

Our Ref: 10127.00

“TE RITO’ ACTION AREA 13 LITERATURE REVIEW

FAMILY VIOLENCE PREVENTION FOR MĀORI RESEARCH REPORT

AUCKLAND UNISERVICES LIMITED

A wholly owned company of

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

Prepared for:

The Ministry of Health and Te Rito Māori
Advisory Committee
Level 3, 650 Great South Road
Penrose
Auckland

Prepared by:

Dr L. Pihama
Dr K. Jenkins
Ms A. Middleton
International Research Institute for Māori
& Indigenous Education (IRI)
University of Auckland

August 2003

Reports from Auckland UniServices Limited should only be used for the purposes for which they were commissioned. If it is proposed to use a report prepared by Auckland UniServices Limited for a different purpose or in a different context from that intended at the time of commissioning the work, then UniServices should be consulted to verify whether the report is being correctly interpreted. In particular it is requested that, where quoted, conclusions given in UniServices reports should be stated in full.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
Executive Summary	v
Literature Review:	v
Key Informant Material:	vii
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Methodology	2
1.2 The Research Process	4
2.0 Establishing A Context	8
2.1 The Impact of Colonisation on Māori Knowledge	11
2.2 Colonisation and the Reconstruction of Māori Structures	14
2.3 The Nuclear Family and the Reconstruction of Whānau and Gender Relations	17
3.0 Traditional Concepts of Prevention and Intervention	23
3.1 Te Pā Harakeke	23
3.2 Whānau/Whanaungatanga	25
3.3 Whānau in a Contemporary Setting	30
3.4 Whānau and the wellbeing of Tamariki	32
3.5 Whānau and the Wellbeing of Māori Women	35
3.6 Whānau: A Site of Intervention	41
3.7 Tapu	43
3.8 Tapu and Mana	47
3.9 Addressing Transgressions	50
3.10 Utu	59
4.0 Key Informant Interviews	63
4.1 Intervening in Family Violence	63
4.2 Prevention Strategies Against Family Violence	73
4.3 Developing Programmes Against Family Violence	79
Bibliography	87
Reports	93

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

He mihi mutunga kore tēnei ki a koutou ngā ringa rehe, ngā puna kōrero i whai wā ki te whakaputa whakaaro, kōrero mai mō tēnei kaupapa huhua.

Ki a koutou hoki ngā kaiāwhina, kaitautoko i te kaupapa nei mō tā koutou manawanui kia tutuki pai ai tēnei mahi rangahau, tēnei rā te mihi ki a koutou. Nō reira, he kokonga whare e kitea, he kokonga ngākau e kore e kitea, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

This report is the outcome of the collaborative effort between the Ministry of Health who commissioned the report and the International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI) who undertook the research.

Many people have contributed to this report and writing it would not have been possible without their support and guidance. Many thanks to Rangimarie Rose Pere, Mina Timutimu, Tiahuia Abraham, Maikara Tapuke, Tau Huirama, Roma Balzer, Darrin Haimona, Belinda Woodman, Tamati Kruger and Daryl Gregory who have taken time out of their hectic workloads to share their experiences, their expertise, their knowledge, and their wisdom.

Thank you also to Ngaronoa Mereana Taki who undertook to explain traditional Māori views of whānau, and how the past informs the thinking and provides guidance for the decisions we make in the present in regards to Family Violence. For this invaluable contribution we are truly grateful. To Glenis Philip-Barbara who assisted in the interviewing of the Key Informants and who is writing the narratives for a resource being produced from this document.

Acknowledgement also needs to go to the Māori Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Health regarding the Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy and to Jo Elvidge, Project Manager for Action Area 13. Without the advice and guidance from this group of people, this report would not have been made possible.

Also to the teams at The International Research Institute for Māori and

Indigenous Education, and Uniservices, in particular Lucy Kapa for administrative support.

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi he toa takitini

Dr Leonie Pihama

Dr Kuni Jenkins

Ms Alamein Middleton

For The International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI), The University of Auckland.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Executive Summary provides an overview of key research findings:

Literature Review:

- It is critical to context Family Violence for Māori within an understanding of the historical events that shaped present day New Zealand society.
- Traditional concepts of justice for Māori have been clearly documented and must be affirmed.
- Early historical documentation indicates Māori children were not physically disciplined as a form of punishment.
- Colonisation has had a definite impact on Māori relationships.
- Colonisation has brought about an imbalance within Māori society that requires restoration.
- Colonisation has fragmented and disordered Māori knowledge and values.
- Pākehā institutions and structures have been instrumental in imposing western ideologies upon Māori people.
- Assimilatory policies have been instrumental in undermining the social fabric of Māori society.
- Pākehā institutions, structures and policies have actively displaced Māori structures of whānau and replacing them with western models of the nuclear family.
- The promotion of the western model of the nuclear family as normative has led to the reconstruction of gender relations within Māori society.
- The nuclear family structure reflects and imposes wider societal dominant patriarchal gender relations upon whānau, hapū and iwi.
- Whānau must not be confused with the nuclear family but is a wider whakapapa relationship through 3-4 generations.
- Traditional Māori concepts of prevention and intervention exist.
- Whānau is the fundamental building block for Māori society.
- Whānau has a range of expressions within contemporary Māori society and continues to provide a mechanism for intervention and well-being.
- Whānau has been a traditional site for the well-being and education of

tamariki.

- Tamariki are of critical importance to Māori society as reflected in the notion of 'He Taonga te Mokopuna'
- Whānau has been a traditional site for the well-being of wāhine Māori.
- Acts of abuse and Family Violence were dealt with severely in traditional Māori society.
- Whānau provides a mechanism for intervention in acts of Family Violence.
- A range of Māori cultural concepts can be drawn upon to provide a framework for both prevention and intervention in acts of Family violence for Māori. These concepts must be viewed in constant relationship to each other.
- The concept of Tapu provides a framework for understanding the sacredness of every person.
- There are consequences for the transgression of Tapu.
- Tapu is a mechanism for both prevention and intervention in acts of Family Violence.
- The concept of Mana provides a framework for understanding the dignity and status of every person.
- Mana is a mechanism for both prevention and intervention in acts of Family Violence.
- There are consequences for the trampling upon of the mana of another person.
- Tapu and Mana are the main concepts addressed in this report however they sit alongside other concepts such as tika, pono, manaakitanga and aroha.
- Abuse and violence are considered to be manifestations of unequal societal and personal power relations, which in turn create imbalance within Māori relationships.
- Utu is a mechanism for both prevention and intervention in acts of Family Violence.
- Utu interfaces with tapu and mana as a cultural framework for redressing transgressions.
- Muru is a mechanism for both prevention and intervention in acts of Family Violence.

- Muru interfaces with tapu and mana as a cultural framework for redressing transgressions.
- Utu and muru as forms of redress provide mechanisms for restoring balance.

Key Informant Material:

- Key Informants interviews were focused upon prevention, intervention and programmes.
- Key Informants interviewed are involved in diverse areas related to Family Violence, however, all agree that there are traditional Māori concepts that can be drawn upon for prevention, intervention and the development of programmes.
- Key Informants indicate that there are complex reasons for Family Violence and that violence within whānau is not traditional.
- Key informants identify the impact of colonisation as a key element in the alienation of Māori from traditional values and practices.
- Māori providers are constantly drawing from their cultural knowledge, seeking solutions from Māori concepts in relation to Family Violence.
- All providers work closely with a range of government and local agencies to gain the support necessary to maintain their Family Violence intervention programmes.
- Having fully trained staff who understand the dynamics of whānau in violence is critical to intervention programmes.
- Tikanga Māori provides frameworks for working alongside victims, perpetrators and their whānau.
- Education programmes for Māori related to issues of Family Violence are essential.
- Understanding concepts of tapu, mana, utu, muru are important in developing prevention and intervention strategies.
- Whanaungatanga, tapu, noa, mana, whakapapa, wairua, and te whare tangata are identified as values and concepts that can underpin Māori prevention strategies.

- The collective responsibility and accountability of whānau in dealing with transgression supports intervention.
- The safety of all involved in the process of intervention is important.
- Te Kōhanga Reo was identified as a critical institution that provides a vehicle for prevention programmes.
- Programmes to raise awareness of Family Violence for Māori are critical
- Programmes need to include positive representation of Māori that seeks to uplift.
- Whānau and Whanaungatanga need to be a focus of programmes to raise awareness of Family Violence for Māori.
- Māori concepts need to be drawn upon in the development of prevention and intervention programmes for Māori.
- Visibility is key to developing public programmes for Māori
- Programmes run by Māori for Māori would incorporate Māori images, Māori concepts, Māori language, and Māori ideals in order to deliver the cultural emphasis that they are seeking.
- Kaupapa Māori programmes need to be supported.
- Addressing Family Violence needs to be considered within a holistic framework.
- The audience for prevention and intervention programmes are first and foremost whānau, hapū and iwi; however a wider audience is also necessary.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

There are many things that we have that are great and I believe with all sincerity that the cure for our ills, like our rangatahi in prisons, the cure lies in us glancing back and letting our past give us the answers for the future of our mokopuna.¹

‘Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy’ provides a framework for the implementation of a Family Violence prevention plan developed in 2001.² The strategy sets out visions, principles, key goals and objectives for the implementation of 18 specific interrelated areas of action. The focus of this research is the Area of Action 13 which provides for the development of a Family Violence public education/awareness programme, and covers a number of specific action details, time frame, rationale, targets and measurables.³

This report is the culmination of research undertaken by The International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI) in collaboration with the Māori Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Health regarding the ‘Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy’. The name of the strategy ‘Te Rito’ embodies fundamental cultural values, of the sanctity of whānau and tangata within Māori society. To name the New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy ‘Te Rito’ is in itself an acknowledgement that Māori values must and do underpin any developments for Māori in the area of family violence prevention. This too is acknowledged in the key findings of this research.

¹ Cited in Jackson, M, 1988 *The Māori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective: He Whaipanga Hou*, Study Series 18, Department of Justice, Wellington: 16.

² ‘Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy’, February 2002,

³ From Project Brief, p 1.

1.1 Methodology

This research is based upon a Kaupapa Māori methodology. According to Tuakana Nepe⁴ Kaupapa Māori derives from distinctive cultural epistemological and metaphysical foundations. This is further argued by Dr Linda Tuhiwai Smith⁵ who states

The concept of kaupapa implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about those ideas and practices. Nepe argues that Kaupapa Māori is a conceptualisation of Māori knowledge.

Kaupapa Māori is not new but has its foundations that reach well beyond the colonisation of these lands. As Leonie Pihama⁶ notes

In the New Zealand context distinctive modes of theorising have emerged, from Māori communities, which have as a common element the validation of Te Reo and Tikanga Māori. These movements have been framed under a range of broad terms, 'Tino Rangatiratanga', 'Māori Sovereignty', 'Māori Perspectives', and 'Kaupapa Māori'. These modes of analysis and theory are by no means contemporary phenomena. Since colonisation Māori people have been actively asserting their positioning in this land as Tangata Whenua. Inherent in these struggles has been an ongoing demand for the recognition and legitimisation of Te Reo Māori and Tikanga.

The marginalisation of Māori has meant the privileging of Pākehā knowledge over Māori knowledge. This privileging originates from processes of colonisation and the imposition of colonial institutions. The existing justice system, of which the Department of Corrections is part, is one of these institutions. There are many such institutions. The education system is another. This is also an area within which the contestation related to processes of knowledge selection has been vigorously undertaken by Māori.

Contemporary expressions of Kaupapa Māori are seen within the education system. Their development and ongoing survival has been driven by Māori. Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are two well known examples. Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori developed as resistance to a

⁴ Nepe, T.M. 1991 *E Hao Nei e Tenei Reanga: Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna; Kaupapa Māori, An educational Intervention system*, M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland.

⁵ Smith, L.T. 1996 *Kaupapa Māori Health Research*. In Hui Whakapiripiri: A Hui to Discuss Strategic Directions for Māori Health Research. Wellington School of Medicine: Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare. p204.

⁶ Pihama, L. 1993 *Tungia Te Ururua Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu O Te Harakeke: A Critical Analysis of Parents As First Teachers*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland.

mainstream Pākehā centred system that failed to address key needs of Māori. As a founding member of Kura Kaupapa Māori in Tamaki Makaurau, Dr Graham Hingangaroa Smith has argued that Kura Kaupapa Māori is a successful intervention for Māori.⁷ One of the key elements is that the development originated from and is driven by Māori.⁸ Graham Smith has summarised contemporary expressions of Kaupapa Māori theory in the following way:

A Kaupapa Māori base (Māori philosophy and principles) i.e. local theoretical positioning related to being Māori, such a position presupposes that:
the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted
the survival and revival of Māori language and culture is imperative
the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival.⁹

These features speak to Māori aspirations, philosophies, processes and pedagogies, which are consistently found within successful Māori interventions. The term intervention is used in this sense to relate to the need, to bring about specific positive transformation in the experiences and positioning of Māori. Where much existing material related to Kaupapa Māori initiatives is located within the Māori education field, Kaupapa Māori is not limited to any one sector. Graham Smith notes that Kaupapa Māori is relevant to all aspects of society. The success elements that are evident in Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori derive from wider Māori knowledge; they are inherently a part of tikanga Māori. Kaupapa Māori can not be seen to be bound to any one sector (for example education or justice) as Kaupapa Māori does not know the parameters that are a part of defining those sectors. Those parameters are defined within western philosophies not Kaupapa Māori.

Locating Kaupapa Māori as an intervention strategy, Smith, Fitzsimons and Roderick¹⁰ highlight the following:

Kaupapa Māori encompasses the social change or intervention elements that

⁷ Smith, G.H. phd

⁸ Smith, G.H. 1990. *Taha Māori: Pākehā Capture*. In J. Codd, R. Harker & R. Nash (Eds.), *Political Issues in New Zealand Education*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press. p100.

⁹ *ibid.*:100.

¹⁰ Smith, G.H., Fitzsimons, P. & Roderick, M 1998 *A Scoping Report: Kaupapa Māori Frameworks for Labour Market Programmes, A report to the Māori Employment and Training Commission*, International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, Auckland.

are common across many different sites of Māori cultural struggle, and as the collective set of key intervention elements in the Māori-driven, cultural resistance initiatives.

There is a growing body of literature regarding Kaupapa Māori theories and practices that assert a need for Māori to develop initiatives for change that are located within distinctly Māori frameworks.¹¹ Kaupapa Māori is “a theory and an analysis of the context of research which involves Māori and of the approaches to research with, by and/or for Māori”.¹² A Kaupapa Māori approach does not exclude the use of a wide range of methods but rather signals the interrogation of methods in relation to Kaupapa Māori approaches. As an analytical approach Kaupapa Māori is about thinking critically, including developing a critique of Pākehā constructions and definitions of Māori and affirming the importance of Māori self-definitions and self-valuations.¹³

1.2 The Research Process

The aim of this research is to:

Provide a literature review alongside information from Key Informant interviews that discuss the following areas: (a) traditional models of prevention and early intervention; (b) traditional consequences for family violence; (c) encouraging healthy relationships and safe behaviour in whānau hapū and iwi with a particular emphasis on the safety and well-being of tamariki and mokopuna; (d) promote intolerance to violence in whānau hapū and iwi.

The Key Informant details were also provided by members of the Māori Advisory Committee. Of the eleven original contacts provided by the committee eight interviews were secured. One interviewee indicated that she had already provided a significant amount of information in regard to the issues being canvassed and directed the research team to a video production made by a provider. At completion of the research a copy of the video had not been

¹¹ For example, Smith L.T. & Cram, F. 1997 *An Evaluation of the Community Panel Diversion Pilot Programme*. Commissioned report for the Crime Prevention Unit. Cram, F., Kempton, M. & Armstrong, S. 1998. *Evaluation Report: Te Whare Tirohanga Māori, Hawkes Bay Regional Prison*. Wellington: Department of Corrections.

¹² Smith 1996.

¹³ Smith, L.T. & Cram, F. 1997 *An evaluation of the Community Panel Diversion Pilot Project*. Commissioned by the Crime Prevention Unit, Office of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Wellington.

received by the research team and therefore that material is not included in this report.

Key Informants were to be contacted by Māori Advisory committee members prior to the research team making initial contact. This process was requested by the research team because of the limited time frame for the project and to ensure a personal approach by committee members was made with the interviewee prior to the researchers making contact. Again this was necessitated by the limited time frame. Within Kaupapa Māori research processes the research team would take time to acquaint Key Informants with the project over a period of time. This process could not be completed within this research and therefore it was our view that the committee members who have working relationships with the Key Informants make the initial contact and set the framework for the research.

All Key Informants see the need to research and understand more fully the fundamental values and practices within tikanga Māori that can support movements in the area of Family Violence prevention. All Key Informants are, or have been, programme providers or are involved in the training and support of Māori providers in this field. All Key Informants see the significance of the research focus - understanding 'traditional' concepts and practices of Family Violence prevention, intervention and consequences. There was however some concern that there is a government tendency to undertake such projects and then the reports 'sit on the shelf gathering dust'. Having experienced such processes in the past, a number of the Key Informants indicated that they do not trust government agencies to deliver on such reports and that it is for Māori ourselves to deliver. This raises systemic issues in regard to the implementation of the 'by Māori for Māori' approach that is now indicated within Ministry of Health documentation.

The Key Informant interview process was driven by members of the Māori Advisory Committee. A meeting was held with committee members and the research team to identify both the Key Informant list and also the interview schedule. The interview schedule was disseminated by email and committee

members had further opportunity to modify as required. Key Informants were contacted by telephone and interview times agreed upon. Of the eight (8) Key Informants interviewed four (4) were undertaken kanohi ki te kanohi¹⁴ and four (4) were undertaken over the telephone. A telephone interview was done only as a last resort and only after it was clearly evident that Key Informants could not be met kanohi ki te kanohi. The major reason for telephone interviews was again due to the limited time frame and the intensive workload of the Key Informants.

A literature review furnishes the remainder of the report. The key focus of the literature review was that of traditional models/concepts of prevention, intervention and consequences. It is noted that there is no clear separation of these areas within the literature. What may appear to be a concept of prevention can also be equally viewed as an intervention and may contribute to consequences. A clear example of such a concept is that of whānau. Whānau is clearly a structure that can support the prevention of Family Violence, it is also a structure that can be utilised to intervene in Family Violence and may also be a structure through which consequences may be delivered. This is but one example, there are many others. As a result of our deliberations over the literature we have chosen to provide discussion about each concept as they are identified within the literature. The possibilities of each concept or model for prevention, intervention and programmes become evident.

The discussion of 'traditional' concepts does not happen in a vacuum, rather it must be contextualised. The next section 'Establishing a Context' provides a general overview of the changes that occurred since contact between Māori and Pākehā settlers. It has been well documented that the impact of colonisation on Te Reo and Tikanga Māori has for many whānau, hapū and iwi, had devastating effects.¹⁵ As such, it is critical to provide a context within

¹⁴Kanohi ki te kanohi refers to a face to face process.

¹⁵ Benton, Richard A. 1978 *Can the Māori language survive?* Māori Unit, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington; Walker, R. 1987. *Nga Tautohetohe: Years of Anger*, Penguin N.Z. Ltd., Auckland; 1990. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End*, Penguin Books, Auckland; Simon, J. & Smith L.T., 1990 *Policies on Māori Schooling: Intentions and Outcomes*, A joint symposium presented at the ANZHES conference, University of Auckland, Dec 6-9.

which to understand and locate this research. The reassertion of tikanga Māori within a range of sectors has meant that research such as this, which explores the ways in which particular elements of tikanga Māori relate to a specific social issue, has been encouraged. However, it is equally important that we recognise that such a process is required due to the fragmentation and dislocation of Māori knowledge through the dramatic changes that have been imposed upon Māori society.

2.0 ESTABLISHING A CONTEXT

Discussing 'Māori Crime' Moana Jackson¹⁶ argues that a Māori conceptual framework is articulated in the whakataukī:

'ngā hiahia kia titiro ki te timata, a, ka kite ai tātou te mutunga: You must understand the beginning if you wish to see the end'.

This whakataukī, he states, embraces the notion that what happens within a particular present context does not exist within a vacuum, but, rather is born of the past. Equally it can be said that such a context will, within Māori understandings, impact on the future and in regard to acts of family violence, can impact upon future generations within the whānau. The Ministry of Justice report 'He Hinātore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse into the Māori World' state:

Māori are still in grieving mode. A genuine effort must also be made toward healing the past before building a future. In addition to attending to current issues relating to Māori, the government also needs to repair historical damage done to Māori such as loss of land through confiscation and other means. A genuine effort by the government to come across to Māori and understand and appreciate their point of view means that we can work together to build a more positive future for Māori and New Zealand society as a whole.¹⁷

Central to this view is an understanding of the context within which we find ourselves and the historical events that have brought us to this place. A process that has been engaged in some depth is that of colonisation and its impact upon the maintenance and reproduction of Māori knowledge and systems.

To understand the current context we must first, as Moana Jackson indicates, look back. This report is about looking to traditional concepts of prevention and intervention. As noted previously, such an exploration can not be done in a vacuum but must be contextualised. Exploring traditional concepts is, without doubt, about returning to beginnings and in doing so we must also be cognisant that the pathway from the beginnings to the future has been disrupted by colonisation. The need to context colonisation has been argued consistently by Māori as critical to understanding the current need to revive and revitalise

¹⁶ Jackson, M. 1988 *The Māori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective: He Whaipanga Hou*, Study Series 18, Department of Justice, Wellington 1988:23.

¹⁷ Ministry of Justice 2001 *He Hinātore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse Into the Māori World*, Wellington: iv.

matauranga Māori.

Moana Jackson¹⁸ highlights that within pre-european times Māori had clear processes that constituted "norms of control which were seen as legal constraints".¹⁹ Such recognition is critical in that it challenges the myth that Māori had no system of law. The construction and maintenance of such a myth relies on the notion that the Westminster form of courts and legislature is the only form of 'law'. However, Jackson argues Māori people had "a complex set of customs and lore" that provided the mechanism for regulating behaviour. These customs and laws included both preventions and interventions. Furthermore, those customs and laws provided a framework whereby systems of both social control (prevention) and dispute resolution (intervention and consequences) were maintained.

In line with this discussion there is a general consensus in the literature that violence within whānau was not tolerated.²⁰ Early observers indicate that children were not punished physically for their actions.²¹ Margie Hohepa cites the dilemma of this as discussed within a Native Schools report:

Corporal punishments and an over-rigid discipline have done much to drive away many children from the schools. A punishment, which to us would appear by no means harsh, would to a Native seem cruel and excessive. As Native parents never inflict chastisement upon an offending child, our summary mode of dealing with young delinquents must seem strange and tyrannical. It would not be unwise in future to pay some little deference to their feelings in this subject.²²

Where violence or abuse within whānau occurred there were direct ways in which both the perpetrator and the victim[s] were dealt with. This is summarised by Kuni Jenkins and Glenis Philip-Barbara as follows:

Our collective history as Māori people is full of accounts that demonstrate the abhorrence of our society to violence in the whānau. Committing acts of violence on your own blood, kin, children, lovers, parents or grandparents was

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ *ibid.*:35.

²⁰ Jenkins, K. & Philip-Barbara, G. 2002 *Mauri Ora: Māori Womens Stories*, Huia Publications, Wellington; Jackson, M. *op.cit.*; Ministry of Justice 2001 *op.cit.*

²¹ Salmond, A. 1997 *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Māori and Europeans 1773 –1815*. Penguin Books (N.Z.).

²² Report of Inspectors on Native Schools, 1862 p35 cited in Hohepa, M 1994 'Whakatipu Tamariki: Us Kids' in Pihama, L., (ed) *Te Pua: A Journal Published by Puawaitanga, Volume 3, Number 2 - 1994*, Te Whare Waananga o Tamaki Makaurau, Auckland: 45.

not commonplace.

Our histories speak of people acting with mana in their responses to violence and abuse—of whānau and hapū moving in to support their women. Our histories speak of the great lengths to which violators would go to restore their mana—mana they had diminished through their own actions. In some instances their mana was never restored and they were left bereft, without the love and support of their whānau. Perpetrators of whānau violence could be disavowed, thrown out to sea or the forests to live in isolation. Violent and abusive acts were considered dangerous to the well-being of the collective group and were dealt with accordingly.

The dignity and mana of the person who had been violated and the ever-present support of the collective is important in our cultural framework. Retribution for violence and abuse could be exacted with the support of whānau and hapū—in fact appropriate action was required in order to restore balance.²³

In her article 'Whakatipu Tamariki', Margie Hohepa reflects on a discussion with her father, Pat Hohepa, in regard to issues of discipline for tamariki. She writes:

I talked to my dad about Māori disciplining our children harshly, physically. As usual, he didn't directly respond to what was eating at me. Instead he talked about how kids in the valley would take off over the ranges if they felt they'd been hard done by. And sometimes other whānau would come down and deal to whoever. What he told me said that children weren't seen as belonging only to those who directly made them, their parents. They belonged to the wider whānau. They belonged to the hapū, they belonged to iwi. And they could call on any of those to protect their rights and their safety, and to seek retribution if they were mistreated.²⁴

Moana Jackson argues convincingly that the social position that Māori find ourselves in today is a direct result of the history of Māori/Pākehā contact and relations. He states:

Like all histories it has been a mix of good intentions, and bad, of understanding and incomprehension, of justice and injustice. It is essentially the history of a power relationship in which the dominant Pākehā culture and its structures have excluded Māori institutions and values from the processes of social organisation and authority. The effect of that relationship has been to bequeath an uncertain and often unhappy legacy to its beneficiaries.²⁵

The 1997 Report Māori Family Violence in Aotearoa undertaken by the Hamilton Abuse Intervention Project (HAIP)²⁶ highlights that there are links between the suppression of Māori knowledge and tikanga; colonisation and the imposition of western beliefs and practices; and acts of violence within Māori

²³ Jenkins, K. & Philip-Barbara, G. 2002 op.cit:8.

²⁴ Hohepa, M. 1994 op.cit:45.

²⁵ *ibid*: 23-24.

²⁶ Te Puni Kokiri 1997 *Māori Family Violence in Aotearoa*, Wellington: 7.

whānau, hapū and iwi. As the introduction to the report states

We make links between the denigration of mana Māori, isolation from ancestral land and cultural practices, the disintegration of social and political structures and the imposition of Western ideologies and practices that play a major role in redefining the position of Māori in the world.²⁷

The links made by HAIP in the 'Māori Family Violence in Aotearoa' report are mirrored in this report. The impact of colonisation on traditional values has been argued consistently by researchers and authors both Māori and non-Māori.²⁸ Ideologies of cultural genocide, assimilation and integration have provided the underpinning for many policies developed in regard to Māori people and issues.²⁹

2.1 The Impact of Colonisation on Māori Knowledge

In discussing the impact of colonisation on the fragmentation of Māori knowledge and cultural systems. Linda Tuhiwai Smith links fragmentation to what she refers to as the “principles of disordering” that are encoded in both colonialism and imperialism.³⁰ Fragmentation is in this sense a key feature in the alienation of Indigenous peoples and the disordering of all aspects of our being. She writes that fragmentation is a systematic process that occurs under colonialism operating through multiple sites. Fragmentation culminates in processes of re-presentation, disordering, disruption, renaming and

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ for example; Jackson, Moana 1998 'Research and The Colonisation of Māori Knowledge' in Te Pūmanawa Hauora, 1999 *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference*, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp 70-77; Jenkins, K. 1992 'Reflections on the Status of Māori Women' in Smith, L.T. (ed) *Te Pua I*, Te Puawaitanga, Auckland, pp 37 - 45; Johnston, P. & Pihama, L 1995 'What Counts as Difference and What Differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference' in Irwin, K., Ramsden, I. & Kahukiwa, R. (eds), 1995 *Toi Wāhine: The Worlds of Māori Women*, Penguin Books, Auckland, pp 75 - 86; Mead, L.T.R., 'Nga Aho o Te Kakahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Māori in Education' Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Education Department University of Auckland, 1996; Smith, Graham Hingangaroa 1997 *The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis*. Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland; Salmond, A. 1991 *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Māori and Europeans 1642-1772*, Viking, Penguin Books, Auckland; Walker, R., 1990 *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, Penguin Books, Auckland; Walker, R., 1996 *Ngā Pepa a Ranginui: The Walker Papers*, Penguin Books, Auckland.

²⁹ for example: ideologies of cultural genocide appear regularly through the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives from 1847 onwards.

³⁰ Mead, L.T.R. 1996 op.cit: 64.

reclassification of Indigenous systems and worlds.³¹

The fragmentation of Māori worldviews, and hence relationships, has had dire consequences for Māori. Those consequences take many forms and their expression influences the physical, emotional, spiritual and intellectual realms.

A Key Informant summed this up clearly;

We have a confusion of values – Pākehā values – and we merge them with our Māori ones. And they don't make sense. We re-define them. We have to go back and actually start to have a look at what that means – of being a toa, of being a warrior. I thought the warrior fought the enemy, I didn't know the warrior fought his own family. You know that whole sense – we are mixing up tradition and contemporary stuff brought in from our colonisation. That is why I am raising the whole idea of colonisation. I think it is really central to our mental health. That is why I think we are schizophrenic. We are still trying to work out the two worlds or three worlds that we live in.³²

The imposition of colonial beliefs continues within the institutions and structures of this country. One Key informant highlighted that Māori have for many years been indicating to Government key issues in regard to Māori Family Violence and that very little had actually been taken on by Government departments.³³

Another informant clearly stated that western models failed to provide for Māori and that there remains a fixation on Pākehā qualifications and Pākehā models in order to be validated by the system.

I am totally convinced that current Western models, Western approaches to dealing with domestic violence is faulted and runs short for Māori people. They may very well be proven to be effective with Pākehā people, but it does not work I know that for myself in seeing it in operation... There are certain people you can go to and there are certain people you can't. It's got nothing to do with qualifications in a western way.³⁴

Such a focus denies the healing abilities and healers within Māori communities that operate in line with Māori healing processes. The denial of mātauranga Māori is not new but is a direct outcome of a colonial assertion of Western knowledge over Indigenous knowledge.³⁵ Such assertions are often internalised by Māori ourselves as we seek to grapple with the fragmentation of

³¹ Ibid.

³² TRFV3 (Te Rito Family Violence Key Informant # 3).

³³ TRFV5 interview.

³⁴ TRFV6

³⁵ Smith, L.T. *ibid*; refer also Smith. L.T. 1999 *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Zed Books, London.

our own systems.

But I think what has not helped is the fact that we got to a stage where we were convinced that our traditional ways were useless and that we had to wise up and to bow to the greater superiority of scientific wisdom methodology. And I would argue that the majority of us are still in that today. We still have undying faith that only by Pākehā institutions would there be a more trustworthy resolution of those issues of violence.³⁶

The impact of such fragmentation is also identified by HAIP:

For many Māori, the way of dealing with the emerging violence between couples was not to deal with it at all. The breakdown of structures and mechanisms of social control within Māoridom meant that there was often no internal mechanisms to control or even contain violence. Increasing physical and economic isolation of families from their tribal regions or hapū, compounded the problem of maintaining Māori lore or governorship over its own people. The Māori community's ability to impose and enforce sanctions against their own people dwindled as Pākehā institutions continued to resource, legislate and assert their right to define social norms and standards.³⁷

One Key Informant noted that colonisation has also brought about political oppression that impact on whānau.

It doesn't always happen. The other thing is Māori at the moment have become politically traumatised – that's a major thing and there's only a small group of people that are trying to come to grips with that, but the rest of our whānau are really traumatised by what's going on and the messages that come out are conflicting so they don't know who to believe and they say, "Well they're taking our land but they're not doing anything about it."³⁸

The loss of land, the alienation of Māori in regard to te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, the disruption of Māori systems and structures through colonisation, the dislocation of many Māori through processes of urbanisation are all a part of the wider story of colonisation in Aotearoa. What is evident is the impact of colonisation has been multi-levelled and as a consequence an imbalance has been created. A key point made by Ani Mikaere, is that colonisation has brought about an imbalance within Māori society which in turn has been internalised by many as the 'truth'.³⁹ This is a colonial disturbance that hits right to the heart of who we are as Māori. Mikaere looks particularly at the impact on gender, and in particular the positioning of Māori women. It is the planned and conscious disruption of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. Tikanga

³⁶ TRFV6

³⁷ Te Puni Kokiri 1997 op.cit: 23.

³⁸ TRFV2

³⁹ Mikaere, A. 1995 op.cit.

Māori has been put out of balance, or as Ani Mikaere argues we all live in a 'colonised reality' with Māori women being the receiving end of changes that repositioned us as lesser or inferior to all things Pākehā and to Māori men.⁴⁰

The disruption is summarised by Ani as follows;

Prior to colonisation, the status of Māori women was determined by the imperative to maintain the integrity of the group. In order for the Whānau, hapū and iwi to survive and flourish the principle of balance, which included balance between male and female, had to be maintained at all times. The forces of colonisation threw Māori into a state of perilous imbalance: land loss through confiscations and the workings of the Native Land Court wreaked havoc on the relationship between people and their natural environment; forcible individualisation of land title through the Native Land Court also upset the balance between members of whānau, hapū and iwi; introduced diseases and the introduction of Christianity damaged irrevocably the connection between people and their atua; and the patriarchal assumptions underlying the common law and Christian teachings destroyed the equilibrium between male and female.⁴¹

The impact of colonisation on gender relations and the systems of family violence prevention and intervention are clearly articulated in reports such as that undertaken by HAIP; however, it is important that we provide here a general overview of the issues to provide a context within which this research has been undertaken.

2.2 Colonisation and the Reconstruction of Māori Structures

Mason Durie indicates that there are both adversities and possibilities that face whānau.⁴² The adversities are the consequence of the colonial disruptions we have experienced as a people over the past 200 years. Colonisation actively targeted Māori societal structures for destruction and in doing so have created a context of dysfunction. It is not whānau that is dysfunctional, it is the societal philosophies of capitalist greed, of racism, of sexism imposed through patriarchal institutions, of homophobia and the tolerance of misogyny that creates and perpetuates dysfunction. Each of these oppressive regimes impose conditions that are for many of our whānau intolerable and in societal terms must be considered unacceptable.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ Mikaere, A. 1995 *op.cit.*:iv.

⁴² Durie, M. 2001 *op.cit.*

The fragmentation of Māori systems had a clear impact upon the Māori social order. This was no accident. The undermining of Māori social systems was not only clearly planned but it was also articulated in a range of policies of successive settler governments. Mission and Native schools systems were constructed with the specific purpose of assimilation and 'civilising the natives'.⁴³ Education as a vehicle for social control is not new to Aotearoa. Early colonial education policies were directly related to issues of social control and land acquisition. Outlining Māori schooling processes Judith Simon⁴⁴ asserts that a primary concern of assimilation policy was one of establishing British law, the means by which to secure power for the Settler government.

Such intent was chosen consciously after some debate over what to 'do' with the 'native problem', as is seen in the following extracts from the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR).

It was not the time to enter upon a discussion as to the value of education – that question might rest upon its own intrinsic merits. He was one of those who believed that everything depended on education; these were in all events things much higher than proficiency in 'the three R's', but for a people in the position of the Māori race it was a first condition of their progress to put them in the way of learning the language of the inhabitants and Government of the colony.⁴⁵

He supported the Bill, not only on the grounds which he had stated, but also on grounds of economy. He meant to say that things had now come to pass; that it was necessary either to exterminate the natives or to civilise them. They could not go on fighting them any longer. Honourable members were now no doubt well up in the financial question and all would, he was sure, agree that another serious war would not only cripple the colony, but would actually break its back. The idea of exterminating the Natives could not for a moment be dreamed on in that house, and there was therefore no alternative but to vote for the measure then before the house. All that the Government could do with the Natives must be done by moral influence, nothing could be done by force, for the Māori were men who did not fear death. They could not be crushed, they could be exterminated but they could not by force be brought into subjection.⁴⁶

... asserted that the most serious impediment to progress in carrying out the work of civilisation within the schools was Māori communal ownership of property... Taylor then argued for the concepts of individual ownership to be

⁴³ Simon, J. (ed) 1998 *Ngā Kura Māori: The Native Schools System 1867-1969*, Auckland University Press, Auckland; Simon, J. & Smith, L.T. (eds) 2001 *Civilising mission? : Perceptions and representations of the Native Schools system*, Auckland University Press, Auckland.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ J.C. Richmond 1867 September 10 'Māori Schools Bill', AJHR Wellington.

⁴⁶ H. Carleton 1867 September 10 'Māori Schools Bill', AJHR Wellington.

developed within the classroom.⁴⁷

Each of these extracts gives insight into some of the desired outcomes of Native schooling and the ways in which Māori language and culture were viewed. What is clear in the literature related to the Native Schools systems is that schooling was a vehicle through which colonising and assimilatory intent of the colonial government could be realised.⁴⁸ Te Reo and Tikanga Māori were actively targeted in both policies and practices of the Native Schools. The extract from Henry Taylor shows clearly that systems of collectivity such as whānau, hapū and iwi were to be targeted and replaced with individual notions. Underpinning such an approach was the intention of removal of communal approaches to land, which was viewed as an obstruction to the sale of lands.⁴⁹ The desire to instil ideologies of individualisation through schooling was also facilitated in other areas; for example, the 1862 Native Lands Act was instrumental in the individualisation of land title. Land tenure operated as an integral part, and a basis for mediating the social structuring of Māori society.⁵⁰ Rangatira retained a trusteeship role for the hapū and iwi. Inclusive in this role was both responsibility and accountability to the collective group.⁵¹ Tenure was directly related to rights and obligations required by and for the collective group therefore the process of individualisation of title was one that contributed to the undermining of collectivity in Māori society.

Providing analysis of the wider social context is critical in providing analysis of the individualistic drive of colonial ideologies. In this country family has been defined in dominant discourse as the nuclear family, the structure that supports and perpetuates colonial mythologies in terms of relationships in particular gender positioning. Leonie Pihama has argued that viewing whānau as relative to a western nuclear family model has significant gender implications.

The limited definition of the 'family' as nuclear, heterosexual and constructed within limited gender roles is not 'natural', but is constructed by certain groups to

⁴⁷ H. Taylor 1862 AJHR Wellington E4, p35

⁴⁸ Simon, J. 1998 op.cit.; Simon, J & Smith, L.T. 2001 op.cit.

⁴⁹ The colonial processes of undermining communal ownership and Māori processes of decision making regarding land is discussed in a range of Waitangi Tribunal reports.

⁵⁰ Kawharu, H. 1977 *Māori Land Tenure*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

benefit their own interests... For many people the definition of 'family' is not dependent on a legal contract of marriage, nor is it dependent on the idea that family must be one man, one woman and their children. Such a definition is not only limited but it also imposes restrictions on how different groups wish to construct their families. With the nuclear heterosexual family being centred as the 'norm', the standardised version of family, everything else is measured against it and labelled and judged accordingly.⁵²

If 'family' is defined as a nuclear, colonial, heterosexual model then any other familial forms are only visible if they are labelled, for example 'extended' family, 'blended' family, 'mixed' family. In a colonised context the term 'family' itself has become a taken for granted structure.

2.3 The Nuclear Family and the Reconstruction of Whānau and Gender Relations

The Native Schools system became instrumental in the undermining of Māori structures, in particular in the reconstruction of gender roles within Māori society and the movement of whānau to a nuclear family structure. To promote assimilation Native schools:

were placed in the heart of Māori communities like Trojan horses. Their task was to destroy the less visible aspects of Māori life: beliefs, value systems, and the spiritual bonds that connected people to each other and to their environment.⁵³

The Native schools represented 'Pākehātanga' and the 'Headmaster' and teachers role models for exhibiting 'good' Pākehā habits and lifestyles.⁵⁴

Native schools had a key role to play in regard to the reconstruction of gender relations in Māori society. Leonie Pihama noted the role that teachers were expected to play in the reconstruction of gender and the modelling of the nuclear family model:

Although removing the explicit legislative requirements there continued the more insidious ideological assertions of dominant Pākehā gender beliefs through the assumption that those on the committees would be men and that Māori girls and women be provided with domestic training. Furthermore there existed, within the code, a contention that those appointed to take charge of the schools would be

⁵² Pihama, L. 1998 'Reconstructing Meanings of Family: Lesbian/Gay Whānau and Families in Aotearoa in Adair, V. & Dixon, R. (eds) *The Family In Aotearoa New Zealand*, Addison Wesley Longman New Zealand Ltd., Auckland, pp179-207.

⁵³ Smith, L.T. 1986, p2.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

"a married couple, the husband to act as master of the school, and the wife as sewing mistress" and that the 'master' and 'the wife' would model appropriate behaviour both within the school and the wider community in order to exercise a "beneficial influence on all the natives in their district". A memorandum outlining expectations for Native Schools teachers was circulated to all Native Schools and outlined the requirement that teachers prioritise their role in the assimilation process. The memorandum stated;
Besides giving due attention to the school instruction of the children, teachers will be expected to exercise a beneficial influence on the Natives, old and young; to show by their own conduct that it is possible to live a useful and blameless life, and in smaller matters, by their dress, in their houses, and by their manners and habits at home and abroad, to set the Māoris an example that they may advantageously imitate.⁵⁵

This occurred both at policy and curriculum levels. In policy it was clearly indicated that 'leadership' for schooling in Native communities be determined by the 'native male inhabitants' of an area.⁵⁶ Curriculum content was constructed to achieve the domestication of Māori girls. Māori girls were expected to learn the 'appropriate' values and skills of 'civilised young ladies' and this task was linked explicitly to the expectation that they would be considered more suitable and attractive to men; Māori men.⁵⁷ The marginalisation of Māori girls and women, through Pākehā schooling, occurred systematically through the imposition of domestication and assimilation agendas. Māori girls and women were taught domestic skills which often included the making of clothing for the school,⁵⁸ cooking, washing, ironing, embroidery and other skills deemed appropriate for girls.⁵⁹ In the 1860 report on Kōhanga School in Waikato it was noted the girls were "thoroughly instructed... in every branch of domestic usefulness".⁶⁰ A general summation of the attitude to Māori children's education in the report on Otawhao School in 1862:

I feel anxious to train the children in industrial pursuits, especially in sheep farming and the management of cattle. Simply to fill the head with knowledge, without imparting industrious habits, would in my opinion, prove rather injurious than beneficial to the Māori race. Every boy educated in the school ought to

⁵⁵ Pihama L., 2001 *Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices. Mana Wāhine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland. This quote includes a reference to John Hislop, Secretary, Education Department, Wellington, 4 June 1880, *AJHR H-1f*, Government Printer, Wellington.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ The Three Kings School *AJHR 1860 E4*, Government Printer, Wellington.

⁵⁹ St. Annes School, Freemans Bay *AJHR 1860 E4*, Government Printer, Wellington.

⁶⁰ Kohanga School, Waikato *AJHR 1860 E4*, Government Printer, Wellington.

leave it possessed also of a knowledge of the management of sheep and cattle, and of ploughing, reaping, mowing, sewing, &c. Unite education with industrial training; prepare the boy or girl for the position you expect them to fill in life, and under such management there is reason to believe that our exertions will not be thrown away; the schools will become centres for the promotion of Christianity and civilisation amongst the surrounding tribes.⁶¹

A key problem in the nuclear family structure is the positioning of Māori women, in particular the gender division of labour. Within the nuclear family women are positioned as the nurturer, primary caregiver, housekeeper and whose work is on the whole considered to be in the private sphere of the home. Domestic labour is defined as being of inferior status to wage labour on the basis of the lack of profit generated, the locating of women in the domestic labour force thereby places women within what is considered an inferior position. Such a positioning may be seen also within the public sphere of capitalist production.

Research provides statistical analysis of the situation of Māori women economically.⁶² It was found that in the area of paid work Māori women are found predominantly in the community services and manufacturing. Therefore, within wage labour Māori women are concentrated in areas that are in service to others, or that are viewed as unskilled and are, as a consequence, lowly paid. Clearly Māori women are exploited in terms of both their wage labour and their domestic labour, between which a "fundamental structural separation" exists.⁶³ These spheres can not, however, be seen as entirely autonomous of each other, rather each sphere is reliant on the other for its maintenance and definition.⁶⁴

Domestic labour is essential in order to achieve reproduction of the labour force, therefore within capitalist ideology it is necessary to characterise the position of women as 'home makers/housewives' as being a natural and just order, which in turn justifies:

⁶¹ Otawhao School, *AJHR 1862 E4*, Government Printer, Wellington.

⁶² Horsfield and Evans Horsfield, A. & Evans, M., 1988. *Māori Women in the Economy*, Te Ohu Whakatapu, Ministry of Womens Affairs, Wellington; Ministry of Womens Affairs 2001 *Māori Women: Mapping Inequalities and Pointing Ways Forward*, Ministry of Womens Affairs, Wellington.

⁶³ Davis, A., 1981. *Women, Race and Class*, The Womens Press Ltd., London.

⁶⁴ Cook, H.M., 1985. *Mind That Child: Childcare as a Social and Political Issue in New Zealand*, Blackberry Press, Wellington.

...a natural sexual division of labour in which women produced children and men produced the means of production.⁶⁵

The locations of Māori women within such divisions of labour are even more complex. Māori women cannot be located solely within gender power relations. The positioning of Māori women within society is one that requires race, gender and class considerations.⁶⁶ Since colonisation Māori women have experienced a process of marginalisation, with definitions of Māori women being, in most instances, constituted through the voice of the coloniser. Māori women have been positioned in dominant Pākehā society as being 'other' than the norm, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes

Māori women belong to the group of women who have been historically constructed as 'Other' by white patriarchies and white feminisms. As women, 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 socio-economic class in which most Māori women are located makes the category of 'Other' an even more complex problem.⁶⁷

The positioning of Māori women as other has involved the subsuming of Māori women within dominant ideologies concerning gender roles. Colonial ideologies surrounding the role of women in society were used as a means by which to silence or marginalise Māori women. Missionaries and colonial representatives frequently disregarded the position of Māori women as rangatira in their whānau, hapū or iwi, based upon their eurocentric and androcentric beliefs. Ensuring Māori women knew their 'natural' place within a nuclear family model became an integral part of the civilising agenda.

The imposition of the nuclear family unit has operated to undermine Māori structures and consequently weaken traditional educational systems that were dependent on the whānau concept. As a unit the nuclear family isolates Māori families from each other and from the nurturing, knowledge and support provided within those structures. Another consequence of the nuclear family is increased mobility which in instances such as the rural-urban shift distances Māori people from their support systems and for many results in a loss of

⁶⁵ Bedggood, D. 1980 *Rich and Poor in New Zealand*, Allen and Unwin, Auckland, p87.

⁶⁶ Pihama L. 2001 op.cit.

⁶⁷ Smith, L.T. 1992, p33.

identity and sense of turangawaewae for following generations.⁶⁸

The effect of colonisation on Māori structures varied considerably throughout the country and the continued existence of Whānau, Hapū and Iwi is an indication of the strength of Māori resistance to colonial imperialism and Pākehā attempts to eradicate what they believed to be a system of 'beastly communism'. However, when successful, the undermining of the whānau and its replacement with a nuclear family model furthered the assimilation agenda. Fragmentation of Māori institutions served Pākehā interests by producing "tension through a breakdown in cultural practices"⁶⁹ including the access of Māori children to vital sources of Māori knowledge and language.

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.

Having provided some contextualisation we now move to an exploration of traditional concepts of prevention and intervention highlighted within Key Informant interviews and a review of key literature. In undertaking such a task we do so with acknowledgement of the following points:

- That information and knowledge has been shared in previous reports in regard to traditional approaches to not only Family Violence but in terms of Māori concepts of Justice generally.⁷⁰
- That Māori have actively shared knowledge with various agencies and remain doubtful as to the seriousness with which agencies and ministries

⁶⁸ Awatere, D 1984. *Māori Sovereignty*, Broadsheet, Auckland.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Te Puni Kokiri 1997 op.cit; Ministry of Justice 1999 op.cit; Jackson, M 1988 op.cit.

engage such knowledge⁷¹

- That there is a need for consolidation of knowledge in the area in order to support the development of frameworks and to identify existing gaps in the knowledge base.⁷²

⁷¹ TRFV5; TRFV6

⁷² TRFV6

3.0 TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

*Hutia te rito o te harakeke
Kei hea te komako e ko
Ki mai koe ki a ahau
He aha te mea nui o te ao?
Maku e ki atu
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata*

*Pluck the centre shoot from the flax bush
Where will the Bellbird sing?
You ask me
What is the most important thing in the world
I will say
It is people, It is people, It is people*

3.1 Te Pā Harakeke

In the context of Family Violence Prevention this whakataukī (proverbs) serves as an indicator that destructive behaviours can destroy the equilibrium that exists within a given environment or context and therefore place at risk all other elements that are a part of that environment. The whakataukī refers to the harakeke. The imagery of the harakeke is utilised in the programme 'Atawhainga Te Pā Harakeke' operated by the Early Childhood Development Unit.⁷³ The Pā Harakeke refers to the flax plant which is recognised within Māori society as a symbol of whānau and protection. According to the Huhana Rokx the saying 'Kua tupu te pā harakeke: The flax plant is growing' is an indication that a whānau is secure and protected and therefore able to grow.

The metaphor of the flax bush is prevalent in Māori whakataukī in any discussion regarding the Māori whānau. It is a broad and encompassing term, which includes a direct link to gods, ancestors and universe. Māori Marsden⁷⁴ says that pivotal to the sustenance of the Pā Harakeke (the flax bush) is the

⁷³ Kingi, Pauline, July 1999 *The Impact of Violence on Children: Vulnerability and Resilience*, Presentation to 'Children and Family Violence Effective Interventions Now' Conference.

www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/1999/family_conference/author_11.html

⁷⁴ Marsden, Māori 1977 'God, Man and Universe: A Māori View'. King, M. (ed), Wellington.

centre shoot or 'te rito' which is used to symbolise the central importance of the child. It is a deeply stratified human relationship complex. It is a total environment in which, Māori assert, the past stands as a resource to sustain the current and future generations. Māori weavers develop the view that, when they weave using the flax it is their intention to extend the humble flax – to innovate the fibre and the spirit that allows the weaver to create something for the community. Joan Metge⁷⁵ draws on the knowledge of Māori women weavers when she states that;

Flax bushes are a familiar feature of the New Zealand landscape ...carefully tended in gardens and weavers plantations. Each bush is made up of long...flax blades growing in fans. The roots...are so entwined that they cannot be separated... Growth takes place at the centre of each fan, where the new shoots (rito) emerge between two predecessors.⁷⁶

So too, the indigenous Māori whānau is likened to this system of new growth from old. Current generations arise from their ancestors, and in the Māori relational paradigms these include direct lineage from their Gods. Elsdon Best⁷⁷ provides an example of this when he writes;

In a cosmogonic genealogy of ... natives of the Waikato district Io appears as the origin of everything, the creator. The stars are brought into being, the moon and sun, the moon being of the female... the sun a male. They come, in the form of a double line of descent, male and female lines from sun and moon... The male line contains nineteen names commencing with Ao, a word denoting daytime, and followed by a qualifying or explanatory term, after which comes Rangi (sky). The female line, coming from the moon, contains nineteen names commencing with Po, a word meaning night, and then comes Papa, the Earth Mother. ... in the union of sky and earth, of male and female elements... Tāne created the Earth-formed maid as a progenitor of the human race."⁷⁸

This was a feat that Tāne accomplished only with the guidance and knowledge imparted by Papatūānuku who directed him to the location of the uha (female life principle) for the reproduction of ira tangata (human beings). The celestial and divine threads of Māori genealogies are directly linked to the human whānau. The metaphor of the Pā Harakeke embodies these relationships in that the growth of the flax bush above ground is nourished and sustained by Ranginui, while that beneath and within the ground is in the domain and

⁷⁵ Metge, Joan 1995 *New Growth from Old: The Whānau in the Modern World*. Victoria University Press, Wellington.

⁷⁶ Metge, J. *ibid*:15.

⁷⁷ Best, Elsdon 1924 *The Māori*. Polynesian Society, Wellington.

⁷⁸ *ibid*:40.

supported by Papatūānuku. People likewise, need the nourishment of all their relationships.

Metge⁷⁹ gives a central focus to relationships, again using the analogy of gathering flax to highlight the significance of parents and elders as protectors and re-generators. Metge⁸⁰ goes on to underscore that:

When gathering flax, Māori women weavers cut only the outer blades of each fan, leaving the rito (centre shoot) and its protectors (two blades either side of centre shoot), so that growth will continue.

This is a precedent for healthy relationships within the whānau system.

3.2 Whānau/Whanaungatanga

Whānau is the fundamental building block within Māori society. Anyone who works to support Māori communities recognise the primacy of whānau as a preferred relational system of the Māori, we are enabled to understand a basic framework of cultural imperatives. Whānau may be generally interpreted as 'extended family' consisting of up to three or four generations and was the basic social unit "under the direction of kaumātua and kuia"⁸¹ Whānau structures provide for a system of accountability and responsibility. It is a structure through which Māori societal and cultural norms may be reinforced and acts as a resource through which to obtain support, knowledge of the world and to receive necessary values and belief systems essential to both the individual and the society. In a comprehensive discussion of Māori concepts titled 'Te Hinātore Ki Te Ao Māori: A Glimpse Into The Māori World'⁸² whānau is described as:

The basic unit of Māori society into which an individual was born and socialised... a unit for ordinary social and economic affairs, and making basic day to day decisions. Its members had close personal, familial and reciprocal contacts and decision-making relationships with each other.⁸³

Historically the whānau is the first point of learning for the Māori child. Kuia and

⁷⁹ Metge, J. 1995 op.cit.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ Henare, M. 1988. *Nga tikanga me nga ritenga o te ao Māori: Standards and Foundations of Māori Society in The Royal Commission on Social Policy*, April, Government Printer, Wellington.

⁸² *He Hinātore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse Into the Māori World*, Ministry of Justice, Wellington, March 2001.

⁸³ *ibid.*:30.

kaumātua provided the initial introduction to a wealth of knowledge and the skills that pertained to their development; it was they who took responsibility for the education of their mokopuna. Children received knowledge at a pace suited to their needs and as required to maintain their positioning within the whānau.⁸⁴ Until relatively recent time in our history Māori children were collectively nurtured, raised and educated in this manner. This ensured the child had access to a range of adults and siblings whom all contributed to their accumulation of knowledge, language, values, and belief systems essential to the maintenance and continuance of Māori societal structures.⁸⁵

Within this is a social ideal of supporting those closest to the child, providing over-sight and active extended kin supports. The entire human complex, Whanaungatanga, is pivotal in sustaining the child; parent and grandparent generations. Drawing on the use of Pā Harakeke as a metaphor, Joan Metge develops the view that:

Māori use the flax bush (te pā harakeke) as a favourite metaphor for the family group they call the whānau. They identify the rito in each fan as a child (tamaiti), emerging from and protected by its parents (matua) on either side. [This also symbolises that two whakapapa or genealogical lines of descent arise from the two parents]. Like fans in the flax bush, parent-child families in the whānau share common roots and derives strength and stability as part of a larger collective. Like rito, children are the hope of continuity..." they represent life's yearning for itself – the future. Like the flax bush the familial systems of whānau, hapū and iwi enter cycles of birth, death and regeneration. In this sense new life is made possible by the old.⁸⁶

The whānau and the cultural relationships that are expressed through Whanaungatanga are central to a project of preventing Family Violence. Historically, whānau has provided a support base from which individuals are located in the wider dimensions of whakapapa and Māori society. Whānau is without doubt a critical structure; however when examining early writings regarding whānau it is necessary to gain a sense of how those writers defined what constituted whānau.

Looking at material written, predominantly by Pākehā anthropologists, such as

⁸⁴ Pere, R 1986.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

Elsdon Best⁸⁷; Percy Smith⁸⁸ *Māoris Of The West Coast* and more recently Margaret Orbell⁸⁹ *The Traditional Māori Family*, it is possible to recognise an increasing desire by non-Māori to understand the workings of Māori familial systems. Each has been granted privileged access to some of the inner workings of a range of whānau, hapū and iwi. Orbell⁹⁰ has reviewed the works of Elsdon Best⁹¹, Percy Smith⁹² and Raymond Firth,⁹³ concluding their definition of a 'traditional' Māori whānau is mis-named. Orbell⁹⁴ challenged this definition, claiming the notion of whānau constructed by these anthropologists was better understood using the historical marker 'classical'. She argued that, this term was more appropriate because it recognised the academic assumptions used to form these authors classification. Orbell⁹⁵ also included the works of Sir Peter Buck, who is also known as Te Rangi Hiroa⁹⁶ 'The Coming Of The Māori' whose work she also included in this set. In her revision of the sources and subsequent re-constructions, Metge⁹⁷ was also critical of the term 'traditional' Māori family. Metge preferred to use the term "classical' to draw an explicit link to the major influence Western anthropological training had had, in shaping how and what the authors imagined they were observing. For example; a typology for whānau using anthropological ordering suggested that a whānau is:

- a family group usually comprising three to four generations: an older man and his wife, some or all of their descendants and in-married spouses, or some variant (such as several brothers with their wives and families) representing a stage in a domestic cycle

⁸⁷ Elsdon Best 1924. *The Māori As He Was*. Polynesian Society, Wellington.

⁸⁸ Percy Smith 1910. *The Māoris of the West Coast*. New Plymouth: Polynesian Society.

⁸⁹ Margaret Orbell 1978. *The Traditional Māori Family*, in Peggy Koopman-Boyden (ed.), *Families in New Zealand Society*. Wellington, Methuen, pp104-119.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ Elsdon Best 1924.

⁹² S. Percy Smith 1913-1915. *The Lore of The Whare-Wananga* (2 volumes). New Plymouth, Polynesian Society (Memoirs 3 and 4).

⁹³ Raymond Firth 1929-1959 *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*. 2nd Edition. Wellington, Government Printer.

⁹⁴ Orbell, M. 1978 op.cit.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) 1950 *The Coming of the Māori*. Second Edition. Wellington, Māori Purposes Fund Board.

⁹⁷ Joan Metge 1995 *New Growth from Old: The Whānau in the Modern World*. Victoria University Press, Wellington.

- a domestic group occupying a common set of buildings (sleeping houses or houses, cookhouse and storage stages) standing alone or occupying a defined subdivision of a village
- a social and economic unit responsible for the management of daily domestic life, production and consumption
- the lowest tier in a three-tiered system of socio-political groups defined by descent from common ancestors traced through links of both sexes, the middle tier consisting of hapū and the highest of iwi

A key criticism of this typology is its' rigidity. Whānau could also be constituted on the basis of location and re-location. Whānau may include persons 'adopted in' with no blood connections. Whanaungatanga as a dynamic and innovative relationship system had only superficially been grasped.

Metge⁹⁸ has challenged the term "traditional Māori family" when used to describe 18th and 19th century observations of Māori social organisation. She goes on to explicate that the changes which occurred after the advent of European settlement within New Zealand, was to have a radical and profound impact in transforming the notion of whānau, hapū and iwi. A sample of early observations makes some of the Māori-centred 'common sense' assumptions more visible, regarding the raising of children within a collectively stratified society.

Raymond Firth⁹⁹ reduced his definition to a view of whānau as; a familial system, which enjoyed some independence and relative autonomy from the larger units of the hapū and iwi. He argued that, a male more often shared decision making with others, although he may directly head each unit in other day to day matters. As a rule, he managed his own affairs with little extended family interference. However, whānau autonomy could be subordinated on the basis of whether or not the matter may impinge on the wider interests of the

⁹⁸ Metge, Joan. 1995 *New Growth from Old: The Whānau in the Modern World*. Victoria University Press New Zealand.

⁹⁹ Firth Raymond 1959 *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*. Second edition. Wellington, Government Printer.

hapū and the iwi. The gendered nature of Firth's definition of whānau leadership may be a direct consequence of the nuclearisation of whānau structures. There is, however, little evidence to support the notion that whānau were 'headed' by males. Rangimarie Pere states that within her whānau, hapū and iwi experiences of whānau, both women and men worked together for the well-being of all.¹⁰⁰

In his section titled 'Social Customs'; Elsdon Best opens with the contradictory but revealing comment that;

...backward as the Māori was in many ways, yet he [sic] possessed some remarkable social virtues, and had learned to be unselfish when the welfare of the tribe was at stake.¹⁰¹

He goes further in stating that; "it is absolutely essential to remember that, in the Māori tribe, existed no form of internal competition or struggle for existence."¹⁰² Best¹⁰³ also described the whānau as a body corporate in which;

[T]he whole of the members of a Māori tribe are kindred to each other; not only are they descendants of a common ancestor, but inter-marriage between clans has caused a yet closer bond.¹⁰⁴

Use of the term 'whānau tahi'; according to Best¹⁰⁵ as evidence of the importance of the family group. Speaking further in relation to the force of collective consciousness, Best states that;

Particular stress must be laid on the power of public opinion in the Māori commune. It was a peculiarly strong force in the preservation of order, in the attitude of a person towards his neighbours, and in the upholding of a strong sense of duty. The effect of a communal life was such that it was impossible for a person to ignore this force.¹⁰⁶

Prytz J. Johansen¹⁰⁷ emphasises this point when he asserts that;

¹⁰⁰ Pere, Rangimarie Rose 1988 *Te Wheke: Whaia Te Maramatanga me te Aroha* in Middleton, S. Women and Education in Aotearoa, Allen & Unwin New Zealand Ltd., Wellington pp 6-19.

¹⁰¹ Best 1924 *ibid*: 339.

¹⁰² *ibid*:339.

¹⁰³ *ibid*.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid*.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*: 356.

¹⁰⁷ Prytz Johansen 1954 *The Māori and his Religion in its Non-Ritualistic Aspects*. Copenhagen, Munksgaard.

To do the right thing is to follow the ancestors ... There is true continuity in the concept of tipuna, for this word unites in it all the generations which have set up and still set up the standards by which the kinship group lives.

It is clear that whānau structures were viewed as reinforcing collective consciousness and perhaps more significantly transmitted the understanding of the centrality of ancestry both celestial and temporal, past and towards the future generations.

3.3 Whānau in a Contemporary Setting

Whānau is a crucial cultural structure in Māori society. Meaning both extended family and birth, the word whānau is encompassing of both creation and of support mechanisms for all in the whānau. Whānau provides the basis for Māori society upon which other forms of organisation such as hapū and iwi are dependent. It has also been a key target for colonialism and colonising forces have actively sought to undermine the fundamental values and relationships that are the basis for whānau well-being.¹⁰⁸

Margie Hohepa describes the various ways in which whānau can be regarded.¹⁰⁹ Whānau, she states, has both traditional and more 'evolved' meanings. Traditional in the extent that the construct of whānau through whakapapa connections remains as a key definition, and more recently the cooption of the term whānau in the linking of groups of common interest, or common kaupapa. She describes these groupings as follows

Whānau based on unity of purpose rather than whakapapa lines, sometimes termed 'kaupapa whānau' or 'metaphorical whānau', develop around a particular aim or goal.¹¹⁰

Mason Durie also emphasises the diversity of whānau in contemporary Māori society.¹¹¹ He notes that the term whānau has undergone changes in line with changes that have occurred in Māori society more generally, noting that there now exists a spectrum of whānau types that range from whakapapa whānau to

¹⁰⁸ Ministry of Justice 2001. op.cit.

¹⁰⁹ Hohepa, Margie 1999. *'Hei Tautoko I Te Reo': Māori Language Regeneration and Whānau Bookreading Practices*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

¹¹⁰ *ibid*:18.

¹¹¹ Durie, M., 2001. op.cit.

kaupapa whānau. Durie identifies the following whānau types;

- whānau as kin: who descend from a common ancestor
- whānau as shareholders-in-common: who are shareholders in land;
- whānau as friends: who share a common purpose
- whānau as a model of intērāction: for example in a school environment
- whānau as neighbours: with shared location of residence
- whānau as households: urban dwellers
- the virtual whānau: that meets in cyberspace due to geographical separation¹¹²

Those whānau that are not based within whakapapa relations may be seen in general terms as whānau of interest or kaupapa whānau.¹¹³ They are constituted and maintained through a particular purpose or set of circumstances, and therefore have diverse roles and obligations to their members.

In the context of contemporary Kaupapa Māori initiatives the whānau continues to be identified as having a key role in providing support. Graham Hingangaroa Smith¹¹⁴ states that the whānau structure brings with it reciprocal roles and obligations. In the schooling context of Kura Kaupapa Māori this includes the whānau giving support to individuals and groups who are a part of it, and also that the whānau of the children give support to the wider school whānau. Whānau brings to the fore collective obligations and responsibilities for each other in the wider sense of well-being.

¹¹² *ibid.*

¹¹³ Mason Durie refers to the work of Joan Metge in use of the term kaupapa whānau. This is also discussed in Cram, F. & Pitama, S. 1998 'Ko tōku whānau, ko tōku mana' in Adair, V. & Dixon, R. (eds) *The Family In Aotearoa New Zealand*, Addison Wesley Longman New Zealand Ltd., Auckland pp130-157.

¹¹⁴ Smith, Graham Hingangaroa 1997 *The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis*. Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland, p19.

3.4 Whānau and the well-being of Tamariki

Māori writers such as Rangimarie Rose Pere position children as being of particular importance within Māori society, such importance may be read within Te Reo Māori.

Tamariki: Tama is derived from Tama-te-ra the central sun, the divine spark; ariki refers to senior most status, and riki on its own can mean smaller version. Tamariki is the Māori word used for children. Children are the greatest legacy the world community has. (Pere, R.T., 1991:4)

From the time of birth the connection between the land and the child is made. The whenua (placenta) of the newborn baby is taken and placed into the whenua (Earth); this procedure links the child to the land and establishes their turangawaewae.

Documentation by Anne Salmond also highlights the contributions of both Māori women and Māori men in the raising of tamariki.¹¹⁵ Traditionally the care and education of Māori babies and young children took place within the whānau. Pākehā practices surrounding the disposal of the placenta have caused some dismay to Māori people from as far back as the late 19th century as expressed by Teone Taare Tikao.

When a child is born to the Pākehā, the doctor or nurse usually burns the placenta or afterbirth. The Māori did not do this, - it would be against the mana of that child and would destroy its mauri (life principle)...the whenua [placenta] was never burnt, but was carefully buried in the whenua (earth) and I think this is how it got its name, and by this burial the child's mauri and mana is preserved.¹¹⁶

The return of the whenua to the land also signifies a cyclical view of the world that espouses an ongoing link of the past to the present. As Māori we come from Papatūānuku and return to Papatūānuku, life and death are a continuum, thereby the preservation of the mauri and the mana of the child is crucial to the preservation of future generations.¹¹⁷ This view of the world is the basis of the beliefs and practices employed by Māori people in the care and education of

¹¹⁵ Salmond, A. 1991 *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans 1642-1772*, Viking, Penguin Books, Auckland.

¹¹⁶ Beattie, H. & Tikao T.T. 1990 *Tikao Talks: Ka Toaka o te Ao Kohatu: Treasures from the Ancient Māori World*, Penguin Books, Christchurch, p97.

¹¹⁷ Norman, Waireti. 1992 *He Aha Te Mea Nui* in Smith, L.T. (ed) *Te Pua*, Vol. 1. No. 1, The Journal of Te Puawaitanga, University of Auckland, Auckland, pp1-9.

their tamariki and according to Arapera Royal-Tangaere ¹¹⁸(1991) expresses the importance of nurturing the child within a holistic philosophy. This was couched within the structure of Whanaungatanga ¹¹⁹

This positioning of Māori children within the whānau is also outlined in a number of programmes related to preventing family violence. For example, the Early Childhood Development Programme 'He Taonga Te Mokopuna' takes the following line;

Our approach to tiaki tamariki is based on the traditional viewpoint that children are the lifeblood of generations gone and those to come, and whakapapa links are maintained through and by them. Children were viewed as part of an ongoing whakapapa, their contributions simultaneously fed into the past, present and future and ensured the survival of themselves and their communities. Defining their positions and status integrated them into communities, while informing those communities of their particular obligations to their children. In other words, as the physical embodiment of tipuna, bringing together the mana, wairua, ihi, wehi, tapu of generations long-gone, and linking with generations to come, children were assured of safety and nurturing within whānau and hapū structures. ¹²⁰

The importance of whānau was not solely that of nurturing but was the key social formation through which cultural norms are transmitted, reproduced and maintained. For example the whānau has been a key site for the education of Māori children. Te Rangihiroa states that for the Māori child the earliest "personal instruction" was received from their tipuna. This was made possible due to the whānau living arrangements. The child lived within an environment that embraced at least three generations and was exposed to a lifestyle that allowed for their nurturing and education from their elders. Makereti¹²¹ describes how children were taught all aspects of life through living and sleeping with their parents, grandparents, granduncles through whom they

¹¹⁸ Royal-Tangaere, A. 1991 *Kei hea te Komako e ko? Early Childhood Education: A Māori Perspective*, Fifth Early Childhood Education Convention, Dunedin.

¹¹⁹ Buck, Sir Peter (Te Rangī Hiroa) 1950 *The Coming of the Māori*. Second Edition, Wellington, Māori Purposes Fund Board; Hohepa, M.K. 1990 *Te Kohanga Reo Hei Tikanga Ako I Te Reo Māori*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland; Ka'ai, Tania. 1990 *Te Hiringa Taketake: Mai i te Kohanga Reo: Māori Pedagogy, Te Kohanga Reo and the transition to school*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland; Pere, Rangimarie. 1991 *Te Wheke: A Celebration of Infinite Wisdom*, Gisborne, Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand; Royal-Tangaere 1991 *ibid*.

¹²⁰ Early Childhood Development, July 1999 *He Taonga Te Mokopuna: the Child is a Treasure*, Presentation to 'Children and Family Violence Effective Interventions Now' Conference.

www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/1999/family_conference/author_23.html: 2

¹²¹ Papakura, Makereti 1938 *The old-time Māori*. V. Gollancz, London.

would learn of folk-lore, traditions, legends, whakapapa, karakia and of their relationship to the land, sea, rivers, mountains, forests, birds and all aspects of nature.

The learning process for the young child took many forms and included practical type exercises, and through the medium of stories, games, waiata, karakia, whakapapa and much more. All of these provided the child with explanations as to their place in the scheme of things, their positioning in society, descriptions of places, events and people of historical significance, aspects of tribal lore necessary for the child to be knowledgeable of the day to day expectations of them within the whānau.

The education of Māori children within the whānau may therefore be expressed within a philosophy that seeks to prepare the child for all aspects of living and in order to ensure that each child will ultimately have the opportunity to take an active, participatory role within Māori society. Teaching and learning was an "integrated developmental type of philosophy",¹²² which sought at all times to acknowledge and validate the 'absolute uniqueness' of the child and their position in their whānau, hapū and iwi.¹²³

According to Tuakana Mate Nepe¹²⁴ the traditional notions that were a part of whānau educating children has been articulated in contemporary times through the doctrine of Te Aho Matua which provides a clearly articulated Māori philosophical foundation for the education of the Māori child.

Te Aho Matua is a philosophical doctrine that incorporates the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society that have emanated from a purely Kaupapa Māori metaphysical base. As a product of the combination of Kaupapa Māori metaphysics and Māori societal relationships, Te Aho Matua sets standards and pedagogical procedures for the significance of Kaupapa Māori education as a system of intervention that is highly applicable today.¹²⁵

Te Aho Matua establishes the imperativeness of positive educating of Māori

¹²²Pere, R.R., 1986, p2.

¹²³ ibid.

¹²⁴ Nepe, T.M. 1991 *E Hao Nei e Tenei Reanga: Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna; Kaupapa Māori, An educational Intervention system*, M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland.

¹²⁵ ibid.:41.

children. The Māori child is a "descendant of Māori ancestry that link back to Io Matua Kore" and hence the nurturing and rearing of the child relates not solely to the child but to their entire ancestral lineage.¹²⁶

3.5 Whānau and the Well-being of Māori Women

The positioning of Māori women within sacred narratives as active transformers of difficult situations reinforces many of the principles outlined by Tate¹²⁷. In research undertaken for the Refuge Foundation, Glenis Philip-Barbara and Kuni Jenkins explore the story of Niwareka as an example of this:

There was a long darkness for the children of Ranginui the Sky Father and Papatūānuku the Earth Mother, as they dwelt in their restricted world, between the close embrace of their parents. Time passed...and finally they forced apart their mother and father allowing their limbs to stretch and the light of Te Ra, the sun, to enter. The parents anguish was felt by their youngest son, Ruaumoko, whose despair and awe of this primeval separation created moko, to memorialise the parting of his mother and father.

Ruau MOKO, the trembling current that scars the earth.¹²⁸

Ruaumoko remained connected to his mother and together with Hinutohu had children. Their grandson was Uetonga who became the Tohunga Tamoko of their home, Rarohenga, otherwise known as the underworld. Uetonga had a daughter, Niwareka. As the story goes she wanted to see the land of men and women, and so she did just that. While she was there she met and married Mataora. However, when he mistreated her she returned home to her whānau at Rarohenga.

Te Mataora followed his wife, even though it was dangerous to do so. He was determined to win back her heart and for them both to remain together. It is said that as Mataora journeyed through Rarohenga seeking Niwareka he came upon Uetonga, his wife's father, preparing to place a moko on the face of a man. It was here that the terms of Mataora's acceptance were discussed. However the final decision was made by Niwareka. It is said that upon hearing Mataora's song of lament and love for her that she knew he would not mistreat her by speaking poorly of her again, and so she allowed Mataora to not only receive a moko himself but to learn the art of tamoko for the overworld.

Best¹²⁹ also explores the sacred narrative of Niwareka. In his version it is also evident that Niwareka took the initiative to return to her own people after being mistreated. Best notes that when Mataora sought out Niwareka, her whānau were reluctant for her to return with Mataora saying; "is it the custom of the

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ Pa Tate, 1993 Unpublished paper titled presented to a Māori Community Workshop. *The Dynamics of Whanaungatanga*. This training workshop targetted Māori, in the first instance, working with whānau, hapū and iwi.

¹²⁸ Kopua, Mark, 2001 Origins, www.tamoko/articles/origins.htm

¹²⁹ Elsdon Best 1924: 47.

upper world to beat women?”¹³⁰

Best notes that Niwareka’s brother; Tauwehe, attempted to convince Mataora to remain in Rarohenga decrying the corruption of the world above as the means by which Mataora’s people eventually find their way to Rarohenga.¹³¹ Uetonga added that only in the upper world where Mataora originates from are evil deeds common. In Rarohenga there is only peace and tranquillity ‘it is a realm of light and rectitude’.¹³² It is the place of eternal sleep since the time of Hine-nui-te-po. Finally, Mataora and Niwareka return to the upper world taking the knowledge of ta moko back with them. Since that time, no mortal beings have ever returned from Rarohenga again.

The story of Niwareka is also given by Kuni Jenkins and Glenis Philip-Barbara as an example of whānau intervention. They write

Kōrero purakau provide us with ways of reviewing and reconnecting our actions of today with the actions of our tupuna. The story of Niwareka and Te Mataora is a reminder to Māori women of the power we have to take action when confronted with abusive behaviour. After being mistreated by her partner, Niwareka returned to her people at Rarohenga. In returning to her whānau, Niwareka brought her abuse into a wider context of accountability making it impossible for Mataora to isolate her and continue his mistreatment.

When Mataora followed Niwareka to Rarohenga he was confronted by her whānau. Niwareka’s father, Uetonga, made it clear that any act of violation on his daughter was effectively an act of violation against all of Rarohenga. After much kōrero and negotiation Niwareka decided to forgive Mataora; the violent behaviour had been challenged and the whānau’s knowledge of the abuse freed them both to get on with their relationship and leave the mistreatment behind them.¹³³

In the Niwareka narrative we see that she is active in her relationship with Mataora. It is because of Niwareka that her relatives are lenient with Mataora. Niwareka’s brother, Tauwehe seeks to keep his brother-in-law close and asks him to live in Rarohenga rather than return to his world with his sister. Tauwehe is explicit in warning Mataora that he is aware of the presence of evil deeds, which prevail in Mataoras’ world. Tauwehe and Uetonga relent for their

¹³⁰ Elsdon Best 1924: 48.

¹³¹ *ibid.*

¹³² *ibid.*

¹³³ Jenkins, K. & Philip-Barbara, G. 2002 *op.cit.*: 8-9.

love of their sister and relative, Niwareka. Niwareka is gifted knowledge of ta moko and because of her Mataora is able to return to the upper world with the knowledge in tact.

Caution towards 'in-laws' is a prominent theme of Māori narratives, and this is a carry over of a preference for 'marrying into' ones' own iwi (bearing in mind they are constantly expanding over time). A land base, waterways and the incumbent resources for human survival are clearly delineated on the basis of closest descent to an eponymous ancestor. This is a demonstration of the notion of turangawaewae (land as a spiritual and physical base to which you belong). It is reinforced by the notions of aroha, tika and pono for oneself and towards all others.

In his book *Mauri Ora*; Mason Durie¹³⁴ makes the point that;

There is no historical support for claims that traditional Māori society tolerated violence and abuse towards children and women, or that some members of the group were of lesser value than others. An unsafe household demands a whānau response and, as an immediate priority, an assurance that safety can be provided – elsewhere if not at home. Then, safety guaranteed, the way is clear to embark on a journey which will relieve hurt, restore healthy relationships, and, in the process, strengthen personal and group identities.

Durie¹³⁵ also gives recognition to the dynamic that;

Initiation of whānau therapy is not necessarily a high priority for statutory welfare or health agencies. Although there is tacit agreement that the views of whānau are important, for the most part the statutory and professional services focus attention on the individual.

Restoring balance in difficult times is a fundamental principle being taken up by increasing numbers of Māori women. Women, the last line of defence in any human society, know only too well the hardships which can befall a nation's future. Women are more likely to bear the children, grow a culture through the education of those children and provide the linkages between one generation and the next. Focussing on the pivotal role of Māori today, Ani Mikaere¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Durie, M. 2001. *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Māori Health*. Oxford University Press. Auckland, p208.

¹³⁵ Durie *ibid*:208.

¹³⁶ Mikaere, Ani 1994 *Māori Women: Caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality*. Waikato University Law Review, 2, 125-149:1.

states;

The roles of men and women in traditional Māori society can be understood only in the context of the Māori world view, which acknowledged the natural order of the universe, the interrelationship or Whanaungatanga of all living things to one another and to the environment, and the over-arching principle of balance.

Both men and women are needed to tie nations' unity together. Both men and women provide te whare tangata (the house of people). Both men and women link Māori to a primordial beginning and the inception of the universe. Women in particular ensure the linkages between past, present and future. Women give birth to the future. Women are more like to touch the children. Women are more likely to ensure the growth of cultures in the care and protection of their children and families. However, the survival of the group depended on the willingness of every one of its members, so that each person was recognised as having their own intrinsic tapu and mana. They shared a collective consciousness, a single ancestral breath and were all part of the collective. It was a collective responsibility to ensure the respective roles of each was valued and respected.

Mikaere¹³⁷ links the instructive and nurturing influences of Māuis' female relatives and ancestresses in developing the young child into a highly developed young leader. From his taua (aged kuia) Murirangawhenua, he is granted knowledge of the kauae raro (lower jawbone of sacred knowledge). He uses this to fashion a fishhook (navigational knowledge) and is noted as having 'fished up' the North Island. It is aptly named, Te Ika a Māui (The sacred fish of Māui). In another narrative, Māui also fashions a patu and, taking some hair from his kuia, he creates a rope to slow down Tama nui te Ra (the Sun). His goal is to slow the sun, so that his people would have sufficient daylight to cultivate and grow their crops. From his taua Mahuika he gained the knowledge and power to do with fire. It is only in his quest for immortality that eludes Māui. His kuia Hine-nui-te-pō makes no allowances for the fact that this is her mokopuna (grand child). Māui is not permitted to enter the realm of death and return. This whakataukī has often been superficially interpreted; "He wāhine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata" (Traditional). It is often interpreted

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

as meaning; “by women and land, men are lost”. However, this whakataukī has also been interpreted in the sense that it is also a reference to the essential nourishing and sustaining roles that women and land play in the life of a human society. Without this, humanity would be lost. We all stand upon the face of our Earth mother, Papatūānuku. We exist today because of the instructions imparted by Papatūānuku to her son Tānemahuta so he could find and cohabit with the uha (female life principle) and thus create Hine-ahu-one (the earth formed maid) the first mortal being. They mated and so began the whakapapa (genealogical descent) of nga iwi o te motu (the Māori people).

Mikaere¹³⁸ states; “instances of abuse against women and children were regarded as whānau concerns and action would inevitably be taken against the perpetrator.” In her paper ‘Māori Women: Caught in the Contradictions of a Colonised Reality’, Ani also highlights traditional consequences. Assault on a woman, be it sexual or otherwise was viewed extremely seriously and could result in death, or at worse the perpetrator is declared ‘dead’ to the community and shunned by the community. Pre-colonial Māori society did not follow the European dictate that ‘a man's house is his castle’. The Māori community was swift to intervene and punish violence against one’s partner. The collective perception was that the punishment would act as a deterrent against violent acts.

What this also suggests is that ‘traditionally’ the healthy functioning whānau provided a safe haven for women and children. Relatively open and ‘public’, at least to hapū and iwi, whānau could and did provide a base and support for women and the children which were viewed positively as the wealth of the group. A woman was not her spouses ‘chattel’ or sub-ordinate. Only in the event children were born, was a formally recognised bond acknowledged. A woman always retained her own kin group allegiances even if she resided in the location of her husband. It was incumbent upon the in-laws to ensure her well being or risk the wrath of the woman’s’ whānau. Where misconduct occurred it was always possible to negotiate a peaceful arrangement. ‘Divorce’

¹³⁸ Mikaere A. *ibid*:2.

carried no stigma and children were still considered in light of their place in their respective parents' whānau. The absence of a rigid demarcation between 'public' and 'private' domains ensured the relative protection of women and children.

Extreme 'individualism' was not a feature of traditional Māori society. The structure of kainga was such that there was no place for a 'private' and independent couple life style. A Māori woman was an active resource in her community. It was a role she cherished and strived within. Each home was an integral part of the kainga. Grandmothers, aunts and other females and male elders came together to rear and nurture the children of the kainga. Natural parents did not enjoy exclusive rights over their children, nor were they encouraged to be the sole caregivers. Communal living demanded constant contact and int̄raction in a tribal context and this in turn kept the life of the group vibrant and dynamic.

The active roles of women as knowledge repositories are underlined in the writings of Ngāti Porou elder, Api Mahuika¹³⁹ in Mikaere¹⁴⁰ who states;

That women played an important role in the maintenance and transmittal of iwi history and knowledge is clear from the numbers of waiata tawhito that have been composed by women. *Nga Moteatea* is full of such waiata written by women, some of whom were clearly quite prolific composers. It seems entirely logical that those responsible for the physical survival and continuance of the iwi should also play a significant role in the survival of its history and therefore its identity.

In her biography, as recorded by Anne Salmond,¹⁴¹ Amiria Stirling recalls how she came to be with her kuia Mereana Mokikiwa. Amiria's father had died young and her mother had since remarried and begun another family. Several years had passed Mereana Mokikiwa approached Amirias' mother indicating that:

"... since she had remarried, she may as well get me and bring me to Taumata-mihi. Her mother was expecting again and kuia Mereana was feeling lonely.

¹³⁹ Api Mahuika 1975 *Leadership: Inherited and Achieved*. In Michael King (ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On*. Hicks Smith and Sons, Wellington.

¹⁴⁰ Mikaere 1994 op.cit: 3.

¹⁴¹ Salmond, Anne 1976 *Amiria: The Life Story Of A Māori Woman*. Kyodo-Shing Loong Printing, Singapore, pp3-4.

Amiria goes on to describe the directness with which the women loving entrusted Amiria to the elder kinswoman. In her own words Mereana asserted; “I’ve come to fetch the mokopuna Pākehā, Ani. I want you to let me look after her. You’ve already got children and you’re pregnant again, so it’s better if you give her to me.”¹⁴²

Amiria remembers her mother packing her things and she set off to live with her kuia Mereana at Taumata-o-mihi. She described the reception from the old people when she got there:

“... all the old people round the marae thought I was their mokopuna, they owned me. They’d say to the old lady, “If you go somewhere, give us the mokopuna Pākehā to look after.”¹⁴³

As a young child Amiria’s hair was red and she was named turehu ‘after the fairy people’. Amiria enjoyed a wide range of whānau support. Aunts and uncles watched over her, cousins escorted and befriended her at school, and cared for her in the interim while kuia Mereana was working. Her cousins’ even claimed her at school enrolling her using their own whānau name.

3.6 Whānau: A Site of Intervention

Over the past 30 years Māori whānau have been defined predominantly within deficit and deprivation models within social policy, where whānau has been regarded as maintaining ‘undesirable’ characteristics.¹⁴⁴ Where the entrenchment of the nuclear family model was instrumental in the attack on Māori structures and gender organisation, the reaffirmation of whānau can in turn challenge the colonial constructions of gender.¹⁴⁵

The literature indicates that whānau is a cultural structure that was enabling of Māori. It provided a process of nurturing, education, and sustenance on all levels, within all domains. The role of whānau in Kaupapa Māori initiatives is

¹⁴² *ibid.*

¹⁴³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Policies of assimilation and integration are based upon the belief that Māori people must change in order to assimilate into the dominant way of being. Deficit views maintain such a belief and focus on the idea that Māori families are culturally or socially deficient and therefore must adapt also to dominant norms.

¹⁴⁵ Pihama L. 2001. *Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices. Mana Wāhine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland.

essential in that it affirms the roles and obligations that we as Māori have as a collective group to each other. It also relates directly to a process of intervening in socio-economic areas, which Graham refers to as 'Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru i te kainga - the socio-economic mediation principle'.¹⁴⁶

Rangimarie Rose Pere identifies Whanaungatanga as the practices that provide the bond and strengthening of the whānau. She writes

Loyalty, obligation, commitment, an inbuilt support system made the whānau a strong stable unit, within the hapū, and consequently the tribe.¹⁴⁷

These roles of whānau are roles that are worth cultivating in a movement for change. This needs to be in a context of recognising a point made by Margie Hohepa that belonging to whānau can be hard work and requires commitment.¹⁴⁸

Whānau was also a means by which collective accountabilities and obligations were maintained. Key Informant interviews also discussed the importance of whānau and its role in programmes and also wider issues of prevention and intervention.

I think we've got to go back to grass roots and we've got to put that focus in ... along the lines of what Tariana Turia is advocating – our people can't be healed unless we're healed by our own so they have to be kaupapa Māori delivered programmes well resourced and they have to be within their own specific hapū, whānau hapū development.¹⁴⁹

We probably promote some very whānau, very hapū-based strategy. We know our communities well. We pick out those key people that will influence change. It works well.¹⁵⁰

So it's not individuals collective so, the kaimahi then finds themselves rehabilitating the whole community, confronting the whole community. And then you have to stand up. You have to be courageous and brave. To stand up, you can do that, because it has to be done. Not just the perpetrator, the whole whānau, whole hapū. Are you brave to do that, especially when they're your own.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Smith, G.H., 1998 op.cit, pp 468-469.

¹⁴⁷ Pere, R.R., 1994 op.cit:26.

¹⁴⁸ Hohepa, M.K, 1999 op.cit.

¹⁴⁹ TRFV8

¹⁵⁰ TRFV3

¹⁵¹ TRFV6

Key Informants also reminded us of the ways in which whānau as an intervention strategy is often marginalised or denied by the legal system.

Victims, a single word. Cause it is easier then for the judiciary to process it rather than fifty people come along and say we have all been hurt, we're all victims. This does not compute to the legal system.

"You weren't even there. See, you weren't the one that was bashed. You were in Auckland. What are you doing here?"

"Well I'm part of the whānau. "

"Yeah, so."

"I've been victimised as well."

No it does not compute. See Kei te kōrero ke tērā mo te mana o te whānau mo te mauri o te whānau. Koira, kaore e taea i nga ture i nga tikanga tauwiwi.

Even the theoretical approach, it's seen as there is only one victim and so therapy and rehabilitation has been conducted in that way.¹⁵²

We are dealing with it in all sorts of ways with our children in CYPS so we're also having to go into these family group conferences which is underneath the guise of being a whānau hui and then we've got these legalistic formulas imposed on us as we move through their kind of setting so all our people here have been affected or involved in processes like this in one way or another and we're actually quite powerless in those kinds of settings. Our inability to deal with these in traditional ways is also affected by our experiences over the years and a whole lot of different settings.¹⁵³

Whānau is identified consistently in the literature as a system for healing. This is not presented in an idealistic way in that Māori are aware of the complex relations that occur within whānau. We are also well aware of the need to ensure safety within whānau. What is evident is that the disruption of whānau structures has, and continues to have, an impact of the wellbeing of whānau members and that a key to both prevention and intervention is the healing of whānau and the healing of the wider cultural structures of hapū and iwi.

3.7 Tapu

The power of tapu as a restrictive or prohibitive force was also counter balanced by its use as a binding relational sanction. Tapu is also described as "a principle, which acts as a corrective and coherent power within Māori society".¹⁵⁴ As such Tapu acted in the same way as a legal system operated, as a system of prohibitory controls, effectively acting as a protective device.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² TRFV6

¹⁵³ TRFV3

¹⁵⁴ Ministry of Justice 2001 op.cit: 59.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*

Moana Jackson goes on to illuminate this view when he states that tapu:

... [W]as the major cohesive force in Māori life because every person was regarded as being tapu or sacred. Each life was a sacred gift, which linked a person to the ancestors, and hence the wider tribal networks. This link fostered the personal security and self-esteem of an individual because it established the belief that any harm to him was also disrespect to that network which would ultimately be remedied.¹⁵⁶

Best¹⁵⁷ adds:

The system of *tapu* was a series of prohibitions and its influence was very far reaching – so much so that it entered into all activities of native life. The laws of *tapu* affected all crises of life – birth, marriage, sickness, death, burial, exhumation; all industries; and no person in the community was exempt from its stringent rules. To disregard those rules meant disaster to the individual; but the punishment meted out to the transgressor was not inflicted by his fellow-tribesmen – it was imposed by the gods.

Effectively what this meant was that a transgressor would then become vulnerable to disease or mental instability, which might eventually lead to death. More critical still, the protection of the gods could be completely withdrawn. This was the most dangerous condition as it left the individuals' mauri, sacred life force, without protection and exposed them to serious spiritual and physical harm. These teachings linked victims and their transgressors to a corporate body of implications and consequences. The violation of tapu, as a form of abuse was not only acknowledged in terms of individual intent or action, but also with respect to the collective well being and mana which was then placed at risk. The impetus for redressing such violations ultimately led to the whānau in the first instance. If this was not affected appropriately it may then be taken up by the hapū. Only as a last resort would an iwi become involved in the resolution. Primarily the role of iwi was to provide an ultimate defence to major threats to their membership.

Inter-generational (ancestral) acknowledgment remains important as it ties kin groups to ancestors and gods. These connections to ancestors cannot be under estimated. While they do not provide a definitive meaning for the terms

¹⁵⁶ Jackson, Moana, 1988 *The Māori and the Criminal Justice System, A New Perspective: He Whaiapaanga Hou* (Part 2). Wellington: Policy and Research Division, Department of Justice, p41.

¹⁵⁷ Best 1924 op.cit: 82

whānau, hapū and iwi, Metge¹⁵⁸ contends that;

The time has come for us to recognise that, in the real world, not the academic realm of abstractions, Māori people use the word *whānau* with an array of referents, that its use varies according to context, and that its meaning in particular situations must never be taken for granted.

Prevention and early intervention within Māori social practices is also a dynamic of healthy grand parent and grand child relationships. Exploring the sacred narrative of Māui's relationship with his tipuna Murirangawhenua, Ranginui Walker¹⁵⁹ suggests that elders prefer to indulge their inquisitive mokopuna. This generation is viewed as potential receptacles of whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge as well as tikanga-a-iwi, the tribal precedents, protocols and etiquette. On the one hand elders recognise the need to impart such knowledge; they also recognise a need to be selective in their choice of appropriate repository. In the sacred narrative of Māui wresting knowledge from his aged kuia, Murirangawhenua, the young resort to the use of trickery and demonstrate persistence. Walker¹⁶⁰ contends that;

[I]t is the wisdom of the elders that gives them the advantage over the young. The surrender of their knowledge is a diminution of their mana; therefore it is not obtained easily. Only a child with the requisite qualities able to get the better of the elders will prevail.

The knowing wisdom of elder kinswomen such as Mahuika (guardian of creative and litērāl fire); Murirangawhenua (guardian of the lower jawbone of knowledge); Hine-nui-te-Po (guardian of the afterlife) and their indulgence of their mokopuna (grand child) Māui-tikitiki-ā-Taranga. These female ancestresses know Māui's strengths and his weaknesses, yet they still allow him to test himself against their ultimate powers. These ancestresses are also seers and tohunga (accomplished artisans) in their own right. It is aroha¹⁶¹ which transcends the clumsy efforts of the young Māui and leads to success in the end. Aroha is a constituent principle, which helps to define in practice the institution of Tapu.

¹⁵⁸ Metge Joan 1995 op.cit.: 68.

¹⁵⁹ Walker, Ranginui, 1978 *The Relevance of Māori Myths and Tradition* in King, M. (ed) 1978. *Tihe mauri ora : aspects of Māoritanga*, Methuen, Wellington King: 27.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ affection, love, compassion.

The social ideal that the young should defer to the authority and wisdom of the elders, including their authority to speak on your behalf has its basis in respectful relationships. The late John Rangihau noted that in formal oratory to speak whilst your father or other senior relative is present would draw the mauri from them, leaving them an 'empty hulk'.¹⁶²

Formal sanctions, such as these delineated a complex weave of rank, responsibilities and potentially transformative positioning between the younger generations and their elders. The Māui narrative cited previously provides a precedent to the young that suggests that power and authority can also be achieved through individual pursuit. It is a reminder also that, in principle one should defer to the wisdom of responsible elders but, retain their own caution depending on the context in which power is being circulated. Following blindly a dictum that elders are always right could lead to a catastrophe for whānau, hapū and iwi when this may not be the case.

Sacred narratives, which draw on the theme of treachery and whānau protection, are prevalent throughout Māori paradigms, for example, the narrative of Māui's sister Hinauri and her husband. Māui discovers that Hinauri's husband has attempted to deceive him and proceeds to transform him into a dog. Hinauri responds to the loss of her husband by casting herself into the sea and is saved by the growth of barnacles on her, which enable her to be swept to the island of Motutapu. It is the island of Tinirau, who eventually takes her as his wife. This frustrates Tinirau's two current wives who deride Hinauri for the theft of their husband. Hinauri kills the two wives using a powerful karakia derived from Whiro. The bodies of the two wives are transformed and filled with pounamu (godstones). This narrative has many layers. The role of Māui is to protect the mana (integrity) of his sister Hinauri. Hinauri demonstrates the principle of utu in a negative form, when Tinirau's current wives hurl unwarranted accusations at her and she resorts to the power of karakia to deal with their jealousies. Metaphorically, the death of the wives is

¹⁶² Rangihau, John 1975 'Being Māori' in King Michael (ed) *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On*, Hicks Smith & Sons/Methuen N.Z. Ltd.

the symbolic death of jealousy and possessiveness. Qualities viewed in the Māori world as being, ultimately dark and negative. Qualities that need to be 'laid to rest' so that goodness (represented by the presence of pounamu) is able to emerge.

To underscore the complexity of the familial relations outlined in the Māui and Hinauri narrative, Best ¹⁶³ affirms that:

With the Māori there was no division of people into good and bad ... No Māori really thought of another person as being wicked, as we understand the term.

3.8 Tapu and Mana

The interconnection between tapu and mana is an important one. Authors of 'Te Hinātoro' argue that mana and tapu "are two of the many fundamental concepts that governed the infrastructure of traditional Māori society", ¹⁶⁴ which derives from the kawai tīpuna ¹⁶⁵. Taina Pohatu refers to the kawai whakapapa ¹⁶⁶ as a cultural template that connects us and from which we draw our identity in this world. ¹⁶⁷ Our ancestral connections, our whakapapa links directly to mana and tapu. This is explored in the 'Te Hinātoro' report as follows;

Our mana as human beings is a mana that is linked with the kawai tīpuna, since the creation of human beings was the work of the kawai tīpuna. And because the kawai tīpuna are our immediate source of mana, they are also the source of our tapu. The relationship between mana and tapu are so closely intertwined as to be almost interchangeable in nature. The mana of a person will determine the comparative tapu of that person. ¹⁶⁸

Whānau, hapū and iwi as key social institutions of the Māori world were more often mediated by the institutions of tapu ¹⁶⁹ and noa ¹⁷⁰. Elsdon

¹⁶³ Elsdon Best 1982 (reprint). *Māori Religion and Mythology* Part II, Government Printer, Wellington, pp 79-80.

¹⁶⁴ Ministry of Justice 2001 op.cit.:51.

¹⁶⁵ kawai tīpuna refers to ancestral lines.

¹⁶⁶ kawai whakapapa also refers to ancestral lines.

¹⁶⁷ Pohatu, Taina 1996 *I Tīpu Ai Taatou I Ngaa Turi O O Tatatau Maatua Tīpuna: Transmission and Acquisition Processes Within Kaawai Whakapapa*. Unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

¹⁶⁸ Ministry of Justice 2001 op.cit.:51.

¹⁶⁹ Sacred, restriction.

¹⁷⁰ Neutral.

Best¹⁷¹ underlines this when he says that;

We know that, among our western folk, fear of divine wrath has little effect in preserving order ...that without civil law no community could exist in harmony.

Best¹⁷² added that;

Why did such a different state of affairs exist in a Māori community? The answer to that query can be given in one brief sentence. It was on account of the belief that wrongdoing, an offence against the gods, is punished in this world.

To gain a greater insight into the notion of Māori perceptions related to

'prevention and early intervention', Eric Schwimmer¹⁷³ noted:

If man acted in conformity with divine law, his action was called tika, i.e. correct or just. Most of the actions we would call just and virtuous the Māori would call tika; he would also use this word for actions towards enemies which we would consider treacherous and cruel ... The concept of tika is fundamentally different from the Judaic 'good'.

Developing a preferred framework for Māori working within whānau, hapū and iwi systems, esteemed Northern elder Pa Tate¹⁷⁴ focussed on fundamental principles which might assist the restoration of healthy relationships within whānau. Of particular note is the way in which he defined 'abuse' as 'an addiction to the violation of Tapu'.¹⁷⁵ However, he also recognised that Whanaungatanga is able to provide a restorative framework for addressing the violation of Tapu. Tate¹⁷⁶ develops his view of Whanaungatanga as;

Whānau	-	to birth
Nga	-	the
Tanga	-	collective.

The birth place of the collective. The framework begins from the institution of tapu as consisting of three interwoven principles:

- Tapu relating to Being. (Te Tapu o Te Tangata). Personal dignity & Selfworth.

¹⁷¹ Best 1924 op.cit:357.

¹⁷² ibid.

¹⁷³ Schwimmer, Eric 1966 *The World of the Māori*. Wellington, A.H. & A. W. Reed, p55.

¹⁷⁴ Tate, Pa 1993 Unpublished paper titled presented to a Māori Community Workshop. *The Dynamics of Whanaungatanga*. This training workshop targetted Māori, in the first instance, working with whānau, hapū and iwi.

¹⁷⁵ ibid.

¹⁷⁶ ibid: 1

- Tapu relating to Value. Linkages to Atua, Tangata, Whenua.
- Tapu relating to Restrictions. (Hiki o te Tapu) Lifting of Tapu.

While the latter two principles are more commonly known, Tate¹⁷⁷ underlines that

Whanaungatanga, relates to the Tapu of Being. Te Tapu o Te Tangata.

Developing this view, the notion of Tapu is viewed in an active sense. Tapu is 'being with mana' which is capable of bringing something into effect. Mana, in this view, is the very being of a person whose dignity is sourced directly from descent from ancestor gods and higher spiritual power, the source of all Tapu and Mana and the basis of human existence. Existence is as such being constituted as a totality. As such to enhance a part is to enhance the whole. To neglect a part is to neglect the whole. To violate a part is to violate the whole.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, respect for people and their culture is the observance of Tapu.

Principles for addressing the Tapu of Being are cited as being:

Tika

Pono

Aroha.

Tika, in this view, is underpinned by the qualification that it is 'right and proper' due to its' being:

- in relationship to other people
- in relationship to all creation
- in relation to direct links to higher spiritual power and source of all being (Atua/ God) from which an intrinsic worth is derived (dignity) which compels respect, and is able to command calls for a response in principle and action.

Pono, 'is integrity, faithfulness to Tika and Aroha'.¹⁷⁹ Pono is motivational; it is a principle, which drives action challenging us to be both tika and aroha. The underlying imperatives of Pono are that:

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*:1

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Tate 1993 *op.cit.*:2

- it compels us to act
- it places a standard upon us to be tika in our own conduct towards ourselves and others
- it challenges us to be consistent
- it mediates the use of tika in relation to Tapu, matuua tupuna and Atua
- it mediates Aroha to be tika so as not to violate Tapu
- it moves Aroha towards action
- it compels Aroha to be uplifting with joy and feeling all actions done by tika only
- it challenges the exercise of aroha towards the source of Tapu (God) and other creations

Aroha is defined as; “having a regard for oneself that makes one seek ones’ own well-being.”¹⁸⁰ This principle includes seeking positive relationships to enhance the being of others and yourself. Positive self regard and regard for others is viewed as a pathway to contentment and peace of mind.

Aroha is also having a regard towards others that encourages them to seek their own well being. This principle can also lead to personal contentment and peace of mind. Aroha is also present in the mindful regard people can extend to others in times of need to take action towards reconciling or resolving a problem. If it is not accomplished this may affect our own well-being. This is viewed as ‘aroha with compassion’. If, and when reconciliation takes place, contentment and peace of mind will be restored. Aroha is also acknowledging the source of all well being and seeking after it. This enables the achievement of personal “self-worth, joy, contentment and peace of mind.”¹⁸¹

3.9 Addressing Transgressions

The traditional sense of transgression or violation is expressed by one Key Informant’s interpretation of kōrero tawhito (ancient narrative) regarding the ancestress Hineahuone. Out of that came his philosophical reasoning of the

¹⁸⁰ *ibid*: 3

¹⁸¹ *ibid*.

way violence on women has been perpetrated and perpetuated which he regards to have both physical and spritual dimensions. This is how he says it.

Ko Hineahuone. Koira te tangata tuatahi. He wāhine.
I puta mai i te tukinotanga.

... A transition from immortal to mortal, from spiritual to physical was not a smooth transition. [it] Captures the [essence of] ... our [human] existence...¹⁸²
TRFV6

What is interesting from the informants analysis is the way he posits the idea that the victim, following the model of Hineahuone, consider going through an identity change/ transformation in order to escape from the horror of their violation. The consequence of such a consideration would be to live in denial of the violation having ever happened. The idea is expresses in this extract:

No reira, ko Hinenuitepo tērā, ko Hinetitama
Ko te ako tērā na, ko te ako ki a au o tērā na
That Hine-ahu-one had to totally give up her identity. That was the only way to overcome that pain because that's what happens to you.
Tukinohia koe. It's not really what happened, it's how it affects a person.
Koira te whakaritenga a Hineahuone. A new identity, a new person.
Ka whakārerea atu a Hineahuone, kua mahue atu.¹⁸³

To reinforce his meaning, the informant expresses it in this way:

That persona has to be abandoned. Another persona has to be created in order to continue to live. That was the act that she had to do. That's how she had to manage. That was how it had to be managed. Then learning took place and then other people had other choices because i tērā wā Tāne could not be confronted cause ki a Tāne had done nothing wrong. He atua kē ra hoki ia. Different kawa, different tikanga, different perception, different view. There is no right and wrong. That's a human convention. Hineahuone, nga uri o Hineahuone discovered all of that. A Hinetitama.¹⁸⁴

In relation to Pa Tate's work this is an outcome of a fundamental breach of the tapu of another person. He writes that breaches of Tapu are addressed by understanding the dynamic of Te Wā (time, cycles). Tate describes it as a journey consisting of stages "... put into place to address, enhance or re-address the tapu of people."¹⁸⁵ It enables all to move along that journey.

Imperatives of Te Wā include:

- all must be on board

¹⁸² TRFV6

¹⁸³ TRFV6

¹⁸⁴ TRFV6

¹⁸⁵ Tate op.cit: 5

- initiator must take action to initiate (kōkiri te take)
- supporters must be capable of providing appropriate support (tautoko)
- objectors must provide options (whakatara)
- provide stimulus for those 'sitting on the fence
- recognise that resolutions are never achieved by one person alone, therefore participants should attempt not to be boastful or condemn indefinitely
- speak in positive terms about achievements and non-achievements rather than success and failure
- place emphasis on efforts made within ones' sphere of influence and control
- Te Wa is the provision of time-space so that the required stages for a peaceful resolution can be put into place
- Recognises that violation does not pass with time, but by being addressed

Principles of Te Wā recognise that:

- Events occur, stages take place within a life cycle/ life journey
- This is not simply a matter of reducing life to a measure of minutes or hours
- The journey is never completed (until death) and goals are never all achieved
- Once achieved, a new series of events begins

Bringing Te Wā into effect is seen as a series of stages in life wherein the Tapu of people and their Gods is addressed, reinforced and reconciled. An engagement with tapu is 'in the exercise of tika, pono and aroha. In the fulfilment of Te Wā:

- There are no more events, stages end
- It is the end of the journey
- There is no more measurement of time
- Total achievement is reached
- Tapu can no longer be violated
- Tapu is fully possessed

Finally we come to 'the radiation of tapu' which is Mana. Mana is a primordial life principle; it is the power of Being. It may be expressed as:

“mana whakahaere the right and ability of people to order and determine their own lives according to tika, pono and aroha. Mana tuku is the ability of those with tapu to share of themselves and their resources with others. The paradigm holds that; in order to achieve mana, it is imperative to seek tapu. To possess tapu it is fundamental to exercise tika, pono and aroha. The attainment of Mana is the desire of kaumātua, Rangatira and Maatua. All those who act as mediators for whānau (Kai-hohourongo).”¹⁸⁶

Roles and functions of ‘mediators’ are outlined:

- Kaikokiri-Take Taking initiatives, making positive moves;
- Kawe Kaupapa (Initiator) Service people: whānau;
- Kaitautoko (the supporter) Supporting initiatives: Tautoko;
- Kaimanaaki Atawhai, whāngai, manaaki tiaki, arahi.
- Kaiwhakatara (stimulator) Providing options, stimulating discussions;
- Kaihohourongo (the peacemaker) Takes initiatives for reconciliation.

This is a contemporary example of many of the previous social precedents and principles, which govern Māori-centred relational systems of whānau, hapū and iwi. This example expresses many of the ideals often lacking in the impersonal world of urban centres and their alienating low-income housing estates. Environments in which so many Māori migrated ill equipped to deal with the many challenges that a cash economy and a sprawling urban landscape often demands.

Fiona Cram and Suzanne Pitama¹⁸⁷ in their paper titled ‘The Interface between Violence and Whānau’, provide us with the grim negative statistics which saturate the national consciousness. Māori are the most likely to die early; be unemployed; be imprisoned; be homeless; suffer mental illness; collect a welfare benefit (except for the old age pension which no-one lives long enough to collect). We are all too familiar with the lethal cocktail of negative statistics, which plague Māori communities today. For whatever reasons, there has been a nation wide failure to respond to whānau, hapū and iwi enduring deprivation

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*: 4

¹⁸⁷ Cram Fiona and Pitama, Suzanne 1997 *The Interface Between Violence and Whānau* – Draft Working Notes 9.22.97 International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Research. University of Auckland, Auckland.

and poverty.¹⁸⁸ Māori communities acknowledge that violence against their members is unacceptable and a major concern. Cram and Pitama¹⁸⁹ centralise an assertion that; “one way to facilitate a reduction in family violence is the resourcing of intervention and prevention programmes that work with whānau.”

Manuka Henare¹⁹⁰ in Cram and Pitama¹⁹¹ extends the traditional definition of ‘abuse’ to include; ‘constitutional, legal and ethical’ abuses. Indigenous writer, Bulhan¹⁹² has identified the diffuse character and often ‘hidden’ impact of political and personalised ‘abuse’. He makes the important comment that we (colonised peoples) carry

... many internalised prohibitions and prevailing social conditions condition us to view violence too narrowly and selectively... This narrow and selective conception of violence no doubt has an adaptive function both in the psychodynamics of the individual and in the maintenance of the social *status quo*. The fact remains, however, that violence is more pervasive in life than we commonly believe and that it undergirds more of our cherished ideals and institutions that we care to admit.

What we can deduce from Cram and Pitama’s¹⁹³ work is that there is urgency in the Māori world of today to find workable yet just and affirming solutions with whānau. At the bottom of all violence is an unequal distribution and/ or access to power. The radical transformation of Māori society in attempting to confront a difficult political reality as colonised peoples cannot be ignored as a significant factor affecting Māori whānau today. The incidence of the dynamics of poverty, of increasing nihilism within Indigenous communities is repeated across the globe.¹⁹⁴ The crises which all Indigenous communities share are the

¹⁸⁸ Puao-te-Atatu (Day Break). Māori Advisory Unit Report 1985. Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, June 1986.

¹⁸⁹ Cram and Pitama, 1997, p71

¹⁹⁰ Henare Manuka 1995 *Te Tiriti, te tangata, te whānau: The Treaty, the human person, the family*. In Rights and Responsibilities. Papers from the International Year of the family symposium on rights and Responsibilities of the Family held in Wellington, 14-16 October 1994. Wellington: International Year of the Family Committee in association with the Office of the Commissioner for Children: 16

¹⁹¹ Cram and Pitama, 1997, op.cit.

¹⁹² Bulhan, Hussein Abidlahi, 1985 *Frantz Fanon and the psychology of oppression*, Plenum Press New York, pp131 -132

¹⁹³ Cram and Pitama 1997 op.cit.

¹⁹⁴ A range of Indigenous and non-indigenous writers have faced the challenges of attempting to identify direct linkages between political sub-ordination; land dispossession and cultural genocide as predominating forces of imperialism and capitalism. Many argue that these structural forces often shape the internal perceptions of colonised peoples in more covert ways as new forms of ‘common sense’. For example; many Maori grow in political and social environments where ‘to be Maori’ is often equated

political and economic domination of their group members by a foreign power. This does not ignore the fact that Māori women and children are suffering at the hands of many of their own relatives today. Nor does it excuse such acts. It does, however, place it within a wider context for understanding a cycle of violence and the ways in which wider society can at times foster and collude in its' perpetuation.

Mason Durie¹⁹⁵ developed a framework for analysing 'patterns of whānau dysfunction':

Whānau tūkino (unsafe families) impact on the health of the whānau because of the incidence of abuse, violence and a disregard for others. To remedy these dynamics he recommends that emergency alternative arrangements be made to ensure safety; the nature of previous relationships becomes more structured and that the whānau institutes a non-compliance strategy in the event of unacceptable behaviour. Broadening existing whānau intērāctions is also recommended to reduce the intensity of the original relationships.

Whānau wewete (laissez-faire families) impact on health because of limited guidance, poor or non-existent limit setting and loose or absence of standards. Recommendations to overcome these include; education; setting realistic guidelines and the establishment of whānau kawa.

Whānau pōhara (Marginalised families) impact on health because of inability to gain access to appropriate resources and may include cultural poverty.

with having a 'deficit' culture. Very seldom is the comparative 'being Pakeha and of the dominant group' exposed as the normative benchmark against all Maori are, often unconsciously, evaluating ourselves and being evaluated by Others. Key works looking at the dynamics of racialized hierarchies and the impact of colonial imperial imposition include; M. Carnoy (1974) *Features of Stateless and State Societies*, in *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, McKay Co. 1974; Philomena Essed (1991) *Understanding Everyday Racism: an interdisciplinary theory*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications 1991; Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) *Black Skin, White Masks*/ Translated (from the French) by Charles Lam Markmann, London: MacGibbon & Kee 1968; Paulo Freire (1972c 1985) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*/ Paulo Freire. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin 1985; Ashis Nandy (1982) *The Psychology of Colonialism: Sex, Age, and Ideology in British India. Psychiatry*, Vol. 45, August, 1982; Teun Van Dijk (1993) *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Newbury Park California: Sage Publications, 1993. Sage series on race and ethnic relations; Cornel West (1993) *Race Matters*. Boston: Beacon Press 1993; R. Young (1990) *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. London and New York: Routledge 1990.

¹⁹⁵ Durie, Mason 2001 op.cit: 211

Strategies to address these might include; gaining better access to external resources; widening of existing whānau support and building ongoing relationships to assure cultural and social opportunities.

Whānau tū-mokemoke (Isolated family's) impact on health due to alienation from society and Māori networks resulting in decreasing societal participation. The recommendation is to increase linkages with wider whānau, hapū and other community. Access to cultural resources and social opportunities.¹⁹⁶

Durie¹⁹⁷ works continuously to look towards 'positive' developments which may be of use to Māori in a range of settings. While he recognises the broader structural tensions which often perpetuate rather than solve many of the social ills identified, he also keeps an open view to the many positive initiatives which Māori can and are involving themselves in an effort to restore and strengthen whānau in a rapidly changing world. Durie defines Māori development as a situation in which:

Māori solutions were needed to address Māori problems... Conference delegates concluded that passive dependency on the state would never deliver positive outcomes or realise aspirations for a better future. Economic self sufficiency, social well-being, and cultural affirmation were the main goals, and integrated development, tikanga Māori and self-determination were identified as three key principles for positive development.¹⁹⁸

Durie¹⁹⁹ also provides us with his analytical wisdom when he determines that:

Policy development for Māori must make sense not only in economic and social terms, there must also be some evidence of recognition of a Māori philosophical base and a relevant framework centred on a Māori world view. Crown policies for Māori often attract criticism because they appear to be part of a fragmented policy jigsaw puzzle. The Māori component of the policy is simply added on to a sectoral focus, rather than constructed from a Māori base; the basic format has been unchanged even though the 'Māori values' may have been interposed.

Looking at early observations challenges negative constructions and deficit assumptions about Māori peoples and culture by Europeans of Māori

¹⁹⁶ This framework has been adapted from Mason Durie's model, 2001, p211

¹⁹⁷ *ibid*: 255

¹⁹⁸ *ibid*.

¹⁹⁹ *ibid*.

communities. Anne Salmond²⁰⁰ noted that early observers identified that: “Stealing was uncommon in Māori communities, because goods were protected by the owners’ ancestor gods, and theft was sharply punished”.

Sir Peter Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa²⁰¹ adds:

Theoretically, the atua kahukahu [family god] defended the family honour by punishing those who transgressed against the various tapu restrictions of the family, whether wilfully or through ignorance. The spirits entered the body of the transgressor and produced the suffering and abnormal condition now known as disease. Thus they functioned as malignant disease demons but it must be remembered that the fault lay with the patient.

The sexual mores of Māori society were a source of curiosity to early European observers. A radically different moral code offered a flexible range of relationships to both men and women:

Their [Māori] ideas of female chastity are, in this respect, so different from ours, that a girl may favour a number of lovers without any detriment to her character; but if she marries, conjugal fidelity is exacted from her with the greatest rigour” as noted by, George Forster (1777 I: 523)²⁰² in Salmond (1997)²⁰³.

The sacred narrative of the female ancestress and atua (god) Tangotango with mortal Tawhaki, also reinforces the point that; “women had equal liberty with men to initiate love affairs”²⁰⁴. A female atua (goddess) chooses Tawhaki to take as her lover. Unknown to Tawhaki she is a resident of one of the celestial heavens. The narrative brings us to the point that; Tawhaki makes a disparaging gesture about the smell of his with Tangotango. In response, Tangotango leaves him, yet provided ample directions about how she might be located. The narrative describes how Tawhaki; in his arrogance, fails to heed the instructions left for him and this results in misfortune. Walker²⁰⁵ suggests that, the significance of this is that in order to succeed we ought to pay heed to the instructions of our superiors and those of high rank however trivial or

²⁰⁰ Salmond Anne 1997 *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Māori and Europeans 1773–1815*. Penguin Books, Auckland, p75.

²⁰¹ Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) 1950 *The Coming of the Māori*. Second Edition, Māori Purposes Fund Board, Wellington, p 463.

²⁰² George Forster 1777 I: 523 A Voyage Round the World in His Britannic Majesty’s Sloop, Resolution. Volumes I and II. London, B. White.

²⁰³ Salmond 1997 op.cit.

²⁰⁴ Walker, Ranginui. 1978 *The Relevance of Māori Myths and Tradition*. in King, M. (ed)1978 *Tihe mauri ora : aspects of Māoritanga*, Methuen, Wellington, p27.

²⁰⁵ *ibid*.

outlandish it may seem at the time. The impact of European emigration into New Zealand had a devastating impact in the quality of life for Māori women. Foster²⁰⁶ goes on to say that; not until the introduction of iron tools to Māori as trade items, did Māori make a trade of their women. Pākehā have historically had difficulty making sense of Māori kinship systems. Salmond²⁰⁷ explained the complexities in that:

... in understanding Māori kinship; men could be polygamous and their secondary 'wives' were often war captives, while 'fathers' and 'mothers' could be any close relative of the first ascending generation: 'brothers' or 'sisters' any close relative of the same generation; and 'sons' or 'daughters' any close relative of the next descending generation. Women could take lovers before marriage, although too many lovers were frowned on. Adultery, on the other hand, which raised doubts about paternity, might be punished by death or exile.

Again Salmond²⁰⁸ reiterates that:

Europeans routinely misread Māori kin relations, tending to project their own ideas of kinship (monogamous marriage, the nuclear family and European kin terms) on to Māori behaviour, local sexual mores were still being altered, children were being conceived, and venereal diseases were introduced and spread.

Commenting on patterns of Māori leadership, Salmond²⁰⁹ states that:

Leadership in Māori kin groups was in fact a combination of acquired and inherited status... Mana came from the ancestors, but was kept alive by personal effort, and a high-born person without abilities for leadership might retain a certain prestige but little real power.

Whakapapa, as a central thesis for ordering Māori relational systems of whānau, hapū and iwi continue. However, these observations clearly demonstrate the radical alteration of Māori child rearing practices that have taken place since last century. , Drawing on information provided by Rickmans' lover; Anahe of Tōtara-nui²¹⁰ Anne Salmond notes;

... the fathers had the sole care of the boys as soon as they could walk, and that the girls were left wholly at the mother's disposal. She said, it was a crime for a mother to correct her son, after he was once taken under the protection of the father... and that it was always resented by the mother, if the father interfered in the management of the daughters. ... the boys from their infancy were trained to war, and both boys and girls were taught the art of fishing, to weave their nets,

²⁰⁶ Forster 1777 op.cit.

²⁰⁷ Salmond 1997 op.cit.

²⁰⁸ ibid.

²⁰⁹ ibid: 83.

²¹⁰ Anahe (1785: 53-54) in ibid.

and make their hooks and lines.

The presence of active adults, whether parents or other elder relatives, provided enormous support in the rearing of growing children. Te Rarawa elder; Ruta Wakefield in Metge²¹¹ underlines this by stating that:

Where whānau were strong and well-integrated, the involvement of older relatives in child-raising provided an effective safeguard against abuse.

Elders today are clear that:

... whatever their incidence, incest (kia-whiore, ngau whiore) and rape (pawhera) are abhorrent to traditional Māori values. They are hara, offences against the spiritual as well as the social order.²¹²

The interests of the child are clearly considered, and are directly linked to the well being of hapū and iwi. Multiple strategies are being employed to limit and reduce the incidence of abuse across hapū and iwi nation wide. Metge²¹³ Three key prevention strategies cited to Metge²¹⁴ were:

... the provision of leadership by those of senior descent, age and wisdom, embodied in the roles of mātāmua and kaumātua (koroua and kuia).

There was a need for continuous oversight, and monitoring, roles primarily taken up by older whānau members who shifted from former roles 'out the back' to more visible roles within hui. The use of whānau hui and the context of the marae all provide important tap roots for healing whānau relationships.

Metge (ibid: 289)²¹⁵ concludes by acknowledging that:

Handed down from the ancestors, modified by successive generations to meet the needs of their time, whānau methods of dealing with problems (including but not limited to huihuinga) contain many insights and procedures which are psychologically sound and effective in practice.

3.10 Utu

The institution of utu in the dynamic process of restoring balance through reciprocity cannot be ignored when attempting to explore Māori-centred views regarding 'prevention, early intervention and social sanctions'. Indeed, the

²¹¹ Ruta Wakefield in Metge 1995 op.cit: 266.

²¹² ibid: 271.

²¹³ ibid: 258-289.

²¹⁴ ibid: 287.

²¹⁵ ibid:289.

notion of utu provides a basis for understanding the spiritual and historical dimensions of Māori-centred paradigms regarding social justice. The 'Te Hinātore' report states in defining utu the authors have moved away from the popular discourse of utu as revenge and posit it is "concerned with reciprocity and maintaining the balance of social relationships". The definition given for utu is as follows;

Utū pervaded both the positive and negative aspects of Māori life governing relationships within Māori society. It was a reciprocation of both positive and negative deeds from one person to another. Utū was a means of seeking, maintaining and restoring harmony and balance in Māori society and relationships.²¹⁶

John Patterson²¹⁷ provides an example of utu in relationship to whānau, stating that:

A Māori family group includes ancestors and future descendants, not only the living. The collective responsibility for avenging my injuries does not lapse with my death, but passes down to my children. The same applies to responsibility for my actions; this is carried by my family even after I am dead. Within a Māori conceptual framework the individual is not of overriding importance. ... In Māori terms: my family insults yours and so your family exacts utu (reciprocity in kind) from mine.²¹⁸

This notion of intergenerational 'justice' can be seen in the view that; "... both the action and the reaction can be seen as collective performances".²¹⁹ There exists, both positive and negative forms of utu. For example Patterson²²⁰ adds that:

... the practice of utu applies to friendly actions as well as to hostile ones, and here the effect of a concept of collective responsibility is that lasting bonds of friendship between groups are fostered. I am responsible not only for avenging your ancestors' injuries to my ancestors, but also for repaying hospitality and other forms of support.

Utū as a process of reciprocity may be used as a counter force for exacting justice over time and maintaining good relations through positive and supportive reciprocal exchanges. Within such a paradigm lies the concept of muru. Muru is a form of utu in a particular context. Muru is a process of

²¹⁶ Ministry of Justice 2001 op.cit: 2.

²¹⁷ Patterson, John 1992 *Exploring Māori Values*. The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*:142.

²¹⁹ *ibid.*:142.

²²⁰ *ibid.*:143.

seeking justice through compensation. Through muru, justice is extracted usually through taking property from an offender or their whānau and redistributing it to those against who the offence was committed.²²¹ In regard to muru the 'Te Hinātore' report notes:

Essentially, muru is a form of utu; however, the difference between muru and utu is that if the muru were followed through, there would be no further obligations bestowed on either party. The party who had the muru performed on them does not respond to the muru. They accept the blame apportioned to them for offences...

Muru has a set process in relation to resolving a dispute, similar to a court trial. This process is known as the whakawā²²²

These dynamics also apply to the entire strata of human relations in times of stress and for sustaining positive and balanced familial relationships.

Uppermost of the human ideals aspired to by Māori-centred paradigms of 'prevention, early intervention and consequences' is the virtue of peace. This ideal is represented by the kete (basket) of knowledge, which Patterson²²³ notes as being;

... the first-mentioned of the baskets of knowledge, the kete-uruuru-matua, is the basket of knowledge of peace.

Patterson²²⁴ also recognises the false perception historically constructed of traditional Māori society as being 'warlike', but rather the positioning of this kete as the first to be recited demonstrates that knowledge related to peaceful pursuits takes precedent over knowledge regarding warfare and hatred. The emphasis in traditional Māori narratives on peace and love; according to Patterson²²⁵ is a; "dominant thread of contemporary Māori values, often not recognised by the Pākehā, and is unexpected in the light of past wrongs and sufferings." Developing the theme of peace and love; Patterson²²⁶ makes the point that;

... [K]nowledge of peace and love outranks even knowledge of ritual... Ritual knowledge is subject to the most stringent of tapu, and so anything that outranks it must be subject to very stringent tapu also, ...to emphasise the very great

²²¹ Ministry of Justice 2001 op.cit.

²²² ibid:3

²²³ Patterson (ibid: 164).

²²⁴ ibid.

²²⁵ ibid: 164.

²²⁶ Patterson (ibid).

importance of peace and love....

4.0 KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

In presenting a commentary of the interviews, three themes were dominant in the way providers chose to deal with issues of violence in their programmes.

These were:

- Intervention
- Prevention
- Programmes

4.1 Intervening in Family Violence

All Key Informants identified the impact of colonisation in the disruption of whānau and Māori societal structures. The discussion provided by Key Informants on the issue of colonisation appears in the previous literature review, allowing for this section to focus on intervention, prevention and programmes.

Each of the people who gave an interview was heavily committed to delivering a particular kind of programme. They have described their various activities to demonstrate their involvement (which we have interpreted as intervention into Family Violence) in providing Family Violence prevention programmes, most of which have been commissioned under the Domestic Violence Act. One interviewee says:

We deliver a programme called 'He Taonga Te Mokopuna'... In the last 5 years we've worked with over 1200 children and that has been from Tai Tokerau right through to the South Island ...referrals were coming mostly in the Auckland, Tai Tokerau area [We implemented]... another programme 3 years ago called 'Atawhaingia te Pāharakeke', which is originally a prison programme for males who were due to be released. ... We put 'He Taonga Te Mokopuna' together with 'Atawhaingia te Pāharakeke'. (TRFV4)

The next interviewee described his programme thus:

He Wakatapu was set up in 1996 primarily to work with Māori men who had come through the court system, corrections or the prison – particularly with violence against women and children.... a programme... engaging Māori men and their whānau to look at the issues of male violence against women and children... other things of alcohol, drugs and gambling and parenting as things we look at as well. (TRFV7)

He went on to say that his programme was especially about:

... working with males against females and the impact of that within the whānau... the impact of their abuse on their partners and the impact of that on their children as well. (TRFV7)

Of importance and of significant difference to the other programmes, He Wakatapu was:

...a contract with the courts and corrections which is a referral case of male against female under the Domestic Violence Act. (TRFV7)

Women's Refuge as a programme was described at interview. The agent said that whānau and hapū were key intervention groups that helped them in their task of rehabilitating battered and bruised women. She gives an example of a woman that she was helping:

... there was a woman who was being really badly beaten by her Tāne over many years... She decided she's not going to go back this time and so they called a whānau... what the Refuge were trying to do was to facilitate this girl going back into her whānau and her whānau taking responsibility for that – looking after her - because they knew that this guy was a stalker as well. So it was not safe for her to go back into her own territory without people accepting responsibility for making sure that she was safe. (TRFV8)

She does go on to describe how that case was resolved after some complex bargaining between the whānau of the perpetrator and the whānau of the victim and how she and her team were pivotal to the protection and safety of the woman in getting her whānau to take responsibility.

The spread of interest and activity of providing family violence protection finds us looking at programmes that deal with the abuse and neglect of the elderly. The programme 'He Whakaruruhau Tai Paaekeke', developed in the year 2000, had as its goal to intervene and find safe places for kaumātua whose family may have been inadequately caring for them. The interviewee gave examples of the kinds of abuse that the elderly frequently suffer, e.g. families taking their pensions from them or overcrowding in the kaumātua home because the younger family members wanted cheap rent or are unable to provide for themselves. Sometimes, not frequently, there was physical abuse of the elderly.

... He Whakaruruhau Tai Paaekeke..., looked at the protection of our kaumātua, both Māori and Pākehā, from abuse and neglect. The mission is to promote the

rights and protection of our people. (TRFV2a)

She talked about working through a bicultural process in order to meet the needs of her vast region as the sole provider of services to the elderly.

There is a sense of the unconventional listening to each of the interviewees describing their intervention processes as they struggle to cope with the level of family violence that exists within New Zealand society. As Māori providers, they are constantly drawing from their cultural knowledge, seeking solutions from Māori concepts in relation to the natural environment. The next interviewee demonstrates this by talking about ways that he employs to try to deal with some of the difficult perpetrators that form part of his case load. He says:

...as the counsellor I've taken the guys out into the bush... we use the bush and the sea for a lot of the work, the medium to engage in the work... (TRFV1)

While this may not seem unusual to the outdoor characteristic of sporting recreational followers, for many Māori, this has become a lost traditional activity. Many of these guys that the interviewee is talking about have come from urban metropolitan lifestyles or very inert, unproductive rural homelife. Frequently they are unemployed, have limited educational achievements, have suffered violent physical abuse or they suffer from major depression, paranoia or schizophrenia. Therefore, any counsellor finding him- or her-self involved in an intervention with any one or all of these dysfunctional behaviours does sometimes have to rely on unconventional measures to deal with the abnormalities with which they are faced.

In identifying who the groups were for whom family violence prevention was required, the interviewees' responses demonstrated that the groups came from every age group. There is not, as is commonly assumed, one age group, namely young people. There are equally as many middle and older age groups to be provided for and requiring intervention against violence. As 'He Whakaruruhau Tai Paakeke' informant mentions:

... the stats are telling us that it's at our mokopuna's age where the violence is coming through so we... need to get back to programmes like the... Living Without Violence Trust... we need to get in behind... our tāne and our young boys out there. (TRFV2b)

The informant defines the age grouping, with which she works, from mokopuna who are early childhood, to those who are in their youth, to mokopuna who are middle-aged men and women.

... Living Without Violence Trust in Whanganui... had programmes for men, programmes for women, programmes for youth, for children and then [for] early childhood development... I really feel that as a preventative measure that this is a real good programme. (TRFV2b)

To get the kind of support necessary to maintain their family violence intervention programmes, the providers work closely with government and local agencies as witnesses in the following interview comments:

We will push it back through our regional councils... (TRFV2a)

Another informant says that he works with:

... Justice department, Family Court, Corrections... when marae justice came into Waikato... work with Kaharawa with our whānau back there in Ngāti Māhanga... (TRFV1)

Not only are they working with government and local authorities for the intervention work, their family violence intervention requires a focus on training people beside themselves to work in the domestic violence arena.

...The groups that we are training to work with families of DV are Māori iwi social service providers, Women's Refuge, ...Some health providers have come on the training, Māori health providers.... We have now trained 90 different iwi organizations over the last 2 and a half years and that's from Te Wai Pounamu right to the Tai Tokerau. (TRFV4)

Part of the training packages is especially targeted at Māori educational establishments like Kōhanga. The informant tells us:

...it's looking like we could have more of an education focus in our delivery which will open up to bringing kaiako, kaiawhina and parents from Kōhanga into the training...(TRFV4)

In another of her programmes, the informant speaks of how intervention elements are not just spared for dealing with crisis situations for victims but that the safety elements are key for individuals in training:

A lot of our staff and our Atawhaingia team have key contact with their own rohe and Kōhanga so people are feeling safe coming to us as individuals... (TRFV4)

The idea of the training packages within Māori establishments is premised on

the strategy of expanding the base so that more people have the skills to intervene in situations as soon as they arise. The Kōhanga are a key institution therefore, because they deal with young families. Helping young families is a critical strategy so that intervention comes early before bad habits are allowed to go 'untreated'. By treating the problems early (intervention), the family violence service provider believes that they are putting in place the foundation or the building blocks to long-term prevention:

[We] are working closely ...to try and develop that protocol for us to go and work with Kōhanga but there's a lot of things that need to be fleshed out and the kaupapa kaimahi in each region aren't particularly open to that but at the end of the day we need to see how this is going to reach as many whānau as possible for the future of our tamariki. (TRFV4)

What is evident from the informants is the vast size of the problem of family violence compared to the very small army of skilled providers who work valiantly at holding back the tidal wave. They need a more serious commitment from the 'powers that be' to help build a sea wall that will hold back the tide rather than the set of flimsy stakes that are precariously placed alongside the sandcastles of people trapped in a web of violence, begging for the intervention that will ensure their safety at home and in the community.

When asked about elements in developing interventions programme processes the informants identified some very key elements that were necessary to intervening in family violence crises:

...We need to recognize that we have the key people and models to make a difference (TRFV4)

They identify where providers needed to target and who the people were that had to play a part if the intervention was going to be meaningful. She said:

... get to marae, runanga, kaumātua... getting a younger generation coming... Our people listen to the kaumātua, they're our elders, so their views and their opinions matter. (TRFV4)

What was critical, the informant said was that the people who made the difference were people who were committed and good role models which she described as:

... a real good mixture of kaumātua who walk the talk – they believe strongly in the nurturing of whānau – looking after the grass roots and they don't accept any

crap... working with the people that work with the families..... pick specific communities where we're going to get some community buy-in,... training people alongside other kuia, kaumātua... community's on board.(TRFV4)

Of critical value is the need to have people with the skills of being able to work alongside families in crisis. They need to be people who understand the situation, people who can be trusted to give good advice but who don't preach, people who are practical and kindly but not timid like those described here:

The key thing there for intervention is having fully trained staff who understand the dynamics of whānau in violence [a staff person who has] taken the time out to really get to know the person who works in the local refuge, that iwi provider who works with families so that when they're working with parents and they're establishing puna, they've got their hand on the pulse. When you're working with Māori, Māori need to know the person that's working with them, trust the person that you're referring them to. (TRFV4)

Whenever informants are engaged in their respective tasks there is always a guarded element that they anticipate, namely, that they will come against a wall of resistance from perpetrators of violence or from victims too afraid to intervene in the violence themselves. Generally, however, the high resistance comes largely from the perpetrators who really believe that they do not have a problem. The problem, they believe, lies everywhere else but with them and they feel affronted at being challenged to deal with their own violent, angry disposition. These people therefore form a danger to everybody in the community and none more so than to the agency having to deal with them. The following informant discussed the reality of intervening. He said:

... Part of the skills of the team is knowing how to work with resistance... How do you motivate people to actually come on board? Those who are really not ready we'll invite them to go back and tell whomever they need to tell that they are not ready to give up their violence... (TRFV7)

By confronting a perpetrator about the consequences of resisting the intervention programme, the agent exposes himself/herself to a potential violent situation but the informant regarded this as part of the challenge of 'tough love' and recognised the ramifications for others who had to deal with this uncooperative resistor. The outcome or the gamble of challenging the resistor frequently resulted in the resistor taking a step back from the challenge and initiating a new step himself that was to enquire about what the programme might have to offer him. Being prepared to take a risk with perpetrators of

violence is part of the characteristics of those who work in teams of family

violence prevention and intervention. As the informant says:

Unless you're affecting change and getting people to internalise stuff and to make connections [between their violent behaviours and the consequential misery of others]... It's about giving them some knowledge and filling in the gaps and giving them a hook to put things on... (TRFV7)

Also in regard to dealing with perpetrators one Key Informant states that an imperative for a Māori intervention approach is the element of food which the interviewee expressed as the mauri (energy force), it is also a critical element in regard to manaakitanga. He said it like this:

...te kai he mauri tōna. . (TRFV6)

The tenor of his message is that by using food, at the same time as speaking to the perpetrator, creates an environment of co-operation and collaboration, and presents numerous possibilities for rationalising the situation.

...kite atu au i a koe e mahi kai ana maku, kua tau toku ngākau.
No te mea, ka noho i te mahi kai maku kei te whakarangatira koe i au.
Kua hiki taku mauri kua mōhio au na, kāre koe i te titiro iho ki a au.
Kāre koe i te tawai i te tanumi i au. (TRFV6)

The informant goes on to claim that this is a Māori way:

The Māori way, Come in bro, Have a kai, Cook you a kai. He kapu tī māu?
(TRFV6)

If the intervention approach was one of stand-over tactics, where the perpetrator was in a situation of being judged, then no such co-operation or collaboration could be expected. But with the element of food and convivial environment of manakitanga then you could expect the return of conviviality:

Tēnā koe i te noho i kona whakawa ai i ahau. Kore au e kōrero atu ki a koe.
Engari anei koe, e mahi kai nei māku, e mahi kapu tī nei māku.
Kua noho tāua ki te tepu kua kaitahi taua. (TRFV6)

Some of the problems that the informant faces with having to intervene in family violence crises are related to the Māori origins of the client group. Many of the young Māori offenders with whom he has dealt have been raised in urban environments away from tikanga Māori. These people seldom come equipped to understand the Māori elements on which the intervention programme frequently draws:

... people don't actually have a lot of knowledge of things Māori and so there is a lot of educational stuff that needs to go into them... we will talk a lot about cultural norms and ideas which people get really excited about...(TRFV7)

The importance of putting in place some workshops and seminars, once people show an enthusiasm for Māori language and customs, becomes a natural progression in the programmes which generally are keenly attended. The outcome of many of these programmes is that many of the former clients return either to help others or to carry on as part of the educational groups in a programme. Where clients fail to respond to the transformative ideas which the programme seeks is because they are very defensive of their own transgressions and that they believe the problem lies elsewhere, the informant speaks of these in this way:

... They've got this pā mentality where they're defending things all the time. I say, "What we've got to be prepared to do is get out of that fortress mentality and become a lot more fluid and flexible in terms of how we relate". That's what relationships are all about because a fortress mentality in terms of defending things are always blaming the other person... (TRFV7)

The informant really believes that intervention relies heavily on education. Often, family violence is an indicator of two individuals coming together and while they, seemingly in a relationship, in fact have no common principles on which to build that relationship. In fact, the informant says:

... It's the re-education of that basic stuff. It's helping people to understand what a relationship is... (TRFV7)

It was highlighted that violence is (while this may be a simplistic explanation) a manifestation of impoverished or negligible relationships between two people. The team worker needs to determine whether the violence was a case of a breakdown of relationships, or, whether there was ever a relationship that had been built up.

How do the agents, working in Family Violence programmes, set about 'ensuring the safety of people'? One would assume that a successful element in an intervention programme would be to have a systematic process that victims of violence would be trained to abide by, that it would be laid out like a road code so that everyone knows the rules and so that people would control

their behaviour accordingly. To the following informant, safety is a key element which he describes as:

...the priority for me at this moment is safety. It has to be safety. But in implementing safety mechanisms it's about taking our people out, our women out to a safe environment – that's not sustainable, it's not long term. So we intervene at that point but it is still only a short term intervention. We save them for that period of time... but we are not necessarily there long term. (TRFV3)

The safety code that this informant would have us follow is contained within an example of an intervention with which his team was involved. In this intervention a young girl was raped after a community celebration of Māori women in their region. It had been such a happy celebration but was ruined by news of the rape. A decade earlier, a rape incident had happened in their community but nothing was done. Even when the victim returned seeking closure a decade later, by using marae justice procedures, closure did not occur. But on this occasion, the informant reports that:

Aunty contacted the police straight away. So some action was taken. That the aunty was able to give the strength to say, 'you can't live with this, you've got to tell it, let's report this to the police'. Now again that's about legal intervention coming in from outside etc. and it was reported that that needed to happen. And so they did actually intervene in that situation and do something about it. (TRFV3)

Issues surrounding the police and their interference in Māori communities are a political minefield that goes back several generations but here, the informant is adamant that police intervention is a key element in the way he is facilitated in carrying out his work in family violence prevention. He has no qualms in arresting the violator and he has very strong words when police fail to intervene for whatever reason. He says this:

... Whatever prevention strategy... for me the success would be about the increased safety of our women and our children within our community and increased autonomy. When our women and children are safe and not threatened by violence and when they have control over being able to access the support systems and to make decisions in their life. That is when I think that we will be successful and only until that is done. To get the education part is probably going to be central to that. We will use the legal systems to back that up... I think that getting arrested makes our people think. It's a very hard line message... and I like it. ... And when our police fail to intervene at times... it is a message to our people that we're not safe. (TRFV3)

From his own involvement in trying to intervene in family violence, TRFV6 uses a Māori framework to analyse the situation, where resolution using Māori

protocols of engaging an ope tauaa (war party) to avenge the riri (anger) and to bring about a sense of justice through muru (rightful plunder), is a consideration for those looking to use a Kaupapa Māori approach. What are the consequences of such an approach? The interviewee concludes that in the end ea (extinguishing of pain and a return to normal enjoyment) is not achieved even though one ought to be pleased with the outcome of the muru. He expresses it like this:

Tēnā koe e whakaha ana. I reira kua whakaarahia he ope taua no te mea kua kite tōku whānau, kāre koe i te aro mai. Kua mōhio rātou tērā pea he riri kei te haere. Ka aukatihia koe te whakaeatanga. Koira ka tū te ope taua ki te haere atu ki te whakatutuki i ngā kōrero kua whakatakotohia, ana, kua murua tōu whānau. Kua murua tōu whānau. Kia rite ai. Ko ētahi o ngā āhuetanga o te muru tērā pea mō tērā wā ko ētahi āhuetanga e haere ana mō ngā tau kē, e roa kē.

Kei te whānau nei kei tōku whānau te tikanga me pēhea. Me pēhea te āhua o taua taua ra. Kia tutuki rāno tēraāka kīa kua ea. Tēnā kāre e ea kua kīa, kua rite, kei te rite. (TRFV6)

He affirms the idea again of this inability of the victim to get satisfaction for the wrong that has been committed on their person:

They cannot requit. They can't achieve that requittle part. Engari, They satisfy legal and physical, perhaps demands, engari i tua atu I tērā kāre e ea. (TRFV6)

Expressed in a similar vein to TRFV3s view of intervening in violence with his rohe, and what a Māori framework entails, TRFV6 says:

...Māori methodology was one that you must confront those kinds of problems immediately. And secondly, it must be in a public way. There is no such thing as name suppression. There's no such thing as anonymity. And that resolution must exist at several levels, that is, the wairua of the person is dealt with, the hinengaro of the person, the ngākau as well as the physical side. All of those dimensions must be accounted for. ...the achieving of ea can only be achieved by considering all of the problems. (TRFV6)

Intervention is a critical process in the resolution of family violence prevention.

But, as TRFV3 says,

Intervention is only a short-term solution; that victims are only saved for that period of time; that unless everyone understands the safety code then violent actions will continue unabated.

Prevention of family violence is the long-term goal. Only then can safety be guaranteed as an autonomous quality.

4.2 Prevention Strategies Against Family Violence

Prevention was a key theme that arose from the set of interview questions. It was an area that all interviewees had a great deal of information to share. Defining what they meant by prevention was a complex discussion with more detail being given on their processes of developing strategies about effective prevention and the support networks that sat alongside their activities in the field of dealing with violence in the community. While they spent little time on defining prevention, it was clear that they understood that prevention is a priority in their work. The following interviewee, in her work, was concerned with the way parents needed to be mindful of how children are victims in the whole abusive process. She said:

Prevention is working right from the start with parents and looking at good parenting skills and knowledge..., a lot of the violence towards tamariki and abuse happens because they have unreal expectations of their tamariki... (TRFV4)

The next person saw prevention as a procedural element in trying to resolve violent crises. This interviewee believed that those who commit violence don't have the necessary behaviours needed to avoid the long term consequences of their actions and they don't have a sense of the violation of others as being a criminal act. They simply lash out without thought and they do not believe there will be any consequences for their actions. There are many explanations given by perpetrators for their violent acts. The following interviewee found that prevention was often too late for many of the families that he has had to deal with. Most of his work was centred on intervention of dealing with the bruised and battered faces long before an educational programme could be got under way. His comment was that:

Prevention is the long term, changing the nature of things so it doesn't even get to that point... one of the things... we are searching for is the values... (TRFV3)

The values he is talking about are those elements of self-control that should be inherent in all people in the way they care for and nurture one another. These are the human values that bind relationships of one person to another to embrace whole families, whole societies so that codes of behaviour do not

reproduce violent outcomes but rather, safe, harmonious environments.

The Māori aspect of defining prevention is captured in the following statement where Māori concepts are explicit in naming the relationships and the values that were an integral part of traditional teachings and values, and should be inherent within each Māori person fostered from the cradle to the grave. He observes:

Prevention? ...Safety and manaaki to the family. The importance of Whanaungatanga, the importance of tapu and noa, the importance of te whare tangata. All the values that we have in our Māori society that keep you straight and on the side of engagement, and aroha... (TRFV1)

The consequence of violence for victims is negatively defined because of the battered and bruised state in which the victims are left. This interviewee says:

We're always going to have prevention from the crisis end too; about beatings and black eyes; that's a preventative.

What this also means is that victims of violence are immediately faced with the problem of who can help them. One informant noted that in choosing a very Māori approach to help them resolve their dilemmas, victims, usually have a keen sense about who is the best person that could help them. They (victims) are guided by a spiritual energy that radiates from the person they believe can help them. The idea is expressed in te reo thus:

Kei te mōhio ngākau tonu ngā tāngata, ko wai ngā tāngata whakaaora tangata.
He wairua tērā ki te atua tātou, ko tōku i a rātou.
Etahi wa kāre rātou i te mōhio mo aua tāngata ra.
Engari huihui atu ai ngā tāngata ki a rātou.
Nō te mea he wairua kei te rongo tātou he wairua māhaki kei a rātou, he wairua whakarongo, he wairua whakaaora i te wairua i te ngākau, i te hinengaro o te tangata. (TRFV6)

The above idea is reinforced in the following comment:

Our wairua and our ngākau takes us to these people.
... There are certain people you can go to and there are certain people you can't. It's got nothing to do with qualifications in a western way. For some people it's just, they have a sense. (TRFV6)

The process of seeking support is also tied to the actual provision of effective prevention programmes. In terms of what interviewees thought effective prevention was, they had much to say based on examples from their own work

in the field. They talked about persuading perpetrators to change their behaviours. What was interesting was that their effective interventions required the co-operation and collaboration of the victims of violence, namely, women and children. They became the catalyst of change in the counter-violent education of the perpetrator. Often the persuasion of the perpetrator was an enforced action. Seldom did perpetrators voluntarily come forward to seek help for their violent behaviours that they accepted as normal and natural. There was seldom an acknowledgment of any accountability or responsibility for their actions. Without court interference many of the perpetrators would not have responded. Much of the preventive measures were extrinsically motivated. They were not intrinsic to the perpetrator. The perpetrator does not know he needs help and this is exacerbated by the victim not exposing the perpetrator soon enough, if at all, and the victim being unable to challenge the perpetrator or being unwilling. The victim simply seeks safety for herself and her children, frequently for healing and for shelter. In the example the following interviewee gives, we get a sense of the way victims are a key part of the solution to the perpetrators problem:

Once we have got the man on board, part of the deal of him coming on board is that we contact his partner and whānau and he signs a contract with us to do that. (TRFV7)

The interviewee goes on to state that the partner, in helping to resolve the situation for the perpetrator, also needs to be given some assistance so that she becomes a participant in the re-education process. He says we spend time:

...helping her with some educational stuff... around what we do with the Tāne, (TRFV7)

The kinds of assistance and guidance that she is given includes, the need to:

... build a safety plan...does she know her rights under the family court, does she have refuge numbers, does she have contact with a lawyer, etc. Is she herself interested in doing some counselling or dealing with her own issues? (TRFV7)

The interviewee described how the counselling protocols worked. He said he would:

... invite them to maybe do some work together as a couple and if successful then we broaden that to the whole whānau. (TRFV7)

He was interested in finding out:

... what's happening between them and the children. (TRFV7)

As part of his counselling, he spent time getting the couple to develop:

... their understanding of their behaviour on children, maybe why the children are a bit withdrawn or acting out. (TRFV7)

The process he was describing was the kind of:

... broad approach but building it step by step.(TRFV7)

He was averse to working with couples and individuals using set programming techniques. Instead, he favoured a hands-on approach that he describes in the following way:

... moved away from having set programmes where everyone goes through a programme... focused on actually looking at the person... looking at the couple... looking at the whānau...dealing with them one at a time, helping them make the links (TRFV7)

Some people got themselves into trouble simply because they were sick and had no medical attention but instead manifested their illness in violent behaviour. Part of his counselling message was to say to the client:

If you're physically unwell then how is that impacting, if you're spiritually unwell are there things going on in your life that shouldn't be there, what have you done about it, what doors have been opened. (TRFV7)

He thought that the clients needed to explore traditional concepts of whakapapa and wairua. The need to understand the ways in which certain realities are constructed and reconstructed was raised by one informant, who discussed the ways in which perpetrators construct and illusion as a part of a process of validating their own actions. He goes further to say the illusion is a fantasy of the perpetrator's imagination and that once that fantasy is dispelled then the perpetrator is exposed. At that point then, those working in the field of intervening and preventing violence have a chance of warning victims of how to dismantle the opportunities that perpetrators need to carry out their violations.

The perpetrator is driven by a fantasy. ... the fantasy is an illusion. The illusion is that this is alright. The illusion that this is tikanga. The illusion that this is normal. ... The illusion is contagious. So the worker has to reveal the illusion and confront it. The illusion is bigger than the perpetrator.
... We have to find out what the illusion, what the fantasy is. Then we have to find out how to close the opportunities down of how that illusion is perpetrated.

Because not only has the perpetrator predicted the opportunities to do it, but he's actually manipulated things so the opportunities always run like water from a tap. (TRFV6)

The construction of 'illusions' by perpetrators must also be seen in light of earlier comments regarding societal frameworks. Perpetrators operate within a context of societal power relations which in turn support and affirm such actions. The informant goes on to say:

the illusion must be identified, must be confronted and it must be dismantled and replaced by a [different] reality. (TRFV6)

Interviewees also spoke of effective prevention in terms of follow-up actions. Without the follow-up the initial counselling would be futile and the healing and transformation of violence within the whānau more than likely would continue unabated. The suggestions he makes for constructive activities that some of his clients might engage with are just simple everyday activities that most people would take for granted. But, his suggestions have made a positive difference to families in great stress in trying to deal with their violent situation. The interviewee describes it like this:

... monitoring the effectiveness of the programme... through weekly contact and our whānau worker... Just keeping them on board, encouraging them, getting them to look at other things... their education, getting their licences... doing a bit of night school, learning te reo, anything that's going to help them break the pattern that they've been in for years. (TRFV7)

Another interviewee talked about effective prevention by using Māori descriptors in relation to how equality and personal autonomy should be a feature within the whānau. He couldn't stress enough the need to recognise the uniqueness of each person within the whānau. He described effective prevention in these words:

... the work we're doing now, changing a lot of those concepts and talking about equality where we go back to mana Tāne, mana wāhine, mana tāngata, what does that mean. Because if you have the right concept around that then everybody has their own autonomy, their own tino rangatiratanga, they have got their own uniqueness and we still use that to work as a whānau. (TRFV1)

The interviewee went on to talk about boundaries as part of effective prevention. Those boundaries included the forward planning that people need to engage in and the importance of being part of a group which he described in

the following way:

I think knowing what the boundaries are; honouring the tika pono aroha, the simple things. Looking at achieving your best or your full potential supported by the environment around you. Staying within a collective of people that say the same things as you that keep you focussed. (TRFV1)

He went on to speak about responsibility and accountability of the whānau and what he thought should come out of an effective intervention. He says:

Everybody in the whānau knows about responsibility and accountability back to the whānau... if you get the women saying he's safe, well then the programmes working , and that's an effective programme. It's all about a lifestyle change, about how can we support each other. (TRFV1)

The idea of telling somebody about the problem was expressed very strongly by the interviewee whose work is within a Māori community. He believed that violence was easily perpetrated because it was hidden within the community and by the community. That way violence was able to follow its rampant pathway. The only way to prevent it was:

We've got to expose it in our community. ... we need to set up some pou, some principles within our community, within our area... we have got to undo all the things that are... the habits. (TRFV3)

Those habits – violent habits – had to become eradicated to the point where he could see that women and children could enjoy a safe environment. He pondered, in his desperation, whether it was reasonable to expect that Māori society could be described as a safe haven for families. He asked:

... What is it like for us to have a community that is non-violent? To know a community where our women and children are safe. (TRFV3)

What support enhances effective prevention? This question was not fully addressed by all of the interviewees but one of them gave a lot of thought to the issue. For her, spending time was part of that support mechanism in order to gain respect and trust from whānau and parents. She said:

[I] spend a lot of time getting that mutual respect... working with whānau... [until] down the track, these parents actually trust you. (TRFV4)

She spoke of the processes that were necessary to support families and groups to develop their skills and strengths which again required time, long term inputs. She said:

... some specific stages we need to go through first to see that there's the capacity to stay together as a group... valuing each individual's skills... looking at tamariki in terms of birth right through to 5 when they go to school. (TRFV4)

When people needed their confidence to be bolstered by stimulating new ideas, her strategy was to:

... bring in a motivational speaker...(TRFV4)

People need to be trained to take responsibility for following up on ideas to do some research themselves and to try out techniques in their own time and space. The training is described like this:

... we build on it right through 20 days of training with 3 weeks in between each week where we set them specific homework to try out with the families that they're working with.(TRFV4)

A central concern was the provision of preventative programmes beginning at early childhood. The interviewee stressed that support for families had to be given at the very earliest stages and so she targets Kōhanga establishments and Kōhanga whānau as core groups for her attention. She says:

Prevention. I think we need to get into Kōhanga. We need to get it right from that ante-natal stage really and do some key work around there and come together with specialists in the health area, in social, in education ... to get our roles together... (TRFV4)

This theme of prevention that was addressed by all of the interviewees, in some way played a dominant role in the activities that each agency was involved with in trying to combat violence in Māori communities. A pithy comment from another interviewee helps to centre the discussion and offers a challenge to men who are normally the perpetrators of violence, and thereby creating the norm for women and children as victims. He echoed his koro's challenge:

... Our koro used to tell my older brothers that if you go with a wāhine be prepared to die for her. Meaning, don't abuse her, you look after her, you work together. So my interpretation of that... was about equality. How do we walk together? How do we talk together? How do we honour each other? (TRFV1)

4.3 Developing Programmes Against Family Violence

Informants spoke about the kinds of programmes that have been run and which they have been able to adapt in their own work. What has been important has

been the element of visibility, of being seen. That is the key factor in any promotion; you have to be seen. Advertisers understand the importance of that principle. If the advertisement is not seen then no response can happen and therefore no business will transpire. So it is interesting that those who are in the field of family violence prevention are adopting that very basic principle which advertisers use. The following informant has much to say about their 'public' programme that their team uses:

For us it was about visibility and promotion of our people. ... do a monthly newsletter... feature our kids a lot more, so the visibility of the faces of our kids and our women and all the things they do... I believe that people learn to stop that isolation and the opportunity for violence to take place is eliminated when people are quite visible.... we started promoting programmes. One year we wrote a song. We did a CD 'Suffer the Children'... we got photos from our kaumātua. The song was about child abuse. It was about making the change. ... We need to teach love, not aggression. ... We ran a children's day and then we worked with our schools to do a non-violence day, to start as prevention strategies. For this day, nobody could use any form of abuse, whether it was yelling at the kids – they had to all find healthy ways of communicating with each other.... we need to develop healthy models of communication, healthy models of respecting each other again... The first message was about the value of our children. (TRFV3)

The informant spoke of particular ways of ensuring that self-esteem was a feature of their programme activities. Māori women who often behave as wallflowers, as people with low self-esteem, because they do not perceive themselves as the beautiful people, these were the targets of his programme where the common people were brought out of the shadows and highlighted as people of value in their community:

... we ran a women's day, then we created another song and we created a whole lot of activities, things about women. ...– it was just about who you were. You didn't have to be anybody grand - the fact of who were, that you were a woman and that you contributed to our society and our community and who you were was the message.... You just had to be you and you were special... (TRFV3)

There are always themes that drive any programme and within the informants' notions of what constitute a well co-ordinated and cohesive Family Violence prevention programme, those themes had to dovetail into his programmes. Central to his programmes is the safety of the family, of the whānau, of the hapū, of the iwi. The role of the programme was to educate each of the groups with key messages that drive the prevention programmes. These programmes contain the key messages that he wants the community to abide by. The

programme contains his code of safety. The people who participate in his programme have to be people that are well known to his programme audience:

We are all important as a family. We can start educating and making people aware about what that means inside themselves. So cases of violence that we deal with involve some of those things. It's part of strategy I think, that works. There were programmes going on that had different things and we thought we had to use the faces of our own people. Ownership would come from us as a community, but it's our faces that we recognise. But we would have our own kuia on the photo with our young girls. There was a range of things like that that we were developing as a strategy that we used that worked for us. (TRFV3)

To gain the attention of the target community, the following informant wanted to capitalise on already existing successful programmes, to copy their models.

She also would employ famous sporting personalities and popular sporting venues to get pivotal basic messages across. She states:

We need to get back to implement an effective educated public programme. Like the Auahi Kore programme I want to see real big non-violence funding around like they do for quit smoking - quit hitting – give us putea for that and let us 'plant' banners down the road for sports' teams and rugby league teams – use celebrities to advertise and get out there and say "NO hitting"... If we're doing programmes for Māori - Who are our Māori out there that we can use? After all it is our mokopuna and tamariki out there at the end of the day that are suffering... We need to put in those preventative measures when we're talking about rangatahi. We've got a lot of work and we need to get in behind our parents and let's put these big ads up. No hitting. Develop some sort of public programme out there. We should be at these rugby league games, live read at the Warriors, put up NO hitting. You could have it there. Kauga e wareware. Kauga e patu. (TRFV2b)

Popular posters which portray positive images of families and, in particular, the role of Māori males, were highlighted as a key element in any programme:

... there's been very little positive stuff promoted around Māori male family roles, fatherhood... poster of Tawera Nikau a few years ago with his baby over his shoulder which I thought was a really good picture of a Tāne with his young kid... a card of a Tāne in a piupiu kneeling down with a baby. Other than those 2 images I can't remember anything which gives Māori men a positive spin... whole image about being men is about being tough and staunch... opposites that it is OK for men to be involved in family and to show that other side and be proactive and be involved in school and be proactive and junior sports or taking your daughter to whatever. (TRFV7)

What was important to this informant was that any programme targeted at family violence prevention had to contain promotions that emphasised the Māori community that he expressed in this vein:

I'd like to see a lot more Māori point of view of generally promoting healthy families. It's that whole connectedness – of tupuna, mokopuna, that connects into our turangawaewae... but whānau is the particular thing. (TRFV7)

Key Informants were asked what they saw as key in developing public programmes for Māori in regard to family violence prevention. Like the education programmes about family violence, visibility is key to developing public programmes for Māori. People need to be educated at many levels as to how to deal with this invasive and damaging facet of human life. Long before an intervention actually transpires for many victims, the evidence of their misery has been visible but ignored within communities, within families, within schools, within the playground, but seldom does an intervention happen until crisis point is reached. People pretend that violence is not happening and that in some way the victim deserves the punishment they are getting. In her high frustration of having to deal with family violence prevention, the informant candidly expresses her ideas:

...Violence needs to be brought out in front, out of the cupboard. We should be doing things about the reality of domestic violence and what it does to us as a people. We don't have enough of that focus... teachers in education are putting away the issue of the child that's a behaviour problem and not looking behind the problem and saying why is this child like this and having good resourcing going into intervention programmes like SES and other providers who are working with behaviour management. (TRFV4)

Issues of violence in New Zealand tend to be labelled as the Māori problem or the Pacific Island problem as if issues of violence plague no other ethnic groups. Overseas literature and conferences plainly tell us otherwise and so a good slogan that one of the informants wishes to borrow is this 'violence against our women is not a native tradition'. She goes on to say:

If we were going to do a programme, for me a really simple statement on a programme against violence it really has to be about elevating the status of Māori women within our own society because the very thing that keeps us oppressed is the denigration of our women and our children. Not just in terms of our daughters but in the denigration of Papatūānuku. I just think if we are going to do a programme it is not just about saying to him, 'don't hit – stop hitting her' but it's saying to her 'you are worth our lives' basically because 'without you we do not have a life'. Without Papatūānuku we do not have a life. It is just an integral part of the continuation of humankind... Because if we don't do that we end up focusing on the 1-on-1 like the dysfunction within the relationship, she's got a flappy mouth, he's a drunkard, they're poor. It's not that but it's about our own self-hatred. It's about our own belief in us being less than what we are! ... (TRFV8)

Aligned with the ideas of violence against women is the need for education of

the whole family and how violence against children was not a Māori traditional concept. The traditional whānau was about protecting the mana of children within each generation because children in the present are the descendants of ancestors who had mana and they are the protectors of the mana of the future. So any programme about not hitting keeps faith with the traditional tikanga. The informant says:

...a programme needs to be talking about family and the generations and supporting each other. If you're talking about a programme response to it, then there needs to be education about the whole family. There is actually no reason to be hitting our kids. In fact all of the evidence from our early records shows that we didn't. But we have to have the mechanisms in place to allow us to be able to operate in other ways, and to re-learn it. We have to re-learn it). (TRFV1)

When there are major health issues, epidemics, outbreaks that would endanger health, governments quickly swing into action with public programmes to deal with the situation. In the situation of family violence prevention, the following informant believes that the situation in Māori communities is at that grave level of concern. That violence fits all of the dangerous categories for which a public programme is called for and she wants us to:

... go back to grass roots...– our people can't be healed unless we're healed by our own so they have to be kaupapa Māori delivered programmes well resourced and they have to be within their own specific hapū, whānau hapū development...(TRFV4)

But her programme is not asking government to deliver the solution targets Māori to be the deliverer.

The idea that Māori be deliverers of their own salvation, then what the following informant has to say is an endorsement of that thinking. Programmes run by Māori for Māori would incorporate Māori images, Māori concepts, Māori language, Māori ideals in order to deliver the cultural emphasis that they are seeking. The informant is convinced that Whanaungatanga is central to any programme. This is in keeping with what other informants are saying. To speak to the whānau she says:

I'd like to see proverbs, whakataukī (*Ae, whakataukī), I think they're good value based. - So programmes formed around whakataukī would be "He aha te mea nui o te ao, he tangata, he tangata, he tangata", those kinds of whakataukī. In English [one whakataukī is translated as] "behind every Māori there are 10,000 people and you were the dream of someone. (TRFV1)

Where to categorise types of family violence and thereby treat the symptoms and outcomes of violence is of critical concern to any programme that targets the Māori whānau. The informant thinks that we:

... as Māori we really need to be looking at the whānau, in terms of whānau-ora... traditional dress that was magnificent and use images that talked about pride and humility and aroha in a context that was talked about that gave you a great image of family compared with the Jake Heke type of image which we seem to see a lot of – you see a Māori family and it's either in the middle of Otara or somewhere and there's old wrecked cars on the lawn and people look kind of haruharu and paru and I think that this is stereotypical image all the time but... being paru is not being Māori. (TRFV7)

Current television programmes, seeking to get the attention of the New Zealand public to intervene in the high road toll statistics have adopted shock tactics because New Zealanders seem to be ambivalent towards the need to change their bad driving habits. The road carnage is really another form of violence. The high resistance levels of drivers who cause fatal accidents, are like the violent perpetrators who resist any idea that they have a major social disorder. Outcomes of the television shock programmes have only minimally reduced the violence on New Zealand roads. What has worked and made significant impact on reducing the road toll has been reducing road speed, improving the road layout, personally removing keys from known bad drivers and other such tactics. So there is a great deal of merit in supporting what the following informant has to say:

If I was looking at a long term preventative programme it wouldn't be about the shock value of violence (the Jake Heke image). It would be about the elevation of all of us as human. I think an effective programme is around that – around providing us with an image of ourselves [as unique and special beings] with the capacity to change... the capacity to learn... (TRFV8)

Such a programme, the informant believed, offered alternatives. The message had to give direction and had to be affirming. She says that:

If the messages [give] lots and lots of affirmation [then] those people who are least able to change their behaviour [may begin to] visualise a positive alternative. If they don't know where they are heading then they have got nowhere to go. They stay where they are. That would be where I would go [with my programme]. (TRFV8)

Most of the informants had not been party to running public programmes on the scale that the Ministry of Health envisages in its forward planning, however, the

informants did have some very important guidelines to offer. Their experience in each of their particular fields is a good signpost to direct the strategic planner along useful pathways to resolve the issues of family violence prevention especially within Māori communities who were the target of this project.

As such, Key Informants were asked who they believed is the audience for such a programme. The responses that were given in identifying the audience for any programme for the prevention of family violence within Māori communities were centred on developing whānau awareness. One response was to identify the whole community in which the informant lived which was just one iwi. He said this:

Our whole community [is the audience]. We actually programme around Ngāti Haua. We focus directly on Ngāti Haua. A data-base of our people that we send out all the information to our people goes directly to all the households of Ngāti Haua. Ngāti Haua is our audience. All of Ngāti Haua as opposed to just trying to be Māori. (TRFV3)

Another informant thought that the audience for her purposes would be limited to a Māori audience. She said:

For this question, it has to be Māori, in terms of priority, Māori women. (TRFV8)

Another seemingly spoke of a limited audience – that of youth – but on reviewing what she is saying, her audience is a national one so that youth can compare how other groups are actually faced with having to deal with issues of violence:

Young ones always hear just about the Māori problem so tend to think that they're the only ones with a problem, that other ethnic groups don't have the same problems. (TRFV4)

But, issues of violence are not easily contained within small audiences. It is a plague that scourges every level of society. So what the following informant has to say is probably the audience for a programme that seriously wishes to address family violence prevention:

...The audience is so vast cause that family violence is across sectors, it's not confined to low socio-economic and the types of violence... (TRFV4)

Addressing family violence needs to be considered within a holistic framework. As their clientele base is across age groups in a physical sense, historically the

informants also recognize the intergenerational impact of family violence as a tragic reality of human existence. They have made it clear that they face on a daily basis, having to deal with issues of violence across, every age level, every strata of the Māori community and in fact, every strata of the global community. Therefore, the audience of who is interested, who is concerned, who suffers from family violence is everybody whether they are in the direct line of fire or hidden away in a secure non-violent, peaceful situation. Those who are seemingly free of the violence are really hiding and escaping from playing their part in violence prevention. No one is free of the violence that stalks us. Everyone is responsible for ensuring a safe, peaceful and harmonious society.

*Parapara waerea a ururua,
kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke.*

*Clear away the overgrowth, so that the flax will put forth
Many young shoots.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Awatere, D. 1984 *Māori Sovereignty*, Broadsheet, Auckland
- Beattie, H. & Tikao T.T. 1990 *Tikao Talks: Ka Toaka o te Ao Kohatu: Treasures from the Ancient Māori World*, Penguin Books, Christchurch
- Bedggood, D. 1980 *Rich and Poor in New Zealand*, Allen and Unwin, Auckland
- Benton, Richard A. 1978 *Can the Māori language survive? Māori Unit*, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington
- Best, Elsdon. 1924 *The Māori As He Was*, Polynesian Society, Wellington
- Best, Elsdon. 1924 *The Māori*. Polynesian Society, Wellington
- Best, Elsdon. 1982 *Māori Religion and Mythology*. Part II. Government Printer, Wellington
- Buck, Sir Peter (Te Rangi Hiroa). 1950 *The Coming of the Māori*. Second Edition, Māori Purposes Fund Board, Wellington
- Bulhan, Hussein Abdilahi. 1985 *Frantz Fanon and the psychology of oppression*, Plenum Press New York
- Carleton, H. 1867 September 10 'Māori Schools Bill', AJHR Wellington
- Cook, H.M. 1985 *Mind That Child: Childcare as a Social and Political Issue in New Zealand*, Blackberry Press, Wellington
- Cram, F. Kempton, M. & Armstrong, S. 1998 *Evaluation Report: Te Whare Tirohanga Māori, Hawkes Bay Regional Prison*, Wellington, Department of Corrections
- Cram, Fiona & Pitama, Suzanne. 1997 *The Interface between Violence and Whānau – Draft Working Notes 9.22.97* International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Research. University of Auckland, Auckland
- Cram, F. & Pitama, S. 1998 'Ko tōku whānau, ko tōku mana' in Adair, V. & Dixon, R. (eds) *The Family In Aotearoa New Zealand*, Addison Wesley Longman New Zealand Ltd., Auckland pp130-157
- Davis, A. 1981 *Women, Race and Class*, The Womens Press Ltd, London
- Durie, Mason. 2001 *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Māori Health*. Oxford University Press, Auckland
- Firth, Raymond. 1929-1959 *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*. 2nd Edition. Wellington, Government Printer, 1959

Forster, George. 1777 *A Voyage Round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution*. Volumes I and II. London, B. White, pp 523

Grace, Patricia & Kahukiwa, Robyn. 1984 *Wāhine Toa: Women of Māori Myth*. Auckland, William Collins

Henare, Manuka. 1988 *Nga tikanga me nga ritenga o te ao Māori: Standards and Foundations of Māori Society in The Royal Commission on Social Policy*, April, Government Printer, Wellington

Henare, M. 1995 *Te Tiriti, te tangata, te whānau: The Treaty, the human person, the family*. In *Rights and Responsibilities: Papers from the International Year of the family symposium on rights and Responsibilities of the Family held in Wellington, 14-16 October 1994*. Wellington: International Year of the Family Committee in association with the Office of the Commissioner for Children, pp16

Hohepa, Margie. 1990 *Te Kōhanga Reo Hei Tikanga Ako I Te Reo Māori*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

Hohepa, M. 1994 'Whakatipu Tamariki: Us Kids' in Pihama, L., (ed) *Te Pua: A Journal Published by Puawaitanga, Volume 3, Number 2 - 1994*, Te Whare Waananga o Tamaki Makaurau, Auckland

Hohepa, M. 1999 '*Hei Tautoko I Te Reo*': *Māori Language Regeneration and Whānau Bookreading Practices*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

Horsfield, A. & Evans, M. 1988 *Māori Women in the Economy*, Te Ohu Whakatupu, Ministry of Womens Affairs, Wellington; Ministry of Womens Affairs 2001 *Māori Women: Mapping Inequalities and Pointing Ways Forward*, Ministry of Womens Affairs, Wellington

Jackson, Moana. 1988 *The Māori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective: He Whaipanga Hou*, Study Series 18, Department of Justice, Wellington, p16

Jackson, M. 1988 *The Māori and the Criminal Justice System, A New Perspective: He Whaipanga Hou* (Part 2). Wellington: Policy and Research Division, Department of Justice, pp41

Jackson, M. 1998 'Research and The Colonisation of Māori Knowledge' in Te Pūmanawa Hauora, 1999 *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference*, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp70-77

Jenkins, Kuni. 1992 'Reflections on the Status of Māori Women' in Smith, L.T. (ed) *Te Pua 1*, Te Puawaitanga, Auckland, pp37 – 45

Jenkins, K. & Philip-Barbara, G. 2002 *Mauri Ora: Māori Womens Stories*, Huia Publications, Wellington

Johnston, P. & Pihama, L. 1995 'What Counts as Difference and What Differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference' in Irwin, K., Ramsden, I. & Kahukiwa, R. (eds), 1995 *Toi Wāhine: The Worlds of Māori Women*, Penguin Books, Auckland, pp75 – 86

Ka'ai, Tania. 1990 *Te Hiringa Taketake: Mai i te Kōhanga Reo: Māori Pedagogy, Te Kōhanga Reo and the transition to school*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland

Kawharu, H. 1977 *Māori Land Tenure*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

Kingi, Pauline. July 1999 *The Impact of Violence on Children: Vulnerability and Resilience*, Presentation to 'Children and Family Violence Effective Interventions Now' Conference
www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/1999/family_conference/author_11.html

Kōhanga School, Waikato *AJHR 1860 E4*, Government Printer, Wellington

Kopua, Mark. 2001 Origins, www.tamoko/articles/origins.htm

Mahuika, Api. 1975 *Leadership: Inherited and Achieved*. In Michael King (ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On*. Wellington, Hicks Smith and Sons

Marsden, Māori. 1977 'God, Man and Universe: A Māori View'. King, M. (ed.), Wellington

Mead, LTR. 1996 'Nga Aho o Te Kakahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Māori in Education' Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Education Department University of Auckland

Metge, Dame Joan. 1995 *New Growth from Old: The Whānau in the Modern World*. Victoria University Press New Zealand

Mikaere, Ani. 1994 *Māori Women: Caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality*. Waikato University Law Review, 2, pp125-149, pp1-3

Nepe, T.M. 1991 *E Hao Nei e Tenei Reanga: Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna; Kaupapa Māori, An educational Intervention system*, M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland.

Norman, Waireti. 1992 *He Aha Te Mea Nui* in Smith, L.T. (ed.) *Te Pua*, Vol. 1. No. 1, The Journal of Te Puawaitanga, University of Auckland, Auckland, pp1-9

Orbell, Margaret. 1978 *The Traditional Māori Family*, in Peggy Koopman-Boyden (ed.), *Families in New Zealand Society*, Wellington, Methuen (N.Z.), pp104-119.

Otawhao School, *AJHR 1862 E4*, Government Printer, Wellington

- Papakura, Makereti. 1938 *The old-time Māori*. V. Gollancz, London
- Patterson, John. 1992 *Exploring Māori Values*. Palmerston North, The Dunmore Press
- Pere, R.R. 1986 Transcript of Rose Pere's Speech in Smith, G.H. (ed), *Nga Kete Waananga: Tikanga Māori: Māori Pedagogy and Learning*, Auckland College of Education, Auckland
- Pere, Rangimarie Rose. 1988 *Te Wheke: Whaia Te Maramatanga me te Aroha* in Middleton, S. *Women and Education in Aotearoa*, Allen & Unwin New Zealand Ltd., Wellington, pp6-19
- Pere, Rangimarie. 1991 *Te Wheke: A Celebration of Infinite Wisdom*, Gisborne, Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand
- Pihama, L. 1993 *Tungia Te Ururua Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu O Te Harakeke: A Critical Analysis of Parents As First Teachers*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland
- Pihama, L. 1998 'Reconstructing Meanings of Family: Lesbian/Gay Whānau and Families in Aotearoa in Adair, V. & Dixon, R. (eds) *The Family In Aotearoa New Zealand*, Addison Wesley Longman New Zealand Ltd, Auckland, pp179-207
- Pihama L. 2001 *Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices. Mana Wāhine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland. This quote includes a reference to John Hislop, Secretary, Education Department, Wellington, 4 June 1880, *AJHR H-1f*, Government Printer, Wellington
- Pohatu, Taina. 1996 *I Tiipu Ai Taatou I Ngaa Turi O O Tatatau Maatua Tiipuna: Transmission and Acquisition Processes Within Kaawai Whakapapa*. Unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland
- Prytz, Johansen. 1954 *The Māori and his Religion in its Non-Ritualistic Aspects*. Copenhagen, Munksgaard
- Rangihau, John. 1975 'Being Māori' in King Michael (ed.) *Te Ao Hurihuri: the World Moves On*, Hicks Smith & Sons/Methuen N.Z. Ltd., pp165-175
- Richmond, J.C. 1867 September 10 'Māori Schools Bill', *AJHR* Wellington
- Royal-Tangaere, A. 1991 *Kei hea te Komako e ko? Early Childhood Education: A Māori Perspective*, Fifth Early Childhood Education Convention, Dunedin
- Salmond, A. 1991 *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans 1642-1772*, Viking, Penguin Books, Auckland

- Salmond, Dr Anne. 1976c 1988 *Amiria: The Life Story of A Māori Woman*. Kyodo-Shing Loong Printing, Singapore, pp3-4
- Salmond, Dr Anne. 1997 *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Māori and Europeans 1773 –1815*. Penguin Books (N.Z.), pp75
- Schwimmer, Eric. 1966 *The World of the Māori*. Wellington, A.H. & A. W. Reed, pp 55
- Shirres, Michael P. O.P 1982 *Tapu*, The Journal of the Polynesian Society. Volume 91
- Simon, J. (ed.) 1998 *Ngā Kura Māori: The Native Schools System 1867-1969*, Auckland University Press, Auckland
- Simon, J. & Smith L.T. 1990 *Policies on Māori Schooling: Intentions and Outcomes*, A joint symposium presented at the ANZHES conference, University of Auckland, Dec 6-9
- Simon, J. & Smith, L.T. (eds.) 2001 *Civilising mission? : Perceptions and representations of the Native Schools system*, Auckland University Press, Auckland
- Smith, Graham Hingangaroa. 1997 *The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis*. Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland
- Smith, G.H. 1990 *Taha Māori: Pākehā Capture*. In J. Codd, R. Harker & R. Nash (Eds.), *Political Issues in New Zealand Education*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, pp100
- Smith, G.H., Fitzsimons, P. & Roderick, M. 1998 *A Scoping Report: Kaupapa Māori Frameworks for Labour Market Programmes, A report to the Māori Employment and Training Commission*, International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, Auckland
- Simon, J. (ed) 1998 *Ngā Kura Māori: The Native Schools System 1867-1969*, Auckland University Press, Auckland
- Simon, J. & Smith, L.T. (eds.) 2001 *Civilising mission? : Perceptions and representations of the Native Schools system*, Auckland University Press, Auckland
- Smith, L. T. 1986 “Is ‘Taha Māori’ in Schools the Answer to Māori School Failure?” in G.H. Smith (ed.) *Nga Kete Waananga: Māori Perspectives of Taha Māori*, Auckland College of Education, Auckland
- Smith, L.T. 1992(a) *Māori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wāhine*, in Middleton,S. and Jones,A. (eds) *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, pp33 - 51

Smith, L.T. 1996. *Kaupapa Māori Health Research*. In Hui Whakapiripiri: A Hui to Discuss Strategic Directions for Māori Health Research. Wellington School of Medicine: Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare, pp204

Smith, L.T. 1996 *Interview Unedited video footage*, Moko Productions, Auckland

Smith, L.T. & Cram, F. 1997 *An Evaluation of the Community Panel Diversion Pilot Programme*. Commissioned report for the Crime Prevention Unit

Smith, L.T. 1999 *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Zed Books, London

Smith, S. Percy. 1910 *The Māoris of the West Coast*. New Plymouth, Polynesian Society

Smith, S. Percy. 1913-1915 *The Lore of the Whare-Wananga* (2 volumes). New Plymouth, Polynesian Society (Memoirs 3 and 4)

St. Annes School, Freemans Bay *AJHR 1860 E4*, Government Printer, Wellington

Tate, Pa. 1993 Unpublished paper titled presented to a Māori Community Workshop. *The Dynamics of Whanaungatanga*. This training workshop targeted Māori, in the first instance, working with whānau, hapū and iwi

Taylor, H. 1862 *AJHR Wellington E4:35*

The Three Kings School *AJHR 1860 E4*, Government Printer, Wellington

Walker, R. 1987 *Nga Tautohetohe: Years of Anger*, Penguin N.Z. Ltd., Auckland

Walker, R. 1990 *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End*, Penguin Books, Auckland

Walker, R. 1996 *Ngā Pepa a Ranginui: The Walker Papers*, Penguin Books, Auckland

Walker, Ranginui. 1978 *The Relevance of Māori Myths and Tradition*. In King, M. (ed.) 1978 *Tihe mauri ora: aspects of Māoritanga*, Methuen, Wellington

Reports

Early Childhood Development, July 1999 *He Taonga Te Mokopuna: The Child is a Treasure*, Presentation to 'Children and Family Violence Effective Interventions Now' Conference

www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/1999/family_conference/author_23.html

He Hinātore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse Into the Māori World, Ministry of Justice, Wellington, March 2001

Pua-o-te-ata-tu (Day Break) 1986 Māori Advisory Unit Report 1985. Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, June 1986

Te Puni Kokiri 1997 *Māori Family Violence in Aotearoa*, Wellington: 7

Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy', February 2002