“Not Home” is Sometimes Where We Start

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Abstract

The colonisation of “home” — Aotearoa, New Zealand is motivated by the acquisition of land and natural resources. As more land is acquired indigenous peoples are driven further from a symbiotic relationship with the “home-land”, an indigenous worldview and ultimately their “selves”. The consequences of these disruptions have profound psychological effects.

This article explores the idea that “home” is a social construct that reflects the reality of the dominant group. As indigenous peoples our idea of “home” is repudiated and subjugated, resulting in dislocation, marginalisation and discrimination with the intention of maintaining the dominant cultural home.

Weaving through concepts of Indigenous parenting, decolonisation, tangata whenua, state housing, raupatu, premature babies, maungapohatu and spirituality, we arrive at how we as health practitioners can unlock our therapeutic paradigm. The essential inclusion of historical, socio-political and environmental elements opens us to the possibility of clearly seeing indigenous psychological issues in their whole context rather than locating dysfunction within the indigenous person and marginalised peoples.

Ko te whakatauiwi o “kāinga” – Aotearoa, Niu Tīreni, ngana ana kia whai whenua, rawa taiao hoki. Ka rahi ake te whiwhi whenua ka tawhiti kē atu te tangata whenua i te taura here ki tōna tūrangawaewae, he tirohanga ā-ao a te tangata whenua, ā, mutu rawa ake, tōna tuakiritanga. Ko te mutunga mai o ēnei tauwhatinga ko te pānga taumaha ki te hinengaro.

E tūhuri ana tēnei tuhinga i te whakaaro, ko te ariā “kāinga”, he hangana hāpori whakaahua mai i te pono o te rōpū matua. Ko tā te tangata whenua whakaaro mō “kāinga”, ka whakahahanihia, ka whakaitihia, ā, mutu rawa ake ka totara wāhi ruahia, ka aukatihia kia mārō ai te mau o te kāinga ahurea matua.

E raranga haere ana i ngā aronga Māori whāngai tamariki, wetenga uruwhenua, tangata whenua, whare kāwanatanga, raupatu, pēpē kokoti tau, Maungapōhatu, me te wairuatanga, ka kitea me pēhea e taea ai e tātou e ngā kaimahi hauora te whakatuwhera i

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ā tātou tikanga whaiora. Mā te whakauru wāhanga mai o ngā kōrero o mua, o te hāpori-tōrangapū me te pūtaiao tērā pea ka mārama te kitea o ngā take hinengaro Māori i roto i tōna ake ao kāre e kimi noa ihotia te mate i roto i ngā tāngata whenua me ngā iwi taitapainga.

Keywords: home; home-land; colonisation; Indigenous parenting; decolonisation; tangata whenua; state housing; raupatu; premature babies; spirituality

Karakia

Aio ki te aorangi
Aroha ki te aorangi
Koa ki te aorangi
Pono ki te aorangi

Kia tau ki te kahukura
Te wairua kore here
te kawe i te tika
me te pono

He tohu aroha tenei
Ki te ao whanui
He maumahara ki te
whea a Papatuanuku.

Peace to the universe
Love to the universe
Joy to the universe
Truth to the universe.

May the violet flame
The spirit of freedom
that upholds justice and truth
prevail.

This is a gift of love
to the whole world
it is a token of my regard
for Papatuanuku — Earth Mother.
(Pere, 1988)

Pepeha — Wiremu

Ko Maungapohatu te maunga
Ko Ohinemataroa te awa
Ko Mataatua te waka
Ko Rewarewa te marae
Ko Te Purewa te tangata
Ko Hinematioro te Mareikura
Ko Mahurehure te hapu
Ko Tuhoe te iwi.

Pepeha — Toni

Ko Aoraki toku maunga
Ko Waitaki toku awa
Ko Tahu Potiki te tupuna
Ko Kai Tahu te iwi
Ko Takitimu raua ko Uruao oku waka
Ko Ngaire Jean Prouse toku whaea
Ko David Shepherd toku matua
Ko Wiremu Woodard toku whaiaipo
Ko I Rangiaatea ratou ko Te Maunga Roa, ko Kaarearea, ko Toi aku tamariki
Nga putiputi ataahua
Ko Toni Shepherd ahau.

Introduction — Wiremu

The format of this article echoes the format of the original workshop presentation on which it is based. Like the workshop, this article is co-authored, and, like the presentation, we are presenting our voices/text separately and simultaneously. Here, this is represented by the layout of the text: mine on the left, Toni's on the right.

Given that we have many family commitments and [at the Workshop] a new five-month-old baby, we have undertaken to co-present this paper. While this serves to support each other in this process, it also throws up complimentary dynamics challenging us to work cooperatively while somehow retaining our unique voices. While this format potentially competes and divides your attention, it also extends and deepens the analysis.

Introduction — Toni

In our whare it is the kitchen table that is ever present in its place at the centre of being — of learning, meeting, reading, eating, contemplating, nourishing, bickering, chatting, witnessing, celebrating, holding hui,

creating, and silence — it is the glue that binds our whanau together. We live in a modest whare in Te Raki Pae Whenua which is filled with creative noise, kids' art, lots of recycled and well-used stuff, neighbourhood kids, and an almost constant plan on how to feed and nourish the tamariki. We are now lucky enough that we have the karanga of our pepi and her friends to add to the chaos. Then there is the aged cat Blacky; puppy dog Luigi; rescue pigeon Pluto; five school chickens on holidays and weekends; caterpillars and chrysalis at varying stages of metamorphosis; two beehives; a myriad of backyard birds - the most cherished our beloved kereru pairs. No time or desire for television, Xbox or Playstation in this house; we are too busy living life. It's not everyone's cuppa tea, but a life we relish.

Starting From "Home" — Wiremu

Native Born

They change their skies above them
But not their hearts that roam
We learned from our wistful mothers
To call old England "home";
We read of the English skylark,
Of the spring in the English lanes,
But we screamed with the painted lories
As we rode on the dusty planes!
(Rudyard Kipling, cited in Ricketts, 2000, p. 434)

"Home is Where we Start From" is an interesting departure point, with multiple possible pathways to explore the relationship between psychotherapy and an indigenous experience in Aotearoa.

We are not presenting this [workshop/article] as fact but, rather, as a series of observations, informed through our work in this field. We hope to convey some ideas we are thinking about, and a sense of the issues we are grappling with, as *we* see them, that is, where we are coming from and where we are travelling to as indigenous practitioners — and, dare I say, psychotherapists.

In my mind, starting from "home" in this present context [the theme of the Conference] firstly delineates traditional Western psychodynamic-developmental theory, and, secondly, invites us to begin a discussion exploring hidden assumptions, constructing and divining a psychotherapy that is particular and peculiar to this land, time and place, Aotearoa New Zealand — perhaps an indigenous psychotherapy. In this presentation I hope to transform both liberal and conservative interpretations of our Conference theme into a radical analysis, building, exploring, and considering ways in which psychotherapy in Aotearoa unconsciously re-

enacts racist colonial dynamics that serve to maintain the oppression of the indigenous and other marginalised groups.

Starting From "Home" — Toni

Home is where we start from — The divide between an indigenous experience of home and the dominant Western model will be the focus of my discussion today. I will examine how inequalities between Māori and Pākehā in health and housing are a direct reflection of racist ideologies inherent in ongoing colonisation processes; and, specifically, how these inequalities are perpetuated and recreated in psychotherapy.

Deconstructing "Home" — Wiremu

In the — or, perhaps, an — orthodox Freudian model of psychological development/growth, infant awareness begins in an autistic space: a closed space with no established emotional pathway between inside to outside. This is our essential or true self with which we are born. Accordingly, psychological growth is conceived as a struggle between developmental processes, which socialise the individual, a battle between nature and nurture, which Dalal (2002) has argued, mirrors the larger dyadic conflict between the individual and society.

I propose that the theme "Home is Where we Start From", reflects this essentialist thinking, namely that there are two aspects of psyche, personal and social, and that the social is "naturally" different from and in conflict with the personal. Psycho-developmental theories see the moment of birth as an absolute beginning, where primary biology, i.e. the newborn infant, is confronted with fully formed sociology, i.e. the family unit. As home is the context in which this development occurs, "home" is/becomes the site of Western individualism and the nuclear individual.

Dalal (2001) used Elias's (1994) concept of process reduction (a cognitive error of abstracting states and making them absolute rather than perceiving them as emergent processes) to critically analyse and explain deeply flawed assumptions inherent in orthodox psychoanalysis. Combining the concept of process reduction and a post-Foulkesian analysis Dalal argued, contrary to Freudian theory, that individual psycho-development begins much earlier in time. Firstly, pathology and ill-health are symptom malfunctions in the lager communication matrix, and illness is systemically located in strategically identified groups and individuals *elsewhere* in the system. Secondly, the group is the ultimate primary unit of consideration and individual "inner" processes are only internalisations of group forces. Thirdly, developmental processes imbibe/draw down sociological structures and preoccupations of that particular milieu permeating the psychology of the individual at all levels.

The "human being", the "whole person" is constructed from a kaleidoscope of environmental and organistic process: biological *and* socio/historical in nature. Even before we are conceived we are a product of multiple complex systems interactions. Our biology is not God or nature given, but has evolved through social interactive processes. The personal (biology) is constructed from social forces, and the social is constructed by biology (Dalal, 2001).

Returning to our conference theme "home", therefore, cannot be *the* beginning; it is only one possible beginning of many. Our question then becomes: why have we chosen home in particular as the place to start searching for ourselves?

The Colonisation of "Home" — Toni

Colonisation is not a finite process; for Māori, there has been no end to it. It is not simply part of our recent past, nor does it merely inform our present. Colonisation is our present, our constant contemporary. Pākehā notions and epistemologies have pervaded society, and the distinctly Western hegemony of their ideologies. The disparity colonising systems perpetuate between the colonial majority and indigenous populations, is evidenced in the continuing inequalities we continue to witness and experience as indigenous practitioners.

> If "home" means to Pākehā the focus of family life, the basis of self-esteem, a base for political action, a place of love, a source of authority and discipline, the location of people to whom one belongs, a place of refuge, of sleep, of nourishment, of attention, discussion, disagreement, caring, shelter, accommodation of guests, approval and rejection, then for Māori this has not been provided by the house but rather by the marae. (Austin, 1976)

Our ideas and images of home — Aotearoa, New Zealand — God's Zone and what home represents are vastly different both conceptually and descriptively. As indigenous people we understand we are talking of home in the language of the coloniser — otherwise we would be talking of concepts of papa kainga, toi whenua, turangawaewae and marae. One of the functions of language is to construct our world. We learn the world and test it through interaction and dialogue with one another, beginning as we actively listen through the membrane of the kopu (womb) to the drama of our whanau lives. It is through the coloniser's language that our lands have been stolen, children taken away and tikanga eroded. Language has been used as a reductionist, splitting, devaluing and compartmentalising tool to oppress the indigenous voice and way of life.

What has survived, in spite of these disruptions is a particular way of

perceiving the world. Māori epistemology is spiritual, holistic and community-oriented. We see the environment as deriving from a spiritual connection, where everything is tied together as one, through the cosmological ordering of whakapapa. The land as human is a connection taken in with our mother's blood and milk (Woodard, 2006).

Four years ago, we travelled to Uluru in central Australia — some call it the pito or belly button of the world. I was afraid I might be disappointed, not feel moved. I should not have been concerned. It is a sacred site of power. On our first day in Alice Springs we picked up our campervan, boggled by the forty plus degree heat and the masses of flies. The red earth was seemingly barren and it felt difficult to connect with the distrustful stares of the indigenous and dispossessed. After shopping for supplies we headed out of town. The intense heat had melted the tar on many of the roads - about five hours into our journey the rear tyre blew out. Piling out of the camper we attempted to use the hydraulic jack — me reading the instruction manual and Wiremu trying everything to get it to work. Then we noticed a wet patch on the road, which we soon realised as the remnants of all our drinking water. With almost no other vehicles passing, no cell phone coverage and three distressed six year olds, we were concerned and becomingly increasingly tense. I have never felt so foreign. I felt like the land was actively hostile — repelling us, challenging us, fighting with us — telling us we did not belong in this place: "Get out". In those moments I became acutely aware about how intimate my connection was to the whenua of Aotearoa. I absolutely was not tangata whenua in this land, this place. To cut a long story short, just before dusk a Ford Falcon pulled over and an extraordinary number of aboriginal people emerged and came forth to help us. The men helped Wiremu. The girls and me sat with the women and children and ate watermelon on the road. We had no shared spoken language but I learned that they would reach their reservation at sun down. One woman with a sun worn face and deep black eyes fingered my hei tiki and when I said Māori she nodded emphatically smiling. It was an encounter that I will carry in my heart for the rest of my life and one that will continually remind me both of home and "not home".

Power and Marginalisation — Wiremu

Dalal (2001) has extended Foulkes's relational/systemic group concepts to include social power relations. Here, power is defined as the capacity to define and sustain a version of reality. Identity and self are defined depending on where we are positioned in the communication field, which in turn is determined by the social unconscious, which for indigenous peoples is manufactured through the socio-genetic process of colonialism. As Dalal (ibid.) put it:

> in some rudimentary way existing "we's" must be part of the forming "I's" from the start of the developmental process. To elaborate: a particular individual is born into a pre-existing social milieu; thus the "I" of the individual must of necessity be built out of the existing "we"; however a "we" can only exist in relation to something designated "not-we" the relations between "we" and "not we" is always a power relation. Thus the individual is constituted at the deepest of levels by pre-existing power relations in the world. Thus possibilities available to any individual are constrained by the power relations in the milieu into which the individual is born. Thus the nature of the so called true individual authentic self cannot be other than fundamentally constituted by where it is positioned in the power relational field (p. 547).

Given this analysis, and its potentially powerful deconstruction of orthodox psychoanalysis, we argue that "home" is not where *we* begin — instead "not home" is where Māori and other indigenous peoples are located, ghettoised, spilt off from the powerful cultural norm of Pākehā colonial imperialism. Māori identity is where we occupy and live in the margins of "Other" space, both symbolically and literally. The margins of contemporary New Zealand society both inhabit and are inhabited by Māori.

The White Man's Burden

Take up the white man's burden
Send forth the best ye breed
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives need;
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild
Your new caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

Take up the white man's burden
The savage wars of peace
Fill full the mouth of famine
And bid the sickness cease
And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen folly
Bring all your hope to naught.
(Kipling, 1899, p. 290)

Raupatu

Kaore te po nei morikarika noa
Te ohonga ki te ao rapu noa au
Ko te mana tuatahi ko Te Tiriti o Waitangi
Ko te mana tuarua ko te Koti whenua
Ko te mana tuatoru, ko te mana motuhake,
Ka kiia I reirara ko te Rohe Potae o Tuhoe.
(Te Kooti, 1884, cited in McLean & Orbell, 1975, pp. 38-39)

This is a verse of Te Kooti's song of exhortation suggesting ways for Tuhoe to address their historic grievances:

After a century of troubled sleep and vexed feelings,
I awake and search for a new balm with which to soothe my troubled soul.
First I turn to the Treaty of Waitangi,
Second to the Māori Land Court,
Third I turn to Māori sovereignty to re-establish independence,
Within the nation of Tuhoe.

European existence in Aotearoa required the displacement, symbolic and literal, of the indigenous other/peoples (including flora and fauna) already inhabiting these spaces. In terms of home, British settlers desired to recreate a Britain in the South (Park, 2006). Displacement of the indigenous was achieved through a variety of mechanisms. I have chosen to explore the process of raupatu, the confiscation of Māori land following the land wars of the 1860s. The primary legislative mechanism for the confiscation of Māori land was the *New Zealand Settlement Act 1863*, supported by the *Rebellion Suppression Act 1863* and the *Loans Act 1863*. I have linked the concept to settlement to connect us back into our theme of home — and not home.

In its passage through the House of Representatives, only one lone voice contested the legality of *The New Zealand Settlement Act*. J. E. Fitzgerald (perhaps significantly, an Irishman) condemned the [then] Bill:

> The Bill is a repeal of every engagement of every kind whatsoever which has been made by the British Crown with the natives … A great and enormous crime perpetrated against a race to whom we have refused the right of representation in this house; who at this moment are totally and absolutely in ignorance that we are about to make this great invasion upon their privileges, and who are unable to appear at our bar to plead their cause (cited in Gilling, 2009, p. 18).

Land Wars — Toni

"Land was the prism through which Māori could see their loss of culture and identity refracted." (Harris, 2004, p. 26)

The 1850s and 1860s was a time of land wars in Aotearoa, as a result of which the Crown, in violation of Article 2 of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi, directly confiscated three million acres and indirectly confiscated 16 million acres of Māori land.

In addition, for most of the twentieth century, Māori land legislation focused on reforming Māori land titles to something less communal and more cognisant with the individual ownership that Pākehā society preferred.

The displacement of Māori people from their land combined with the legislative process to remove Māori from their language and culture was intended simultaneously to disrupt indigenous land use and socio-cultural structure and to create conditions that allowed settlers to move in and colonise Aotearoa. (Durie, 1995; Walker, 1990)

The settlers' quest of acquiring the 66 million acres of land that makes up Aotearoa has been hugely successful: 64 million acres are now owned and occupied by settlers and their descendents (Awatere, 1984).

Park (2006) has argued that when a long term association with the land — long enough to define yourself as being of it, long enough to know it as what fed your mother and hers — is summarily injured or reorganised, as most of the Māori landscape was between 1840-1890, it causes profound psychological pain. Documentation as far back as the early nineteenth century records the link between the alienation of indigenous people from natural resources and the resultant negative impact on physical, psychological and spiritual wellbeing.

An equally insidious process, the individualisation of the self, has paralleled this dispossession: "The colonist had hammered into the natives mind the idea of a society of individuals where each person shuts himself up in his own subjectivity and whose wealth is in individual thought" (Fanon, 1983, p. 36).

Assimilation and later integration sought to socialise Māori into the modern urbanised world and the social and economic life of the nation. The government advocated policies and legislation socially engineering Māori into effective citizens.

Confiscation — Wiremu

The confiscation of land and property as a punishment for treason has a long, deep and bloody record in British history and memory, originating from Imperial Rome and continued in Britain through feudalism in the early Middle Ages. This eventually developed into the concept of all land belonging to the Crown. The Romans had provided the model of colonisation in their subjugation of the British tribes by sending the legions to construct roads, build fortified posts and plant military settlements, seizing for that purpose the lands of those deemed rebels.

English monarchs later pursued the same polices in Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland (Ward, 2009). These polices were later transported to New Zealand and other colonies in the formulation of confiscatory legislation (Gilling, 2009).

Belich (2009) observed that the colonisation of Māori and other indigenous peoples took place in two phases: first, through a period of "parity" where Māori and Settlers existed in an uneasy mutuality, followed by a period of "boom" in which indigenous resistance was swept away under a tide of imperial expansion. During the 18th century, one million Europeans engaged in overseas settlement: in the 19th century, about 56 million. Between 1880 and 1885 settler numbers grew from half of to ten times the Māori population.

The new settler Government was faced with a burgeoning settler population and an increased demand for resources, while simultaneously attempting to reconcile the internal dilemma presented by persisting Māori autonomy and opposition to the government/British Crown. Both internal and external conditions created a discursive dynamic which both challenged European power and elicited deep ceded fears and a desire to punish those who threatened continuing British power/identity. War, and the resulting confiscation of Māori land, fulfilled all these criteria. With easy access to metropolitan resources, technology, money, and the employment of 12,000 imperial troops, 3.2 million acres of Māori land was confiscated following the New Zealand land wars.

Boast and Hill (2009) observed that confiscation was never abandoned but, rather, redirected into a different channel. The larger project of individualising title through the Native Land Court, combined with Crown and private purchasing, continued. Māori lost land anyway. In the end, it made no difference whether one was a rebel or not.

In 1862 and 1865 the new settler government (established in 1854) imposed the *Native Land Act 1862* (Durie, 2005), thereby replacing indigenous systems of collective land tenure with individualisation of title. Durie observed that this legislation impacted directly on indigenous peoples at two interconnecting levels: firstly, the acquisition of land by settlers was vastly simplified, resulting in swifter erosion of indigenous land title; and, secondly, indigenous systems of land tenure were destroyed, further alienating indigenous communities while simultaneously assimilating them into British culture.

In 1840, Māori owned 29,888,000 hectares of land in Aotearoa. By 1900, land alienation had eroded tribal estates to 3,200,000 hectares and, by 2001, Māori land holdings had fallen to 1,515,071 hectares (Durie, 2005).

> As land tenure, fishing rights, hunting and gathering rights, and other natural resources were progressively legislated and lost, Māori became increasingly alienated from the land and its ecology. The

> reorganisation of land usage heralded the disappearance of an indigenous ecologically-based society underneath the weight of the British colonising initiative (Durie, 2005). According to Price, the indigenous predicament is one of lost access and rights to resource: "an ecological system on which culture and history depend" (cited in Park, 2006, p. 222).

Significantly the apparent demise of the Māori population in the 1890s was mirrored by the systematic destruction of the indigenous landscape and ecology. Park (2006) noted that in that decade alone "British settlers torched forests equivalent to 14 percent of New Zealand's land area, making it one of the most active frontiers in the world in terms of the ecological change wrought" (p. 222).

Toni

Despite the insidious civilising mechanisms of colonisation, Māori individually and collectively have challenged, protested and continued to oppose the oppression and decimation of their land and culture and ultimately themselves.

Rain-Maker's Song for Whina

No more lollies! We been sucking the Pākehā lolly
for one hundred and fifty years.
Look at what's happened. Look at what we got left.
Only two million acres. Yes, that's right. Two million
acres out of sixty-six million acres.
Think of that. Good gracious, if we let them take what
Is left we will all become taurekereka. Do we want that?

So you listen, now. This is a sacred march. We are
marching because we want to hold on to what is left.
You must understand this. And you must think of your
tupuna. They are marching beside you. Move over, and
make room. We are not going to Wellington for nothing.
(Tuwhare, 1978)

State housing

Colonising mechanisms continued their oppression and destruction of indigenous concepts with the advent of State housing. The collective papakainga was desecrated and the new modern clean undercrowded individualistic housing movement was unleashed.

When European settlers first arrived in Aotearoa they had limited understanding of or inclination towards Māori values with regard to land and housing. As a result, Eurocentric notions of housing became imposed as a mechanism for "civilising" and assimilating Māori. Many settlers believed that, by adopting Western-style houses, Māori social and cultural practices could be transformed, resulting in better work habits, more sanitary living conditions, and improved health outcomes. Housing became a key site of official intervention and reform, and a point from which progress was judged. (Wanhalla, 2006)

The imposition of small, individual, two-bedroom houses was considered insufficient for the needs of the people at a time when Māori families were large and inter-generational in structure. The State and its officials, however, had little regard for the extended family model, often labelling it as "overcrowding" (Wanhalla, 2006, p. 115). For over forty years, state housing policy required Māori households to be "pepper-potted" among Pākehā households as a means of integrating and conforming Māori to Pākehā social norms and so that Māori could "adjust themselves … to the Pākehā way of living" (Wanhalla, 2006, p. 115). Tanana Athabascan, a Nova Scotian, described this well in her poem.

The Housing Poem

Minnie had a house
which had trees in the yard
and lots of flowers
she especially liked the kitchen
because it had a large old cast iron stove
and that
the landlord said
was the reason
the house was so cheap.

Pretty soon Minnie's brother Rupert came along
and his wife Onna
and they set up housekeeping in the living room
on the fold-out couch
so the house warmed and rocked
and sang because Rupert and Minnie laughed a lot.

Pretty soon their mom Elise came to live with them too
because she liked being with the laughing young people
and she knew how the stove worked the best.
Minnie gave up her bed and slept on a cot.

Well pretty soon
Dar and Shar their cousins came to town looking for work.
They were twins
the pride of Elsie's sister Jo
and boy could those girls sing. They pitched a tent under
the cedar patch in the yard
and could be heard singing around the house
mixtures of old Indian tunes and country western.

When it was winter
Elise worried
about her mother Sarah
who was living by herself in Moose Glen back home.
Elise went in the car with Dar and Shar and Minnie and Rupert and got
her.
They all missed her anyway and her funny stories.
She didn't have any teeth
so she dipped all chewable items in grease
which is how they're tasty she said
She sat on a chair in front of the stove usually
or would cook up a big pot of something for the others.

By and by Rupert and Onna had a baby they named Lester,
or nicknamed Bumper, and they were glad that Elise and Sarah
were there to help.

One night the landlord came by
to fix the leak in the bathroom pipe
and was surprised to find Minnie, Rupert and Onna, Sarah and Elsie, Shar
and Dar
all singing around the drum next To the big stove in the kitchen
and even a baby named Lester who smiled waving a big greasy piece of
dried fish.

He was disturbed
he went to court to evict them
he said the house was designed for single-family occupancy
which surprised the family
because that's what they thought they were.
(Athabascan, 1997, pp. 164-169)

Housing differences were further emphasised when Māori urbanisation took place. The current high concentration of Māori in urban areas, and especially in Auckland, has not always been the case. Prior to World War II,

nearly 90% of Māori lived in rural areas and in most cases within their tribal domains (Meredith, 2002). The growth of manufacturing and industrial sectors in cities and towns resulted in a growing demand for labour. The availability of jobs in urban areas, together with "complicit State policies that discouraged tribal association, provided relocation programmes, facilitated Māori land alienation and produced high rural unemployment" (Meredith, 2002, p. 163), resulted in a significant demographic shift. By 1961, a third (33%) of New Zealand's Māori population lived in urban areas; in 1970 this figure had increased to 80%; by 2010 it reached 86% (Brookes, 1997, p. 244).

Contemporary realities

The loss of land is not simply the loss of property but something closer to the loss of soul of the material mediator between humans and the universe (Clammer et al, 2004). In a study dated 2006, Harris found the most obvious inequality was in housing (buying or renting) when Māori were 13 times more likely to report being treated unfairly because of their ethnicity than were Europeans.

Tāwhiri

> *Tāwhiri is a middle aged Māori man who has experienced urbanisation as his mother and father moved to the city with the intention of creating a better life. Tāwhiri currently lives in poverty in State housing, working tirelessly to provide for his whānau with limited skills. Tāwhiri presents in psychotherapy with a crisis of identity and a fragmented sense of self. His dislocation and disconnection are reflected through his deeply felt ignorance of cultural traditions and language which he experiences as whakama. He feels like he is in "limbo" and that he is "a failure in both worlds". Tāwhiri relays his shameful experience at his father's tangi where "on the paepae there was no one to reply in Māori".*
>
> *Tāwhiri's experience of whakama also stems from the transference of his interdependent relationship with Indigenous communities and resources and his dependence upon the State. This is primarily in the form of State housing in apartments (no access to land or natural resources) and meagre supplementary income (ensuring that his whanau remains impoverished and dependent)….* [These I]ntergenerational processes have resulted in an increasing disconnection and alienation from indigenous experiences of land and natural resources [that is, home]. (Woodard, 2006, pp. 27-28)

Birthing and children

In traditional Māori society Māori women and men often lived a type of symmetry that acknowledged the natural order of the universe and the

interrelationship of all things. Both men and women were acknowledged as essential parts of the collective, thus forming part of a whakapapa linking Māori people back to the beginning of the world. Women were seen to be the nurturing home of humankind, the sacred channel from the spiritual to the physical — te whare tangata.

The herstories of many iwi are replete with famous outstanding female rangatira. Yet, due to the deliberate destruction of traditional Māori philosophies and values and the attempted replacement of them with those of the missionaries and settlers, Māori have been caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality. Māori collectivism is philosophically at odds with the settler ethic of individualism. Furthermore, as Walker (1996) has maintained, Māori women find themselves doubly oppressed in terms of gender and race. Smith (1999) put it thus:

> Māori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as the "Other" by white patriarchies and white feminists. As women we have been defined in our differences to men. As Māori we have been defined in terms of our differences to our colonisers. As both we have been defined from our differences to Māori men, Pākehā men and Pākehā women. (p. 286)

Dalal (2002) has suggested that the colonial discourse constructs the colonised, the "other" as something not human. The problems of voice, visibility, silence and invisibility are universal oppressions of women. Māori were presented as a degenerative dying race with negative capacities of reproduction, trapped within an evolutionary dead end (Darwin, as cited in Park, 2006, p. 85).

When the missionaries and early settlers arrived in Aotearoa, they brought with them their culturally specific understandings of the role and status of women. Jenkins (1986) described the conflict in terms of values:

> Western civilisation when it arrived on Aotearoa's shore, did not allow its womenfolk any power at all — they were merely chattels in some cases less worthy than the men's horses. What the coloniser found was a land of noble savages narrating ... stories of the wonder of women. Their myths and beliefs had to be reshaped and retold. The missionaries were hell-bent (heaven-bent) on destroying their pagan ways.

Māori women found their mana wahine eroded and replaced with the status of women in English law. Their autonomy was interpreted as immorality and lack of discipline with Christianity reinforcing these notions by spelling out rules of decorum and defining spaces (the home)

for the carrying out of appropriate female activities.

Māori marriage was made a high priority for elimination by the missionaries who refused to tolerate it as being an alternative to their idea of the nuclear family and its demands on the colonial wife to be subservient, lacking in initiative and obedient to her husband. She had to prize highly her role of housewife and mother and believe it to be God's will. Thus, the Māori female had to be domiciled very quickly to the values of the new regime that had arrived to civilise her.

The Church schools trained Māori girls to domesticity, to become good wives in the context of a nuclear family situation. The denominational schools were actively discouraged from becoming too academically-orientated. In 1931, the Director of Education argued that the aim of Māori education should be to turn out boys to be good farmers and girls to be good farmers' wives (Mikaere, 1994).

One of the most damaging effects of colonisation for Māori women was the destruction of whanau structures. Before colonisation, parenting in Māori society occurred within a context of whanau which often comprised of three or more generations. The care of children was a collective responsibility allowing women to perform a wide range of roles which were/are not possible in a nuclear social structure.

As a Māori woman, the contemporary reality is continued daily struggles to reclaim historical constructions of ourselves and assert our mana wahine. We find ourselves forging our way in a world that is often hostile or, worse, indifferent towards us. We struggle to maintain our voices against the onslaught of a patriarchal, hierarchical, globalised, Eurocentric system.

That we are still here as Māori women is, in itself, a political statement. Our physical presence denies the myth of the vanishing or assimilated Māori. We seek emancipation and vanquishing of the patriarchal practices, which oppress, silence and marginalise women.

> During psychotherapy a young Māori mother is relating feeling unsupported and alienated in parenting her children in a nuclear family setting. She feels angry towards a society, which she generally experiences as apathetic and hostile towards mothers and their children. She feels strongly that these experiences are compounded for her by being Māori. She highlights her experience by recounting an event she had recently at the beach. On a hot summer's day the family are playing in the waves. The children have no clothes on. A middle aged Pākehā couple walk past; the man calls one of the children "a dirty little savage". The mother responds protectively with anger confronting the offender. They ignore her and walk on. (Woodard, 2006, p. 39)

Conclusion: Kōrero Whakamutunga

The need for Māori to challenge colonial understandings and constructions is not new. Māori, along with other indigenous and colonised peoples, have been challenging the West's assumptions of its own superiority for centuries.

As psychotherapists we must carefully consider the Western paradigm that informs our practice. Colonial ideologies are mirrored and maintained by positivist psychotherapies that split and privilege the internal over the external, the individual over the collective: "For psychotherapy to serve indigenous communities, psychotherapists must understand that the client's subjective experience of self has its origins deep within the civilising discourse of imperialism." (Woodard, 2006, p. 59)

Psychotherapy must acknowledge the inherent power differential between privileged Western perspectives and oppressed Indigenous voices. By reconsidering the therapeutic paradigm to include historical, socio-political, psychological and environmental elements at its centre, psychotherapy opens to the possibility of forging new pathways of understanding the complex dynamics that contribute to contemporary constructions of self and society. This shift has potentially dramatic implications for contributing to the holistic well-being of indigenous communities.

Waka Oranga, the roopu of Māori psychotherapists is the progenitor of a Māori movement, which is building towards a potent collection of active groups and individuals: politically conscious and unwaveringly committed to the pursuit of tino rangatiratanga. Past protest movements are seen as a source of inspiration and a reminder that modern activism is simply another incarnation in a long line of indigenous movements designed to recover and assert tribal authority, which the Crown has wrested from Māori, despite the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi.

... and here we are, presenting this [workshop/paper] in our professional "home" — or is it?

For 60 years the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) has been "not home" for Māori. In 2008 the organisation took significant steps to move towards a partnership with Māori practitioners. In response, Waka Oranga in good faith stepped forwards towards our chosen professional home. However, at the same time, NZAP was seeking state recognition by means of legislation that does not refer to the Te Tiriti o Waitangi and, as it turns out, a regulatory authority that does not reflect indigenous sovereignty. The synchronicity of our arrival and State regulation in psychotherapy is ironic. We find ourselves again in the dominion of "not home". Will NZAP be large enough, both in its internal procedures and in its external statements, to hold those that wish to be regulated/registered and those who wish to be self-determined within a professional association? I find myself wondering whether NZAP can

become a site of emancipation, or whether it will be, in effect, a puppet of the State, maintaining the poorly disguised Pākehā status quo.

The New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) — Wiremu

Can the NZAP be home for Māori? I do not believe that it was coincidental that, at the same moment and for the first time in its 60 year history, NZAP was moving towards embodying a bi-cultural relationship, the organisation also spilt away from this progressive initiative and ceded its autonomy back to the Crown in exchange for "public protection" — though perhaps it wasn't protection for the public that it wanted. NZAP, the identity that psychotherapists had orientated themselves around for 60 years was threatened by the imminent collapse of the boundaries defining an ideal "us" from a denigrated them.

This was/is a paranoid and precarious moment for the organisation: faced with increasingly powerful pluralistic voices from within, and imminent collapse into the other from without, the organisation split and the conservative elements of NZAP retreated back, closing ranks, preserving their power superiority, evoking powerfully deep colonial and imperial identifications with "The Crown" and embodying the authority of the state.

As a result, Māori (and other marginalised groups) are left or marginalised. Once again, we find ourselves fighting for our autonomy, that is, the right to define reality according to our world-view. Once again Māori are labelled rebels — as some of us choose not to practice under the title protections and authority of the *Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act 2003*, it is assumed (erroneously) that we are practicing outside the law. Once again in our history we find ourselves threatened with confiscation, this time of our right to practice as indigenous psychotherapists in our own home.

Ka tu au ka wawata	I stand for a moment and think
Ko wai ra taku iwi?	Who am I?
Taku wana taku tu?	Where am I and why have I drifted from home?
Ka hoki nga mahara	My thoughts like a cloud
Ki te pane o Putauaki	Settle on the peak of Putauaki
Kei tua ko te papa	On the other side is
E aroha nei au	The land I love so well.
(Kohine Ponika, 1997)	

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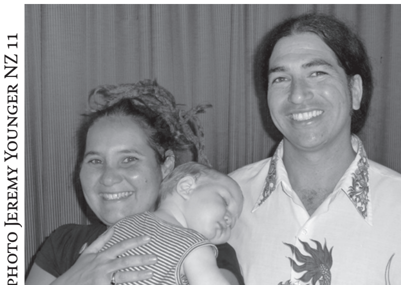

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