" (her pēpī was about six months old at this time), they celebrated with quiet drinks at home with friends: unfortunately, things took a turn she had not anticipated:

I said "Oh I might go dancing like with my friend" and he said "Okay okay" while my parents were awake, and then they went to sleep. And then I went out for a cigarette and his whole demeanour changed. He just got really angry. The tone of his voice gave me chills. He actually had said... "You fucken go out whenever you want" and do this that and the other. I just want(ed) to go dancing with my friend. And then he had actually made a comment "Well me and that baby won't be here when you get back". He was going to take (baby) (crying).

Similarly, Janie too, recalled that her terrorist partner would use her children against her by taking one of them from her as a form of payback, saying: "It is how he used to hurt me".

Sometimes he would use them against me. He would take them from me. It got so bad that sometimes he would lock me out of my own house.

Partner terrorists resorted to numerous tactics in order to undermine the women's integrity as mothers. As found in previous research, mothers in relationships fuelled with partner terrorism were often diminished and sullied in

front of their tamariki. They were blamed for the terrorism that was directed at them. They were undermined through the comments made to, and in front of their tamariki: for example, the children were told their mothers was not good enough, and their mothers were blamed for the consequences of the partner terrorism, such as with Keli where her terrorist blamed her, and her “Stupid body” for a miscarriage that resulted from his acts of terrorism (Cunningham & Baker, 2007; Lapierre, 2010; Peled, 2000).

Impact of partner terrorism on the way women see themselves as mothers

Blaming, shaming, and being vilified had implications for the women’s sense of identity and the way they saw themselves as mothers. These mothers had a deep sense that being a mother was important to them. The complication of mothering without a willing and supportive partner can be very confronting, yet in the face of such tyranny, they showed they were prepared to work at it, keep going, and not give up, give in, or surrender to the elements of partner terrorism.

In sharing their experiences, it was evident that the women had an awareness of the impact of partner terrorism on the way they saw themselves as mothers, their role in nurturing and mothering of their pēpē and tamariki, and the way it impeded their ability to parent and develop a healthy bond with them, and the way this influenced the way they felt about themselves.

It was a pattern for the terrorist partners to undermine the women’s self-worth in many ways, including the way they feel about themselves as mothers. It is important to note that physical acts of terrorism typically do not happen in silence. The women were constantly being told that they were worthless, that no one else would want them if they left, or that they were lucky that the terrorism wasn’t worse. Therefore, it was common for the women to absorb the things their partners would say to them. Kiri did not experience physical acts of terrorism until she separated from her partner. Here, she shared her experience of the impact of his emotional attacks on her and their tamariki.

Kiri describes herself as a “Private” person, saying that only her partner “His Dad, and his Dad’s girlfriend know he gave me a hiding.” She said that this is something “They don’t talk about”. This silence gave her terrorist partner power over her story. Kiri told me how her partner’s “Verbal influence on others affects the way I see myself as a Mum”. The way he claims victimhood for himself is also evident below:

So people will hear things and they will say to him... “You hit (Kiri): we heard you hit (Kiri).” “Oh she’s lying, she just drinks all the time, doesn’t look after the kids, she just wants to go out and be a slut...” Who he was at home, and who he was out of home were two different people. So all him and his family know is that he’s great. He’s a good Dad. He provides, does all the manly stuff - that’s all they know. That he’s funny, he’s very charming. He’s soft. So I’m villainised through (partner)’s mouth, and having them perceive me that way, sometimes makes me feel that way.

Kiri’s terrorist partners influence over others and the way they perceived her impacted the way she saw herself as a mother, and at times made her feel vilified. Kiri’s experience illustrates her experience of feeling vulnerable in the face of attempts to besmirch her reputation and credibility as a mother. This also possibly highlights the vulnerability in her own perception of herself as a mother, and draws attention to the very real way in which mothers and young teen mothers in particular are vilified and judged, accused of failing to meet the dominant discourse of mothering. Moreover, it accentuates the way in which young mothers are also held to different standards than the fathers when it comes to parenting expectations. It also highlights her awareness of how she is being undermined by “bad mothering” and public image.

Being called a ‘slut’ because she wanted to have some time out from mothering also had implications for Kiri’s self-esteem and sense of worth. She began to assimilate the judgements of other’s narratives into her own, contributing to the crumbling of her self-esteem and self-worth as a mother.

Kiri's silence within her circle of whānau and friends about 'the hiding' hints at feelings of shame associated with the terrorism. Despite the police arresting her partner and prosecuting him in court, she is extremely reticent about her experience. While this protected her privacy it also protected his. It afforded him the privilege of remaining a 'good dad' in the eyes of others. This has huge implications for interveners, and the Family Court, when it comes to separating real and spurious accounts of a terrorist's persona.

Findings from previous research have shown that partner terrorists are able to manipulate their parenting in situations where they may stand to gain praise and public recognition of fathering (Bancroft et al., 2012; Troon, 2014). Findings from Troon (2014) showed that terrorist partners had the ability to isolate the mothers from their whānau and friends, thus weakening their support system by putting up a façade of being a 'good' father when in their company. As was the case with Kiri through her partner's attempts to besmirch and vilify her to their friends and his family. Undermining the mothers in this way erodes their sense of security and connection to those they might turn to for support and respite from the partner terrorism, it also creates mistrust between the mother and her whānau and friends (Troon, 2014).

Impact of mental illness on mothering and women's ability to be ūkaipō to their pēpē

In te ao Māori, the physical dimension of health and wellbeing is intrinsically connected to the wairua, hinengaro, and whānau aspects of wellbeing. A person's spiritual wellbeing is essential to their identity and their whānau connections, allowing them to be supported by a larger community that will give sustenance, support and safety.

It was clear from the women's pūrākau that terrorism goes beyond the moment; the ongoing terrorism and the severe trauma it created had major consequences for the women's emotional and psychological wellbeing – and importantly, their ability to parent their tamariki.

Some of the women were well aware of the way the terrorism damaged their mental health and wellbeing. Desirae suffered from depression following the birth of her second baby (when she 18 years old). She believed the depression was a consequence of the partner terrorism. Kiri, who became pregnant at 16 following birth control sabotage, also experienced depression following the birth of her baby. She described her relationship as “Emotional torture” whereby her terrorist partner blamed her for his behaviour and made her “Feel really bad about (her)self”, questioned her parenting skills and in turn made her question her own parenting skills. She commented on the way she managed the depression as a new mother:

I got depressed after I had (baby), and I went through this phase and no one - my family still talks about it now – touched (eldest child), or fed him or bathed him for the first five weeks (after) he was born cause we hibernated in my room. No one was allowed in. That was our safe place if that makes sense. I actually don't know why I did that. No one was allowed to touch him, or anything like that. People came to visit us in the hospital and I remember telling the midwife to tell them to leave, and “Don't let them in”. Yeah. I think I just felt so bad about myself that having this kid just made me feel better. Just me and him.

As a new mother Kiri was very protective of her baby. She shared how in some ways, having the baby made her “Feel better”: it gave her something good to focus on and put her energy into. While she could do nothing about the baby's father's behaviour and infidelities, mothering and nurturing her baby provided her a sense of control. However, at the same time, it lead her to isolate herself from the support of others.

Thoughts of suicide. A very real and devastating consequence of this terrorism, and the toll it took on the women's mauri, their life force energy, and their spiritual and mental health is evident in the way it snowballed into suicidal ideation. Thoughts and contemplation of suicide by women were serious and

concerning, their pain and suffering overtly enduring, and their despair and desperation to end the terrorism evident.

Kahira and Keli shared some insight into their experiences with suicidal ideation and their thought processes at the time. Kahira, who was subjected to many varied cruel and rancorous acts of partner terrorism, recalled a particular incident which ended with her being thrown under the kitchen table. While under the table, she noticed a bottle of pills sitting on the fridge. She remembered thinking:

I'm tired, I'm physically tired, I'm mentally tired, I just can't do this anymore." So it was like 10 seconds and then my girl, my big girl walked in to the kitchen. My baby. She saved me. How could I leave? How could I be that selfish to leave my children with this man if I was to do something? No one was going to bring my children up how I could. Even though I wasn't protecting them 100% I could still, for me, I could still do a better job than their father...it was just a money thing for him.

On one hand, Kahira clearly acknowledges that while she may not be in the best position to protect her tamariki the way she would like to. On the other hand, her love for her tamariki was authentic and as their mother she was more equipped to provide their nurturing than their father. Being a mother and having a sense of responsibility for her tamariki and their wellbeing helped Kahira move past her thoughts of taking her own life.

Keli shared a similar experience. She told me that during her pregnancies, she would do her best to protect her puku whenever her partner physically terrorised her. On this particular occasion, she too was hiding from her terrorist partner under the kitchen table:

I remember I had this knife and I'm hiding under the table sitting there like... shall I just kill myself or shall I go kill him. Those were the things that were going through my mind, and I could just hear him and he was just screaming... **like Keli where the fuck are you?** And I could just hear him,

and it was just escalating and it was horrible... and I don't know where (baby) was. She was probably awake, but hiding. She would have been two (years old). But I remember she was the reason why I didn't kill myself, cause there was no way I could leave her with him.

The women's love for their pēpī, and sense of duty as mothers reflects the importance of what being a mother meant to these young women. This is evident when reflecting on their pūrākau where they shared their joy at becoming mothers, and the strong sense of duty that ensued, despite the life-threatening situations in which they found themselves.

Most remarkable is the women's ability in the midst of such trauma to reflect upon and consider the implications of their actions on their tamariki and pēpī. Their suicidal ideation continued to surface in difficult moments, but was always accompanied by thoughts of their tamariki and pēpī, and concern about who would protect them and carry on the role of ūkaipō in their absence. In the midst of such turbulence and distress their first concern was not for themselves but for their tamariki. The realisation that their pēpī would be left vulnerable in their absence was the reason they didn't follow through with suicide attempts. This highlights their protective instincts, intentions towards their tamariki, while emphasising the value they place on their roles as mothers and ūkaipō. In these difficult moments their tamariki were instrumental in the women's endurance, and resilience. The strong love the women had for their children acted as an anchor, they grew the women's endurance and were ever present reminders to keep going, strengthening the women's survival instincts.

Protective instincts

A mother's ability to protect herself and her children is fundamental to the role of mothering. However, it is worth mentioning that in order to protect her pēpī a mother first needs to be able to protect herself. The complexity of being both a mother and the causality of the partner terrorism makes this challenging.

Through the choruses of the women's pūrākau it was evident that not only did these young mothers hold protective instincts toward their pēpī, all of

them endeavoured to protect and shield them from the partner terrorism. They resorted to a handful of strategies. Being compliant and agreeable was the most common strategy. Olivia told me that she got pretty good at finding ways to “End it before it even starts”. Kiri avoided conflict by not ‘rocking the boat’: “I already knew to avoid conflict, so just don’t do anything”.

Findings from previous research by Peled and Gil (2011) highlight that a women’s desire to nurture and provide for the physical, emotional, and whānau needs of their tamariki and pēpī, reflects their endeavour to protect them from the partner terrorism. However, it is also noted that the partner terrorism hinders their ability to fulfil the role of protector, thus undermining their role as ūkaipō and damaging their relationship with their tamariki and pēpī.

An example of this is provided in Sarah’s reflections on her role as a mother and sole parent, in the preservation of her children’s wellbeing. She has a strong stance on her role in protecting her ‘babies’,

In my eyes my role is to look after my babies because the fathers not going to be there to do it. And as far as I’m concerned I’ll do anything to protect them. I know as soon as I hear people saying something bad about my kids I know I get all defensive straight away, because not only is that a hit on my kids, but it’s a hit on me as a mum too, because I’m the only parent. Mum was the only one around, and I was the only one around so in my eyes you just do everything, and you do everything for your kids to protect them, to look after them, to give them the best that you can. But like I say, I don’t know any different aye, I only know my experiences and what I had to go by. But I think because of the whole situation I am really over protective of my babies.

In some instances, methods to protect the children meant that they were removed from living in the home with their parents, through whānau intervention. This was the case with Desirae, who was given an ultimatum by her whānau. If she was not going to leave her relationship for her safety and that of her pēpī, she would have to give them to her whānau to look after.

Desirae shared a little of her decision to allow her tamariki to go to her whānau, while she remained in this relationship rife with partner terrorism. Clearly she is acting in the best interest of her tamariki; this unselfish act demonstrated that their safety was paramount to her. Despite her natural desire to want to mother and care for her tamariki she put their safety ahead of her own needs, demonstrating her role as ūkaipō. The consequences of this was that she then had only limited power to mother them.

Yeah it was just unstable, the whole thing was just unstable and I think that was what lead the kids to... because I chose to stay in that relationship. (That's) why the kids ended up with... with mum. Yeah... choosing some lousy piece of shit over my kids. Yeah, I had access to them all the time. What it did do though, is that it limited my input into what I wanted for the kids like... I didn't have any say. They took all that away, like when I gave them the kids all that sort of stuff.

Desirae blamed herself for choosing her relationship over her tamariki, and like many of the women, laid little to no blame on the father for the terror he exacted. Desirae is claiming failure in her ability to be a mother, with hints of guilt and resentment at not being able to mother, and be responsible for her tamariki as she feels she should have. This failure and guilt is in part due to her construction of what a 'good' mother is. That is, the women constructed themselves as the ones in the relationship who are responsible for the wellbeing of their tamariki. If they couldn't manage this, they tended to blame themselves. It should be noted that self-blame is often associated with PTSD (Berman, Assaf, Tarrasch, & Joel, 2018; Reich, Jones, Woodward, Blackwell, Lindsey, & Beck, 2015).

Many of the women's journeys into motherhood may look different to those not in similar situations, however, their journeys are as valid as any other. Those not walking in their shoes may struggle to understand their choices and focus instead on their perceptions of the women, and on what they would, or would not do. Instead the focus should be on the strength and resilience of these

women, their difficult situations and their enduring love for their tamariki and pēpē.

Kahira also blamed herself for choosing to remain in a relationship marked by partner terrorism. “I love my children. They’re my world but it wasn’t, they were still not enough for me to walk away from their father”. One strategy she developed to protect her tamariki was to leave them as often as she could with her whānau.

I was so lucky regardless of how we were brought, up the love that mum and dad had for my children was wonderful, and if they were with my mum and dad I knew that my children were safe. And my sister, my sister and my brother in law they had my son, allot of the time they had my son umm but yeah because honestly I was just fucking my kid’s life up. That’s the honest to god truth.

The whānau is a fundamental unit of Māori society. Whānau is about having extended relationships with a wider group of people than the Western nuclear family. Reynolds & Smith (2012) and Gable (2013) state that Māori children are born into a whānau, hapū and iwi and are therefore considered the responsibility of the collective; an intergenerational network of relationships where the responsibilities of raising children are shared (Pere, 1994, Pihama, 2012). Within such a network the ‘extended’ whānau are responsible for “Looking after the children and protecting and nurturing the mana of the child” (Reynolds & Smith, 2012, p. 148).

Tamaiti whāngai translates to “children who are cared for or nurtured” (Reynolds & Smith, 2012, p. 143). This is a traditional practice where a child is raised by other members of the whānau, other than their parents, and can take place for many reasons. Tamaiti whāngai is an informal process, in that a discussion between whānau members is the only formal part of the arrangement, which can be long or short term. However, it is a process that has its own philosophy (Reynolds & Smith, 2012). It was common practice for a tonō to be made even before a child was born, by the grandparents or great

grandparents. It is a common practice for grandchildren to be raised by their kuia and koroua, while still maintaining contact with their parents: this was the case with Desirae. While decisions regarding the tamariki were made by grandparents, the parents' role was not diminished. With shared decision making connections to children are maintained. Kahira too, draws upon this wider network as a source of support, and act of resistance.

In the context of shared responsibility for children, Kahira's brutal self-assessment that she was guilty of "Fucking" up the lives of tamariki by remaining in the relationship seems too harsh. By putting the responsibility solely upon herself, she has not left room for the recognition of the father's part in this this whole life situation. As their mother she assumes full responsibility for their lack of safety, yet gives herself no credit for her ingenuity and attempts to protect her tamariki as best she could.

Kahira expressed her guilt for what she perceived as a failing to protect her pēpē:

He would still hurt my son and I still went back and that is the one thing that guts me is that I didn't protect my son. You know if we were in today's time I'd be in jail because I never protected my baby.

Findings from Peled and Gil's (2011) support the view that guilt suffered by the women is a direct consequence of their construction of motherhood. From this perspective a mother sees herself as being responsible for the protection of the tamariki, as well as being the nurturer of their wellbeing (physical and emotional needs). In a climate fuelled with partner terrorism, the women could not live up to this ideal. This led to feelings of guilt and self-blame. The lack of blame directed at the fathers is a reflection of the women's conviction of their roles as mothers, and as such the ones responsible for their tamariki and pēpē. This type of guilt can be further explained in the context of mother blaming discourses where mothers are tarnished and branded failures for remaining in such relationships, and for their perceived 'failure' to protect their tamariki and pēpē (Lapierre, 2008; Roberts, 1999).

Negotiating structural violence

So far, I have discussed the various ways in which the women's attempts to be the best possible mothers to their pēpē were undermined by partner terrorism. Unfortunately, many simultaneously found that their mothering was made more difficult through interventions by, ironically, some of the agencies from which they sought help: government agencies such as Oranga Tamariki Ministry for Vulnerable Children, (formerly Child Youth and Family Services), Work and Income New Zealand, the New Zealand Police, and the Family Court. These agencies got involved as a consequence of the women's calls for help and/or notifications of concern around the safety of their children. The women's experiences highlight that through their procedures, attitudes and behaviours these organisations exposed many of the women to further trauma, oppression and control, which has become known as structural violence (Galtung, 1969). Ironically, the very agencies that are meant to help women sometimes ended up further undermining the women's attempts to mother their children and their role as ūkaipō

Galtung (1969) states that structural violence is a subtle and methodical processes through which social structures harm and disadvantage specific groups of people. Structural violence is dynamic and multifaceted and occurs in face to face interactions (such as with Oranga Tamariki Ministry for Vulnerable Children), as well as through media reports and policy documents (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot, & Tankel, 2014). Both structural violence and partner terrorism involve systemically patterned abuse, but while partner terrorism is enacted by an intimate partner, structural violence is enacted through inequalities in access to opportunities and resources, and exposure to misogynist attitudes, sexism, and racism (Gatling, 1969). This type of violence served to intensify the struggles the women faced, simultaneously wounding and degrading them through the process.

Olivia provides an example of structural violence through her experiences with some of these agencies whom brought a new dimension to her "Battle". The snowball effect of these experiences left her feeling overwhelmed. She is

fighting to keep her head up, and be an active mother to her children while she negotiates and accounts for every demand placed upon her by those who have a position of power over her life (such as telling her where she could live, telling her she cannot be in a relationship with the father of her children, demanding she prove herself and account for the way she is living).

That's why I get so tired (sobbing) with everything now, cause I just want my kids to have a normal (life)... I know we haven't got the violence now, but I'm just getting flippen fucken hounded left, right and centre over every God dam thing.

The nature of her experiences with these agencies have left her with little, to no faith in their ability to help her and her children negotiate the partner terrorism. She is constructed as an errant subject, to be forced into compliance, stripped of her autonomy, blamed and "othered", while a socially valorised understanding is used against her, all while she is attempting to heal and recover her mauri and redeem her role as ūkaipō in the lives of her tamariki.

However, despite these agencies treating her with a lack of dignity and respect, Olivia is fighting back. She is falling back on her own strength and resourcefulness to catapult her and her tamariki to a place and space where they can live in peace. When I shared with her what other women had told me about the attitudes of certain frontline workers exposing them to more trauma, Olivia replied:

Oh fuck yeah! That's why that's all I could say to everybody at the course (Women Against Violence Education). Like the last time I went to that thing, was just like "Whether you just getting into it, whether you're just in the middle of it, or whatever... all I can say is (starting to cry) fucken keep strong and keep chugging, don't fucken give up." Because I can't ever say exactly what's going to happen to all them cause I didn't expect **everything** that happened to me.

Olivia's interactions are not uncommon among the women, and denote structural violence through intervention. They are similar in experience to descriptions reported by participants in a study by Hodgetts et al., (2014) where such interactions left participants questioning their own competence and self-worth. And like Olivia, they were left feeling like they have to have their own backs and do everything themselves because no one is really there to help them.

Throughout our Korero, Olivia's love for her children was evident. Her pūrākau was filled with determination and a fierce approach to acknowledging her role as a mother, as she shared her fight to ensuring they stayed in her care.

I got through that process. Fuck and it was a battle two years of that shit until (sobbing) I got full custody of my kids and I did it by myself, not even CYF supported me. All those organisations, (name of person and organisation) and shit, I went out and I found her and all these places on my own. Family Court never referred me; CYF never gave me any numbers.

Through her pūrākau it became clear she had a good understanding about the oppression that comes from the expectations of others including Oranga Tamariki (previously Child Youth and Family Services), police, social workers on her as a mother, and is aware of the way she is criticised, vilified, and stigmatised by such individuals when her mothering falls short of these expectations; expectations that she is unable to meet due to her circumstances. Labelled and portrayed as a 'bad mother' by these government organisations, and expected to prove herself; to comply and prove to everyone that she is capable of living a 'good life' and raising her children based on what 'others' have decided a good mother looks like, according to ideals that she will never meet as a teen mother, and especially as a young Māori mother suffering through partner terrorism. Her parenting is undermined and she is also over powered by those in positions of power dictating what she needs to do to do better, and be better (McDonald-Harker; Hodgetts et al., 2014).

Once CYF got involved, Olivia was often caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, social workers wanted Olivia to call the police whenever there was any terrorism. On the other hand, it was clear that if she made repeated calls, that would be taken as evidence of her failure to protect her children and of her noncompliance, as opposed to her terrorist partners continued reign of terror. She wears the consequences of her terrorist partner's actions, as accusations are levelled at her for having contact with him, despite her having no control over his decisions or actions.

I have to keep calling the cops otherwise CYF is going to take my kids off me, but you know what... the more, and more I have to call... the more and more CYF wanna take my kids off me" (laughing).

The threat of losing her children placed limits on Olivia's ability to talk freely to her children.

I mean I wish I could sit there and be open with my children and talk to them about it properly but nah in this day and age you gotta be pretty fucken careful about who hears what, and what you say to everyone. Cause I've just found it back fires even when I haven't been 100% honest any way so... and I'm not good at lying either so I can't necessary bullshit my way through the whole process. It's just bullshit either way. You can win win, or lose lose either way (laughing).

These extracts reflect a common view among the women about their interactions with such agencies, whose interventions served to dehumanise the women. A study by Hodgetts et al., (2014) highlighted that participants were managed by state agencies in an impersonal, remote manner, without effective support. There was no acknowledgement by those in positions of power that the recipients of the service were people who needed to be embraced and have their struggles acknowledged. Government agencies, like the ones Olivia and many of the women have been exposed to, operate as agents of repression as opposed to being agents of care (Hodgetts et al., 2014).

Olivia couldn't fathom why she was being held accountable for the actions of her terrorist partner. All the attention was on her as an assumed 'bad mother' while he was not being held accountable. The situation eroded her wairua and mauri, creating further abuse, depression and anxiety. She told me:

Yea. At first I wasn't ringing (the Police), but then somehow CYF would find out and then it would look bad on me. So it got to the point where "Okay then, you want me to fucken ring everyone up **everytime** something fucken happens... and I was doing it but then it was reflecting back on to me. So I was having the argument... "How is this fucken right? What message are you guys actually trying to put out to everyone?. Because I keep ringing the cops like you keep making very fucken clear." Yet it's me that's getting threatened to have my children taken off me, and **I'm not** the one hurting fucken people here! I never got a clear answer to that. At the end of the day I'm the provider, I'm the caretaker, I'm the whatever so it's all up to me. Yeah.

It is sobering to consider that someone in Olivia's situation feels that there is no one she can trust within the very organisations that are available to support her. For her to say: "And I done it all on my own, and I didn't really have anyone I could trust or rely on" provides an insight into the lives of these women. They are dammed if they seek help, and they are dammed if they don't.

Other examples of structural violence were highlighted by Sarah. She described an experience where she managed to fight off a ferocious attack from her partner with the support of her neighbours. She was being choked in front of their new baby, following an incident where Sarah had arrived home after catching him with another woman. Unbeknown to her he had followed her home, smashed his way into the home, and ripped the phone out of the wall so she couldn't call the police. As a result of her neighbour's intervention, the police were called, she told me:

I wanted help then and there. I wanted (the police) to not let me get killed. But that doesn't mean I want to go and testify against people in

court... I don't want to have to relive those memories in front of a whole lot of strangers that I don't even know, and you guys are judging me and my whole situation on it. I just didn't want to have to deal with all of that.

Sarah's insight into her court experience indicates that there was no value in the process for her.

In my eyes the court didn't help. All the court does is waste your time, make you try and find a park in town, and pay how much money for parking just to go sit in the courthouse all day, to be told "Come back in a couple of weeks' time and we'll do it all again". And that goes on for like at least two years, and then you get a sentence. And what am I meant to do in that two years, while I'm waiting for him to get sentenced? Am I just supposed to put my life on hold and hide for two years?

In fact, the court exposed her to further harassment and manipulation by her ex-partner. She told me that before leaving to go to court:

He would ring and he was saying "I'm on the way to court now, if you really wanna be with me you need to stop this otherwise I'm going to go to jail, and you don't want your kid's father in jail". After spending the morning waiting in Court, Sarah went for a walk outside. This time she encountered her partner face to face:

I started walking back to the court house... He followed me and he was just in my ear, "You really don't wanna do this. Please don't do this, don't do this to me, don't do this to us, don't do this to baby", all of those lines. Just giving me the mana as guilt trips; and he got to me.... He was pulling those lines on me and I was sucker and I thought 'he's right I really don't want to do this to him. I don't want him to go to jail because that's just going to mean we can't be (together).

When she got back to the Courthouse, Sarah told the police officer "I don't want to do this anymore". The officer responded with an ultimatum.

I can't remember the words she used but you know pretty much if you do this, that's it! We can't help you again type thing, and she was giving me all that spiel. And I was like 'whatever I'm out's... see ya'.

At this point, it is difficult to see the police officer as anything other than doing the perpetrator's work for him. The officer has backed up the perpetrator's isolation tactics by telling Sarah, in effect, that she on her own.

While Kiri felt that the police were "Really supportive" – even if they had "their own agenda" – she too, was traumatised through the court process. Her partner was charged after an incident in which "He pretty much kept me hostage in my own home. It was like torture for 4 hours." In giving evidence in an open court, she felt "exposed" and "shame(ed)" in sharing personal and graphic details about her experience in front of "strangers" and her terrorist partner: "He's looking at you" she told me. This type of scenario fuels the stigma she is trying so desperately to avoid. As with Sarah's situation, the court process "Dragged on for months" with her having to go to court three times. Kiri told me:

Having to stand up in front of him and... **and** strangers. It's an open courtroom. So everyone that was there for maybe drink driving, drugs charges, they're all in there. Yip. And I knew a lot of people in there, and it was **so** embarrassing. And it was so hard not to cry cause I was just... I'm very private. Yeah and you have to actually tell them in detail step by step what happened. And then (partner's) lawyers trying to tell me, "Well that's not what's in the statement." You know how they try to discredit you?

This example highlights the manner in which Kiri was further disempowered through the way her ghastly experience is reduced through being exposed to an open courtroom. She is then further diminished by the way she is questioned by the defence lawyer in an attempt to undermine and discredit her.

Weariness and distrust of organisations and the legal system was a common theme among the women's pūrākau. This supports previous research

which highlights the way women are exposed to further trauma through the lack of understanding and professionalism of government and community organisations and their workers (Lawson, 2010; Hodgetts et al., 2014; Herbert & Mackenzie, 2014; McDonald-Harker, 2016). It is also consistent with findings that highlight the way women are unjustly victimised through such agencies and their failure to recognise the continuation of the partner terrorism following separation (McMahon & Pence, 1995; Shalansky et al., 1999; Troon, 2014).

Kōrero Whakakapi - Summary

It goes without saying that partner terrorism is a direct assault on ūkaipō across all its meanings. The terrorism compromised the safety of the children and disrupted the bond between mother and pēpī. Mothering the way, they would have desired while living in a climate of partner terrorism was difficult, and while their ability to be ūkaipō for their pēpī and tamariki was undermined the mothers found ways to fulfil their roles.

Theme Five: Acts of Resistance

Up from a past that's rooted in pain I rise

—Maya Angelou, *And Still I Rise*

These words from Maya Angelou's poem *Sill I Rise*, hold particular significance for me when presenting my pūrākau of the women's acts of resistance; while embroiled in such terror, their resilience and ingenuity continues to shine through. To me, they are their own champions and liberators: Mana wāhine.

The previous themes have exposed various forms of partner terrorism experienced by the women, along with the sequela of this odious terrorism on them, on their children, and on their ability to maintain their role as ūkaipō to their tamariki. With such accounts of terrorism and its effects, it might be easy to perceive these women as being totally disempowered, passive, and lacking any real agency in their lives. However, to do so would be a mistake.

Juxtaposed to this, I was deeply moved by the women's ingenuity in the various ways they attempted to resist the partner terrorism. While assailed with fear, resistance was not easy: sometimes, acts of resistance gave rise to further acts of terrorism. However, eventually, many of the women were successful in their resistance, emerging from the terrorism as empowered women. In this theme, I discuss the ways in which some of the women resisted the terrorism, before, in theme six, describing their journeys out of these relationships.

Every single act of partner terrorism, whether small and veiled or big and overt, encroached upon the women's mauri and wairua. Each tactic was used against these women with the deliberate intent of stripping away their dignity, of eroding their strength, and suffocating their resilience. The women demonstrated ingenuity in the ways they would resist the terrorism to which they were subjected.

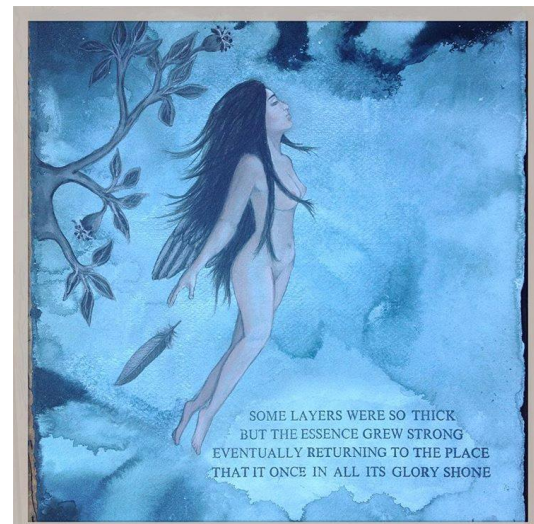
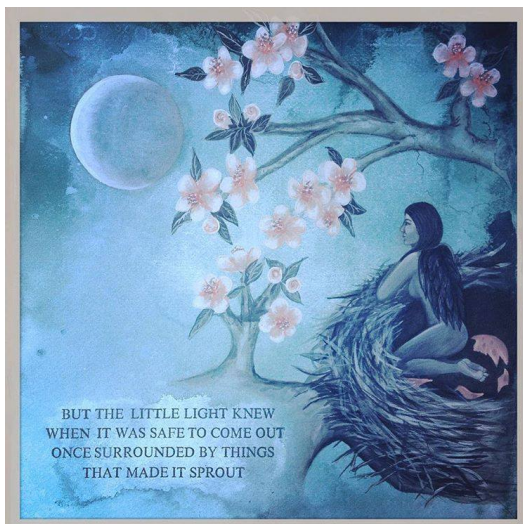
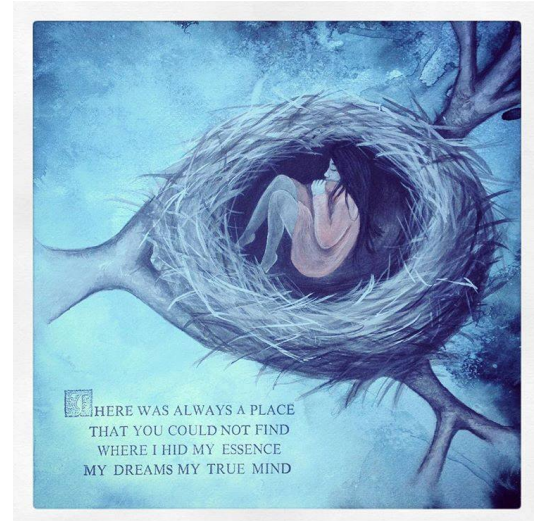
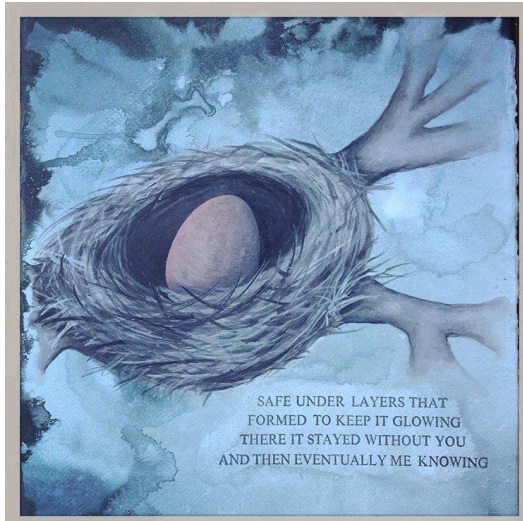
Protection of mauri

Keli shared what she described as "Acts of resistance" which were the things she "Did to survive, to get through", in an attempt to hold on to her mana and, in her own words "Keep a little bit of my spirit safe... Hanging on to the little bits of me that he couldn't destroy". In what might be seen as counter-intuitive, Keli described compliance as an act of resistance. According to Keli, while compliance "Shut my own voice down" it was also a way to "Keep me safe". She provided an example of compliance as, not arguing back, referring to it as "Silent resistance".

"I'm not fighting back physically, but I'm fighting back by not saying anything. There are some people who may think oh she didn't do anything; she just didn't fight back but that was me fighting back with complying".

That is, for Keli, not engaging with her terrorist partner and instead offering passive resistance, was in her words an act "Of keeping my dignity".

Below is a poem by Keli that talks about her acts of resistance, and describes what she did to “Survive” and “Get through” her experiences of partner terrorism.



In this poem, Keli ascribes the term layers to describe the impact of change, and in particular her changing as a result of the partner terrorism, where she gave up “On parts of (herself) that were once so important to (her) and so special that (she) eventually forgot about (them) and let go”. Transformation occurred once she was disentangled from the terrorism, and as a result of her new awareness, the behaviours she had adopted to keep herself safe such as hiding herself, or being silent, no longer served her. As Keli told me: “You have to eventually change to be able to find who you are again”.

She used the word “essence” to describe her mauri, her “Inner core, that inner you, that he can’t reach”. She shared that the physical acts of terrorism “Can’t get there” and while “There’s so much emotional stuff” the inner core is “That one place he can’t reach”. She also discussed the way she surrounded herself with things that helped her grow and survive or “Sprout” which refers to the sustenance “Art and poetry” provided her.

“Blocking” and “Disassociation” are other acts of resistance Keli described, along with “Minimising” what was happening. PTSD symptoms can result in the inability to recall aspects of the trauma and terrorism experienced, and can result in the women experiencing the partner terrorism as if they are detached from what is happening, or as observers. Keli explains this here as a tactic to protect herself, a survival strategy:

So I did a lot of that blocking... I wouldn’t remember things, and that was protecting myself, even things like denying it’s happening while it’s happening.

Keli spoke about this as a legitimate way to protect herself:

Being in denial, it may seem like a weird kind of strategy but it kinda, your minimising it for yourself, so that was something I would do. I’d often minimise situations, that way I’d cope more.

Resilience for Keli also came through art and poetry. She told me that her terrorist partner “Couldn’t read”, and how this “Was good” for her, as it provided her with an outlet to maintain a connection with a part of herself she recognised as sacred. Her sanctity was maintained and nurtured through her ability to be creative, including the writing she did when he wasn’t home. She would later hide or burn her writing to keep herself safe.

I had an outlet for that, I’d draw the babies all the time, I’d draw (baby) all the time, I’d draw... I’d just create stuff, I always tried to hold a part of my creativity, that’s a special part of who I am. So that’s a special part that I held onto, and I’d just use it differently than I do now. So it would

be... like I said creating her space was a way that I was able to have an outlet, so I created her room to be this magical place. Ya know I'd make things for her all the time, out of whatever, so just constantly making stuff and... if it was for ya know, it was okay. You wouldn't find I guess a reason to stop that.

Protection orders as an act of resistance

I asked the women if they sought protection orders in the process of leaving. What I discovered was that they generally felt these were not the best form of protection. They knew they were only as good as their terrorist partner's willingness to comply, and while they may act as deterrents, they are not necessarily "protective" as their name implies.

Despite this, Kiri and Sarah did find ways to use their protection orders to good effect. Kiri obtained a protection order against her terrorist partner, but when asked if he abided by it she said "Ohhhhhh Noooooo (laughing)". Having tamariki together meant that, realistically, Kiri was not able to avoid interacting with her partner. But what the order did, was to help Kiri have some control over her partner when he came to visit their tamariki.

When he starts throwing his weight around when he comes to see the kids... I'll just tap on the drawer, cause of where I keep it, and I just tap on that and I look at him. Because we've never argued in front of our children. I never saw that... he saw a lot of that I never did. So I'll just tap on the drawer and he just be's quiet (laughing).

Upon leaving her relationship, Sarah also obtained a protection order. Despite it, Sarah's ex-partner continued to pursue her. Several months after she fled town to escape him she allowed him to visit, using the protection order in much the same manner as Kiri described above. "At first he was playing his cards right, trying to get back in there". However, despite this, old patterns resurfaced; Sarah said:

The first half of the visit used to be nice and pleasant, all friendly and la la. And then I'd start to get irritated at little things that he was doing, I'd say something to piss him off, and he'd say something... next minute we're yapping at each other, and he'd jump in the car and come back to (his home town).

Her ex-partner was fully aware of the consequences of breaching the protection order, and made numerous attempts to talk her into having it removed. However, Sarah was unwavering. The order was a way to remind her partner that she had some power and was calling the shots.

He used to say "You need to get that off because if I come and see you's and if you get shitty at me you can call the cops and I can get arrested". And I used to say "Yeah and that's why I'm not getting it off, I'm keeping it on because if you come and play up I will ring the cops. That's my protection. That's why I want it". But at the end of the day he shouldn't have been coming to see us anyway.

De-escalation as an act of resistance

De-escalation was a subtle yet powerful act of resistance many of the women employed throughout their daily lives, while living with this terrorism. This is not a tactic to be scoffed at or dismissed: it was a game changer when it came to navigating their way in protecting themselves, their tamariki and pēpē. To me it highlighted their courage and ingenuity.

One act of resistance, stood out to me among the pūrākau. In the midst of what I would describe as a life-threatening act of terrorism that "Went on for about 4 hours". Kiri returned home after a night out, telling me:

When I got home he was already in the house. I didn't know he was in the house. I walked in and I closed the door behind me and I looked forward... and he's there.

Her terrorist partner wasted no time. Kiri told me "yeah, he punched my teeth out". In an attempt to save herself she told me "I ran to the bathroom and

locked myself in". However, he was determined and "booted that in (and)... started strangling me". In amidst all of this she told me he ran at her giving her "The biggest upper cut... (pointing to her teeth) these teeth broke". He told her "I'm going to fucken kill you, and kill those kids, and kill myself".

Kiri had the most stunning and memorable reaction to de-escalate her terrorist partners reign of terror. She told me in that moment she couldn't speak as a result of the blows to her face, she couldn't move her mouth "It was just swollen and sore". She told me:

I just got up and I held him, I don't know why, but I did. And I hugged him. And then he calmed down, (and) in his drunken state he must have thought we're going to get back together... cause you don't think straight with the adrenalin and all that. I just led him to the room, and put him in bed and sat there and rubbed his head for him to go to sleep.

Her plan was to get her phone and call for help. Her ability to remain calm and think on her feet evident, as she said:

Little did I know... how he got my phone I don't know... but he had my phone in his pocket, and he went to sleep.... I snuck out of the bed and tried to get my phone, and couldn't find it. He had it in his pocket. But I waited, I went in the shed, we had two big BBQ's and I hid in there and I waited until I heard a vehicle.

Kiri told me her motivation for this came from thoughts for her tamariki and pēpē following his threat to kill them. Saying "I would have just taken it I think, if he hadn't of mentioned the children. I don't think I probably would have even called the police". However, with threats levelled at her babies she took affirmative action, their welfare, her first priority, ahead of her own.

Kōrero Whakakapi - Summary

Resistance to terrorism was by no means an easy task and often came with a cost of further terror. However, despite this, the women became skilled at de-

escalating their partners and finding ways to resist the terrorism. Despite having generally negative views of the effectiveness of protection orders, they did serve to empower some women. Other avenues that worked for them were, silent resistance, and compliance. In the following theme I discuss the challenges involved in breaking free from these relationships.

Theme Six: The Journey Out

As identified previously, in te ao Māori, cosmology is given in the form of whakapapa, where the various stages of cosmology are presented as generations extending from Te Kore (potentiality, the chaos, or nothingness), Te Pō (the darkness) and Te Ao (the light); these are recurring themes, present within our pūrākau (Gabel, 2013). Te Kore; Te Pō; Te Ao; the whakapapa of creation. This pathway of creation talks to the whakapapa and process in all things, and as a process of creation it is used here to discuss the birthing of the women's awareness and the stages in their journey through partner terrorism.

Te Kore (potentiality - living in chaos)

Te kore is a primary concept to Māori; it is the realm of potential from which all things are birthed, including human existence. According to Nepia (2012), Te Kore is most commonly conceptualised as a primordial realm, consisting of nothingness. It is contrasted with te pō, which is a realm that consists of different layers of night, within which the primordial Ranginui and Papatūānuku were once clasped in an eternal embrace (Nepia, 2012). In my view, for the women, te kore represents the potential their lives and relationships held; for example, as discussed in the previous theme ngā ra o mua, some of the women were thriving prior to entering these relationships, they had friendships and were excelling at sport and, or academics. However, as this potential for their personal growth and development was unfolding it was interrupted by the partner terrorism.

Te kore is a space of potential within which all things are possible; it is the potential for life, the potential of pregnancy, the potential of these relationships,

the initial hope of love, romance; something positive and optimistic. As such, it is also the potential for chaos and partner terrorism; the potential for te kore as described by Nepia (2012) is a “State of depression or emotional darkness, as loss, absence, devastation and annihilation” (Nepia, 2012, p. 32). This is where the women’s journeys transitioned into their living with the chaos of partner terrorism, immersed in all that encompassed for them.

The journey out of partner terrorism therefore begins with the women being in chaos, in the darkness, and for some the lack of awareness that what they were experiencing was not an acceptable part of their relationships. Here they experience Machiavellian assaults on their wairua, and as a result their mauri was being eroded and their sense of self paralysed. This applied equally to their identity as young women, partners and mothers.

Te Pō (awareness of barriers)

Te pō, the realm of darkness was encapsulated within the embrace of Ranginui and Papatūānuku; within this embrace they created their tamariki, whom Papatūānuku nourished at her breast (Gabel, 2013). Te pō in the women’s journeys is evident through the erosion of their wellbeing through the partner terrorism, much like the tamariki of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who were “In a state of sadness” (Nepia, 2012, p. 48) prior to the separation of their parents. Both the tamariki of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and the women were becoming uncomfortable and depressed within their environments. The tamariki due to the confined conditions of their existence, through being clasped in their parent’s embrace. They were aware they needed to do something to survive as this was no way to live.

Te pō represents the beginning of the women’s awakening to the partner terrorism, much like the tamariki of Ranginui and Papatūānuku awakening to the limitations of their living environment. Here the women are stretching and uncomfortable with their environment, their situations, their oppressors and oppression. This is where the women recognise if they want to survive, they

need to do something for their wellbeing, and the wellbeing of their tamariki and pēpē.

As explained by Gable (2013), there was a period of discord among the tamariki of Ranginui and Papatūānuku as they began to understand their sadness and struggle. This too relates to the women's experiences of planning to disentangle themselves from violence, which was also consistent with a practise of gathering resources, including accruing awareness, insight, information and knowledge. This process also serves as a reminder of the importance and relevance of family and whānau communication, and support in finding solutions in difficult times.

In this stage the women became aware of the barriers and actively worked to overcome them, identifying specific events that motivated them to consider change. They had to plan their exit strategy.

Te Aō

Following the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, Te Ao emerged; "The realm of illumination, contemporary knowledge and mankind" (Nepia, 2012, p. 32). Te Ao in the women's journeys is reflected in their transitioning away from partner terrorism. This took courage and resilience in the face of the trauma and potential consequences, leaving and attempting to leave could generate, such as death.

In this stage, while the women are separated from their terrorist partners, not all were completely free of his terrorism. This was due to their partner's role as the father of their tamariki. Nor were they free from the stigma and single story's attached to women who experience partner terrorism. Nor had they escaped their mothering being placed under close scrutiny by the State. Te ao, is a time when the women began to make decisions about their futures, develop clarity around their relationships, recognise what is possible, and take steps to live better lives. This is the beginning of a journey of reflection and healing.

Breaking away

Hina te ao, Hina te pō

Hina is the bringer of day, Hina is the bringer of night

This whakatauaikī speaks about Hina as the controller of day and night. This is influential for me when looking at the way the women make the transition from te pō, into te ao, in the process of breaking away from the partner terrorism.

Through the unfolding of their pūrākau, it became clear that leaving was not always a choice initially available to all of the women until certain opportunities presented themselves. Much like a hostage does not have a choice about being a hostage, these women were not always in control of what was happening in these relationships. For all intense purposes leaving was not always safe, nor was the choice to leave always a viable option. J, strategically bided her time until she could leave town to go away to university. It was always her plan and a course of action her family was expecting, so she waited him out.

A common thread among the women's pūrākau was that many of them, like Kiri, did not see their partner's behaviour as violent, and or, if they did, they understood it as a normal and acceptable part of a romantic relationship, as was the case with Sarah. In both scenarios, the women 'don't know, what they don't know', therefore, making it difficult for them to make a decision to move on from such relationships without first having this insight. For example, Sarah didn't realise that what she was experiencing was terrorism. Similarly, in comparison to what her friends were experiencing, Kiri didn't believe she had any reason to complain.

Leaving was a process for the women. Their growing awareness of their situations was the crucial first step in leaving. The courage they mustered to take the steps to leave, and separate from their terrorist partners is a testament to their strength and character in response to their varying situations.

Some of the women were actively seeking to break away from these relationships (Kiri, R); others were the recipients of an intervention by family

(Keli), or the sequela of legal proceedings by police and, or the court system (Olivia, Sarah). Leaving was a process that involved the gathering of resources and the acquisition of insight, knowledge and information.

It is important to stress that leaving did not necessarily mean that the women would be safer, or that they would be “Free” from partner terrorism. Consistent with previous research, and as seen through the women’s pūrākau, leaving these relationships did not guarantee safety nor prevent the terrorism from continuing (Abrahams, 2010; Fanslow & Robertson, 2010; Murphy, 2002; Robertson et al., 2007). This was especially the case when there are tamariki involved. For example, Janie noted., “He was still in and out of my life for five years”. In fact, separation seemed to render some of the women more vulnerable, causing more stress, distress and fear. For example, Joy spoke about her terrorist partner turning up unannounced late one night, using their tamariki as excuse for his visit. While there:

(He) ripped the pantry doors off and all the kitchen cupboards, everything off. Umm things like that... cause he couldn't... he was losing that control. He didn't want to be with me, but he didn't want anyone else to be either. But it's alright he'd been with half the world or half the town (laughing).

Olivia suffered fear and anxiety in anticipation of some form of retaliation by her terrorist partner, not knowing where he was, or when he would decide to show up. It was never a matter of “if”: in her mind, it was a matter of “when”. Some of the women were stalked (Keli, Kiri, Kahira) and some suffered horrifying acts of terrorism when separated (Kiri, Kahira and Olivia). For example, Kiri’s first physical act of terrorism to her maternal body happened following separation. These findings support the previous literature that highlights the increased risk of terrorism that comes with leaving (Bancroft et al., 2012; Mbilinyi et al., 2007; McMahon & Pence, 1995; Radford et al., 1997; Shalansky et al., 1999; Troon, 2014).

Barriers to leaving

People often remark to women in relationships marked by partner terrorism that they need to get out. Such advice is rarely helpful, or supportive: were it that simple. There are many barriers facing women leaving a relationship with partner terrorism, some of these were evident in the women's stories.

“Why do women stay?” is a question many people ask. It is important here to highlight that such a question places the focus solely on the women's actions and ‘perceived’ opportunities, as opposed to the actions of the partner terrorists, to whom the terrorism belongs, and not the women who suffer it. Some of the barriers identified by the women included, but were not limited to:

- a. Fear
- b. Fear of losing their pēpī and tamariki to their terrorist partner
- c. Ongoing threats
- d. Not knowing what support was available
- e. Increase in acts of terrorism, therefore, it is safer to stay

Essentially the women's ability to see barriers and negotiate resistance is proof they are always evaluating the risks to themselves and their tamariki and pēpī. This could also be seen as a form of risk assessment. Their awareness of their situations and skill in negotiating the terrorism makes them the best ones to assess the risk involved with regards to how best to protect themselves, their tamariki and pēpī. This finding, is consistent with previous research which also highlights the way women often adopt strategies such as remaining in these relationships to enhance the safety of their tamariki and pēpī (Crichton-Hill, 2013; Heise, Ellsberg, and Gottemoeller, 1999).

Processing their thoughts and feelings with others was important for the women, but not all had access to people they could share their experiences with, particularly people who had relevant knowledge. Mel provided a good example of this:

My mate: she used to ask about it, but I couldn't really talk to her about it cause she was in that kind of a relationship... Yeah, it was just like I can't really talk to her cause were both in the same situation, and none of us

are doing anything about it so why are we gonna sit here and talk about it?

Mel shows a level of astuteness here; fully aware she is continuing in her relationship despite the partner terrorism, she is not willing to sit around discussing the situation with someone who, in her eyes, is also not doing anything about it. She needed someone who was able to support her from a place of non-judgement and genuine knowledge.

Resistance by terrorist partners to accept the end of the relationship and leave was another barrier some of the women faced. Mel and Kiri had similar experiences: neither partner accepted that the relationship was over. Kiri said:

Our baby was two weeks old when I told him that I didn't want to be in the relationship any more, and I think he was around 6 – 8 months old when (partner) actually took all his things and he left. So that's a really long gap.

Mel told me:

I told him that we were done, and that he had to go and he just wouldn't leave. He would never leave, and then when I'd go and try to leave he'd always go and drag me back in the house... and then more arguments would start, so in the end I just stayed to save the arguments.

For both women, it took courage to speak out but in the face of this resistance it took some time before they could really draw a line under their relationship.

Failed attempts to seek support and guidance were also barriers to getting out. Kiri's journey out of her relationship began with "Ringing women's refuge". When she got pregnant with her youngest, initially Kiri did not want to continue with her pregnancy but "Felt pressured to have (the baby)." As a result, she was "Really unhappy through the whole pregnancy", and was "really depressed". Motivated by the extent of her unhappiness with her relationship

and being unsupported with her pregnancy she made her first attempt to reach out for help:

Umm I remember ringing women's refuge once. And they talked me out of going to the refuge... "You're not going to like it here and all you're going to do is end up going back there anyway." And then she decided to give me some parenting pointers over the phone. "Oh you shouldn't yell..." I had not told her anything about the situation, I wasn't even getting hit then. I was just really unhappy, and I was still under the belief that if I left I'd have nothing, so the only place you can go is women's refuge cause he owned everything and he made all the money. She talked me out of it over the phone. I would not have gone back to the house.

Reaching out for help ended up being a punitive experience for Kiri who said: "I'm so glad I didn't go in, cause I would have felt so embarrassed. I'm glad I rang over the phone." This last comment implies the vulnerability she felt in asking for help. This experience discouraged Kiri from making further attempts to seek help. Essentially her experience supports previous literature identifying the way seeking help is fraught, and accompanied with fear of rejection and humiliation (Wilson, 2014).

It is important to mention that this response from the refuge to Kiri's cry for help had serious consequences for her. A few months after this call she experienced her first physical form of partner terrorism. The state of Kiri following this ordeal, the extent of the physical violence and the situation surrounding it shocked even the police, who could not believe it was the first ever incident of physical violence she had experienced in this relationship.

When asked what prevented her from seeking help Keli, like some of the other women, cited fear as the biggest barrier to leaving: specifically, fear that she would die. This fear was an unremitting presence in her life, and was overpowering in the face of reasoning and logic.

Argh... fear. Yeah scared that no one would believe me, that he was just going to kill me. I mean it may seem really surreal, and that he'd actually do that but I believed all of his threats.

The nature of the terrorism is overt through Keli's perception of her situation when sharing that the only way she was going to escape her partner was in death. She believed he would kill her, or, that she would be forced to kill herself, or kill him. Either way, death was the only way out.

You know like I said the suicidal thoughts that I had, or the thoughts of killing him, I mean that was more than once I wanted to (do that)... ya know!? It got to the point where it was like, this will be the only way out.

Keli recalls how her partner always had "Huge charges" and how each time he would go to court: "I'd be like, yes! He's going to go to jail", thinking that would be her way out. "Yeah, this is going to be my escape, and then bloody one of his bum boys would take the rap and argh... and then he'd come home". With the support of neighbours, she began "To make plans to leave". Her partner being sentenced to periodic detention provided the opportunity:

They would sneak over and we were actually starting to plan like how I was going to get away and what it might look like, and that's the kind of things we would discuss on PD days. And then I discovered I was pregnant... I didn't want to tell him cause then it felt like I'm never gonna be able to leave, so I didn't want to tell him about the pregnancy. I didn't know how to tell him cause I knew it would just cause drama cause he'd say it wasn't his, so yeah and because I wanted to leave so I didn't want him knowing there was another child cause if I was going to leave I was going to have to run as far as possible. And yeah it was just really confusing at the start. So I didn't tell him and then I started bleeding, cause he was still physically... (drifted off).

Ironically Keli escaped following an act of partner terrorism while pregnant. She was admitted to hospital, which provided an opportunity for

intervention. Due to the overwhelming nature of her situation, Keli was focused on getting through each day alive:

Well I didn't do it myself, probably never would have left if I done it myself... you know if it was up to just me. I didn't plan it either, I think by then I was just trying to get through each day, surviving each day.

While Keli was in hospital, her partner made several phone calls threatening both her and hospital staff. Her family became aware of the situation and took charge, ordering the nurses to stop passing the phone to Keli. Keli gives them credit for her getting out:

They said "You're not going back", and I think I was like "But he's going to kill me, and then he's going to burn down mum's house, he's going to kill everybody... ya know he's threatened to kill you all" blah blah blah. And they were like "He's not going to kill us. You know we can look after ourselves. You're not going back." And they rung the police and the police just put me in a refuge in a different town. And I never... that was it, that was the end.

With support, Keli was able to take steps to protect herself and her tamariki by seeking a parenting order and protection order. However, silenced by her fear and the fear of retaliation by her terrorist partner she did not speak to police about the terrorism she had endured for 7 years.

I never went to the police... I was too scared to do that. That would take it too far. I was scared that things would get worse if I done that, so I got the protection order but in the mean time they were trying to track him down to serve him and stuff. He ran one of my friends off the road and beat her up. That was one of my friends that was sneaking in. He did a home invasion on the other one while she was asleep: he broke in and gave her a hiding while she was in bed and said it was their fault that they had planned this... and ya know their influence on me that made me not come back. So one of them reported it to the police... those incidents and

he was arrested for that. He was in jail for a while, but he did find out I was in (name of town) and he come over here, and he was staying with someone around the corner from the refuge and apparently stalking... like watching me drop (baby) off at kindy and stuff.

Keli's story highlights that while all the precautions can be taken to keep themselves safe, the women's fears are realistic. Partner terrorists can be dangerous and unrelenting in their pursuit of retribution against women. Life can be fearful living with these partners, and it can be fearful living without them.

Catalyst for change - Turning points

Often, there was a particular turning point or critical event that provided an opportunity for the women to reassess their situations. These varied from woman to woman.

This was the case for Sarah who said the motivation to end her relationship came from the fear of being killed.

I would love to say that baby was the motivation, but I don't think she actually was. For me I think it was actually the fear that... I actually did not know if I was going to survive that whole situation. I didn't know if I was going to get out of that flat. Especially when he had his hand around my throat. I really didn't know if I was going to live to see the end of that day. And it was that feeling that made me wake up, well partially wake up, and get out of that situation. Granted I put myself back in the situation slightly, but I pulled myself fully out of it the second time around.

Her first instinct following this incident was to call her mother for help: "All I wanted to do was go to my mum". Her mother arrived with other family members. Sarah said, "We packed me up a bag and I went back to mum's". With their immediate safety taken care of, the family began to explore what they needed to do, to ensure Sarah's safety and that of her baby.

In the following two to three days we'd made arrangements with the housing people, and I packed up my house and moved back in with mum.

Mel's exit from her relationship was swift and came as a result of her witnessing her partner hitting her tamariki. The attack was unprovoked and random, leaving one of her tamariki bleeding from the mouth, taking her by surprise. Her reaction was instinctual. As she told me:

I didn't even think. As soon as that happened I asked his mum to watch the kids while I ran down to the shop so I could ring my mum. And then as soon as mum was there I was straight out.

While Mel had been exposed to many episodes of terrorism that left her bloodied and bruised, one instance of witnessing this same behaviour toward her tamariki, and seeing her son with "A bleeding mouth" was all it took for her to reassess her situation. The safety of her tamariki became paramount: "Yeah I just up and left... and I never went back there after that. Yeah".

However, leaving was not straight-forward: Mel had to withstand more pressure from her partner.

Ah he just tried to manipulate me into getting back with him and that kind of stuff. And when I told him "no that's not what I want to do", he'd started like threatening me with stuff like he'll never see the kids again, he won't be a part of their life and that. That he will get a new missus to make me jealous, and all that kind of stuff.

Despite this, Mel was unwavering in her commitment to the safety of her pēpē and tamariki, and her role as ūkaipō, and never went back. As her experience shows, terrorist partners did not relinquish control of the women easily, their tactics being both shameless and fear-provoking for the young women. Mel's strength in the face of it is highly admirable, as it is such a difficult stance to maintain.

Outside intervention

Often, it took outside intervention to make leaving possible for the women and ensure support was available in maintaining their safety, by making access to the women difficult.

For Kiri outside intervention came from a midwife who gave her crucial information. This was empowering to this mother of three, and was instrumental in her deciding to leave.

When her youngest was a new born she described breaking down in front of her midwife, following her experience with women's refuge, saying she gave "me the push that I needed" in the absence of family support.

I needed someone that wasn't in my family, and wasn't my friend to tell me... I needed someone to tell me what to do, and she (the midwife) did. And that's when I started leaving (partner). Cause my family was just like, "Just get over it; it's not even that big a deal."

For Kiri, the midwife's intervention was a game-changer: "Everything I thought – she blew all of that out of the water". Armed with new information and awareness of financial assistance available, Kiri wasted no time in letting her partner know she wished to separate: "We had a big talk that night, and I told him I realised I just don't want to be in a relationship".

As happened with Mel, Kiri had to work through her partner's resistance:

He cried, he cried for like three days. But I think that was a pity tactic. Yeah! Then he moved from that to getting mad, slamming doors and such, being angry towards the kids. A lot less patience with them... swearing at them. And then not helping with the baby either... the new born.

This only served to strengthen Kiri's resolve:

I just thought "Well if you're not going to help get the fuck out. Fuck off." But it took a really long time for him to actually collect his shit and leave.

In some instances, intervention came from family and whānau.

Protective qualities of family and whānau were evident through some of the women's pūrākau. For example, because she was living at home with them, Kiri's parents provided some protection. Although her partner could emotionally

abuse her without her family knowing about it, Kiri's view was that "It could have gotten physical a few times **if** my parents weren't in the same house".

For Sarah, her family, and in particular her mother, were crucial. Sarah told me that following an assault: "My strategy was to go and talk to my family". Sarah told them about an assault and immediately, support was mobilised:

Thankfully I had a good family that knew what to do, and were able to support me in that way. I ended up getting a protection order against him, and I've got a custody order for my first child. Everything moved really **really** fast aye. Like I said, she really did put things into play. Within a week I had gone and met with a family lawyer, and I done somethings... I had the protection order pretty much straight away, and then the custody order came within a week or so.

Sarah's family went through a process of accumulating information and taking action as they were guided through their own knowledge base, accompanied with information and guidance provided by other people in their network. Knowing what to do, who to talk to, and how to go about things was fundamental in the successful way they navigated things, and was a point of difference.

Through her korero, Mel also identified that her mother was a protective figure in her life, saying that her mother at one point intervened in the violence, and spoke directly to her partner about his behaviour.

Mum intervened one time and he got real angry cause my mum was just stating the truth to him, so he picked up the pram and nearly hit her with it. But it got the wall instead.

Similar to Sarah, when Mel decided she was leaving she called her mother for help. Her mother helped to protect her. When asked if she was ever followed or stalked once she left her relationship, Mel said: "No, cause he knows my mum, he knows what she's like". Here she identifies her mother as being able to

provide protection for her and her children, acknowledging also that she, much like Sarah's mother, would take care of things.

As outlined in more detail above, Keli's whānau were also instrumental in her leaving her relationship. As she put it: "Well I didn't even make the decision; my family didn't let me go back. That's how it happened". She said that during her relationship they didn't know what was happening, but said "But ah my family figured out what was going on". This highlights the potential danger of keeping this sort of relationship a secret from family and whānau. When Keli's whānau found out, they immediately relieved her of the pressure she felt to protect everyone, and assumed responsibility for themselves. They were outside the situation, had a different view of what could and should happen, and were immediately able to employ measures to ensure her safety. This lifted a huge weight of Keli, making her feel she could leave, or more to the point, not return to an environment of partner terrorism.

Unsuccessful attempts at interventions by family were also common despite family member's best intentions. However, despite this, their presence was still a protective factor, and in instances when the women were able to take steps to get free of these relationships, family and whānau became instrumental as was the case with Sarah.

What is clear from the pūrākau is that women need people in their lives who are protective, and, or know where and how to access information and services to support the women in the transition out of these relationships.

Building better futures: reclaiming, reflection, and healing

The women's lives didn't suddenly become better once they separated from their terrorist partners. Fear was still an emotion that overwhelmed many. Similarly, the PTSD symptoms many of them were suffering continued.

Education provided an opportunity for the women to empower themselves. It was an important part of life, and possibly the healing journey for all of the women following their exits from these relationships. As Joy shared:

Education's always been a bit of a thing, so throughout (my journey) when my kids were little, I've either been in some sort of training for a qualification or working, and/or doing both. And that hasn't stopped... that's what I'm doing (now) as well

The women demonstrated courage and conviction as they worked to reclaim their lives, rebuild their self-esteem, and regain a sense of wellbeing, and build a life for their tamariki and themselves. Many of the women did this through education. Janie and Mel shared how they developed so much confidence through a course that they enrolled on, and Keli shared that she was doing a bachelor degree. Sarah, R, Joy, Kiri, J, Kahira, all went on to complete or were in the process of completing degree level programmes of education and higher, including doctorates. Keli shared:

That's why I was really excited when I heard what you were doing, because it's just so... ahh I guess ummm inspiring and I guess just kind of like really comforting to know that there are people out there who actually care, and who want to make a difference. I knew that helping you in any way I could with my experience would do nothing but help others. So all the stuff that I have learnt from my experience goes into what I do now. Things that I have been able to reflect on, and learn from and understand I guess.

Melody was focused on creating a better future for her tamariki, sharing her aspirations for their future:

Well I'm doing (name of course) now. I started fresh all over again for me and my kids: I just want to give them a positive life. Everything I have been through in the past I'm like taking on my shoulders, and that's an experience for me to go into anything now in life, that's just a stepping stone for me. I always think about it like...

In a discussion following the completion of our korero (while we were walking) one of the women told me how she revisited the WAVE group for the 12

week programme for support. She felt she needed support, and reminding of the things she learnt previously. It was a way for her to keep her mauri intact, and help her maintain a sense of safety, both elements essential for wellbeing in the aftermath of partner terrorism.

In the aftermath of their experiences, a couple of the women focused their energy on the education of other women in similar situations, as an avenue for their own healing. At the time of our korero Kahira was planning an event to raise awareness around partner terrorism, highlighting her continued passion for the safety and wellbeing of women and their families.

Keli also took her experience and used it to help educate other women about partner terrorism.

Pūrākau and whakatauākī as tools of healing and empowerment

As agents of change, korero tuku iho and toi Māori have a place in assisting the healing and empowerment of women. Partner terrorism comprises of acts toward women that are not commensurate with Māori values, and through connecting with Māori values, concepts, practices, whakapapa, reo, pūrākau and mātauranga, women can reclaim their identity as mana wāhine, whare tangata, and ūkaipō. Moreover, women can empower themselves and draw from whakapapa, and real life examples of heroes and role models, using them as examples for wellbeing.

Pūrākau, and whakatauākī are powerful mobilisers of knowledge and examples of heroic feats, and embody the character of our tīpuna. Resilience and healing were inspired in different ways during, and following their lives with partner terrorism. One of the women shared how drawing on the following whakatauākī helps her. While this was not something she was aware of during her relationship, it is something that she has used since.

Ānō ko te whare whawaho o Te Ao-Kapurangi!

Behold, the crowded/packed house of Te Ao-Kapurangi!

This whakatauākī speaks to an act of courage, and ingenuity by a Māori woman of great strength and character, Te Ao-Kapurangi. Her act of resistance saved her hapū, and it is also said her iwi, ahead of an attack by a war party seeking utu. Ahead of the attack, Te Ao-Kapurangi importuned the chief of the raiding war party in a courageous attempt at advocacy for the protection of her people, her negotiation was met with an unwilling offer from the chief; telling her he would spare any whom passed between her thighs. A belittling act, intended instead to demean her people; with view that not many would be spared in doing so, and in order to be saved they would have to surrender their dignity.

Te Ao-Kapurangi insisted on travelling with the war party, and as their war canoes breached the whenua of Te Motu Tapu a Tinirau, Te Ao-Kapurangi leapt from the waka, running in land, calling to her people as she ran, to shelter inside the whareniui. She climbed the whareniui and straddled the pou above the entry of the whareniui, remaining there throughout the battle, continuing to call to her people to shelter inside. The whare was filled until it could hold no more; all who entered were saved. Credited for saving her people through her act of resistance to the violence, Te Ao-Kapurangi a warrior of a woman, was also responsible for the lasting peace between the tribes, she was a leader and mana wāhine.

R shared how she is now supported on her journey through the empowerment of this whakatauākī saying that it inspires her, especially in times when she has had to do things that are “Difficult but essential”. She said she “Reflects” upon the actions of Te Ao Kapurangi often, using it as motivation in her own life; saying it is one of “My favourite tīpuna korero. I think she is amazing”.

This is a prime example of the way pūrākau and whakatauākī have the power to facilitate healing, and provide living examples of heroes and heroines to aspire to, and authenticating their awesomeness as a guide for the journey to wellbeing. R said this “Korero tukuiho” is about “Empowerment” for her, and

told me: “I have found her to be a huge inspiration”, also sharing that the pūrākau offers an example of “How we can diverge from ordinary tikanga in exceptional circumstances”. Through her acts of resistance, “Te Ao-Kapurangi demonstrates ingenuity, resilience, and determination, to do what we need to do in order to survive”. Drawing on her tīpuna’s korero is one example of the way R builds and maintains her resilience post terrorism. Through the way she aligns herself and her thinking with the qualities she admired in her tīpuna she is also reclaiming and asserting her identify as mana wāhine.

Kōrero Whakakapi - Summary

This theme used the process of creation (te kore, te pō, te ao) to discuss the stages women go through in their journey through partner terrorism. The women went through a process of acquiring insight into their situations with risk assessment clearly an important, and perhaps under acknowledged or unidentified part of the women’s decisions to remain in these relationships. Once aware of the barriers to leaving, women actively worked to overcome them.

information and resources were needed for them to plan their exit strategy. In order to transition away from partner terrorism and maintain their safety post separation, support and interventions were crucial. (Re)claiming their identities through education was something all the women reflected upon, and is identified as processes involved in their healing journey.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided meaningful insight into the women’s lived realities with partner terrorism. In essence the findings take the reader through a relatively complete journey of these women’s journeys through partner terrorism. Beginning, with the evolution of these relationships and ending where the women are living free from partner terrorism, while not free from all its sequela, most were in a place of reflection, healing and self-empowerment at the time of the interviews.

Upon reflection of the findings, there are several aspects consistent with findings from prior research, however, there is also a juxtapose in areas that challenge previous findings. There were a number of themes evident within each of the six themes: Ngā ra o mua – the journey, Terrorism, Violation of te whare tangata – the maternal body. The disruption of the ūkaipō, Acts of resistance, The Journey out; many of which overlap and intersect at different points.

The findings have provided a glimpse into the way partner terrorism impacts upon te whare tangata and pregnancy, while identifying the way this terrorism disrupts ukaipo across all of its meanings. They also speak to the way this terrorism disrupts a mother's ability to mother her tamariki and pēpī, while simultaneously highlighting the ways in which the women attempt to navigate and circumvent these relationships and their trajectories with partner terrorism.

This next section provides an overall conclusion of the research process from a point of retrospect, and offers insight and suggestions for further research in this area as a result. Before closing with a final word.

Chapter 5: He Whakatepenga: Conclusions

Ka ora te wahine puapua, ka ora te whānau, pūāwai Ka ora te hapū –
pūāwānanga Ka ora te Hapū – Pūāwananga.

If the woman is cherished, then the family will have wellness – in turn the
communities will be strong, thus the beauty of the tribe will be seen.

To conclude, this research was exploratory and theory generating, rather than
theory testing. Its purpose was to gain a deeper understanding of young
women’s lived experiences of partner terrorism during pregnancy. The intention
was to provide a platform for their understandings, their voices, and their
pūrākau to be heard, as well as to gain insights into what support women
needed, what was helpful to them, and the ways in which they maintained their
resilience during these relationships. The pūrākau of the women who
participated in this research have provided insightful and meaningful
contributions to these areas of inquiry, highlighting the importance of
understanding the impact of this terrorism on young women in their roles as
whare tangata, mothers and ūkaipō.

The terrorising relationships that the women discussed formed much like
any other relationship and, initially at least, seemed to have promise and
potential. However, they then typically followed a pattern of co-habituating and
entrapment through pregnancy and financial dependence. The terrorism that
these young women experienced usually consisted of clandestine acts
committed in the privacy of their homes. However, not all of them were able to
identify that they were in relationships that were fuelled by partner terrorism,
with some believing their experiences were “your typical relationship dramas”.
This view of the terrorism as a relationship norm had implications for their
safety.

Living in an environment of partner terrorism was found to have
compromised the women’s ‘safe place’, undermining the homes in which they
were supposed to nurture and raise their pēpī. Their experiences of partner

terrorism meant these women were mothering while under duress, with limited energy, freedom and power, which impacted on the ways they would have liked to have mothered. The women felt their identities as mothers were constantly under attack, and reported that their children were often recruited into terrorism against them by their fathers, offering further challenges to their confidence to mother. As has been noted in previous research, the impacts of this partner terrorism were often felt to be overwhelming. Regardless of the tactics employed by their terrorist partners, all of the young women in this research found that the ongoing and accumulative effects of the partner terrorism took an unsurprising toll on their mauri and wairua, and resulted in some women losing the will to live.

Inevitably, the women's whānau support systems were also disrupted through their experiences of partner terrorism, undermining their ability to regain and maintain wellbeing. This, in turn, had implications for their capacity to bond with and mother their pēpē. It was evident that as whare tangata, the women's maternal bodies were under assault before mothering began, so it was no surprise that their role as ūkaipō was found to have been disrupted. Yet, despite this violation of their mana, wairua, and mauri, as whare tangata, as ūkaipō, and as mana wahine, the mothers demonstrated insight into the needs of their tamariki and pēpē, and expressed a desire to protect them from the negative consequences of the partner terrorism. In the absence of a healthy support system and a supportive partner, the women struggled with some aspects of mothering, yet displayed great strength and resilience. This was evident in the many ways in which they endeavoured to navigate the challenges they faced with their terrorist partners, while finding ways to maintain their roles as ūkaipō to their pēpē.

Essentially, without intervention, the terrorism continued to escalate in intensity, and over time became more life-threatening. Leaving was difficult, and while women had just reasons to leave, they also had compelling reasons to stay. As is reported in previous literature, leaving was often a life-threatening course of action for the women (Abrahams, 2010), and did not necessarily bring an end

to the terrorism (Robertson et al., 2007). In fact, it often led to even more acts of terrorism. This too is consistent with previous research, which has indicated that leaving relationships inflicted with partner terrorism, is associated with an increased risk of terroristic acts, including being stalked, threatened, and being at greater risk of homicide (Chisholm et al., 2017; Cooper, 2013; Garnweidner-Holme et al., 2017; Krug et al., 2002; Rempel et al., 2018; Silva et al., 2018). Moreover, because the women in this research had tamariki in common with their terrorist partners, they felt they were never completely free of them. Again, this is consistent with previous research (Bancroft et al., 2012; Mbilinyi et al., 2007; McMahon & Pence, 1995; Radford et al., 1997; Shalansky et al., 1999; Troon, 2014), which has demonstrated that getting out of relationships often fails to end the terrorism.

It is worth noting that mutual violence has often been seen to be characteristic of teenage dating violence (Gibson et al., 2015; Lewis et al., 2017; Senior et al., 2017), but in this research there was little evidence of mutual violence in the women's relationships. The women were not the ones who brought the terrorism into their relationships, and this was consistently the case, whether or not they had been exposed to this type of behaviour while they were growing up. Thus, the terrorism to which the women in my research were exposed is evidently different to the sort of terrorism identified in previous studies of teen dating violence, which has typically been conducted with young women who do not have children. Upon reflection, it has become evident that the examination of existing literature on partner terrorism in teenage relationships provides limited insights, into the challenges facing young mothers who experience violence from a terrorist partner who has fathered their tamariki. No doubt this is partly accounted for by the way the women's pregnancy's offered their terrorist partner new opportunities for entrapping her.

Consistent with this analysis is the observation that pregnancy did not act as a protective factor for the women, which confirms the findings of some previous research (Bailey, 2010; McMahon & Armstrong, 2012). Instead, all the women in this research continued to be exposed to partner terrorism in varying

forms throughout each of their pregnancies, and in most cases the terrorism became increasingly worse during pregnancy, and escalated further following the birth of their pēpī. All of the women who participated in this research reported having had their lives threatened, and many suffered acts of terrorism in which they feared for their lives in that moment.

Partner terrorism during pregnancy was felt to be particularly dangerous and devastating, as in some instances it had caused miscarriages and adverse outcomes for new born infants, including potential serious injury to the baby in-utero, as well as harm to the mother's physical and mental wellbeing (Bailey, 2010; Cooper, 2013). This has significant implications for ante-natal and neo-natal health, which reinforces the importance of child birth educators, mid-wives and Plunket nurses being particularly vigilant to the possibility of partner terrorism, as they are well-placed to intervene to support mothers at risk of such terrorism (Bailey, 2010; Cooper, 2013), as was the case with Kiri.

Eventually though, all the women in this research did get out of their terrorising relationships, and at the time of our interviews, were living lives relatively free of terrorism. Help from others was crucial to achieving this, with interventions coming from family, whānau, police, and the courts. Having their terrorist partner prosecuted and imprisoned was also found to have provided safety for some women.

Overall, the findings of this research have implications for the stereotyping of young Māori women, as too often they feature in negative statistics relating to early pregnancies, failing to complete school and unemployment, and are blamed for the situations they are in, including being regarded as inadequate mothers. The women I interviewed often felt judged, and shamed, yet in our conversations, I discovered a different reality. These young women were struggling against long odds to do their best for their pēpī, and ironically, some of the agencies that could and should have supported them in their struggle made life more difficult for them.

Despite their many hardships, through the sharing of their pūrākau, the women sought to inspire change, and make a personal connection to other women living in relationships with partner terrorism. The taonga that the women gave to this research has thus contributed to a greater understanding of the disruption to the ūkaipō and to mothering within the context of partner terrorism, helping to address a gap in the current literature.

Reflection on the Research Process

As I reflect on my experiences when conducting this study, I can identify lessons that may be helpful to future kaupapa Māori researchers investigating māna wāhine and their experiences of partner terrorism.

One of the challenges of the research was negotiating the intersection between Western perspectives of research and the world, and kaupapa Māori research and te ao Maori. I was educated and trained within a Western education system and found this resulted in tensions between these two worldviews, particularly when it came to writing my findings in a way that was compatible with a kaupapa Māori approach. As a result, during the writing of my thesis, I spent a considerable amount of time in the space of te kore/potential while I navigated my way through this time of liminality.

Using a kaupapa Māori approach, that incorporated pūrākau as a method and means of analysis within a mana wāhine frame work, was the most appropriate way for me to engage with young women's lived experiences, and to write up this kaupapa. It prevented this research from becoming 'just another piece of research on wāhine Māori' that paints a single story of them as 'victims' of partner terrorism. Instead, it has become a heroic narrative of triumph in the face of adversity, and hope for a safer world in which to raise pēpē and tamariki.

As declared early on in this thesis, I have no prior personal or family history with partner terrorism. To prepare myself for the research, I consulted with the experts in this field; the women who have experienced this terrorism. Being educated through the WAVE group prior to engaging with any of the

women who participated in this research was crucial to effective engagement with the participants. It educated me prior to recruiting participants, and prepared me for some of the things I was going to hear and the ways in which I could respond to it. The experiences that were shared within the group over the 12 weeks of the course had a profound and powerful impact on my understanding of this type of violence, and the way it affects women and mothers. The participant's bravery in sharing details of some of the darkest days of their lives, shone a very bright light on my prior ignorance of what it is like to live as mothers and ūkaipō in an environment of seemingly inescapable partner terrorism.

Similarly, attending a school for young parents where I had the opportunity to interact with young mothers helped to give me an understanding of what life was like for them at this stage of their lives. This opportunity informed my research greatly, as I was able to formulate my own insights and feelings based on my own experiences with these young women, and not rely entirely on someone else's research or opinions to guide me. I learnt more from my time with this group of young mothers and the WAVE group than I could have ever learnt from reading journal articles or scholarly texts, as while the literature that I read grounded me with the Western academic context, these interpersonal and relational interactions personalised my research and shaped my approaches to it. This made me feel connected to the women, to their experiences and to this research, which strengthened my commitment to upholding the values of mātauranga Māori. It also made me feel confident when discussing the issues that they faced, and afforded me opportunities to approach some of the more sensitive aspects of this topic in ways that sometimes deviated from mainstream research norms. For example, I was able to draw from the experiences of some women as a means to explore and extend on the experiences of others. This gave me a new found respect for them, for what they have come through, which in turn nurtured a greater sense of protectiveness with regards to the way their pūrākau should be presented.

Many of the women who took part in this research reported that they had never previously disclosed their stories to anyone from beginning to end, or in such detail, and some shared that this was the first time they had spoken about their experiences at all. Upon completion of our conversations, some of the women said that they felt different after sharing their journey with me, “somehow better” and some were surprised at how “healing” this experience had been for them. Others said the experience of sharing made it feel like a “complete story” from beginning to end, which seemed to give them a sense of closure. On the other hand, one woman commented that people talk about this type of experience being “healing” and “cathartic” but she felt it was not healing for her at all. This was no surprise to me, as after sitting with her for almost two hours it was clear that she was still entrenched in the struggle that accompanies partner terrorism. At the end of our korero she told me her terrorist partner was due to be released from prison in two weeks. She was clearly traumatised by this knowledge and was revisiting her experiences while living with the knowledge that he would be free any day. I am in awe of the courage it took for her to share her story, given her situation. Her pūrākau was heart wrenching, strong and undisguised. She left an indelible impression upon me.

The pūrākau and mātauranga of all the women have been instrumental in my evolving understanding and awareness of the devastating toll this type of terrorism has on women, their tamariki, and their wider whānau. These women’s pūrākau were poignant, and highlighted their courage and resilience as they overcame adversity. They have gifted their pūrākau so that others may learn, and to empower women experiencing partner terrorism to envisage a safer future in which to raise their pēpē and tamariki. The opportunity to re tell their pūrākau and be part of this journey is a taonga for which I will be forever grateful.

Limitations

As with any research project, this research has limitations that will be acknowledged here.

Firstly, the sample size of women was relatively small and is therefore not representative of the general population. The small sample consequently, has implications with regards to the generalisability of the research findings, which do not reflect the experiences of all young pregnant women exposed to partner terrorism, or all Māori mothers in this situation. Nevertheless, the research has succeeded in illuminating the experiences of a hitherto under-researched group: young Māori mothers living in the context of partner terrorism.

Secondly, I gained more experience and knowledge through speaking to the women as the research progressed. Being able to begin with this level of insight and knowledge would be likely to have influenced the direction of the earlier interviews, as the first interviews influenced the direction of subsequent interviews. Throughout the data collection period, I was taking all my learning forward, but inevitably I could not take this learning backward, and apply it to what I had learnt from the women I had spoken with previously. Further discussions via follow up interviews may thus have been helpful in this instance; however, given the sensitivity of the kaupapa, I do not feel follow up discussions would have been appropriate.

Thirdly, the word limit of this thesis meant that it was impossible to discuss all that was shared. The reader should be aware that there is so much more to these phenomenal women, their experiences, and their mātauranga than the scope of this research and pages of this thesis could contain.

Lastly, while aspects of my approach were grounded in kaupapa Māori practice, the initial planning of the research and interview questions was not. Ultimately, I feel this constrained the outcomes of this research to some extent. If I were able to repeat this research, I would pay greater attention to the types of questions I asked, and focus more on drawing out the strengths of the women whilst in terrorising relationships and their courage in leaving them.

Recommendations for Future Research

There is limited research related to the violation of the maternal body, *te whare tangata*, and while this research has sought to make a contribution in this area, further research is necessary to expand on its findings. With regard to the impact of partner terrorism on young pregnant women, *te whare tangata* and the disruption of the *ūkaipō*, the following suggestions are offered.

While this research has identified the support of family and *whānau* as a potential intervention in the context of partner terrorism, further research is needed to better understand the ways in which this can be optimised. Thus, I would recommend that in future research, *whānau* members are also involved, so as to gain wider insights into the role of *whānau* in supporting women within relationships fuelled with partner terrorism, and in intervening to facilitate the ending of them.

Another intervention identified in this research was through a Plunket nurse. Therefore, it is evident that midwives, Plunket nurses and childbirth educators are people who could potentially act as agents of change in the lives of women experiencing partner terrorism. Further research into how they could maximise their influence and engagement styles to develop rapport with women in relatively short periods of time is needed. Research to identify what potential interventions that specifically target young pregnant Māori women might look like would also be beneficial.

A related area that demands more rigorous research is the magnitude of the impact of the current court system, police and child protection agencies on women and *wāhine* Māori. Research regarding the way current processes give rise to further victimisation and the stigmatisation of women and *wāhine* Māori, and the structural violence they experience should be explored. There is a particular need for research that focuses on understanding how to minimise the stigma and anxiety that is attached to engaging with such processes. Such research should also address the structural violence to which Māori mothers are subjected via interventions by the state.

Based on what I now know as a result of this research, I would like to see future research attempt to provide a deeper understanding of the factors that support and enhance the recovery and healing of young women and mothers, and their tamariki, in the aftermath of partner terrorism. Such research might have a particular focus on mana wāhine concepts as a pathway to healing, along with Atua wāhine Māori. In addition, such research might benefit from the exploration of whakatauākī, korero tuku iho, toi Māori and pūrākau in relation to the empowerment of women, using living examples from whakapapa and tīpuna korero as a guide to explore the wellbeing of women.

Through the process of conducting this research it was evident that there was a gap in the way Māori women understood their identity and roles as whare tangata, and ūkaipō. They did not make connections to the foundation of their roles as women and mothers from within te ao Māori, nor did they talk about their experiences in relation to the empowering body of knowledge about mana wāhine. Future research could investigate the role, the separation of such concepts from our lived realities has played in the manifestation and maintenance of partner terrorism. It could also focus on the ways this mātauranga could act as an intervention to partner terrorism. This kaupapa applies equally to women and men. For women, a better connection to te ao Māori and their identity as whare tangata and ūkaipō might mean that they would seek help sooner. Similarly, if men understood the identity of women as whare tangata and ūkaipō, perhaps they would be less inclined to commit acts of terrorism against them.

Finally, while this research has focused on young pregnant women, with the majority of the contributors of this research being wāhine Māori the focus of research on partner terrorism should not be limited to Māori. This work could be extended to other cultures that are underrepresented in research, and over represented in the statistics of partner terrorism. Additional culturally-nuanced studies would enhance our understanding in relation to the recovery of young women, mothers and their tamariki, and help us to understand what measures

to take to prevent and address partner terrorism, and how to employ them within Aotearoa's diverse cultural climate.

Kupu Whakamutunga: Final Word

The intention of this research was to make a contribution towards changing people's perspectives on the realities of living with partner terrorism, and the negative narratives and stigma associated with the women who live with it. There is a danger that violence and abuse come to be seen as the single controlling story of these women's lives, making it difficult for them to be seen in any other way. This leads to abuse being the lens through which they are viewed and measured. I hope that through sharing their pūrākau, my participants and I have been able to rewrite these old narratives, provide some rationale for their experiences, and answer some of the questions that are often offered as solutions, such as, "why doesn't she just leave?"

This thesis provided a space for the voices of the women who were the contributors to this research, as their voices are essential in the development of strategies and mechanisms to guide other women in similar situations to safety. The contributors' pūrākau were unadulterated, and while each was unique, they were all interwoven, making up a much bigger whāriki or collective pūrākau about partner terrorism. I have attempted to meaningfully weave their korero into a new pūrākau that acknowledges the reality of their journey through partner terrorism, while also creating a space to recognise their triumphs and ability to overcome adversity because "[t]elling our own stories gives our future generations a perspective they can be proud of" (August, 2005, p. 122).

To conclude, I turn again to the words of Maya Angelou (1986), which speak poignantly to the oppressors/partner terrorists while echoing the strength of character of the phenomenal women who escaped a life of partner terrorism and are the contributors to this research:

Olivia, Janie, Kiri, J, Kahira, Sarah, Keli, Mel, R, Desirae, and Joy. Kia kaha,
wāhine toa!

Just like moons and like suns,

With the certainty of tides,

Just like hopes springing high,

Still I'll rise.

—Maya Angelou, *And Still I Rise*

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Ngā Tāpiritanga: Appendices

- Appendix A Information sheet for participants
- Appendix B Topics and broad areas of questioning
- Appendix C Consent forms
- Appendix D Transcriptionist confidentiality agreement

APPENDIX A: Information Sheet for Participants

Who is the researcher?

My name is Tuihana Marsh and I am a Psychology student, undertaking my Master's Thesis at the University of Waikato in Hamilton.

What the research project is about?

I am interested in exploring the experiences of young mothers and pregnant woman (aged 17 years or under at the time of their pregnancy or first child) with intimate partner violence. I'm interested in how this impacts them, their pregnancies, their relationships and their coping strategies. I would like to understand what is helpful to these women and what challenges they face. Participants will need to be living free of this behaviour for one year to be able to participate.

Why am I being asked to participate?

I have approached community agencies to ask for their help in recruiting and you fit the profile I'm looking for. I am interested in your story and your experiences in relation to intimate partner violence and relationship conflict as a young mother and or pregnant woman.

What will I be asked to do if I choose to participate in the research project?

I would like to have a one on one discussion with you about your experiences with intimate partner violence. The discussion could take anywhere between one and two hours depending on your level of comfort in discussing this topic and how much you are comfortable sharing. I have questions I need to cover in the interview so it will be semi- structured to allow for your story to be shared. The interviews will take place at a location, time and date that suits both parties.

What will I be asked in the interview?

There will be particular emphases on intimate partner violence. Intimate partner violence refers to relationships in which conflict is expressed in violent ways, such as physical abuse or threatening *See attached list of topics.*

What will happen with the information I give?

The interviews will be voice recorded and the recording transcribed by myself, or a professional typist. You will have the opportunity to review the transcript if you wish to and make changes and deletions if you wish. To protect your privacy we will discuss the best way of sending the transcript to you, options may include either having it posted to you, emailed or you may like to collect it at a designated time and place. Once you receive the transcript, you will have two weeks to make any changes and return it to me in a pre paid envelope, or drop it off in the sealed envelope provided to a designated location/organisation. If I do not hear from you within this two weeks period I will assume you are happy for me to use the content as it is. The recordings will be deleted once they have been transcribed.

I will use the information to prepare my thesis. It is also possible that I and/or my supervisors will use the information to prepare conference presentations articles and articles for academic journals.

Will other people know I participated in this research project?

My supervisors and I will be the only people who will see the consent forms. A professional typist may be recruited to do the transcribing, but will not have access to any names or personal information. If someone is recruited to transcribe the recordings, they will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement to ensure utmost privacy around the contents. When writing up this research, your name will not be used. Neither will the write up include identifying information such as place names or the names of other people or services. Despite this effort to protect your privacy, you do need to keep in mind

that someone who knows you well may be able to recognise some of the information as coming from you, depending on what method I use to write up your stories. However, in saying this my master's thesis will be held in the universities library and is not available to everyday people, it would generally be accessed by university students and staff, other professionals may also come across my research at some point.

What do I need to do now?

This is an invitation for you to participate in this research project; however, you are under no obligation to accept this invitation.

Participation in this research project is voluntary; if you choose to participate you do so at a level that is comfortable for you.

If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular questions
- Withdraw from the study up to two weeks after the interview
- Ask any questions about this research project at any time during participation.

You are free to make contact with me directly about your participation, or alternatively you can give your contact details (phone number or email address) to one of the staff members and I will make contact with you. Please state any specific days and times you would like me to call if you are providing a contact number.

Approval from Ethics Committee: *This research project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Waikato School of Psychology Ethics Committee, and meets the University's Ethical Conduct in Research Guidelines, which is consistent with the Code of Ethics of the New Zealand Psychological Society Inc. Section 6. Research with Humans.*

*If you have any concerns about the ethics of this research project or the researcher, please contact: **Dr Nicola Starkey** on **Phone: 07 838 4466 ext 6474** or **(0800 WAIKATO ext 6474)**, Email: nstarkey@waikato.ac.nz*

If you have any questions about this masters thesis research project, my supervisors and I will be contactable through out the course of the research project.

Contact Details:

Researcher: *Tuihana Marsh* Masters Student, University of Waikato.

Phone 021 267 8662 Email: tmm32@waikato.ac.nz

Research Supervisor: *Carrie Barber*, School of Psychology, University of Waikato. Phone 07 838 4466 ext 6685 Email: cbarber@waikato.ac.nz

Research Supervisor: *Neville Robertson*, School of Psychology, University of Waikato. Phone 07 838 4466 ext 8300. Email: scorpio@waikato.ac.nz

APPENDIX B: Topics & Board areas of questioning

- **Experiences of intimate partner violence (IPV) and relationship conflict (RC) in general and in relation to pregnancy**
- **What form did the IPV/RC take**
- **What role did the pregnancy play in the formation/maintenance of the relationship (how this may/may not contribute to the role of pregnancy in the development of IPV)**
- **Did you prioritise for your safety when you were pregnant (did being pregnant increase your appreciation for yourself and or your baby and life)**
- **What were some of the factors that contributed to you living in or with this situation (violence/IPV)**
- **What do you think enables young women (or prevents them) from asking for help with IPV and relationship conflict**
- **Were there barriers that prevented you from engaging in pregnancy care e.g. antenatal care, engaging in midwifery and GP support for pregnancy care, birth education (pre and post natal)**
- **Did you ever engage help via support services, community providers or professionals with your situation? What were your experiences?**
- **Were your family supportive of your relationship/pregnancy**
- **Were you and or your partner in paid employment at the time of the IPV/RC (What role did they play)**
- **What was the turning point in your life or the relationship and how /why did you leave or end the abuse?**
- **Has your experience with IPV influenced your identity and the way you see yourself as a mother?**
- **Has your experience with IPV influenced your relationship with your children?**
- **Did becoming pregnant or having a baby/s at a young age impact on or affect your education or educational opportunities?**

APPENDIX C: Consent Form

University of Waikato

School of Psychology

CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPANT / RESEARCHER COPY

RESEARCH PROJECT

Intimate Partner Violence: Retrospective Views of Young Pregnant Women & Mothers

Name of Researcher: Tuihana Marsh (Masters Student)

Name of Supervisors: Carrie Barber & Neville Robertson

- I have received and understand the contents of the information sheet explaining this research project.
- I have had the opportunity to discuss this research project and my participation with the researcher; I have had any questions about the research project and my participation answered in a way that I am comfortable with.
- I understand that taking part in this research project is completely voluntary, and that my participation or non-participation will not affect my relationships with the agency referring me and or the staff in anyway.
- I understand I have the right to decline to answer any questions, and can participate in the interview to whatever degree I feel comfortable.
- I understand I have the right to withdraw from the research project up to two weeks after the individual interview has taken place.
- I understand that my privacy will be preserved as my name and personal details will not be included in any transcribed information or the final thesis itself.
- I understand I can contact the convener of the Research and Ethics Committee: Dr Nicola Starkey regarding any concerns that I may have about this research project, and or the researcher. Phone: 07 838 4466 ext 6474 or (0800 WAIKATO ext 6474), Email: nstarkey@waikato.ac.nz

“I agree to participate in this research project’s one on one interview; I also give permission for the information collected to be used in the researcher’s Masters thesis, and any articles that may be written from the thesis. I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form and the research project information sheet”

Name of Participant: _____

Age: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX D: Transcriptionist Confidentiality Agreement

University of Waikato

School of Psychology

TRANSCRIPTIONIST CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

RESEARCH PROJECT

Intimate Partner Violence: Retrospective Views of Young Pregnant Women & Mothers

Name of Researcher: Tuihana Marsh (Masters Student)

I _____, transcriptionist, agree to maintain full confidentiality in regards to any and all audio files and documentations received from Tuihana Marsh (Researcher) related to her research project on Intimate Partner Violence & Young Pregnant Women.

Furthermore, I agree:

- To hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual that may be deliberately or inadvertently revealed during the transcription of audio-recorded interviews, or in any associated documents.
- To not make copies of OR share any audio recordings or files.
- To delete all electronic files containing research-related documents from my computer, hard drive and any back-up devices once the transcription process has been completed.
- I will ensure that no person hears the recordings or see's the transcripts.
- I will ensure that no other person has access to my PC and that it is stored with password access in a safe location, while the research information is in my possession.
- I will not discuss any aspect of the recordings with anyone.
- I am aware that I can be held legally responsible for any breach of this confidentiality agreement, and for any harm incurred by individuals if I disclose identifiable information contained in the recorded audio files and/or files to which I will have access.

Name of Transcriptionist:

Signature: _____

Date: _____