Waka Oranga

Ata

Ata is a small word with a magnitude of meaning that encompasses the spiritual and the relational, and reflects what we consider essential to a Māori indigenous therapy. Ata refers both to the actual as well as to the symbolic and thus allows us to explore meaning and possibility. Ata connects us to the natural world, entices us into relationship, caressing and encouraging human potentiality in the most subtle and gentle ways. Ata is used as a connector which invites a variety of meanings:

Ata — referring to early morning; ata pō, before dawn; ata tu, just after sunrise or dawn; as well as ata marama, moonlight.

Ata — referring to form, shape, semblance, shadow, reflection, and reflected image, as in whakaata, to look at one's reflected image; wai whakaata, a reflection to look into.

Ata — used to express accuracy, or to validate.

Āta — (noun) indicating care, thoughtfulness, as in ātawhai, showing kindness and concern; (verb) to consider; (adjective) purposeful, deliberate, transparent; (adverb) slowly, clearly.

Ata also appears as a component in other words such as ātāhua, beautiful, pleasant; and waiata.

We take inspiration from this word ata and embrace the way in which it supports us all to shape, inform and inspire the psychotherapy community in Aotearoa to reflect the essence of and challenges to our people and our landscape. Nga mihi nui ki a koutou katoa.

Disclaimer
The publishers and editors cannot be held responsible for errors or any consequences arising from the use of information contained in this journal; the views and opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the publisher and the editors; neither does the publication of advertisements constitute any endorsement by the publisher and editors of the products advertised.

Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand

The Journal of the New Zealand Association
of Psychotherapists Inc.

Volume 23, Number 1

October 2019

Special Issue: "Waka Oranga — tekau tau"

Contents

Mihi

Haare Williams

Waka Oranga Kaumatua, Auckland

Ko Mua Ko Muri — Balance

Whare holds all that is precious to us with a heritage that mirrors life. Heritage is important because it records difficulties and uncertainties, outcomes and journeys made, and struggles resolved. My first house stands for my journey.

WHARE
PERFECT BALANCE WITH
WHENUA MOANA NGAHERE
SWAMPS AND STREAMS
TUPUNA

Our whare raupō at Karaka (Ohiwa) stands as my prodigious life journey. And like all journeys, there are tensions, history and baggage, but that is also true of any meaningful journey — like our collective and separate hikoi with the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists. The culture tension in history is part of the baggage, and true with what is taking place at the core of the Aotearoa New Zealand bicultural journey.

Rimaha, my grandfather, was a builder of many things but especially homes for people. He held an intrinsic belief in being connected to a place in the ecosystem, to a patch no matter how small or marginal; for him, it's here on this planet with its unique environment that you should sculpt your dwellings and your life out of every bit of earth we live on, according to the sanctions and constraints of nature. He made earth homes out of manuka stakes, collected raupō (bulrushes) from the swamp, wīwī (tussock) from the seashore, and straw from the fields for in-situ abodes with clay-splattered exterior walls. No, he wouldn't get NZIA Awards or Resene Research Fellow for earth-built houses nor a life-membership citation presented by the Queen. But, ahem, we lived in luxury — but isn't that the task of a skilled homemaker.

GOOD THING
THAT'S THE GOOD THING
BOUT HOUSES
IT'S THERE FOR EVERYONE
READY TO SPROUT
NEW MEMORIES

WHEN YOU WANT TO COME HOME
HOWEVER THE WINDS
TAKE YOU

And Christchurch. Recently we watched a vortex of horror unfold before our eyes and wondered how to reverse a waterfall of terror and extreme violence. Then we watched a city go through a spiritual, architectural and human drive that showed us and the world about reconstruction — a city and a people (and a nation) that exemplified raw courage, resilience and hope that stared down disaster. Twice. How long will it take to restore the organic and the human side to that ravaged city?

We have a Prime Minister who is strong and ambitious and spoke her mind without sacrificing honesty or empathy. That takes guts and discipline, surely a portrait of amazing grace. "Tātau" (we, us), she uttered words of hope and leadership against violence and guns. Made us believe in goodness. The feeling was, and still is, so thick you feel like you could reach out and grab it to keep forever. Jacinda Ardern makes anyone older feel young again and anyone young feel they can do anything. It's so rare and so special. If there is one thing I want to achieve in life, it's that.

I was the blessed grandson growing up under the fallout of Tuhoe land loss. A cherished mokopuna fed on a diet of narratives, ponderous hours, of persecution but forgiveness too, stories that became a part of what and who I am. I heard about the forced seizure of Tuhoe lands across Te Urewera and their fight in the courts for the remnants of their lands, bush and water. My grans turned poverty and adversity into a strength that later became my richness. They triumphed over hardship. True also of Christchurch.

So we have travelled together on a singular compass since 1984. I will always cherish the fellowship on our hikoi together, balancing the walk.

WHENUA
"It's whenua", he'd say
"It'll do everything you need
If you let it.
BELIEVE."

And yes, we have witnessed small but important changes, maybe not quantum leaps forward but incremental steps that indicate the inclusion of tikanga, Te Tiriti and te reo in our conversations, decision-making and practices. That's partnership to be celebrated. I applaud many of you now using te reo and Māori phrases meaningfully in your practices.

Within Big Organisation, Waka Oranga is a name that has come to mean "gifts and guts", of those who picked up the struggle which I endured 30-40 years ago. There are, of course people in NZAP (Māori and other) with whom I have had the pleasure to travel, all eminently suited and gifted to continue the struggle for a culturally inclusive, safe and equal society that is tailored for our unique and emerging brand of democracy.

When we met at Waitangi for Conference, a local kuia beckoned us to come closer, "Here you can never be alone. Haere mai, come and get a big hug from me and my tūpuna". In those words and in the powhiri the delight was immediate for many who had not experienced

noho marae before and were quickly won over for good.

Within our own patch, we have gained a clearer view of who we are and what we are. Together we accepted an historic hikoi to Waitangi, then onto the Orākei Marae, both watershed moments for an organisation seeking spiritual meaning.

And so, we learned to grow, mistakes and all, bad experiences tempered by some very good ones. We stuff up along the way but isn't that the way we all learn. No one is infallible. That's not the end, but just the beginning of a return to Waitangi. E hoa ma, hand in hand as whānau. Āe.

There are many things we learned on the longer road round. There's a lot of reliance on words but there are also other things that we need to hear and see and do. And feel within the non-verbal.

Before we crossed the bridge at Waitangi, we were reminded, "It's the water and land that is connected by a bridge". Bridges are built as a short cut, so it is that we sometimes have to go the long way around to get to our destination. In so doing, we see, hear and learn so much more.

You showed a responsiveness to the importance of oratory on the marae. We don't always appreciate the sounds of language; we sometimes switch off and therefore miss a truckload of things in nuance. We don't realise the importance of metaphor in speeches or the way it makes us feel, the presence of Nature in our cosmology that in the pre-dawn karakia, forms a pattern of right relationships with God and all Creation with ourselves and others.

The new dawn broke over Waitangi that morning where I had the rare distinction to intone a bilingual-bicultural karakia with Rev. Evan Sherrard on the spot where the treaty was signed. A moment of reverence and a moment never to be forgotten. It was a New Dawn and for many that left lasting inspiration, leadership and humility.

STILL
Still
The house
Patiently waits
Ready to become
Someone's Home
Haven and
Castle

And so, people came and loved being in our whare raupō because it wasn't just a house of manuka sticks, reeds and clay; it belonged to the architectural history of my grand-father, fashioned from the very earth where he now rests. Are we able to tap into the rhythms of stories now retold in a suburban landscape? The house brought us together with its Ringatū teachings that embraced the land as a manifestation of God's goodness. Each day, Rimaha and Wairemana saw God's face in whenua, moana and ngahere and in their seasonal yields. So, should we all live in raupō houses? Of course not. Is it silly for me to grieve over a memory house? My first home travels with me, it had much of me invested in it. It was for the grans their final home. It was a home that allowed me to be and live in the way I was genetically predisposed to be. I now live in a 1920s bungalow with the simple accoutrements of home. But

we can learn from lessons of the past, especially in the current housing crisis.

My aspiration, and that of Waka Oranga, is we become one whānau unified in spirit, responsive and responsible to each other that we can recognise and delight in each other because we are different. I know too that stories and how they're told are emancipatory.

We are a country first in so many things; first to split the atom, to reach the peak of Everest, to give women the vote and first nation to give an Indigenous people the vote, we stopped nuclear anything coming here, with streams that brim with Fonterra milk and manuka honey, yet we cannot fix a broken system in our prisons nor feed hungry kids. Yes, Aotearoa New Zealand has gained a unique place in global politics as a small nation prepared to take on a nuclear-free stance in the face of great power pressures. We are a peace-giving nation, we are an intuitive, spiritual nation but we can also take this further and exercise a strong influence for world peace.

I look to rangatahi, Māori and Pākehā fluent in our two founding cultures, to shape (as architects, designers, planners, artists and poets must do) a vision drawn from the furrows tilled by those before that will do more than just acknowledge Māori in a bicultural conversation around the treaty — kaitiakitanga, a generosity of spirit and trust. We can all reward someone by listening. Listening is the new language of peace.

Teachers teach. Good teachers lead. Leaders take us into the wildernesses of our consciousness to find endless uncertainties and endless solutions. And make a difference.

Margaret, Wiremu, Cherry, Alayne, Grant and Susan, Jonathan, Roy … the world is thirsting for the gift of Te Ao Māori, thirsting to sip its richness, and like art, literature, music, architecture and the eternal circle, you possess the inner language of Matariki — aroha, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and mau mahara. Thank you all for your amazing grace.

<div align="center">

Kei muri ko mua
Kei mua ko muri
From the present we move into the future by facing the past

</div>

Dr (h.c.) Haare Mahanga Te Wehinga Williams was born in Te Karaka in the rural heart of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. At two months he became a living gift to his Tuhoe grandparents. He was raised in a whare raupō at Karaka, located between Ohiwa and Opotiki, not speaking English until he began school at age eight. Immersed in the life and practices of another generation, Haare's grans gardened, fished and preserved food according to a Māori calendar. They exposed him to best practices for co-existing with the natural world while he absorbed a diversity of mātauranga (insights). Haare's grandparents' mode of gardening applied the knowledge of Māori, his physical nourishment was matched with the spiritual substance he received through Te Kooti's scriptural-based waiata such as the Songs of David and Solomon. Ringatū

writings were inspirational texts which grew into his love of language, poetry and narrative. His formative years exposed him to the regularity in which Māori history was told, which explains a Māori view of New Zealand history according to the values, constraints and changes he has seen. As a writer, his current project, *Puakina: Songs of the Living Word*, comes from ideas that have engaged his imagination since childhood. In his art he paints, he writes, and he narrates a personal experience of faith that is both forward-looking and reflective. His visual language gives new significance to values from his upbringing, his spiritual beliefs and personal experiences. Contact details: haare.williams@gmail.com.

Mihi

Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan

Waka Oranga Kuia, Hamilton

Hutia te rito o te harakeke,
Kei hea te kōmako e kō?
Kī mai kī ahau,
He aha te mea nui o te Ao?
Maku e kī atu,
He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata …

Pluck the heart from the flax bush,
Where will the bellbird be?
Ask me,
What is the most important thing in the world?
I will reply,
It is people, it is people, it is people.

This proverb comes from a kuia, who wept her heart out, because she could not give birth. She was barren. This was her plea, this was what was most important to her, humanity, humanity, humanity. This pūrākau became a very strong value in my work. The work of healing; not being healed by others, but by the healer within.

I came to Waka Oranga at the invitation of Ahihana Daly, a woman of substance, a beautiful, strong and loving wahine Māori; to speak at a New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists' (NZAP) conference around my story, and finding my healer within. It was at the hui in Napier that the waka was formed — out of need, for Māori psychotherapists to gather as tangata whenua to develop a He Ara Māori pathway, and other important things.

I was new to psychotherapy, but excited to learn from those that I knew were a part of this movement. This was a movement calling for recognition of the Māori women and men working in this discipline. Psychotherapy fascinated me; as I met women like Barbara Niania who practiced Hakomi, and she gave me all her books and resources to learn. I met my own relation from Ngāti Porou, Margaret Morice and her hoa rangatira/partner Dr Jonathan Fay, who follows a European practice of psychotherapy.

At that hui I met up again with my relation Haare Williams from Ngāti Ranginui. I was so pleased, to me he was my tuakana/eldest, he was an artist, a poet, and storyteller, and so

was I. What happened at that hui also made me protect him from women who don't know the protocols of honouring the elders. I stood to protect him; he was being attacked.

From that day I have attended almost all of the hui and have loved growing the waka with others. The waka is still growing, though people have left hurt and never returned; it is a clash of personalities, and we have to learn how to deal with the strong women in this organisation. We have to learn to talk with each other — their training allows them to keep on talking, but it still needs solutions.

We are looking at traditions, without realising it, with modern and contemporary eyes, trying hard to have a modern conversation around a traditional concept.

We are still growing our kaupapa, He Ara Māori pathway, and what that means for us. We have still a long way to grow that kaupapa, because it isn't a monocultural way of working: we are not Māori, meaning "Indians, Aboriginals, Islanders"; no, we are not. We are inter-tribal peoples, with different kawa, tikanga, pūrākau, whakapapa, waiata; so how do you think we have to create this pathway? It is not going to be a monocultural way, and we are still trying to grow this as a waka, because our training has been in that monocultural way.

The greater question: can NZAP accept our way as another discipline and be happy to implement that learning in the different schools in this country?

I have worked for many years, creating the first Māori Women's Centre in Aotearoa, for sexually abused women and children, using our own Māori modalities of practice. It was a political stance, because we wanted to heal our people our own way, without the Western narratives and frameworks.

Then I created the first Māori Women's refuge and my father named it Te Whakaruru Hau/the guardian, again trying to implement Māori kaupapa. We worked for years creating resources in our communities for our women and children, but there was a part of this picture missing: our tāne/men.

I then entered the work of Waikeria Prison, to work with our men, to try to understand the paedophiles and other men who come to prison. I worked there for a number of years, then the Maori Focus Unit was opened, and I worked under the wing of Errol Baker, a man with insight, a man with a lot of aroha for our men. With Arrin Clarke of Ngawha prison and Don Hutana of Mangaroa prison I wrote the programme which we call Mauri Tū Pae. Our men respond to things Māori, and this was what I brought to Waka Oranga.

I began He Ara Māori learning with Jonathan Fay, for whom I have a great deal of aroha and respect. He would give the learning to me in his way and I would go home and study it in my way and take it back to him, so we could have a conversation around what I was learning. I wanted to learn the Western models of practice and discover if our tūpuna worked in a similar way. I found our tūpuna worked in a whole way, discovering how every part of the whare/body was, because they inter-related, whereas the Western models worked to separate the hinengaro/mind from the whānau, the wairua, and the tinana/body. And learning that was the point of rereketanga/difference; not wrong, just different.

This is what I believe we have to learn, together as a people, rereketanga. If we did this then we could work together with so much more understanding and willingness to learn the way also, but that is another story.

I wanted to come to the waka with this tūpuna kōrero, to share with those on the waka, and walk into our future, everyone rowing the waka in unison. The waka is the place where

our people can come to learn. I believe we need to understand this waka and who sits in the waka, and what they come with. Each one doesn't sit in this waka without knowing what it is that they come to share and what it is they have come to learn. I know if we do this and recognise each other's magnificence, we would guide this waka further into its future, but right now it is sitting still because the hoea waka/rowers are but few. We have to ask ourselves why? And again, we won't get one answer, there will be several and we have to work on those one at a time, in order to honour that why.

The waka is a magnificent waka, it has a beautiful and steadfast kaihautū/kaikōrero in Haare Williams: a poet, an artist, a wonderful father, friend and partner, a voice of the tūpuna from the ancient world, with the old language, not the modern; and a rangatahi walking in his shoes, Wiremu Woodard, who walks in humility and aroha for the waka.

The waka has three great and beautiful kaimahi, kaikaranga, kaiawhina, wāhine Rongonui, wāhine purotu, wāhine ataahua Māori, Margaret Morice, Dr Alayne Hall, and Cherry Pye. Accompanied by ngā wāhine kaimahi nunui, Fay, Verity, Rui, Anna, Gina, and also by Russell Waetford. It is a waka full of talented and gifted people and the waka needs to profile these people and their achievements. From the knowledge that we each carry, we could begin to offer at the same level our tūpuna knowledge so we truly can walk biculturally.

These people have worked tirelessly rowing the waka and when a tsunami comes, they navigate that wave with great precision and come off that wave with strength and aroha for the challenge. These people's songs are heard and are being sung, and we hold close the work they have done over the years bringing this waka to this place. They know that they need to make changes in the way we operate the waka in order for it to gush forward into a new future. There they will take up the new challenges and I am proud to be a part of the continued changes it makes.

Mauri ora,
Hinewirangi.

Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Nuhaka, Ngāti Ranginui ki Tauranga Moana) is an artist, poet, and a visionary. She is the Vice Chair of the International Indian Treaty Council and is a Representative for the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement. Hinewirangi teaches in New Zealand and abroad, conducting workshops on all aspects of Māori philosophies of mental, physical, and spiritual well-being. Her areas of expertise include traditional Māori parenting and healing using music, taonga puoro to "sing the soul back into being". Her work is based in lived experience and she uses those experiences to help men, women, and children to heal. Contact details: hinewirangi@xtra.co.nz.

Editorial

John O'Connor and Wiremu Woodard (Tuhoe)

Korihi te manu	The bird sings
Tākiri mai i te ata	The morning has dawned
Ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea	The day has broken
Tīhei Mauri Ora!	Behold, there is life!

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā manu tiorori, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa!

This special issue of *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand*, commemorates and celebrates the aroha, wairua, māhi, heart, soul, work, and spirit of Waka Oranga, National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners (NCMPP), the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapist's (NZAP) Te Tiriti o Waitangi partner, over more than 10 years since the inception of this remarkable waka. It is with great pleasure that we offer this taonga to all those engaged with, or with an interest in, the practice of psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In her book *Tears of Rangi: Experiments across worlds* Anne Salmond (2017) skilfully articulates both Indigenous and European constructions of early encounters between Māori and Non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. For example, in exploring the death of the Māori Chief Ruatara in 1815, she notes,

> Convinced that Ruatara's hau was being assailed by atua (powerful ancestors), perhaps those of the Europeans, the tohunga (priest) isolated the young chief from all but his closest relatives and tried to prevent the missionaries from visiting the tapu enclosure. The Europeans, on the other hand, understood Ruatara's affliction to be a "violent cold … attended with inflammatory symptoms". Accordingly, they visited him, and tried to assist his recovery with gifts of food, drink and medicines. The scene was set for an ontological collision, with Ruatara's life in the balance. Competing cosmology swirled around his sick bed. Ideas of ora and life, mate and death, tapu and the Christian God, atua and Satan, hau and the immortal soul battled it out over his wracked, tormented body (p. 58).

As the above example illustrates, in these earliest of cross-cultural encounters in Aotearoa New Zealand, cosmologies collided, and we would suggest, have collided ever since. Further, European constructions of these encounters have come to dominate the majority of

written historical texts exploring such events and their meanings, with the consequence that these "histories" have powerfully influenced the subsequent theory and practice of much that influences the practices of health and healing in the contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand context, including and specifically, psychotherapy. As Woodard notes in his 2014 article *Politics, Psychotherapy, and the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act*,

> Tohunga incorporated a dynamic repertoire of healing methods ranging from rongoa Māori (pharmacopeia) to mirimiri (massage), karakia (incantation) and waioroa (water therapy, infusions and heat applications) (Durie 1998: Gillies, Tinarau and Tinarau, 2011). As well as possessing specialised knowledge about remedies and ailments, traditional healers combined physical treatments with ritual interpretation of symbols and signs (such as dreams), prognostication, spirituality and understanding of human interaction including interaction with the environment. Like all medicine and medical practice, these methods and methodologies were embedded within the wider cultural context and drawn from culturally specific epistemologies (DiGiacomo 1987: Gains, 1991: Kleinman 1998). Indigenous methodologies reflect detailed understandings of complex systems, interactions represented through symbolic relationships between the environment and the person/people (Plouffe 2002: Gillies, Tinarau and Tinarau 2011). Simply put, the interconnected realities of our universe and intimate relationships within this universe create a complex system of symbolic understandings of human beings. As Durie observed tohunga function to mediate between the interconnected realities of the patient, families, communities and society (p. 40).

With the passing of the Tohunga Suppression Act came the driving "underground" of indigenous knowledge and perspectives regarding the nature of, and practice in relation to, psyche, the "Māori patient" inevitably positioned as marginalised resisters of this dominance, a theme which runs throughout the life of psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand subsequently. Indeed Mika and Stewart (2016) suggest that the West has a "primal need" … to control how and when Māori will manifest as this or that, including as a wanting entity… [that the West] has… canonically guessed Māori in advance as either needing or wanting something in particular, or generally being needing and wanting" (p. 305). In this, the colonial gaze on the indigenous other is evident even before contact, constructed as the gaze of the Western Christian colonial power "gazing" on the heathen indigenous other in need of salvation.

However, in recent decades, within many contexts in Aotearoa New Zealand, and certainly within the psychotherapy context, indigenous Māori have challenged us to recognise indigenous wisdom. The publication of this special issue is a manifestation of this challenge; this issue invites all of us as readers to engage deeply with the rich opportunities this challenge offers all who are engaged in the complex art of healing the psyche. Whilst it is tempting to be frightened, and to resort to responses of submission, idealisation, rejection, and bystander denial, the opportunity of this issue, and of the indigenous challenge which our Te Tiriti o Waitangi partner, Waka Oranga, offers us, is to meaningfully engage with the indigenous wisdom the papers in this special issue offer us. In this we are engaging in a

unique and vital experience of psychotherapy, one which many overseas psychotherapy guests have commented on with awe and profound appreciation. So, we invite you the reader, to allow the writing in this special issue to challenge, enrich, and inspire you, as we all continue together to explore the relationship of psychotherapy and indigenous understandings concerning this most sacred of healing arts.

The issue opens with a Mihi from the kaumatua of Waka Oranga, Haare Williams, in which he reflects upon, and invites us to commune with the "amazing Grace" embodied in the members of Waka Oranga and its associates. Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan, the kuia of Waka Oranga, then offers her mihi, reflecting on the immense gifts of learning that the waka has offered her and so many others, and the challenges ahead as the roopu seeks to "gush forward" into the future.

This is followed by an exquisitely moving piece in which members of the roopu reflect on the enriching opportunities membership in and association with the waka have offered them. The reflections are deeply personal, and a gift to us all.

Alayne Mikahere-Hall, Margaret Poutu Morice and Cherry Pye offer us an overview of the history of Waka Oranga and its development. Embedded within this history is an evocation of the core values and beliefs which inform the mahi of this roopu, including relational principles which arise from Te Ao Māori and which inform an indigenous perspective on psychotherapy.

Alayne Mikahere-Hall then offers us two articles; the first outlines the philosophical and conceptual basis of her current research, in which she explores the urgent challenge to develop services in Aotearoa New Zealand which are informed by Te Ao Māori perspectives that serve the needs of vulnerable indigenous Māori children, and which facilitate emotional security for Māori children and their whānau. This is followed by Alayne's second article (which builds on the first article), this articulating the principles and approach underpinning Tūhono Māori, a qualitative research project led by Alayne, which aims to develop Māori theory that will shape trauma-informed interventions for Māori children and their whānau. Given the contemporary challenges faced by Māori tamariki and their whanua, this research is extremely timely, and we are very pleased to present an overview of this research in this issue.

Anna Fleming and John O'Connor then invite us all to listen in on their ongoing conversation regarding indigenous Māori perspectives on attachment and connection. This conversation takes the form of an interview in which John invites Anna to articulate and build upon the ideas she has previously offered us in recent NZAP publications and presentations. The conversation is stimulating and evocative.

In the next paper Wiremu Woodard and John O'Connor explore ideas originally developed in Wiremu's 2008 dissertation (which John supervised), in which Wiremu considers the consequences of colonisation for the experience of self for indigenous Māori, and the challenges this presents for all psychotherapists working in the Aotearoa New Zealand context. The paper offers a forceful and potentially creative challenge for all who work in psychotherapy in this country.

Tiana Pewhairangi Trego-Hall, Lucy Te Awhitu, Alayne Mikahere-Hall offer a moving exploration in which one of the rangatahi of Waka Oranga, Tiana, describes the gradual depletion of the toheroa (a staple food source for Tiana's whānau for many generations), and

the impacts of this for her and her whānau. Tiana's reflections are moving and painful, as they reveal the symbiotic relationship between indigenous Māori with whenua and moana, and the tragic consequences when cosmologies collide, leaving Māori dispossessed, and psychologically undone. Yet there is much hope in Tiana's writing, as the voice of rangatahi points the way to the future.

John O'Connor and Verity Armstrong offer an overview of Masters' and PhD research undertaken by Māori psychotherapy graduates. This overview provides abstracts of some Masters' and PhD research with a kaupapa Māori focus, undertaken in relation to psychotherapy. It also provides electronic links to the full dissertations and theses, where the research is available electronically. We hope this will provide a very helpful resource for researchers and clinicians alike.

Lastly, and poignantly, Alayne Mikahere-Hall and Waka Oranga offer a moving tribute to Samantha, the daughter of Susan Green and Grant Dillon, who very sadly died in August of this year. The tribute reflects upon the manner in which Samantha so generously embodied meeting across cultures with humility and in a spirit of recognition, reciprocity, and respect. Our love, aroha, and deep respect are with all of Samantha's whānau at this time of immense grief.

At the end of this issue you will find a glossary of Māori kupu (words) which may be helpful in reflecting upon the meanings of different terms. In offering this glossary we are mindful of the impossibilities of conveying meaning across languages. We offer the glossary as an invitation to grapple with these meanings, rather than as definitive translations.

This special issue reflects the mahi of many. It is the most recent manifestation of a deep, complex, and often painful conversation within psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand. As we reflect on the work of bringing this issue to fruition, we are reminded of the experience of standing at the waharoa waiting to meet across the marae ātea, preparing for the powhiri. Traditionally during pōwhiri challenges are uttered, in part to ensure that the manuhiri (visitors) come in peace. As we stand at the waharoa, the karanga (call) from the kaikaranga (caller) acknowledges the dead descendants which come with us, both tangata whenua and manuhiri, the whai kōrero speeches pay respect to all that holds us, the divine, the land, the dead and the living, the earth and sky, mountains and rivers, the natural world that enables our spiritual and physical presence on the land. The hongi which follows enables the sharing of the breath of life, the embrace of the ancestors which come with us and the grief of their presence and absence, the coming together of two groups as one and the possibility that something creative might emerge between us. Marae encounters are an invitation for encounter kanohi ki te kanohi, as we reach across worlds, in search of each other. This special issue offers a similar invitation to all engaged in the sacred art of psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand. The possibility that our shared and separate griefs might be felt together, with the hope that mourning might allow the emergence of something new between us. We hope that, just as marae encounters facilitate a meeting across worlds, so this special issue might enable us to meet each other, to engage meaningfully with each other, and to continue the complex cross-cultural conversation that is psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

As we publish this special issue, we sadly acknowledge the departure of Margaret Poutu Morice as a co-editor of Ata. Margaret completed her work as a co-editor with the publication of the previous issue of Ata in December 2018. Throughout her time as an editor over several

years, Margaret provided heartfelt input and in particular insured that Ata embraced and engaged with psychotherapy informed by Te Ao Māori. Margaret undertook her work with grace, intelligence and compassion. We thank Margaret for her dedicated work and will miss her; tēnā koe Margaret.

In addition, we also farewell Karen Begg, our editorial assistant. Karen has been superb in this role over several years. Not only is her eye for detail remarkable, and her reliability without question, she offered her expertise with generosity, sensitivity, and heartfelt commitment. The quality of the Ata journal owes much to Karen's abilities. Thank you, Karen, for your superb work. We will miss you; tēnā koe Karen.

We thank Hineira Woodard for her generous and expert work providing te reo Māori interpretations of the abstracts; tēnā koe, Hineira. Our deep thanks to our creative, skilful, unfailingly cheerful and always punctual designer Katy Yiakmis; tēnā koe, Katy. Finally, we thank you, the reader (NZAP member or subscriber), for your continuing support of the journal; we hope you will find this issue an evocative, provocative, enjoyable and engaging read, and we look forward to editing the next issue.

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

References

Mika & Stewart (2016). Māori in the kingdom of the gaze: Subjects or critics. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 48* (3), 300-312.

Salmond, A. (1917). *Tears of Rangi: Experiments across worlds.* Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Woodard, W. (2014). Politics, psychotherapy, and the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act. *Psychotherapy and Politics International, 12*(1), 39-48.

Waka Oranga: The Development of an Indigenous Professional Organisation within a Psychotherapeutic Discourse in Aotearoa New Zealand

Alayne Mikahere-Hall (Ngāti Whātua, Te Rarawa, Tainui),
Margaret Poutu Morice (Ngāti Porou),
Cherry Pye (Ngāti Ranginui)

Waka Oranga, Auckland, Hawke's Bay, Tauranga, Aotearoa New Zealand

Whakarāpopotonga

E matapakihia ana e tēnei pepa te whakanaketanga i Aotearoa nei o tētahi rōpū pīpī ngaio Māori, a Waka Oranga, e warea nei ki te: whakaū hauora taketake, taituara hauora hinengaro ki ngā whānau Māori taka ki roto i te wheako kōmingomingo, tiwhatiwha hoki; me te hoatu ārahi, mātanga hāpai ki ngā mātanga Iwi-kē. Ka whakaurua e te pepa te whanaketanga nei ki rō āhuatanga, ka matapakihia te āta o te īngoa o te rōpū me tōna waitohu, whakarāpopotohia te anga o tōna hanga, ōna uara, āna hātepe, ka whakatutuki ai ki āna mātāpono me ōna pōhewa.

Abstract

This article discusses the development in Aotearoa New Zealand of a fledgling Māori professional organisation, Waka Oranga, which is engaged in providing Indigenous healing and psychotherapeutic support to Māori families who experience trauma and discontent in their lives, and supervision and consultancy to Māori and non-Māori professionals. The article sets this development in context, discusses the symbolism of the organisation's name and logo, summarises its organisational structure, values and processes, and concludes with its principles and vision.

Key words: Waka Oranga; Māori; Indigenous; culture; health; values

Introduction

In Aotearoa New Zealand Māori are recognised as tāngata whenua, the indigenous people of the land. (New Zealand born non-indigenous people are generally referred to as Pākehā; and the term tau iwi distinguishes more recent immigrant peoples from New Zealand Pākehā). As with most Indigenous peoples and cultures, Māori have not fared well through colonisation, with its resultant social injustices and structural inequities, and the imposition and assumption of Western ways, including psychotherapy. Undeterred, Māori have remained steadfast in our attempts to strive for good health, education and economic advancement, and we continue to make major contributions in these sectors in mitigating existing inequalities.

All contemporary Māori health perspectives seek to widen understandings of health, to translate health into terms which are culturally relevant and significant, and to balance the Western medical model with an awareness of social and cultural factors. The particular contribution of models of health that invoke Māori traditional values and belief systems is their ability to help us recover from an excessively narrow focus on illness and individual pathology, and to restore us to a more balanced and holistic perspective on wellness (see Durie, 1999). From a kaupapa Māori perspective, the medical model assumes that health is one and the same thing for all people, and fails to recognise the degree to which cultural factors are crucial to the development and maintenance of good health. The development of Māori psychotherapy has several different aspects. These include the development of Māori practice; for example, kaupapa Māori theory and practice, the development of Māori practitioners through the recognition and development of Māori training programmes and practitioner networks, and the development of cultural competencies specific to Aotearoa New Zealand for both Māori and non-Māori (Morice, 2003; Morice & Woodard, 2011).

Waka Oranga

The sea-ferrying craft which transported the migrating Polynesian inhabitants through the South Pacific Seas to arrive on the shores of Aotearoa were known as waka. They were large double-hulled sailing canoes sturdy enough to encounter the unknown vastness beyond the horizons and equipped with necessities considered essential for such a voyage. As evidenced by carbon dating and known through oral histories (Wilmshurst, Anderson, Higham, & Worthy, 2008), the islands of Aotearoa New Zealand were inhabited by Māori as far back as the 12th century. Waka means canoe or canoes, which can range in size depending on the purpose for which they are constructed and, like our ancestors before us, Māori continue to carve out and recreate waka for both ceremonial and practical purposes. Māori maintain the tradition of identifying with the migratory waka of their ancestors, from which many confederations of tribes were formed. Waka were the transportation vessels used to carry both our ancestors and their dreams and aspirations across new frontiers for the hope of a better future; similarly, this word in the title of our organisation carries both us and our aspirations for increased consciousness and more appropriate healing practices. The word "oranga" is linked to the word "ora" which, in essence, describes a state of health and well-being. Oranga is about survival, livelihood, welfare and all the necessary determinants required to achieve a healthy sense of "ora". The term can be heard in everyday Māori

conversation: at the point of first contact, one might greet and acknowledge another with the words "kia ora". This greeting is often translated as "Hello"; its deeper meaning, however, conveys and bestows the sentiment of good health (Hall, 2011).

Figure 1

Our Logo and Its Symbolism

To understand better the functioning of Waka Oranga, it is useful to examine the symbolic meaning of our logo and how this represents who we are and what we do (Figure 1). Firstly, we pay homage to our ancestors, and they are represented by and are imbued in all the aspects of our logo: the heavens, the water, the canoe, and the paddles. Our ancestors are omnipresent, and we are inspired and guided by their enduring spirits and, indeed, it is common Māori practice to seek direct guidance and intervention from our tūpuna (ancestors). We, in turn, are responsible to them: to carry on where they left off. We, as Māori psychotherapists and Indigenous practitioners, have chosen or have been chosen to work in the healing field, and there is an expectation that we do this to help our people. Acknowledging tūpuna and reciting whakapapa (genealogy) are fundamental to our identity and who we are. The unoccupied space within the waka represents the potentiality for people to come on board and share our vision and aspirations. From a Māori philosophical world view, elders

are afforded a special place. As is common practice within a Māori world view, our name, Waka Oranga, was gifted to us by an elder. In this instance, it was our kaumatua or elder, Haare Williams. Haare is well respected in the Māori world, and has had a long relationship with the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) as a cultural advisor. From our conception over the past five years, Haare has provided guidance, leadership and mentorship, and instils us with traditional Māori values through his teachings. The logo was created to incorporate and give expression to the significant aspects of our name. It comprises four primary elements: the star constellation Matariki (Pleiades); a waka; three hoe (paddles); and the moana (sea). All are necessary components for the well-being of those who occupy the waka.

Matariki (Pleiades): The heavens

For Māori, the appearance of Matariki in early June represents the new year: a time of renewal, and a time to gather and to reflect on the past and the future. Matariki has two meanings, both of which refer to a tiny constellation of stars: Mata Riki (Tiny Eyes) and Mata Ariki (Eyes of God). Stars were — and still are — used by Māori as a way to calculate time and seasons, navigate oceans, preserve knowledge and stories, maintain customary practices, and inspire action and achievement. Māori organise knowledge in two ways: te kauae runga (upper knowledge or celestial knowledge), and te kauae raro (lower knowledge or earthly knowledge). Matariki (Pleiades) sits in the realm of both the cosmos and the heavens and the tiny constellation of stars we know as Matariki reminds us to seek wisdom and knowledge for the benefit of others from the highest sources.

Te moana: The sea

As in many cultures that rely on the sea, for Māori the moana is the food basket which has fed the multitudes throughout the centuries. On one level, the symbolic representation of the sea is linked to the nourishment and sustainability required for good health and well-being; on another level, it also reminds us of the great courage and strength our ancestors had when they first set out across the vast expanse of the South Pacific Ocean. Moreover, as the sea connects with both the skies or the heavens above and the land beneath, it represents the fluidity between both conscious and subconscious states. The ever-changing currents, swells, calm and turbulent conditions of the moana keep us alert to the ebb and flow of our political and social environments, reminding us to keep the waka upright, balanced and on course.

Te waka: The canoe

The waka acts both as a container and a transporter. We — both Māori and our non-Māori associate and institutional members — are all committed and responsible for moving the waka. Some are pulling, some are paddling, some are resting on the shore, and some are way in the distance, guiding and urging us onward. Those who occupy the waka need two sets of skills: firstly, paddling skills to ensure that the waka remains afloat on the fluctuating waterways, streams, harbours and oceans it is destined to encounter; and, secondly, navigational skills to ensure that the waka remains on a course that will steer us toward a better future with all the provisions necessary to make this journey possible.

Ngā hoe: The paddles

The first paddle represents our elders. They are our esteemed leaders. We have a kaumatua (male elder), Haare Williams, and a kuia (female elder), Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan. Both are actively involved with us: they guide, instruct, and educate us by way of incantation and prayer, by sharing knowledge, by song, and sometimes by reprimand when we get it wrong. They point the way forward and remind us of where we have come from.

The second paddle in the waka represents the runanga (council/committee/board). The runanga refers to the governance council members, which comprises the founding associates of Waka Oranga and representatives appointed by consensus at the Annual General Meeting. In addition to the runanga members, the second paddle also represents the Indigenous members of Waka Oranga and their children.

The third paddle represents associate and institutional members. They are New Zealand-born or immigrant, non-Indigenous psychotherapists or healthcare providers who are not registered psychotherapists (for a discussion, see Morice & Woodard, 2011; Tudor, 2011), and/or those who have an interest in developing cultural approaches to therapy. The majority of our members hold dual membership with Waka Oranga and the NZAP. Waka Oranga's relationship with the NZAP is a partnership based upon the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi), which is the founding document and unique agreement or arrangement between the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand and the (British) Crown (see Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). The Treaty provides the foundation for the political, economic, spiritual and social context of our work and our lives. The depth of commitment and level of financial support from NZAP need to be acknowledged for, without their efforts, we would indeed struggle. Occasional funding from other sources, along with membership subscriptions, enables us to continue to operate and evolve.

Organisational Structure and Values

Waka Oranga is a New Zealand registered incorporated society with non-profit charitable status. The organisation adheres to a number of legally binding and constituted principles which outline the core purposes of the society and detail the governing powers and proceedings of the society and its members. The membership comprises both Māori and non-Māori practitioners who predominantly have trained in the field of psychotherapy. All members of Waka Oranga are committed to developing a greater professional and community consciousness concerning the use of core relational and traditional Māori concepts that promote healing.

The philosophies that underpin Waka Oranga's constitution are based upon the belief and assertion that Indigenous knowledge and theory are valid and, therefore, we strive to uphold and honour Māori wisdom and values. Our Indigenous practitioners are all committed to upholding the tenets of our constitution, which embrace six core values considered essential in the delivery of clinically effective therapeutic practice and ethically sound practitioner conduct (see Morice, 2003). These values are: wairuatanga, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, kotahitanga and rangatiratanga.

Wairuatanga

Wairuatanga acknowledges the spiritual essences of a person's unique being and the source of all life form through atua (gods). A Māori belief system supports a view that all living things on Earth and within the universe including stars and planets were created and that "atua are the gods responsible for this creation" (Barlow, 1994, p. 11). Wairuatanga is taken from the word "wairua", which literally translates as "two waters". Such translation, however, again does not reveal the depth of meaning of the word. Wairua refers to the connection between physical existence and spiritual existence and the flow of energy between these interwoven systems. Wairua and its principle, wairuatanga, are pivotal to Māori people and our perceptions of health and our connections with the physical world, i.e. people, mountains, rivers and places. Wairuatanga encourages our members to maintain and uphold our spiritual identity through a connectedness with each other and to our environments. Holding the principle of wairuatanga gives us the confidence to develop nourishing and nurturing relationships within our organisation and in our external relationships with whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe(s)), iwi (tribe(s)) and networks within the national and international community. Thus Māori psychotherapists recognise the transpersonal dimensions of human experiences and its importance to the process of healing and becoming integrated and whole.

Manaakitanga

Manaakitanga is concerned with the enactment of beliefs through sets of behaviour which express concern, generosity, hospitality, mutual respect, equality and humility. Manaakitanga acknowledges firstly that all things originate from atua and are therefore intrinsically connected to spiritual power. From this standpoint all things created by atua are inherited with "mana", which is an indestructible and spiritually derived form of charisma, agency and authenticity. It is through the experiences of our human development and sense of autonomy that we are able to enhance or diminish one's own sense of personal power and mana tangata (authority) through either action or inaction. One's own sense of mana is enhanced through the accumulation of compassionate acts of kindness, services to humanity and humility. Manaakitanga is mana in action, which acknowledges the mana of others as having equal authority, through spiritual inheritance or greater individual importance through acts of leadership and personal contribution to the welfare of others. Manaakitanga is founded on the recognition that when we uphold and elevate the mana of others, our own mana is upheld and elevated. When we are generous, respectful, hospitable, sensitive and receptive, we acknowledge others without diminishing ourselves. This serves the basic purpose of the psychotherapy relationship, which is to benefit the other, to assist clients to re-establish and strengthen themselves through self-understanding and the experience of being understood. Māori psychotherapy practitioners are encouraged to honour the concept of manaakitanga in all their actions and thoughts, offering their clients responsible care and mutual respect.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is the principle that binds individuals to the wider group and affirms the value of the collective. Whanaungatanga is the extension of the basic whānau (family) social

unit, which is expanded across a number of hapū and accumulated to form the foundations of a greater political grouping referred to as iwi. Whanaungatanga provides a social organisational kinship system where rights and obligations to each other are based on reciprocity for the overall well-being of the collective. Whanaungatanga affirms both the special and individual contributions and collective contributions members make to each other, the organisation, and the wider community. Whanaungatanga acknowledges the importance of people and recognises that our health, prosperity, well-being and aspirations rest within the collective wealth of people. Māori Indigenous psychotherapy practitioners are encouraged to honour the collective concept of whanaungatanga by maintaining supportive and healthy relationships in our approach to our work with people, in our organisational relationships and in our external relationships with other sector and community groups. Māori Indigenous psychotherapy practitioners affirm the crucial importance of relationships and particularly family relationships to all human development. We understand that psychological maturity is achieved through the capacity for interdependence as well as independence. In our contact with clients and others our members are encouraged to seek and maintain contact, connection, mutuality, reciprocity, and appropriate intimacy.

Kaitiakitanga

Kaitiakitanga is concerned with the responsibilities of actively exercising guardianship in a responsible manner to ensure sustainable futures and for the beneficial welfare of Māori Indigenous psychotherapy practitioners and the communities in which they work. Kaitiakitanga embraces the promotion of personal growth and professional development to advance the aspirations and desires of Māori to fulfil our potential. Kaitiakitanga requires Māori practitioners to deliver services that support and advocate for the care and welfare of people within different environments. Kaitiakitanga is not limited to the development of individual or organisational goals; it also extends to the natural environment around us. Marsden (1992/2003) stated that "Man is the conscious mind of Mother Earth and plays a vital part in the regulation of her life support systems and man's duty is to enhance and sustain those systems" (p. 69). Māori Indigenous psychotherapy practitioners are encouraged to take responsible care of natural and human resources and act as caregivers for the intra-psychic world of our clients.

Rangatiratanga

Words within the Māori language can have several meanings depending on the context in which they are used. Essentially, rangatiratanga means leadership; however, its root and associated words give this some nuance: from "ranga", meaning to rise up or to emancipate, "raranga" (to weave), and "tira", which refers to a group of people or stars. A person may be recognised and afforded the well-respected title of "rangatira" due to their personal attributes, which may include humility, leadership by example, caring regard for others, generosity, diplomacy, and specialist knowledge shared for the benefit of others. According to Morice and Woodard (2011), "A rangatira is a leader who weaves the people together" (p. 75). Rangatiratanga also recognises both an individual and the collective right to be self-determining in thought, feeling and behaviour, and to be liberated from injustices. Thus Māori Indigenous psychotherapy practitioners are encouraged to support the principles of

sovereignty and self-determination for all persons and peoples. We also affirm that good authority demonstrates congruence, integrity and leadership by example.

Kotahitanga

Kotahitanga articulates unification and togetherness. Kotahitanga is motivated by the collective power of people to be purpose driven and, within this, to be unified. Kotahitanga is reflected when movement and transformational change occur through the achievement of consensus, balance and harmony. Kotahitanga should not be confused with uniformity or the production of identical views and opinions; it is, rather, about the achievement of shared aims, intentions and about moving as one, united through mutual understanding. Māori Indigenous psychotherapy practitioners are encouraged to help people interpret their lives and overcome the negative effects of domination and despair through unifying and integrating aspects of the splintered personality in the process of becoming whole.

Organisational Processes and Community Relationships

The runanga (governance committee) includes a chairperson, secretary and a treasurer. There is a minimum of five and a maximum of eight members. Each person on the runanga has a specific function to perform, in addition to implementing the general goals of the group. Two members of the runanga are elected to represent the interests of Waka Oranga and concerns related to Indigenous Māori psychotherapists on the NZAP Council. The runanga meets at least three or four times a year to attend to business matters and the continued development of the organisation. Proceedings at these meetings begin with greeting and connecting with each other, accompanied by prayer and song. As is the usual format of meetings, we address agenda items and general business. We usually stay together for several days, eating and sleeping alongside each other to get through our work. Our children are integral to who we are and how we conduct and organise ourselves, and wherever possible our children participate in attending our hui (meetings/gatherings). As a Māori organisation we operate within the conventions of a Māori whānau system, where the inclusion of children is fundamental. Appropriate caregivers are organised to attend to the children or "tuakana/teina" (older/younger) relationships which are governed by whanaungatanga, whereby tuakana or older children in their late teens will take responsibility for the care of teina or the younger children, thereby freeing the parents to work on the organisational matters. We conclude our meetings with prayer, singing, and a summary of our time together.

We have an annual general meeting which the wider membership attends, and this takes place over three days. This is held on a marae, a place where Māori are able to express traditional rituals of encounter freely. We meet mainly in the wharenui, a big meeting house. Again, as we work through the programme, we all sleep alongside each other and eat together. This provides an intense setting in which we generally find we achieve what we need to do. We believe that whatever needs to be covered will be attended to, as we trust the setting implicitly as it is a place where we know we are protected and guided by both our elders and our ancestors.

As practitioners we work within a myriad of settings, which include community settings within our tribal homelands and in urban settings; in the public sector, for example, in hospitals, in the voluntary sector, in various agencies, and/or in private practice. Māori

psychotherapy practitioners maintain a belief that the needs and rights of individuals are inseparable from the needs and rights of whānau, hapū, and iwi. This belief is supported by an appreciation for traditional knowledge concerning the interconnectedness and dynamic arrangement of a traditional Māori whānau system. The traditional and cultural imperatives of a Māori whānau system continue to operate while we adapt and evolve culturally through a dominant discourse, technological advancement and the economic drivers of globalisation (Hall & Kohu-Morgan, 2011). Current trends in Māori household composition indicate that traditional family living arrangements and practices persist and, in terms of the population of Aotearoa New Zealand as a whole, Māori are more likely to be living in multi-family households; figures show that more than 90% of Māori live in multi-family arrangements (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). To the uninitiated psychotherapist or health care provider, the relationships between Māori families can be viewed as complex; however, Māori practitioners who are accustomed to cultural norms and practices are less likely to be overwhelmed by these complexities.

Waka Oranga aspires to achieve health and well-being both for our members and clients, and for whānau, hapū and iwi. These fundamental aspects of doing what is right in a Māori way involves kaitiakitanga, which is concerned with environmental guardianship and sustainability, social justice and spiritual fulfilment. We affirm that our intra-psychic reality is a microcosm and reflection of the worlds in which we live.

As Waka Oranga is a national organisation, we are dispersed throughout the various regions of Aotearoa New Zealand; all the Māori members in Waka Oranga come from different tribal affiliations and regions within the country and this presents as one of many challenges. For example, Māori psychotherapists and practitioners hold many sets of accountabilities which are professional and personal. We are also expected to participate in and engage in matters concerning our respective hapū and iwi, in and to which some of us hold greater responsibilities than others. Unlike our non-Māori colleagues, Māori Indigenous psychotherapists and practitioners are confronted on a daily basis with the reality of two sets of accountabilities: both to the Māori world and to the more dominant Western world.

Regardless of the various challenges, and wherever possible, the runanga members of Waka Oranga work towards meeting in a central location to enable greater access. Māori have a phrase, "kanohi ki te kanohi", which means "face-to-face". This is our preferred way of being with each other, and our budget is prioritised to preserve this. Our biggest expense is related to travel costs to attend meetings, and communication by e-mail, teleconference and/or Skype only goes part way to communicating with each other effectively. Being physically present, working, singing, praying, talking, and sharing food enables the fullness of each other to be appreciated.

Waka Oranga's Kaupapa: Founding Principles and Vision

Our kaupapa (founding principles) express the philosophical underpinnings and aspirations of our organisation to include the following:

To honour atua, our people and our land.
To honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi in all our actions, thoughts and deeds.

To uphold the Māori values and truths which are reflective of our kaupapa in our operational processes.

To be advocates for social justice and change in Aotearoa New Zealand.

To acknowledge the mana of all individuals and to act in a way that upholds the professional integrity both of our members and of Waka Oranga.

To be conscious and self-reflective of our own values and the values of others.

To acknowledge the diversity among Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

To participate actively in the development of the whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe), both personally and professionally.

To promote actively the growth of an Indigenous psychotherapy that reflects our values, beliefs and practices.

To be committed to the development of professional practice through ongoing education, training, research, and networking.

To contribute professional expertise to the development of Indigenous psychotherapy policies, programmes and legislation that directly benefit whānau, hapū and iwi.

Membership of Waka Oranga is open to those who believe in our values and support our stated principles and goals.

Conclusion

Given its origins and history, psychotherapy as a concept and a practice is predominantly part of the Western intellectual tradition. As such, when exported to other cultures, it needs some acculturation if it is to avoid remaining monocultural. The need for a Māori psychotherapy is relatively obvious to anyone who is Māori. The purpose of a Māori psychotherapy is no different from the purpose of Pākehā psychotherapy for Pākehā or tau iwi. However, as long as psychotherapy remains monocultural, it will remain unable to meet the needs and aspirations of Māori practitioners and Māori clients. Thus, in and from our context, we pose the question to ourselves and non-Māori colleagues: "How do we identify and positively value Māori difference, and how does this difference register in a distinctive approach to psychotherapy?" In the light of Māori identity differences and holistic concepts of mental health, a Māori psychotherapy would be relational, inclusive, contextual and spiritual. It would reaffirm links to family and extended family, ancestors, land, social justice, economic self-sufficiency and political emancipation. It would make use of indirect, allusive and metaphorical communication as well as being literal and grounded in clients' daily realities. It would seek to develop congruence between the client's inner world and their actual life circumstances. It would offer hope where there is despondency, strengthen purpose where there is aimlessness, and expand awareness to include a felt sense of all that has been lost and might be found. It would be pro Māori and positively value Māori relational concepts and Māori wisdom.

References

Barlow, C. (1994). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture.* Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (1999). *Mauri ora: The dynamics of Māori health.* Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Hall, A. (2011, August). *Cultural engagement in therapeutic practice.* Paper presented at the 6th World Congress for Psychotherapy "World Dreaming", Sydney, Australia.

Hall, A., & Kohu-Morgan, H. (2011, August). *Valuing "tuakana" (elder) "teina" (younger) roles in Indigenous research.* Interactive paper presented at the 9th World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education "Living our Indigenous Roots", Cusco, Peru.

Marsden, M. (2003). *The woven universe: Selected writings of Revd. Māori Marsden.* Otaki, Aotearoa New Zealand: Te Wananga o Raukawa. (Original work published 1992)

Morice, M. (2003). *Towards a Māori psychotherapy: The therapeutic relationship and Māori concepts of relationship: A systematic literature review with case illustrations* (Master's thesis). Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Morice, M. P., & Woodard, W. (2011). Māori psychotherapy and the requirement to register under the Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act 2003. In K. Tudor (Ed.), *The turning tide: Pluralism and partnership in psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 69-76). Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand: LC Publications.

Statistics New Zealand. (2006). *Census of population and dwellings.* Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand: Author.

Tudor, K. (Ed.), (2011). *The turning tide: Pluralism and partnership in psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand.* Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand: LC Publications.

Waitangi Tribunal. (2011). *The Treaty of Waitangi.* Retrieved November 18, 2011, from http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/

Wilmshurst, J. M., Anderson, A. J., Higham, T. F. G., & Worthy, T. H. (2008). Dating the late prehistoric dispersal of Polynesians to New Zealand using the commensal Pacific rat. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA, 105*(22), 7676-7680.

Alayne Mikahere-Hall (previously published as Alayne Hall) is kinship affiliated with Ngāti Whatua, Te Rarawa and Tainui. Alayne is a post-doctoral research fellow with Taupua Waiora Research Centre, Auckland University of Technology. She is the lead investigator on the Tūhono Māori research project, funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand. Tūhono Māori is an investigation into a Māori understanding of secure attachment. Alayne engages with Indigenous methodologies and Kaupapa Māori methods and theory. She has an interest in developing evidence-based Māori and Indigenous therapeutic interventions to develop theories concerning complex trauma. Alayne is also an investigator on the E Tū Wāhine, E Tū Whānau study, aimed at reducing the harmful effects of violence against women and families and to break cycles of complex whakapapa trauma (inter-generational family trauma). She is a current member of the Health Quality and Safety Commission Child Youth Mortality

Review Committee and Nga Pou Arawhenua Mortality Review Committee. Alayne is a Registered Psychotherapist, a member of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) and a founding member of Waka Oranga — National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners (NCMPP). Contact details: alhall@aut.ac.nz.

Margaret Poutu Morice is a 64-year-old Māori woman of Ngāti Porou descent through her mother and Ngāti Maniapoto and Scottish ancestry through her father. She is the sixth of their eight children and their youngest daughter. Being both big sister and little sister, she flourished in her position in the family. Caring for others has been a central task of Margaret's life, so marrying into a family of psychotherapists and then becoming one herself has felt like a calling and a natural progression. She is committed to her work and the values to which she and other practitioners in Waka Oranga aspire to, and this continues to define who she is and what she does. Contact details: margaretmorice@xtra.co.nz.

Cherry Pye (previously published as Cherry Wilson) (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi) resides on the beautiful Kapiti Coast in the wonderful town of Ōtaki. She and her husband Trevor have been there for almost seven years and have seven children and 11 precious mokopuna. She commutes twice weekly to the CBD in Wellington and is in a practice with lovely colleagues and friends at City Psychotherapy. Cherry also has a home-based part-time psychotherapy/counselling practice in Ōtaki. Cherry is a founding and active member of Waka Oranga, the collective of Māori psychotherapy practitioners of Aotearoa. She is a full member of NZAC and NZAP with an Advanced Clinical Practice Certificate. Cherry trained at Auckland University of Technology in the early 1990s in Integrative Gestalt Therapy. After 20 years of being in the psychotherapy and counselling field she has become much more interested and attuned to how wairua facilitates movement/change in both the client and the therapist. Contact details: cherrympye@gmail.com.

Waka Oranga: Personal Reflections

Margaret Poutu Morice, Alayne Mikahere-Hall,
Wiremu Woodard, Cherry Pye, Anna Hinehou Fleming,
Verity Armstrong, Anna Poutu Fay, Zoe Poutu Fay

Whakarāpopotonga

He mea tino whakahirahira te whaiwāhitahitanga i te haerenga o Waka Oranga mō ngā huānga katoa me ō rātau whānau. Kai raro iho nei ngā hurihuringa whakaaro whaiaro o ngā hūanga whānui o te rōpū me ō rātau whānau e tūhura ana i te whaiaro me te take o tō rātau hononga ki tēnei rōpū whakaora hinengaro whakahirahira.

Abstract

Being part of the journey of Waka Oranga has been deeply meaningful for all members and their whanau. Below are personal reflections from a range of members of the rōpū and their whānau, in which the writers explore the experience and meaning of their connection to and with this remarkable psychotherapy rōpū.

Introduction

Being connected to Waka Oranga, the Maori psychotherapy rōpū, has been deeply meaningful for all who have been associated with it. The reflections below from some of the current members of this rōpū and their whānau reflect the depth of these connections, and the significance of these connections for the writers. The inspirational journey upon which this waka continues to travel is glimpsed in the words offered below; it is hoped these words will inspire us all in the rich and complex cultural journey which is psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Margaret Poutu Morice
Psychotherapy practitioner, Ongaonga

Waka Oranga is the National Roopu of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand. Waka Oranga is the name gifted to us by our kaumatua Haare Williams, who has also been, since 1993, the Pae Arahi of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP). It was Matua Haare's long-held vision that a Māori Caucus be established within

Morice, M. P., Mikahere-Hall, A., Woodard, W., Pye, C., Fleming, A. H., Armstrong, V., Poutu Fay, A., & Poutu Fay, Z. (2019). Waka Oranga: Personal reflections. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand, 23*(1), 35-48. https://doi.org/10.9791/ajpanz.2019.05

NZAP, and this caucus is manifest in Waka Oranga.

Waka Oranga continues to play a small but significant part in the journey toward the recovery of Indigenous wisdom within the vast and complex field of social and mental health. It is my belief that well-being in contemporary Western societies are dependent, in part, upon the contributions of Indigenous wisdom. The interweaving of Indigenous traditions and Western perspectives has been a driving force in my work. Upholding traditional values of relationship continues to form a strong foundation for all our collective efforts.

The Māori (re)awakening that occurs through our own de-colonising experiences, complemented and supported by our Pākehā allies through their own consciousness-raising processes, has created a rich and fertile opportunity for cross-cultural engagements to emerge within the wider group of practicing psychotherapists in the Auckland region. Over a period of ten years, beginning in 2004, at regularly scheduled hui led by Nga Ao e Rua (The Two Worlds), Māori psychotherapy practitioners began to form and strengthen their collective voice.

In 2009 at the Christchurch/Ōtautahi NZAP Annual Conference, overwhelming support was expressed by NZAP members for Waka Oranga to be recognised as NZAP's Te Tiriti o Waitangi partner. Two seats at the NZAP Council table were reserved for Waka Oranga representatives. These were to be chosen by Waka Oranga members themselves rather than by the wider NZAP membership. Thus a partnership of genuine power sharing was established.

The recovery of Indigenous knowledge, and the provision of professional support for Māori psychotherapy training, practice, supervision and research continues to be the foundational kaupapa of Waka Oranga. This is not an easy task given the reality that support systems for Māori mental and social health have always been woefully inadequate. To carry responsibilities borne of whakapapa means facing enormous challenges and balancing complex and competing demands. We are a small group of Māori psychotherapy practitioners and although we derive loyal support from our Associate membership — a diverse group of mostly Pākehā and Tauiwi psychotherapy practitioners — we individually as Māori psychotherapy practitioners must also suffer the projections, envy and competitiveness of mainstream practitioners for whom our very existence is a threat.

I remain profoundly grateful to be able to work with a group of like-minded practitioners, all of whom are willing to embrace the scope and grapple with the tensions of bicultural relationships. As a founding member of both Nga Ao E Rua and Waka Oranga, I feel fortunate to discover myself, more fully myself amongst such brave companions.

Ehara toku toa i te toa takitahi, engari, he toa takimano e.
My strength is not mine alone, but that of many.

Alayne Mikahere-Hall
Psychotherapy practitioner, Auckland
The initiation and development of Waka Oranga begins with whakapapa originating from Atua and from Io mātua kore.

This whakapapa goes a long way back before human life was shaped and formed. It is an extensive whakapapa and it is from this whakapapa that we as Māori have had our identities moulded and established. Whakapapa is the bedrock of our foundations, where whānau help to socialise who we become. Waka Oranga was birthed out of a desire to have who we are as Māori recognised and valued. It was born out of resistance and a refusal to take on board ideology that did not belong to us. It was also born out of an acceptance and understanding that psychotherapy and psychoanalysis had something to offer us. Like our primordial parents Papatūānuku (earth-mother) and Ranginui (sky-father), separated and yet both acting to nurture the children born of them.

What are the kinship ties that we have to each other in this waka of ours? It is the kaupapa, it is the purpose that binds us to each other, and it is whakapapa. What is the kaupapa, what is the purpose? The purpose is to make psychotherapy meaningful for Māori. To make things meaningful for Māori is to acknowledge and accept that the Māori world is real and valid. I held these beliefs long before I entered the mental health workforce, before I trained in psychotherapy and before I came to know my Māori friends, colleagues, peers and whānau in Waka Oranga. As a founding member of Waka Oranga I was motivated by the absence of an approach that would be more inclusive of Māori relational processes and techniques. That the modes of psychotherapy and the theories that fashion practice do not serve to privilege and advantage one group of people over another, or to alienate Māori.

Waka Oranga came into being in 2007, a significant time in NZAP's development where the "to be or not to be" questions were being raised concerning registration. It came at a time when there were competing interests and the distractions of registration and we were struggling to be recognised.

In 2006, representatives from the NZAP Treaty Committee, Council, and the Admissions Committee organised a meeting with interested Māori. The discussions focused on greater Māori participation and membership. A critique of the existing pathway to membership was talked through and deliberated on. It was at that meeting where I mooted the idea of a "Brown Book". I did this because I believed that a review of the existing "Orange Book" where slight amendments and a few suggested Māori terms would not serve Māori well enough. The suggestions would not go far enough to integrate our mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). Like many Indigenous cultures we have adapted and struggled to hold onto our tikanga, te reo and collective responsibilities to each other. The language of psychotherapy and the English language differs and there are inherent assumptions that operate within these languages. Furthermore, the suggested "Brown Book" would give Māori trained in psychotherapy the opportunity to critique the nature of our work from both a Māori and Western perspective. No one was aware at that time how long the journey would take to develop the "Brown Book". It has now morphed into He Ara Māori Advanced Clinical Practice (HAMACP). He Ara Māori Advanced Clinical Practice is a Māori pathway; it recognises that Māori descend from a philosophical view of the world that comes with its own knowledge base. HAMACP also recognises that not all Māori experiences are the same. HAMACP has had a number of iterations and we have needed to do this to capture various assessment processes. The process of full membership to NZAP is a committed and lengthy process that can take up to 5 years. The HAMACP committee members believe that we have undertaken a number of assessment processes that now enables us to finalise the pathway. In partnership, Waka Oranga and NZAP

have increased full Māori membership into both organisations.

The kaupapa has been the vehicle that has driven my involvement with Waka Oranga, however the roadmap was never clear. These first ten years have been hugely important for Waka Oranga in terms of developing our own professional identity, our relationships with each other and with the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists. We were a very small, very hard working and committed group of Māori psychotherapists who have gradually grown. From the outset we were reliant on whānau to help us achieve our aspirations and today we continue to leverage off their aroha for us. We are humbled by the support of our associate members; to have this tautoko is a demonstration of our regard for each other and for a belief that we can do psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand together. Together we are responsible for ensuring that psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand is in accordance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

I remain optimistic about our future and look forward to our expansion. Excited by the prospect that our professional peers and Indigenous brothers and sisters in Australia have reached out to Waka Oranga, asking, "how did you do it and how can we do it too?" The invitation for Waka Oranga to live-stream a presentation to the Psychotherapy and Counselling Federation of Australia (PACFA) in 2019 puts us on an international platform.

It was more than 10 years ago that Haare Williams forged a relationship with NZAP and held a vision that would bring Māori and Pākehā together. It remains as a Te Tiriti o Waitangi-based relationship that will serve to carry us into the future.

Wiremu Woodard
Psychotherapy practitioner, Auckland

Waka Oranga: He whakaaro noa mai i te pae. Some thoughts from the horizon

Waka — a legacy of voyaging, intimately connected with the great diaspora of the peoples of Te Moana Nui a Kiwa. Waka — vessels which are a part of our psyche, endowed with properties of movement, seeking, questing and returning. Waka — a container embodying dual principles of dynamism and stability. I was fortunate to be taught a karakia by our kaumātua Matua Haare Williams, Te Karakia a Tāne-mahuta. Tasked with reproducing the karakia word and metric perfect, I quickly fell into a rhythm of listening, reciting, listening, reciting, trying to capture nuances (not easy for me, a second language speaker) carried over millennia across the great oceans of Kiwa arriving on the shores of modern 21st century Aotearoa. Soon the rhythms lent themselves to a deeper meditation and research, immersing me in layers of meaning embedded in this ancient oral literature.

During a period of famine and war in ancient Hawaiki a version of this karakia was incanted by Maahu-Rangi, a tohunga, over the tree felled by Rakataura in the construction of the Tainui waka. (Similar versions are also recited for Te Arawa waka (Evans, 2009; Stafford, 1967/2016) and Ngātokimatawhaorua (Kaamira, 1957)). Part of the karakia states:

Piki ake ai au ki runga nei

Ki te whare hukahuka no Tangaroa,
Tangaroa
I whatia a nukutaimaroro.

Cowan (1930) translated this, "I have mounted upon the great foaming girdle of the sea-god Tangaroa, the waves beaten down and divided by the canoe Nuku-tai-maroro" (p. 132). Similarly, Biggs (in Jones, 1995/2004) translated, "I will climb up here to the foam house of the sea god. The sea god embraced by ebb and tide beach" (p. 20). Best (1925) variated this translation, "Tangaroa who was broken on the sands of ebb and tide shore" (p. 67). Haare Williams (personal communication, 13 May 2018) interprets these lines as a feeling of endeavour, of daring, braving the vast ocean, a sense of human determination (and fear) foregrounded against the immensity and absolute power of elemental nature. Even within these two small lines there are multiple avenues of exploration and possibilities from which to draw meaning and understanding/wisdom. This karakia reminds us that the dispersal of peoples sailing, navigating Te Moana Nui a Kiwa was not a human-centric endeavour — we were borne here on waka hulled from forest giants (already intimately entwined with humanity, see Jones, 1995/2004, pp. 16-18), gifted and used only with permission, imbued with energy and vitality. Drawn from a universal energy field/grid, these waka are rākau tipua, elemental creatures, leviathans in their own right who held and carried our peoples across the vast trackless expanse of the great ocean of Kiwa (for an interesting comparison between Pacific wayfaring methods/technology and the mid-20th century space missions to the moon listen to Wade Davis's (2009) Massey Lecture series, *The Wayfinders*).

Oranga — vitality, life itself. Waka Oranga — a vessel for the expression of unlimited creative energies. A seed?

In 1998, almost ten years before forming and naming the fledgling collective of Maori psychotherapists/practitioners "Waka Oranga", Haare Williams, who had been approached to consult to the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP), challenged the Association to reflect on issues of monoculturalism and racism inherent in psychotherapy —

> Whose culture is my organisation serving? Who makes the decisions and to whose benefit? To change your organisation, you will need to analyse and answer these questions. Most organisations in New Zealand are monocultural and therefore work to the advantage of the dominant group… (in Carson, Farrell & Manning, 2008, pp. 378-379)

Haare's wero reminds us that Waka Oranga is a not a single hulled waka but a double, he waka hourua. Understanding the roots of this dual construction allows a glimpse into our bicultural heart — conceived both as an aspirational counterpoint to contemporary Maori realties, a voice for whānau besieged, marginalised and suffering, as well as a lens to focus a critique of imperial (anti-democratic), nihilistic qualities inherent in the dogma of Western psychotherapy. However, this narrative is not a simple sentimental story of Māori victims and Pākehā victimisers. Waka Oranga is a double-hulled waka; a group of peoples drawn across Te Moana Nui a Kiwa and the Pacific on a great wave; historical epochs, salty tears, blood, sweat, triumphs, defeats and disasters — deposited on this beach, this shore of the

present. We are a collection of jetsam and flotsam, tititai, floating on the great tide of history, Te Tai Nui; a multi-faceted collection of imperfect wood shavings gathered from the adzing of the great trees of the forest of Tāne; flawed and unique, and to quote Professor Cornell West, "shot through with multi-layered incongruities, contradictions, and [offering] imperfect forms of resistance against ugly structures of domination" (2004, p. 15). Together, Waka Oranga and NZAP are a part of deep historical democratic movements and, like Rakataura (and Rata) we are confronted with a looming social/ecological catastrophe which demands our attention, body, mind, and soul — as we transit from the Holocene into the Anthropocene, a new geological epoch, can we learn to mediate our needs while staying in relationship with our interconnected and extended humanity (beyond the ethnosphere)? Can we inspire a way of living from the soul that transports us beyond our immediate materialistic, narcissistic and nihilistically impacted realities?

Cherry Pye
Psychotherapy practitioner, Ōtaki

Waka Oranga and whanaungatanga

The relatively short life of Waka Oranga has been one of flux. We have experienced births, deaths, marriages, graduations, departures, and arrivals. The only constant seems to have been change. It is from within this dynamic the roopu has evolved.

Like any new roopu, it required a dedicated core of people to stay committed to establishing and maintaining the kaupapa. The Waka has been fortunate to have that core. Exhausting as it has been at times, they are sustained and upheld by the tautoko received from their whānau, hapū, and iwi, from their associate membership of Pākehā and Tauiwi colleagues and friends. Also from their Tiriti relationship with NZAP. Whanaungatanga; the connections and relationships that drive our vision and that keep the waka afloat and moving forward, are central to the ongoing existence and success of the roopu.

Firstly, acknowledgement must be given to our kaumatua, Haare Williams. It is due to Matua Haare's wisdom and vision that Waka Oranga was born. In 1994, long before the roopu came into being Matua Haare, as Pae Arahi for the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP), was laying the foundations through his active engagement with the Association in developing biculturalism. His role as kaumatua offers a steady protective force. He provides mātauranga Māori which forms an essential base, the solidity and confidence necessary to move forward. He also offers inspiration as an accomplished poet and visual artist.

> Hurihia to aroaro ki te ra tukuna to atarangi kia taka ki muri i a koe.
> Turn your face to the sun and the shadows fall behind you.

Matua Haare is the sun to which we turn.

The importance of our kuia, Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan cannot be overstated. She has

also been with us from the beginning. With clear vision and strength, she keeps the waka pointed in the right direction, always reminding us of what is truly important. She is tohunga in many fields; including taonga puoro, poetry, hue carving and psychotherapy. Hinewirangi is our kaitiaki.

Ko te wāhine te kaitiaki o te wharetangata.
Women are the guardians of the past, present and future generations.

I recall with great fondness the inception of Waka Oranga, held at my partner Trevor's and my whare in the Kaimai, the ranges behind Katikati overlooking Tauranga Moana one weekend in 2007. As we gathered on the Friday evening, a call came from Hinewirangi informing us she was unable to attend the hui as her sister had passed away and she was on her way to the tangi in Tauranga. Bearing this in mind and holding Hinewirangi in our hearts we proceeded with the hui and spent several days connecting and envisioning the future of the roopu.

Particularly memorable was when Matua Haare spoke to and of the Kaimai and the old stories relating to these ranges. On the Saturday and Sunday mornings, looking outward from our deck we stood in the stillness and peace of dawn. Haare welcomed the day with karakia, followed by long ago stories of Tauranga Moana. Along with the presence of our delightful tamariki, the stories, myths, legends, karakia, kai, and sharings of who we were, culminated in Haare gifting us our name, Waka Oranga.

At the completion of the hui on Sunday, as is traditional, several of our roopu proceeded to Tauranga to Hinewirangi's marae to pay our respects at the tangi. Connecting with Hinewirangi and her whānau at this sad time gave a depth and significance to our beginnings which cannot be put into words.

An important feature of whanaungatanga is to include tamariki in all endeavours. Over the ten years of Waka Oranga's existence our tamariki have grown with us. Some are now about to enter university, some are pursuing academic careers, while others are following their respective dreams and aspirations. We now also have new members of the Waka, mokopuna, whose presence at our hui are an ever-present reminder of why we remain committed to the kaupapa of Waka Oranga. These precious little ones are our future.

The adhesive that keeps us connected is tikanga from Te Ao Māori; whanaungatanga and whakapapa. Forging and maintaining relationships with those from all iwi, and with our colleagues within NZAP is pivotal to the success of how the Waka proceeds.

He aha te mea nui? He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata.
What is the most important thing? It is people, it is people, it is people.

Ko Takitimu me Mataatua me Tainui ngā waka
Ko Mauao te maunga
Ko Tauranga Moana te moana
Ko Ngāti Ranginui me Ngāi Te Rangi ngā iwi
Ko Cherry Pye taku ingoa.

Anna Hinehou Fleming
Psychotherapist, Auckland

He aha te kai ō te rangatira? He kōrero, he kōrero,
he kōrero.
What is the food of the leader? It is knowledge,
it is communication.

When I think of waka, many different images come to my mind. I think of the great ocean navigating vessels which our tūpuna sailed to Aotearoa. I think of the people who they transported, and the knowledge that they brought with them. I think of the trees that were carved into these mighty waka, and the connection that the waka builders had to the environment around them as they crafted.

For me, my mind travels just as broadly when I think of Waka Oranga. Our waka is small but has always had a number of extremely wise and dedicated people on board, committed to our kaupapa of upholding and uplifting Māori health. I think of Whaiora Marae which has sustained our waka from its earliest days and has held us through many celebrations, wananga and hui of many forms. I think of the different spaces where our members have shared their knowledge and various perspectives.

I first learned of Waka Oranga while I studied psychotherapy at Auckland University of Technology. Margaret Poutu Morice visited our Māori students' rōpū, Ngā Pihinga Hinengaro, and while sharing about the kaupapa and latest news about Waka Oranga, invited us to attend their next hui. I did, and felt extremely out of my comfort zone as a student amongst many practicing psychotherapists and some of my lecturers. Being on a marae also brought with it a multitude of emotions as the hui continued. However, I experienced these alongside many warm faces, people who were interested in my stories and my perspectives and I was given many invitations to return.

I'm glad I accepted their invitations. Waka Oranga has been such a valuable part of my growth as a psychotherapist and as a wahine Māori. I have been able to take on different roles within the waka and have been supported and guided along the way. Following kaupapa Māori values and acknowledging the political, social and spiritual context of our lives is key to my practice as a psychotherapist, and finding a home which not only supports but champions this has felt extremely supportive and fulfilling. I have felt fortunate to be part of our mahi and to be participating in the ways that I can.

As I close this kōrero, I would like to mihi to our waka and to those who have and who continue to paddle. The journey that our waka is taking is impacting our people now and into the future.

Tōku toa, he toa rangatira.
My bravery is inherited from the chiefs who were my forebears.

Verity Armstrong
Psychotherapist, Auckland

I first learnt about Waka Oranga as a psychotherapy student at Auckland University of Technology. I was aware that there were staff members who had been involved in providing a supportive space or waka for Māori psychotherapy in Aotearoa. During my psychotherapy training I was able to fully experience myself as Māori. I was invited into this by staff and students who understood the impact of colonisation on my connection to whakapapa, and knew the healing power of reconnection with culture. Because of this cultural, emotional, physical and spiritual experience during my training, I decided to write my thesis about my view of the impact of colonisation on my whānau and how members of my whānau were experiencing the process of decolonisation.

This work, alongside my growing experience of psychotherapy in Aotearoa, led me towards Waka Oranga. I heard the cry of the Waka Oranga kuia, Hinewirangi, who asked us to decide, if you are going to be in the waka, then be in the waka! The sense of feeling "outside" the waka echoed my experience of being "outside" of my Māoriness. I joined the waka and continue to experience this discomfort, a helpful reminder of my tūpuna's experiences as the "other". What also grows alongside this is my understanding and felt sense of my Kai Tahu-ness.

Kai Tahu had their own experience of colonisation in Aotearoa, as did my whānau, with my tūpuna wāhine marrying European men who came to the bottom of Te Waipounamu looking for work and refuge. As I grow in my sense of strong identity with those Kai Tahu who left their home, and are working to reconnect, I also grow in my identity as a Māori psychotherapist working in Aotearoa.

I am deeply grateful to Waka Oranga for the opportunities to sit in these often-uncomfortable spaces and to be held with aroha and manaaki at those times. I am also grateful for opportunities to learn and inhabit tikanga, not necessarily Kai Tahutanga but beautiful tikanga from the hearts, minds, bodies and souls of the tāngata of Waka Oranga.

As a newer waka member, I do not hold the history of the waka which my tuakana are such strong stewards of. My wish for the waka in the future is continued acknowledgement of the importance of the past. I also hold strong to the voices of the waka to make room for Māori psychotherapy in Aotearoa, as a way of healing for Māori in this land.

I also find joy in the thought of the continued and deep nourishment of the waka. As practitioners working in this field, we continue to strive for deeper self-care. As Māori living in Aotearoa, there are ways we can nourish ourselves deeply. I am loving being part of an adult kapa haka group at my children's kura this year. Our waka also plans a nourishing wananga over a weekend later in the year. This is our necessary mahi and soul kai.

Ko Takitimu te mauka
Ko Aparimu te awa
Ko Takitimu te waka
Ko Takutai o te Titi te marae
Ko Kai Tahu, Kati Mamoe te iwi
Ko Kuini Goodwillie toku tupuna
Ko Verity Armstrong taku ingoa.

Anna Poutu Fay

When I started my PhD in 2013, I went to introduce myself to the fellow PhD student who had the neighbouring cubicle in our open office space and found myself drawn to a quote that was tacked up above her computer: "Kaupapa Māori theory and practice is not a neutral discourse, it is inextricably linked to the Māori struggle for self-determination". I immediately recognised the quote and felt immense pride when I realised that it was from my mother's Master's thesis.

That experience of finding that Mum's words were recognised in a wider Māori research space affirmed much of what I already knew about Mum and her work, but it also confirmed more broadly, for me, what it means to have collective responsibility to address Māori needs and realise Māori aspirations. This consciousness is both a privilege and an obligation and requires active engagement in principles of relationship and responsibility.

As I came to find through my own research and study, being engaged in the struggle for self-determination inevitably leads to key tensions that appear to transcend discipline and profession. Institutional environments are often supportive in principle, yet resistant in practice to the aspirational goals of biculturalism. For example, where non-Māori feel included in Māori ceremony and celebration, attitudes are positive and evidence of indigeneity is often warmly embraced. Where non-Māori feel excluded, however, as in the case of demands for sovereignty or power-sharing, attitudes tend to be more antagonistic, with little tolerance for power-sharing or political equity. It appears that often, indigeneity can only be embraced and celebrated if the politics of being Indigenous are absent. However, if the aspirations of partnership are to be realised, partnership must be based on actual and real equality. Formal and symbolic rituals and observances may signal shared aspirations to equality, but they do not bring it about. This raises the question of Indigenous advocacy — from those who knew the issues best by virtue of living them daily, versus non-Indigenous advocacy — from those who could stand in solidarity and remind their non-Indigenous colleagues of the moral obligation to support Indigenous peoples who continue to suffer the legacy of colonial oppression. Partnership activism involves contextually determining the most effective way to work collaboratively to effect change. With this comes considerable tension. Came (2012) framed her activist scholarship as a co-intentional approach which recognises that "the descendants of the colonisers have different decolonisation tasks from the descendants of the colonised" (Nairn, 2002, quoted in Came, 2012, p. 7). These differences demand recognition and respect.

I was 18 years old when Mum graduated with her Master's degree and 23 when Te Runanga o Waka Oranga was formed. The experience of being a daughter of a founding member of Te Runanga o Waka Oranga was fundamental in growing the collective conscious-ness in me, as well as illuminating just how much work, patience and tolerance is needed to be engaged in the struggle for Māori health equity. Equity requires not just reducing disparities but a new relationship in which the disparity is treated not as an anomaly but as a history. For Māori, as for other Indigenous peoples, the historical relationship is colonisation, which can only be overcome by a new relationship of partnership. Equity recognises the embeddedness of present-day power disparities and gives those disparities a history. As the foundational document of Aotearoa New Zealand, Te Tiriti o Waitangi underpins the claim to Māori

sovereignty. To honour their Te Tiriti obligations, organisations and institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand are required to recognise Indigenous needs, rights and interests, consult with Indigenous collective authority regarding those needs, rights and interests, and in partnership with those authorities, evaluate the impacts of training and practice standards on the safety and wellbeing of Indigenous patients; the availability and quality of training opportunities for Indigenous health practitioners; the availability and quality of training opportunities for non-Indigenous practitioners who aspire to work with Indigenous patients in culturally appropriate ways; the development of bicultural and Indigenous ways of practicing; and the integration of Te Tiriti articles, principles and practices in health services across all specialties offered within Aotearoa New Zealand.

One of the main reasons that I was drawn to public health as a field was because I could find within it the understanding that it is at the community level that we really live our lives. The communities that my parents belong to and that my siblings and I were raised in and influenced by have affirmed and upheld our identities as Māori and as activists committed to the non-violent struggle for social justice. My hope is that my generation can continue to uphold and affirm what these communities instilled in us: the understanding that our rights as Māori are inalienable and cannot be ceded nor removed by those who do not honour them. It may be a struggle without end, but it is one with hope. Ngā mihi nui, ngā mihi aroha ki te roopu o Waka Oranga.

Zoe Poutu Fay

The begining of the rōpū that would eventually become Waka Oranga was started while I was an adolescent.

This was not only a journey for my mother but one that our entire whānau embarked on. My older sister Annie and I were brought on board (willingly!) in the role as tuakana for younger tamariki who were, like us, the children of mostly Māori colleagues of our mother who became the founding rōpū of Waka Oranga. I spent many weekends and school holidays with this whānau and community. My engagement with Waka Oranga was not only a formative experience but also a seamless one; it was a continuation of the Kaupapa Māori education I have had since kohanga. I was fortunate enough to have been educated in a rumaki reo within a mainstream, lower decile, inner-city, predominantly Māori and Pasifika primary school, that was steeped in te reo me ōna tikanga and held fast to the principles of equitable power-sharing between Tiriti partners. I understood from a young age what partnership between Māori and non-Māori actually looked like.

It was reflected at school in the way my classroom was taught, where whakawhanaungatanga and relationships were held above all else. It was reflected in the way my kura was run, where a commitment to Treaty principles was ever-present.

And it was, and continues to be, reflected at home in my parents' partnership as life partners, husband and wife, parents and colleagues. My siblings and I are, after all, the products of a cross-cultural partnership between a mother who is tangata whenua, and a father who is tauiwi.

The partnership between Waka Oranga and NZAP represented an embodiment of the equitable power-sharing relationships that I had already been immersed in. It was, for me, an expression of the cultural and political aspirations of Kaupapa Māori. As such, it was not without struggle — personal sacrifices for political recognition continue to be too high a price for individual Māori and their whanau, to suffer. But for as long as claims to rangatiratanga continue to be undermined, that struggle persists. In the face of these challenges, Waka Oranga has endured and remained steadfast. Its reclamation of Indigenous autonomy and wisdom has influenced my own mahi as an adult. My commitment to the kaupapa of decolonisation and justice has been deeply influenced by my experiences of participating at the heart of the creation, gestation and birth of Waka Oranga throughout my adolescence and young adulthood. This rōpū has helped positively foster my sense of obligation to my whānau, to my wider Māori community and to iwi taketake (Indigenous peoples) world-wide. In an increasingly individualistic and deficit-driven society, I believe this work is needed now more than ever, and I am so proud to be a seedling of this rōpū.

Nō reira, ki te rōpū manawarahi,
Nā koutou mā i tutuki te tai,
Nā koutou mā te ara i poka,
Kia kokiri whakamua!

References

Best, E. (1925). The Maori canoe. *Dominion Museum Bulletin,* 7. Wellington, New Zealand: Board of Māori Ethnological Research for the Dominion Museum.

Came, H. (2012). *Institutional racism and the dynamics of privilege in public health* (Doctoral thesis). University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Carson, R., Farrell, M., & Manning, S. (2008). *A history of a decade 1997-2006: Completing a chronology of the first sixty years 1947-2006.* Wellington, New Zealand: The New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists, Te Roopu Whakaora Hinengaro.

Cowan, J. (1930). *The Maori yesterday and today.* Christchurch, New Zealand: Whitcomb & Tombs.

Davis, W. (2009). The wayfinders: Why ancient wisdom matters in the modern world — Pt. 2. *The 2009 CBC Massey Lectures.* Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1218115651762

Evans, J. (2009). *Nga waka o nehera: The first voyaging canoes.* Auckland, New Zealand: Oratia Media.

Jones, P. (2004). *Ngā iwi o Tainui: The traditional history of the Tainui people. Ngā kōrero tuku iho a ngā tupuna* (B. Biggs, Trans.). Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. (Original work published 1995)

Kaamira, H. (1957). The story of Kupe (B. Biggs, Trans.). *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 66*(3), 232-248. Retrieved from http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document//Volume_66_1957/ Volume_66%2C_No._3/The_story_of_Kupe%2C_by_Himiona_Kaamira%2C_p_232-248/p1

Stafford, M. D. (2016). *Te Arawa: A history of the Te Arawa people.* Auckland, New Zealand: Oratia Media. (Original work published 1967)

West, C. (2004). *Democracy matters: Winning the fight against Imperialism.* New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Margaret Poutu Morice is a 64-year-old Māori woman of Ngāti Porou descent through her mother and Ngāti Maniapoto and Scottish ancestry through her father. She is the sixth of their eight children and their youngest daughter. Being both big sister and little sister, she flourished in her position in the family. Caring for others has been a central task of Margaret's life, so marrying into a family of psychotherapists and then becoming one herself has felt like a calling and a natural progression. She is committed to her work and the values to which she and other practitioners in Waka Oranga aspire to, and this continues to define who she is and what she does. Contact details: margaretmorice@xtra.co.nz.

Alayne Mikahere-Hall is kinship affiliated with Ngāti Whatua, Te Rarawa and Tainui. Alayne is a post-doctoral research fellow with Taupua Waiora Research Centre, Auckland University of Technology. She is the lead investigator on the Tūhono Māori research project, funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand. Tūhono Māori is an investigation into a Māori understanding of secure attachment. Alayne engages with Indigenous methodologies and Kaupapa Māori methods and theory. She has an interest in developing evidence-based Māori and Indigenous therapeutic interventions to develop theories concerning complex trauma. Alayne is also an investigator on the E Tū Wāhine, E Tū Whānau study, aimed at reducing the harmful effects of violence against women and families and to break cycles of complex whakapapa trauma (inter-generational family trauma). She is a current member of the Health Quality and Safety Commission Child Youth Mortality Review Committee and Nga Pou Arawhenua Mortality Review Committee. Alayne is a Registered Psychotherapist, a member of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) and a founding member of Waka Oranga — National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners (NCMPP). Contact details: alhall@aut.ac.nz.

Wiremu Woodard is Tuhoe and an Indigenous therapist, father of four, activist, environmentalist, sometimes contemporary dancer and artist. Wiremu is committed to reducing health disparities for Māori and promoting social justice. He currently works in community practice at KERERU and teaches on the Psychotherapy and Counselling programme at Auckland University of Technology. Wiremu is a founding member of Waka Oranga — a group of dynamic Indigenous Māori practitioners committed to emancipatory freedom. Contact details: wiremu.woodard@aut.ac.nz.

Cherry Pye (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi) resides on the beautiful Kapiti Coast in the wonderful town of Ōtaki. She and her husband Trevor have been there for almost seven years and have seven children and 11 precious mokopuna. She commutes twice weekly to the CBD in Wellington and is in a practice with lovely colleagues and friends at City Psychotherapy. Cherry also has a home-based part-time psychotherapy/counselling practice in Ōtaki. Cherry is a founding and active member of Waka Oranga, the collective of Māori psychotherapy practitioners of Aotearoa. She is a full member of NZAC and NZAP with an Advanced Clinical Practice Certificate. Cherry trained at Auckland University of Technology in the early 1990s in Integrative Gestalt Therapy. After 20 years of being in the psychotherapy and counselling field she has become much more interested and attuned to how wairua facilitates movement/change in both the client and the therapist. Contact details: cherrympye@gmail.com.

Anna Hinehou Fleming (Ngāpuhi, Ngāi Tūhoe) is a registered psychotherapist, serves on Te Rūnanga o Waka Oranga, National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners and is a provisional member of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists. Anna has worked in various social and health services with individuals and whānau for over 14 years. In 2017, she graduated with a Master of Psychotherapy with first class honours. Her therapeutic approach combines her working and personal experiences with a focus on attachment and developmental theory particularly from a Māori perspective. This focus on Indigenous health informs Anna's current role as Counsellor for Māori at Auckland University of Technology, and her growing community practice in Tāmaki Makaurau. Contact details: fleming.anna@gmail.com.

Verity Armstrong is a Kai Tahu woman from Aotearoa New Zealand. She also has strong connections to clans MacKintosh and Armstrong. While her whakapapa is from the bottom of Te Waipounamu in the stunning Oraka/Aparima area, she grew up in Tāmaki Makaurau. Verity worked as a social worker in the area of childhood trauma, and then trained as a psychotherapist through AUT. She worked for an organisation specialising in domestic and sexual violence, and is now in private practice, specialising in sexual trauma. She also has an interest in sex positivism, relationships and love. Verity joined the runanga of Waka Oranga after experiencing their support and wisdom throughout her training and beginning years as a psychotherapist. Verity is married to her partner of many years, and has three tamariki. Her experience of mothering and being in relationship, and all of the learning this involves bring her a wealth of experiences, feelings and growth. Contact details: verityarmstrong@gmail.com.

Anna Poutu Fay is a descendant of Te Hapu o Tuwhakairiora and Te Iwi o Ngāti Porou. She completed a joint PhD in Population Health at University of Auckland and University of Melbourne, graduating in 2018, and has worked as a public health researcher on a diverse range of projects. She is currently enjoying the privilege of being an at-home māmā to her 2-year-old daughter Ahi while she awaits the arrival of her second pēpi in September 2019. Contact details: annapfay@gmail.com.

Zoe Poutu Fay lives in Tāmaki Makaurau and works at the University of Auckland in the School of Māori Studies. She is working towards her PhD in Kaupapa Māori Education. She is the pōtiki of her whānanu (and behaves as such) but adores being an aunty more than anything. Contact details: zoelittlefay@gmail.com.

Tūhono Māori:
Promoting Secure Attachments
for Indigenous Māori Children.
A Conceptual Paper

Alayne Mikahere-Hall

Taupua Waiora Research Centre, Auckland

Whakarāpopotonga

Ko tā Tūhono Māori he whai rangahautanga Kaupapa Māori e whai ana ki te koha atu ki te whakarekatanga me te angitūtanga o ngā tamariki hauarea Māori me ō rātau whānau. Koinei te tuatahi o ngā pepa e rua whakatakotohia ki roto i tēnei whakaputanga e pā ana ki te Tūhono Māori mahi rangahau. Ko tā te Tūhono Māori wānanga e whakawā ariā nehe ariā hou ana o te here whita whānau, te tauawhitanga whita hauora tamariki. Ko te whāinga whānui a Tūhono Māori ko te whakatareka whakapaipainga hauora tamariki, kaimahi, pokapū, whānau, hapū, iwi whakautunga hiahia o ngā tamariki taketake Māori me o rātau whānau. Ka whakatakotohia e te pepa nei he tirohanga whānui o te horopaki matua, whakawhitiwhitinga whaitua me ngā ariā tipu ake ai i roto i ngā pūnaha kei Niu Tīreni nei, me te awe o ēnei ki te haumarutanga o te Māori. E tohe ana te pepa mō te hiahia kia whakatarekahia ngā āhuatanga e ngā pūnaha uru mai ki te horopaki o Niu Tīreni e whakamāmā haumaru kare-ā-roto ana mō ngā tamariki Māori me o rātau whānau.

Abstract

Tūhono Māori is a Kaupapa Māori research project that seeks to contribute to the healing and success of vulnerable Māori children and their families. This paper is the first of two papers presented in this issue related to the Tūhono Māori research project. The Tūhono Māori study investigates traditional and contemporary notions of secure whānau attachment that promote tamariki security and wellbeing. Tūhono Māori has a broad aim to enable improved child welfare, practitioner, agency, and whānau (family), hapū (extended family), and iwi (collective kin group) responses to the needs of indigenous Māori children and their whānau. This paper presents an overview of the prevailing context, intersecting spaces and conceptual ideas inherent within systems in New Zealand, and the impact these

have had on Māori security. The paper argues for alternative systems within the New Zealand context to enable conditions which facilitate emotional security for Māori children and their whanau.

Keywords: Tūhono (attach/bond), attachment, culture, Māori, society, context, child welfare

Introduction

Tūhono Māori is one Kaupapa Māori-led response seeking to create solutions for some of the social challenges encountered by Māori. Māori whānau systems that promote healthy attachment relationships provide the foundations for a contemporary Māori understanding of tūhono (to attach/bond). The study investigates interpersonal relationships from a Māori social system construct where whānau (family), hapū (extended family) and iwi (collective kin group) provide the foundations of Māori society. The Māori social system is a mutually interactive, political and dynamic system. The well-being of the tamaiti (child) is central to the whānau and the well-being of the whānau is invested in the vitality of the hapū. Likewise, the hapū is a central contributor to the iwi where political thinking and action are generated to benefit both the hapū and whānau. The system is a mutually supporting structure based upon whakapapa (genealogy) inter-reliance and a symbiotic relationship with the environment. The environment is inclusive of both the social context and the natural world, including the spiritual context. Traditionally, the configuration of this system sustained the people nested within and provided conditions for the adaptations necessary for the survival of Māori people throughout the centuries. Today, the Māori societal and political systems interact with a British imperialist system, changing the landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori have struggled in our encounters with an imposed system that contributed to the near demise of Māori people. Resistance, determination and the preparedness to confront inescapable truths has contributed to Māori survival and recovery as Indigenous peoples (Durie, 1994; Walker, 1990).

Challenges and Intersecting Spaces

The over-representation of Māori children in state welfare care corresponds with high rates of social and economic disadvantage and whānau (family) violence in which Māori women are more likely to be parenting alone and over-represented as victims of partner violence (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2016; Rebstock, Bush, Dunlop, Leahy & Poulton, 2015). The current child welfare operating model includes a child-centred system to involve the voices of children, incentives for early interventions with children, and shifting the focus towards professional judgement founded on evidence-based research. It includes understandings of the impacts of trauma on children and a high degree of cultural competency (Rebstock et al., 2015). To date, interventions are more typically drawn from Western evidence-based theories, taught through training institutions and applied more frequently by non-Māori health practitioners in community settings and hospital-based services. System wide change is essential, and the tertiary education sector responsible for training and developing our health workforce is challenged to make meaningful investment

in Māori curriculum design and implementation. As previously noted, "Māori experience marginalisation through education systems which fail to incorporate the ideologies that come from non-Western culture. Maintaining the status quo … reinforces inequalities" (Hall 2013, p. 149). Despite the best efforts of Māori to increase workforce capacity and to advocate for greater Māori responsiveness, authorities and institutions have resisted and failed to take on board child welfare recommendations put forward more than 30 years ago in the commissioned report "Puao-Te-Ata-Tu" (Rangihau, 1988). The report identified a number of concerns within the child welfare system that have compounded many of the challenges facing whānau Māori, including institutionalised racism, changes to statutes that were not in the best interests of Māori or worked directly against Māori. The committee concluded:

> At the heart of the issue is a profound misunderstanding or ignorance of the place of the child in Māori society and its relationship with whanau, hapu, iwi structures. (Rangihau, 1989, p. 7)

Historically, whānau, hapū and iwi were denied opportunities to have their tamariki or mokopuna placed in whānau care; instead many of the placements were with Pākehā families (Atwool, 2006). Haenga-Collins and Gibbs (2015) also report that the New Zealand "closed stranger" adoptions between 1955 and 1985 saw Māori children denied connections to birth whānau as information remained secret.

> Prior to the placement, the adoptive parents were 'strangers' to the child, there were no social or familial links, identifying information about birth parents remained confidential and could not be obtained, and the child's original birth certificate was unable to be accessed. (Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015, p. 63)

Māori have been unrelenting in their advocacy to push for legislative changes that integrate Māori cultural practices and ideology (McRae & Nikora, 2006). Matua Whāngai (Rangihau, 1988) is one example of Māori aspirations to nurture mokopuna and tamariki Māori through whānau, hapū and iwi placements, ensuring the bonds and connections to whakapapa whānau remained intact.

Health, Education and the Waitangi Tribunal

While changes have occurred and there are more instances of Māori knowledge being integrated into primary healthcare services, these do not go far enough to address current inequity issues and institutionalised racism (Came-Friar, McCreanor, Haenga-Collins & Cornes, 2018; Reid & Robson, 2007). Furthermore, the health sector is reliant on the tertiary education sector to develop a culturally competent health workforce. There is a lack of training programmes that specifically concentrate on cultural competencies and the issues of trauma from an Indigenous and Māori perspective that will increase workforce capability (DeSouza, 2008; Hall, 2013; G. H. Smith, 2012; Wepa, 2015). Government health and child welfare agencies have a responsibility to repair the damage created by Acts that were

deliberately established to work against Māori (Jackson, 2008; G. H. Smith, 2012), leading to the systematic break-down of whānau connection and functioning. No other ethnic group in Aotearoa New Zealand has had acts of parliament established to deliberately deprive, remove and sever cultural links to whenua (land), whānau, and kin.

The Waitangi Tribunal recently released the report, *Hauora: Report on Stage One of the Health Services and Outcomes Kaupapa Inquiry* (2019). It found the primary healthcare sector has not demonstrated substantial improvement since 2000 and the Crown is in breach of the Treaty of Waitangi by failing to address persistent Māori health inequalities and failing to design a primary healthcare system that properly provides for hauora Māori (Māori health). Further findings point to the failure of the Health and Disabilities Act (2000) to activate the principles of partnership, protection and participation, with efforts to date instead being largely reductionist (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019). These findings bring into question the effectiveness of professional registration boards and their requirement to protect and safeguard Māori health and wellbeing. We have yet to see if the Crown will take on board the recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal.

Māori Concerns and Child Welfare Controversies

Indigenous children have been over-represented in the New Zealand welfare system for a number of decades. Ministry for Children (2019) national data for the year ended June 2017 indicated that 57 percent of all referrals before age five were Māori children. Similarly, before age ten, six out of every ten children in care placements were Māori, making Māori the largest group in state welfare care. In 2018 Māori children and young people made up 63 percent of all charges finalised in the youth justice court (Ministry of Justice, 2019a). The Ministry for Children (2019) report also revealed that 4,300 babies under the age of one were taken into Ministry for Children care since July 2008. Of these, it is disturbing that 62 percent were Māori. Strong Māori dissatisfaction has hit the media in response to the disproportionate number of tamariki Māori in care and the increase in Māori babies being taken into care (Kupenga, 2019; Thomas, 2019). Māori leaders have been angered by the increased removal of Māori children, which accounts for 59 percent of the 6,350 children in state care from June 2018, up from 57 percent in 2017.

It is important to mention here that the Ministry for Children have branded themselves as Oranga Tamariki to indicate what is understood as healthy, thriving children. The use of "Oranga Tamariki" is disputed by and highly controversial for Māori, due in part to the misappropriation of Māori terminology to front a child welfare system that has consistently failed tamariki Māori and their whānau. The Ministry for Children is experienced by many Māori as punitive and untrustworthy.

Rigorous debates regarding the effectiveness of child welfare services to adequately respond to the needs of Māori children continue. Queries concerning the new child-centred approach, systemic failures, and failures to recognise the importance of a whānau-centred and tikanga-based approach have led to calls for an inquiry into the Ministry for Children by the North Island Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (Kupenga, 2019; Martin, 2019). More recently there has been public outcry and media reports in response to the latest Ministry for Children data released in March 2019. A resounding "please explain" has come from Māori

whānau, hapū and iwi, asking why numbers are not decreasing. The Māori Council, supported by the Children's Commissioner Judge Andrew Becroft, have called for an independent commissioner to hold the Government to account. Māori legal experts have weighed in on arguments to effect legislative change to uphold Māori Indigenous rights within the legal system. From 1 July 2019 amendments to the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 (Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989) came into force to address structural biases and existing inequities. The new legislation was passed under the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families (Oranga Tamariki) Legislation Act 2017, the Family Violence Act 2018 and the Oranga Tamariki Legislation Act 2019. There is now a legislated duty to provide a solid commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi), where setting measurable outcomes, having regard for mana tamaiti, whakapapa and whanaungatanga responsibilities, and relationships with whānau, hapū and iwi are required. It also includes the use of Kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori to reduce disparities (Williams, Ruru, Irwin-Easthope, Quince & Gifford, 2019). The new legislation defines *mana tamaiti* (*tamariki*) to mean,

> —the intrinsic value and inherent dignity derived from a child's or young person's whakapapa (genealogy) and their belonging to a whānau, hapū, iwi, or family group, in accordance with tikanga Māori or its equivalent in the culture of the child or young person. (Children, Young Persons, and Their Families (Oranga Tamariki) Legislation Act, 2017)

Further duties include the requirement to form strategic partnerships with iwi and Māori organisations, including iwi authorities. As of June 2019, negotiations with seven iwi were progressing toward final agreement.

Attachment

John Bowlby is known for his developmental theories and specifically his conceptual ideas of attachment which led to *Attachment and Loss*, a trilogy of writings published between 1969-1980. These seminal publications provided the foundations for the origins of attachment theory, later progressed with empirical evidence supported by Mary Ainsworth (Bretherton, 2006).

Bowlby refuted Freudian orthodoxy, where explanations of libidinal gratification were used to explain child development. Unlike Freud, Bowlby focused his attention on emotional security with a key focus on the importance of parental attention to the emotional needs of the child. Bowlby concluded, "the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother substitute) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment" (1951, p. 13). Bowlby's early formulations included an emphasis on a substitute mother, the role of fathers, and the propensity for the child to form multiple attachments. He magnified the importance of the mother-child dyad, maternal sensitivity-insensitivity, and emotional security-insecurity with predictive psychological outcomes (Bretherton, 1992). The nature of the mother-child dyad is critical however, and the issue of maternal care implicitly carries the burden of responsibility for mental health implications and disturbances. Otto & Keller (2014) pointed to the inferences,

If you were a mother, and you were insensitive to your infant's attempts to elicit the kind of care all humans can and should provide, you were at least an inadequate mother, responsible for the mental ills and emotional suffering that might befall him in the future. (p. 55)

Bowlby also commented on the importance of communities and society, stating, "parents, especially their mothers, [are] dependent on a greater society for economic provision. If a community values its children, it must cherish their parents" (Bowlby, 1951, p. 84). There exists an abundance of literature based on Western and more specifically middle-class American theories of attachment, but very limited non-Western perspectives are explored.

Ethnicity Matters

The emergence of other ethnic perspectives not only highlights differences in attachment beliefs, it also draws attention to the similarities concerned with raising emotionally secure children (LeVine, 2004; Oppenheim, Sagi, & Lamb, 1988; Takahashi, 1986). These also indicate the effectiveness of attachment theory in determining outcomes for Indigenous peoples (Choate et al., 2019).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori make up 16.5 percent of the population. Māori, Asian and Pacific populations are growing faster than the Pākehā (European) population due to a younger age cohort, higher birth rates, and migration. Population growth indicators project the Māori population will exceed 1 million by 2038 (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). The diversity of ethnic groups within Aotearoa New Zealand continually influences the way our society is shaped and the way in which Māori maintain our close relationships. Houkamau & Sibley (2019) consider the importance of a person's self-concept, social identity and what is normative. Māori traditional parenting practices are highly influenced by our social circumstances and interactions with other ethnic populations. To what degree these dynamic social and cultural value systems interact and influence each other raises important questions. In particular, the contemporary context for nurturing mokopuna Māori as contrasted with traditional practices. Societal influences that modify child-rearing practices and the mechanisms that promote such changes must be critiqued for their reliability. Attachment theory is both an eclectic theory and an evolving theory that brings together intersecting ethological, evolutionary, cognitive, control system and psychoanalytical perspectives (Behrens, 2016; Bowlby, 1956, 1977, 1988). Attention to ethnic and cultural variations (Durie, 2005) can assist in understanding the diversity of child-rearing practices, and in bringing the child into context with their caregiving environment.

Tūhono Māori: Shifting the Focus

Attachment theory is premised on cultural norms and what counts as emotional "security" (Keller, 2017; Vicedo, 2017) according to Western and Anglo-American values. It is one early childhood developmental theory that informs health professionals in their assessment and treatment planning. However, it has been challenged for the over-reliance on laboratory

studies over fieldwork, the omission of data from differing cultures and the lack of focus on the child's socio-cultural context (Hall, 2015; Keller, 2017; LeVine, 2004; Otto & Keller, 2014; Vicedo, 2017). Methodological preferencing does not capture well-enough collective and population variations of what constitutes emotional security and attachment. Attachment theory maintains a universal view that all children attach similarly and therefore emotional security can be measured in a standard way. While universal measures and indicators can apply to Māori and other ethnic populations, there are cultural variations that require specific measurement (Cram, 2019; Durie, 2006).

The traditional Māori caregiving system is based upon the care of many different people. It includes grandparents, older siblings, aunts and uncles, each with their protective and nurturing responsibilities to the child. The multi-caregiving system differs from the monotropy parenting view promoted by Ainsworth (1967). From a Māori perspective, attachment and emotional security is not invested solely in the mother-child relationship or even a hierarchy of attachments (Bowlby, 1988). A Māori perspective of attachment encompasses the view that a child can be equally attached to more than one central parenting figure such as the mother. A mother has a special and specific caregiving role, as do other members of the whānau. The differing roles and responsibilities of people in the shared whānau caregiving system will reflect the quality of interactional experiences and shape the emotional ties the child will develop with each whānau member. Tūhono Māori shifts the focus to a Māori-nuanced perspective of secure bonding and connectedness through Kaupapa Māori methodology and methods.

Conclusion

Throughout the decades numerous reports have highlighted the social problems of Māori, including experiences of poverty and child poverty, poor housing and housing insecurity, mental health and addiction difficulties, increased incarceration rates for Māori women and men, and high Māori recidivism rates (Government Inquiry into Mental Health and Addiction, 2018; Ministry of Justice, 2019b; Ministry of Social Development, 2018; Simpson, Adams, Oben, Wicken & Duncanson, 2016). Yet, notwithstanding policy changes and interventions, social hardship persists. Intersecting challenges in healthcare, education, and the legal sector provide the backdrop for current societal conditions impacting on tamariki (children's) wellbeing. Māori have continually voiced their dissatisfaction with the child welfare system in Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori advocate for culturally safe Kaupapa Māori-focused research and solutions for vulnerable populations (Mikahere-Hall, 2017; Smith, 2013; Wilson, 2017).

Determinants such as social housing, economic stability, food security, education and health build the conditions for people to fulfil their potential (Houkamau, 2019; Robson, Cormack & Cram 2007). Health disparities are rooted in a system that removes opportunities for people to build their capacity and to develop a sense of personal agency that enables them to thrive. The safety of mokopuna and tamariki Māori is vital to the capacity to love (Karen, 1998). A young child's sense of security develops through sensitively attuned, reliable and available caregivers who are not overburdened by economic hardship, housing, food and health insecurities. Local councils, national boards and government institutions are the

structures that set the society-wide conditions for what is experienced at the personal level as either emotional security or emotional insecurity. Our capacity to love is therefore shaped by the social conditions in which we live. Tūhono Māori is a research study of attachment from a Māori perspective. It explores how such social conditions might more effectively enable emotional security in Māori children and whānau.

References

Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1967). *Infancy in Uganda: Infant care and the growth of love*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Press.

Atwool, N. (2006). Participation in decision-making: The experience of New Zealand children in care. *Child Care in Practice, 12*(3), 259-267.

Behrens, K. Y. (2016). Reconsidering Attachment in Context of Culture: Review of Attachment Studies in Japan. Online Readings in Psychology and Culture, 6(1). https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1140

Bowlby, J. (1951). Maternal care and mental health. *World Health Organization Monograph (Serial no. 2)*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization.

Bowlby, J. (1956). The growth of independence in the young child. *Royal Society of Health Journal, 76*, 587-591.

Bowlby, J. (1977). The making and breaking of affectional bonds. *Journal of Psychiatry, 130*, 201-210.

Bowlby, J. (1988). *A secure base*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Bretherton, I. (2006). The roots and growing points of attachment theory. In C. M Parkes, J. Stevenson-Hinde, & P. Marris (Eds.), *Attachment across the life cycle* (pp. 17-40). London: Routledge.

Bretherton, I. (1992). The origins of attachment theory: John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth. *Developmental Psychology, 28*(5):759-775

Came-Friar, H., McCreanor, T., Haenga-Collins, M., & Cornes, R. (2018). Māori and Pasifika leaders' experiences of government health advisory groups in New Zealand. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*. https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083X.2018.1561477

Children, Young Persons, and Their Families (Oranga Tamariki) Legislation Act 2017 http://aut.ac.nz.libguides.com/APA6th/legislation

Choate, P., Kohler, T., Cloete, F., CrazyBull, B., Lindstrom, D., & Tatoulis, P. (2019). Rethinking Racine v Woods from a decolonizing perspective: Challenging the applicability of attachment theory to Indigenous families involved with child protection. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society/Revue Canadienne Droit Et Société, 34*(1), 55-78. https://doi.org/10.1017/cls.2019.8

Cram, F. (2019). Measuring Māori children's wellbeing: A discussion paper. *MAI, New Zealand Journal of Indigenous Scholarship, 8*(1), 16-32. https://doi.org/10.20507/MAIJournal.2019.8.1.2

DeSouza, R. (2008). Wellness for all: The possibilities of cultural safety and cultural competence in New Zealand. *Journal of Research in Nursing, 13*(2), 125-135.

Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora: Maori health development*. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2005). Race and ethnicity in public policy: Does it work? *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, 24*, 1-11.

Durie, M. (2006). *Measuring Māori wellbeing.* Paper presented at the New Zealand Treasury Guest Lecture Series, Wellington.

Family Violence Death Review Committee (FVDRC) (2016) *Fifth report: January 2014 to December 2015.* New Zealand Health and Quality Safety Commission.

Government Inquiry into Mental Health and Addiction. (2018). *He Ara Oranga: Report of the Government Inquiry into Mental Health and Addiction. Wellington: New Zealand Government.*

Haenga-Collins, M., & Gibbs, A. (2015). 'Walking between worlds': The experiences of New Zealand Māori cross-cultural adoptees. *Adoption & Fostering, 39*(1), 62-75. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308575914565082

Hall, A. (2013). Ko Rangitoto, Ko Waitematā: Cultural landmarks for the integration of a Māori indigenous psychotherapy in Aotearoa. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand, 17*(2), 139-157. https://doi.org/10.9791/ajpanz.2013.14

Hall, A. (2015). *An indigenous Kaupapa Māori approach: Mother's experiences of partner violence and the nurturing of affectional bonds with tamariki* (Doctoral dissertation). Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.

Houkamau, C. A. (2019). Māori identity and economic wellbeing. In C. Fleming & M. Manning (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Indigenous (pp. 209-220). Wellbeing.* London: Routledge.

Houkamau, C. A., & Sibley, C. G. (2019). The role of culture and identity for economic values: a quantitative study of Māori attitudes *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, DOI: 10.1080/03036758.2019.1650782

Jackson, M. (2008, June). Restoring the nation: Removing the constancy of terror. In *Proceedings of Traditional Knowledge Conference* (pp. 27-33). Auckland, New Zealand: Ngā Pae o Te Maramatanga.

Karen, R. (1998). *Becoming attached: First relationships and how they shape our capacity to love.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Keller, H. (2017). Cultural and historical diversity in early relationship formation. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 14*(6), 700-713.

Kupenga, T. (2019, July 12). 'Tikanga before taking' a focus of Māori-led Oranga Tamariki inquiry – Jackson. *Te ao Māori news.* Retrieved from https://teaomaori.news/tikanga-taking-focus-maori-led-oranga-tamariki-inquiry-jackson-

LeVine, R. A. (2004). Challenging Expert Knowledge: Findings from an African Study of Infant Care and Development. In U. P. Gielen & J. Roopnarine (Eds.), *Advances in applied developmental psychology. Childhood and adolescence: Cross-cultural perspectives and applications* (pp. 149-165). Westport US: Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group.

Martin, R. (2019, June 28). Hands Off Our Tamariki urges PM Jacinda Ardern to acknowledge Oranga Tamariki abuses. *Radio New Zealand.* Retrieved from https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/393164/hands-off-our-tamariki-urges-pm-jacinda-ardern-to-acknowledge-oranga-tamariki-abuses

McRae, K. O., & Nikora, L. W. (2006). Whāngai: Remembering, understanding and experiencing (Intern Research Report 7). *MAI Review, 1,* 1-18. Retrieved from http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/issue/view/1.html

Mikahere-Hall, A. (2017). Constructing research from an indigenous Kaupapa Māori perspective: An example of decolonising research. *Psychotherapy and Politics International, 15*(3). https://doi.org/10.1002/ppi.1428

Ministry for Children. (2019). *Babies and children entering into Oranga Tamariki care.* Retrieved 20 May 2019, 2019 from https://orangatamariki.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/OIA-responses/children-in-care/20190628-Babies-and-children-entering-Oranga-Tamariki-care.pdf

Ministry of Justice. (2019a). *Children and young people in court.* Retrieved from https://www.justice.govt.nz/justice-sector-policy/research-data/justice-statistics/children-and-young-people-in-court/Ministry of Justice. (2019b). *Adults convicted and sentenced.* Retrieved from https://www.justice.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Publications/adult-conviction-and-sentencing-statistics-data-highlights-v1.1.pdf

Ministry of Social Development. (2018). *Housing quarterly report.* Retrieved from: https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/statistics/housing/housing-quarterly-report.htmlOppenheim, D., Sagi, A., & Lamb, M. E. (1988). Infant-adult attachments on the kibbutz and their relation to socioemotional development 4 years later. Developmental Psychology, 24(3), 427-433. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.24.3.427

Otto, H., & Keller, H. (Eds.). (2014). *Different faces of attachment: Cultural variations on a universal human need.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rangihau, J. T. R. A. (1988). *Puao-Te-Ata-Tu (day break): the report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare.* Wellington, New Zealand: Ministerial Advisory Committee.

Rebstock, P., Bush, M., Dunlop, D., Leahy, H., & Poulton, R. (2015). *Modernising Child, Youth and Family expert panel: Interim report.* Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Social Development.

Reid, P., & Robson, B. (2007). Understanding health inequities. In B. Robson & R. Harris (Eds.), *Hauora: Māori Standards of Health IV. A study of the years 2000-2005* (pp. 3-10). Wellington, New Zealand: Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare.

Robson, B., Cormack, D., & Cram, F. (2007). Social and economic indicators. In B. Robson & R. Harris (Eds.), *Hauora: Māori Standards of Health IV. A study of the years 2000-2005* (pp. 21-32). Wellington, New Zealand: Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare.

Simpson, J., Adams, J., Oben, G., Wicken, A., & Duncanson, M. (2016). The determinants of health for Māori children and young people in New Zealand (Determinants of Health for Children and Young People No. 2). *New Zealand Child and Youth Epidemiology Service.* Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10523/6384

Smith, G. H. (2012). The politics of reforming Maori education: The transforming potential of Kura Kaupapa Maori. In H. Lauder & C. Wylie (Eds.), *Towards successful schooling,* (pp.73-87). London: Routledge.

Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* London, England: Zed Books.

Statistics New Zealand. (2018). Population Estimates by ethnic group. Retrieved September 24, 2019, from https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/new-zealands-population-reflects-growing-diversity

Takahashi, K. (1986). Examining the strange-situation procedure with Japanese mothers and 12-month-old infants. *Developmental Psychology,* 22(2), 265-270.

Thomas, D. (2019, June 28). Oranga Tamariki stats: Increase in Māori children taken. *Radio New Zealand.* Retrieved from https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/393208/oranga-tamariki-stats-increase-in-maori-children-taken

Vicedo, M. (2017). Putting attachment in its place: Disciplinary and cultural contexts. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology,* 14(6), 684-699.

Walker, R. J. (1990). *Struggle without end: Ka whawhai tonu matou*. Auckland: Penguin.

Waitangi Tribunal. (2019). *WAI 2575: Hauora: Report on stage one of the Health Services and Outcomes Kaupapa Inquiry*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Wepa, D. (Ed.). (2015). *Cultural safety in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, T., Ruru, J., Irwin-Easthope, H., Quince, K., & Gifford, H. (2019). Care and protection of tamariki Māori in the family court system. *Te Arotahi Series Paper* 01. Auckland, New Zealand: Ngā Pae o Te Maramatanga University of Auckland.

Wilson, D. (2017). Culturally safe research with vulnerable populations (Māori). In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Handbook of research methods in health social sciences* (pp. 1-19). Singapore: Springer.

Alayne Mikahere-Hall is kinship affiliated with Ngāti Whatua, Te Rarawa and Tainui. Alayne is a post-doctoral research fellow with Taupua Waiora Research Centre, Auckland University of Technology. She is the lead investigator on the Tūhono Māori research project, funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand. Tūhono Māori is an investigation into a Māori understanding of secure attachment. Alayne engages with Indigenous methodologies and Kaupapa Māori methods and theory. She has an interest in developing evidence-based Māori and Indigenous therapeutic interventions to develop theories concerning complex trauma. Alayne is also an investigator on the E Tū Wāhine, E Tū Whānau study, aimed at reducing the harmful effects of violence against women and families and to break cycles of complex whakapapa trauma (inter-generational family trauma). She is a current member of the Health Quality and Safety Commission Child Youth Mortality Review Committee and Nga Pou Arawhenua Mortality Review Committee. Alayne is a Registered Psychotherapist, a member of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) and a founding member of Waka Oranga — National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners (NCMPP). Contact details: alhall@aut.ac.nz.

Tūhono Māori: A Research Study of Attachment from an Indigenous Māori Perspective

Alayne Mikahere-Hall

Taupua Waiora Research Centre, Auckland

Whakarāpopotonga

He wānanga rangahau ine kounga mahitahi i te taha o te hakune me te huarahi Kaupapa Taketake Māori. Ko tōna pūtaketanga ko te whakawā i te tino āhukahukatanga Māori mō te mōhio i te āhua whakatairanga hononga hauora whānau i waenga i te pūnaha hāpori Māori. E titiro ana te rangahau ki te hāpai i ō mātau mōhio mō te hononga hauora mai i tā te tirohanga Māori; tūhuratanga ariā hononga taketake ariā hononga hou whāngaihanga herenga hauora kare-ā-roto, whakatenatenahanga herenga whānau whita. Ko te whāinga ā tēnei rangahau ko te whakawhanake aria kaupapa Māori hai whakaauaha kōkuhu pānui-whetuki mō ngā tamariki Māori me ō rātau whānau. Ko te takunetanga ā tēnei wānanga he tauāki i te āputa mātauranga e whakapaehia ana nei he hononga ariā hou te tūhono me ōna ariā tūhonotanga. E matapakihia ana te hakunetanga me te huarahi whakamāhia i roto i te wānanga rangahau Tūhono Māori.

Abstract

Tūhono Māori is a qualitative research project that engages with Indigenous Kaupapa Māori methodology and methods. The purpose is to investigate a uniquely Māori approach for understanding the nature in which healthy whānau (family) relationships are fostered within a Māori social system. The research seeks to advance what we understand about healthy attachments through an Indigenous Māori lens, exploring traditional and contemporary notions of attachment in which healthy emotional bonds are fostered and secure whānau attachments promoted. The aim of this research is to develop Māori theory that will shape trauma-informed interventions for Māori children and their whānau. The study is intended to address a knowledge gap in which tūhono (attach/bond) and related concepts such as tūhonotanga (attachment/connectedness) are proposed as a contemporary Māori notion of attachment. This paper discusses the methodology and methods employed in the Tūhono Māori research project.

Introduction

Indigenous research methodologies (Eketone, 2008; Lee, 2009; Louis, 2007; Sherwood, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2013; Smith, Maxwell, Puke, & Temara, 2016;) are helping to transform the research environment and their respective disciplines in search of affirmative evidence-based solutions. Tūhono Māori is a culture-specific research project, funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand, that is currently investigating attachment from a Māori worldview. There is a scarcity of Māori research that focuses on Māori children and their attachment development. Consequently, there have been limited Māori-led research initiatives that provide a theoretical and cultural perspective of secure attachment (Fleming, 2018; Hall, 2015). Nevertheless, the issue of attachment is not absent from Māori understanding; it is however described according to our own language and cultural ideology and with a focus on whānau inter-connectedness. Tūhono Māori embodies key principles that relate to being Māori and integrates cultural values and ideas to understand attachment from Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). This health research is interested in solutions that respond to unresolved trauma that have spiritual, physical, emotional, psychological and long-term mental health impacts.

The terms tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren) are used interchangeably throughout this paper. Mokopuna tamariki Māori (Māori grandchildren and children) acknowledges the important link the tamaiti (child) has with mātua tūpuna (grandparents) and immediate whānau.

Baseline Concepts

Tūhono Māori focuses on whānau and the relationship of parents with the child but does not dismiss the importance of the mother-child dyad or a central parenting figure. Tūhono Māori expands the focus toward the whānau, to the hapū (sub-tribe), and to the community of people who support a māmā (mother) and her pēpi (baby) to thrive.

The concept of tūhono as the basis for a Māori understanding of attachment grew out of my PhD work, in which I engaged in a number of conversations and consultations both with my own whānau and with wider whānau. These conversations were meaningful and important in forming the foundations to ensure Māori terminology and concepts were consistent with mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and Māori perspectives of attachment. Several inter-related concepts emerged, including tūhono to convey the notion of the intimate personal, emotional, and psychological bond; tūhonotanga to capture the interconnected relationships between whānau, hapū and iwi; tūhonohono and hononga to understand the formation of connections and bonds. The Māori and Indigenous advisory committee members supporting this research also gave their support for the conceptual ideology that underpins the Tūhono Māori study.

There are a number of existing Māori initiatives that promote tūhono as a concept to connect and keep whānau, hapū and iwi bonded and linked to each other. The Tūhono Trust,

a web-based initiative to promote whānau, hapū and iwi engagement and Te Rōpū Tūhono, an iwi initiative to promote Ngāpuhi engagement on issues related to topical and important matters are but two examples.

Ethical Approval

Ethical approval was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on 10 January 2018. The ethics application considered important Māori research principles as set out in Te Ara Tika (Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell & Smith, 2010). The principles helped to inform and guide participant recruitment and data collection processes in an acceptable manner, from both cultural and health research perspectives. The principles are values-based and embody manaakitanga (care) to guide the quality and structure of the processes from which engagement between researcher and research participant unfolds.

Research Design

Research tools such as consent forms and participant information sheets are common to social science research and research generally. These tools have their origins in Western research methods, and for the sake of pragmatism, common language and ethical requirements they serve a useful purpose. Māori researchers have critiqued these methods for their appropriateness and developed their own (Cram & Kennedy, 2010). The research tools for the Tūhono Māori study were chosen so as not to distract from the Māori epistemology the study encompasses.

A qualitative Kaupapa Māori research design grounds the research on mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), to privilege Māori cultural norms and to capture the lived realities of Māori from a culturally informed position. Therefore, it is important that this research embodies key principles that are related to being Māori, that validate te reo Māori me ōnā tikanga (the Māori language and values) and is concerned with the holistic and cultural wellbeing of Māori (G.H. Smith, 2012).

The research design includes three research participant domains; key informants (n=6) for specialist knowledge, kaumātua-kuia (elders) (n=6) for traditional knowledge, and whānau-hapū constellations (n=25) for inter-personal knowledge. Given the potential size and network of people involved in a whānau-hapū interview the research design limits the interviews to twenty-five constellations with the recruitment of up to eight whānau members participating in each interview. The inclusion of more than eight members is negotiated with whānau to enable enough flexibility for whānau to be sufficiently represented in the interviews. The number of whānau members recruited allows for intergenerational experience and scope. Overseeing the management of interviews ensures that the overall data collection and data analysis fits within the capability of the research project.

The research is not intended to privilege any specific whānau, hapū, or iwi and is anticipated to capture data that will highlight vital knowledge specific to concepts related to tūhono and tūhonotanga. There are three main considerations in the Tūhono Māori study; characterising whānau, establishing safety criteria, and principles of engagement.

Characterising Whānau

In order to determine what constitutes a whānau collective (Cram & Kennedy, 2010), certain characteristics were identified to quantify what is meant by contemporary whānau. This was a necessary first step for two principal reasons. First, to establish the benchmark for people represented as potential research participants. Second, to evaluate the likely benefits of respective participants and their potential to contribute to one of three participant domains used in the study. Nurturing and fostering secure attachments for mokopuna Māori involves interpersonal relationships where whānau tiaki (protect, look after) tamariki and mokopuna through their formative years. Whakapapa (genealogy) and whanaungatanga (shared relationships) are core features of a whānau and of Māori social structure. Whānau, whakapapa and whanaungatanga are critical features of this study.

Whakapapa involves a network of biological connections, and it is through birth one can claim belonging to their immediate whānau. Whanaungatanga is a relatedness process for making connections with extended relatives. Knowing one's whakapapa helps to determine who belongs within the whānau system and who does not. The whānau unit is the smallest of the Māori social system, and can include three, four, and in some circumstances five generations. Each whānau unit is both similar due to shared whakapapa, and varied through marriages, migration and division (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). New generations increased the number of whānau units and over time multiplied to form hapū. Similarly, hapū increased to form an amalgamation of extended relationships culminating in the formation of iwi. Whakapapa provides the basis in which kin structures and relationships are organised and maintained. Connections are encouraged within the whānau and hapū, providing a valuable social support system.

Whāngai (foster) is a whānau practice that provides for an additional level of care for children and support for birth parents. The whāngai child-care arrangement is promoted within the confines of the whānau-hapū and when necessary within the wider iwi. This is to ensure that the child and their birth whānau maintain connections to each other and affiliations to their customary practices and hereditary rights, without the impedance of a closed adoption process. Whāngai whānau (the foster family) assume all the responsibilities involved with raising and nurturing a child.

Contemporary whānau are living rurally and in urban centres. Whānau engage with communication technology, modern transportation and the availability of community-based support systems such as early childhood centres and kōhanga reo (Māori language preschool). Contemporary whānau have evolved in response to colonisation, social trends, and adaptation over time, and these lifestyle adjustments have influenced the organisation of the whānau structure. Extended whānau networks can be both whakapapa related and kaupapa (purpose) related. Kaupapa whānau provide additional support toward a common purpose or goal and can be made up of whānau, friends and colleagues (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). Current literature indicates that whānau organisation centres around both traditional whakapapa whānau and contemporary kaupapa whānau (Cram & Kennedy, 2010; M. H. Durie, 1995; Lawson-Te Aho, 2010; Moeke-Pickering; 1996). What has happened in the past and what happens in whānau today will shape the home and world our mokopuna will grow up in (Durie, 2016). Informed by the literature Statistics New Zealand (2013) developed Te Kupenga, which recognises both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau as valid measures of what

constitutes whānau, where individuals determine their own whānau. The current study is mindful that individuals identify their own whānau by determining the people who are responsible for providing safe fundamental care for mokopuna Māori. The research design appreciates that a Māori caregiving system can be multilevel and multigenerational where whānau and hapū relationships help to foster mokopuna Māori as well as supporting parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts and uncles.
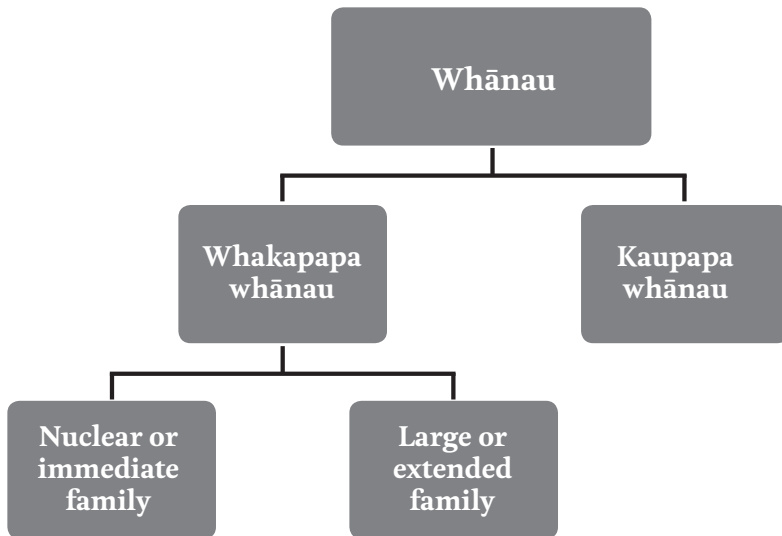
FIGURE 1. TE KUPENGA MODEL OF WHĀNAU (STATISTICS NEW ZEALAND, 2013)

Establishing Safety Criteria

This research appreciates that whakapapa and whanaungatanga are valuable intrinsic tāonga (gifts) that come with cultural, social and ethical responsibilities (Hudson et al., 2010). The concept of whakapapa can be far-reaching, extending beyond the biological and hereditary aspects of people — this aspect is discussed later in this paper. The Tūhono Māori study does not assume that everyone in the whānau and hapū system are safe and available caregivers for tamariki and mokopuna Māori. Tūhono Māori is premised on the under-standing that whānau recognise who the consistently reliable and sensitively responsive caregivers are within the whānau system. This is to safeguard against the assumption that the tamaiti (child) can have everyone and yet no one (personal communication, Durie, 1 July 2016).

Safe tikanga values and practices guide the nature in which the researchers and research participants participate in this study. The guiding Māori principles include *tika* (correctness), *pono* (integrity) and *aroha* (compassion). Rangatiratanga (leadership), manaakitanga (respectful regard), kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and wairuatanga (spirituality) are also embraced as respected Māori ethical principles that are fundamental to this Kaupapa Māori

research project. Establishing safety criteria as a protective measure involved the inclusion of tikanga in kaitiakitanga confidentiality agreement forms for whānau participants and members of the research team. The intention was to create a research environment promoting cultural values that are meaningful to Māori. Tika, pono and aroha are reciprocal in nature and integral to respectful relationships. It was also important to identify high-risk behaviours to help ascertain if potential research whānau were providing safe home environments for mokopuna Māori. A safety screening questionnaire was developed along with inclusion and exclusion criteria to help determine the safety and eligibility of potential research participants.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria
When considering the parameters of what constitutes a healthy functioning whānau Durie's (2006) three-level framework for measuring Māori wellbeing was taken into account. The safety screening questionnaire developed for this research highlighted the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The safety screening questionnaire is administered prior to the commencement of interviews and also included in the participant information forms.

Inclusion criteria:
- Research participants will have first-hand knowledge and experiences of parenting and responsibilities for providing basic and essential care to dependent children and mokopuna Māori.
- Research participants must be 16 years or older as legally recognised caregivers of dependent children and be able to give written informed consent.

Exclusion criteria:
- Persons deemed high risk or unfit by law to care for children as detailed in the Vulnerable Children's Act, New Zealand Government, 2014.
- The research team recognise the vulnerabilities of mokopuna Māori where high rates of family violence and addiction difficulties have the potential to distort perceptions and increase risks to children — something that can be normalised in some whānau.
- For reasons of child safety and to help ascertain whether whānau meet the criteria as healthy whānau, a research participant-screening questionnaire is administered to exclude any potential high-risk participants from the research.

The exclusion is necessary to mitigate against the probability that potential research participants do not pose a significant risk to the well-being of children and mokopuna Māori. The safety of mokopuna Māori is paramount to whānau, hapū, iwi and the aims of this research study.

Principles of Engagement
Pohatu's (2013) Ata principles assist as a guide for planning, participant recruitment, data collection, and data analysis, where respectful engagement with whānau and their family pūrākau (narratives) are fundamental. The principles of Ata consider the research environment

and the research process as this unfolds. They encourage researcher conduct and behaviour that has a special regard for people in their places and spaces, where respectfulness, reciprocity and the ability to reflect upon personal transformations that occur between the researcher and the research participants. The research project is committed to upholding and fostering a mana-enhancing (Ruwhiu et al., 2009) research environment for all who participate within it.

Methodology and Methods

Kaupapa Māori methodology informs this research where Māori philosophies and principles underpin and guide the study in order to generate explanations of tūhono and tūhonotanga. The selected methods are consistent with talking- and therapy-based methods. To understand the nature in which mokopuna Māori become securely attached to whānau is to appreciate how whānau living arrangements are constellated, with a focus on Māori social caregiving arrangements.

The potential whānau constellations are inclusive of both non-Māori caregivers and parents who identify as Māori through whakapapa. This inclusion does not detract from the distinction that this Kaupapa Māori research is controlled by Māori for the empowerment of Māori. Bishop (2010) has argued that Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) provides the space to enable this to happen. The aim is to explore traditional and contemporary notions of whānau Māori where healthy emotional bonds are fostered and secure whānau attachments are promoted. An advisory rōpū (group) was established to provide guidance and strengthen aspects of the research as it unfolds. The Māori and Indigenous advisory rōpū meet kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) or by video-conferencing and meetings to ensure consistency with the research design and Māori processes. The advisory rōpū bring specialist Māori knowledge such as te reo me ōnā tikanga, Indigenous research skills, specialist child focus expertise, trauma and attachment theory knowledge and training, Māori community development and management skills, social justice advocacy and Indigenous educational curriculum design skills. Together the advisory rōpū bring multidimensional skill sets to strengthen the study and ensure research rigour, peer review assistance, and thoroughness throughout the research process.

Kaupapa Māori methodology underpins this qualitative research to ensure consistency with a Māori worldview. Embedded in Kaupapa Māori methodology is an appreciation for the nature in which whānau relationships are mediated. Importantly, whānau ascertain and identify key members of a whānau system and the people who help to whakatipu (nurture/raise) healthy mokopuna Māori.

Whakapapa: Genealogy

Whakapapa (genealogy) is pivotal to the Tūhono Māori study and appreciates that attachments are both interpersonal and extra-personal (Fleming, 2018). Whakapapa recounts our history, our ancestors, our evolution from the cosmos and the omnipotent atua (gods) of our ecological system. To speak about attachment from a Māori perspective is to first discuss whakapapa and the philosophical origins of our existence, to provide the context for the research methodology and methods (ontology). The Māori worldview is dynamic, where an interconnected interdependent relationship exists between the cosmos, the eco system and

human existence. Papatūānuku (earth mother) and Ranginui (sky father) are the primal parents of all life forms and the natural environment where everything in the world grows, develops and derives sustenance. The children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui are many and varied, and all living species, natural resources and atmospheric elements co-exist as an interactive constellation of family relationships. These relationships are mediated through tikanga (values) that inform important decision-making and actions taken. Tikanga Māori (Māori values) have developed over time to manage social behaviours and interactions with the environment. Ruru (2005) discusses Indigenous family law and the relationship between people and the natural world as a way of life,

> … between: people and gods; different groups of people; and people and everything in the surrounding world. Integral values thus include whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga (family relationships), mana (authority), mauri (spiritual life-principles/life force), tapu (sacredness), rāhui (prohibition or conservation) and manaaki (hospitality). (2018, p. 216)

Justice Eddie Durie's (2005) accounts of whakapapa (genealogy) as a traditional knowledge system illustrated the fundamental philosophical underpinnings for Māori which are interconnected to "a spiritual comprehension of eternity" (p. 48). He asserted, "In the context of whakapapa, one is forever a living part of an ever-flowing stream that makes the past and future an intimate part of the present reality" (p. 48). It is not possible to investigate tūhono and tūhonotanga without an appreciation for whakapapa and whānau.

Research Participants

The research is designed to engage with whakapapa and kaupapa whānau with lived and diverse realities (M. Durie, 2004). Whānau Māori are constelled by a number of characteristics, including mixed-ethnicity marriages or partnerships, single parents, same sex couples, blended whānau arrangements, whāngai (foster) parents, and whānau hauā (disabled) to include our turi (hearing impaired) and kāpō (sight impaired) whānau, as well as grandparents raising mokopuna. There is evidence to suggest that the number of grandparents raising mokopuna is steadily growing in recent decades (C. Smith, 2008). Further considerations include the provision for non-Māori participants to join this research project. The whānau configurations reflect the diversity of contemporary whānau composition and the child-rearing environments that mokopuna Māori grow up in.

The whānau constellations include whānau members from age 16-80+ years who have the ability to give informed consent. This is to ensure research participants meet the current legal requirements to provide the day-to-day care for dependent children. The study further requires all potential participants be safe caregivers.

The research takes a multi-generational approach to engage with a Māori-constructed whānau system where mokopuna Māori are located within whakapapa whānau, whāngai whānau, kaupapa whānau and whānau-hapū (see figure 2) to capture the lived realities of a dynamic Māori whanau system (Hall, 2013). Given this dynamic arrangement, the research refers to each whānau participant group as a whānau constellation.
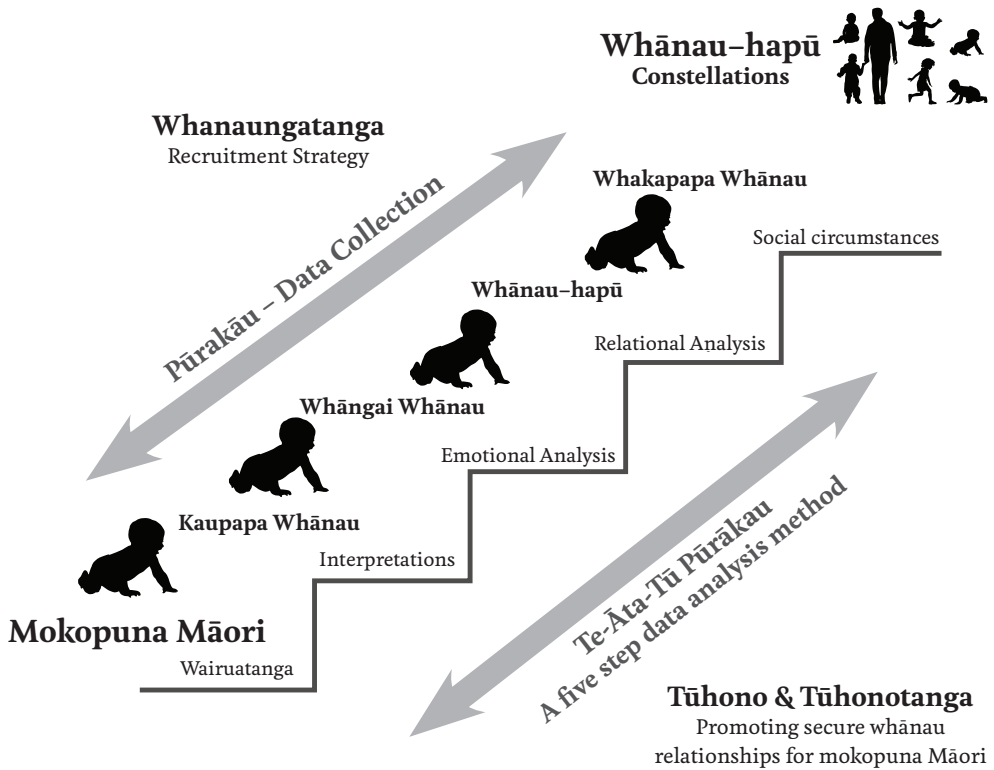
FIGURE 2. OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Whanaungatanga: Recruitment Method

Whanaungatanga (extended relationships) is a method used to establish relationship through existing relationships. Whanaungatanga is a network of relationships that operate at both a personal and professional level and is utilised as the main strategy for identifying and engaging with potential research participants. This research seeks to engage with key informants with requisite skills, knowledge and mātauranga Māori that relate to the concepts tūhono and tūhonotanga. Participants were recruited initially from professional Māori networks and whānau-hapū-iwi networks. The primary research investigator engaged the support of kaumātua-kuia (elders) when necessary to assist in upholding cultural requisites such as te reo and tikanga-kawa (protocols) during the whanaungatanga recruitment stage and again when research findings were reported back to whānau, hapū, and iwi. The research investigators will be cognisant that whānau are best positioned to identify suitable research participants, and will engage with whānau to determine the nature in which the whānau system is constelled in preparation for proposed interviews. The whanaungatanga recruitment strategy is used in this study to identify potential key informant, kaumātua-kuia, and whānau-hapū constellations.

Pūrākau: Data Collection Method

Pūrākau (narratives) provide the main method of data collection, where family knowledge and traditional knowledge is gathered from key informants, elders and whānau-hapū constellations. The research includes pūrākau as an Indigenous narrative method to gather important data to generate a new contemporary theory on secure whānau attachments. Pūrākau as a research method enables whānau Māori to tell their lived experiences in a no-nonsense pragmatic way. Critics of Indigenous narrative approaches have frequently denigrated the validity of storytelling as no more than a myth-making process. Dr Ranginui Walker (1975) discussed the importance of ensuring that contemporary society fully appreciates the principles embedded in the "myth-messages" portrayed in Māori mythology, to ensure they are made clear and easily understood. He noted:

> The validity of myths was not questioned by the Māori until the post-Christian era when they were displaced by the mythology of a new culture. Today 'kōrero pūrākau' has the same negative connotation of untruth as it is only a myth. This is unfortunate, since an analysis of Māori myths will show that even today Māori will respond to the myth messages and cultural imperatives embedded in their mythology. The myth-messages now need to be spelled out to the modern Māori. (p. 20)

Walker (1975) also raised the issue of analysis and clarity to ensure that the messages embedded within the "myth-message" are not reduced to a set of fables and tales that minimises the importance of the real message to be revealed. The data analysis method Te-āta-tu Pūrākau is critical to ensure that the mist is removed from the myth so that the significance of each pūrākau is revealed.

Bell (2006) asserted the legitimacy of pūrākau as a concept originating from Te Ao Tawhito (the traditional world) and therefore substantiated pūrākau as a Māori pedagogy. Lee (2009) attested to the versatility of pūrākau, arguing for the applicability within Kaupapa Māori. Karena-Waretini (2012), Cherrington (2009), Hall (2005) and Elkington (2006) promote pūrākau in the psychology, psychotherapy and counselling disciplines as a culturally appropriate modality when working with Māori tamariki and whānau. Pūrākau is a traditional narrative method inherent to Māori where the flow of information is transmitted between people and across generations. It is therefore suited to the social sciences and qualitative methods. Pūrākau were and remain an important aspect of the Māori language, providing an essential mechanism for the communication of day-to-day affairs concerning whānau, hapū, and iwi. The research utilises pūrākau as a data collection method during the interview process with key informants, kaumātua-kuia and whānau-hapū. Pūrākau provide a platform for whānau to relay their personal experiences and to convey their unique narratives. Pūrākau are the significant and incredible consequential stories that are conveyed through kōrero (talk) where all the voice intonations, nuances, body language, and behaviours are essential to the telling of the story.

Te-āta-tu Pūrākau: A Five Step Data Analysis Method

Te-āta-tu Pūrākau (Mikahere-Hall, 2017) arose out of PhD research and was developed as a new indigenous Māori data analysis method that involves five levels of analysis. The levels of analysis can be likened to the poutama (steps) seen in the woven tukutuku panels frequently adorning Māori carved meeting houses. The interesting characteristic of poutama is the ability to both ascend and descend, enabling the analysis to capture the storyteller's inclination to move through different aspects of their pūrākau. Te-āta-tu Pūrākau contributes to the continuing development of Māori research methods, particularly within the clinical and social services sector as a construct for critical reflection and interpretation. Te-āta-tu Pūrākau is an approach that has similarities with narrative therapy, narrative counselling and narrative analysis. Chase (2005) explained the roots of narrative analysis through the Chicago School tradition:

> The tradition of narrative analysis has typically been one that focuses on individual stories, life histories, autobiographies and the lived experiences of particular individuals whose stories serve as the bulk of the empirical material for a study. Known as the 'Chicago School', the tradition allowed the narrative in many ways to speak for itself, but as the field has developed, methods are being pursued that allow for attention to dimensions across narratives, while at the same time not losing the richness of the various dimensions within narratives. (p. 30)

Narrative approaches are favoured methods employed by Indigenous qualitative researchers (Atkinson, 2007; Geia, Hayes, & Usher, 2013; Sium & Ritskes, 2013).

Together pūrākau and Te-āta-tu Pūrākau are connected and derive from a Māori spiritual belief system as discussed previously; this is one of the key differences for whānau Māori in the narrative exchange. The analysis includes a wairua dimension that enables whānau Māori the opportunity to speak to their personal experiences from a belief system both deeply held and shared within a Māori world view. As I have noted elsewhere (Mikahere-Hall, 2017),

> Te-āta-tu refers to the dawning of a new day. Āta is often referred to as early morning or the space between darkness and light. Āta indicates that something new is about to emerge; a movement from one state into another, as in transforming from night into day. The transformation from night to day is captured in mātauranga Māori and frequently conveyed in eloquent Māori oratory and speechmaking as "ki te wheiao ki te ao mārama e." Wheiao means the place between the world of darkness and the world of light, while mārama indicates the transitioning period toward the world of light. (p. 7)

Te-āta-tu Pūrākau is the 5-step analysis process that reveals the key messages relayed in the pūrākau. The analysis pays attention to pūrākau where wairua (spirit) or wairuatanga (spirituality) is mentioned. This is where whānau convey their beliefs about their experiences and how they make sense of what happened for them.

Poutama: Five Steps

1. The first linear level focuses on the basic structure of the pūrākau that includes the social circumstances of the whānau.
2. The second level focuses on the important whānau relationships, where spatial, sequential and historical factors emerge, such as whakapapa connections.
3. The third level of analysis is interested in the emotional aspects of the pūrākau. Subjective and inter-personal experiences of the emotional bonds created between whānau and their tamariki and mokopuna.
4. The fourth level concentrates on the analysis and interpretations made by the research team based on the previous levels of analysis.
5. The fifth level focuses on wairua dimensions that are conveyed by the whānau participant's pūrākau. It acknowledges and accepts the importance of wairuatanga for whānau without the unnecessary and often unhelpful judgements of critical spectators.
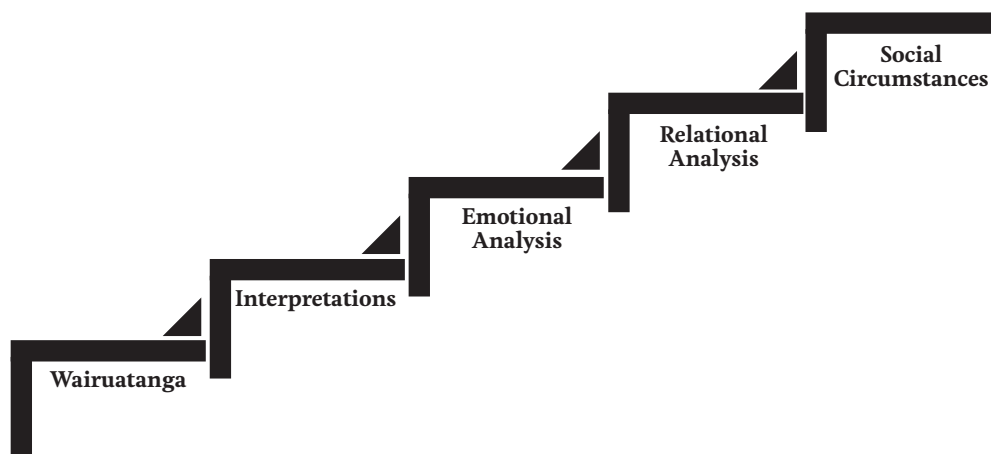
FIGURE 3. TE-ĀTA-TU PŪRĀKAU FIVE STEP ANALYSIS METHOD

Together Pūrākau and Te-āta-tu Pūrākau will provide the explanations that arise from this research study to provide a foundational theory of attachment through an Indigenous Māori lens.

Concluding Remarks

The overall aim of this study is to develop theory that will contribute to the development of effective Māori and Indigenous prevention and intervention strategies. The purpose is to prevent traumatic experiences for mokopuna Māori and to engage in treatment and healing that responds appropriately when trauma occurs. The study is invested in Kaupapa Māori research methodology in an attempt to change the circumstances for vulnerable tamariki and mokopuna Māori. Tūhono Māori is a qualitative relational study with potential advantages for tamariki and mokopuna Māori and whānau in all age groups. Tūhono Māori

has a decolonising agenda to promote a secure sense of Māori identity and attachment, and a workforce mobilisation agenda to effect transformation by investing in practitioner change to better equip the health workforce to respond more effectively to Māori health priorities. Importantly, this research also has an Indigenous healing agenda to transform Māori suffering from surviving to thriving. Tūhono Māori shifts the focus away from what makes people fail to what makes them successful.

Glossary

Aotearoa	Indigenous pre-European name for New Zealand
aroha	love and commitment, compassion, positive regard
hapū	extended family (grandparents, aunties, uncles, cousins)
iwi	confederation of kin group
kaitiakitanga	guardianship, stewardship
kaumātua-kuia	elders
Kaupapa Māori	an analytical approach to research that is connected to Māori philosophy and principles
kaupapa whānau	family, friends and colleagues who support whānau towards a common goal
mana	authority, prestige
manaakitanga	care, hospitality, regard for others
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
mokopuna	grandchild
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pūrākau	narratives, stories
rōpū	group
tamaiti	child
tamariki	children
te reo Māori	Māori language
te reo Māori me ōnā tikanga	the Māori language and values
tikanga	correct customs and procedures
tūhono	attach, bond
tūhonotanga	connection, connectedness, attachment
wairua	spirit
whakapapa	genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent, layers
whakapapa whānau	family connected by genealogy
whāngai	to feed, nourish, foster, adopt, raise, nurture
whānau	immediate family and extended family
whanaungatanga	extended family relationships

References

Atkinson, J. (2007). Indigenous approaches to child abuse. In J. Altman & M. Hinkson (Eds.), *Coercive reconciliation: Stabilise, normalise, exit Aboriginal Australia* (pp. 151-162). Melbourne, Australia: Arena Publications.

Bell, H. (2006). *Exiting the matrix: Colonisation, decolonisation and social work in Aotearoa.* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Bishop, R. (2010). Effective teaching for Indigenous and minoritized students. *Procedia-Social and Behavioural Sciences, 7*, 57-62.

Chase, S. E. (2005). Narrative enquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage book of qualitative research.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Cherrington, L. (2009). *Te hohounga: Mai i te tirohanga Māori — The process of reconciliation: Towards a Māori view — The delivery of conduct problem services to Māori.* Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Social Development.

Cram, F., & Kennedy, V. (2010). Researching with whānau collectives. *Mai Review, 3*, 1-12.

Durie, E. T. (2005). Māori research, ethics and law. In L. T. Smith & M. Walker (Eds.), *Proceedings of Tikanga Rangahau Mātauranga Tuku Iho: Traditional Knowledge and Research Ethics Conference, 2004* (pp. 44-53). Auckland, New Zealand: Ngā Pae oTe Māramatanga.

Durie, M. H. (1995). Te hoe nuku roa framework: A Māori identity measure. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society, 104*(4), 461-470.

Durie, M. (2004). An indigenous model of health promotion. *Health Promotion Journal of Australia, 15*(3), 181-185.

Durie, M. (2006). Measuring Māori wellbeing. Paper presented at the New Zealand Treasury Guest Lecture Series, Wellington.

Eketone, A. (2008). Theoretical underpinnings of Kaupapa Maori directed practice. *Mai Review, 1.*

Elkington, J. (2006). *The pūrākau model: A counselling training resource for Te Whiuwhiu o Te Hau Māori Counselling Programme.* Hamilton, New Zealand: Centre for Health and Social Practice, Waikato Institute of Technology.

Fleming, A. H. (2018). Ngā Tāpiritanga. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand, 22*(1), 23-36. https://doi.org/10.9791/ajpanz.2018.03

Geia, L. K., Hayes, B., & Usher, K. (2013). Yarning/Aboriginal storytelling: Towards an understanding of an Indigenous perspective and its implications for research practice. *Contemporary Nurse, 46*(1), 13-17.

Hall, A. (2005). *Cultural identity in the child psychotherapy environment: A Māori perspective.* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.

Hall, A. (2013). Ko Rangitoto, Ko Waitematā: Cultural landmarks for the integration of a Māori indigenous psychotherapy in Aotearoa. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand, 17*(2), 139-157. https://doi.org/10.9791/ajpanz.2013.14

Hall, A. (2015). *An indigenous Kaupapa Māori approach: Mother's experiences of partner violence and the nurturing of affectional bonds with tamariki* (Doctoral dissertation). Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.

Hudson, M., Milne, M., Reynolds, P., Russell, K., & Smith, B. (2010). *Te Ara Tika — Guidelines for Māori research ethics: A framework for researchers and ethics committee members.* Auckland, New Zealand: Health Research Council of New Zealand.

Karena-Waretini, R. (2012). Takitoru: From parallel to partnership. A ritual of engagement based

on Te Tiriti o Waitangi for implementing safe cultural practice in Māori counselling and social science. *MAI Journal*, 1(1), 61-75.

Lawson-Te Aho, K. (2010). Definitions of whānau: A review of selected literature. *The Hub.* Retrieved from https://thehub.sia.govt.nz/resources/definitions-of-whanau-a-review-of-selected-literature/

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *Mai Review, 2,* 1-12.

Louis, R. P. (2007). Can you hear us now? Voices from the margin: Using indigenous methodologies in geographic research. *Geographical research, 45*(2), 130-139.

Mikahere-Hall, A. (2017). Constructing research from an indigenous Kaupapa Māori perspective: An example of decolonising research. *Psychotherapy and Politics International, 15*(3). https://doi.org/10.1002/ppi.1428

Moeke-Pickering, T. (1996). *Māori identity within whānau: A review of the literature.* Hamilton, New Zealand: University of Waikato.

Pohatu, T. W. (2013). Ata: Growing respectful relationships. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand, 17*(1), 13-26. https://doi.org/10.9791/ajpanz.2013.02

Ruru, J. (2018). Listening to Papatūānuku: a call to reform water law. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand, 48*(2-3), 215-224.

Ruru, J. (2005). Indigenous peoples and family law: Issues in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family, 19*(3), 327-345.

Ruwhiu, L. A., Ashby, W., Erueti, H., Halliday, A., Horne, H., & Paikea, P. (2009). *A Mana Tāne echo on hope: Dispelling the illusion of whanau violence — Taitokerau Tāne Māori speak out.* Whāngarei, New Zealand: Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium.

Sherwood, J. (2010). *Do no harm: Decolonising Aboriginal health research.* (Doctoral thesis). University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia.

Sium, A., & Ritskes, E. (2013). Speaking truth to power: Indigenous storytelling as an act of living resistance. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, education & Society, 2*(1), I-X.

Smith, C. (2008). Māori grandparents: Raising mokopuna fulltime. In J. S. Te Rito & S. M. Healy (Eds.). *Proceedings of the Traditional Knowledge Conference 2008 Te Tatau Pounamu: The Greenstone Door. Traditional knowledge and gateways to balanced relationships,* pp. 261-265. Auckland NZ: Ngā Pae o Te Maramatanga.

Smith, G. H. (2012). The politics of reforming Maori education: The transforming potential of Kura Kaupapa Maori. In H. Lauder & C. Wylie (Eds.), *Towards successful schooling,* pp. 73-87. London: Routledge.

Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* London, England: Zed Books.

Smith, L. T., Maxwell, T. K., Puke, H., & Temara, P. (2016). Indigenous knowledge, methodology and mayhem: What is the role of methodology in producing Indigenous insights? A discussion from mātauranga Māori.

Statistics New Zealand (2013). Te Kupenga 2013. Retrieved from http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/maori/kei-te-pewhea-to-whanau-2012/new-approach-measuring-whanau.aspx

Walker, R. (1975). The relevance of Māori myth and tradition. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri/The world moves on: Aspects of Māoritanga.* Auckland, New Zealand: Longman Paul.

Alayne Mikahere-Hall is kinship affiliated with Ngāti Whatua, Te Rarawa and Tainui. Alayne is a post-doctoral research fellow with Taupua Waiora Research Centre, Auckland University of Technology. She is the lead investigator on the Tūhono Māori research project, funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand. Tūhono Māori is an investigation into a Māori understanding of secure attachment. Alayne engages with Indigenous methodologies and Kaupapa Māori methods and theory. She has an interest in developing evidence-based Māori and Indigenous therapeutic interventions to develop theories concerning complex trauma. Alayne is also an investigator on the E Tū Wāhine, E Tū Whānau study, aimed at reducing the harmful effects of violence against women and families and to break cycles of complex whakapapa trauma (inter-generational family trauma). She is a current member of the Health Quality and Safety Commission Child Youth Mortality Review Committee and Nga Pou Arawhenua Mortality Review Committee. Alayne is a Registered Psychotherapist, a member of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) and a founding member of Waka Oranga — National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners (NCMPP). Contact details: alhall@aut.ac.nz.

Reaching Across Worlds: Kanohi ki te Kanohi. A conversation between Anna Hinehou Fleming and John O'Connor

Anna Fleming (Ngāpuhi, Ngāi Tūhoe) and John O'Connor

Psychotherapists, Auckland

Whakarāpopotonga

Kua tuhia kua kauhautia ngā momo āhuatanga tirohanga Māori e pā ana ki te piringa, e Anna Fleming. Ko te tino ko te whakapuaki tirohanga Māori, nō mai noa rānō nei e whakahau ana i te tino ngākau o te hononga ki te ahurei ngā ariā ā-rōpū pēnei i te whānu, whenua me te wairua. I roto i tēnei kōrero tahitanga a rāua ko John O'Connor, e tūhurahia ana e whanakehia ana e Anna ēnei ariā me te nui o ēnei ki te oranga pea mō te katoa, engari pū mō te Māori taketake o Aotearoa.

Abstract

Anna Fleming has written and presented in diverse contexts on an Indigenous Māori perspective regarding attachment. In particular she has articulated Indigenous Māori perspectives which have always emphasised the vital significance of connections to cultural and collective concepts such as whānau, whenua, and wairua. In this conversation with John O'Connor Anna explores and develops these ideas, and their crucial importance to the wellbeing, perhaps of us all, and in particular, for Indigenous Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Introduction

Anna and John have known each other for several years. Initially Anna was a student at Auckland University of Technology in the Master of Psychotherapy programme, and John supervised her dissertation "Ngā Tāpiritanga", which explored similarities and differences in Indigenous Māori and Western perspectives regarding attachment, and the implications of these for psychotherapeutic practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. Since Anna completed her dissertation, John and Anna have continued to talk together about these rich and complex ideas. On a windy Sunday afternoon in July 2019 Anna and John sat together to explore these ideas further. The result is the interview below. John and Anna invite us to

listen in on their conversation with the hope that this might inspire the listener's own thoughts, questions, challenges and ideas.

John: Kia ora Anna, thank you for talking with me. I understand you have been reading quite a lot about what has been happening for children in the care of Oranga Tamariki recently. Given your research regarding a Te Ao Māori perspective on attachment, what has struck you about recent events, particularly events in which tamariki have been removed by Oranga Tamariki from the care of their whānau?

Anna: Kia ora John. The question that always comes up for me when they are uplifting a child, is where is it going to go? We know that there are sometimes reasons why children cannot be within their whānau but if they are being taken from there, what space are they going into and what is the plan for them to be able to come home? Ultimately, I think that is where they need to be; most people would agree with that. I think there needs to be a lot more accountability and a lot more understanding of what the reason is for why we are uplifting a child. We have to be really clear on why that is.

   If there are areas that are lacking within that whānau, can we support them, firstly, to be able to look into those and heal those? It feels like such an extreme case to have to take a child away from its mother.

John: I will return to this shortly but just going back a step, my understanding of a lot of your critique of Western perspectives on attachment is that it focuses so much on early interpersonal relational experiences for the infant and that you are largely saying that it is at the expense of recognising the significance of nonhuman attachment. Can you say a bit about that?

Anna: In terms of attachment theory, if we think about it from where it began, most of the early writings around attachment were focused on attachment to the mother or another singular person. It really was not until the seventies, eighties, nineties that I started to find more writing on anybody else: fathers, and then a bit more about sibling attachments as well. Certainly, nothing beyond those personto-person attachments. I found it really hard to find any literature on that although, in saying that, more recently there has been more writing about humans' attachment to the earth.

   What I did find consistently in Māori writings were these ideas of connections to the whenua (the land); to people; to people outside of the parenting couple, so to whānau, to grandparents, to aunties and uncles, to hapū and iwi also. The importance of knowing their connections to those things and also understanding the knowledge of certain aspects of Te Ao Māori so, for example, te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. Of course, all of those underpin wairuatanga so that was really consistent throughout Māori themes of development and attachment. I could not really find anything like that in the Western literature that I was reading.

John: In terms of the Western emphasis, starting with John Bowlby, on the importance of the earliest days and months, and even the inutero experience has been explored much more recently in terms of the development of secure attachment, from a Te Ao Māori perspective, what is your take on the significance of the earliest caregiver roles for infants given that, of course, an infant will not survive if there is

not at least one person paying close attention to their physical needs and, arguably, their emotional and spiritual needs as well. What would you say Te Ao Māori has to say about that?

Anna: I think the thing to acknowledge first is that the presence of these other attachments to whenua, whānau, hapū, iwi, etc. are not at the expense of attachment to a primary caregiver. So the role of the parent is extremely fundamental in Te Ao Māori for the development of a child. One of the things that I have been learning recently is that when babies are still growing and when the mother is hapū with the child both parents say their whakapapa to the baby as it is growing. Then when the baby is born and they have in the early days that really soft part on their head — the fontanelle — the parents speak into the fontanelle the baby's whakapapa. The idea is that once the skull hardens and that area becomes fused, that information is already in the child's brain.

That, I think, is an example of growing that attachment to the child before it is even born but it also shows the importance of those other connections so the idea that whakapapa is so important for a child to know before it might even have that cognitive ability to understand what it is. I think that is really important in itself. I think the idea that is emphasised within Te Ao Māori is that bringing up children is the integral nature of the whānau, the idea that that child is born into a whānau, it is not just born to its parents; and each whānau member has its own role to play in terms of raising that child. That is something that is still very known and held on to in Te Ao Māori quite strongly.

John: As you tell me about the whakapapa being recited to the infant both inutero when the mother is hapū and also after birth via the fontanelle, I was thinking about the idea of what has been termed implicit relational knowing, how infants learn relational expectations through how they are interacted with in the earliest months and years of life. The idea of whakapapa adds another layer to the idea of implicit relational knowing because it is not only a knowing of how they are being responded to but about their ancestry and the history of what holds them as they grow into life. Is that a fair connection?

Anna: Yes, I think a lot of that is about the taonga — the treasures — that we have now and the strength that we have now comes from the people that came before us. The importance of a child having that knowledge, knowing who their ancestors were before them, the stories that they hold, the achievements that they made, the stories of the whānau, and how that shapes us right through until today, that is incredibly strong knowledge for us as humans.

I was also thinking as we were talking that often those stories stay with us right through our lives; Māori is often described as being an oral language, an oral history, so there are often stories that keep being told over and over. They are often not just reserved for the adults, often children are told these as well and they become a part of their life, a part of their knowing right from day one or preday one.

John: That feels such a rich relational and cultural environment in which to grow oneself. Speaking of the notion of self, what do you think that means for the wider ideas of

attachment and connection that you are talking about? What does that mean for the notion of how Te Ao Māori might understand or think about what a self is?

Anna: This is something I have thought about a lot because such an overarching theme within Te Ao Māori is that of the whānau, the collective, and not just your immediate whānau; it is also your hapū, your iwi, so what you do as an individual impacts on those wider groups as well. Which can also create quite a pressure on people when you are thinking every little thing that you do can have an impact on so many other people. I think it is a way of keeping people on a right path and creating a bit of boundary. I am often thinking about this myself, how to hold on to my own selfidentity while being part of a collective.

I think that is one of the reasons why I have become quite interested in psychotherapy and working with people in that way, because when people come and see me, yes, I am talking with them but I'm also thinking about them in relation to all those other different groups of people in their life. I also want to help them be able to think about the decisions that they make and the spaces that they move into, such as how do they make a decision that is good for themselves as well as those other people?

John: As you speak my mind goes to thinking about the notion of self in relation to attachment to whenua. I will leave it to you to say your thoughts about how attachment to whenua impacts on the experience of self for Māori. While you are thinking about that, Amanda Dowd is an Australian analyst and she writes quite a lot about the loss of connection for migrants, in particular European migrants and also from other countries coming to the southern hemisphere. She writes from within the Australian context and her emphasis has been more on migrants than on the Indigenous and she has been thinking about what she calls the loss of the background of meaningful containment, by which she means the loss of all our attachments to cultural objects, to cultural knowledge and to geography, to the losses of places of belonging that the migrant experiences in what can be a traumatic experience of moving from one country to another.

Of course, that loss of the background of meaningful containment can be seen as devastatingly impactful for the Indigenous peoples of both Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia in which cultural objects and connection to land has been so profoundly disrupted if not decimated by the early colonial project, and that that continues today. Any thoughts on this?

Anna: It is a different kind of loss, I think, because when I was listening to you say that, I was thinking it is a loss but it is not one that we chose and we still have to live on this land that we have apparently lost which, personally, I think carries a different kind of trauma and we are still having to fight to have that recognised. I am thinking we are sitting in Mangere now and really close by is Ihumātao where they are currently trying to fight for their land, where they have got people trying to develop it at the moment and turn it into houses when, really, that space was incredibly important for Māori. It was a place for huge māra kai, gardens of food; that was where people used to grow so many crops, as food grew so well out there.

This is a struggle that we are still having to see now and in terms of that question

about how that impacts self, I was thinking this feels like it is an area where this is a real collective thing and I keep thinking about Ihumātao because it is really present but they have a group of people that are living out there at the moment and they are doing that to literally keep the land warm and occupied. They are doing that not only for themselves but also the generations to follow them, so while I imagine it is an individual decision of many to do that, in their minds I know from the people that I have talked to out there, it is very much a collective decision as well to be able to protect that land for the future because they do not want it to be taken away from them as it was in 1863.

John: That is a very pertinent and contemporary example of the way in which that dispossession from connection and attachment to land continues and how decimating this is.

Coming back to this idea of whenua and its relation to the experience of self, if we think about the kind of urbanisation that happened in the 20th century when Māori largely moved from rural environments to urban environments. In terms of the psychological and spiritual impact of that, attachment to land and the disruption of that through urbanisation, how do you see that impacting on Māori psyche?

Anna: I think it has probably been one of the largest factors in terms of how this has disrupted Māori and our progression. There is a huge percentage of people who live away from their papa kāinga, where their marae is. If you think about your marae and particularly the whenua that the marae sits on as being the container of your knowledge, the further you are away from that the harder it is to access and even, for example, the difficulty in being able to go to that place and work the land, grow food there, even look after your urupā. Many people have urupā cleaning days but I know that a lot of people, a lot of my friends have said often they will only go and do that maybe once a year whereas if you are living in that area, you might be doing it several times a month.

One of the things that I have read, I think it was a Mason Durie quote, was that the impact of Māori not being able to physically work their land has taken a huge toll on our wairua because wairua is so intrinsically connected with land, so when you are not able to access it, live on it, be with it as much as you can, then that has quite a negative impact. I think the reality is most people have had to move away from those spaces to be able to find work and it has not been viable to live on many of our marae anymore; there is a cost that comes with that.

John: What I think of as you say that is how intimately engaged with the land all Indigenous cultures have been, including my own Celtic ancestors, and how much urbanisation and globalisation pulls us more and more to a disconnect with the land. I then think of the environmental crisis that our world faces at the moment and I wonder whether you see any connection between the dispossession for Indigenous Māori, the impact of that on other cultures including European and non-European non-Indigenous cultures that live on this land now, and what Te Ao Māori might have to offer us in relation to the environmental crisis we now face.

Anna: For Māori, we see Papatūānuku as being our mother — everything comes from her.

I know that it is so similar in so many other cultures as well — that idea of mother being the earth. That personification of land as mother makes sense to me when we are thinking about our connection with her. I think a lot of it has come down to ease, so not even that long ago people would grow their own food quite easily but so many people just do not do that anymore. I think also what we forget, there is a lot that gets lost in those little things, so when people are growing food, they do not just do it by themselves; they often are working the land with other people, with their whānau, with neighbours and then they share out that food with other people. It has had an impact, I think, on those kinds of connections as well.

I think, too, when you become so disconnected from something, I think in a way we have almost forgotten how to care for the land and my sense is that that is what is underlying a lot of what we are seeing with how we are getting into more and more of a hole with how we are treating the earth because, from what I am seeing, there is just a lot less care, a lot less attention. We are still having to convince people that climate change is actually a thing, when I think it has been pretty obvious over the years. I guess when you become disconnected from something, it is easy to not see it.

John: Tragically so. On a slightly different tack, just going back to this idea of attachment to people, attachment to all aspects that you have spoken to around whenua, wairua, tikanga Māori, mātauranga I'm reminded of the film "Once Were Warriors". Ann Salmond talks about this in her book, *Tears of Rangi*, and that when that movie came out in the 1990s it was used by some to help to construct Māori as inherently violent, and there were even researchers attempting to establish whether there was a genetic predisposition to violence within Māori, and to violence amongst Māori. What is your response to that research which, of course, has now been completely debunked?

Anna: Apart from laughing. I think I always go back to the fact that there is nothing in our marae or in our stories that talks about that kind of violence so there is nothing in our own reflections. But also I think last week I was reading about some observations that early, early, early visitors to Aotearoa made and they basically said that they had never seen a group of people so attentive to their children, so caring of their children. They noticed that males were as involved with the raising of children as females were and also the community raising of children was really apparent as well.

For me, there is something really significant that happened between that time and the 1990s when this "warrior gene" thing came out, there is something that happened in there that really impacted how Māori worked within their whānau. Personally, I think it has been the effects of colonisation because the way that we raised our babies, we were not able to do that in the same way, and all the other ways that we also know that our knowledge was interrupted meant that we could not practise the way that we had been for generations and generations. What does somebody do when they cannot behave the way that they always have? They have to find other ways and maybe some of them were not so good.

John: If we grapple with the difficult reality of violence, particularly to children, and the disproportionate rate of violence to children and how that is reflected in the recent

news stories we see emanating in relation to that violence amongst Māori, which we referred to at the beginning of this conversation in relation to the uplifting of tamariki from their whanau what is your thinking about what contributes to that violence and our and the state's response to that?

Anna: My thinking, when I saw the stories come out this week, which I do not necessarily think are new, was, what kind of support had that whānau been given? In particular what practical supports were the whanau given before the decision was made to uplift their pēpi. In one of the recent media stories, the whanau and mama had wanted Mama and baby to move to a support house so that they could be together and be supported by house staff. Were the whānau involved in these decisions? Was it maternal and paternal whānau, were hapū and iwi considered? I feel like uplifting a child is a really, really last case scenario and we should be doing everything that we can before that to put as much support into the whānau as we can. I think we need to start thinking a bit more broadly around what that support means so I do not think it necessarily just means sending a parent off to a parenting course. I think we need to be thinking outside the square but when you are working with Māori whānau you have to think about what is going to work for that whānau. Maybe it is that somebody goes into their home to actually see how they work and see what they are feeling like, what they need within the home themselves. That maybe it is about giving them time to go back to their marae, to speak with other people from their hapū and iwi — to have those kinds of people support them as well. So, it is not just strangers coming into the house.

I absolutely know that nobody wants children to be in danger but the way that we support people to look after their children, I think that does need to change.

John: To me, I can see a direct link between that and your research around Te Ao Māori perspectives on attachment and connection, and how disconnection contributes to violence. But to put it in your own words, what is the relationship you see between the loss of connection to the Te Ao Māori concepts and relationships we have been talking about and how that produces the kind of violence we see coming across our television screens?

Anna: Personally, I think that what underlies a lot of anger is actually hurt and pain and often fear. I think my work in psychotherapy is to try to deal with that, with the idea that if we can deal with that, that will filter up to the anger. My thinking is that Māori in Aotearoa have experienced a huge degree of hurt and pain that has not been of their doing. What we are seeing now is a reaction to that, generations and generations down, why wouldn't it be? Even though it might have been our greatgreat-grandparents that were taken away from their land or smacked at school for speaking their reo. That trauma stays with them and then they parent their children holding on to that trauma, and it carries on and it carries on. My sense is that that pain and that hurt from the loss of those connections does have a lot of impact in terms of how people behave in the present, just as it did then.

John: Given that direct connection between the loss, dislocation, and decimation of Indigenous Māori connections and how violence emerges out of that unacknowledged loss and grief, when you think of the research that you have

undertaken, if there is something or some things that you would really like psychotherapists to take on in terms of your research and its implications for our psychotherapy clinical practice, what would those things be?

Anna: I was thinking then as you were saying "lost" and "gone" and I thought, thankfully, these things are not lost and gone. Our ancestors worked really hard in their own ways to make sure that these things were not gone. Some of them have come really close but I think a lot of what is important now is actually holding that space. Nobody can make anyone do it, but it is about holding the space for Māori to feel they can and are able to reconnect with these things if they feel a disconnection. I think as a psychotherapist, for me, and also in my own therapy was actually knowing that my therapist acknowledged me as Māori and always held that space open for me to be able to talk about what that meant. That was really difficult to begin with because of my own history but I always knew in the back of my mind that it was there and I could always bring that up if I wanted to.

I think sometimes people have a difficulty in that, especially if they are not Māori, they feel like, is it okay for me to voice this? Is it okay for me to even be curious about this? My encouragement would be actually, yes, it is okay because it is really powerful to acknowledge somebody in their self and to acknowledge and to say to them, "What do you think about your whenua? Where do you come from?" Just asking open questions like that and then they are the one that can make those connections and maybe go back to those spaces. I think being not afraid to be curious and to be inquisitive and interested is something that is really helpful.

John: On a slightly different note, but I think it links to all of this, I have heard a lot from students and colleagues who neither identify as Māori nor as Pākehā, and I know the meaning of Pākehā has many different layers to it and can be quite controversial. In the way that it is often used in Aotearoa by people like myself of English and Irish heritage, it is often used as part of a way to construct an identity that is for people of British origin. People who have come to Aotearoa New Zealand with ancestries and histories that are nonBritish in origin and not Māori often feel as if they are excluded by the word "biculturalism" and the idea of bicultural. I want to link this to your ideas around attachment and the challenge for psychotherapists just to think about that first. Any thoughts about that?

Anna: Yes, and it might not be a popular one! I was talking to somebody once and I am not sure if this is entirely the case but I will say it anyway. Pākehā is an Indigenous word that has been given to describe the people that came to live in this place and that has not happened very often in other Indigenous cultures. There has not been an Indigenous word for those kinds of people. The way that I look at it is actually that is something quite significant, that a Māori word has been given to those people coming here and I think there is something in that and also that the Treaty was signed initially in way of a kind of partnership.

I am not Pākehā but when I see that word, how I would like it to be taken is actually this is something that has been given or offered in a way that has not necessarily happened in other places where there have been Indigenous and nonIndigenous people.

John: Are you saying in that, that you are inviting all people who live in Aotearoa New Zealand who are nonMāori — whether they come from British origins or from other origins like Asian, Sri Lankan, Indian, eastern European, American, Australian, etc. — whoever it is or whatever origins or ancestries we bring, that the word "Pākehā" is a word that we are all invited to step into in relation to Māori?

Anna: Potentially. I think the other way that we can maybe think about it is Pākehā has been a word that has evolved from that time of Europeans coming to Aotearoa in the first instance. I know the other word is Tauiwi, which means people from afar. I think what is more important is acknowledging that people have chosen to live in Aotearoa and I think that there are responsibilities that come with that choosing to be here.

John: What I was thinking there was that, as you were saying that, and I was resonating with it, that I think this is more of a challenge for people like me of British origin than for Māori to welcome Tauiwi in terms of having a voice in the bicultural conversation rather than feeling like it is only people like me of British origin that get to have a voice in relation to Indigenous Māori. We all have, as you say, a responsibility to have a voice in the relationship in relation to the Indigenous of this country. Wherever we are from, however long we have been here, acknowledging that what that voice could be might be quite different depending on our ancestral history. I think it is a very different experience for me as a person of British and Irish origin to have a relationship and a voice in relation to the Indigenous than someone who is a new immigrant, say, from India, that is a very different relationship that they bring. They of course may bring memories and histories of other colonial experiences from their own ancestral origins, but they do not bring the history of colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand to that relationship in the way I do.

Anna: It is just as valuable and I think it adds to our diversity. I think the other thing is that often it's really hard when we are thinking about our history. It brings up its own different types of pain for people and that is the reality and it is more important to do that, to be able to face into that and feel it than pretend it has not existed. I think when we pretend it hasn't existed, that is when it comes out in more unpredictable ways.

John: To complete the circle, what would you say are the challenges in relation to your attachment research for a psychotherapist like me who has British ancestry and has been in Aotearoa New Zealand for several generations? When I am being a therapist in relation to the attachment ideas of Te Ao Māori? And are there any similar or different challenges for someone who is Tauiwi but not of British origin, who may be a newer immigrant, trying to get their minds and hearts around the relationship to the Indigenous and Te Ao Māori ideas, when they are engaged in clinical practice? I recognise this is quite a big and tricky question, so whatever comes to mind.

Anna: I think there are two things to think about and it probably applies to both sets of people. The first is in acknowledging and prioritising these connections for Māori. Understanding that the relationships to land, the relationships to knowledge, the

relationships to wider groups of people like hapū and iwi actually are important. I think the second part is giving that space, and you can only give it space if you recognise its importance. My sense is that the first needs to happen and maybe depending on which of those two people you are, if you are Pākehā or Tauiwi, the way that you might think about those connections might be different based on your own stories and your own history. That is my sense, that first, there needs to be an acknowledgement and an importance recognised in it and then, secondly, you give it space when you are working with tangata whaiora.

John: Psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand remains dominantly influenced by Western ideas regarding the nature of psyche, often very intrapsychic and internally focused. Gradually with the research you have undertaken, and others such as Margaret Morice's research around relational concepts from Te Ao Māori including wairuatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, etc., Jo Reidy's work on mana enhancing psychotherapy, Alayne Hall's work on trauma and whakapapa, and Wiremu Woodard's work on the nature of the void that has been created through colonisation and the addressing of that in psychotherapy, gradually the Indigenous voice is starting to infuse psychotherapy practice in this country. In terms of the development of psychotherapy in this context, what do you think is our next challenge?

Anna: I would like it to be that this knowledge is not just seen to be used by Māori. Absolutely by Māori for Māori, and if you have a Māori client I would really be expecting that you be reasonably cognisant of some of the mātauranga that you have just mentioned. Also that our Pākehā and Tauiwi practitioners can access this knowledge on their own; that they can do the readings for themselves; that they can become more knowledgeable about it for themselves; that they feel like they can take that responsibility for themselves so that it is not just seen as being, "that's the space for Māori". I would love to see more people involved with Te Ao Māori and to be able to recognise the benefits that that can bring people. So that Māori spaces are not just seen as for Māori only. I want to be quite specific about that. There is a way that they need to be prioritised for Māori but also that I do not want other people to feel scared of those spaces or that they need to stay away. I think there is a way that people can engage with them without taking them over, if that makes sense.

John: It seems to me you are encouraging all psychotherapists to engage with Te Ao Māori, with mātauranga, to be in relationship with Te Ao Māori, from the specific position each of us bring to this relationship, and that each relationship will be different depending on what of our own histories and ancestries we bring. But that the more we engage, the richer the relational dynamics, which brings us full circle with your relational research.

     The New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) itself is an association whose different aspects are being reviewed at the moment and we are just beginning to review what the next step might be in the bicultural relationship between NZAP and Waka Oranga, between Māori and nonMāori, in relation to the Association and its structures and organisations. Any preliminary thoughts on the

direction, the next steps, from an organisational or Association perspective?

Anna: I think mainly what is coming up for me is not expecting spaces like Waka Oranga or Māori spaces to run exactly as they would in a Pākehā organisation. We cannot just take how NZAP runs and overlay that on top of Waka Oranga. That is just not going to work, it is not how we roll, so we have to be given the space to develop our own pathways. I think that we have been given that in a sense and in my mind I am thinking about He Ara Māori. The fact is that Waka Oranga has really only been in existence for the last 11 years, so developing our own practices takes time and it takes a lot of energy. I think ways that we can support that, whether it be financially or with time, is all really important at the moment so that we can develop our own way of being because we are really creating something from the ground up. I think acknowledgement of that and patience with that is what's needed at the moment.

John: Kia ora, Anna. We have reached the end of our kōrero. It has been lovely to talk with you.

Anna: You, too. Ngā mihi, John.

Anna Hinehou Fleming (Ngāpuhi, Ngāi Tūhoe) is a registered psychotherapist, serves on te Rūnanga o Waka Oranga, National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners and is a provisional member of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists. Anna has worked in various social and health services with individuals and whānau for over 14 years. In 2017, she graduated with a Master of Psychotherapy with first class honours. Her therapeutic approach combines her working and personal experiences with a focus on attachment and developmental theory particularly from a Māori perspective. This focus on Indigenous health informs Anna's current role as Counsellor for Māori at Auckland University of Technology, and her growing community practice in Tāmaki Makaurau. Contact details: fleming.anna@gmail.com.

John O'Connor has worked as a counsellor and psychotherapist for over 30 years, and has a wide range of clinical experience, particularly in working with clients with severe trauma histories, in providing group psychotherapy, and in working cross-culturally. He is a former Director of Youthline Counselling Service (Auckland) and the Human Development and Training Institute. He also formerly worked at Segar House (which is part of ADHB Mental Health Services) and was a founding member of the therapeutic team at Segar which developed a residential treatment service (currently operating as a day programme) for clients with personality disorder diagnoses. He has worked as a lecturer at the Auckland

University of Technology within the Psychotherapy Discipline since 1999 and was formerly Programme Leader of the Master of Psychotherapy (adult programme) at AUT. He is co-editor of *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand*. John is an associate member of Waka Oranga. John also conducts a private practice in Mangere Bridge. John is currently a candidate in training as a Jungian Analyst with the Australia New Zealand Society of Jungian Analysts and is undertaking his PhD exploring the discourses underpinning bicultural clinical encounters in Aotearoa New Zealand. Contact details: johnnygj@xtra.co.nz. Phone 021-899-261.

Entering the Void: Exploring the Relationship Between the Experience of Colonisation and the Experience of Self for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa, and the Implications for Psychotherapeutic Clinical Practice

Wiremu Woodard and John O'Connor

Psychotherapy Practitioner, Psychotherapist, Auckland

Whakarāpopotonga

E tūhurahia ana e tēnei pepa te hononga i waenga i ngā wheako o te pēhitanga me ngā wheako tuakiri mō ngā tāngata o Aotearoa. Ko tā te kaituhi matua tuhinga rangahau o te Paetuarua Whakaora Hinengaro rua mano mā waru te tūāpapa o tēnei pepa. I whāia e ia tētahi momo tikanga arotakenga pukapuka noho ai i raro i te anga rangahau kaupapa Māori ki te tūhura i te wheako tuakiri mo te iwi taketake o Aotearoa me te hononga atu ki te wheako pēhitanga. E whakamātauhia ana e te pepa te hātepenga o te whakaiwitanga: te waihanga me te tukunga whakapūrotohanga (interiorisation) iho ki te iwi taketake ko "Atu". E whakapae ana te pepa ko te hua o tēnei hātepe he whakahārangi tinana iwi taketake he hanga wheako tōtara wāhirua wheako mōriroriro tuakiri mo ngā iwi taketake. I Aotearoa nei, e whakahauhia ana ko te whakaharahara o te whakamā me te mate Māori te wheako Māori o tēnei tuakiri mōriroriro tōtara wāhirua hoki. E whakape ana tēnei pepa tērā pea e ahu katoa ake ngā whakararunga hinengaro ki te iwi taketake o Aotearoa mai i ēnei wheako waiaro. E whakaarohia ake ana he rara mō te whakaora hinengaro. E werohia ana te whaka-ora hinengaro me ngā kaiwhakaora hinengaro kia hoki anō ki te whakamātautau i ngā ariā tōrunga pekepoho tuakiri me te haerenga haere tonu o te hātepe pēhitanga kia mātau ake ai kia angitū ai te mahi tahi i te taha o ngā hāpori Māori i Aotearoa.

Abstract

This paper explores the relationship between the experience of colonisation and the

experience of self for Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. As we celebrate the formation of Waka Oranga in 2007, and its work in the years since, the publication of this paper is particularly fitting, drawing as it does on research originally undertaken at the time of the roopu's formation. It is based on the lead author's 2008 Master of Psychotherapy dissertation research in which he undertook a modified systematic literature review located within a kaupapa Māori research framework, in order to explore the experience of self for Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa and its relationship to colonisation. The paper examines the process of racialisation: The construction and resulting interiorisation of Indigenous peoples as 'Other'. The paper contends that this process has the effect of disrupting indigenous ontologies creating a divided and alienated experience of self for Indigenous peoples. Within Aotearoa, the phenomenon of whakamā and mate Māori are hypothesised as the indigenous experience of this alienated and divided self. The paper suggests that arguably all psychological distress for Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa arise to some degree from these experiences. Implications for psychotherapy are considered. Psychotherapy and psychotherapists are challenged to re-evaluate both the underlying positivist conceptualisations of self, and ongoing processes of colonisation, in order that they may be more fully equipped to effectively work alongside indigenous communities in Aotearoa.

Key words: Indigenous, Māori, self, psychotherapy, colonisation, void

Introduction

Ko Ōhinemataroa te awa
Ko Te Rewarewa te marae
Ko Te Purewa te tangata
Ko Te Māhurehure te hapū
Ko Tūhoe te iwi

Tīhei Mauri Ora!

I have grown up within a generation of urban Māori whose parents left their rural upbringings in search of new futures in shining metropolises. Being the child of a bicultural marriage, I embody something of the cultural struggle between Māori and Pākehā. My life has been defined by a constant search for belonging. Being a brown Pākehā or a pale Māori, I have always felt myself experienced as 'Other'. The question of who I am and where I belong has coloured the lens through which I perceive the world.

In my work as a psychotherapist, I have often witnessed what Durie (2001) refers to in Māori clients as a sense of "identity diffusion and anomie" (p. 131). As in my story, these existential phenomena usually manifest around questions of identity. Fanon (1982) identifies these experiences for Indigenous peoples as "the zone of non being" (p. 8) and Smith, L., (1999) as a "state of nothingness and hopelessness" (p. 88).

This paper is based on my dissertation research undertaken for my Master of Psychotherapy, in which I conducted a modified systematic literature review located within

a kaupapa Māori research framework, in order to explore the experience of self for Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa and its relationship to colonisation. The genesis for this research arose out of my observations and experiences of contemporary psychological and social issues effecting Indigenous peoples. The paper explores the subjective experience of self for Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. It considers the experience of a fragmented sense of self and the struggle of Indigenous peoples to manage the relentless effects of a violent colonisation process, and the search for a future in a modern and post-modern world.

Overview of Methodology Underpinning the Research

As a Māori researcher, one walks alongside the community being researched, with the responsibility to ensure that Māori research by, with and for Māori is about regaining knowledge and our resources. We are thus enacting our *tino rangatiratanga* over research that investigates Māori issues. (Cram cited in International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, 2006, p. 9)

Numerous authors (Clothier, 1993; Cram, 2001; Hoskins, 2001; Pihama, 1993; Pohatu, 2004; Smith, G., 1997; Smith, L., 1999; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; Walker, S., 1996) identify the problematic nature of research for Indigenous peoples, with research simultaneously used as a mechanism for colonial oppression and a contested site for emancipation. This research utilised a kaupapa Māori research theory (KMT) to mediate this tension. As Smith notes,

> It is surely difficult to discuss *research methodology* and *Indigenous Peoples* together, in the same breath, without having an analysis of imperialism, without understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices. (Smith, L., 1999, p. 2)

Therefore, in undertaking this systematic literature review, exploring literature reflecting upon the psychological experience and consequences of colonisation for the experience of self for indigenous Māori, the principles of KMT guided and informed the literature review.

Kaupapa Māori research theory (KMT)

Many indigenous authors (Bishop, 2005; Cram, 2001; Clothier, 1993; Jackson, 1996; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 1993; Pohatu, 2004; Smith, L., 1999, 2005; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; Walker, S., 1996) argue that research and research methodology has been intractably interwoven within the colonising ideology. Research has been utilised as a device legitimatising colonial oppression of Indigenous peoples. Smith, L., (1999) states: "In a very real sense research has been the encounter between the West and the Other" (p. 8). Cram (2001) describes researchers as the mediators of both the space and power differentials that potentially exist between themselves and those being researched.

KMT is an attempt by indigenous researchers to develop their own methodology in order to take ownership of research. KMT draws from an indigenous knowledge base to construct meaning (Pihama, 1993) and includes rectifying the damage of oppressive

practices and promoting a social change agenda. Several key principles have been identified to guide indigenous research (Cram, 2001; Hoskins, 2001; Pihama, 1993; Pohatu, 2004; Smith, G.,1997; Smith, L.,1999). These principles are outlined in appendix 1. These principles meant that literature generated by Māori authors, and authors providing a critical analysis of colonisation and its effects, were prioritised.

Findings of the Literature Review:

Colonisation and the Alienation of an Indigenous Self: Loss of Land

According to Durie (2005) the experience of colonisation for Indigenous peoples across the world has been disastrous and can be defined by a common pattern of loss: "the loss of culture, loss of voice, loss of population, loss of dignity, loss of health and loss of traditional methodologies" (p. 136). Literature reviewed suggests that the damage experienced by Indigenous peoples reflects the disruptive patterning inherent in the colonisation process. Colonisation is motivated by an imperialist desire to acquire land and greater resources (Durie, 2005; Fanon, 1983; Renwick, 1991; Walker, R., 1990; Williams, 2001). The principal consequence of this process has been the alienation of Indigenous peoples from land.

In Aotearoa, in 1862 and 1865 the new settler government (established in 1854) imposed the Native Land Acts (Durie, 2005). These new laws replaced indigenous systems of collective land tenure with individualisation of title. Durie (2005) observes 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. Secondly indigenous systems of land tenure were destroyed, further alienating indigenous communities while simultaneously assimilating them into British culture.

In response to the erosion of indigenous rights and loss of natural resources, armed conflict between Crown and Indigenous peoples erupted in the Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Taranaki between 1854 and 1872. The Indigenous peoples were labelled as insurgents and tribal lands forcibly confiscated by the Crown. In 1840, Māori owned 29,8880,000 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, p. 60).

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, pp.13-15). According to Price cited in Park (2006, p. 222) the indigenous predicament is one of lost access and rights to resources; An ecological system on which culture and history depend.

Significantly the apparent demise of the Māori population in the 1890s was mirrored by the systematic destruction of the indigenous landscape and ecology. Parks (2006) notes 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).

Park (2006) traces the impact of the superimposition of an alien ecology on Indigenous

peoples of Aotearoa. He states that the venture to create the "Britain of the South had pitched the Māori landscape from a productive ecology to one of loss" (p. 88). Park links the loss of physical resources with the felt experience of psychological anguish and pain for Indigenous peoples:

> 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 and 1890, it causes psychological pain. (p. 88)

Furthermore, documentation as far back as the early nineteenth century records this link between the alienation of Indigenous peoples from natural resources and the resultant negative impact on physical and psychological well-being. According to Newman cited in Park (2006):

> Mental depression is held by many authorities to have a large effect upon the Māoris, and certainly the loss of their former cropping grounds, of their burial grounds, of the rivers and lakes wherein they formerly fished…and the evident decrease of their race does probably affect a few. (p. 88)

Durie (2001) uses an analogy of attachment between infants and their mothers to describe the effect of the disruption of the ecological attachment on an indigenous self. Optimal development and the creation of a secure identity for an indigenous self, requires a secure attachment between the person (infant) and the land (mother). When this bond is disrupted and confused, an insecure sense of self follows (p. 79). According to Durie the disorganised identity crisis experienced by contemporary Māori is a direct result of the disruption of this ecological attachment. The alienation from the land and ecology which colonisation heralded also meant alienation for Indigenous peoples from their indigenous self.

The Ontological Conflict

A number of authors have suggested (Clammer, Poirier & Schwimmer, 2004; Fleras, 1999; Havemann, 1999; Hill, 2004; Kawharu, 2003; Linnekin & Poyer 1990; McCarty, Borgoiakova, Gilmore, Lomawaima, & Trisanina, 2005; Renwick, 1991; Walker, R., 1987) that when conflicts are closely examined from an anthropological perspective, at their roots lie not only material factors but also ontological conceptions. Cosmo centric as opposed to anthropocentric understandings of peoples place in the universe: Images of nature, ideas of the self, of the body, of gender and of mind-body relationships to name some of the most significant (Clammer et al., 2004, pp. 5-6). These in turn are linked in profound ways to ideas of health, healing, religion, identity, food, aesthetics, symbolism, and architecture.

> 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…in the final analysis, the explication of culture cannot ignore the question of ontologies. (Clammer et al., p. 5)

Arguably, conflict in Aotearoa New Zealand centres upon land and the struggle for control of natural resources. The ontological heart of this conflict is the radically different conceptualisation of self in relation to land and natural resources.

The Ecological Self

Indigenous peoples (and the concept of indigeneity) are defined through their primary relationship with the land and environments they inhabit and embody. An indigenous self is "fused" with the land (Durie, 2005, p. 137). The land permeates identity, customs, language, lore and rituals (p. 137). This understanding of an indigenous self is echoed by other authors (Pere, 1988, 1994; Ra, 2002; Shirres, 1997; Smith, L., 1999; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; Walker, R., 1987). Park, (2006), reflecting on the quality of these relationships for indigenous peoples, observes that for Indigenous peoples:

> The wing beats of tūī and kererū overhead spoke of the pulse of the land alive. These people ate from the forest and fished from the sea: forest and sea flowed through them. Living close to other native species, they understood themselves joined in a reciprocal coherence to them. Any sickness or damage that befell the forest befell them. (p. 89)

Park's (2006) poetic descriptor captures an intensely intimate relationship between an indigenous self and the surrounding environment. The premise of an interconnected self, described by Durie (2003, 2005) and Park (2006) is a central notion within the formation of the concepts of indigeneity and an indigenous self. The extract also serves as an illustration of the dangers inherent in reconstructing the indigenous self. Park's comparison of Indigenous peoples as "other native species" (p. 223) is a relic of the dehumanising process of colonialism. The tendency to romanticise the relationship between the Earth Mother environment and her children, Indigenous peoples, effectively draws upon unconscious constructions of indigenous communities. Dalal (2002) talks of the romanticism as idealisation, and denigration as a projection, both of which have their roots buried in the ideology of imperialism.

New ways of Being

Several authors (Belgrave, Kawharu, & Williams 2005; Durie, 1997, 2001; Kawharu, 2003; Ritchie, 1963; Walker, R., 1987, 1990; Williams, 2001) have noted that initial contact between Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa and early settlers was marked by the ease with which Indigenous peoples embraced new technologies, ideas, symbols and objects into their communities. Durie (2001) describes the paradigm of transcending old into new as characteristic of the first stage of an indigenous response to colonisation. This concept is symbolised in takarangi (Stewart-Harawira, 2005) with the continual reconstitution of an indigenous worldview, in relationship to the surrounding environments.

Stewart-Harawira (2005) in his explication of an indigenous global ontology uses the metaphor of the double spiral or takarangi to capture the ontological and epistemological position of an indigenous worldview. Takarangi literally means chaos and the double spiral represents the concepts of pre-existence and potentiality. The spiral is a symbol representing

the interconnectedness of all existence. The centre of the spiral is te kore: The void or the realm of potential being, and contains movement towards te ao mārama: The world of light and actualisation, while simultaneously moving back into nothingness.

Stewart-Harawira (2005) observes that an indigenous understanding of inter-connectedness is central to indigenous relationships with the environment, both physically and metaphysically. Sampson's (1988) concept of an ensembled indigenous self and Roland's (2006) description of a "we self" (p. 8), also reflects the fundamental element of inter-connectedness in the construction of the indigenous psyche. Stewart-Harawira compares indigenous ontologies and epistemologies with critical hermeneutic existential, post-modern and interpretive approaches that understand subject and object as an interrelated whole. Hence the interpretive and explanatory 'circle of understanding' has been expanded into an indigenous 'spiral of understanding'.

Smith, L., (1999) makes a strong case for the prominence of interconnection with the environment. She claims that Indigenous peoples learnt that survival depended on a social structure that simultaneously emphasised cooperation whilst incorporating mobility and adaptability to change:

> I believe that our survival as peoples has come from our knowledge or our contexts, our environment, not from some active beneficence of our Earth Mother. We had to know to survive. We had to work out ways of knowing, we had to predict, to learn and reflect, we had to preserve and protect, we had to defend and attack, we had to be mobile, we had to have social systems which enabled us to do these things. We still have to do these things. (p. 13)

Granular Society

In a similar vein, Ritchie (1963) describes Māori society prior to colonisation as 'granular' rather than 'individualistic' or 'cooperative'. Granular according to Ritchie describes society organised around potential rather than formal lines of structure or power. Ritchie's description of a 'granular' Māori society is written in response to the Western projection of a collective or communistic Māori mentality. Although indigenous communities emphasise concerted harmony and mutual cooperation, the projection of a collective mentality is value laden and sits alongside notions of 'primitive' organisations of 'tribal' societies.

Fanon (1983) maintains that colonising communities fear Indigenous peoples grouping together and overthrowing the colonial oppressor. Consequently reification of the idea of the individual occurs. The individual is privileged and promoted as liberal, enlightened and the group or society demoted and denigrated as primitive. In this process Indigenous peoples become naturalised to the echelon of other animals and are described as possessing a hive or swarm mentality (p. 33). These suppositions will be revisited more fully in chapters five and six.

Mana ake

Several authors have considered the contradiction inherent in the idea of an individual indigenous self (Durie, 1995, 2005; Fanon, 1983; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, S., 2002; Smith, L., 1999; Walker, S., 1996). Developing these ideas, the concept of ecological 'selves' is posited in

this research as a series of intersecting relationships, a matrix of people and events that are interconnected to the wider environment. This is contrasted with a Western notion of self, the "I-self" (Roland, 2006, p. 2) that is singular, individualised and contained.

This indigenous notion of self is captured by the concept of mana ake (Pere, 1994). The relationship between mana ake and 'selves' can be conceptually traced through a series of interconnected concepts merging the person and the environment. Mana ake is based on the concept of mana whēnua. Mana whēnua is derived from the concept of tangata whēnua, describing the infusion of people with the environment, which is embodied by the concept of whēnua. Whēnua is both land and placenta, both of which nurture, sustain and contain life. This in turn can be associated to the concepts of birth and existence. Mana ake reflects a concept of a fully integrated ecological self, derived from an indigenous paradigm and worldview.

Western Notion of the Individual Self

By contrast, a Western notion of self is informed by the humanistic model, which splits human from nature and body from mind (Smith, L., 1999). The individual self is contained and internal (Dalal, 2002; Gertz, 1975; Harrington, 1993; Plouffe, 2002; Roland, 2006; Sampson, 1998; Wolstein, 1977) and created and maintained by a regimented sense of the boundaries between individual and society (Ritchie, 1963). Deeply embedded Western assumptions of the individual and individualism are profoundly entrenched in psychological theorising and normative structures (Dalal, 2002; Kleinman, 1998; Krawitz, & Watson, 1997; Roland, 2006). In making this distinction it is not simply the comparisons between an indigenous experience or notion of self and a Western concept of self that are emphasised; but more significantly it is suggested that it is the imposition of the Western perception of self upon the indigenous understanding of self, that has been key to the devastation of Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. This process is essentially the colonisation of indigenous 'selves'. The superimposition of a Western notion of self over indigenous 'selves' and consequences for psychotherapeutic practice will be explored in the discussion section below.

Māori Tanga: A Māori Pākehā Dialectic

The literature reviewed above asserts that the British colonising venture was primarily motivated by the acquisition of land and natural resources. As more land was acquired, Indigenous peoples were driven further from a symbiotic relationship with the land, from an indigenous worldview and ultimately their 'selves'. The consequences of these disruptions have had profound psychological effects (see below).

These colliding ontological realities and the resulting disruption of indigenous 'selves', are analysed by Ritchie (1963) who explores the shift from an indigenous being towards an essential Māori identity. Ritchie traces a parallel internal process mirroring the external patterns of the colonising process. As competition for resources increased, Ritchie argues, so did sensitivity and understanding of how the dynamics of competition were being organised in this new colonial era. The boundaries between people had shifted, creating a new sense of 'us' and 'them'. The 'us and them' had become organised along racial lines. Fanon (1983) stresses that as the divide between human and non-human intensifies, the external split in the colonial situation is mirrored by the internal psyche of Indigenous peoples.

Ritchie (1963) states that as a response to these dynamics, Indigenous peoples began to operate along increasingly fixed boundaries and social structures. As these external structures solidify so do internal structures. According to Ritchie, colonisation created a rigid sense of self as Māori that is 'Other' to European and British. The dichotomy between Māori and Pākehā was consolidated. Ritchie (1963) asserts that this process was encapsulated by the phenomenon of a proto national Māori culture which further evolved after the land wars between 1854 and 1872 and combined with a series of social pressures; the emergence of the young Māori Party, post war demands and the dynamic urbanisation of Māori. According to Ritchie, these crises cumulated in an indigenous insurrection led by Smith, Best and the Māori Board of Ethnological Research. The intention of the movement was to recover, reconstruct, rectify and revive an image of the Māori past. It heralded the emergence of Māori tanga: Essential 'Māoriness'.

I suggest that the indigenous being or self is co-created through interconnected, symbiotic relationships with the land and other physical resources. An indigenous self is ecological 'selves' and is central to an indigenous worldview. The British colonising project concentrated on the acquisition of land and resources for settlers. As a prerequisite to achieving a colonial state, indigenous claims to land were first extinguished and/or displaced. The consequent alienation and destruction of indigenous 'selves' created a solidified sense of self, which is locked into and constructed by an ongoing relationship with the colonising power. It is suggested that the conflict between settler nations and indigenous 'selves' is a direct reflection of the ontological conflict between British imperialism and an indigenous worldview, and has had devastating consequences for Māori well-being in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand.

Contemporary Māori Mental Health

Multiple authors (Baxter, Kingi, Tapsell, Durie, & McGee, 2006; Bhopal, 2006; Durie, 1998b, 2005; Harris et al, 2006; McCreanor & Nairn, 2002) note that significant disparities between Māori and non-Māori exist across most social and health related outcomes. Durie (2005) states that Māori patients and particularly Māori women have higher rates of mental illness. Māori are at greater risk for all common mental health disorders, dominating statistics concerning anxiety, depression and substance abuse categories. In addition, Māori tend to exhibit a greater severity of symptoms (p. 32).

Durie (2005) observes social disparity and elevated levels of cultural alienation amongst Māori. He asserts that social and material deprivation factors by themselves cannot account for the entirety of disparity between Māori and non-Māori (pp. 42-43). Both Durie (2005) and the MaGPIe research group (2005) note that additional "ethnicity-specific factors" (p. 42) appear to be implicated. Durie (2005) ascribes these factors to an indigenous experience of colonisation and the ongoing practice of discriminatory behaviour practiced by the majority group (p. 43). Several authors (Beautrais & Fergusson, 2006; Skegg, Cox, & Broughton, 1995; Tatz, 2001) note that the qualitative and quantitative experience of indigenous suicide is significantly different for Indigenous than non-Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, Tatz (2001) links indigenous suicide with the experience of colonisation and emphasises the need to understand suicide from without rather than within.

Durie (2001) expresses the colossal effect colonisation has had upon the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa: "Threats [to well-being] come from many quarters often traceable to

the process of colonisation and its almost universal accompaniments: depopulation, violence, dislocation, poverty and cultural repression" (p. 35). Durie asserts that it is impossible to understand Māori mental health without understanding the wider historical, cultural and political forces and to appreciate the dimensions of adversity. "The foundations for mental health are to be found as much outside the mind and the body as within" (p. 35).

Divided Self

"Like the external colonial situation, the internal world of the Negro is inevitably and deeply divided…the self-division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation" (Fanon, 1982, p. 17). The colonising ideology defined 'human' as identical to the coloniser and his world system. Inversely, the colonising ideology worked hard to construct the colonised, the 'Other' as something not human or primitive.

Dalal (2002) summarises Frantz Fanon's (1992) writing in suggesting that "the mythology that colonialism constitutes itself by itself is that it is a civilising project of humanising of the primitive native, and so disguises its true intentions which are exploitative and economic" (p. 94). Fanon writes powerfully about the dehumanisation implicit in the colonial project. "Every colonised people, in other words every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality — finds itself facetoface with language of the civilising nation" (Fanon, 1982, p. 18). Writers such as Wolfenstein (1993) build on Fanon's work, in offering a reading of colonial discourse in which the construction of the indigenous other as dehumanised is emphasised. Others within the New Zealand context (Durie 2001: Goldie 1989, Kawharu 2003, R. Walker 1987, S. Walker 1996) write, in a manner similar to that suggested by Salmond (2017) of early constructions of indigenous Māori as romanticised and idealised: the noble savage, suggesting this assisted early settler contact, but that as the economic imperative of colonisation became more pressing in the mid and late 19th Century, the constructions of Māori become more violent. Wolfenstein (1993) suggests, "the black race serves as a mirror in which white people see reflected their own unconscious repressed or alienated selves … the black person is what the white person is not. He is the alienated white self" (p. 354). Writers such as Beets 2003, Hokowhitu, 2004, Park 2006, L Smith 1999, S Walker 1996, write of the construction of Māori as the primitive or savage other.

For example, Walker cites the Wellington Independent (July 21st 1868 cited in Archer), "We must spite and spare not … they are determined to fight and we, in selfprotection must treat them as a species of savage beasts which must be exterminated to render the colonisation of New Zealand possible." (p. 6). And Wakefield (cited in Best, 1925, p. 120) in describing Māori when telling a story, suggests "nothing can remind one more forcibly of a monkey as one who has seen a Māori relating the news." Darwin (cited in Park 2006 p. 85) comments, "Whenever Darwin remembered New Zealand during the writing of the origin of the species, it was Kororareka's Māori being so "filthily dirty" and his fear of the "cunning and ferocity". On his evolutionary scale of civilisation with terra del fuegians as zero, "I am afraid the New Zealanders would rank but a few degrees higher, while Tahiti … would occupy a respectable position." Finally, Arthur Thompson (1859) states, "It was ascertained by weighing the quality of millet seed skulls contained … that New Zealander's heads are smaller than the heads of Englishmen, consequently the New Zealanders are inferior to the English in mental capacity … this analysis

shows the New Zealanders have the minds of children" (p. 81).The above texts illustrate that early colonial constructions of indigenous Māori by European settlers has tended to be ones of either romantic idealisation, or dehumanising denigration.

Internalisation of the Objectified 'Other'

Dalal (2002) compares Freud (1930) and Winnicott's (1965) developmental concept of the necessity of discovering oneself through and in the eyes of the 'Other', with Fanon's (1982) explication of the indigenous "object" (p. 109).

> In the colonial situation, the black person has to look in the white mans' eyes to give himself substance, to find himself, but instead of himself he finds the white mans' perception of himself, in effect he is torn asunder and becomes an object to himself. (Dalal, 2002, p. 97)

Fanon (1982) describes the peculiar and devastating phenomenon where in the black man's mind he thinks of himself as white. In this moment the external colonial divide, the split between humanity and beastiality has become interiorised. This occurs when Indigenous peoples are forced to choose and accept the distinctions between the civilised European and Indigenous primitive native.

The external structure is institutionalised in the psyche, rendering the superego white and id black. Now according to Fanon (1983) the Indigenous Antillean has a phobia against blackness. Nonetheless the black person cannot withdraw from their black skin, leading to an experience of self alienation. Essentially the black person is alienated in their black body.

> When I had to meet the white mans eyes …an unfamiliar weight burdened me …in the white world the man of colour encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema. Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity; it is a third person consciousness. (Fanon, 1983, pp. 110-111)

Wolfenstein (1993) critiques Fanon (1983) using a Marxist perspective suggesting the division between the oppressed and oppressors results from an alienating objectification process inherent in capitalist structures. Those subordinate in the hierarchy are forced to identify with the oppressors leading to a divided self. Consequently "the character structure of black children will be partially formed in the oppressors image…white power defines reality and white authority fuses with black parental authority in the formation of conscience" (p. 356). Wolfenstein declares there are now only two possibilities before the marginalised black individual, conformism or rebellion. In either case "the individual is trapped in the vicious circle of self destructive aggression" (p. 356).

Elias (1994) in his critique of power relations between groups, states that a coalescence of a 'we' group which is positively cathected, results in the subjugation of a 'them' group which is negatively cathected. The social function of 'we' is to defend the status quo and maintain power differentials. The greater the power differential, the less able the subjugated can defend themselves from internalising these images at fundamental structural and emotional levels. The perceived bad 'them', and therefore self, cannot be escaped and has dire and debilitating

effects on the psyche. This eventually leads to depression, anger and self-hate.

Elaborating upon Elias (1994), Dalal (2002) states the 'we' idealised images divide and project the bad leaving behind the good. However, if the 'we' image is a denigrated one, then the good will be projected out in order to protect it from the badness within. Both processes effectively reinforce the images of both idealised and denigrated groups simultaneously, effectively maintaining the ideology of the status quo. Dalal (2002) concludes that denigrated images of the 'Other' are deeply embedded in language and societal structures and their images and associations will remain deeply embedded in the psyche of those born into those systems. Effectively the psyche has been racialised.

Erikson (1959) comments: "It is usual in our culture that the unconscious evil identity (that which the ego is most afraid to resemble) is composed of the image of violated (castrated) body, the ethnic out-group and the exploited minority" (p. 30). According to Erikson, children come to interiorise historical or actual people as prototypes of good and evil (p. 24). Erikson suggests that the oppressor in an ethnically prejudiced society has a vested interest in the evil prototypes of the oppressed. Furthermore, the impact upon a person identified as belonging to the oppressed minority is profound.

The individual belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority which is aware of the dominant cultural ideals but prevented from emulating them is apt to fuse the negative images held up to him by the dominant majority with his own identity. (Erikson, 1966, p. 237)

Erikson (1959) states that therapeutic efforts as well as attempts at social reform verify the sad truth that in any system based on suppression, exclusion and exploitation, the suppressed, excluded and exploited unconsciously believe in the evil image which they are made to represent by those who are dominant (p. 31). Consequently, a person will form a negative identity, which is based perversely on all the identifications presented to the individual as most undesirable and dangerous (and real) at critical stages of development (p. 131). The interiorisation of an evil prototype by minority groups is imbibed on unconscious levels and results in a morbid self hate. The evil prototype is interiorised even before the concept of racial difference is obtained.

Several authors (Dalal, 2002; Erikson, 1959; Fanon, 1983; Wolfenstein, 1993) reflect on influences of the socio-political environment on the immediate family structure and refer to the ingestion of social material by the developing infant through the nurturing process. Bollas (1982) describes the mechanism of this process from an object relations perspective:

> In my view, each individual transfers elements of that maternal care system that handled them as an object when in infancy and childhood by relocating this parental care system into the person's own way of managing themselves as an object. (p. 10)

Internalisation of the Objectified 'Other' Within the Aotearoa New Zealand Context

The ideas of the abovementioned international authors (Dalal, 2002; Elias, 1994; Erikson, 1959, 1964, 1966; Fanon, 1983; Wolfenstein, 1993) are powerfully reflected in the indigenous experience of colonisation of the self in Aotearoa. According to Durie (2001, 2005) colossal cultural alienation has been a momentous consequence of the colonisation process:

> Fewer than one third of Māori are proficient in Māori language; Less than one half have access to traditional lands; Less than fifty percent are enrolled on the Māori electoral roll; One fifth do not know their tribal origins; Approximately one third have regular access to marae, and more than four-fifths live away from tribal areas. (Durie, 2005, p. 44)

The predominant psychological effect recurring alongside the process of cultural alienation has been the destruction of an indigenous identity, creating a confused identity. Durie (2001) comments:

> In response to colonisation and attempts at assimilation, Māori identities were often crushed or reconfigured in a fatalistic light. Many Māori rejected their own cultural and social underpinnings of identity and either tried to imitate Pākehā New Zealanders or played out second-class roles as carefree, un-ambitious and inoffensive labourers. (p. 56)

Identity confusion was resolved either through 'opting out' of society or through the creation of a strong negative identity. This reflects the shift from indigenous 'selves' to a colonised Māori identity.

Mana ake

Durie cited in Pere (1998, p. 59) contrasts a colonised Māori identity to a prior indigenous self. He describes an indigenous self-concept, mana ake, observing that mana ake describes a unique being who is in a constant flux between inner and outer energies and who embodies "a locus of multiple interactive pathways" (p. 59).

Vaughan's (1964, 1972) psychological studies of ethnic awareness in Māori and Pākehā children, found Māori subjects between four and nine years, failed to show that they are able to identify with individuals of the ethnic in-group (Māori) (p. 5); and up to the age of six years more that half of Māori think that they look like Pākehā. Vaughan concluded: "This phenomenon suggests young Māoris find a Pākehā world attractive to the extent that they see themselves as Pākehās" (p. 56).

Archer (1975) challenges Vaughan's (1964, 1972) conclusion that Māori find the "Pākehā world attractive" (p. 52), as understated. Archer (1975) asserts that what Māori think of themselves and their own world, is the more significant issue. He argues Vaughan's (1964, 1972) results reflect research findings with regard to American 'blacks' that are described as "conditioned into morbid self-hatred, inferiority feelings and a negative identity" (Archer, 1975, p. 34). Vaughan's (1964, 1972) supposition is a chilling echo of Fanon's (1982) observation of the Indigenous Antillean coming to think of themselves as white.

Whakamā

Ritchie (1963) establishes that the Pākehā experience of Māori as 'happy go lucky' is a Māori response to Pākehā expectations and stereotypes. It functions to hide internal conflicts resulting from a divided self. According to Erikson cited in Ritchie (1963, p. 30) the division

of self, results from the disruption and disturbances in identity formation. Culturally and uniquely expressed it is experienced as whakamā. Whakamā resonates with uncertainty and results in the experience of self-alienation, effectively destroying any capacity to connect with self or others. Ritchie hypothesises the experience of whakamā is pivotal in creating and shaping Māori and Pākehā relations: "In terms of future whakamā is a significant potential difficulty, more so than Pākehā prejudice against Māori" (pp. 178-179).

According to Metge (1986) whakamā cannot be understood purely as a psychological problem. Māori see it as an illness with a spiritual dimension, an unease "which affects the whole person body mind and spirit" (p. 78). Whakamā are "feelings in the sense of awareness which are characterised by unresponsiveness, that is a withdrawal from communication with others" (p. 25).

Metge observes the experience of whakamā is interwoven with the lack/loss of mana in relation to others. Metge uses the English idiom "to suffer by comparison" (p. 32). According to Marsden cited in Metge (1986, p. 77) the loss of mana involves "not only outward alienation from significant others but also inward alienation from oneself". This links with Wolfenstein's (1993) assertion that self alienation is a direct consequence of objectifying capitalist processes.

According to Barclay cited in Metge (1986, p. 32):

In my time, when a Pākehā talks to us…their mind reflects their environment in comparison to ours. We showed we were aware of this by bowing our heads. We sort of drop down in our way of thinking. Everything drops with it if asked a question. We are trying to answer the question and our mind reflects on our environment. If we were on the same level we could look them in the eye… I have been whakamā. In my own mind it's a comparison, comparing the environments, comparing my worth with his worth.

Indeed many of Metge's (1986) vignettes describe the occurrence of what Wolfenstein (1993) refers to as a false conscience: "A divided self who judges the rationality of his actions against the standard of his alienated reality and who therefore acts as to reproduce that reality" (p. 351).

Metge (1986) and Durie (2001) cite Māori author Pere (1994) who describes the concept of tou ake mana "the total individual store" (p. 59). Metge relates tou ake mana to Western psychological terms of self-image and self-concept. Tou ake mana stresses both the uniqueness of the individual and the importance of membership in the group, individual mana being linked reciprocally with that of the group. Metge (1986) observes that both mana and self-image share the characteristic of being sensitive and responsive to the environment. In hostile or infertile conditions mana and self-image will be weak and accompanied by a corresponding experience of powerlessness. Metge states this is both the origin and personification of whakamā. Depending on the severity of whakamā, symptomology can progress into the realm of mate Māori. The person with little or no mana has no protection against the mana of others and more readily falls prey to mate Māori.

Metge (1986) significantly identifies mana as a self-concept, a socially constructed reciprocal relationship. As explored in chapter four, the concept of 'selves', constructed within a social matrix is strongly reiterated by authors reviewed in this section. Of particular interest

is Foulkes' (1971) central premise: "the group, the community is the ultimate primary unit of consideration, and that so called inner processes in the individuals are *internalisations* of the forces operating in the group to which he/she belongs" (p. 212) (italics added). Foulkes hypothesises that illness is a malfunction in the communication field. Thus while a person might be ill, "mental sickness has a disturbance of integration within the community at its very roots — a disturbance of communication" (Foulkes & Anthony, 1957, p. 24). In terms of understanding whakamā and mate Māori, while particular individuals may express ill health and neuroses, they are in fact expressing symptoms of some malfunction in the larger communication field. As Dalal (2002) comments: "The illness is *located* elsewhere in the system" (p. 114).

Metge (1986) outlines the limitations of her research on whakamā, recommending that the experience of whakamā for culturally alienated young (especially urban) Māori be investigated and explored (p. 149). A later research project authored by Van Meijl (2006) investigates this experience of alienated Māori youth within an urban marae setting.

The Dialogical Self

Van Meijl's (2006) central thesis is that the dissonance between political presentations of the Māori self which are experienced as "theatrical" (p. 4), and the "personal self" (p. 4) representations cause a crisis within Māori, particularly urban youth. Personal self presentations according to Van Meijl are internalised perceptions of Māori culture as 'Other', characterised by a "second rate status in New Zealand society" (p. 4). It is important to note that 'the Other' Van Meijl focuses on his research is not 'the Other' constructed by a colonial majority as investigated in this research. Instead Van Meijl's 'culture of 'Other' focuses upon the 'post' colonial presentation of a crystallised Māori culture as authentic and singular arising from the period of Māori renaissance.

Van Meijl (2006) argues that Māori identity reflects the fragmented nature of a 'post' modern society. He utilises Bakhtin's cited in Van Meijl (2006, p. 14) notion of the dialogical self as a framework to locate and explain the phenomena of a post modern multiplicity of 'selves' and the fragmentation of self within marginalised people. The dialogical self is continuously recreating itself and only exists as part of a tensile relationship with all that is 'Other', and most importantly with other 'selves'. Hermens cited in Van Meijl (2006, p. 15) describes the dialogical self as "a society of the mind", where there is virtually no distinction between a self and a society, "both self and society function as a polyphony of constant dissonant voices".

The notion of a dialogical self is remarkably similar to Foulkes' (1966, 1975) idea of a social matrix. It also mirrors Stewart-Harawira (2005) and Metge's (1986) descriptions of symbolic interconnectedness and interrelatedness. Undoubtedly the dialogical self resonates with the idea of an indigenous concept of 'selves' located in a reciprocal social and environmental context.

According to Van Meijl (2006), Māori youth in his research were effectively alienated from themselves due to the internalised culture of the 'Other' instigating confusion and dis-unity. The self torn between numbers of conflicting identifications partially disintegrates (dis-unification) with movement and transfer of energy between multiple 'selves' impeded and restricted (p. 16). Van Meijl's findings of dis-unification, disintegration and compart-

mentalisation are remarkably analogous to Metge's (1986) description of whakamā. Dalal's (2002) description of the processes of splitting and categorisation also mirror the internal experience of Van Meijl's (2006) Māori urban youth.

The findings of Van Meijl's (2006) research are both insightful and challenging. His assumption that self alienation occurs because of the internalisation of a classical Māori self is problematic due to his omission of the prior processes of the internalised subjugated 'Other'. Van Meijl's findings are further obscured by his failure to locate himself within the research. Van Meijl as an older, middle class, European male researching young alienated Māori invariably recreates the very experience he is attempting to observe within his research. Smith, L., (1999) captures this dynamic when she observes that: "Research has not been neutral in its objectification of the 'Other'. Objectification is a process of dehumanisation" (p. 39).

The authors reviewed (Dalal, 2002; Elias, 1994; Erikson, 1959; Fanon, 1982; Wolfenstein, 1993) refer to desires constrained by power differentials. Moana desires the clothes in the shop, however she believes she cannot have them. She desperately desires to be white and loved, not brown and hated (Fanon, 1982). Nonetheless, there is no escape from her 'self' or as Fanon cited in Dalal (2002, p. 97) describes she has become "phobic of her skin". As Metge (1986) might observe, Moana is whakamā, she "suffer[s] by comparison" (p. 32.).

Whakamā and the Divided Indigenous Selves

This research suggests whakamā is more than the divided individual. Whakamā is the massive external cultural and social schism internalised within the psyche of Indigenous peoples. As Fanon (1982, 1983) and Wolfenstein (1993) describe the external spilt created by the ideology of colonialism is replicated by the internal psyche of Indigenous peoples. Whakamā is the experience of divided indigenous 'selves'. This statement is premised on Foulkes' (1966, 1975) concept of a social unconscious and a social matrix; the idea of interrelated and interconnected relationships pertinent to an indigenous experience of 'selves'. Following Foukles' premise, divided 'selves' or whakamā is an expression of dysfunction occurring in the social environment, expressed by the individual. In this case the dysfunction is caused by the colonisation and subjugation of Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. Whakamā is the expression of this societal dysfunction.

Applying Dalal (2002) and Elias (1994), whakamā is a uniquely indigenous phenomenon due to its construction from complimentary social roles. It is constituted by rigid power dynamics sourced from and maintained by the imperial colonising ideology: Pākehā at the centre, Māori on the margins.

Metge (1986) and Ritchie (1963) connect the experience of whakamā with many underlying contemporary psychosocial and social issues for Māori in Aotearoa. Fanon (1982) proposes that all neuroses for Indigenous peoples derive from the colonial context and the experience of colonisation. The experience of whakamā is pungently intertwined with the experience of colonisation. A synthesis of these statements suggests that perhaps all contemporary psychological issues facing Māori today are to some degree underpinned by an experience of an objectified and divided self. This hypothesis is further explored in the discussion below.

Discussion of Findings

Implications for Psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand: The objectified and divided self

This research suggests that conceivably all psychological issues for Māori stem to some extent from an objectified and divided self. Fanon (1983) states: "Every neurosis is the product of his cultural situation" (p. 152). Dalal (2002) defines this in stating "and by culture he means colonial" (p. 92).

At the heart of this research is the idea that an indigenous experience of self exists within a discursive relationship to colonisation processes. This results in alienation of indigenous 'selves' and the experience of self as an object. "An object has no life force, no humanity, no spirit of its own, so therefore 'it' cannot make an active contribution" (Smith, L., 1999, p. 61).

The theme of an objectified self and the ongoing experience of colonisation is evident in many investigations of mental illness concerning Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. Tatz (2001) states that the experience of alienation, disempowerment and purposelessness inherent in the motivation for indigenous suicide, stems directly from the experience of colonisation. He correlates these findings with Schulman's cited in Tatz (2001, p. 148) notion of "self murder". Durie (2001) observes that the experience of deculturation, loss of language, tradition, cultural institutions and imposed cultural sanctions, underlie excessive substance abuse among indigenous peoples. Durie states that substance abuse is used to relieve a sense of "identity diffusion and anomie" and provides an escape from a sense of "humiliation and socio-cultural inferiority" (p. 131).

The Construct of Self — Implications for Psychotherapy

This research suggests that the concept of self is as much a socio-political construct as it is an internal experience. The construction of self is a socio-political vehicle to validate the colonial experience and colonising processes (Fanon, 1983; Smith, L., 1999; Walker, R., 1987). This has significant implications for psychotherapy and psychotherapeutic practice.

The intention of legislating individualisation of land title in 1862 and 1865 was to simultaneously disrupt indigenous land use and socio-cultural structures (Durie, 2005; Walker, R., 1987). This process was paralleled by an equally insidious process: The individualisation of the self. "The colonialist bourgeoisie 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 individual thought" (Fanon, 1983, p. 37).

Colonial ideologies are mirrored and maintained by positivist psychotherapies that split and privilege the internal over the external, the individual over the group and biological over societal (Dalal, 2002; Durie, 2001; Erikson, 1964; Fanon, 1983). These models value depth over surface and the external world is simply seen as the manifest expression of what is real: The latent content of the psyche. The cause of dysfunction is sought within biology and individual development, emphasising the process of projection and neglecting introjection (Durie, 2001; Dalal, 2002; Elias, 1994; Kleinman, 1998; Wolstein, 1977).

In this approach individuals are closed a-historical systems. Thus when positivist psychotherapies scrutinise indigenous psychological issues stripped of history, all that remains to be considered is the dysfunction of the Indigenous. Dalal (2002) and Krawitz, &

Watson (1997) contend that therapists must incorporate socio-political history into the analysis, in order to comprehend the complex nature of indigenous symptomology. Further Dalal (2002) states that neglect of the socio-historical, political and the dynamics of power relations will at best only be a partial understanding of what is actually happening and at worst be "dangerously wrong" (p. 217). These ideas are mirrored by Durie (2001) when he asserts:

> …emphasis on relationships reflects a Māori belief that personal understanding, knowledge, and awareness derive from outside the individual, not within. Rather than searching for inner psychological comprehension or analysing emotions and behaviour as if they arose de novo, answers are sought in the restitution of positive cultural links and relationships in order to enhance understanding and confidence. (p. 171)

The concept of self must be extended beyond the contemporary modern notion of self: The independent internal phenomenon (Plouffe, 2002; Roland, 2006). For psychotherapy to serve indigenous communities, psychotherapists must understand that client's subjective experience of self has its origins deep within the civilising discourse of imperialism. The Western notion of self was used to subjugate and oppress indigenous populations for exploitation. The unthinking continuation of these models via psychotherapeutic relationships facilitates the ongoing oppression of Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa.

Tino Rangatiratanga and Psychotherapy

Durie (2001) and Ritchie (1963) both assert that any analysis of the indigenous situation in Aotearoa must include an understanding of the effects of adversity on Indigenous peoples. Through an indigenous experience of adversity the concept of emancipation has developed. The idea of emancipation in Aotearoa is demonstrated by the concept of tino rangatiratanga. Tino rangatiratanga is a powerful indigenous social movement, which underpins multiple contemporary issues for Indigenous peoples (Durie, 1998a). Tino Rangatiratanga concerns indigenous 'selves' forging connections between the self and the environment: The social, political, ecological, cosmological and more. Tino rangatiratanga is posited in this research as an antidote to the experience of whakamā and mate Māori: The divided and alienated experience of self. Tino rangatiratanga has the potential to weave together the split and fragmented 'selves'. Future research in this field would advance the emancipation of Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. Furthermore this has considerable implications for psychotherapy and psychotherapeutic practice.

Psychotherapy and psychotherapists must carefully consider the positivist Western paradigm that informs their practice, assessment and treatment planning. Tino rangatiratanga demands reconfiguration of the psychotherapist's world-view. Psychotherapists can choose to collude with the colonial ideology, perpetuating the status quo, and maintaining the oppression of Indigenous peoples through racist discourse; or begin forging pathways of understanding the complex dynamics contributing to contemporary constructions of self and society. Tino rangatiratanga requires psychotherapists to firstly 'own' their privileged position.

Stages of Liberation (Fanon, 1983)

Fanon's stages of liberation describe the initial impact of colonisation. The stages are useful for contextualising concepts of whakamā, mate Māori, and tino rangatiratanga. Fanon's stages of liberation detail his vision of Indigenous peoples transcending colonial oppression and transforming their constructed identity of 'Other' into an identity of indigenous nationhood.

The first stage of liberation is unqualified assimilation: the unquestioned appropriation of colonial ideology. The second stage of liberation is the resurgence of tradition and involves celebrating the very qualities that are denigrated by the settler. Nevertheless this process is inadequate as the indigenous person still perceives him/herself through the eyes of coloniser and so finds him/herself wanting. The third stage of liberation is defined by action with the formation of politicised groups to counter the ideology of the individual, used against indigenous populations as a divisive mechanism.

This research has focused on stage one of Fanon's (1983) model, as it remains a process current in the experience of self of Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa (Smith, L., 1999). In a contemporary context in Aotearoa, the stages are experienced as non-linear with movement within different stages simultaneously taking place (see Smith, L., 1999 commentary).

The movement towards liberation in Aotearoa resurfaced with the arrest, interrogation and violence towards political activists and the Tūhoe community under the guise of the Terrorism Suppression Act. In addition, the resolution (and challenge) by Māori psychotherapists to enter the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) as a group (Waka Oranga) demonstrates a movement towards tino rangatiratanga. Indeed, there are many examples of diverse groups within Aotearoa contributing to the total effort of emancipation. Psychotherapy and psychotherapists have a choice to engage with these revolutionary processes or to retreat and defend the status quo. With regard to clinical practice psychotherapists must, at the least, hold in mind the wider socio-political context within which the Indigenous experience of self emerges; if they are not to perpetuate the very oppression they are purporting to address.

Conclusion

The implications drawn from this research are presented as a wero for the psychotherapeutic community to engage in a full and meaningful way with Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. The challenging nature of the discussion is intended to provoke and stimulate dialogue.

In this conversation, 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 and environmental elements, psychotherapy opens to the possibility of clearly *seeing* indigenous psychological issues in their whole context rather than locating the dysfunction within the Indigenous person. This has potentially dramatic implications for contributing to the holistic well-being and health of indigenous communities.

References

Archer, D. (1975). *Race, identity and the Māori people*. Hamilton: University of Waikato.

Baxter, J., Kingi, T., Tapsell, A., Durie, M., & McGee, M. (2006, October). Prevalence of mental disorders among Māori in te rau hinengaro: The New Zealand mental health survey. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 40*(10), 914-923.

Beautris, A. L., & Fergusson, D. M. (2006). Indigenous suicide in New Zealand. *Archives of Suicide Research, 10*(2), 159-168.

Beets, J. (2003). *Girls and boys come out to stay: Ideological formations in New Zealand — set children's fiction 1862 – 1917*. New Zealand: Massey University.

Belgrave, M., Kawharu, M., & Williams, D. (2005). *Waitangi revisited: Perspectives on the Treaty of Waitangi*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Best, E. (1925). *Games and pastimes of Māori*. Wellington: The Board of Māori Ethnological Research for the Dominion Museum.

Bhopal, R. (2006). Racism, socio-economic deprivation and health in New Zealand. *Lancet, 367*(9527), 1958-1959.

Bishop, R. (1997). *Collaborative research stories: Whakawhanaungatanga*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Bishop, R. (2005). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: A kaupapa Māori approach to creating knowledge. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.) (pp.109-138). Thousand, CA: Sage Publications.

Bollas, C. (1982). On relation to the self as an object. *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 63,* 347-359.

Clammer, J., Poirier, S., & Schwimmer, E. (Eds.). (2004). *Figured worlds: Ontological obstacles in intercultural relations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Clothier, H. (1993). *Three women speak: A site for constituting identity*. Wellington: He Parekereke, Victoria University.

Cram, F. (2001). *Rangahau Māori, tona tika, tona pono: Research ethics in Aotearoa*. Auckland: Longman.

Dalal, F. (2002). *Race, colour and the processes of racialization*. New York: Routledge.

Durie, M. (1995). *Ngā matatini Māori: Diverse Māori realities*. Mental Health Framework Seminar, Tūrangawaewae Marae, Ngāruawahia.

Durie, M. (1997). Māori cultural identity and the New Zealand search for nationhood. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Mental Health Nursing, 6,* 51-58.

Durie, M. (1998a). *Te mana, te kawanatanga: The politics of Māori self determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (1998b). *Whaiora: Māori health development*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2001). *Mauri ora: The dynamics of Māori health*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2003). *Ngā kahui pou: Launching Māori futures*. Aotearoa: Huia Publishers.

Durie M. (2005). *Ngā tai matatū: Tides of Māori endurance*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Elias, N. (1994). *The civilising process*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Erikson, E. (1959). *Identity and the life cycle*. New York: International Universities Press.

Erikson, E. (1964). *Insight and responsibility*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Erikson, E. (1966). *The concept of identity in race relations*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Fanon, F. (1983). *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. (1982). *Black skin, white masks.* New York: Grove Press.

Fleras, A. (Ed.). (1999). *Politicising indigeneity: Ethno-politics in white settler dominions.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Foulkes, S. H. (1966). *Some basic concepts in group psychotherapy.* London: Karnac Books.

Foulkes, S. H. (1971). *Access to the unconscious processes in the group-analytic group.* London: Karnac Books.

Foulkes, S. H. (1975). *Problems of the large group.* London: Karnac Books.

Foulkes, S. H., & Anthony, E. J. (1957). *Group psychotherapy: The psychoanalytic approach.* London: Karnac Books.

Freud, S. (1930). *Civilisation and its discontents* (Standard ed., Vol. XXII.). London: Hogarth Press.

Gertz, C. (1975). On the nature of anthropological understanding. *American Scientist, 63,* 47-53.

Goldie, T. (1989). *Fear and temptation: The image of the indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand literatures.* Kingston: McGill-Queens.

Harrington, C. (1993). Making culture and making people: Comparative constructivism. *Contemporary Psychoanalysis, 29,* 251-270.

Harris, R., Tobias, M., Jeffery, M., Waldegrave, K., Karlsen, S., & Nazroo, J. (2006, June). Effects of self-reported racial discrimination and deprivation on Māori health and inequalities in New Zealand: Cross sectional research. *Lancet, 367*(9527), 2005-2009.

Havemann, P. (Ed.). (1999). *Indigenous peoples' rights in Australia, Canada and New Zealand.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Hill, R. (2004). *State authority, indigenous autonomy: Crown-Māori relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900 – 1950.* Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Hokowhitu, B. (2004). Physical beings stereotypes, sports and the physical education of New Zealand Māori. In J. A. Mangan & A. Ritchie (Eds.), *Ethnicity sport: Struggles for status* (pp.192-218). Oxon: Routledge.

Hoskins, C. (2001). *Kia whai kiko te korero: Constituting discourses, exchanges at the edge.* Unpublished masters thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, Aotearoa/NewZealand.

International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education. (2006). *A research ethic for researching Māori and iwi provider success.* Auckland: University of Auckland.

Jackson, M. (1996). *Māori health research and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.* A hui to discuss strategic directions for Māori health research, Wellington School of Medicine, Wellington.

Kawharu, S. H. (2003). *Conflict and compromise.* Reed: New Zealand.

Kleinman, A. (1998). *Rethinking psychiatry: From cultural category to personal experience.* New York: Free Press.

Krawitz, R., & Watson, C. (1997). Gender, race and poverty: Bringing the socio-political into psychotherapy. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 31*(4), 474-479.

Linnekin, J., & Poyer, L. (Eds.). (1990). *Cultural identity and ethnicity in the Pacific.* Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

McCarty, T. L., Borgoiakova, T., Gilmore, P., Lomawaima, K., & Trisanina, R. (Eds.). (2005). Indigenous epistemologies and education: Self determination, anthropology and human rights. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 36*(1), 1-7.

McCreanor, T., & Nairn, R. (2002). General practitioners explanations of Māori health: Colonial relations in primary healthcare in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *Journal of Health Psychology, 7*(5), 509-518.

MaGPIe Research Group, University of Otago at Wellington School of Medicine and Health Science. (2005). Mental disorders among Māori attending their general practitioner. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 39*(5), 401-406.

Metge, J. (1986). *In and out of touch: Whakamā in cross cultural context.* Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Nepe, T. (1991). *E Hao Nei e Tenei Reanga te Toi Huarewa Tupuna: Kaupapa Māori, An Educational Intervention System.* Unpublished masters thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Park, G. (2006). *Theatre country.* Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Pere, R. (1988). *Te wheke: Whaia te maramangatanga me te aroha.* New Zealand: Ao Ako Global Learning.

Pere, R. (1994). *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Māori tradition.* Wellington: Kohanga Reo National Trust.

Pihama, L. (1993). *Tungia te ururua, kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke: A critical analysis of parents as first teachers.* Unpublished masters thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Pihama, L., Cram, F., & Walker, S. (2002). Creating methodological space: A literature review of kaupapa Māori research. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 26*(1), 30-43.

Plouffe, H. D. (2002). The indigenous healing process and cultural rebirth of first nations. *The Sciences and Engineering, 62*(10B), 4800.

Pohatu, T. W. (2004). *Āta: Growing respectful relationships.* Wellington: Massey University.

Ra, M. (2002). *Mana a toku ko tane: The right to stand tall.* Te Kauwhata: Mitaki Ra Publications.

Renwick, W. (1991). *Sovereignty and indigenous right: The Treaty of Waitangi in international contexts.* Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Ritchie, J. (1963). *The making of a Māori: A case research of a changing community.* Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed.

Roland, A. (2006). Across civilisations. *The American Psychological Association Journal, 43*(4), 454-463.

Salmond, A. (1917). *Tears of Rangi: Experiments across worlds.* Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Sampson, E. E. (1998). The debate on individualism: Indigenous psychologies of the individual and their role in personal and societal functioning. *American Psychologist, 43*(1), 15-22.

Shirres, M. (1997). *Te tangata: The human person.* Auckland: Accent Publications.

Skegg, K., Cox, B., & Broughton, J. (1995). Suicide among New Zealand Māori: Is history repeating itself? *Acta Psychiatrica Scandanavica, 92*(6), 453-459.

Smith, G. (1997). *The development of kaupapa Māori theory and praxis.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Auckland, Auckland.

Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* Dunedin: Zed Books.

Smith, L.T. (2005). On tricky ground. In N. K. Denzin (Ed.) & Y. S. Lincoln (Ed.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). (pp. 85-107). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Stewart-Harawira, M. (2005). *The new imperial order: Indigenous response to colonisation.* Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Tatz, C. (2001). *Aboriginal suicide is different: A portrait of life and self destruction.* Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Thompson, A. (1859). *The story of New Zealand: Past and present, savage and civilised.* London: John Murray.

Van Meijl, T. (2006). Multiple identifications and the dialogical self: Urban Māori youngsters and the cultural renaissance. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 12*(4), 917-933.

Vaughan, G. M. (1964). *Development of ethnic awareness in Māori and Pākehā school children.* Wellington: Victoria University Publication.

Vaughan, G .M (1972). *Racial issues in New Zealand.* Auckland: Akarana Press.

Walker, R. (1987). *Nga tau tohetohe: Years of anger.* Auckland: Penguin Books.

Walker, R. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end.* Auckland: Penguin Books.

Walker, S. (1996). *Kia tau te rangimarie: Kaupapa Māori theory as a resistance against the construction of Māori as the other.* London: Zed Books.

Williams, D. (2001). *Crown policy affecting Māori knowledge systems and cultural practices.* Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal Publication.

Winnicott, D. W. (1965). *The family and individual development.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Wolfenstein, E. V. (1993). *Psychoanalytic marxism: Groundwork.* London: Free Association Press.

Wolstein, B. (1977). From mirror to participant observation, to co participant inquiry and experience. *Contemporary Psychoanalysis, 13,* 381-386.

Appendix 1 — Principles of Kaupapa Māori research theory (KMT)

1. The principle of the Treaty of Waitangi: Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) provides a basis through which Māori may critically analyse relationships, challenge the status quo, and affirm Māori rights (Pihama, 2001).

2. The principle of collective philosophy: The kaupapa refers to the collective vision, aspiration and purpose of Māori communities.

3. The principle of emancipation: Tino rangatiratanga relates to sovereignty, autonomy, control, self determination and independence.

4. The principle of socio-economic mediation: This principle asserts a need for kaupapa Māori research to be of positive benefit to Māori communities.

5. The principle of cultural aspiration: Within a kaupapa Māori paradigm, Māori ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world are considered valid in their own right.

6. The principle of growing respectful relationships: The principle of āta (Pohatu, 2004) relates specifically to building, nurturing and maintaining well-being in relationships with Māori.

7. The principle of extended family structure: The principle of whānau acknowledges the relationship that Māori have with the world around them and to one another. It also identifies the intrinsic connection between the researcher, the researched and the research.

Wiremu Woodard is Tuhoe and an Indigenous therapist, father of four, activist, environ-mentalist, sometimes contemporary dancer and artist. Wiremu is committed to reducing health disparities for Māori and promoting social justice. He currently works in community practice at KERERU and teaches on the Psychotherapy and Counselling programme at Auckland University of Technology. Wiremu is a founding member of Waka Oranga — a group of dynamic Indigenous Māori practitioners committed to emancipatory freedom. Contact details: wiremu.woodard@aut.ac.nz.

John O'Connor has worked as a counsellor and psychotherapist for over 30 years, and has a wide range of clinical experience, particularly in working with clients with severe trauma histories, in providing group psychotherapy, and in working cross-culturally. He is a former Director of Youthline Counselling Service (Auckland) and the Human Development and Training Institute. He also formerly worked at Segar House (which is part of ADHB Mental Health Services) and was a founding member of the therapeutic team at Segar which developed a residential treatment service (currently operating as a day programme) for clients with personality disorder diagnoses. He has worked as a lecturer at the Auckland University of Technology within the Psychotherapy Discipline since 1999 and was formerly Programme Leader of the Master of Psychotherapy (adult programme) at AUT. He is co-editor of *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand*. John is an associate member of Waka Oranga. John also conducts a private practice in Mangere Bridge. John is currently a candidate in training as a Jungian Analyst with the Australia New Zealand Society of Jungian Analysts and is undertaking his PhD exploring the discourses underpinning bicultural clinical encounters in Aotearoa New Zealand. Contact details: johnnygj@xtra.co.nz. Phone 021-899-261.

The Politics of Toheroa Soup: A Pūkōrero About Whānau and Me

Tiana Pewhairangi Trego-Hall, Lucy Te Awhitu, Alayne Mikahere-Hall

Whakarāpopotonga

Ko te itiiti haeretanga o ngā toheroa, te manga Takutai Penapena Rawa me te awe tau ki tētahi whānau o te Uru ki Raki te tōrangapū o te pakiwaitara waihāro toheroa. Mai noa i te wā o te hekenga mai o ō mātau tūpuna ki Aotearoa, ko te toheroa tētahi o ngā tino kai a tōku whānau. Ka kī au "i" nā te mea kua kore kē mātau e whakaaehia kia haere ki te kohi toheroa mena kāre he pepa whakaae. Ka matapakihia e te pepa nei te āhua o te tuakiri ahurei ahu mai i te toheroa, te moana, te whenua me te whakatureture ngā kaiwhakaawe ka pēhea te māroharoha mai o ngā wheako rangatahi Māori i waenga i ō rātau whānau me ō rātau hapū. Hai whakatairangi ake i ēnei hononga, ka hoatu e au ngā pūkōrero whānau me ngā ariā matapakitanga. He koha iti tēnei pepa mō te whakaputanga motuhake a *Ata* e whakanui nei i te tekau tau o Waka Oranga: Te Huinga Motuhake o ngā Kaimahi Whakaorahinengaro Māori.

Abstract

The politics of toheroa soup is a pūkōrero (story) about the slow depletion of the toheroa, the Foreshore Resource Management act and the impacts on one west coast Northland Māori whānau. Toheroa was a main and staple food source for my whānau (family) from the time our tūpuna (ancestors) migrated to Aotearoa. I say "was" because we are no longer allowed to collect the giant surf clam without permits to do so. This paper discusses how whānau and cultural identity is shaped by the toheroa, the moana, the whenua and the legislation that influences how tamariki and rangatahi Māori experiences unfold within their whānau and hapū. To highlight these connections, I present whānau pūkōrero with the inclusion of discussion points. This paper makes a small contribution towards the special volume of *Ata* celebrating ten years of Waka Oranga: National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners (NCMPP).

Keywords: Toheroa, surf claims, whānau, moana, whenua, politics.

Much of what I have come to know about toheroa, and the existing situation was told to me by the wāhine in my whānau and more so by Nanny Lucy. I went and interviewed her about whānau recipes for a class assignment and in particular, I wanted to know the secret for

making good toheroa soup. The interview was recorded, and as it unfolded, I came to understand so much more about whānau, about whakapapa, the ahi ka and the importance of toheroa to our identity. I have included experiences of three nannies in this article to include Nanny Lucy, Nanny W and Nanny T to help distinguish which nanny I am referring to in my writing. I have included extracts from my interview and pūkōrero with the nannies and whānau and italicised their words within the article. I have drawn on several published articles, particularly Murton (2006) to emphasise our whānau experiences. The cultural realities of rangatahi (young) Māori are hugely influenced by our social circumstances and the people and places we are exposed to. My entire life has been a mix of rural and urban reality with regular and frequent visits to our tūrangawaewae the place we call home. Mead (2003) expresses the concept of tūrangawaewae explaining that it is "… one locality on planet earth where an individual can say 'I belong here. I can stand here without challenge. My ancestors stood here before me. My children will stand tall here…' It is a place associated with the ancestors and is full of history" (p. 43).

From my first recollections, members of Waka Oranga have always called on the support of their respective whānau especially when hui and noho marae happen. My introduction to psychotherapy began when I was still a baby attending my first noho marae when I was 10 months old. As I grew and was old enough to understand, I reflected on my mother's experience and her pūkōrero. My mother explained how affronted she was when some of her Pākehā peers and academic staff questioned the suitability of children attending the noho marae. My mother said, "Sometimes this is what happens when Pākehā enter Māori spaces and places, our belonging becomes contested and our values pushed aside". I have never had the experience of being excluded from the marae. The marae is one place where my belonging and my Māori identity develops. I have come to realise that little is known about the pūkōrero (personal stories) that are important to us as whānau. From the outset Nanny Lucy and I have supported the aspirations of Waka Oranga. This is our opportunity to speak to the aspirations that are important to us as whānau. I present pūkōrero related to the toheroa with each providing insights into issues that are valuable to us as Māori. What started out as a simple question about a whānau recipe soon turned into the politics of making toheroa soup.

Tiana Pewhairangi's Pūkōrero

Since the development of Waka Oranga in 2007, I have quietly listened to the discussions, debates, tensions and agreements that have occurred and the ambitions of a small group of Māori psychotherapists. I was seven years old at that time. I was also seven years old when I collected my first toheroa; this was an exhilarating experience for me. I remember the day clearly, which was overshadowed by unwelcomed interest. On that day, there were four of us, including my four-year-old cousin. We had a permit to gather toheroa for a 70th birthday celebration. While we were digging, we were being watched by two Pākehā men from the embankment. They stood there watching us the entire time we were there. "What are you looking at" Nanny W shouted. I didn't understand what was going on. "Why are they staring at us mum?" My mother explained why Nanny W was angry. She also explained that it would not be long before a fisheries ranger would turn up; she was right. Nanny W was riled and

irritated muttering as we collected our toheroa. The imposition, the assumptions, the smugness and a deep sense of injustice; that is what Nanny W was feeling, as they watched us gather our toheroa. A short time later a fisheries office turned up and spoke with the men on the beach before approaching us. Mum assured me we would be okay and encouraged me to carry on. I learnt so much that day. Kidman (2012) investigated the cultural geographies of young Māori stating "identity politics and the politics of belonging are often brought into discussions about the significance of physical territories and "spaces" and their role in the construction of shared cultural meanings" (p. 190). As a rangatahi (young person), I rely on whānau to teach and guide me on the things that have cultural relevance. Nanny W's behaviour surprised me and Nanny Lucy's pūkōrero gave me a lot to think about. I became very interested in digging, however this time it was for information about the toheroa and whānau experiences.

Nanny Lucy's Pūkōrero

This pūkōrero is told from the front deck of Nan's kainga (home) that over-looks Ripirō. She has a clear view of the moana and the beach as it extends to the south. The smell of the moana (ocean) and the crashing of the waves can be heard and seen from her elevated deck. Before she begins her pūkōrero, there is a long silence as she gazes out toward the moana and the whenua. She pauses and is often reflective as her story unfolds; however her pūkōrero begins with a deep sigh and a karakia and ends with karakia. She begins, "korero mai moko" — "Nan can you tell me something about the toheroa?"

> The toheroa..., the toheroa came here with our tūpuna, when they arrived here, they brought the toheroa with them. It can be found nowhere else in the world and nobody can say for sure where it came from, but for us it came from Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pāmamao.

Nan explains that she is ahi kā for the northern end of Ripirō beach. This is a West Coast beach that stretches from the entrance of the Kaipara Harbour to Maunganui Bluff. In her pūkōrero, she talks about her ahi kā appointment by the iwi authority group of Ngāti Whatua. The ahi kā and the ahi-kā-roa are terms that express the importance of keeping the home fires burning by maintaining the intergenerational occupation and kaitiakitanga(guardianship). The ahi kā and ahi-kā-roa are responsibilities to be taken seriously and Nan explains in detail how the fires of occupation have been long held through our whakapapa (genealogy) and whānau. She conveys the stories of tūpuna who have long gone, the size, colour and shape of the toheroa. She goes on to talk about the importance of feeding the people and how the toheroa sustained whānau living locally and neighbouring hapū living further inland. As she spoke, I could hear her memories, I could hear voices of whānau long gone gathering the toheroa, the sun, wind and surf on their faces. I could understand the importance of gathering toheroa, her pūkōrero resonated with me. It has been argued that colloquial speech is representative of meaning, values and social remedies (Trudeau, 2006). I understand better what Osbourne (2001) suggests as the significance of spaces and having them viewed as "storied landscapes". Murton (2006) discusses how the toheroa was once an abundant resource

for Māori having great cultural significance and the shift from abundance to scarcity. Nan commented,

> It was our staple diet, and then they bought in their laws and regulations, they put it in cans and sold it. When we made toheroa soup, we cooked it over the kāuta to feed all the families in Kaihū and to feed the manuhiri, and it cost us nothing.

The early 20th century was a time of significance when a canneries operation set-up near the west coast settlement of Te Kopuru a short distance from the Ripiroa coastline. Regulation and the issuing of licenses were initiated by canning interests who pushed for exclusive rights once the toheroa was regarded as commercially viable (Murton, 2006; Chief Inspector of Fisheries, 1913a; 1913b). There are accounts of the growing and ongoing concerns raised by Māori and campers concerning the establishment of the canneries, specifically for the sale and exportation of toheroa. Murton (2006) stated, "It is pertinent to point out that these early regulations had little to do with conservation of the resource, but with the protection of specific interests" (p. 30). Māori protested when lease rights were granted to the canneries to take large stocks of toheroa which led to insistent over-harvesting (Murton, 2006). As Nan noted,

> Local Māori from up and down the beach complained, we the whānau in Kaihū complained, but they did not care they did nothing. The Inspector of Fisheries allowed the cannery to take the toheroa, and they took thousands and thousands of toheroa. They stripped the toheroa beds, and when it was almost all gone, they were gone too.

The shift in Nan's voice was noticeable when she spoke of the laws of the regulations that whānau were forced to abide by. Toheroa has been an important food source for West Coast Māori who have occupied the stretch of coastline known as Ripiroa. The hapū and iwi of this area include Te Uri o Hau (Ngāti Whatua), Te Popoto o Kaipara (Ngāpuhi) and Te Roroa. Nan commented,

> The Pākehā made toheroa soup, put it in a can and sold it for a profit. People came from far and wide and pilfered the toheroa they came to make a profit out of the toheroa. They did not want to listen to us, the whānau, the hapū and the people who live here on the whenua, on the moana. They did not care, and they tried to tell us we had no special right to the toheroa it belonged to everyone. When the people went to get toheroa and got caught, they stung us with their fines.

According to Murton (2006) the Marine Department records are full of examples of Māori who resisted the regulations that he referred to as "types of everyday resistance" (p. 34). I could hear both the resistance and concern in Nan's pūkōrero. Murton (2006) in illustrating the points, noted:

> Further, the instances in which Māori were caught and charged with breaches of

the regulations represent the tip of the iceberg. This became obvious at Kaihū in the mid-1950s: the entire community was involved in an ongoing 'battle' against the regulations through a range of ordinary, everyday practices which very effectively circumvented the regulations, especially with regard to close seasons and quotas. Toheroa were required for food and for special events, and this involved breaking the regulations (p. 34).

Nan went on to speak about both Pākehā and Māori from far and wide who descended upon our beaches, hoping to make money for themselves selling and profiting from toheroa.

They put quota systems in place, and we were subjected to the same rules and regulations as every other Māori and Pākehā throughout the country. The people in Kaihū protested, we couldn't feed our old people toheroa, we couldn't feed the families. Now, the toheroa is struggling to survive.

Before my interview with Nanny Lucy I also had the opportunity to interview her sister living in Kaihū who I will refer to as Nanny T. Nanny T was explaining to me the various ways in which toheroa were prepared for eating. She told me that fermented toheroa was a special delicacy of the old people. They enjoyed eating fermented toheroa as it was rich in flavour and it was tender enough for them to chew on. This was really important especially when the elders had no teeth. Murton (2006) discusses how local Māori struggled to claim their rights to toheroa. Common forms of struggle were spurred by whakapapa, affinity and belonging where protest involved what Scott (1985: 29) describes as "the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage and so on" (p. 29). As Nan noted,

They tried to blame us, they told everyone we were to blame, your tupuna gave evidence, told them he could remember nine generations back from him. That was a long time ago and the toheroa was always plentiful to all those generations… Moko, remember this; your tupuna, Paiwiko fought for the people in Kaihū.

Murton (2006) explains how Māori were actively involved with politicisation in "both direct and indirect ways in lobbying for their rights to take toheroa. However, they were a relatively insignificant voice to Pākehā politicians and policy makers beholden to an electorate and business interests (p. 34). My great grandfather Paiwiko and my tupuna worked hard to protect the interest of our hapū and tangata whenua. My tupuna (Parore, 1933; Te Rore, 1939; Anania, 1941|1948) lobbied against the Fisheries Acts since their inception. Like many whānau, we too protested and joined the hikoi (march) that mobilised whānau, hapū and iwi throughout Aotearoa to reject the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004. This was a significant event in New Zealand history where Kidman (2012) states "politics would change in the aftermath of the foreshore and seabed legislation as new political groups began to emerge from urban and tribal Māori communities" (p. 190). The challenge is left for us the young rangatahi Māori to carry, as Nan encouraged,

But we are still here and even our little ones in the schools up here they are learning about the toheroa. The people [Māori] are doing their own conservation work and they are teaching the little ones. They are growing pīngao up and down the beach, toheroa need the pīngao plant and it needs fresh clean water.

Nan wonders with concern about the mantel of ahi-ka. "Who will pick this up when I am gone?" She has gone to lengths to provide examples of how both her and papa Joe saw themselves as kaitiaki of the moana. Papa Joe is no longer with us, he was a gentle and kind man who never complained. Papa Joe loved the moana and he was with me the day I caught my first fish off the rocks with a make-shift fishing line.

On the contrary Nanny, Lucy never minced her words and if she believed there was a cause worth fighting, she would walk her talk. Nanny Lucy and Papa Joe were both active in the seabed and foreshore hikoi protesting against legislative change. I can make a claim for walking a short distance. My mother has told me that most of my loud protests were as a consequence of having to walk and an insistence to be pushed along in my younger cousin's stroller. She assured me that every step counted.

Aunty Nellie's Pūkōrero

Aunty began by saying *"Now listen Tiana, there is something else I want to tell you about the toheroa"*. Aunty Nellie was present when I was interviewing Nanny Lucy and her contributions have provided me with more insights.

When I was hapū (pregnant) with my children my uncles and the men would go out and dig for toheroa. They would make sure that you had something special, not just everyday kai (food)but the toheroa. The toheroa is special and because we understand how special it is, it was not taken for granted. The uncles did this for their mother, their sisters, their wives and their nieces. My older male cousins did this too, a lot of the younger ones don't know this.

I found the pūkōrero fascinating as it gave me greater awareness about the relationship between the toheroa and the socio-cultural norms of my whānau. Whānau were connected to the toheroa as an investment in whakapapa, as an investment in future tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren). Aunty continued,

Today, we can't teach them this because now you need permits to get toheroa. In those days, the men wanted to make sure that the pregnant wāhine and her unborn baby was getting the best of what they could give them. Giving toheroa to hapū mama was their expression of aroha (love-endearment).

I did not interview any tāne (men) for their pūkōrero which was mostly due to time constraints and the practicalities of approaching whānau on the day we travelled home. However, my aunt's pūkōrero spoke to the fondness and love our men felt for their wāhine and for the unborn tamaiti (child). I imagined that these acts of aroha, giving toheroa helped

to foster the emotional bonds that whānau have for each other and the attachment to the takutai moana (seabed & foreshore). The pūkōrero were deepening my own connections and aroha for the people and the places that sustained and nurtured them. As Nan commented,

> The toheroa is spiritually connected to the moana, to the whenua, to the people and the hapū (extended family) and the hapū māmā (pregnant mother). Everyone knew when they came to our marae, they could expect to get toheroa served up on our tables.

The spiritual aspects are central again to the cultural beliefs and everything connected to the environment. I have heard, I have felt, and I have read many accounts of the intimate spiritual relationship Māori have with their immediate environment. Staying with Murton's (2006) description, he stated,

The natural world was indivisible, one with the spiritual world, with all things having life force (mauri) and spirit (wairua). Families such as those living near the North Kaipara beach, had an obligation to care for resources such as toheroa, both physically and spiritually (p. 35).

The Crown's authority asserts their position of what is deemed kaitiakitanga and this is not invested in tangata whenua who have held the ahi-ka-roa for generations. According to the Chief Inspector of Fisheries (1939) the toheroa were "national possessions that belonged to everyone, and just because some families live near them, he did not think they should be privileged" (Cited in Murton, 2006, p. 31). Local Māori interests lay buried in the sand, dwindling like the toheroa. Perhaps this is why the toheroa are leaving us? This also raises the question about how Māori psychotherapy attends to Māori grievances and our whānau sadness, the embodied and deeply felt spiritual bond we have for the toheroa? Nan observed,

> To offer manuhiri toheroa made us feel happy, it was a great source of pride. We did not feel good if we could not give our manuhiri toheroa. It was from the toheroa that the people, the hapū gained its' source of mana. The toheroa was a big part about who we are as people.

Reflecting back on my first experience of gathering toheroa, I remembered my mother's relief once we had delivered on our promise to collect the toheroa for the 70th birthday celebrations. What joy this brought to everyone. According to Murton (2006) "Toheroa also were prestigious seafood (kai moana), absolutely necessary for hui (meetings) and tangi (funerals) for the coastal peoples" (p. 26). The birthday celebration went ahead and although the process of gathering the toheroa was stilted, we knew as a whānau, that our mana remained unbroken that day. Aunty Nellie encouraged me,

> So, I hope you understand the connection and why the gift of toheroa to a hapū mama and an unborn mokopuna was so special. I hope someday when your time comes someone will give you toheroa too.

Murton (2006) states "Part of the identity of Māori living along the Kaihū and Wairoa [Northern] river valleys was bound up with toheroa. The shellfish was not only an important food source but was symbolic of their existence" (p. 35).

Discussion

The whānau pūkorero were conveying more than just a taste for toheroa they were revealing a dependency on a food source where existence, identity and belonging were intimately tied to the toheroa. The moana, the foreshore and the whenua have all been contested environments threatening whānau existence and politicising the place we call home. Places, according to Schnell and Mishal (2008) act as an "incubator" for cultural and identity formation. They suggest that sociospatial expression influences identity construction (Kidman, 2012). I reflected back to when I was seven feeling thrilled with myself when I found my first toheroa. I was oblivious to the past. I remember my mother's disappointment and sadness when she explained that she could not give me the experiences she had grown up with. My mother said *"There were so many of us, my Nan had so many children and mokopuna. You could not shop for that many people there was no money for that. We were reliant on the kaimoana (seafood) to keep us going and our gardens."* She explained the tikanga was to never take any more than was needed and never to waste the kai (food), she said this was unheard of. I remember the Pākehā men watching us from the embankment, the Fisheries officer arriving and how they were to us, self-righteously determining our fate. According to Murton (2006) "The local Pākehā opinion leaders were certain that many of the toheroa taken were being sold illegally by Māori , and that these 'raids' were the primary cause of depletion (p. 28)." Looking back, I understand better now why Nanny W was feeling so angry that day. Like Nanny Lucy said they blamed us they blamed the Māori and the events that day on the beach with Nanny W were re-enactments of the past. Nanny W taught me how to gather toheroa and Nanny T had taught me about the food adored by our kuia-korua (elderly men and women). Together Nanny Lucy's and Aunty Nellie's pūkorero taught me about customary title, identity, belonging and a shared symbiosis between people and their environment. Importantly, te kai o te Rangatira — the food of chiefs.

Conclusion

This paper offers some insights into one intergenerational whānau experiences and the importance of toheroa to us. I have a much greater appreciation, understanding and sense of responsibility for this taonga (treasure) we call toheroa. I hope you do too. All whānau Māori will have their special pūkōrero to tell, this is just one of ours. I am left wondering about the importance of Waka Oranga and the development of therapies for Māori and can appreciate why universal assumptions do not always fit well for us. Today, the toheroa beds are struggling to recover despite best efforts to do so. The toheroa are dependent on us to ensure their survival. In retrospect the class assignment ignited something much deeper. I took for granted the valuable food source that kaimoana and in particular the toheroa meant to me and my whānau. My identity has been shaped by the toheroa, the moana, the whenua, and the legislation that determines outcomes for rangatahi Māori. Eating toheroa

has deepened and sealed my connection to my tūpuna and whānau like never before. I hope someday when I have children, my children's children can enjoy the taste of toheroa and my mokopuna can hear the whānau pūkōrero from me.

In 2007, I gathered and ate toheroa for the first time. I was eating kai that my tūpuna from Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pāmamao had eaten and brought with them to Aotearoa.

References:

Anania (1941). To P.K. Paikea MP, October 12. Marine Department, M1 2/12/99, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Anania (1948). To Acting Māori Minister, November 18. Marine Department, M1 2/12/574, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Antonsich, M. (2010). Searching for belonging — An analytical framework. Geography Compass, 4 (6), 644-659.

Chief Inspector of Fisheries, (1913a). To Secretary, Marine Department, April 19. Marine Department, M1 2/12/9, Archives New Zealand Wellington.

Chief Inspector of Fisheries, (1913b). To Secretary, Marine Department, August 7. Marine Department, M1 2/12/9, Archives New Zealand Wellington.

Kidman, J. (2012). The land remains: Māori youth and the politics of belonging. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 8(2), 189-202.

Mead, H. M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.

Ministry of Justice. (2004, December). *The Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004*. [Brochure]. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Government publication.

Murton, B. (2006). 'Toheroa Wars': Cultural politics and everyday resistance on a northern New Zealand beach. *New Zealand Geographer*, 62(1), 25-38.

Parore (1933). To Rt. Hon. J. G. Coates, February 13. Marine Department, M1 2/12/9, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Ross, P. M., Beentjes, M. P., Cope, J., de Lange, W. P., McFadgen, B. G., Redfearn, P., ... & Te Tuhi, J. (2018). The biology, ecology and history of toheroa (Paphies ventricosa): a review of scientific, local and customary knowledge. *New Zealand journal of marine and freshwater research*, 52(2), 196-231.

Schnell, I., & Mishal, S. (2008). Place as a source of identity in colonising societies. *Geographical Review*, 98(2), 242–259.

Te Rore (1939). To Prime Minister, November 10. Māori Affairs, MA 43/1/3, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Tiana Pewhairangi Trego-Hall has kinship affiliations to Ngāti Whatua, Te Rarawa, Tainui and Mangaia in the Cook Islands. She is a first year university student studying law and media. Tiana hopes to one day work as a Human Rights advocate utilising media as a vehicle to highlight political, social, cultural injustices and Indigenous achievements. She also has a keen interest in reducing the impacts of global warming particularly in the South Pacific region. Tiana is the recipient of a Te Rarawa education scholarship and as a year 11 student, she undertook her first voluntary experience in Vanuatu.

Lucy Te Awhitu (Nanny Lucy) is a descendant mokopuna of the Ngāti Whatua hapū , Te Taou and Te Uri o Hau. She also descends from the hapū Ngāti Kaha of the Te Rarawa people in the Hokianga region of Northland. She was born and raised on Maunganui Bluff and the small settlement of Kaihu. In the 1980's Nanny Lucy and Papa Joe were appointed ahi-kā and kaitiaki ārahi (guardian custodians) by Te Rūnānga o Ngāti Whatua. Nanny Lucy continues to live on Maunganui Bluff over-looking the moana Ripiroa. Papa Joe is a descendant mokopuna of the Tūwharetoa and Tainui people. E Pā, kua wehe atu rā ki te okiokinga hoki atu ki te kainga o te Kaihanga — moe mai rā. You have departed to return home to your creator to rest eternally Pā.

Alayne Mikahere-Hall is kinship affiliated with Ngāti Whatua, Te Rarawa and Tainui. Alayne is a post-doctoral research fellow with Taupua Waiora Research Centre, Auckland University of Technology. She is the lead investigator on the Tūhono Māori research project, funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand. Tūhono Māori is an investigation into a Māori understanding of secure attachment. Alayne engages with Indigenous methodologies and Kaupapa Māori methods and theory. She has an interest in developing evidence-based Māori and Indigenous therapeutic interventions to develop theories concerning complex trauma. Alayne is also an investigator on the E Tū Wāhine, E Tū Whānau study, aimed at reducing the harmful effects of violence against women and families and to break cycles of complex whakapapa trauma (inter-generational family trauma). She is a current member of the Health Quality and Safety Commission Child Youth Mortality Review Committee and Nga Pou Arawhenua Mortality Review Committee. Alayne is a Registered Psychotherapist, a member of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) and a founding member of Waka Oranga — National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners (NCMPP). Contact details: alhall@aut.ac.nz.

Master's and PhD Research Undertaken by Māori Psychotherapy University Graduates

John O'Connor and Verity Armstrong

Psychotherapists, Auckland

Whakarāpopotonga

Mai i ngā tekau tau e rua kua pahure ake nei, he whānui ngā paetahi Māori kaiwhakaora hinengaro (he rahi he huānga ki Waka Oranga) kua tahuri ki te whai i te tohu paerua me te rangahau whakapae Tākutatanga. Nō mātau te māringanui ki te whakatakoto atu i raro iho nei i te hua o ngā ingoa, ngā kaituhi me ngā whakarāpopotonga o te maha o ēnei whāinga rangahau. E whakaatahia ana te maha me te hōhonu o te rapu haere a ngā pia Māori nei i te whakaoranga hinengaro a te kaimahi tangata whenua whakaora hinengaro me te kairangahau hoki.

Abstract

Over the past two decades, a range of Māori psychotherapy graduates (many of whom are members of Waka Oranga) have undertaken Master's degree dissertation research and PhD thesis research. It is with pleasure that we outline below the titles, authors, and abstracts of many of these research undertakings. They reflect the diversity and depth with which Māori graduates have grappled with psychotherapy as indigenous practitioners and researchers.

Introduction

Māori graduates of AUT University and Te Wananga o Aotearoa have completed a wide range of research projects as part of their Masters' Degree dissertations, and PhD theses undertakings, exploring different aspects of psychotherapy theory and practice, as indigenous researchers and psychotherapeutic practitioners. Below you will find the titles, authors, supervisors, and abstracts, providing an overview of many of these research undertakings. Specifically, this research summary provides an overview of research that has been undertaken with a kaupapa Māori focus. It contributes to the development of Te Ao Māori perspectives in relation to psychotherapy, arising out of this focus. In addition, where the thesis or dissertation is available online, you will find a link at the end of the abstract, which you can search, to find the written research project in its entirety. We hope you will find this an engaging and helpful resource.

Towards a Māori Psychotherapy

Author: Margaret Poutu Morice
Supervisor: Dr Stephen Appel
Master of Psychotherapy Dissertation 2003 (AUT University)

"What lies behind us and what lies before us are small matters compared to what lies within us." This famous quote by Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1880) might be considered the psychotherapist's creed. In countless variations on this theme, psychotherapists around the world urge their clients to look inside themselves for answers, and clients, becoming aware of their inner world, claim a new-found sense of self-possession. The individual inner world is the world most familiar to us in our work as psychotherapists. But the idea that this world is its own separate and independent entity is utterly foreign to Māori. Within the holistic world-view of Māori, relationships are not limited or unique to the social milieu of human beings. Rather, they are understood as binding and connecting all of the worlds — physical, social, spiritual and cosmic. Each of these worlds has an internal representation and makes up parts of the individual psyche, which in turn is understood as a microcosm of the greater universe.

In the Māori world, what lies within us includes hau muri (the wind/breath behind) and hau mua (the wind/breath before). Our inner world is populated with nga tupuna, all those who have gone before. The future, unseen behind us and the past, visibly apparent before us are real and immediately present in this moment. As they lie within us, so equally we lie within them. We are inseparably and inescapably a manifestation of the greater whole, formed of the living body of Papatuanuku, Mother Earth, infused with the breath of Tane Mahuta, the God of humankind. The past secures the present, the present ensures the future. We, in the present moment, are the connection, the indissoluble link between past and future. Traditional Māori concepts of relationship help to more precisely locate and describe the human person within this inclusive, holistic context. In this dissertation I will be defining and describing core relational concepts of traditional Māori society and seeking to establish their relevance both to the specific interpersonal practice called psychotherapy and to the broader field of human experience and human self-understanding. I have identified the following six relationships as central or core:

> Manaakitanga — generosity, hospitality
> Whanaungatanga — nurturing connection and belonging
> Kaitiakitanga — guardianship, protection, caretaking
> Kotahitanga — developing oneness, unity and integration
> Rangatiratanga — self-determination, self-actualisation and leadership
> Wairuatanga — spiritual awareness and the practice of spirituality

(Full dissertation available in hard copy form at AUT library, Special Collections, City Campus).

Cultural Identity in the Child Psychotherapy Environment: a Māori Perspective (2005)

Author: Dr Alayne Hall
Supervisor: Dr Philip Culbertson
Master of Health Science 2005 (AUT University)

I have become increasingly curious about certain aspects that influence my practice. The combined influences of Māori and Pākehā contribute to my clinical practice and the inter-relationships between others and myself. This dissertation aims to explore areas of wisdom that have educated and informed my clinical practice. Three distinct bodies of knowledge relating to temperament are presented as a catalyst for understanding which viewpoint is more likely to influence the therapist. The three perspectives include empirical studies, anthroposophy and the narratives of Maui. This dissertation examines the therapist choice of knowledge and how this knowledge informs her clinical practice. It examines the therapist countertransference and moments of conflict between differing sets of views. Furthermore, it acknowledges the challenges of living in two worlds and some of the implications for the therapists are discussed in brief. The dissertation closes with an argument that knowledge from the therapist's particular cultural setting cannot be disregarded. It also focuses on the importance of integrating this knowledge into clinical practice.

https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/523

Entering the Void: Exploring the Relationship Between the Experience of Colonisation and the Experience of Self for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa, and the Implications for Clinical Practice

Author: Wiremu Woodard
Supervisors: John O'Connor and Dr Andrew Duncan
Master of Psychotherapy Dissertation 2008 (AUT University)

This dissertation explores the relationship between the experience of colonisation and the experience of self for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. The study suggests that an indigenous experience of self exists within a discursive relationship to colonisation processes. Using a modified systematic literature review located within a kaupapa Māori research framework, the study considers colonisation and the resultant disruption to an experience of indigenous 'selves'. The work examines the process of racialisation: the construction and resulting interiorisation of Indigenous Peoples as 'Other'. The review contends that this process has the effect of disrupting indigenous ontologies creating a divided and alienated experience of self for Indigenous Peoples. Within Aotearoa, the phenomenon of whakamā and mate Māori are hypothesised as the indigenous experience of this alienated and divided self. The study suggests that arguably all psychological issues for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa arise to some degree from these experiences. Implications for psychotherapy are considered. Psychotherapy and psychotherapists are challenged to re-evaluate both the underlying positivist conceptualisations of self, and ongoing processes of colonisation, in order that they may be more fully equipped to effectively work alongside Indigenous communities in Aotearoa.

https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/500

What are the Meanings of the Mātauranga Māori Concept of Mana and What Might This Concept Contribute to the Understanding and Practice of Psychodynamic Psychotherapy?

Author: Joanne Reidy
Supervisor: John O'Connor
Master of Psychotherapy Dissertation 2014 (AUT University)

This dissertation explores the meanings of the Mātauranga Māori concept of mana and its relationship to psychodynamic psychotherapy. Using a critical review of the literature located within a Kaupapa Māori research framework it undertakes an analysis of the meaning of mana. This meaning is recognised through the Māori concept of self interconnecting with spiritual power, authority, self image, and group connection, all of which involve merging the person with the environment. Associations between mana and the self in psychodynamic literature were critically reviewed, revealing similarities and divergences between these two world views. A psychodynamically informed mana enhancing psychotherapy is explored placing mana at the centre. The review contends that psychodynamic psychotherapy can become more culturally embracing through utilising mana enhancing values and extending relationships to a wider group context and the physical as well as interpersonal environment.

https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/7863

What is the Experience of Being Both Māori and Pākehā? Negotiating the Experience of the Hybrid Cultural Object?

Author: Niki Grennell
Supervisor: Dr Keith Tudor
Master of Psychotherapy Dissertation 2014 (AUT University)

This dissertation addresses the question: "What is the experience of being both Māori and Pākehā?" and has as its subtitle: "Negotiating the experience of the hybrid cultural object." The methodologies used are Kaupapa Research Theory and phenomenology, with the principle method Heuristic Research Method. By 2051 Durie (2011) predicts that the Māori ethnic population will rise to 22 percent of the total population of Aotearoa New Zealand. Each one of the 22 percent will not have only Māori ancestry. Each one of the 22 percent will have ancestry that is also other than indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand. Currently Māori and Pākehā sit in binary positioning. This positioning has been essential for Māori who have needed strength of identity in order to counter the effects of colonisation. Pākehā have also benefited from maintaining Māori in the position of "other". It is common to name individuals as either Māori or Pākehā despite having ancestry that is both Māori and Pākehā. Those who have both Māori and Pākehā ancestry, a hybrid cultural identification, may become invisible in the current discourse, their experience denied. Phenotype becomes a marker of cultural identification from both external and internal perspectives. The researcher's personal experience of being both Māori and Pākehā, negotiating belonging and not belonging is used as a base from which to explore and expand knowledge of hybrid cultural experience.

https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/7710

An Indigenous Kaupapa Māori Approach: Mother's Experiences of Partner Violence and the Nurturing of Affectional Bonds with Tamariki
Author: Dr Alayne Hall
Supervisor: Dr Jane Koziol-McLain, Dr Lilly George
Doctor of Philosophy (PHD) Thesis 2015 (AUT University)

This thesis examines the important relationship dynamics between Māori mothers and their tamariki (children) when exposure to partner violence is experienced. The research is contextualised within a Kaupapa Māori methodology where Indigenous qualitative methods provide the foundations for theorising and researching. The study investigated twelve Māori mothers' experiences of partner violence, and the fostering of affectional bonds with their tamariki. The context for examining the interface between these two conditions included a Mana Wāhine approach and Pūrākau — a Māori narrative story-telling process where Māori mothers shared their experiences of partner violence and mothering. The pūrākau provided the main source of data from which Te-ata-tu Pūrākau emerged as a newly developed Indigenous analysis method.

Attachment theory provided useful insights concerning the nature in which affectional bonds develop between a young child and their primary caregiver, most often the mother. In this study whakapapa is fundamental to whānau, hapū and iwi, providing the cultural construct for understanding the way in which affectional bonds are developed and fostered in Māori kin based groups. Attachment theory is contrasted with Māori understandings that have a primary focus on whakapapa (genealogy) and Tūhonotanga as two important concepts for understanding the nature of Māori relationships. The women who participated in this research study experienced different levels of disconnection from traditional Māori society where the break-down of traditional values contributed to their sense of mournfulness, mistrust, disillusionment, confusion, cynicism and a deep longing for healthy relationships. Some of the findings from this research are consistent with what we currently know about violence against women and children. Principally the pūrākau have revealed the need to develop healing pathways that validate core values that underpin a secure Māori identity, where Mana Wāhine and Mana Tangata provide the platform for positive relationship building.

https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/9273

"Our Māori Connection": The Impact of Colonisation on One Southland Whānau
Author: Verity Armstrong
Supervisor: Wiremu Woodard
Master of Psychotherapy Dissertation 2016 (AUT University)

This research includes an exploration of my whānau in Aotearoa reconnecting with their lost and regained whākapapa. The purpose of the study is an examination of the impact of colonisation on the cultural identity of members of a specific Māori whānau who have become disconnected from the tūrangawaewae of their ancestors, and their cultural roots.

This work examines the history of colonisation in the area of Ōraka-Aparima and the southern most part of Te Waipounamu. It employs the pūrākau method of research within kaupapa Māori research framework to gather stories from a Southland whānau. In keeping with the kauapapa of kaupapa Māori research, the pūrākau will be included in the body of the research, to ensure that the voices of the whānau members are heard. I wish to treat the pūrākau from my whānau with the deepest respect and for this reason, it is important that their voices and stories appear in the first part of this dissertation. Many themes have emerged from the pūrākau of my whānau. The themes explored include grief and loss through death and separation as well as assimilatory processes that resulted in the loss of such things as te reo and tikanga Māori within this whānau. This work also examines the healing and strengthening of identity that has occurred for whānau members through the process of reconnecting with the indigenous parts of themselves. Colonisation has both formed and devastated this Southland whānau in terms of cultural connection with their Māori identity. The assimilatory policies at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century prioritised European cultural practices over traditional tikanga Māori. In addition the lighter skin tone of many Ngāi Tahu Māori in the Southland area and a desire to conform to Pākehā society, led to a denial and disconnection with their Māoriness for many whānau members (Dacker, 1994; Anderson, 1998). In the later twentieth century my whānau have rediscovered their Māori ancestry and many members have taken steps towards reconnecting with their Māori identity. This process provides the clues towards greater integration and better outcomes for the individuals within whānau as well as whānau as a group. When the different parts of our identities can be celebrated and experienced in a non-hierachical way, it provides a way for those of mixed-descent within Aotearoa to honour their ancestors and themselves. The experience of colonisation informs the identities of all people of Aotearoa. Our society includes many peoples of mixed-descent who have unique as well as shared experiences in relation to the process of colonisation. By exploring the experiences of one whānau and some of its members in particular, it is hoped that the complex, rich and personal stories of encounter between Māori and Pākehā can add to the perspectives of colonial experience in Aotearoa.

https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/10225

Ngā Tāpiritanga: In What Ways Are Indigenous Māori Perspectives on Attachment Similar to and Different From Western Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Attachment and What Are the Implications for the Practice of Psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand? A Kaupapa Māori Critical Literature Review

Author: Anna Fleming
Supervisor: John O'Connor
Master of Psychotherapy Dissertation 2016 (AUT University)

Western attachment theory has tended to focus on the interpersonal attachments between people; only relatively recently have western perspectives begun to explore the quality of attachments outside of the interpersonal domain. By contrast, Indigenous Māori attachment

perspectives have always included vital connections to cultural and collective concepts such as whānau, whenua, and wairua. This critical literature review utilises Kaupapa Māori Research Theory to explore similarities and differences between indigenous Māori and western concepts of attachment, while also examining the implications for psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/10510

The Greatest Story Ever Told, Using the Self as a Narrative.

Author: Hinewirangi Morgan

Masters of Indigenous Knowledge Thesis (Te Wananga o Aotearoa).

Traditional narratives inform and guide cultural identity, determining the way a culture functions or operates. These narratives are continuously progressed and built upon by individuals, with each generation making their contribution. Although, in many instances, one has the power to fashion their narratives — such is not always the case. Life is full of contingent occurrences that lead to contingent outcomes; some positive, some negative. Furthermore, it is not always easy for one to look back and make sense of these occurrences and for this reason, so many narratives end abruptly, discouragingly, or dejectedly - the narrative captured within this exegesis is not one of them. This exegesis chronicles my life's journey and presents the contribution I have made to my narrative as I seek to understand myself, my practice, the knowledge I hold, and the incumbent responsibility to share the knowledge that I have acquired. The purpose of this study is to show the importance of narratives in understanding the past and constructing the present, and focuses on five dimensions of narratives (1) practical experience, (2) interpretation; (3) research; (4) contribution; and (5) transformation.

Full text of Thesis available from the Author.

Conclusion

The above is a sample of the diverse and invaluable research being undertaken by indigenous Māori researchers in the field of psychotherapy. The knowledge generated is a unique contribution within the Aotearoa New Zealand psychotherapy context. We are proud to provide this overview and hope it will provide an enriching resource for practitioners and researchers in the field of psychotherapy for many years to come, both within the Aotearoa New Zealand context and internationally.

John O'Connor has worked as a counsellor and psychotherapist for over 30 years, and has a wide range of clinical experience, particularly in working with clients with severe trauma histories, in providing group psychotherapy, and in working cross-culturally. He is a former Director of Youthline Counselling Service (Auckland) and the Human Development and Training Institute. He also formerly worked at Segar House (which is part of ADHB Mental Health Services) and was a founding member of the therapeutic team at Segar which developed a residential trea-tment service (currently operating as a day programme) for clients with personality disorder diagnoses. He has worked as a lecturer at the Auckland University of Technology within the Psychotherapy Discipline since 1999 and was formerly Programme Leader of the Master of Psychotherapy (adult programme) at AUT. He is co-editor of *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand*. John is an associate member of Waka Oranga. John also conducts a private practice in Mangere Bridge. John is currently a candidate in training as a Jungian Analyst with the Australia New Zealand Society of Jungian Analysts and is undertaking his PhD exploring the discourses underpinning bicultural clinical encounters in Aotearoa New Zealand. Contact details: johnnygj@xtra.co.nz. Phone 021-899-261.

Verity Armstrong is a Kai Tahu woman from Aotearoa New Zealand. She also has strong connections to clans MacKintosh and Armstrong. While her whakapapa is from the bottom of Te Waipounamu in the stunning Oraka/Aparima area, she grew up in Tāmaki Makaurau. Verity worked as a social worker in the area of childhood trauma, and then trained as a psychotherapist through AUT. She worked for an organisation specialising in domestic and sexual violence, and is now in private practice, specialising in sexual trauma. She also has an interest in sex positivism, relationships and love. Verity joined the runanga of Waka Oranga after experiencing their support and wisdom throughout her training and beginning years as a psychotherapist. Verity is married to her partner of many years, and has three tamariki. Her experience of mothering and being in relationship, and all of the learning this involves bring her a wealth of experiences, feelings and growth. Contact details: verityarmstrong@gmail.com.

Aroha Mai — Aroha Atu
Love Received — Love Returned

A Tribute to Samantha
30 April 1969 – 30 August 2019

Alayne Mikahere-Hall and Te Rūnanga o Waka Oranga

Samantha Green was the devoted daughter of Susan Green and Grant Dillon and a very loving mother to her beautiful daughters, Jessica and Irihapeti. Samantha was affectionately known to her whānau as Sam. She was a much-loved older sister, aunt and a very proud grandmother. At the time of her passing Sam was with the people she loved most. It was her candid and unassuming humility that drew us to her. Sam has left an endearing and lovable memory in our hearts.

In 2008 the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) was hosting their annual conference on the grounds of Waitangi. For Waka Oranga this would be our first conference encounter with NZAP and the first time a psychotherapy conference had ever occurred in Waitangi. We were supported by Ngā Ao E Rua (The Two Worlds), who went to great lengths to make it possible for us all to come together. It was also the first time that provisions had been made to enable our tamariki and mokopuna to accompany their parents and whānau to conference. This is when Sam really touched our lives, taking up the responsibility to care for our tamariki and mokopuna. This was a courageous step, caring for tamariki you have not yet met. Sam would take up the role again at the NZAP Ōrākei conference in 2013 and at Waka Oranga events. Caring for children requires responsibility, energy, patience, creativity and aroha. These are the qualities Sam expressed and imparted upon our children. We saw Sam's special attributes when she arrived at the 2008 conference with her own baby Irihapeti. As a profession we were challenging ourselves to improve Māori and Pākehā relations with the conference theme "Imagining the Other". We were encouraged with the assistance of Haare Williams and Joan Metge to look deep within ourselves and at each other in an effort to imagine what true partnership between Māori and Pākehā would look like. Jonathan Fay encouraged attendees to imagine a partnership that could acknowledge difference and replace ignorance and intolerance with recognition, reciprocity, and respect. For Waka Oranga, it was Sam who embodied all the characteristics the conference set out to achieve. It was Sam who appreciated difference. In her unpretentious down-to-earth manner, she openly entered the partnership.

Aroha mai — Aroha atu: Love received — Love returned; that was Sam, humble, honest and heartfelt.

Glossary

This glossary is offered as a guide only. Te reo Māori is a rich language of metaphor, nuance, and layers of meaning, so attempts at translation can be reductionary, losing the fullness of the original meaning. We are mindful of the impossibilities of conveying meaning across languages. We offer this glossary as an invitation to grapple with these meanings, rather than as definitive translations.

Aotearoa	New Zealand
aroha	love, compassion
atua	gods
hapū	sub-tribe, wider family grouping; pregnant
hikoi	walk, journey
hongi	traditional greeting involving pressing together of noses
hue	gourd
hui	meeting
Io mātua kore	the creator, God
iwi	tribe, peoples
kai	food, meal, nourishment
kaimahi	workers, colleagues
kaikōrero	speaker
kaitiaki	guardian, caretaker, keeper
kaitiakitanga	guardianship, stewardship
kapa haka	Māori ceremonial songs and dance
karakia	prayer, incantation
karanga	to call
kaumātua	elder
kaumātua-kuia	elders
kaupapa	purpose, strategy, intention
kaupapa Māori	an analytical approach to research that is connected to Māori philosophy and principles
kaupapa whānau	family, friends and colleagues who support whānau towards a common goal
kawa	protocols
kohanga (reo)	Māori pre-school; literally, "language nest"
kōrero	conversation, talk, narrative
kuia	female elder
kura	school
mahi	work, job, activity
mana	authority, prestige
manaaki	care for, respect, hospitality, generosity

manaakitanga	care, hospitality, regard for others
marae	meeting area of whānau or iwi, central area of village and its buildings
marae ātea	courtyard, plaza before marae buildings
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Matua	father, formal address to older male
mau mahara	remember, keep in mind
mihi	acknowledge, greet
moana	ocean
mokopuna	grandchildren
ngahere	forest
noho marae	a stay on the marae
pae ārahi	guide and leader
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pēpi	baby, child
pōtiki	youngest, last-born
pōwhiri	welcome, invitation, opening ceremony
pūrākau	story, narrative/s
rangatahi	youth, younger person
roopu/rōpū	group
tamaiti	child
tamariki	children
tāngata	people
tangata whaiora	health service user
tangata whenua	people of the land, native New Zealander
tangi	funeral
taonga puoro	musical instruments
tauiwi	foreigner, immigrant
tautoko	support, advocate, reinforce
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Moana Nui a Kiwa	the Pacific Ocean
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Te reo Māori me ōnā tikanga	the Māori language and values
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Te Waipounamu	South Island (of New Zealand)
tikanga	correct customs and procedures, values
tohunga	expert, specialist, artist
tuakana	older sister of female, older brother of male, senior, cousin
tūhono	attach, bond
tūhonotanga	connection connectedness, attachment
tūpuna	ancestors
tūpuna kōrero	the ancestors' conversation or dialogue
urupā	cemetery
waharoa	gateway

wahine	woman
wahine Māori	Māori woman
waiata	song, to sing
wairua	spirit
wairuatanga	spirituality
waka	canoe, vehicle
wananga	learning, seminar, series of discussions
wero	challenge
whakamā	shame, embarrassment, loss of mana
whakapapa	ancestry, genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent, layers
whakapapa whānau	family connected by genealogy
whānau	family, extended family
whanaungatanga	relationships, connections
whāngai	to feed, nourish, foster, adopt, raise, nurture
whare	house, building
whare raupō	house of raupō, bullrushes
wharenui	main meeting house on the marae
whenua	land

Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand

Instructions to Authors

Initial Submission of Manuscripts

Please submit your initial manuscript by e-mail attachment to the Editors: John O'Connor (email to johnnygj@xtra.co.nz), or Wiremu Woodard (wwoodard@aut.ac.nz). Submitted manuscripts should not have been previously published, and should not be submitted for publication elsewhere while they are under consideration and peer review process by *Ata*.

Manuscripts and Manuscript Style

The language of the journal is English. Abstracts are published in English and te reo Māori. Manuscripts may be submitted in te reo Māori. Manuscripts should be printed on one side of A4 paper with numbered pages, double-line spaced in Times New Roman 12pt font. Any illustrations or pictures should be submitted in separate files with a resolution of not less than 300dpi. Line artwork must be high quality laser output (not photocopies). Manuscripts should be anonymised i.e. not have any information that identifies the author. In the accompanying e-mail, authors should provide:

- Their name/s and affiliations, full postal address, e-mail address, and telephone
- number/s.
- Where applicable, the name(s) of any sponsor(s) of the research contained in the paper, along with grant number(s).
- An abstract of no more than 250 words.
- 6 to 8 key words or phrases for indexing purposes.
- A biography of no more than 250 words.
- Where applicable, permissions. It is the author's responsibility to obtain written permission to reproduce material (in all media, including electronic) which has appeared in another publication.
- Where applicable, signed client consent form.

Reference Style

The reference style of the journal follows the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (APA), 6th edition. For useful information about this style see the APA Manual itself, the APA's own website http://www.apastyle.org, and also the Auckland University of Technology Library guide: http://aut.ac.nz.libguides.com/APA6th.

Review Process

All submissions will be acknowledged. All articles will be sent to two reviewers for peer review without any identifying details. The editor/s will pass on the reviewers' evaluation and feedback, and ask the author to respond to it promptly.

Copyright

The publisher is the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists Inc. To enable the publisher to disseminate the author's work to the fullest extent, the author must sign a Copyright Transfer Agreement, transferring copyright of the article from the author to the publisher, and submit the original signed agreement with the article presented for publication. A copy of the agreement can be obtained from the journal editors or publisher. Authors will be given a final pdf offprint of their article for their personal use.

Further Information

Once the manuscript is accepted and prepared for publication, the proofs will be sent to the author for checking. This stage is to be used only to correct errors that may have been introduced during the production process. Authors are asked to return the corrected proofs promptly.

All manuscripts will be given a Digital Object Identifier (DOI), which is an identification system for intellectual property in the digital environment. Developed by the International DOI Foundation on behalf of the publishing industry, its goals are to provide a framework for managing intellectual content, link customers with publishers, facilitate electronic commerce, and enable automated copyright management.

Information for Subscribers

Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand is published twice a year by the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP), Inc.

Ata is included in the membership fee for members of NZAP.

Ata is published in print, and online at present for members of the NZAP only. For further details about subscription see www.nzap.org.nz.

Information for Advertisers

Ata accepts adverts: full page $75; half page $50. Adverts should be supplied as a print resolution (300 dpi) tif or PDF file.