TRANSFORMING WHĀNAU VIOLENCE

- A Conceptual Framework

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An updated version of the report from the former Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence

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FOREWORD

From Minister of Māori Affairs

E ngā iwi, ngā reo, ngā karangatanga maha o ngā hau e wha, tēnei te mihi maioha atu ki a koutou katoa. Ka huri ngā mahara ki o tātou mate tarū e hingahinga nei i te tōpito o te whenua. Haere koutou, e ngā mate, haere. Ko te tai o te ata ki a koutou, waiho mai ko te tai ahiahi ki a mātou e tangi taukuri nei mō koutou. Kia tātou te hunga ora e takatū nei ki runga i te mata o te whenua, tena tātou katoa.

My approach to Māori Affairs is twofold. First, I want to ensure we are investing in people – at both the personal and collective level – because it is strong healthy people who make good, responsible, future-oriented choices. Second, I want to ensure that we are creating an environment that facilitates and supports those choices. Choosing to have strong and healthy whānau is one of the most empowering decisions anyone can make. And I support this choice. Turning away from violence, in all its forms, is one of the most pro-whānau choices any person can make. In making this choice, individuals and their whānau deserve the kind of support that serves their particular circumstances. This is a challenge for all those who work within the field of whānau violence.

Violence is not normal or acceptable. We want a culture of zero tolerance to whānau violence. We need to challenge all those who inflict violence and abuse on whānau members to take full responsibility for their actions. It is up to us all to work towards bringing about a transformation to a state of whānau wellbeing.

I should like to acknowledge the work of Hon Tariana Tūria and those who have served on the Māori Reference Group and Māori Taskforce directed at tackling whānau violence. Their work has considerably advanced the development of a Māori conceptual framework and practice for dealing with family violence.

This report is a culmination of ideas, discussion and debate amongst the Taskforce members. It takes a practical approach that reflects the experience of Māori practitioners working in the field of family transformation. The report presents a Māori framework that successfully links different components of tikanga to enable practitioners to interpret and apply the framework, in a localised context, to bring about whānau wellbeing.

The framework was first published in September 2002, and distributed for comment during the series of Whānau Development hui held during 2003. Māori have expressed their affinity with the framework, hence the publication of this second and final edition. Since the September 2002 publication a great deal of work has gone on at the flaxroots to prepare a funding proposal to implement the framework. I congratulate Te Korowai Aroha for establishing Project Mauri Ora, and for the successful application to the Direct Resourcing fund. Thanks are due to Te Puni Kōkiri staff for assisting with the funding application and for publishing this second edition.

Project Mauri Ora will pilot the framework with iwi in ten locations over the next two years. I am pleased to see that the pilot sites cover rural, provincial and urban sites. There is potential for the work that flows from here to inform government's wider family violence prevention work. The framework provides one of the vehicles to bring about positive whānau change in our shared quest for whānau wellbeing.

Heoi ano nā

Hon Parekura Horomia Minister of Māori Affairs

1. I House

KUPU WHAKATAKI (FOREWORD)

From Chair of Former Taskforce

Tihei mauri ora

This report updates our original report prepared for Hon Tariana Tūria and published in September 2002 (the 2002 Report). It reiterates our advice on addressing whānau violence from a Māori practice and conceptual base.

This conceptual framework has been developed from the comprehensive and successful experience of Māori practitioners working in the field of whānau violence. These practitioners identified, discussed and agreed upon the particular characteristics of their practices that have potential to constructively transform violence within whānau, hapū and iwi into behaviours that enhance mauri ora (well-being).

The imperatives of effective practice for the prevention of Māori whānau violence are taken from practice and advocated in a non-prescriptive way that permits the localisation of responses to violence based on particular whānau, hapū and iwi processes. The imperatives that make up the conceptual framework are the minimum practice requirements for the prevention of whānau violence.

This Māori conceptual framework assumes the impacts of colonisation as central to the normalisation of whānau violence. This results from the destruction and distortion of whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana as one consequence of colonisation.

The framework advocates for the development of Māori therapeutic models that change the way that whānau violence is understood and managed. Very little has worked to stem the tide of whānau violence using mainstream approaches. We must address this issue from the position of a real and practical understanding of the cultural-political impulses which impel Māori to act.

There are many cultural models that may be used to develop a conceptual framework. This framework came from the prevention-of-violence experiences of qualified practitioners working to 'effective practice' from a Māori paradigm. An authentic and effective model would authorise practitioners to lead, direct and implement Māori-specific therapeutic models.

This is the next stage of a recommended plan of action that builds interventions and prevention efforts directly from a Māori specific practice base. There are numerous challenges to Māori therapeutic models. The validation of Māori models must reside with those most affected by them.

Finally, the local application of this model must reside within the domains of whānau, hapū and iwi. The roles of Māori practitioners are to facilitate, educate, monitor and translate this framework into practice inside whānau, hapū and iwi - not to do it for them, but to show them how it can be done and support them to liberate themselves from the burden of whānau violence.

Tāmati Kruger

Chair, Advisory Group for Project Mauri Ora, former Chair of Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence September 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Task of the Taskforce

- 1. The Taskforce originally prepared this report for Hon Tariana Tūria when she was Associate Minister of Māori Affairs (Social Development). The Taskforce was established to:
 - a) further develop and consolidate a Māori conceptual framework for working with victims, perpetrators, whānau and their communities
 - b) ensure a high level of clarity and definition of the relevance of the conceptual framework
 - c) gain support and currency for the framework across all iwi areas
 - d) develop a strategic plan of action clarifying how the framework will be actioned by practitioners.

Methodology

- 2. In clarifying the task, we concluded that a conceptual framework is a frame of reference that describes the space of working with whānau violence. In describing that space, the Taskforce examined their own practices and identified current practice constructs for working effectively with whānau, hapū and iwi to counter violence.
- 3. The Māori conceptual framework (the Framework) was developed over four one-day Taskforce meetings. It was based on consultation with colleagues in tribal community-based social services and Maori social service practice, and face to face interviews with individual Taskforce members.
- 4. The Taskforce defined the constructs in the Framework and tested the relevance of these through an analysis of practice. In carrying out this task, the Taskforce gained support for the Framework across a number of iwi.

Key issues

- 5. Whānau violence is understood by this Taskforce to be an epidemic because of the magnitude and serious nature of it for whānau, hapū and iwi. It has taken several generations of learned behaviour and practice to entrench whānau violence, and it will take time for whānau violence to be unlearned.
- 6. Analysis to date is individually oriented, largely 'service provider' or 'researcher' focused and does not adequately socially, historically, politically or culturally contextualise the abuse of Māori women and children in the context of whānau, hapū and iwi.
- 7. Whānau violence has come to be accepted as 'normal' because it can be rationalised by 'impostor' tikanga.
- 8. The legacy of colonisation and contemporary institutional racism in themselves forms of violence and disempowerment has contributed to whānau violence.
- 9. If whānau violence interventions continue to be delivered from a Pākehā conceptual and practice framework that isolates, criminalises and pathologises Māori individuals, nothing will change.
- 10. Zero tolerance to whānau violence means building a society where violence against whānau is not tolerated.
- 11. Māori practitioners have been seeking the right and space to develop their own practice models for the prevention of whānau violence without having their practices mutated by legislation, policy, funding or a foreign paradigm and pedagogy.

The Framework

- 12. We have identified the overall goal or vision of the Framework as the wellbeing (mauri ora) of whānau, hapū, and iwi and within that, individual Māori. Mauri ora is one of a number of Māori terms for wellbeing/wellness and is regarded as the maintenance of the balance between wairua (spiritual wellbeing), hinengaro (intellectual wellbeing), Ngākau (emotional wellbeing) and tinana (physical wellbeing).
- 13. The Taskforce acknowledges that the processes used to achieve and sustain wellbeing may be diverse. This is reflected in the practice models, but the kaupapa is unified at the philosophical level.
- 14. We have described three fundamental tasks to be carried out when analysing and approaching violence as:
 - a) **dispelling the illusion** (at the collective and individual levels) that whānau violence is normal and acceptable
 - b) **removing opportunities** for whānau violence to be perpetrated through education for the empowerment and liberation of whānau, hapū and iwi
 - c) **teaching transformative practices** based on Māori cultural imperatives that provide alternatives to violence.
- 15. There are three elements to this Framework for bringing about a transformation from violence:
 - a) **te ao Māori** (the Māori world), which includes six cultural constructs to be applied as practice tools. They are **whakapapa**, **tikanga**, **wairua**, **tapu**, **mauri** and **mana**
 - b) **te ao hurihuri** (contemporary realities), which describes contemporary influences that prohibit or undermine the practice of cultural constructs from te ao Māori. The most significant of these is colonisation and its associated outcomes. The ability of Māori practitioners to critically analyse the impacts and outcomes of colonisation is critical
 - c) **a transformative element** which applies cultural constructs from te ao Māori and takes into account environmental and contextual interference and influences from te ao hurihuri.
- 16. The Framework includes an analysis of the impacts of colonisation and the continuum of violence that characterises whānau, hapū and iwi experiences of colonisation. The outcomes of colonisation are included so that the psychology of colonisation may be better understood as integral to the existence of whānau violence in its current forms.
- 17. We have not attempted to provide a definitive list of constructs, or to describe every element of effective Māori practice. Instead, the Framework contains knowledge and lessons that have been highlighted by our collective experience as a Taskforce, as Māori practitioners, opinion leaders and as participants in hapū, iwi and whānau.

Conclusions

- 18. There is a growing assault on cultural interventions and the acceptance that Māori 'culture' offers the potential to change violence and other dysfunctional behaviour. The rationale used to displace 'culture' is that Māori are diverse and many do not function on Māori cultural understandings. The importance of this work is to confirm that Māori cultural constructs have the capacity to reverse whānau violence when properly practiced.
- 19. We have no quick fixes, but we believe that the opportunities for prevention and healing reside in kaupapa Māori practices. They do not reside in the current responses to whānau violence that are punitive and role model violent responses to violence.

- 20. We are of the view that practitioners must be enabled to practice at the local level where their influence is most potent. There should be enough unity in philosophy and ideology about what whānau wellbeing is to support local practices that employ local preferences and definitions of practice (tikanga).
- 21. We support this Framework being applied by non-government organisations (NGOs) because there is an affinity between the content of this Framework and the practices of identifiable Māori NGOs. The Taskforce believes that a Māori conceptual framework cannot be accommodated in current government processes.

Progress since 2002 Report

- 22. Project Mauri Ora has been established by Te Korowai Aroha Aotearoa, based on the Framework described in this publication. It is aimed at promoting zero tolerance of Māori whānau violence by building the capability of Māori practitioners and providing culturally appropriate interventions to victims, perpetrators and their whānau.
- 23. Direct Resourcing funding for Project Mauri Ora, through Te Puni Kōkiri, has been approved by Cabinet. Te Korowai Aroha is the budget holder.
- 24. The Taskforce has been reconvened as an Advisory Group for Project Mauri Ora, and has overseen the publication of a second edition, now entitled *Transforming Whānau Violence: A Conceptual Framework*.

Updated recommendations

We recommend that you:

- a. **note** that this publication is a revised second edition of the September 2002 report produced for Hon Tariana Tūria when she was Associate Minister of Māori Affairs (Social Development)
- b. **note** that Direct Resourcing funding has been received by Te Korowai Aroha for Project Mauri Ora, which will pilot the implementation of the Framework
- c. **note** there will be an external evaluation of Project Mauri Ora after two years of implementation
- d. **agree** to support in principle the development of protocols for engagement between Te Korowai Aroha and departmental stakeholders
- e. **agree** to support in principle sustainable funding for continuation of Project Mauri Ora, dependent upon a satisfactory evaluation of the pilots.

BACKGROUND

The Taskforce

The Taskforce was originally convened by Hon Tariana Tūria when she was Associate Minister of Māori Affairs (Social Development). This Taskforce was the second to be convened to develop strategies for addressing the issue of whānau violence. The Taskforce was comprised of highly experienced Māori practitioners. These included:

Tāmati Kruger (Chair, Ngāi Tūhoe) – Tāmati has been living and working within his tribal area in training, education and tribal initiatives and development.

Alva Pomare (Ngā Puhi) — Alva has worked in the field of domestic violence for 20 years. Alva was part of developing and setting up the Māori Women's Refuges. As a founding member of Te Kākano ō te Whānau, Alva lobbied for Māori specific models of practice and responses to violence from a kaupapa Māori paradigm. Alva is an accredited ACC sexual abuse counsellor and receives referrals from the Family Court as a counsellor and mediator. She has always worked with whānau and is currently living and working at home in te rohe o Ngā Puhi.

Di Grennell, formerly Pitama (Ngāi Tahu me Ngāti Mutunga) — Di has a background in working with rangatahi and with offenders following prison release. She was a member of the first Northern Regional Violence Programmes Approval Panel and Domestic Violence Advisor for the Department of Courts, Northern Region. Di has worked on programme development for a number of iwi/Māori providers and facilitated a range of training and provider hui. Di has also been a member of the Ministry of Justice/Department for Courts research advisory groups for research in the family violence area and continues to provide advice to the sector as requested.

Mereana Pitman (Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwāhine me Ngāi Tāmanuhiri) — Mereana has worked in whānau violence prevention for over twenty years as an educator, trainer and counsellor using kaupapa Māori methodologies. Mereana was involved in Te Kākano ō te Whānau from its beginnings and has sat on the ACC sexual abuse counsellor registration panel, three Rape Crisis centres and was the Chairperson of the Women's Refuge Movement from 1995-1997. Mereana currently volunteers at Tangata Piringa, Māori Women's Refuge in Napier.

Tahuaroa McDonald (Ngāti Mutunga, Te Ātiawa me Ngāti Kuia) — Tahuaroa has worked on the development of kaupapa Māori education programming for the past 20 years and specifically in violence prevention through his involvement in the formation of Te Rūnanga Tāne o Aotearoa. Tahuaroa is currently working with Tū Tama Wāhine o Taranaki, a kaupapa Māori whānau violence prevention service based in New Plymouth but serving the wider Taranaki rohe.

Teina Mita (Rākaipāka, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Pāhauwera, Te Aitanga a Māhaki, Ngāti Kahungunu me Rongowhakaata.) – Teina worked for 13 years with the Department of Social Welfare, seven years with a range of organisations including the Family Court, Hamilton Abuse Intervention Pilot Programme, the Department of Child, Youth and Family and Probation services in the areas of anger management and stopping violence. Teina has worked with Ngāti Porou Hauora for the past five years in whānau violence prevention and community mental health work and prior to that worked with Puangi Hau as a drug and alcohol counsellor.

Matehaere Maihi (Ngā Puhi nui tonu) – Matehaere has been employed as a probation officer since the 1980s. She has an extensive working background with her iwi, hapū and whānau and is currently working with Community Corrections in South Auckland as a probation officer. Matehaere recently completed her training as a criminogenic facilitator.

Dennis Mariu (Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa me Ngāti Kahungunu) – Dennis has a background as a coordinator and facilitator for Māori men's stopping violence programmes. Dennis established the first Domestic Violence Act approved Māori men's programme – He Puna Manawa – in Dunedin. He served for four years on the Dunedin Violence Prevention Project as one of the co-founding members. Dennis was one of the

founders of Te Roopu Tautoko ki te Tonga, a Māori health service in Dunedin focusing on whānau well-being and violence prevention. Dennis also worked for five years with the Aarai te Uru Kōkiri Centre teaching te reo me ōna tikanga.

Keri Lawson-Te Aho (Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa, Rongomaiwāhine, Rangitāne, Kai Tahu, Kāti Mamoe me Waitaha) was contracted by Te Puni Kōkiri to work with the Taskforce – Keri is a behavioural psychologist with a background of 26 years in the health sector working at all levels from iwi development through to strategic Māori health policy and research. Keri has worked as an educator, trainer and counsellor specifically with rangatahi and Māori women.

The task

The Taskforce was established to:

- 1. further develop and consolidate a Māori conceptual framework for working with victims, perpetrators, whānau and their communities
- 2. ensure a high level of clarity and definition of the relevance of the conceptual framework
- 3. gain support and currency for the framework across all iwi areas
- 4. develop a strategic plan of action clarifying how the framework will be actioned by practitioners.

The Taskforce's interpretation of the task

The Taskforce concluded that a conceptual framework is a frame of reference that describes the space of working with whānau violence. In describing the space of working with whānau violence, the Taskforce examined their own practices and identified the practice constructs for working effectively with whānau, hapū and iwi to counter violence.

The methodology

The Māori conceptual framework (the Framework) was developed over four one-day Taskforce meetings. It was based on consultation with colleagues in tribal community-based social services and Māori social service practice, and face to face interviews with individual Taskforce members. As practitioners, we have examined our individual and collective processes, compared and debated vigorously with each other and, from that, identified practice imperatives for working with whānau, hapū and iwi to counter whānau violence. In carrying out this task, the Taskforce gained support for the Framework across a number of iwi.

The Framework was then drafted and the Taskforce members were given the opportunity to edit or question the content to ensure that there was consensus before submitting the report.

The second edition

This edition has been edited and updated by the Chair of the former Taskforce and Te Puni Kōkiri, and approved by former Taskforce members.

KEY ISSUES

Defining whānau

"Whānau is about birthright. There are rights and responsibilities and obligations that come with whānau"

"If Di committed a misdemeanour you might go to the next member of the whānau and then that person gets hoha with Di. This is the manifestation of social responsibility. Geography means nothing. Whakapapa makes you responsible. When there is violence in the whānau, the whānau is involved in spite of what has been said about the violence and in spite of whether they talk about it or not"

Whānau violence an epidemic

"Whānau violence is an epidemic. You may dispel the individual's illusion that whānau violence is normal but if the whānau, hapū or iwi harbours the same fantasy then they are already producing other carriers of violent behaviour. Often this is the extent of the problem which faces the Māori worker"

Whānau violence is understood by this Taskforce to be an epidemic because of the magnitude and serious nature of it for whānau, hapū and iwi and the way in which it is collectively spread and maintained. Whānau violence is inter-generational and directly impacts on whakapapa. It has taken several generations of learned behaviour and practice to entrench whānau violence as the most devastating and debilitating of social practices. It will take time for whānau violence to be unlearned.

It affects Māori and their culture in the most pervasive and profound ways because it violates us. Violence is the language of the powerless. The presence or absence of violence is indicative of the state of wellbeing or dis-ease of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Whānau violence is a labyrinth because it is often housed inside 'impostor' tikanga (the illusion) that has been purposely designed to validate its practice, to confuse and to prevent escape of victims. It also resists change or transformation which makes whānau violence considerably more difficult to treat and heal.

There are layers of protections that are built up around abuse. Some of these are the rationalisation of violence as tikanga. Too many accept violence within the whānau as 'normal' and valid. The irony is that violence is the most profound expression of powerlessness that is sustained by the entrenched belief that we cannot change the circumstances that lead to the perpetration of violence within ourselves. The tragedy is that some surrender from the hopelessness and the inability to see beyond immediate circumstances. None of these devices led to whānau wellbeing. They only perpetuate violence. To know about whānau violence is no longer good enough. To do something about whānau violence is what is needed. Violence is a weapon with victims at each end.

The nature of whānau violence

"There is nothing in the Māori world that promotes and encourages the idea of whānau violence. No one can point to an ideological belief that talks about women being lower in the social order. Mana tangata is female in nature. Life itself is symbolised by women. Hence the terms like te whare tangata where humankind originates from"

There have been limited studies carried out by Māori researchers on what whānau violence is and what it is made up of. Most research studies have attached a Māori component or include a Māori sample but such research is generally not based on Māori concepts or research processes. Nor is it necessarily based on an understanding of the dynamics of whānau violence from inside a Māori conceptual and experiential base. Most research is framed within a conceptualisation of violence that is based on a dominant Western paradigm. The questions and the way in which information is collected, analysed and reported is designed to validate a

Western conceptualisation of violence. This offers limited if any useful information about how to prevent whānau violence. It does not clarify violence in cultural, philosophical, political, historical, social or any other terms for Māori. This is a concern for this Taskforce since social policies, strategies and interventions that are government funded and supplied are often 'evidenced' from such research.

The Taskforce reviewed some of the documented evidence on whānau violence. This tells us that:

- Māori women receive higher levels of medical treatment for abuse and that abuse is of greater severity for Māori women
- Māori women who use the Refuge have limited access to whānau support and experience increased alienation from whānau structures¹
- Māori women aged between 15-24 are seven times more likely to be hospitalised as the result of an assault than Pākehā women
- Māori children are four times more likely to be hospitalised for injuries sustained as a result of deliberately inflicted physical harm
- Māori women are over represented as victims of partner abuse, more likely to report psychologically
 abusive behaviour, to have experienced physical or sexual abuse in the past twelve months and to have
 experienced more serious and repeated acts of violence.

This adds up to a serious picture of whānau violence, but it does not tell us about the processes of whānau violence in terms of the dynamics of violence. Whānau violence is not well reported or recorded² and the data on which interventions are based is unreliable.

This information reveals that what we know about Māori women and children's experiences of abuse from a study of the public record is based on 'service use' and the way in which Māori women and children enter into the public system for abuse treatment and support services. The analysis that results is individually oriented, largely 'service provider' or 'researcher' focused and does not adequately socially, historically, politically or culturally contextualise the abuse of Māori women and children in the context of whānau, hapū and iwi. When it comes to the prevention of whānau violence this Taskforce is operating from anecdotal knowledge. The slate is blank in terms of understanding the complexities of whānau violence and therefore in developing effective responses to it.

Understanding whānau violence

"The interpretation of whānau violence is in the singular or collective domain of practitioners"

"Inside the home, power is instantly reflected. Outside of home I (Māori) have no power"

The Taskforce understands whānau violence as the compromise of te ao Māori values. Whānau violence can be understood as an absence or a disturbance in tikanga. Tikanga is defined by this Taskforce as the process of practising Māori values. The Taskforce believes that transgressing whakapapa is a violent act and that Māori have a right to protect (rather than defend) their whakapapa from violence and abuse.

Is whānau violence normal?

Whānau violence in its current forms has become normalised.³ Whānau violence is tolerated and there is a high threshold for violence in many whānau that indicate that the impacts of violence are not clearly understood as a denigration of tikanga and the transgression of whakapapa. For many whānau, hapū and iwi, tikanga and whakapapa are the sources of violence.

¹ Mauri Ora Associates Limited (2002)

² Te Puni Kōkiri (2001)

Mauri Ora Associates Limited (2002)

Colonisation is an extreme form of violence. The power to enforce and legitimate particular forms of violence (land alienation, punishment for speaking te reo Māori), and render as illegal efforts by Māori to protect themselves from these types of violence (passive resistance, isolation), means that Māori exist inside a constant dichotomy. The risk is that we adopt what we have been shown (colonisation becomes the role model) and adapt the methodologies of violence to our own cultural practices.

The dichotomy

"Whakapapa can be used as the rationale for violence"

Whakapapa, tikanga, kawa, Māori values, constructs and practices can be used to transform whānau from a state of violence and dysfunction to a state of wellbeing. These constructs can also be used to initiate and justify whānau violence. They may serve a positive and/or a negative purpose depending on the intent of the user. The dichotomy is the potential to use tikanga for good or bad purposes, to use it to prevent or to justify whānau violence. Justification comes from the use of tikanga as conveying a right to abuse. The dichotomy has the potential to split tikanga into two sets of opposing practices. Practitioners are in the position of having to practice in the dichotomy between the authentic and tika (correct) use of Māori constructs and the mutated use of the same cultural constructs.

The illusion

"People who commit violence are under the illusion that what they do is okay. The illusion is given life by opportunities to commit violence and so it validates itself. The helplessness or indifference of others sustains violence. The illusion can mature from the misrepresentation of tikanga, the silence and modelling around the perpetrator and the transfer across generations"

Naming and reduction - government 'treatment' of whānau violence

The Taskforce notes that government frames whānau violence in the same way it frames family violence, using an analytical process that is punitive, reductionist and individualised. The approach to Māori family violence in policy development helps create Māori violence and therefore Māori individuals/abusers/perpetrators as pathological criminals.

Emphasis is given to separating or removing the 'problem' (the perpetrator or victim) rather than restoring balance in whānau, hapū and iwi relationships. It is about the individual perpetrator and the individual victim rather than the responsibilities and obligations of the collective towards the individual as part of the collective identity of whānau, hapū and iwi. The government's construction of 'family/whānau violence' runs counter to the Māori therapeutic process discussed in this report and the construction of a Māori process for addressing and understanding the dynamics of whānau violence. It is diametrically opposed to the suggested responses generated by this Taskforce.

The 'value' of Māori worldviews and Māori cultural processes has been recognised, and accommodated to a degree, within the various review and policy documents prepared by government departments to address the issues of child abuse and domestic violence⁴. However, the selective use of tikanga constructs taken out of context without proper monitoring of the application is unlikely to deliver the type of comprehensive response needed to prevent whānau violence. This type of approach in the opinion of the Taskforce creates more harm and makes the achievement of Māori therapeutic models even more removed.

Family/whānau violence

"Without whakapapa whānau, hapū and iwi would not exist"

⁴ Brown (2000); Dept of Child, Youth and Family (2001); Ministry of Social Development (2002)

In many of the social policy statements on whānau violence, whānau and family are used interchangeably. Social policy does not make the distinction between whānau and family and in fact using these terms synonymously in social policy indicates that they are either not well understood or viewed as the same constructs with different languages used to describe them. The focus of this report is on whānau violence. While the Taskforce recognises the diversity of 'whānau', and that many Māori do not identify with whakapapa or kin based whānau, all Māori have whakapapa. It is the consciousness, acceptance and practice of it that differs.

Social policy that creates whakapapa-less whānau

The Taskforce accepts that some Māori are alienated from a conscious knowledge of who they are as whānau, hapū and iwi. That does not remove the fact of whakapapa, and the potential in whakapapa to positively transform and connect whānau, hapū and iwi and Māori individuals together in that context. Contemporary social policy attempts to cover all bases by referring to Māori communities (undefined) and whānau, hapū and iwi. It does not explicitly or exclusively recognise or accept that whakapapa is central and critical to Māori identity. This Taskforce has the view that without whakapapa, there is no whānau, hapū and iwi.

Making whakapapa into 'Māori community'

'Māori community' is a nebulous catch-all term that has been imported into social policy-making, particularly since the Waipareira ruling that recognised the construct of 'urban Māori' as a valid and representative classification of Māori identity. This Taskforce recognises and accepts that there are many different and diverse arrangements such as economic, social, political, employment or task related. However, these need to be accurately termed as such rather than misrepresent the term whānau. The use of the term whānau in such cases points to a desire to emulate the qualities of 'whānau'.

Diverse Māori realities

The Taskforce recognises that Māori live in many diverse and different ways and that responses to whānau violence must therefore be multi-level and diverse. Diversity is not challenged in this analysis. There are many different types of whānau structures and practices. The existence of diversity should not in the view of this Taskforce be used to displace whakapapa. All Māori have whakapapa and it is possible to acknowledge diversity and whakapapa at the same time. In fact, a whakapapa analysis honours diversity and difference.

We also recognise that kaupapa Māori practice is pluralistic. There is no singular cause of whānau violence and no singular response to it. A singular cause and effect model has limited relevance to healing the impacts of whānau violence.

Institutional racism as violence and abuse

Institutional violence is systemic and comes from constructed ideas of cultural superiority and supremacy that are the legacy of colonisation. Māori experience institutional racism through the twin processes of labelling and differential treatment on the basis of the label.

Maori are often labelled as 'under achievers', 'deviant', 'abnormal', 'needy', 'helpless' and 'violent'. The policies of government, and both state and Pākehā cultural institutions, condone and support these analyses of Māori character. In fact, they are often used as the validation for government policies. Rangihau et al describe the characteristics of institutional racism eloquently in Pūao-Te-Ata-Tū.⁵

Double standards

"When there is no perceived penalty for violence in the whānau, violence occurs. The assumption is that where there are no sanctions for violence, violence must be a legitimate act. This happened on a

⁵ Department of Social Welfare (1988)

large scale in raupatu [confiscations, annexation]. Raupatu legitimised theft and that creates a huge double standard for Māori because the wealth of this country is based on legitimised theft, yet we punish Māori people that steal"

There are many double standards that may serve to confuse and enrage Māori. For example, it is acceptable for violence to be meted out on the rugby field but when that violence is transported home it becomes criminal behaviour. The history of colonisation is filled with double standards where raupatu was accepted as legitimate whereas theft is punishable by law. The issue is one of legitimacy. Whānau violence is not legitimate violence nor should it be but it is important to understand that there are double standards operating in this society that serve to render Māori whānau violence as *illegitimate* when the various acts of colonisation and neo colonialism are treated as *legitimate*.

'The naughty system'

The Taskforce labelled the current systemic response to whānau violence as the 'naughty system'. The naughty system is characterised by a punitive approach to the perpetrator and the isolation of the victim within a system that punishes and reduces whānau violence to criminal and deviant behaviour. The pathologising of whānau violence renders the individual perpetrator as 'pathological' without taking into account the context in which whānau violence is created and sustained. Pathology is anti whakapapa because it reduces the 'perpetrator' to an individual entity divorced from the collective responsibilities and mutual obligations that are attached to functional whakapapa. The Taskforce is of the view that a system that focuses on 'individual pathology' will produce models that are oriented towards individual 'victim blaming' treatments and 'removal of the offending individual' from the whānau, hapū, iwi and cultural context in which whānau violence occurs. It is within this context that there is the potential for establishing constructive solutions and positive healing practices.

Crime and punishment

Whānau violence is criminal behaviour punishable by law. While there may be a limited emphasis on rehabilitation, the assumption in making whānau violence criminal and therefore punishable is that rehabilitation may only occur after punishment, not as an immediate alternative to whānau violence.

Zero tolerance

Zero tolerance to whānau violence means building a society where violence against whānau is not tolerated. Whilst zero tolerance to whānau violence is not the same as zero violence, the Taskforce agreed that the ideal or optimum level of whānau functioning is for whānau to be 'violence free'. However, the Taskforce recognises that there is a 'continuum of violence' with particular characteristics that stem from colonisation. The continuum has contemporary impacts in terms of systemic, institutional and personal violence or racism. The many faces of racism have been eloquently described elsewhere. So have the impacts of colonisation. However, it should be recognised that while at a society wide level we might set the goal of zero tolerance to whānau violence we actively condone and continue other forms of race-based violence in this society.

The Taskforce also identified that violence pre-existed before colonisation.

"Violence pre-existed like mauri and mana. The trick of life is managing them. Each one of us is capable of violence and great compassion. We live amongst dualities. The Māori view is not to deny that violence cannot or does not exist. The issue is what is our relationship with it. Saying it does not exist is not helpful"

⁶ Department of Social Welfare (1988); Awatere (1984); Jackson (1987-88); Hooks (1994)

⁷ Walker (1990); Awatere (1984); Jackson (1987-88); Smith (1999); Kame' Eleihiwa (1992); Trask (1993); Churchill (1998)

'Validating' Māori practice models

Māori practitioners have been seeking the right and space to develop their own practice models for the prevention of whānau violence without having their practices mutated by legislation, policy, funding or a foreign paradigm and pedagogy.

In many cases the experience of Māori practitioners has not been recognised or 'credentialed', which has made it difficult for Māori practice models to access public funding.

If whānau violence interventions continue to be delivered from a Pākehā conceptual and practice framework that isolates, criminalises and pathologises Māori individuals we are adamant that nothing will change.

A MĀORI CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The vision – mauri ora

We have identified the overall goal or vision of the Framework as the wellbeing (mauri ora) of whānau, hapū, and iwi and within that, individual Māori. Violence damages the mauri ora of both victims and perpetrators. It creates dis-ease and imbalance which results in a state of kahupō, which can be described as having no purpose in life or spiritual blindness (Figure 1).

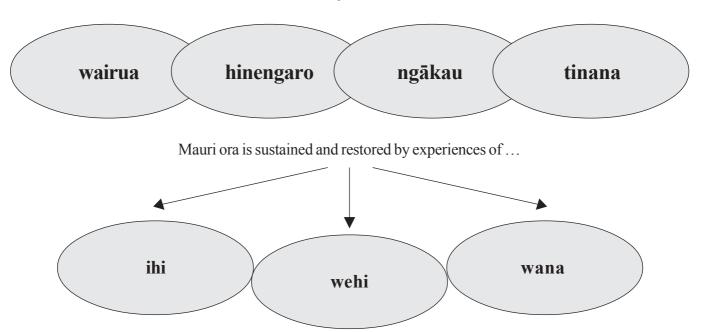
Figure 1: The continuum of wellbeing



Mauri ora, or toiora, is one of a number of Māori terms for wellbeing/wellness of both the collective and the individual. It is regarded as the maintenance of balance between wairua (spiritual wellbeing), hinengaro (intellectual wellbeing), ngākau (emotional wellbeing) and tinana (physical wellbeing). Mauri ora is sustained and restored by experiences of ihi (being enraptured with life), wehi (being in awe of life) and wana (being enamoured with life), see Figure 2. Violence damages wairua, hinengaro, Ngākau and tinana. It disturbs ihi, wehi and wana.

Figure 2: Mauri ora, toiora, wellbeing

Mauri ora is achieved by a balance between......



The Taskforce acknowledges that the processes used to achieve and sustain wellbeing may be diverse. This is reflected in the practice models, but the kaupapa is unified at the philosophical level.

Approach to violence

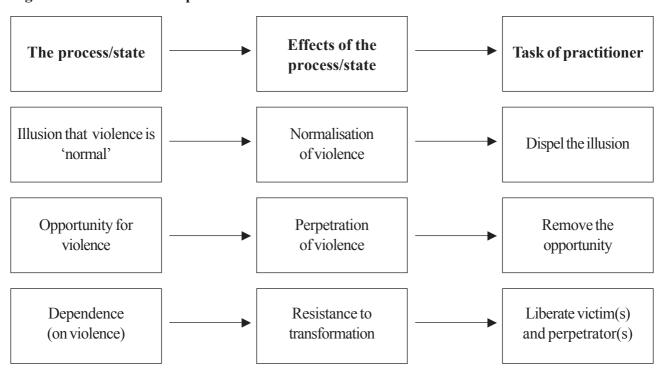
The three fundamental tasks to be carried out when analysing and approaching violence, and when reacting to a perpetrator of violence are to:

- 1. **dispel the illusion** (at the collective and individual levels) that whānau violence is normal, acceptable and culturally valid
- 2. **remove opportunities** for whānau violence to be practiced through education for the liberation and empowerment of whānau, hapū and iwi. To liberate is to free whānau, hapū and iwi from the bonds of violence. To empower is to transcend powerlessness by reclaiming power and authority to act for whānau, hapū and iwi. The act is moving from a state of whānau violence to a state of whānau wellbeing
- 3. **teach transformative practices** based on Māori cultural practice imperatives that transform Māori behaviours and provide alternatives to violence.

The transformative process for empowerment and self-realisation relies on demystifying illusions held by the perpetrator, victims and their whānau. This involves a process of displacement through education and the replacement of violence with alternatives. The transformative process includes contesting the illusions around whānau violence, removing opportunities for the practice of whānau violence and replacing those with alternative behaviours and ways of understanding (Figure 3).

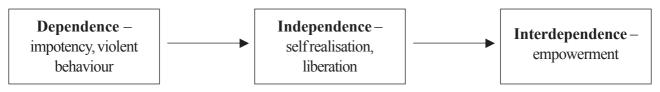
Te reo Māori, tikanga and āhuatanga Māori are all conduits for transformation from whānau violence to whānau wellbeing.

Figure 3: Transformative process



The transformation of behaviour results in the outcomes of interdependence and empowerment (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Transformation of behaviour

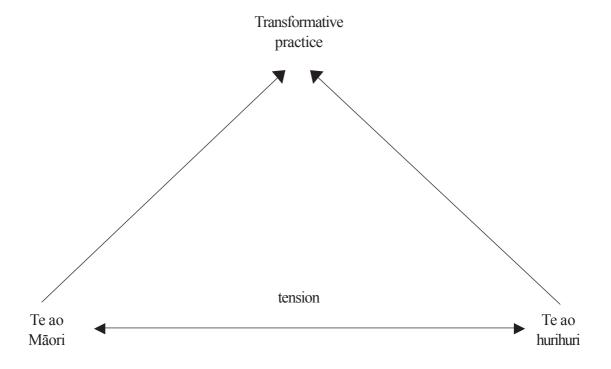


Elements of the Framework

There are three elements to this Framework for bringing about a transformation from violence:

- 1. **te ao Māori** includes six cultural constructs to be applied as practice tools. They are:
 - **whakapapa** (kinship that determines the collectivity between whānau, hapū, iwi; collective consciousness)
 - **tikanga** (the practice of Māori beliefs and values; collective practice)
 - wairua (spirituality expressed as awareness of wairua and passion for life; self realisation)
 - tapu (brings us to a state of our own knowing; self esteem)
 - mauri (inner values; sense of power, influence and identity)
 - mana (outer values; external expression of achievement, power and influence).
- 2. **te ao hurihuri** describes contemporary influences that prohibit or undermine the practice of cultural constructs from te ao Māori. The most significant of these is colonisation and its associated outcomes.
- 3. **a transformative element** the ability to change beliefs and behaviour. Transformation of behaviour is brought about through applying cultural constructs from te ao Māori and taking into account environmental and contextual interference and influences from te ao hurihuri (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Changing beliefs and behaviour



Te ao Māori – practice imperatives

Discussion of the cultural constructs of te ao Māori are organised under the headings of:

- · rationale for inclusion
- transformative qualities
- practice examples
- · practice issues.

1. Whakapapa

Whakapapa describes the relationships between te ao kikokiko (the physical world) and te ao wairua (the spiritual world). Whakapapa is expressed as sets of relationships, conditional obligations and privileges that determine a sense of self wellbeing between whānau, hapū and iwi and the interconnectedness between whānau, hapū and iwi and the environment. Whakapapa is broadly defined as the continuum of life that includes kinship and history.

Rationale for inclusion

Te ao Māori and being Māori do not exist if whakapapa is non-existent. If whakapapa is non-existent then you cannot have whānau, hapū and iwi. It is the construct that underpins the essence of Māori identities and the governance role of tikanga among whānau, hapū and iwi.

Transformative qualities

The transformative quality of whakapapa is the relationships described by it.

- Whakapapa is a tool for engagement. It provides the necessary starting point for an alliance of interest and a centrifugal bond between the practitioner and whānau/victims/perpetrators.
- The reciprocity and obligatory nature of whakapapa means that it can be used to create productive and enduring relationships to support change. Whakapapa establishes connections and relationships and brings responsibility, reciprocity and obligation to those relationships.
- In a practice sense, the practitioner must confer with and involve others in the therapeutic relationship when operating from a whakapapa base in order to infer a collective responsibility.
- Whakapapa has a collective quality. We look for relationships between things but not at the expense of individuality. Relationship is the more vital force in the universe.
- Whakapapa informs a person about being human, being a person, being of a culture, being of a place. Whakapapa can be extensive but it is possible for people to be at peace when they know the relationships of their world, dispelling the illusion of non-victimisation or the denial that violence is being perpetrated.

Practice examples

"I am a perpetrator. You're in my face trying and I accept that but you are trying to build bridges on the basis of whakapapa and I don't know and don't care about my whakapapa"

One of the practice examples given in the development of this Framework was the use of whakapapa as a tool to connect with Māori men who have been imprisoned for violence.

From a practice basis the practitioner who believes in the validity of whakapapa treats the person as a relation in the same way that any member of the whānau would be treated, with respect and dignity irrespective of the act that has resulted in their imprisonment.

The challenge for the practitioner is to find the relationship and the point of contact to enable the practitioner and perpetrator to progress together towards healing. Healing cannot take place without a relationship being established between practitioner and perpetrator/victim/whānau/hapū/iwi.

The practitioner must recognise that there are differing levels of awareness and willingness to accept the validity of whakapapa. Māori practitioners who subscribe to a Māori practice model will base relationships on the connection through whakapapa of the individual with the wider kin network and the context in which violence has occurred.

"Whakapapa enables us to set behavioural boundaries"

"Whakapapa is the manifestation of social responsibility"

In a Māori practice model, whakapapa provides the boundaries around relationships and sets the terms of collective responsibility for individual behaviour leading to collective outcomes. Whakapapa can serve as a practice model that describes functional and healthy relationships between whānau, hapū and iwi. In this model, individuals are valued but always in context of the collective. The collective provides the potential for healing.

Practice issues

"Wellness for Māori women cannot be defined using a Western feminist analysis because of whakapapa and whanaungatanga [kinship, family dynamics, complex inter-weaving relationships]. Closure is a different dynamic for Māori that is difficult for Pākehā practitioners to understand. Closure for Pākehā means severing the ties, but that cannot happen for Māori"

- 1. The fact of whakapapa is present long before and remains long after the act of violence has occurred.
- 2. Whakapapa can be both a source of safety and a source of violence particularly when whakapapa is used to justify whānau violence.
- 3. For whakapapa to have validity as a practice construct practitioners must acknowledge and believe in a whakapapa based model as fundamental to whānau violence prevention. There must be recognition and acceptance of the fact that all Māori have whakapapa although their knowledge and perceptions of their whakapapa may change.
- 4. It is incumbent on the practitioner to educate the whānau, hapū and iwi about the responsibilities that come with whakapapa.
- 5. Whakapapa is a collective process. This means that the individual must always be viewed and treated in context of the collective. Whakapapa describes that collective as whānau, hapū and iwi. Māori are not isolated individuals. The connectedness and relationships from whakapapa make it imperative that the individual is treated in context of the collective. Rehabilitation and healing cannot happen without the rehabilitation of everyone. The whole whānau needs to heal from the impacts of violence and abuse.

"The imperatives in this framework must be conducted and inclusive of the collective more than the individual. Because I am Māori you know you are talking to a lot of people. We say to Māori workers you are working in a collective sense. What that collective is, is for the worker to diagnose"

"In situations of violence there may be one perpetrator but there is never one victim. They implicate other people in that mamae"

2. Tikanga

Tikanga is the way we practice what we believe in as Māori. Tikanga comes from Māori philosophy or aka matua/iho matua (world view). Tikanga establishes healthy behavioural boundaries that can be used to set limits around violent behaviour and provide the means to transform behaviour from violence to wellness.

Rationale for inclusion

- Tikanga embodies Māori values and reflects these in a practice sense. Without tikanga there is no representation or practice of Māori values.
- Tikanga prescribes acceptable and unacceptable behaviours from a specifically Māori value base. It is the first instance of accountability.
- A Māori conceptual framework leading on to a Māori practice model must recognise and accept the value in Māori cultural practice. This is what makes it distinctive and different from current practices that do not work to change whānau violence.

Transformative qualities

- The application of tikanga provides the opportunity for the restoration of order, grace and mana to whānau, hapū and iwi.
- Tikanga is not a cure for whānau violence but it is a useful medium by which balance and order can be restored in whānau, hapū and iwi.
- Tikanga in practice reflects that relationships are intact, processes are in place to preserve and protect whakapapa and there is a level of understanding about the importance of whakapapa relationships and processes.
- Tikanga provides behavioural boundaries for the restoration of order and well-being. Its transformative quality is as a guide for behaviour that is based on Māori philosophies about the way in which whānau should behave towards one another.

Practice examples

"A lot of our attempts to fix things up in a tikanga sense are interrupted. Our tikanga and whakaaro [hypothesis, judgement] are never finished. What follows is a muru or a reach for compensation or equality to rebalance the hara [violation, infringement]. I come to you because you have done something to our whānau and we need to put this right.....Bringing things to a resolution is different from minimising and denial that gets us away from bringing the process to a resolution. As Māori we don't know what the process for resolution is anymore. There is constant interruption to the extent that there is outside intervention. External intervention multiplies the hara. Whānau is about shouldering of all those things. It is those who will bury you, dress your body, it is everything, it is the beginning and the end"

"There is an obligation on practitioners to guide people back to the tikanga of whānau. The whānau according to tikanga never diminishes its responsibility even when new relationships are formed. Relationships evolve and overlap and others are created but each one remains there even after death (more so after death)"

Tikanga includes the enactment of whanaungatanga and the reverence for whakapapa. An effective Māori practitioner uses tikanga as a tool to educate whānau about the responsibilities of whakapapa and whanaungatanga. Contemporary Māori realities impede the use of tikanga to fix and make right acts of violence because often there is external interruption and a lack of knowledge about how to resolve whānau violence and begin the healing process. Māori practitioners are responsible for clarifying tikanga processes with whānau and guiding whānau back to the use of tikanga to prevent the reoccurrence of violence.

Practice issues

"They may not want to be Tūhoe but the norms are still valid. I cannot move the Poutokomanawa [centre of the issue, heart, truth, focus] because the person won't come to it. Sometimes it is about using the intangible worlds to start creating links. A Māori that does not want to be Māori has probably been abused by a Māori. There is a reason they will not come to the Poutokomanawa. They may not want to come but as a practitioner I cannot change who I am. The denial is often accompanied by processes that are still very Māori i.e., kai [food and drink], grief, mahi [work, exercise]"

"As there is a dying off of cultural icons there is a corresponding rise of people who define tikanga to suit their purposes. Many Māori concepts are being redefined. When there is mass ignorance about tikanga there is a corresponding risk of people rising up and providing their own definitions. The opportunity is always there as long as there is ignorance. Once you vanquish ignorance you vanquish opportunity [to commit violence]"

"Supporting the whānau and whanaungatanga means keeping the act of abuse to the forefront and not disguising or hiding it. It is important that the image of the 'ideal' whānau does not replace healing the whānau. Whānau violence must involve meaningful interventions otherwise nothing is resolved"

- 1. Tikanga may be used to contest whānau violence or to justify it. The potential for the misuse of tikanga means that the practitioner must have a comprehensive and intact knowledge of what it is and how it can be applied.
- 2. Practitioners need to be exemplars of tikanga.
- 3. Tikanga takes time to re-establish where it has been misused. In the immediate response of the practitioner must be concern for the safety of the whānau, women and children. Tikanga should be the basis of safe practice. The use of tikanga does not mean glossing over the act of violence. It means confronting it and using cultural processes like manaakitanga (thoughtfulness, benevolence, respect) and whanaungatanga to model functional ways of resolving the impacts of abuse on whakapapa.
- 4. For tikanga to have validity as a practice construct practitioners must acknowledge and believe in a tikanga based model as fundamental to whānau violence prevention. There must be recognition that what we practice as Māori practitioners reflects our state of knowing and belief in tikanga although the knowledge and practice of tikanga may be non-existent or dysfunctional for perpetrators and their whānau.
- 5. It is incumbent on the practitioner to educate the whānau about positive and functional tikanga and also to teach them that violence is the abuse of tikanga.
- 6. Practitioners must be competent and conversant in the use of tikanga as transformative practice.

"Tikanga does not sit outside the whānau, hapū and iwi like a fashion accessory. It is a trait of whānau, hapū and iwi. Part of the restoration of tikanga is the restoration of order, grace and mana to the people. Tikanga by itself is not the cure but it is a useful medium by which you can start to restore order and balance within the whānau and hapū"

"If we focus on pathology we will focus on dependency and therapy. One of the indicators of wellness is the practice of tikanga because this reflects that relationships are intact, processes are in place and there is a level of understanding of the importance of those relationships and processes"

3. Wairua

Wairua is exercised through the practice of tapu. Tapu (awareness of the divine) and noa (awareness of mortality) pre-existed as natural conditions of the universe. Wairua is not religion. Wairua provides immortality when the physical body has died. Kahupō is the state of having no familiarity with wairua. If you are kahupō then you are spiritually blind and already 'dead'. You have no ulterior purpose or meaning in life. Life is but a physical drudgery. If there is a term to emphasise spiritual blindness there must be a need for a spirit. If spiritual blindness is the most undesirable state for Māori the most desirable state must be awareness of wairua and a passion for life. Inherent to a knowledge of wairua is the understanding of the states of tapu and noa and how they work together.

Rationale for inclusion

- The existence of a spiritual truth/realm is fundamental to well-being from a Māori cultural frame of reference.
- The essence of our existence is as spiritual beings.
- To ignore or disregard wairua is to state that we are spiritually blind or kahupō.
- The wairua is the heartbeat, the core of Māori wellbeing. It has to be in balance with the tinana, hinengaro and Ngākau in order for the person to be well.

Transformative qualities

- The transformative qualities of wairua are to bring perpetrators, victims, whānau, hapū and iwi to a state of recognition of themselves as interconnected spiritual beings.
- Wairua is not an easy construct to define. It is a construct that is experienced although not always seen in a tangible way. The products or outcomes of wairua may be evidenced in physical ways such as an act of kindness and compassion.

Practice examples

"Violence is not just about poverty, it is about poverty of spirit. The physical objective circumstances can make the difference. The intangible world, wairua, mauri is an absolute essential part of being Māori"

"You have to bring the wairua and life force back into their bodies and then they begin to address the pain that they are in and look at other issues but you have to bring them back to them"

All of the Taskforce practitioners treat Māori as spiritual beings. The emphasis in Māori practice is on the recognition of wairua ailments and the priority is healing the wairua of the person before the physical and metaphysical issues can be addressed.

There is a concept in practice of the wairua being divorced from the consciousness and from the tinana in cases of abuse and violence.

The transformative practice is reconnecting the wairua with the other dimensions of the person and always in context of their whakapapa.

The concept of kahupō or being spiritually blind is the worst state that a Māori person can be in. The role of the practitioner is to treat and heal the wairua first. This requires particular skills relevant to the ability to tune into the unspoken intangible world. This may be expressed as an ability to read/diagnose the wairua state of the perpetrator and/or victim and their whānau. The first response to whānau violence for this Taskforce is to reconnect the individual into a sense of the spiritual and divine elements of their existence as Māori in context of their connectedness to their whakapapa.

Practice issues

- 1. For wairua to have validity as a practice construct practitioners must acknowledge and believe in wairua as fundamental to whānau violence prevention. There must be recognition that what we practice as Māori practitioners reflects our state of knowing and belief in the fundamental importance of wairua.
- 2. It is incumbent on the practitioner to diagnose the wairua state of the perpetrator/victim and their whānau.
- 3. Practitioners must be competent and conversant in the recognition of wairua states and in the transformative outcomes of healing the wairua first.
- 4. The intangible construct of wairua is difficult to describe other than by means of practice and this often resides in the instinctual and experiential base of some Māori practitioners.
- 5. Wairua includes the state of tapu (wairua is expressed through tapu/the sacred) and therefore its counter state of noa (the physical).

4. Tapu

Tapu is the level of sanctity given to anything that we do or say. Tapu brings us to a state of our own knowing. Tapu is a sense of spirituality that one is either aware or unaware of. In te ao Māori the more aware you are of your own spirituality the more fulfilled you are as a person. The less aware you are of yourself as a spiritual being the more you exist in a purely physical state.

Rationale for inclusion

- The restoration of a sense of tapu acts as a deterrent to perpetrators once they understand what the violation of tapu actually means for their own sense of sanctity through their spiritual connection to the act of abuse and their victims.
- Tapu and the restoration of a sense of tapu for victims and their whānau is also about reconnecting the spiritual element of being human with the physical, emotional and intellectual and as a result being more whole as a person and a whānau.

Transformative qualities

• The transformative qualities of tapu are to bring perpetrators, victims, whānau, hapū and iwi to a state of recognition of themselves as interconnected spiritual beings. Tapu is not an easy construct to define. It is a construct that is experienced although not always seen in a tangible way. The pathway to healing must include the restoration of a sense of sanctity for the person and their whānau.

Practice examples

"Once you are 4-5 weeks into a programme with men in prison their treatment of their bodies changes. Whereas once it was a machine, once we start putting energy into whether they can see or hear, their sense of their own sanctity changes so at the end of ten weeks they had an amazing sense of their own tapu"

"I know a sense of tapu is there because I know when it is not there. When a child is inside themselves they are home, their sense of themselves and the boundaries of their world are intact. I can look at a child that has been abused and know that they are not home. They are not inside themselves"

Wairua is exercised through tapu. The sense of spiritual well-being is manifest in te tapu o te tangata (the tapu of the person). The Taskforce identified tapu as a sense of sanctity. Sanctity is that someone is considered so important that they must be respected totally. Tapu is about self-respect and commanding the respect of others. It is a state that Māori practitioners work towards re-instilling in the people they work with.

"Tapu is a deliberate state that we want to maintain because it brings us into the presence of the divine – the ira atua [immortal] and you can only sense the ira atua if you can sense the sanctity of something. When a person goes into the ngahere [forest] and they just see trees they are operating from a physical level but when they go into the bush and have a sense of being alive, the person can see and sense that because they are in a state of tapu"

"There is nothing in the Māori world that promotes and encourages the idea of whānau violence. Mana tangata is female in nature i roto i te ao Māori ko te tangata tuatahi ko Hineahuone [because in the Māori world the first mortal was Hineahuone who was female]. Life itself is symbolised by women. Hence the term te whare tangata, from where mankind originates"

"Te whare tangata is the place where the divine and the human are brought together"

Practice issues

- 1. For tapu to have validity as a practice construct, practitioners must acknowledge and believe in tapu as fundamental to whānau violence prevention and healing. There must be recognition that what we practice as Māori practitioners reflects our state of knowing and belief in the fundamental importance of te tapu o te tangata.
- 2. It is incumbent on the practitioner to diagnose the state of tapu/sanctity of the perpetrator/victim and their whānau.
- 3. Practitioners must be competent and conversant in the recognition of tapu.
- 4. The intangible construct of tapu is difficult to describe other than by means of practice and this often resides in the instinctual and experiential base of some (not all) Māori practitioners.

5. Mauri

Mauri is seen as internal values of power and influence. Mauri is like the centre that drives people. When they have mauri there is a sense of purposefulness, they are inspired, they have these intangible qualities that motivate them and provide them with a sense of self and collective identity. One of the by-products of mauri is mana.

Rationale for inclusion

• Mauri is the life force. When the mauri is intact people can achieve balance and a sense of identity.

Transformative qualities

• A sense of connection to oneself, wholeness and the ability to heal. Mauri can be used as the measure for the desired state of personal well-being.

Practice examples

"Some practitioners can sense the mauri of a person but if you ask them to explain how they know the boy is alright they cannot explain it"

Mauri is an intangible construct that is experienced at the most personal level but which impacts on relationships with everyone around the person. Mauri is the sense of a person's personal power and well-being. Victims and perpetrators have a damaged mauri because for perpetrators their sense of personal power has been artificially enforced whereas the victim has had power removed through the act of violence. The restoration of mauri is about the restoration of power and control at the personal level.

Practice issues

- 1. For mauri to have validity as a practice construct practitioners must acknowledge and believe in mauri as fundamental to healing for Māori. There must be recognition that what we practice as Māori practitioners reflects our state of knowing and belief in the fundamental importance of mauri.
- 2. It is incumbent on the practitioner to diagnose the state of mauri of the person and use this to incorporate the restoration of mauri into the healing process.
- 3. Practitioners must be competent and conversant in the recognition of mauri.
- 4. The intangible construct of mauri is difficult to describe other than by means of practice and this often resides in the instinctual and experiential base of some Māori practitioners.

6. Mana

Mana is an external expression of achievement, power and influence. Mana usually takes a physical form. Mana can be manufactured and ego bound or driven by the individual's own sense of importance. Mana can be a product of deeds and accomplishments. Mana is transferable. Mana is sustained by mauri.

The Taskforce identified three forms of mana as important for good social order. In order for whānau, hapū and iwi to be well they need a consciousness of mana atua, mana whenua and mana tangata to restore balance.

Mana atua – dependence

Mana atua is the memory of life prior to and after this life. We choose to have a memory about coming from and returning to Ngā atua (the divine, extraordinary, gods). People who have lived here before us are spiritual beings that are greater than us and they influence life as we know it. Mana atua in a practice sense is about recognising that the individual is a part of life's continuum, a descendent and representative of tupuna (ancestors) and that acknowledgement exemplifies the fundamental importance of whakapapa in the therapeutic relationship. Knowledge of tupuna can also help to provide explanations for particular characteristics or behaviours of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Mana whenua – inter-dependence

Mana whenua is said to be a sense of ko te whenua te toto o te tangata (the lifeblood of mankind is the land). The land is the people and the people are the land. We are a reflection of the land. Mana whenua confers rights and responsibilities on whānau, hapū and iwi who connect with their tuurangawaewae (sense of belonging). In a practice sense, mana whenua means that the practitioner must recognise particular whānau, hapū and iwi and their connection to the whenua (land) and respect the prerogative of tangata whenua to determine appropriate solutions and practice. Mana whenua may not exist for some whānau as a conscious state but like whakapapa it does exist and may be accessed. It means that practitioners working in te rohe o Kai Tahu (the tribal territory of Kai Tahu), for example, must be mindful of the appropriateness and currency of the processes and practices and the need to gain support and validation from tangata whenua.

Mana tangata – independence

Mana tangata is political identity and security, but it has more to do with relationships. It is about our sense of rangatiratanga (identity, purpose, gracefulness). Mana tangata is also about identity and how we choose to define ourselves politically. It is a physical state that can be conferred by others or inherited.

Rationale for inclusion

Mana or the pursuit of mana often drives behaviours. It can serve as a motivator for violence and therefore has potential as a means of countering violence by creating wellness as an act of mana.

Transformative qualities

• Mana can be used to transform whānau violence towards wellness by creating wellness behaviours as worthy of mana. Mana can be inherited or ascribed.

Practice examples

"There is an illusion that violence and bullying is how you get mana. One of the common mythologies is that the best way to demonstrate your mana is to bully"

Mana can be forced. The uses of mana as positive or negative constructs need to be identified by the practitioner. Mana can be used to justify violence. In this interpretation violence is used to achieve a false or misguided sense of mana.

"You must reflect to perpetrators that you respect them. If I treat them well they will treat me well. The only way you teach people about respect is to respect them. Regardless of what they have done, ko te mea nui he tangata i heke mai i ngaa tupuna [the important fact is that they are descendants of ancestors]. He or she is tapu. Regardless of what they have done they have whakapapa and tupuna"

"The fastest way to get to the offence is to get to the perpetrator. I must treat him in a manner that will enable him to tell me what he has done. They are still someone's brother, sister and if it was you, you hope someone else would treat you with some dignity. One of the challenges of Western models is that there is still a lot of emphasis on making them feel like crap before they will admit/change"

The restoration of mana to the individual and whānau means that mana has to be modelled as desirable behaviour for perpetrators, victims and whānau.

Practice issues

- 1. For mana to have validity as a practice construct practitioners must acknowledge and believe in mana as a construct that guides and informs practice. There must be recognition that what we practice as Māori practitioners reflects our state of knowing and belief in the fundamental importance of mana.
- 2. Practitioners must be competent and conversant in mana and its application to guide practice. To whakamana is to bestow mana on a person. To whakamana is to also establish acceptable behavioural practices based on respect for the tapu of the person and their whakapapa.
- 3. Mana is non-threatening. It should not be used to violate mauri but it can be abused or used to abuse others.

Te ao hurihuri – contemporary influences

The Taskforce has identified contemporary influences that impact on the ability to understand and prevent whānau violence. There are a number of contextual influences that stem from the process of colonisation and the contemporary outcomes of colonisation. These outcomes are understood by this Taskforce as giving rise to particular behaviours that have become dysfunctional for Māori. There are extensive and comprehensive analyses of the impacts of colonisation on contemporary Māori. However, most analyses do not critique or examine the relationship between colonisation and whānau violence. It is the contention of this Taskforce that whānau violence represents a culture in crisis. That crisis is manifest in the breakdown of cultural traditions and practices that would once have provided alternatives to whānau violence. In fact, whānau violence as we know it today would have been such a transgression in a Māori worldview that domestic violence would not have been common.

Colonisation – seduction/surrender

Colonisation was a full-scale attack on Māori cultural processes and forms. Although our tupuna (ancestors) fought the relocation of power and authority, over time there has been a surrendering to the coloniser. This has taken many forms from collusion, collaboration, indifference, greed and vanity.

To surrender is to admit defeat. It is a fatalistic response. Survival has been expensive. The price is the loss of cultural knowledge, identity and practices, the breakdown and dysfunction of whānau, hapū and iwi, the confiscation and theft of Māori land and the pauperisation of Māori. The contemporary outcomes are epidemic whānau violence and systemic dysfunction.

Violence continuum

The Taskforce understands whānau violence as occurring on a continuum. Colonisation as a process is identified as a violent act characterised first by the use of warfare and disease and later through the selective use of legislation backed up by force/punishment to take Māori land and break down Māori resistance. The ability to force behaviour by using the threat of land confiscation and imprisonment meant that Māori had little option but to fight or collude. Those that fought and resisted were deposed and maligned and those that colluded lost their honour.

Powerlessness

Powerlessness is the forced removal of power. Powerless people can respond in a multitude of ways to their dis-ease. One of those ways is to destroy themselves and those around them. This is one of the issues in whānau violence. Often the perpetrator disgraced by impotence seeks to reclaim power by force from their victims and whānau. Powerlessness with poverty creates desperation as it removes the ability to improve the circumstances leading to violence. To empower is to provide the powerless with the self-realisation that integral power is nurtured rather than plundered. However, ultimately power has to be reclaimed.

Abnormalisation

Māori cultural practices and values have been devalued, marginalised and abnormalised. In the case of Māori therapeutic models and paradigms, the response to whānau violence latterly has been the selective use of isolated tikanga/cultural constructs. However, Māori practitioners have been trying for the past twenty years to have their practices validated. The validity of Western practices is never challenged and the validity of indigenous models is never fully achieved. The selective use and interpretation of particular Māori cultural constructs indicates that at one level, culture and cultural values are seen as important to the process of constructing interventions for whānau violence. However, the use of selective constructs sits within a non-

⁸ Jackson (1987-88); Smith (1999); Walker (1990); Awatere (1984)

Māori paradigm and practice model that has validity. Māori cultural constructs are used to 'window dress' a Western model that is never challenged in terms of its relevance and application to Māori.

Criminalising Māori processes

The issue of criminalisation of Māori has been raised earlier in the 'Key issues' section of this report. It is important to note that the mainstream government response to whānau violence operates from a Western/Pākeha model of practice that isolates and criminalises Māori men. This is inappropriate and ineffective. Māori victims have whakapapa. Māori perpetrators have whakapapa. Whakapapa is a collective process that holds potential as a restorative and transformative process. However, while the response to whānau violence continues to be individualising the victim, the perpetrator and the 'problem' the opportunity to use whakapapa as a transformative practice is obstructed.

Redefining gender/Western feminist frameworks

Western feminist frameworks offer an analysis of violence as the abuse of power and control by men towards women. There is an over simplification of the abuse of women by the patriarchy in feminism. It is important to understand the roles and positions of Māori women in whānau, hapū and iwi. However, strict gender arguments render cultural oppression and racism as invisible. They offer important but inadequate explanations of whānau violence. There are additional layers of oppression for Māori women that are not explained by a simple analysis of the abuse of male power and privilege. Western feminism is a white cultural construct. It comes from the same white cultural power base as colonisation and cultural imperialism.

Transforming whānau violence

Education for empowerment

Education is a transformative process that is fundamental to changing violence in whānau to behaviours that promote whānau wellbeing. Education has long been recognised as a transformative tool⁹ and as a means of changing the ways in which we conceptualise and understand our experiences as indigenous peoples. ¹⁰ In this case, education for transformation and empowerment refers to dispelling and deconstructing the ways in which Māori cultural constructs are used to validate violence, challenging the mythology that whānau violence is normal and teaching alternatives to violence.

The Taskforce sees education for empowerment as fundamental to altering the powerless state of whānau who practice violence. Decolonisation is a specific form of education that locates the outcomes of oppression such as violence and self-abuse within the particular context of colonial enforced disempowerment.

This Taskforce defines the disempowerment of whānau, hapū and iwi as a direct consequence of colonisation. Education about the circumstances, processes and outcomes of colonisation is a critical part of understanding that whānau violence is the manifestation of the powerlessness and dispossession of colonisation. It is important to understand how whānau violence has been transmitted over generations of Māori to become 'normal practice'.

This Taskforce does not accept that Māori are either culturally or biologically pre-disposed to practice violence. While there were warrior roles in traditional times, these roles were carried out in response to the demands of the environment. As Irihapeti Ramsden states "once were gardeners". Māori were not just warriors but also gardeners, fishermen, with a host of other non-violent roles.

Education for self-realisation

"Decolonisation is an imperative for self realisation and then they understand how they go into jail and how stupid they have been to end up in prison"

Education as transformative practice occurs at a number of levels. The Taskforce believes that a pre-requisite for change at the individual level is the self-realisation that the act of violence is dysfunctional and that individuals have the personal power to stop practising violence.

Providing alternatives to violence

Education on its own is insufficient to change whānau violence. The knowledge must be matched with the will and the skill to change. There cannot be any assumptions that people who violate know that what they are doing is wrong or know how to change their behaviours.

The Taskforce believes that part of transforming violent behaviour is to teach individuals and whānau about alternatives to violence. The alternatives can be discovered from the empowerment of the victim and whānau or from teaching behavioural change to the perpetrator. There are many alternatives to violence. This Taskforce advocates for the alternatives to be based on the restoration of a Māori cultural knowledge and practice base.

Education of the collective

"The whānau need to be educated to give the woman voice and create space for her to vent. In the case of child victims, children cannot self protect and so there is an obligation to care and protect the child"

⁹ Hooks (1994)

¹⁰ Friere (1972)

It is insufficient to educate the victim or the perpetrator if the whānau, hapū and iwi condone and collude with violence. There is a need to also educate whānau, hapū and iwi and to actively restore tikanga practices relevant to te tapu o te tangata and whakapapa. Education out of whānau violence must consider the context in which whānau violence is established, practised and maintained. That means that those affected by whānau violence either knowingly or unwittingly are implicated in that violence particularly if they are related to the perpetrator or the victim.

Māori practitioners as educators

The Taskforce has prescribed a role for Māori practitioners as educators. Māori practitioners who subscribe to a cultural model of practice/a Māori therapeutic model have a responsibility to educate the victim, perpetrator and whānau about the impacts of whānau violence and provide alternatives. Ultimately, Māori practitioners can provide information to whānau but empowerment and self-realisation must be states that are achieved by those on the receiving end of the education not the educator. The Taskforce believes that it is the responsibility of 'responsible and effective' practitioners to teach alternatives to violence but ultimately people have to want to change in order to change.

Māori practitioners as exemplars

The context in which Māori practice occurs to counter/challenge and prevent whānau violence has specific characteristics. For example, if whakapapa were intact as a set of 'culturally defined relationships', the denigration of whakapapa through violence would not exist. To understand liberation requires an understanding of oppression. To understand freedom from whānau violence we must first understand how whānau violence is perpetuated and what it is in cultural and behavioural terms. All of the cultural constructs in this framework are part of a dichotomy, each mutually dependent on their opposite state for validity. Further, the transformative power of the cultural constructs in this framework depends on the most profound commitment to the value of Māori cultural practices and a working practice knowledge of what is involved in the constructs.

The imperatives or 'must haves' for effective practice take the form of cultural constructs that Māori practitioners must represent by: an understanding of, a belief in, accountability to and a confident ability to use as tools to transform Māori behaviours into a best practice framework.

CONCLUSIONS

There is a growing assault on cultural interventions and the acceptance that Māori 'culture' offers the potential to change violence and other dysfunctional behaviour. The rationale used to displace 'culture' is that Māori are diverse and many do not function on Māori cultural understandings. The importance of this work is to confirm that Māori cultural constructs have the capacity to reverse whānau violence when properly practised.

At the heart of this Framework is a total commitment to using the processes of te ao Māori as the way and means to counter whānau violence. However, on their own they offer only part of the answer. Whānau violence also needs to be understood in terms of the contemporary influences of te ao hurihuri. The impacts and outcomes of colonisation and its many guises must be accounted for in this picture. To pretend that the influences of colonisation are not relevant in today's world will not lead us to solutions to whānau violence. Violence is about powerlessness in its most fundamental form. This has been learned and applied by generations of Māori whānau, hapū and iwi and so it can be unlearned.

There are models of liberation through education that have been tested in other indigenous nations and have worked. We must begin to break down the illusions that violence is normal. We must begin to remove opportunities for violence to be practised and then replace these practices with positive and healthy alternatives.

Western-based cultural strategies have been tried and none have worked because they emphasise punishment and separation rather than healing and wellbeing of the collective—the victims, perpetrators and whānau. For Māori, there is never one victim and never one perpetrator. Whakapapa is at the heart of Māori practice.

There is a high demand for a specialised Māori conceptual framework and practice tool to counter the impacts of whānau violence and begin the long process of healing ourselves from this devastating epidemic. There are a growing number of requests for this practice tool from whānau, hapū and iwi around Aotearoa.

We are not a Taskforce of idealists but we have a vision of mauri ora, of achieving a state of balance between the physical, mental and spiritual elements of our existence. Anything less is a compromise.

As a Taskforce we believe that it is important that other Māori practitioners have access to the Framework so that we can challenge and change the discourse on whānau violence in Aotearoa and begin to validate our own models of practice. As Māori practitioners we have been trying for far too long to practice in the shadows of dominating Western paradigms and pedagogy.

We support this Framework being applied by non-government organisations (NGOs) because there is an affinity between the content of this framework and the practices of identifiable Māori NGOs. Government agencies often display a contempt for tikanga Māori in their processes and the Taskforce believes that a Māori conceptual framework cannot be accommodated in current government processes.

We have no quick fixes, but we believe that the opportunities for prevention and healing reside in kaupapa Māori practices. They do not reside in the current responses to whānau violence that are punitive and role model violent responses to violence.

There is now a need to test the application of this Framework in a closely monitored way.

PROGRESS WITH THE 2002 STRATEGIC PLAN OF ACTION

The following is the Plan of Action from the September 2002 report, with an additional column on the right outlining progress since that report.

STRATEGY	KEYTASKS	DATE	PROGRESS
STRATEGY MEETINGWITH THE MINISTER, HON TARIANA TŪRIA	Forward the document to the Minister and set a date for a meeting to present and discuss the framework.	By 12 October	Taskforce met with Hon Tariana Tūria in March 2003. She accepted the September 2002 report and asked that it be distributed at the regional Whānau Development hui.
RECONVENE THIS TASKFORCE	Reconvene this Taskforce to publish a refined version of this framework, develop a training strategy and model for this framework and carry out other tasks identified in this strategic plan of action.	Following meeting on 12 October	Former Taskforce members form the Advisory Group for Project Mauri Ora (see below). This revised report/second edition has been produced by the Chair of the former Taskforce and Te Puni Kōkiri, and approved by the Taskforce.
REGULAR PRACTITIONER HUI	Establish a process to ensure that Māori practitioners have regular national hui to compare their practices, enable debate and discussion about methods and a peer review process to ensure the quality of their practices.	ASAP ongoing	Has not been held yet, but will be part of Project Mauri Ora (see below) and will include orientation and training. Practitioners have already been using the 2002 report.
CHANGETHE DISCOURSE OF WHĀNAU VIOLENCE IN POLICY	Refine and publish the framework to influence the public and policy discourse on whānau violence.	Publication by 30 June 2003	Second edition has been prepared (see above). Members of the former Taskforce and Te Korowai Aroha Aotearoa (Te Korowai Aroha) have talked about the Framework at other hui and believe there is good 'buy in' from whānau, hapū and iwi. The Framework is compatible with particular parts of Te Rito, for example Action Area 13.

STRATEGY	KEYTASKS	DATE	PROGRESS
CONSULTATION WITH WHĀNAU, HAPŪAND IWI	The Taskforce members represent whānau, hapū and iwi opinion. However, there is a need for ongoing consultation with whānau, hapū and iwi as this framework is put into practice.	Subject to acceptance of this strategic plan of action	Consultation with whānau, hapū and iwi on the Framework took place during the Whānau Development regional hui. This consultation has been integrated into Project Mauri Ora (see below), particularly in identifying the appropriate organisations and people for training.
BUDGET BID FOR A MĀORI SPECIFIC APPROACH TO WHĀNAU VIOLENCE PREVENTION	Develop a budget bid for separate funding to fund the model of practice in this framework.	ASAP	An application to the Direct Resourcing ¹¹ fund for Project Mauri Ora was successful. The proposal was prepared by Te Korowai Aroha with assistance from Te Puni Kōkiri. The purpose of Project Mauri Ora is to work towards zero tolerance of violence in whānau. The Project involves piloting the innovative Framework set out in this publication. The Framework aims to build the capacity of Māori practitioners and service providers; to provide culturally appropriate interventions to victims, perpetrators and their whānau; and to champion the message that violence is unacceptable to Māori communities. Te Korowai Aroha is the budget holder and will implement Project Mauri Ora. It will manage the funding, provide quality assurance, financial and non-financial reporting, communication, monitoring and evaluation aspects of the project.
DEVELOP TRAINING MODELS	The framework will need to be attached to training models that translate the framework into a training process for practitioners and whānau, hapū and iwi.	Subject to funding	Project Mauri Ora funding is now available for Te AWHIPA (Association of Whānau, Hapū, Iwi Practitioners) to develop the training modules. A team has been built up and discussions are taking place.

¹¹ **Direct Resourcing** was established to resource hapū, iwi and Māori entities to purchase social, economic and cultural solutions that reflect Māori priorities. A key factor is the commitment that Direct Resourcing will provide the scope for hapū, iwi and Māori to fulfil their own objectives while still contributing to the Government's outcomes and objectives.

STRATEGY	KEYTASKS	DATE	PROGRESS
DELIVER TRAINING MODELS	Deliver training to practitioners working with whānau, hapū and iwi.	Subject to funding	Project Mauri Ora funding is available for Te AWHIPA to carry out this task. Training is based on the Framework and designed to 'grow' practitioners who will use it in their whānau, hapū, iwi. Delivery of training will be in the pilot sites.
REVIEW AND MONITOR APPLICATION OF TRAINING	All parts of this strategic plan of action need to be closely monitored particularly the outcomes of training and integration into practice.	Subject to funding	Te Korowai Aroha will monitor and report on achievements of the participating groups to Te Puni Kōkiri, and will develop an external evaluation strategy.
ESTABLISH A MĀORI PILOT PROJECT TO TEST THE APPLICATION OF THIS FRAMEWORK	This framework needs resourcing to make it happen. A specialised pilot project to enable the framework to be tested is proposed.	Subject to funding	Project Mauri Ora has been established and funded. Ten pilots will be established over a two-year period, covering urban, provincial and rural communities. The focus will be on working with whānau, hapū and iwi. The first pilot sites are: • Mātaatua • Tairāwhiti (Ngāti Porou to Kahungunu) • Ngāti Whātua and Tai Tokerau • ART (Ati Awa, Raukawa and Toa Rangatira). The pilots link into current practitioners, and the first pilots will begin in 2004.
REVISIT THE PROGRESS ON THIS FRAMEWORK REGULARLY	It is important to continue to measure the progress made on implementing this framework.	Subject to funding	This has begun with the preparation of this second edition which includes a note of progress since the 2002 Report. Future reporting on progress will be done by the end of 2006 as part of Project Mauri Ora.

PROGRESS WITH THE 2002 RECOMMENDATIONS

The former Associate Minister of Māori Affairs (Social Development) accepted the recommendations of the 2002 report (left hand column). Progress with implementing the recommendations is described in the right hand column.

accept that this model has come from the collective practice experiences of the Taskforce of Māori practitioners that you brought together. This is not the finite, completely definitive model of whānau violence prevention but it is intended to guide the way that whānau violence is understood and the Māori specific practices that may give rise to positive change in whānau	The publication of a second edition of <i>Transforming Whānau Violence: A Conceptual Framework</i> indicates support for the Framework.
note that this framework is a map for practice. The application of it resides in the singular or collective domains of Māori practitioners working with whānau, hapū and iwi	Project Mauri Ora will involve Māori practitioners working with whānau, hapū and iwi.
agree that this framework needs to be adequately resourced to enable it to be applied properly and effectively	Direct Resourcing funding has been received for Project Mauri Ora.
note that whānau violence has not been established overnight. There are generational issues that need to be addressed and this framework is the beginning of articulating a best practice approach to whānau violence prevention recognising that change will take time	The establishment of Project Mauri Ora pilots over the next two years should begin to influence generational whānau violence.
reconvene the Taskforce for the next recommended stage of this process, that is, to meet with you to explain the framework and work through the recommended strategic plan of action included in this report	Former Taskforce members now form an Advisory Group which will be engaged by arrangement with Te Korowai Aroha, the budget holder for Project Mauri Ora.
note that the language used in this framework and the presentation of the framework will need to be tailored to the audiences using this tool. This is included in the strategic plan of action	This second edition is a resource for practitioners. It is also hoped that departments will make use of this Framework to change the public and policy discourse on whānau violence.
note that this framework is opposed to many of the current practices and interventions for addressing whānau violence	The approach developed for Project Mauri Ora differs from mainstream family violence services in that mainstream services tend to focus on support for the individual victim and are frequently perceived as applying a punitive approach to the perpetrator. Project Mauri Ora seeks to work with the victim, the perpetrator and their respective whānau to restore whānau wellness and to create zero tolerance to violence.
note that in our opinion, many of the legislative and government policies that give license to intervene in cases of whānau violence undermine whakapapa and tikanga practices.	It is hoped that departments will make use of this publication to change the policy discourse on whānau violence.

UPDATED RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that you:

- **a. note** that this publication is a revised second edition of the September 2002 report produced for Hon Tariana Tūria when she was Associate Minister of Māori Affairs (Social Development)
- **b. note** that Direct Resourcing funding has been received by Te Korowai Aroha for Project Mauri Ora, which will pilot the implementation of the Framework
- c. note there will be an external evaluation of Project Mauri Ora after two years of implementation
- **d. agree** to support in principle the development of protocols for engagement between Te Korowai Aroha and departmental stakeholders
- **e. agree** to support in principle sustainable funding for continuation of Project Mauri Ora, dependent upon a satisfactory evaluation of the pilots.

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