MANA MĀTUA

Being young Māori parents

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Abstract

Young Māori parents strategically navigate Western parenting expectations, and issues of indigeneity in their construction of early parenting. A culturally based narrative approach to research with young Māori parents revealed personal stories of early parenting located in wider expectations from family and peers, their Indigenous community and society. The application of a Māori relational analytical framework reveals how young Māori parents navigate and negotiate assumptions about being young and being Māori. They draw on Māori understandings about raising children to resist assumptions that having a child at a young age contributes to entirely negative experiences. Furthermore, identifying with Western attributes of good parenting helps to counter the negative social outcomes often attributed to Māori parenting. Further strengthening of positive experiences of early parenting for Māori requires a broader approach to developing positive representations of Māori caregiving and Māori identity and integrating these into parenting supports.

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Keywords

young parents, early parenthood, Māori, cultural identity, Māori parenting practices

Young Māori parents in Aotearoa New Zealand are members of whānau and Māori communities. They also have some similarities with their peer grouping of young parents. Each of these groups has its own distinct characteristics. Identifying with each grouping can provide access to shared experiences and understanding; it can also provoke certain societal responses and expectations. While the recent Māori cultural renaissance has helped to promote positive representations of Māori expression, the ongoing effects of colonisation and racism perpetuate largely negative representations of the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). Similarly, a burgeoning body of research reveals early parenthood as a positive experience; however, there is still widespread stereotyping of young parents as incapable (Breheny & Stephens, 2010). Young Māori parents can be subjected to negative stereotyping in relation to being both young parents and Māori.

As young parents, they are subject to stigma about early pregnancy being indicative of irresponsible behaviour (Kelly, 1996). Young parents are framed as incapable of and unsuitable to care for a child (Breheny & Stephens, 2010; Wilson & Huntington, 2006). As Māori, they are subject to stigma associated with disadvantage and poor health and social outcomes (Hodgetts, Masters, & Robertson, 2004). To claim a positive identity, young Māori parents must negotiate the challenge of the negative connotations of being Māori and being a young parent.

Background

Māori perspectives of reproduction and caregiving

A Māori worldview has positive understandings of reproduction and caregiving. There is no specific term for "parenting" or "teen pregnancy" in the Māori language. However, there are many terms related to reproduction, pregnancy, labour, birth, mothering and fathering, and a range of roles and relationships relevant to caregiving. For example, Māori academics have examined the important role of women as whare tangata and as ūkaipō (Gabel, 2013; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2013; Ratima & Crengle, 2012; Rimene, Hassan, & Broughton, 1998; Simmonds, 2014; Simmonds & Gabel, 2016). Māori deities Hineahuone and Hineteiwaiwa are often cited as the source of Māori understandings about women and tikanga associated with childbearing (Simmonds & Gabel, 2016). There are many interrelationships between childbearing and identity. For example, hapū means to be pregnant as well as a sub-tribe, whānau means to be born and extended family, and whenua means both placenta and land. Within Te Ao Māori, the process of reproduction strengthens social structures of whānau and hapū, and connections with land.

There is also a growing body of literature about Māori parenting and raising Māori children (Cram, 2012; Herbert, 2001; Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Penehira & Doherty, 2012; Pihama, 2012; Ware, 2014). Within such literature, many culturally specific concepts relevant to raising tamariki are identified. For example, whakapapa emphasises the important role of both parents in producing new life to continue legacies. Tapu and mana help explain the prized and precious nature of

tamariki and mokopuna, while aroha refers to the way tamariki and mokopuna are nurtured and raised by the whole whānau (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Hineteiwaiwa is also the deity of rāranga and links reproduction with harakeke, which represents a whānau structure. The rito represents a child, the awhi rito represent the parents and the tūpuna rau represent the grandparents and wider family (Pihama, 2012). The pūrākau of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, who were separated to allow their children to come into the world of light to grow, is often cited as an example of a Māori understanding of the role of parents and children (Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Ware, 2014). The sole publication specifically on Māori fathering (Edwards & Ratima, 2014) also emphasises the important and distinct role of fathers. "Māori cultural views of whakapapa, whānau and tamariki as practiced within tikanga Māori . . . frame how pregnancy is positioned within te ao Māori, and therefore contextualises an approach by which Māori teen pregnancy may be viewed" (Pihama, 2010, p. 2).

Māori cultural concepts thus affirm a positive representation of whakapapa and reproduction, of everyone supporting each other to raise children and contributing to the overall wellbeing of the whānau. However, public representations of Māori parenting are often associated with negative connotations such as child abuse, poverty and welfare receipt, homelessness and neglect.

Negative representation of Māori

The public representation of Māori ethnicity and culture is largely negative, focusing on the disproportionate representation of Māori in almost every negative health and social outcome (Hodgetts et al., 2004). These outcomes are often blamed on personal inability or reluctance of Māori to choose to improve their situation. This individualising of blame and responsibility for disparities produces deficit theorising about Māori as deficient and deviant. The

continual comparison of Māori as lesser than non-Māori reinforces negative stereotypes of Māori, which perpetuates further disadvantage and stigmatisation associated with being Māori (Houkamau, Stronge, & Sibley, 2017).

Negative stereotyping of Māori is evident in different areas of society, from mainstream media (Nairn et al., 2012) to policy that affects young Māori parents on welfare (Neill-Weston & Morgan, 2017; Ware, Breheny, & Forster, 2016). This deficit approach of viewing Māori ethnicity or culture as a "risk factor" is particularly apparent in research and literature about teen pregnancy in New Zealand (Marie, Fergusson, & Boden, 2011).

However, individual circumstance and socioeconomic status do not fully account for these outcomes. These disparities are outcomes of broader sociohistorical, cultural and political determinants of health and wellbeing such as ongoing colonisation, racism, marginalisation and white privilege (Robson, 2008). Indigenous peoples are systematically marginalised and excluded from full participation in society through dominant non-Indigenous hegemonic usurpation. Therefore, a broader examination of how these marginalising systems, services and practices are maintained in society and continue to perpetuate these disparities is required.

Experiences of early parenting

Internationally, there is a growing body of qualitative research exploring the lived experiences of young parents. Generally, such research suggests that early parenting is associated with positive experiences and social inclusion (Barcelos & Gubrium, 2014; Berman, Silver, & Wilson, 2007; Clarke, 2015; Frewin, Tuffin, & Rouch, 2007; Kirkman, Harrison, Hillier, & Pyett, 2001). Motherhood, in particular, has been found to provide a valued social role that makes sense in the lives of young women, particularly women from disadvantaged backgrounds (Anwar & Stanistreet, 2015). Consequently, young mothers resist the negative stereotyping

of early parenthood and being positioned as a social problem (Zito, 2016).

Similarly, research with young Māori mothers frames parenting as a positive experience (Goodwin, 1996; Rawiri, 2007; Stevenson, Filoche, Cram, & Lawton, 2016). However, young Māori mothers' experiences of early parenting are also contextualised within Māori understandings and practices associated with reproduction, childbearing and parenting (Pihama, 2010; Strickett & Moewaka-Barnes, 2012). For example, the young Māori women in Stevenson and colleagues' (2016) study on the birthing experiences of Māori women under 20 years of age identified the practice of tikanga Māori and support from whānau as contributing to a positive birthing experience. Findings from these studies suggest that although reproduction and caregiving are valued in Te Ao Māori and the young Māori women valued Māori culture and language, there were additional challenges of positively identifying as a Māori parent.

Although more than 20 years old, the findings of Goodwin's (1996) study on support for young Māori mothers during pregnancy, birth and motherhood are still relevant today. Most of the young Māori women in Goodwin's study identified with particular aspects of Māori society and felt that learning about their culture helped them feel more positive about being Māori. However, positive feelings towards their cultural heritage did not necessarily equate with greater knowledge or use of te reo Māori and tikanga (Goodwin, 1996). Of particular relevance is the finding that some women experienced challenges with identifying positively as a Māori woman. There was a perceived conflict between Western values of progress and success, and negative perceptions of Māori as having worse health and social outcomes and requiring social assistance. These perceived conflicts were identified as barriers in promoting a positive Māori identity, particularly for women identifying as Māori mothers. This paper further explores the challenges of being Māori and a young parent, the potential of positive representations of reproduction and caregiving from Te Ao Māori, and navigation to a positive identity.

Research approach

Examining the personal lived experiences of young Māori parents required an approach that located Māori knowledge and experiences as central to the research (Smith, 1999). The approach needed to privilege youth voices as well as acknowledge the influences of being part of whānau, Māori society and broader New Zealand society (Ware, 2009). These experiences also needed to be contextualised within common understandings associated with age, parenting status and cultural identity. A Māori narrative approach, Kaupapa Kōrero, was developed as part of a doctoral research project to gather, present and analyse the perspectives of young Māori parents.

Participants were recruited via purposive networking through local young parent services and snowballing. The first 19 volunteers who identified as Māori, were under the age of 25, had had a child and lived in the Manawatū region of Aotearoa were recruited (Ware, Breheny, & Forster, 2017). There were 17 young Māori mothers and two young Māori fathers. Their age at the birth of their first child ranged from 14 years to 21 years. Three of the young Māori mothers had more than one child. At the time of the interview, the children ranged in ages from two months old to five years old. Half the participants were coupled and half were single. In-depth interviews of an average of one hour with 13 single participants, two couples and two groups of friends captured the diversity of how young Māori parents experience support during pregnancy, birth and early parenting. Kōrero based on the significant experiences of support or lack of support were identified, and formed into a chronological and coherent representation of each participant interview. If the

same experience was talked about on separate occasions, its fragmented parts were collated into one representative summary.

These kōrero were analysed using a Māori relational analytical framework based on whakapapa as a process of identifying related experiences. A whakapapa framework structures the kōrero in terms of identifying layers of relationships and kaupapa that influence each person's story as well as making connections across all participants' kōrero to illustrate the experience of parenting for young Māori. Applying a whakapapa approach helps to identify differing interpretations of the same kōrero, giving a more contextualised and nuanced understanding of the experiences of young Māori participants.

While each participant constructed their own identity (tōna ake ao), these identities were contextualised more broadly. As Māori, they were linked to significant others (tōna whānau) as well as to a Māori worldview. As young parents they were part of society (te ao whānui) as both young people and as parents. The contexts in which these relationships are expressed must be understood to be able to make sense of their kōrero. These "layers" are not exclusive; rather, they are interdependent and overlap with each other, as demonstrated in Figure 1. This approach also revealed the intersection of significant kaupapa: age, cultural identity, (early) parenting and coming from disadvantage. This paper considers two layers of kōrero (te ao whānui and tōna ake ao). It first illuminates Māori cultural understandings about caregiving practices within Te Ao Māori as well as negative stereotypes of early childbearing. Second, this paper explores how young Māori parents draw on Māori identity to construct personal experiences of early parenting (tōna ake ao).

Findings and analysis: Being a young parent and Māori

Two key kaupapa of being a young parent and being Māori were prevalent in young Māori parents' kōrero. Their kōrero were further shaped by two sometimes diverging understandings about childrearing from Te Ao Māori and dominant Western society (te ao whānui). An examination of their kōrero demonstrates how Māori understandings about childrearing are drawn on to resist dominant negative assumptions about being a young parent. Western markers of good parenting were also emphasised, to counter the stereotypes of negative
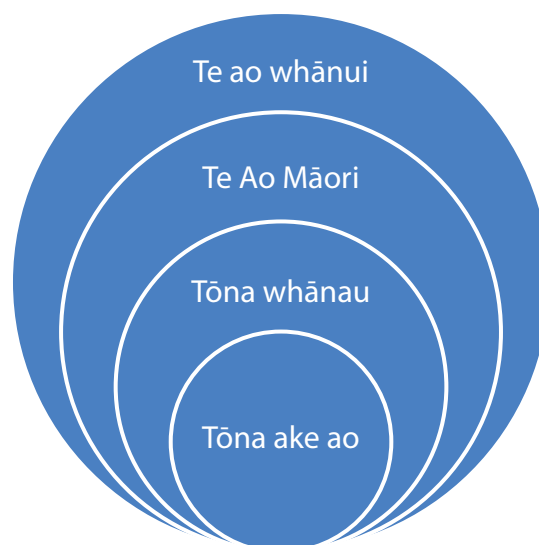

FIGURE 1 Kaupapa Kōrero analytic framework

social outcomes associated with being young and Māori. Young Māori parents navigated and negotiated these two differing expectations of childbearing to construct their own personal kōrero (tōna ake ao). Three key experiences are presented and discussed: finding out about pregnancy, resisting stigma associated with early parenthood and Māori ethnicity, and being Māori.

Positive pregnancy test

All the young Māori parents' kōrero began with remembering when they found out that they had conceived and were going to become a parent. The age of the young parents when they conceived ranged between 13 years and 20 years of age. All considered themselves young parents. In constructing their own kōrero about finding out they were pregnant, the young Māori parents drew on Māori understandings of reproduction and childbearing from Te Ao Māori to counteract the negative assumptions about early parenthood.

Te Ao Māori: Treasuring a new mokopuna

Many of the young Māori parents described how, from a Māori understanding, their pregnancy was a development to be celebrated because they were contributing to whakapapa with the addition of another mokopuna to their whānau. Children are considered taonga tuku iho from the atua and are to be treasured (Jenkins & Harte, 2011).

> Everyone was all right because my whole family was excited. Everyone was just disappointed because of my age. My mum was probably the one that made everyone turn their frowns upside down. She would say "but the good thing is, she's happy and she's having a baby. It's another moko (short for mokopuna)". (Rongomaiwahine)

The valuing of whakapapa and children helped to mitigate the disappointment from some of Rongomaiwahine's whānau about her pregnancy at what they considered to be a young age and the associated teen pregnancy stigma. Rongomaiwahine's pregnancy is able to be framed as positive and as contributing towards the development of her whānau.

Tōna ake ao: Welcomed pregnancy

Despite none of the pregnancies being planned, most of the young Māori parents quickly overcame the shock and welcomed their pregnancy. Notwithstanding their own concerns about the stigma attached to early childbearing, they had less concern with their own parenting capacity because many had grown up around other children and had experience in helping to look after the other babies within their whānau.

> Once I had a couple of scans and realised that it was a baby, like it wasn't just a couple of lines on a pregnancy test I just felt like, with everything inside me that I wanted to have her. Regardless of that I was 16 I just, I've grown up around a big, you know most Māori families, I've grown up around a lot of babies and stuff like that, so I just thought that I like was the type of person that loves babies anyway. So, I knew that it wouldn't be that different to have a baby for me. (Hinetītama)

Hinetītama draws on Māori cultural concepts of whānau and aroha to explain her experience in raising tamariki to help ease concerns with her young age and parenting capacity. In doing so, Hinetītama shapes her story as one of experience and competence. The expectation of childrearing may have implications for young Māori parents feeling unable to identify a lack of competence or ask for support.

Resisting stigma

The young Māori parents talked about how they saw themselves developing as a parent as well as whether society acknowledged them as suitable parents. While the majority were young mothers, there were two young fathers. Many of the participants had a range of parenting roles, such as co-parenting, step-parenting, solo parenting, adoptive parenting and helping to care for other children in their whānau. Most of the young mothers had attended a specialised school for teen parents and some had attended specialised childbirth preparation classes for teenagers.

Te Ao Māori: Positively Māori

In addition to the negative assumptions about age, the parenting ability of Māori youth was subject to negative connotations associated with being Māori. Some young Māori parents experienced public discouragement and disapproval of identifying or looking Māori. They felt that there was an expectation to distance themselves from these negative stereotypes. However, some of the young Māori parents resisted this stigma by proactively and positively claiming a Māori identity.

> Hineahuone: I wish the doctors would be more accepting [of personal choice to identify as Māori]. They don't think I'm Māori, they laugh at me, it's not funny at all. It makes me angry when I tell them that my child is half Māori and half Pākehā. And this one lady at [clothing store] . . . They were like "oh why do you say that your baby is Māori when they don't look like it?". And I was like "well it's none of your business" kind of thing. I felt quite pissed off. People should have more respect. To me I don't have to be brown. . . .

> Tāne Mahuta: I suppose we do sort of get judged for looking like a Māori parent.

> Hineahuone: People sort of expect you to stuff up.

> Tāne Mahuta: They sort of expect you to . . .

> Hineahuone: To fail or they judge you more or they keep an eye on you more I reckon than the Pākehā parents. Which is totally not true, I disagree with that.

Despite the potential ridicule and hurt that Hineahuone had felt about her ethnicity not being accepted and respected by others, she positively claims a Māori identity for herself and her child. This act of positively claiming a Māori identity works to challenge the negative stereotyping of Māori parents that her partner, Tāne Mahuta, felt subjected to. It also contributes to the diversification of expressions of being Māori as more than just physical attributes. The way Māori identity is portrayed may have implications for how young Māori parents see their own indigeneity, what they choose to value and how they raise their children.

Tōna ake ao: Becoming a good parent

Young Māori parents further resisted negative representations and stigma of early childbearing and being Māori by distancing themselves from childish behaviour, and conforming to "good" parenting expectations. In constructing their own understanding of becoming a parent, the young Māori parents emphasised Western markers of good parenting to counteract any assumptions about a lack of parenting capacity due to being young or Māori. The young Māori parents felt pressured to prove themselves as mature, responsible and capable parents in order to redeem themselves of the supposedly deviant behaviour that led to the conception of their child.

> I would proactively look on the internet and stuff like that. I would go to the library and

get books and stuff. I was really proactive in my pregnancy . . . I changed my diet, dramatically, not in a bad way, I ate really healthy, and I even went to the point where I wouldn't eat like deli, like coleslaw or ham or anything . . . Like with exercising, I regularly took my mum's dog out and went for a walk, especially around the end of my pregnancy just to try and get things going . . . I got into different hobbies and thought I would start knitting and knit baby some stuff. I just went from basically being 16 to 25 in nine months. I think I became more like honest with my mum as well because I thought, if I'm going to be a parent then I can't keep acting like a teenager anymore you know? (Hinetītama)

Hinetītama details how she went to great lengths to fulfil dominant Western expectations of "good" parenting. She constructs her experience of becoming a parent as a quick process of development into a mature and competent adult. However, the privileging of dominant Western attributes of "good" parenting minimises the relevance of Māori parenting knowledge and practices.

Being Māori

All the young parents self-identified as Māori to participate in the research. There were a range of cultural identities expressed. Some had been brought up knowing who they were and where they came from, and had long been engaged in Te Ao Māori. Others were living outside of their tribal boundaries, were dislocated from wider whānau and support networks, and had little engagement with Māori institutions and practices. However, all the young Māori parents wanted their children to grow up to be confident and secure in their Māori identity. The young Māori parents drew on their understandings of Māori culture and practices associated with strengthening relationships to ancestors, heritage, language and land to

explain how they were raising their children as Māori.

Te Ao Māori: Satisfying tikanga

Most of the young Māori parents listed practices associated with pregnancy, birth and raising tamariki, for example, not cutting hair or entering an urupā when pregnant, using tupuna names for their child, keeping the whenua and pito, karakia and use of te reo Māori. However, there was some uncertainty about the purpose and significance of these Māori practices. The implementation of these practices was also quite dependent on expertise and involvement from the wider whānau, which was sometimes lacking.

I kept the placenta, because I'm wanting to bury it . . . We have a family marae. So my mum and my aunties and my kuia have all buried their placentas around there, so that is a traditional thing that we all do. I want to go bury my placenta there too.

I think my marae is over in Rotorua. I don't really get to go there very often . . . I really want her to know the culture and stuff like that so it's a must for her to be somewhat involved, like, visit our marae and like just tell her about my marae. . . .

We don't all speak Māori to each other but we have taught her [baby] a few Māori words. I want her to know her culture and like the food and stuff. (Hinetītama)

Despite Hinetītama knowing about keeping the whenua, she has not yet been able to complete the practice as she does not often return to her marae. The integration of cultural practices enables Hinetītama to frame her parenting as inclusive of Māori culture. However, the significance of these practices and contribution to wellbeing and identity may be limited by a lack of cultural guidance and in-depth

understanding. Competent cultural support may therefore need to be a crucial part of supporting young Māori parents, particularly if there is a lack of this expertise within whānau.

Tōna ake ao: Meaningful connections

Regardless of the diversity in cultural backgrounds, becoming a parent seemed to facilitate an increase in the young Māori parents' desire to engage with Māori language and culture for their children's benefit. Some of the aspirations for their children were to have a strong positive cultural identity, to know their whakapapa, to be connected to their whenua and tūrangawaewae, to feel their wairua, to understand and practise tikanga, and to use te reo Māori. Some of the young Māori parents were able and confident to pursue these aspirations at home, while others required some additional support.

Discussion

These young parents provided insight into the difficulties of managing identity at the intersection of Māori cultural identity and early parenthood. These findings support previous qualitative research about the role of counter narratives in challenging, resisting and countering negative stereotypes, especially about young parents (Barcelos & Gubrium, 2014; Kirkman et al., 2001; Neill-Weston & Morgan, 2017). When the young Māori parents reflected on their experiences, culture and identity was a key feature of the parenthood journey. For example, their kōrero touched on Māori concepts relevant to parenting in Te Ao Māori. Concepts such as whakapapa, whānau, whanaungatanga and aroha are not associated with a particular age or socioeconomic status and so early childbearing is not problematised from a Māori understanding (Pihama, 2010). However, in some circumstances there was also a lack of understanding about cultural practices and how they were relevant to parenting. This may be a

reflection of the impacts on intergenerational transmission of knowledge about childrearing.

There were challenges associated with positively identifying as a Māori parent due to the racial stereotyping of Māori as deviant, deficient and disadvantaged (Hodgetts et al., 2004) and the fear of additional scrutiny of their parenting. The framing of Māori identity in two quite opposing ways, associated with positive representations of childrearing on the one hand and negative racial connotations of inferiority on the other, contributes to understandings about Māori identity and measures of "Māoriness" (Greaves, Houkamau, & Sibley, 2015).

Young Māori parents' ideas of what makes a "good" parent were constrained within Western markers of a specific set of skills associated with expert-styled parenting. To further support a positive identification of being Māori and associating being Māori with good parenting requires decolonising Western understandings about Māori women and mothers, Māori fathers, pregnancy, birth and caregiving. This will include addressing the impacts on identity such as ongoing effects of colonisation, dislocation from land, language and culture, the increased expectations about what it is to be Māori arising from the recent Māori cultural revitalisation efforts and the negative portrayal of Māori through statistics and the media (Houkamau et al., 2017).

Furthermore, Māori understandings and practices associated with reproduction and caregiving develop identity through strengthening connections to ancestors, heritage, language and land (Simmonds & Gabel, 2016). A recent review of the effectiveness of parenting programmes for parents of vulnerable children (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2015) found that kaupapa Māori and culturally adapted parenting programmes that validate Māori values and practices are more enjoyable and effective for Māori parents. Māori principles help build transformative practices within the whānau and community by strengthening

cultural identity and growing knowledge of traditional parenting practices.

A strong positive cultural identity has positive implications for wellbeing and could therefore contribute to current parenting knowledge and practices in Aotearoa. Whānau practices and Māori beliefs have been framed as additional or secondary parenting knowledge and skills; they have not been positioned as central to being a "good" parent in Aotearoa. The addition of Māori cultural markers of parenting may help to ease the pressure to conform to Western markers of good parenting based on the expectations of white, middle-class, middle-aged mothers. The promotion of Māori understandings and practices associated with reproduction and caregiving as "good" parenting practices will alleviate the fear of additional scrutiny and help to facilitate navigation to a positive Māori identity.

Conclusion

Young Māori parents are subject to dual stigmatisation associated with being a young parent and being Māori/Indigenous. Navigation to a positive parenting identity is challenged by negotiating the stereotypes of young parents as incapable and Māori as deviant and deficient. Supporting professionals and whānau are also limited by these negative representations of Māori ethnicity and early childbearing in their understanding of experiences of being a young parent and Māori. Furthermore, the problematisation of Māori ethnicity marginalises Māori culture and identity as possible solutions or integral to support.

This research found that young Māori parents draw on Māori cultural understandings in constructing their own personal experiences of early childbearing, although not in their construction of being "good" parents. Aspiring to mainstream attributes of a "good" parent may be a strategy to resist the stigma associated with Māori ethnicity. Similarly, identifying with positive Māori representations of reproduction and caregiving may be a strategy to resist the stigma associated with early childbearing.

Positive experiences of early childbearing for Māori could be supported by the decolonisation of Western understandings of reproduction and caregiving, the recontextualisation of early childbearing for Māori as part of good parenting attributes, and the promotion of positive Māori identity. Promoting Māori understandings of caregiving, identity and wellbeing may also be relevant to other Māori parents and influence the way society values Māori women and children. The broader promotion of Māori knowledge, identity, language and culture will contribute to greater empathy and value of things Māori by wider society. A more in-depth and widespread understanding of Māori knowledge and practices will influence mainstream curriculum and programmes, increasing cultural responsiveness and cultural competency in supporting professionals, such as in health, education, parenting programmes and social support.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

| Aotearoa | New Zealand |
| aroha | love |

atua	deity	Ranginui	Sky Father
awhi rito	two surrounding leaves either side of rito	rāranga	to weave, weaving
		rito	central shoot
hapū	pregnant, sub-tribe	Rongomaiwahine	prestigious female ancestor
harakeke	*Phormium tenax* (native plant)	tamariki	children
Hineahuone	first female formed out of earth	Tāne Mahuta	god of the forest
		taonga tuku iho	cultural knowledge, gifts
Hineteiwaiwa	deity for female arts	tapu	sacred
Hinetītama	daughter of Hineahuone and Tāne Mahuta	Te Ao Māori	Māori worldview
		te ao whānui	New Zealand and global society
karakia	ritual incantation		
kaupapa	topic, subject, theme	te reo Māori	Māori language
kōrero	to talk, account	tikanga	cultural practices
kuia	grandmother, female elder	tōna ake ao	personal experience
		tōna whānau	significant relationships
mana	spiritual vitality	tupuna	ancestor
mana whenua	local tribal authority	tūpuna rau	outer leaves
Māori	Indigenous to New Zealand	tūrangawaewae	place of belonging
		ūkaipō	night-feeding breast
marae	ceremonial meeting house	urupā	burial ground, cemetery
		wairua	spirituality
mātua	parents	whakapapa	ancestry, lineage
mokopuna	grandchild	whānau	extended family, to be born
Pākehā	a person of predominantly European descent		
		whanaungatanga	relationship building
		whare tangata	womb, home of future generations
Papatūānuku	Mother Earth		
pito	umbilical cord	whenua	land, placenta, afterbirth
pūrākau	narrative, story, account,		

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