

***Claiming Spaces:  
Proceedings of the 2007  
National Maori and Pacific  
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23<sup>rd</sup>-24<sup>th</sup> November 2007***

*Hosted by:*  
The Maori and Psychology Research Unit  
University of Waikato  
Hamilton

*Edited by:*  
Michelle Levy  
Linda Waimarie Nikora  
Bridgette Masters-Awatere  
Mohi Rua  
Waikaremoana Waitoki

*The Maori & Psychology Research Unit  
University of Waikato  
Hamilton, New Zealand*



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*Web:* <http://trak.to/mpru/>

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## Opening Address

**Michelle Levy, Waikaremoana Waitoki, Mohi Rua,  
Bridgette Masters-Awatere, Linda Waimarie Nikora**

*The Māori and Psychology Research Unit*

*Department of Psychology*

*University of Waikato*

### **From ‘Making a Difference’ to ‘Claiming Spaces’**

In 2002, the Māori and Psychology Research Unit at the University of Waikato made a valuable contribution to the teaching and practice of psychology in Aotearoa, via the Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium. The symposium in 2002, with its theme of “Making a Difference” was designed to: provide an opportunity for exposure to role models; bring together Māori graduates of psychology to network and share information; and through the publication and dissemination of the Symposium proceedings provide a resource for teaching and practice in psychology. With over 100 delegates and 30 presentations, the 2002 symposium was widely acknowledged as a success. It resulted in the compilation of proceedings which have become a valuable resource in psychology.

While there have been informal gatherings and ongoing networking over the past five years, there have been no formal gatherings since that time. We at the Māori and Psychology Research Unit consider it timely in 2007, five years on, to convene another Symposium. Our conversations with Pacific psychologists and recognition of the ties which exist between us as Pacific nations, saw our focus expand to include Pacific psychologists and psychologies.

In many ways the 2002 symposium was an attempt to see if we could actually do it. Although we knew that as Māori psychologists we were making a difference, a greater question was - had our critical mass increased to the point

where we could fill a programme over one and half days comprised only of Māori focused material? The answer was an overwhelming YES. Yes - we could do it. Yes - our critical mass had increased to this point.

But what do we actually mean when we talk about this concept of critical mass? Critical mass is often used when talking about Māori and Pacific psychologist workforce development. Although often discussed, it is not necessarily that well defined and explained. In many cases it is assumed to simply mean increasing our numbers to a certain point. But actually the concept of critical mass encompasses more than just a focus on numbers.

The concept of critical mass theory actually has its origins in the field of physics where it is defined as the ‘minimum amount of fissile material needed to maintain a nuclear chain reaction’ (Compact Oxford Online Dictionary, n.d.). So nuclear chain reactions are actually the origins of our workforce development strategies! Building on this, another writer talks about detonating the critical mass explosion, talking about prime movers and change masters - the leaders who are required to contribute to critical mass development (Kanter, cited in Greed, 2000). As evidenced by the programme over the next two days, we have Māori and Pacific leadership within psychology. Māori and Pacific psychologists are engaged in research, teaching and practice activities which are relevant to the realisation of Māori and Pacific aspirations.

Behind the goal of realizing a critical mass, sits the idea that when a particular number is reached, sometimes described as the ‘tipping point’, accelerated and transformative change occurs



(Gladwell, 2000; Studlar & McAllister, 2002). However, achieving a critical mass or reaching that tipping point is more than just reaching a certain number of Māori and Pacific psychologists. It is about reaching the point where we have moved from the margins to the ordinary (Childs & Krook, 2006). It is about claiming our space. Over the next two days we claim that space; a space in which Māori and Pacific worldviews, knowledge bases and aspirations are central.

It would be naive to say that there is not resistance to this idea of us claiming our space within psychology. As Catherine Love and Waikaremoana Waitoki comment, the dominance of Western psychological practices, processes and assumptions has supported the marginalization of indigenous and non-Western psychologies and epistemologies (Love & Waitoki, 2007).

Being aware that the discipline of psychology is a place where Māori and Pacific peoples do succeed is important. More often than not we are spread out across Aotearoa and the Pacific, and it is only when we come together like this, do we constitute a visible and powerful mass. The consolidation and drawing together of all our strengths underpin this symposium and are fundamental to claiming our space (Levy, 2007).

Māori and Pacific psychology is strengthened by knowledge bases that are shared across the world. Knowledge is not disregarded or rejected solely because it has Western origins. However, what a kaupapa Māori and Pacific agenda does is to position Māori and Pacific knowledge bases and world views as central; as the norm for Māori and Pacific peoples. Over the next two days we have the opportunity to better understand what science, culture and practice means when Māori and Pacific worldviews are prioritised, are positioned as central and viewed as the norm.

Graham Smith talks about mechanisms which enable theoretical conversations to be captured, curriculums controlled, and definitions of

inclusion and exclusion maintained (Smith, 1996). The exclusion of Māori and Pacific knowledge bases from psychology has enabled the theoretical conversation in psychology to remain undisturbed, the curriculum controlled, and definitions of inclusion and exclusion maintained (Levy, 2007).

A key way we can challenge this is to claim our space within the literature base. Those presenting in the symposium, agreed to prepare a paper for publication in the proceedings. Those proceedings are central to the kaupapa of the symposium. The goals over the next two days are to move from the margins, to claim our space within the literature base, to claim our space within the theoretical conversations, and to control our own definitions of inclusion and exclusion.

This symposium, although centred in the self determined aspirations of Māori and Pacific peoples, is deliberately open to all. It is open to all in recognition that it is the collective responsibility of all to address this resistance. Our journey will be made easier with the support of others.

Claiming Spaces, the theme for this symposium, reflects that the time has come for Māori and Pacific Psychologies to claim our legitimate space within the discipline of psychology. Here in Aotearoa we have the potential to be pioneers in the development of psychologies relevant and applicable to Māori and Pacific Peoples. We have the potential to be pioneers and lead the world in understanding what science, culture and practice mean when indigenous and cultural worldviews are prioritised.

#### **Looking Back ....**

The space that we currently occupy within psychology is very different to that of 15 years ago. If you cast your memory back to that time when Māori and Pacific registered practitioners of psychology were less than 1% of the total numbers; much of the information we could draw upon was from offshore; and Māori and Pacific students embarking on graduate study were few. Our communities were calling for help, but were skeptical of the help we could offer. The impact of early research processes on indigenous communities has

had long lasting effects, to the extent that the statement made by Linda Smith in 1999 that “research is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous vocabulary” (Smith, 1999, p.1) still holds true for many communities today.

Change is a slow process. While there is a strong desire to grow the number of practitioners, academics, researchers, advocates, trainers and policy makers; the numbers of Māori and Pacific students continuing on to graduate study are still low. The few Māori and Pacific staff who are within the university are strong magnets attracting students to them. However, their effectiveness is lessened by the lack of a local literature base (Stewart, 1997). Progress is hampered by training programmes that are derived from models foreign to our social systems and practices. Staff and students are working hard to encourage change within the university system, while also further developing their skills, exploring research that challenges the nature of psychology, contributing to the growth of a local literature base, and upskilling themselves to attain academic aspirations.

The push back from the community has been strong. While shifting attitudes of the psychological research fraternity has been a hard and slow process, the work of those researchers whose contributions place our relatives and their aspirations at the centre has created the space for us to explore for ourselves the needs of our whanau. Theories are being presented by researchers that place Māori and Pacific research processes and agenda at the forefront.

There is a need to recognise the many types of support we have received. Such assistance from those colleagues who have been willing to mentor research projects, be challenged by our philosophy and run ‘defense’ with others who were less than accepting of our developing methodologies and frameworks. Often their help involved carrying our teaching load when a break was needed, but one of the most important ways that they were able to help us was to step aside to let us take the lead on furthering our own aspirations. Given the dearth of our people

in the positions of power, acknowledgement of the assistance that has and continues to come from our colleagues is necessary.

Within Waikato, our position has always been somewhat different from the other academic psychology departments. The number of Māori and Pacific students enrolled in psychology has tended to waiver around 20% of all enrolments; their presence and numbers acting as a catalyst for change in teaching content and creating an environment where more students want to participate. This in turn has encouraged students to take on leadership roles and become mentors to those following them.

My own experience reflects this. Along with my colleague, Dr Michelle Levy, we undertook an evaluation of the psychology department at Waikato in 1995 and in that found that students wanted to engage with Māori research topics but weren’t confident there were staff knowledgeable or experienced enough to assist them adequately (Masters & Levy, 1995). As for staff, there was a willingness to support students, but a lack of confidence and experience was noted by them. After careful planning and negotiation, the Māori & Psychology Research Unit (MPRU) in the psychology department at the University of Waikato was launched in 1997.

### **The Māori & Psychology Research Unit**

The discipline of psychology continues to lack a literature and research base that has been informed by Māori focused research or which supports prevention and change strategies aimed at Māori (Nikora, 1998). As a people, we continue to express concerns about conventional forms of research into our lives (Gibbs, 2001) and we are dissatisfied by the experiences of being researched by non-Māori and the methodologies used by them (Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006).

The MPRU is a response to these frustrations and it attempts to provide support structures encouraging the development of culturally appropriate research models, collaborations, partnerships and projects; in short, facilitating Māori focused research in psychology to actually happen. Reorienting research

practices this way can provide space and opportunity that develops research initiatives which draw upon New Zealand based literature; exposes Māori students in particular to information and positive models of research; and provides a support structure that incorporates Māori material within psychology courses (Nikora, 1998). Overall the teaching of psychology within the department will be further enhanced by the availability of and access to Māori focused research experience and products.

Exposing all teaching staff to Māori focused research, literature or experience in conducting appropriate research with Māori is important. There is a glaring lack of research about issues of interest to Māori that might support Māori well-being and development. With the ever increasing number of Māori students enrolling into psychology, it is the responsibility of all teaching staff, not just Māori, to respond to this presence by enhancing the availability of Māori focused research material in psychology courses.

Having research resources available and accessible allows teaching staff and students a greater chance of challenging Western research paradigms and critically examining the university's role as an institution that 'owns' and 'defines' knowledge as well as controlling how it's distributed (Henry & Pene, 2001). The MPRU has a specific goal in providing these resources to psychology courses, as these courses then become 'places' for 'decolonization' to occur and sites for developing 'counter-hegemonies' to the dominant Western based paradigms. This occurs across our first, second, third year and graduate courses, as well as our more specialized programmes such as the Community and Clinical Post Graduate Diplomas.

MPRU also has a central role in promoting research initiatives and providing support to undergraduate and graduate psychology students. As scholarly pursuit and the development of students is part of the University's core business, the MPRU, through winning grants and awards, helps to provide options for students to

supplement their income, and more importantly, further their academic development. For the MPRU this means providing a wider training experience for student researchers through involvement in Māori focused research, planning and management, and professional development activities too.

Students are linked with experienced researchers within and outside the discipline of psychology, both nationally and internationally. This can be likened to a coaching/mentoring role. The creation of this research environment for students ensures meaningful participation, providing actual and real opportunities to influence outcomes, directions and priorities in a given context (Levy, 2002). By aligning students with Māori and non-Māori researchers, we attempt to provide multiple forms of support including financial, social, cultural and academic support. A priority of the MPRU is to facilitate resources and physical support for students to participate in locally organized events like today (Nikora, 1998), as well as international forums. Students are also involved in the writing and publication of peer reviewed articles as a form of professional and technical development.

The MPRU has a focus on the professional development of Māori researchers and the continued development of future leaders in Māori focused research and kaupapa Māori psychology, separate yet intrinsically intertwined elements. The professional development of Māori researchers, defined here as someone with Māori whakapapa, can often bring a deeper and more comprehensive view as insiders. An insiders perspective is important for indigenous settings, as outsiders may operate from their own cultural perspective and not accurately reflect the views or reality of the researched (Walker et al., 2006). Walker et al (2006) also claim that Māori researchers should be more than insiders, but competent in things Māori, have some knowledge of te reo (Māori language) and capable of high quality research. This skill base and insider knowledge can help interpret and understand subtleties, nuances and sometimes the significance of things that take place within the Māori world (Walker et al., 2006). This is supported by Henry & Pene (2001) who recognize and claim that knowledge is 'situated' within contexts and insiders are better placed to recognize

this than outsiders (Henry & Pene, 2001). The MPRU recognise the limited capacity of the Māori and Pacific psychology research workforce and is keen to assist with the development of future leaders in Māori and Pacific psychologies. There are multiple ways in which we do this, drawing on all potential resources available to us. Those resources are not limited to only Māori and Pacific peoples, but we engage with non-Māori colleagues in and across institutions. When engaging in these relationships, we are however cognizant of retaining our ability to ensure that our priorities are not subsumed by the agendas of others. Seeking our own self determined aspirations requires retaining our ability to define and control.

**E kore au e ngaro, he kakano i ruia mai i Rangiātea**

***I will not be lost, as I am one of the seeds scattered from Rangiātea.***

Cultural cognitions begin as seeds and are nurtured by environmental conditions, opportunities and experiences, and through our social interactions. If properly tended to, our cultural cognitions provide continuity with our pasts and a foundation upon which to negotiate and construct our future selves.

In navigating the Pacific my tipuna arrived to New Zealand with what they had. These included some material items like tools, sails, boats, clothing and containers. However, the most invaluable were their cultural cognitive resources; ways of organising, discovering, harnessing, adapting, thinking, interpreting and knowing.

These were the seeds for Māori survival in Aotearoa and they continue as seeds for survival in the new encounters and new worlds we

continue to find ourselves a part of. Continuing the idea of ngā kakano, of seeds from Rangiātea ... there were many reasons why my tipuna ventured forth from Rangiātea. And, if we think about it, those reasons are probably not too different from those that young people have today. Things like a want for independence, a chance to explore the world, a chance to find themselves, a chance to prove themselves, a chance to escape negative circumstance, a chance for work, for education, and for some, a chance for love. These are but a few reasons.

Whatever reasons my tipuna had for leaving Rangiātea, ngā kakano i ruia mai continue to spread, to grow and bear fruit across the Pacific, to Aotearoa, to the world. And the fruits are interesting too. Ngā kakano i ruia mai i Rangiātea grow rugby and netball players, movie stars, comedians, television stars, politicians, general practitioners, policy analysts ...the list is endless, and not surprising, they also grow psychologists.

Seeds develop differently. There are many contributing factors. We are all familiar with the search for genetic explanations, as we are with nature/ nurture debates. While I err on the nurture side of the debate there is a continuing nagging idea that whakapapa plays a major part in our pasts and futures. Whakapapa records events, relationships and relatedness, records hopes, aspirations and potentials. The seeds were spread from Rangiātea and today we see these seeds coming together. We see our whakapapa, our pasts and futures overlapping to create new potentials and new futures. And this whakapapa will be noted. It will be recorded. *E kore au e ngaro. He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiātea ...so we will never be lost, for we are the seeds spread from Rangiātea.*

Tēnā koutou

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# **Disrupted Spaces: Racism and the lived experience of Maori identity formation**

**Erika Te Hiwi**

*Ngāti Raukawa, Rangitane  
Massey University*

## **Introduction**

In 2004, when Don Brash –then leader of the National Party, hit the headlines with his controversial ‘Orewa’ speech, so-called ‘mainstream’ New Zealanders, felt that at last they had their hero. Brash articulated what this group felt was the source of trouble in contemporary Aotearoa society – brown privilege. Letters to the editor and talkback lines ran hot with many applauding Brash’s calls for an end to the treaty gravy train and ‘race-based’ funding in health; anecdotes abounded of Māori students up and down the country getting a ‘free-ride’ through education and taking prized positions in training programmes from better qualified Pākehā. It was, according to the writers and callers, an oppressive Apartheid-style system favouring Māori that had to end.

Of course there were at the same time voices that spoke out from the margins – both Māori and Pākehā, attempting to articulate a reasoned response. Brash’s ‘brave’ words and almost *all* of the measures of social wellbeing just didn’t stack up. But the gate was open and the proverbial horse had bolted. ‘Facts’ it seems, didn’t matter – and neither should ‘race’. This was hot on the heels of the 2003 Foreshore and Seabed Act, which removed Māori rights to claim title to parts of the Aotearoa coastline - rights that had already been affirmed earlier in the courts. Despite warnings from both the Waitangi Tribunal and the United Nations of the racist nature of the Act; despite its contravention of international law; and despite the largest demonstration by Māori and other supporters in Aotearoa history – the Act was passed. Here, as in the tempestuous times that

followed ‘Orewa’, Pākehā anxiety was seemingly more important than Māori suffering.

During these troubled times I was completing my BA at Massey University. Māori students I tutored and studied alongside expressed to me both fear and confusion at the tension they felt was palpable in lectures and around campus. Race-relations – an aspect of Aotearoa society many ‘New Zealanders’ had long prided themselves on, had hit an all time low. For Māori students I spoke with, the festering sore of Pākehā resentment had been lanced and what came spilling out only reaffirmed what they already knew: racism was alive and well in Aotearoa. These events and the emotions expressed, served to validate a decision I had long since made; if and when I undertook research, it would be in the area of racism. It was the blossoming of the seed of an idea that had been planted many years prior when my then five year old came home and uttered the words I’d hoped I would never hear: “I don’t wanna be brown mum ... I don’t *like* it”. It is a disconcerting thing when your child articulates so clearly (and painfully) the result of experience you yourself share but have never dared speak of. Indeed I can think of no other that comes close to the sadness invoked by the growing recognition of one’s difference, one’s ‘otherness’ that stacks up against ‘normal’ so unfavourably. How does one come to regret so – the ‘skin they’re in’? And given, short of radical chemical treatment, its permanence – what does that rejection mean for a child and then adult’s sense of themselves? If one *can* blind themselves (and perhaps others) to their ancestral phenotypical endowments, what does that mean for their wellbeing? These questions formed the basis of

my recent research on racism and its interconnection with identity.

### **Investigating Racism**

It has been somewhat surprising to discover that little investigation has been done on racism as a phenomenon in Aotearoa. However numerous researchers and writers, many though not all of them Māori, have provided necessary and valuable insight into the ongoing impact and suffering caused by colonisation (Awatere, 1984; Durie, 1998; Spoonley & Fleras, 1999; Tuhiwai-Smith, 2003; Walker, 1990). This is not surprising given that the two; racism and colonisation, are intimately entwined. As Memmi (1967) asserts, the portrayal of the 'native' as inferior made the theft of native land and the imposition of colonial law a mere exercise in salvation for the coloniser – they were after all, bringing civilisation to the savage.

Albert Memmi (1999) writes in his book *Racism* "There is a strange kind of tragic enigma associated with the problem of racism. No one ... wishes to see themselves as racist; still, racism persists, real and tenacious" (p.3). Its evasiveness can perhaps be tied to the too often narrow definition it receives in public discourse. Racism in this arena is attributed to aberrant individuals – a small group of people who subscribe to, and draw on, stereotypes that position 'racial' other as inferior. Despite the paucity of research on racism in Aotearoa, studies have indicated the pervasiveness of racist attitudes here both past and present. According to Holmes, Murachver and Bayard (2001) research initiated in the 1950s has consistently provided evidence of negative stereotypes of Māori as unintelligent and aggressive troublemakers. Their own study confirmed that these stereotypes persist. Certainly such attitudes and stereotypes are problematic and have import to those whom they target; however racism's invidious tentacles spread far broader than that. Blatant and individual acts of racism or discrimination might be considered 'salt in the wounds' of far less obvious manifestations that can impact over a life-time (Harrell, Hall, & Taliaferro, 2003).

Whilst the general monocultural assumptions that are made about what is 'normal' and 'natural' indicate one aspect of racism, *Wounding Souls* did not attempt to determine types of racism – whether institutional, personal or so forth. Rather I took it on faith that experiences of racism are numerous and pervasive still in Aotearoa, and that such experiences constitute a form of unnamed violence in the lives of those affected. Selecting a qualitative methodology it was not my intention to count the incidence or measure severity or assess responses. Rather the intention was to explore the lived experience of racism for participants and what it has meant to them across their lifetime, indeed across many lifetimes, in terms of identity. Also, rather than research the experience of racism amongst Māori as a whole in Aotearoa, I chose to limit this enquiry to those relatively new to a Māori identity. Not only does this disrupt the assumption of homogeneity that is often made when researching with Māori; it also acknowledges that racism impacts different Māori in different ways with different consequences. Of the many themes that emerged from the research – several in particular seem relevant to the concept of 'Creating Spaces' in the discipline and practice of psychology – On Being Other, Intergenerational Wounds, Caught Between and Invisible Whiteness.

### **On Being Other**

Racist acts invoke a sense, in those they target, of inferiority of 'being other' – in some way *seen* as different by those that count, and different in important ways. Participant A provided an example of being seen along with the painful awareness of that visibility:

*... growing up and knowing to go into the shops and look at things like that (holds arm out), you know you don't pull stuff off the shelves close to you? Because then it looks like you're stealing..., like you learn that really early (A, 158).*

The necessity of the gaze can be rationalised on the basis of stereotypes of 'other' as untrustworthy and devious. Evidence for the pervasiveness of stereotypes that reflect negatively on Māori is provided in Holmes et al's 2001 study considered

earlier. The marking-out of 'other' on the basis of stereotypes achieves important things on the part of the marker. To ascribe characteristics to those differentiated from one's 'self', is to invoke a binary distinction where the 'self' is then seen as being *without* that characteristic. If 'other' is lazy then 'self' is productive (else why point it out?); if 'other' is savage then 'self' is civilised and so on. Consideration of Foucault's invocation of the Panopticon illuminates how both the 'markings' and the gaze that seeks to find them become internalised.

Foucault (1972) invoked one of the most powerful metaphors for surveillance as an illustration of disciplinary power, by borrowing Bentham's model of the Panopticon. Foucault's concept of surveillance/self-surveillance as an exercise of power – the transformation of its targets into bearers of their own oppression, is evident in participant T's reflection on multiple experiences of a judgmental gaze:

*If you grow up ... and year after year you know you're looked down at and you know you're judged they don't even have to say anything (T, 342)*

Considered cumulatively, experiences of 'being other' can no longer be viewed, as is often the case in popular discourse, as regrettable but isolated occurrences – rather they become repeated inscribers of stigma. Thus reflecting back to the initial account, participant A's understanding of necessary behaviour in a shop, becomes behaviour necessary in *all* the shops – whether scrutinised or not. It implies an inescapable vigilance that has potentially damaging consequences for an individual's ease/dis-ease with themselves and their sense of identity. This identity is further compromised then parents, themselves having experienced similar 'othering', adopt strategies that reinforce the inferiority of being Māori.

### **Intergenerational Wounds**

Many of the participants in the study are a generation or two on from those that were encouraged by their own parents to take up, in Ngata's much quoted words, 'the tools of the

Pākehā' – fostered no doubt by racist constructions of a superior Pākehā way of life and State policies of assimilation. Participants spoke of observing the actions of their Māori parent in relation to a Pākehā spouse:

*I look back and see how he had to fit in to her world and her way of doing things because that was normal ... with my dad he just very, not happily I would say but, thinking it was the right thing gave up anything that was to do with say for example not putting certain buckets in the, you know (A, 99)*

To devalue the beliefs and practices of the group one is positioned within is to devalue one's self. Studies overseas have determined that 'othered' parents have an important role to play in how their children perceive or live the experience(s) of racism. Interestingly, parents who instil in their children a strong sense of cultural pride were less likely to report behavioural problems; whereas those who denied struggling with racism reported the highest (Caughy et al., 2004). This is indicative of one of the ways the pain of being 'othered' transmits across intergenerational boundaries – a form of socially-inherited dis-ease:

*My mum ... she deliberately broke all the um, traditional ways of doing things, deliberately broke them. To fit in. And I think that's what it was about, back then, it was a long time ago. I mean, it ... it just was not good to be Māori. Although it wasn't named, you wouldn't want to go round saying you were Māori, she just fitted in ... I guess that's just what people did then. She was one of the one's who was beaten for speaking ... she was a native speaker ... of Māori and so she ... and her generation, well generally, her generation ... didn't pass anything on to us. It's so sad, you know, to think she was a native speaker, and we didn't get it ... but that's the story of a lot of people (N, 112)*

In participant N's case, not only is the inferiority of things Māori reinforced in the home, other



important markers of cultural/ethnic identity are withheld, interrupting their ability to negotiate the world they have been alienated from. In failing to confront or even recognise overt assimilative policies of the past, the burden of identifying falls to the next generation. It is a burden several participants spoke of having picked up in order to fortify *their* children from similar dis-ease:

*Yeah, just that they feel better. When they're older. They won't have to go through that long journey and fight that you've had ... to feel comfortable in a Māori world. And I know what its like to feel uncomfortable in the Māori world, its awful. My brother's still like that and I ... see what he goes through, and you know, how he feels, doesn't know what to do (N, 127)*

The various participants who expressed their conscious decision to instil in their children pride in being Māori, did so in light of experiences past, present and anticipated. Where racism had worked to dislodge their desire and/or ability to identify as Māori and concomitantly left them without the sanctuary of that belonging, they have to begin anew – to go back (recovering past cultural narratives and practices that have been withheld) and forward (interpreting those narratives and practices in the context of other identities), up (talking with previous generations through their experience and dis-ease) and down (teaching the lessons and instilling the narratives in the next generation) simultaneously. It is resistance that acknowledges that efforts to achieve well-being or eradicate dis-ease that focus on the individual-in-the-present are limited. Just as we learn and ache through experiences both social and personal, so too must healing be explored at the social as well as the personal level. These are indeed *whakapapa* *mamae* – genealogies or legacies of suffering. They draw attention to the interconnectedness of human experience and negate the logic of focussing on healing as it can be ‘done’ in the aid of the *individual*. Rather, legitimating narratives of dislocation and relocation might also enable a transformation of dis-ease to a positive identity.

### **Caught Between**

In her exploration of hybridity – a term borrowed from the natural sciences to account for the children of genetically (racially/ biologically determined) dissimilar parents, Moeke-Maxwell (2003) describes the unique struggle of those who must claim two (or more) ancestries: “Positioned as interlocutors in bicultural hot spots the bi/multi racial woman (or man) is torn between loyalties to Māori and Pākehā communities” (p.12). This painful sense of divided loyalties arose early in participants’ conversation and was a theme revisited throughout:

*I think that's the hardest walk walking both. It was huge in my life cos it was ... like never identifying as Māori ... or um ... Pākehā either? Didn't feel comfortable in either setting? Now as I've gotten older and I've done a bit of different work and stuff around stuff, I so identify with Māori, I'm so comfortable in Māori settings, but I never used to be and so that was painful ...*

To find one’s self ‘homeless’, has its roots in colonial practices of exclusion. Historically State practices have reflected racist beliefs about blood as signifier of ‘race’ – able to differentiate those superior from inferior. To be authentically Māori prior to 1974 was to embody an ascribed blood quantum that was at least 50% ‘pure’ – hence the invocation of the ‘half-caste’ (Kukutai, 2003). Such politics of authenticity serve to limit the number of those that may claim recognition or redress from the State. Increasing rejection of the biological significance of race accompanied by the insistence of Māori to determine for themselves who they are, led to a change in State policy, however at the level of social practice it has retained its currency. Politicians repeatedly claim that there are ‘no real Māori left’ (as signified by ‘purity’ of blood), and pressure to assimilate continues in public cries to adopt a more unified, singular ‘New Zealander’ identity. Given that this identity is implicitly characterised as English-speaking, individualistically-oriented indeed essentially White, it is unsurprisingly seen as a demand that must be met with resistance. Sadly, such resistance necessitates the fortification of

boundaries of 'other' by 'other' themselves who demand markers of authenticity that further exclude those caught in the middle:

*... you're also rejected by Māori you know ... maybe not always but ... and it's how I've felt all my life too, sort of torn? Don't belong there, and don't belong there ... and um ... yeah, painful (tears) (N, 118)*

*There have been situations when ... I've been on a marae ... and ... I have felt the wrong colour ... and I have felt judged by my colour. It's ... and I don't know if it's happening or whether I'm being just paranoid, but I'll go onto the marae sometimes and I feel all the eyes, eyeing me up and down ... who's this? ... sometimes you just don't know whether you fit here or there and it's really awful ... I I want, I wished I was more Māori, I wished I looked more Māori so then I could have been more comfortable in those circumstances ... and it was, it's been really hard to try and find that balance and sometimes I still don't know if I've managed it (S, 180)*

Seeking to ensure the survival and continuation of treasured cultural practices and values risks collusion, however inadvertently, with the creation of "insider/outside boundaries where there are those 'in the know' and those who are excluded from knowing" (Connor, 2000, p.130). The tensions between the two – Māori and Pākehā, become located in the body of the one, thus another 'other' is created – or more accurately the 'half-caste' is re-cast; as the in-between, the go-between, the 'hybrid'. It is unsurprising that this relatively new term of cultural locatedness has in its genesis the notion of nature/blood, much like the practices of exclusion themselves. After Foucault it is easy to imagine how at the level of the collective also, the State/social demand for authenticity becomes collectively internalised. When considering claims to space(s) within disciplines such as psychology, discussions of who is and is not *authentically* Māori; who decides and what such decisions might mean, are vital.

### **Invisible Whiteness**

As a key focal point for the study – consideration of identity is an acknowledgement of plurality. To understand one's identity or be called to reflect on it, both assumes and requires recognition of identities as multiple. This reality for the participants in the study is in tension with the concept of 'invisible whiteness' where identities are not named, not owned, but become insidiously 'normal':

*Pākehā people don't think about race. You know, that's something that, that you're always conscious of it but, cos I guess that Pākehā is 'normal' rather than Pākehā, it's just normal, and they get to not think about ... who they are, how that impacts people ... (A, 82)*

Participant A's words echo Dyer's understanding of invisible whiteness; "being white is not an issue for most white people, not a conscious or reflected on part of their sense of who they are" (Dyer, 1997, p.5). Whereas those who are marginalised in their 'otherness' are bound to always be conscious of the positions from which they speak or act, invisible/unidentified whiteness enables those that are white to speak and act as if their words/actions are normal, natural – 'just the way things are'. As a result the values and beliefs of other become *abnormal*, *unnatural* – less than and therefore worthy of repudiation. Further, the normalisation of whiteness, enables any effort to make room for one's 'otherness' to be viewed as a demand for privilege or special treatment. In university settings, efforts to encourage Māori into psychology, and the claiming of space for Māori and Pacific psychologies, are often interpreted by non- Māori students and staff as privilege. Thus it seems necessary for Pakeha psychologists and academics supportive of space claiming for Māori and Pacifica, to turn the spotlight of investigation toward normative or white space. As Dyer (1997) asserts:

*We may be on our way to genuine hybridity, multiplicity without (white) hegemony, and it may be where we want to get to – but we aren't there yet, and we won't get there until*

*we see whiteness, see its power, its particularity and limitedness, put it in its place and end its rule. This is why studying whiteness matters (p.4).*

Dyer's words resonate with what I understand as crucial to relationship-making on the marae. For example, an understanding of whaikorero (speechmaking) – the purpose of which is to make connections or relationships among us – suggests the wisest of listeners pay careful attention to what is *not* said. Seemingly key aspects of communication may be found in areas of silence. Similarly, what is not acknowledged in social power relations – that is the pervasive yet unspoken normality of whiteness, is also key to the way such relations, particularly those that are hierarchical, are conducted. To fail to pay them due attention is to enable the maintenance of the status quo.

## **Conclusion**

Creating spaces for Māori and Pacific peoples to explore the development of relevant and applicable psychologies carries with it a responsibility to ponder *for whom* they are relevant and applicable. In Aotearoa, historical policies of assimilation, practices of determining 'from without' who is and isn't Māori, and continued and multiple experiences of racism that are integral to the colonial process, have had important consequences for the relevance of 'claimed space'. Whilst in no way wishing to undermine the vitality and necessity of commonly accepted cultural identity markers; whakapapa, knowledge of iwi, hapu, marae – in lived reality the aforementioned influences have wreaked havoc amidst such markers for some, resulting in realities of 'being Māori' that are both fluid and complex. Acknowledging the multiple realities of being Māori is a necessary part of the claiming of space, whether in psychological research or practice.

Address for correspondence:  
*e.j.tehiwi@massey.ac.nz*

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# **The life story model of identity: A bridge between two spaces.**

**Dr. Carla Anne Houkamau**

*Post Doctoral Research Fellow*

*Department of Management and Employment Relations*

*University of Auckland, New Zealand*

*Ko Hikurangi toku maunga  
Ko Waiapu toku awa  
Ko Horouta toku waka  
Ko Ngati Porou toku iwi  
Ko Hinemaurea te marae  
Ko Te Whanau o Tu Whakairiora te hapu  
Ko Carla Houkamau toku ingoa  
Nga mihi ki a koutou katoa*

## **Introduction**

Two questions which continue to absorb Western social psychological researchers are: What is the 'self'? And 'What is identity in relation to self?' At the NMPPS this year this Dr. Love's keynote threw these matters into relief prompting us as indigenous psychologists to reflect deeply on the nature of 'selves'. Many questions arise from her address. Do we have ensembled selves? Are we self contained? Are we a bit of both depending on the situation? How do we work within psychology while honouring Māori perspectives?

Questions like these shaped my decision to employ a life story model of personal identity within my own PhD research 'on' Māori identity between 2003 and 2006. My choice to do so was based on several factors - which are articulated in this paper.

As a starting point I acknowledge that Māori identity is under theorised within psychology. More specifically, published scholarly works concerned with Māori identity tend to be descriptive rather than explanatory - often motivated by the desire of the writer to articulate a uniquely Māori view of the world. As such, literature tends to cohere around how Māori identity reflects the cultural traditions, values and behaviours of Māori as a people (e.g. Barlow, 1991; Karetu, 1979, 1990, 1993; Pere,

1979, 1988; Puketapu, 1979). This leaves psychological theoretical development (that is, explanations of how identity operates 'in the mind' in a psychological sense, as well as a social and behavioural sense) relatively less attended to.

This is not to say that Māori are not prolific writers on identity, rather that Māori students within this discipline are often required to find (or construct) an identity model to render their research acceptable within the dominant paradigm that we operate. This is problematic as Māori ideas and social psychological treatments of identity often conflict and many Māori have critiqued the applicability of conventional psychological wisdom for Māori (e.g. Cram, Smith & Johnstone, 2003; Edwards, McManus & McCreanor, 2005, Liu & Tamara, 1998; Liu, Wilson, McClure & Higgins, 1999; McCreanor, Tipene-Leach & Abel, 2004). Nonetheless, we can continue to borrow ideas from Western psychology. Indeed, as qualitative researchers within this discipline increasingly shift towards methodologies which embrace participant centred and narrative based approaches we edge closer to constructing that bridge between two spaces.

To explain why I see the life story model of identity (LSIM) as a way of creating a space for Māori views of identity within psychology I begin with a definition of identity within psychology along with a brief outline of how Western identity theories emphasise a particular view of the self. I then discuss how the LSIM (and associated life story interview process) treats the person as a maker of meaning from within the ecology from which they emerge. In this way the LSIM treats identity as a unified, purposeful aspect of self that people

construct in order to make comprehensible 'who' they are and what that means as a member of society. This I see as consistent with (although not the same as) indigenous understandings of the self which emphasise interdependence between individuals and social networks. At the same time, the LSIM is becoming an acceptable conventional identity model within Western social psychological research and, when based within a grounded theory methodological foundation this approach enables rigorous data collection and analysis. In this way I see a bridge between Māori views of identity and Western identity theory. (A discussion of the data analysis processes (or data presentation) is not provided here - I focus specifically upon the links between the LSIM and Māori perspectives of identity.)

### **Identity theory within a Western Psychological Paradigm**

From a Western psychological perspective everything a person knows about themselves is stored within their 'self concept'. This comprises the totality of self-descriptions and self-evaluations individuals have available to them as a person and is traditionally conceived of as an internal frame of reference (a cognitive structure with a physiological basis) which guides the individual's behaviour towards the world outside (Gecas, 1982; Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983; Rosenberg, 1965, 1979, 1981; Shibutani, 1961).

Identity is defined as part of the self concept that relates to social comparison (Josselson, 1996; Williams, 1989). People understand who they are by relating themselves to others in various ways. They then take the information available to them and construct their identities to make sense with and relate themselves to social categories including gender, racial, ethnic, sexual, and class systems. In this way, although all people experience having an identity of their 'own' identity is socially determined. In fact, it would be difficult to find anything about 'personal' identity which is not socially derived (Breakwell, 1983).

### **Theories of identity**

Identity in Western literature has been traditionally conceptualised as something the individual must

resolve, 'work through' and consolidate in order to be a fully functioning person. For example, early identity theorist, Erikson (1968) defined identity as a more or less integrated set of self-understandings learned during childhood, consolidated during adolescence and ideally resolved by the time individuals had reached their adult years. The content of identity as an object of examination, he suggested, was the person's answer to the question 'Who am I' (self-definitions) and 'What does it mean to be 'me' as a member of society' (self-descriptions and evaluations). The purpose of identity in this view was to 'consolidate' the individual as a mature adult. The more 'advanced the individual's identity development' the greater their self-awareness and sense of confidence, purpose and meaning. On the other hand, the less developed the individual's identity, the more confused they were about their own distinctiveness and therefore, they would have to rely upon others for direction and a sense of purpose.

His views have been hugely influential in psychology spawning a vast array of literature on identity development and psychological well being. The most often cited elaboration of Erikson's views is Marcia's (1966, 1967, 1976, 1980, 1993) identity status model. Marcia treated identity as a socially constructed psychological structure ('in the mind') which comprised the self-definitions, self-descriptions and self-evaluations individuals developed in order to function fully as adults. Identity was conceived of in terms of four psychological statuses based on the amount of exploration and commitment to an identity the individual had experienced.

Marcia also developed a quantitative tool to assess identity statuses thus providing researchers with a 'tangible' construct to measure - subsequently spurring hundreds of empirical studies. The popularity of Marcia's model is testimony to the values which have dominated traditional identity research. Much empirical identity research has been based upon the notion that individuals are 'better' if they are individuated (self sufficient) adults who are at the centre of their own control. Identity has therefore been seen as a problem adolescents must resolve (or a challenge that must be met) and –

psychologists can therefore wrestle identity into a stage related statuses which can be verified in terms of quantifiable units.

The assumption that individuals hold a measurable construct called identity in their minds also underpinned the ideas of McCall and Simmons (1968) who proposed role theory. In their view identities (self definitions and self meanings) are constructed via passive internalisation of social expectations attached to social role. These become stored in the mind of the individual as 'role identities' or sets of concepts that determined how one 'should' think, feel, as well as behave as an occupant of certain social roles. In this view the extent to which individuals fulfill this social role appropriately determines their level of adaptability to the world 'outside'.

Social identity theory also views identity as an internal cognitive structure but emphasises that identity emerges at the intersection of self and society. Tajfel (1981) made a specific distinction between what he called personal identity and social identity. Focussing on the role of social group membership on identity he defined social identity as "...that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership" (Tajfel, 1981, p.255). Personal identity was conceived of as a general view of the self (including personal beliefs about the self, skills, and abilities) influenced by social identities, however, quite unique to each individual. By differentiating social and personal identities, social identity theory sees people's identities as shaped by their group memberships but not completely determined by them. The underlying assumption however is that identity is personally and individually experienced (thus amenable to measure and study in terms of exploring the extent to which personal beliefs are consistent with social expectations).

A variation on this concept was offered by Stryker (1968, 1980, 1987) who combined the idea of social role with the impact of social contexts. Like McCall and Simmons, Stryker also viewed identity as a

reflection of a person's social roles. However, he sought to clarify how people switch from identity to identity depending on social demands. To explicate identity changeability he theorised that people's role-related behaviour varies in relation to commitment and salience. He argued that because people desire social acceptance, they emphasise certain social group memberships or role identities in certain situations. As such, people's expressed identities do not reflect an unvarying or unified set of features a person 'has' rather, the identity that people express emerges from a mixture of role identities which are held in the person's mind and selectively valued, expressed and experienced across social situations depending upon the degree of commitment and salience those identities hold. Identity is viewed as multi-dimensional with many different role identities (including nationality, ethnicity, gender, family, social class, occupation and sexuality) varying in salience depending on environmental demands and associated requirements upon the individual to express them (Woodward, 2000).

This model of identity therefore moves away from the emphasis upon stable self constructs within the mind to posit a more fluid model of self which varies depending on context. Goffman echoed this perspective and defined identity as something adopted to accommodate the presence of others. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) Goffman argued people have many different aspects to their identity and can choose to present themselves differently across different social situations depending on the impression they wish to make. In his view, identity was not at all fixed or internal, rather, individuals create short-term situated identities, or temporary renditions of themselves, and change them according to social context (also see Goffman, 1967). In this view, people's identities are 'fragmented' and constantly changing to gain the acceptance of those around them.

What do all these different approaches to identity suggest about the self and what it is to have an identity? This plethora of approaches suggests identity is a mixture of self experiences – all of which are represented within various identity

theories. Neisser (1988), for example, discriminated five primary aspects of the self which have been expressed within various identity models.

First, in order to experience identity we need to have a sense of the self as an object or actor in the social world – that is who we are as a person occupying a physical body within a material world at any given moment over time. Neisser has referred to this as the ecological self - the awareness of this aspect of the self is automatic and present from infancy.

Second, ‘having’ an identity suggests the presence of a ‘private self’. This aspect of self-experience exists in the mind of the person who ‘has’ it. This is a psychological experience which is never fully available for others to see – yet it is experienced as real by the individual. For example only I can really understand what it is like to identify as a member of my own family, although there are many of us who belong to my whanau, my own experience of belonging will be different from the others and it is privately my own.

Third, identity contains elements of a ‘conceptual self’ which comprise the diverse forms of self information, acquired via socialisation, that relate to the person’s membership in various social groups. This is partly ‘had’ by the individual – yet it is not of their origin and is inherently social in nature. For example, my experience of being Māori means I share commonalities and a sense of similarity and belongingness with other people who share that identity.

The notion of the conceptual self turns our gaze to the notion of being socially derived – we are what we are in relation to others. This same fluid self other boundary is what is occurring when an identity ‘emerges’ from the ‘situated self’ within an immediate social interaction with another.

While most of us are aware of a situated aspect of our own identities, we are still aware of being the same person from situation to situation. The extended self, according to Neisser, refers to people’s sense of continuity – or more specifically their understandings of themselves as human beings

who have had a continuous experience of being the same person over time. This experience of having an integrated or ‘real’ identity is an aspect of self-experience known to all. In fact, it is difficult to imagine living without an identity we see as ‘ours’ that we carry with us throughout our lives (Glover, 1988; Smith, 1988).

Thus, in working with identity, one must (ideally) recognise various elements of the self (private, social, situated, extended, conceptual and ecological). Despite this, the fragmentation of self aspects evident in the current array of identity theories has led to a reduction of the self into pieces –with different theories accounting for different aspects of self experience that occur at different levels and at different times. This is problematic from a Māori perspective – because the self is seen in a holistic sense. Moreover, the dominance of the view that independence and autonomy are the ideal identity states within Western psychological theory is problematic from a Māori world view which assumes maturity through interdependence and connectedness.

In order to amalgamate the various identity perspectives and create a space for Māori ideas regarding identity to be spoken I turned to the LSIM. This model is more holistic and conceives of the individual as constructed by social networks and inextricably understood as part of a community of meaning that exists within time and space.

### **The life-story model**

The LSIM has been emergent within mainstream psychology for several years – a process enabled greatly by the work of McAdams (1985, 1994, 2001). McAdams argued that identity should be seen as taking the form of a personal life-story in which life phases may be considered ‘chapters’ in the individual’s evolving psychological autobiography (Atkinson, 1999; Bruner, 1987; 1997; Polkinghorne, 1988). According to the model, in late adolescence and young adulthood people start to organise and make meaning of their lives by creating ‘inner’ personal histories that reconstruct their own past and anticipate their future. To do this they draw upon all the events that have happened to them in the past, tie them together



in a meaningful sequence and use that 'story' to explain who they are, what that means, and where they are 'going'.

In recent years, several theorists have proposed that personal life-stories are the best available structure to make sense of how individuals come to experience and understand themselves as individuals in time (Atkinson, 1999; Ezzy, 1998; Kenyon & Randall, 1997; Sarbin, 1986, 1993).

McAdams (1994) suggested the life-story approach is consistent with situation-specific views of identity because the expressions of identity people make publicly may be viewed as a selection of the appropriate aspects of a person's own story, tailored for the moment in which it is expressed and formulated to be appropriate to a particular audience. The idea of identity development is also accommodated in this model as it assumes that, because individuals continue to live their lives and accumulate self-knowledge, their life-story is continually a work in progress, changing over time reflecting changes in the person's self-understandings, social environment, social roles and relationships (McAdams, 2001).

The appeal of the treatment of identity as held within life-stories is that it incorporates the various aspects of self-experience labelled identity by theorists into one process of continuous identity formation and self development in a way that no other perspective has been able to achieve. Moreover, the LSIM enables us to conceive identity – not as a possessed thing or static structure – but as an ongoing process of self development and self construction – experienced by the individual yet socially derived and expressed through interaction with a community of others who share a similar story (Eakin, 2000; Ezzy, 1998; Glover, 1988; Lieblich & Josselson, 1994; Linde, 1993). Thus, although the personal life-story may be conceived of as an 'inner' identity the position enables the individual self to be appreciated in terms of important relationships and – thus gives primacy to interdependence, interrelatedness among individuals.

Reinforced by the inclusiveness of this approach and the ability for the model to embrace personal experiences of interdependence and self fluidity I adopted the LSIM for my work with Māori - taking the view that identity may be found in the 'contents' of life-stories – specifically in the self-definitions, self-descriptions and associated meanings that individuals attach to themselves when asked to talk about their identity as Māori.

The appeal of this approach was not only limited to theoretical inclusivity. Other features were deemed important. For example, there remains a cultural preference in Māori society for the use of story-telling to pass on knowledge thus rendering the model useful for Māori (Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Secondly, the approach creates a space for an alternative view of the experience of having an identity to be voiced. Unlike other identity models in psychology which have tended to measure identity in relation to pre established roles, theory or statuses the life-story approach opts for the use of open ended story-telling to elicit identity perceptions (Bujold, 1990; Spradley, 1979; Josselson & Lieblich, 1993; Schutze, 1981, 1983, 1987 cited in Reimann & Schutze, 1991). Thus I was able to explore identity from the subject's perspectives (rather than 'measuring' it using a pre constructed assessment instrument) (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984; Bertaux & Thompson, 1997; Garfinkel, 1967; Josselson & Lieblich, 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Rosenthal, 1993). This enabled participants the space to express their own stories in their own words without being prompted by me (Oplatka, 2001).

Moreover, by their nature, life-stories require individuals to explain themselves with reference to the social world, relationships and events that shaped them (McAdams, 2001). As such, life-stories carry explanations for the origins of identity for the person in their own social ecology in relation to people, places, experiences, groups, cultural values and any sources of information they perceived as relevant. Using this model therefore, my participants were able to speak of the sense of interdependence and interrelatedness within the communities within which they belonged. They were able to speak of experiences in the Māori

world, spiritual beliefs, cultural values and important relationships with whanau, hapu and iwi – without being directed or channelled by me. These ideas were then able to be validated and expressed throughout the thesis in the subjects own words.

### **Conclusion**

In using the LSIM I attempted to bridge the gap between Māori views of identity and social psychological identity theory. Here I do not purport to fill the gap in the literature between Māori views and identity theory. Of course, there is still a long way to go in terms of bridge building – however - being in a position to write about such matters compels you to do so, even if your concepts are

rudimentary and still under development. A more appropriate title for this paper may have been a ‘make shift bridge’ between spaces. I do hasten to add however, although the foundations of my bridge may be somewhat unstable at least they enabled me to pass from one space to another (Robinson, 2008). It is hoped that these ideas add usefully to the growing pool of conceptual resources Māori psychologists are generating. As we generate our ideas collectively, and continue to interpret non Māori perspectives to suit our own needs and aspirations, we will continue to develop not just bridges between spaces – but also ensure our own space continues to expand in new directions.

### Address for correspondence:

e-mail [c.houkamau@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:c.houkamau@auckland.ac.nz)

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## Moko – A Research Project

**Ngāhūia Te Awēkotuku, Mohi Rua, & Linda Waimarie Nikora**

*Centre for Maori and Pacific Development Research &  
Maori and Psychology Research Unit  
University of Waikato*

*During the symposium there were opportunities for participants to contribute where other scheduled contributors were unable. At the time of the symposium, the authors of this paper were about to launch their book “Mau Moko”. They took the opportunity to talk to symposium participants about their experiences working on the project. This is a short summary of their paper.*

Moko colours the lives, and the skins, of all the people involved in the making of this book “Mau Moko”, which began as the Marsden project, “Ta Moko – Culture, Body Modification, and the Psychology of Identity”, 2001-2005. We proposed to study the origins, significance, technology and practice of Ta Moko from the pre-contact period to contemporary times, and to explore how this important art form has become a dynamic and positive assertion of being Maori in our changing world.

The research team included Professor Ngāhūia Te Awēkōtuku, Dr Linda Waimārie Nikora, Mohi Rua and Rolinda Karapu, and a significant number of community members, active practitioners, and emerging scholars. We were based in the Maori and Psychology Research Unit, at the University of Waikato, over a four year period. Once Penguin agreed to publish our work as a book, Becky Nunes brought in her formidable skills as a portrait photographer.

Community participation was an essential element in bringing it all together, and taking the stories, the tāonga, and the moteatea, library, and museum research back to the people. We presented on many different marae, attending and coordinating various wananga. Our research administrator emerged from one event with his own major work in progress!

One community offered unconditional support; the Aitanga ā Hauiti people of Ūawa, the guardians of the majestic house Ruakapanga, and heirs of the Te

Rāwheoro School of Learning. They nurtured us with their generosity and their wisdom.

We also did several sessions for tertiary and training providers, as we were committed to sharing the information, particularly the archival material, as we were compiling it. Team members spoke on moko at many conferences and symposia locally and overseas, at academic venues as diverse as Philadelphia, London, Rome, Harvard, Banff, Oxford, Sydney, Honolulu, Sintra, Cambridge and Puerto Rico.

The research project was in two sections. One section looked at the history and technology of moko, examining early historical records and some manuscript materials, particularly Te Rangikāheke, Mākereti, and the closed notebooks of the late Dr Michael King. Michael was an enthusiastic supporter of the study, and gave Te Awēkōtuku access to his private moko files. We will always be grateful for that privilege; e te tungāne, moe mai.

Mōteatea, waiata and haka either published or currently performed were also closely examined for ta moko references. We found over fifty examples; some revealed salient information.

We visited many institutions in Aotearoa and overseas, strengthening established connections, reviewing material already investigated, and looking closely at their collections.

The second section of the project, face to face, in the community, was also underway. Initially, there was a mixed reaction, but most of the people we approached were genuinely interested, even excited. We designed an interview schedule, underwent university ethical review, and trained interviewers on campus, and on the marae. We cast a wide net, through personal contacts, marae, family and iwi networks, media soundings, and the internet. We expected to interview about forty wearers, and eight artists. By the end of the project, thirteen artists, and ninety wearers had participated, with volunteers coming forward even when the book was in press. This was very humbling.

What amazes us is that in the project's beginning, we could name every living Maori with an adorned face; or we could connect to them. Now, that is impossible, there are so many.

For the team, this book, *Mau Moko : the World of Maori Tattoo* reflects the pepeha,  
*E hara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari taku toa, takitini e.*

It is a triumph for all of us, a collective success; and one for which we acknowledge the assistance and generosity of the Marsden Fund.

Kia ora koutou katoa.

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# Voicing the Unspoken: Breaking through the Barriers of Mainstream Institutionalized Deafness to Pacific Therapeutic Practices

Cabrini 'Ofa Makasiale, Seilosa Patterson, Nua Silipa, Fia Tupou,  
Margaret Nelson Agee, & Philip Culbertson

*This paper explores the development of two significant cross-cultural research projects in Pasifika psychology. Both projects were designed to speak into the "silent space" of unexplored Pasifika practices and needs in the field of mental health.*

## **The principles of cross-cultural research**

The publication of Derek Freeman's *Margaret Mead and Samoa* (1983) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing methodologies* (1999) problematised the involvement of European researchers in analyzing the cultural dynamics and value systems of indigenous people in the Pacific. These and similar works drew attention to the ways that power can be misused in research and interpretation, the misconstrual of unfamiliar worlds, and the tendency of European researchers to colonize indigenous peoples by stealing their intellectual property and cultural treasures for use, and misuse, in the European academy. Pacific peoples can become decolonized only by "reclaiming indigenous perspectives, knowledge, and wisdom that have been devalued or suppressed because they were or are not considered important or worthwhile" (Helu Thaman, 2003, p. 2). Pacific peoples have endured decades of disempowering research, with little social or economic improvement in their health and education (Vaiolleti, 2006, p. 22).

Cross-cultural research teams comprised of pālagi and Pasifika researchers are obliged to take these issues seriously if their research results are to have validity. The literature on cross-cultural research sets out a number of principles that should guide cross-cultural teams. One of the most important is that *the voice of the*

*participants should be preserved*, and that research data should not be twisted by the importation of the researchers' agenda and concerns (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 103). Battiste (1996, as cited in Umulliko Indigenous Education Centre, 2005, p. 2) argues that "Indigenous researchers cannot rely on colonial languages and thought to define our reality. If we continue to define our reality in the terms and constructs drawn from Eurocentric diffusionism, we continue the pillage of our own selves." In a cross-cultural research team, this raises interesting questions which argue against equality of team members, but for equity, and for the regular privileging of the indigenous voice over the European academic voice.

A second principle is that cross-cultural research be *participant driven*. The participants must find the research topic culturally meaningful, and decisions must be distributed equally among the researchers and the participants, with both sharing the research agenda, initiating and articulating the research questions, guarding the autonomy of the participants, and interpreting the meaning of the data (Gibbs, 2001, p. 679). This principle underpinned 'The Afakasi Project' from its inception, as well as characterising the development of *Penina uliuli*.

A third principle is that everything must be *negotiated with cultural consultants, sanctioned and checked by them and then returned to the participants*, however symbolically. This included decision making in determining the research process; joint participation in conducting the research process; participating in reflexive processes in the analysis and

interpretation of research data; and co-presenting or checking the presentation of the results in the form of publications. Integral to the effectiveness of these processes were the relational dynamic of *whakawhanaungatanga* that has been described as a “culturally constituted metaphor” for conducting research (Bishop, 1996, p. 215)—in our group, a sense of connectedness with, and deep respect for, one another—and the *talanoa* (a Tongan term) or democratic process that took place not only face to face in group meetings, but also by means of frequent email discussions that included the Hawaiian members of the writing team for *Penina uliuli*.

Two different ways of returning things to the participants were part of our joint work. Sometimes the materials were returned orally, as in the final *fono* of ‘The ‘Afakasi Project’. At other times, they were returned in writing, as with *Penina uliuli*, a project devoted to the wellbeing of the greater Pasifika community, and in which the Pasifika authors of the collected essays could see their own wisdom and knowledge displayed in print form, but with themselves named as the sole resource. In this way, something was “left on the ground”, rather like the Māori *wero*, wherein a gift is shared in the midst of a challenge that its meaning be correctly recognized.

To these, we added a fourth principle: that pālagi researchers had the right to enter into a cross-cultural research partnership not because of their academic credentials and interests, but because *the researchers had done “the hard yards”*. This was interpreted to mean that they could not be like “snowbirds,” who fly in and out when it suits them. It meant, rather, that the pālagi researchers had to have deep prior working relationships with the indigenous members of the cross-cultural team, who could verify their credibility and trustworthiness for the others, a sense of cultural protocols (or at least a willingness to learn), the ability to listen and respond when they were being corrected, and a true sense of humility and gratitude in the face of the cultural treasures which were being shared with them.

During the research, a fifth cross-cultural principle emerged: that the *European researchers must accept that they will never understand fully*. This principle became evident as the pālagi researchers were forced to engage the radical otherness of the Pasifika co-researchers and research participants. This is in line, however, with the writings of Linda Tuhiwai Smith: “It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us” (Smith, 1999, p. 1). Indigenous people must always be honoured as those who are the creators of their own cultures and nations, and their rich insights and experiences cannot be fully comprehended simply through participation in a joint, cross-cultural project.

### **The development of *Penina uliuli***

The genesis of *Penina uliuli: Contemporary challenges in mental health for Pacific peoples* (Culbertson et al., 2007) was a conversation in which Margaret Agee and Philip Culbertson, both pālagi faculty members at the University of Auckland, shared their frustration at the scarcity of published materials in Pasifika mental health that were suitable for use in the classroom, and that would replace Philip’s earlier, out-of-print, edited book on counselling issues (1997). They dreamed together of a collection of essays by Pasifika writers that would be a valuable resource for students training in mental health, theology, counselling, and cultural studies. In the project, they wanted the Pasifika authors to be able to speak for themselves, without their voices being filtered through a European agenda. Consequently, they decided that their tasks in such a project would be to “hold the space” and “hold the process”, to facilitate experienced Pasifika writers and encourage inexperienced Pasifika writers, and to project-manage the manuscript from conception to publication with an international publisher. In essence, they chose to fall silent, so that Pasifika voices could fill the heretofore silent spaces.



Inherent in their intention to “hold the space” was an understanding of the significance of relationships and of the *va*, defined by Melanie Anae (2007) as the space between participants that is not empty but which creates relationship and holds them together in a context that is meaningful and that enables meaning to be found and created together. From the inception of the projects, their task has in part been comparable with Anae’s (2007) concept of *teu le va*, or tidying up the space, so the work could proceed through observing relational arrangement protocols, cultural etiquette, and proscribed and prescribed behaviour that reflect moral and ethical underpinnings that have guided our collective practices.

Joining them in this task was Cabrini Makasiale, a Fijian-born Tongan who works as a psychotherapist and cultural advisor with Relationship Services in Auckland, and with whom both Philip and Margaret had a long working relationship. Approached to be the Cultural Consultant for the project, Cabrini became one of the book’s co-editors as well. A list of potential writers for the project was drawn up, and those nominated were invited to an initial fono. This was conducted according to Pasifika protocols, including the hospitality of food and drink, a blessing of the project by a Pasifika minister, the singing of hymns in several languages, and an open discussion about what it would mean to participate. Subsequent meetings followed a similar pattern. Over the full year during which the writing group met, some participants withdrew, and others took their place. The proposed publisher eventually suggested the inclusion of some Hawaiian writers, and this pan-Pacific gesture was greeted with delight by the group participants.

Early on, the group sought a metaphor which would give focus to the project as a whole. Philip and Margaret had challenged each of the writers to “find a topic in mental health that you are passionate about, and speak your truth.” But soon afterwards, the question was raised in the group, in response to this challenge, “How can we find our own voices and yet disagree with

each other?” As the group discussed this problem, the Pasifika *fale* began to emerge as a metaphor for being different and yet connected, for being individuated and yet in relationship. The inspiration for this metaphor was probably the *fonofale* method, as developed by Fuimaono Karl Pulotu-Endemann (2001).

The foundation of the *fale* was understood to be “the past we cherish, the present we live in, and the future we anticipate” reflecting a collective desire to respect the past but also to challenge practices that were destructive or unhelpful, in order to build for the future. The poles of the *fale* were described as each writer’s “unique identity, genealogy, life experience, belief system, and connection with a culture or combination of culture.” The space of the *fale* was the group’s own inter-dynamic *va*, “where a family can come together with its own way of doing things, and do that in a mutually owned, shared space.” The values within such a *va* include openness, historical relationality, respect, careful listening, hospitality, and process. The roof of the *fale* was conceptualized as “our pan-Pacifness,” as well as the shared experiences of marginalization and colonization. As one participant summarised, *Penina uliuli* is intended to be as open “as a *fale*, where there are many entrances and exits and almost limitless opportunities to engage the complex spaces.” Further details of how this metaphor was developed and amplified are included in the “Introduction” to *Penina uliuli*.

The salient points arising from this two-year, cross-cultural process of producing a book together were summed up by Nua Silipa as:

- The value of the Pasifika consultant to ensure a “decolonized” process, context and outcomes;
- Being a symbolic “bridge” between the *pālagi* and Pasifika worlds;
- The role of fluency in more than one language, by both consultant and participants;
- The indigenous need for the *pālagi* doorway;

- Reciprocity (Pasifika wisdom and pālagi tools);
- The genuineness of the collaborative relationship created by mutually caring about one another.

In this sense, *Penina uliuli* is indeed an example of a participant-driven research project, designed to benefit the Pasifika community as a whole by “telling the truth” about the mental health needs of that community, and to identify the best modalities with which to address these needs. It meets the criteria set forth in Battiste’s (1996, as cited in UIHEC, 2004 ) “indigenous research agenda”, in that the project is overtly political, highly emotive, concerned about the survival of indigenous peoples and cultures, driven by a purposeful dream, and shaped by strategic purposes and activities.

### **The value of case-study methodologies**

*Penina uliuli* showcased the original work of 19 Pasifika writers—primarily Samoan, Tongan, Niuean, and Hawaiian. This diverse collection of essays examined important issues related to mental health among Pacific Islanders through the topics of identity, spirituality, the unconscious, mental trauma, and healing. Also illustrated in some essays are ways of working with mental health clients that are more Pasifika-friendly than some of the widely-assumed approaches in the European world. An essay by Seilosa Patterson illustrates, through case excerpts, the adaptation of British object-relations theory for use with Polynesian clients. Cabrini Makasiale argues the importance of “interpathy” in Pasifika counselling, and illustrates her point with a case study in which the metaphor of rocks and the rain is used effectively. Fia Tupou uses an extended case study to demonstrate how the traditional Samoan value of *mea-alofa* served to bring healing to a client diagnosed with severe mental problems.

Makasiale uses the theories of David Augsburger (1986) to explore the difference between sympathy, empathy, and interpathy. Augsburger writes: “Interpathy is the ability to enter a second

culture with all its strengths and weaknesses as equally valid as one’s own... Interpathy carries with it a respectful, dynamic inter-relatedness that makes possible the transcendence of cultural limitation” (p. 14). Makasiale rephrased Augsburger’s point as meaning “(The client’s) experience becomes both the frame and the picture,” as opposed to the European approach, in which the health professional’s experience is both the frame and the picture. Her motto, then, for effective mental health care in a Pasifika context is “Meet me where I am before you invite me to a new place.” As well, she challenges mental health professionals to realize that “If you know only one culture, it probably means that you know no culture.”

Fia Tupou’s *mea-alofa* model understands some forms of mental health treatment as the giving and receiving of intergenerational gifts of love and respect. The *mea-alofa* model, inspired by the work of Webber-Dreadon (1999) and Seiuli (2004), presumes careful observance of Samoan cultural protocols, and works best when both practitioner and client are bi-lingual, and so it is designed to be used by Pasifika providers with Pasifika clients. It also presumes the involvement of the whole family unit, at least in the last phases of the counselling process. The value of the *mea-alofa* approach is that it brings together the client’s physical, emotional, familial, and spiritual attributes. It thereby envelops a Samoan client holistically.

### **The evolution of ‘The Afakasi Project’**

At the mid-point of developing *Penina uliuli*, the group chose to address the issue of what was missing from the book that needed to be said. Remembering a previous conversation about identity politics, one of the participants suggested that the topic of ‘afakasi identity could be a significant inclusion, as an area of experience that seemed to her cloaked in silence. Several of the women who were themselves ‘afakasi volunteered to participate in a group discussion, with Margaret as facilitator, to contribute to developing an essay in which their identities could remain anonymous. Breaking the silence with one another in this way was such a

rewarding experience, that everyone decided to put their names to the essay as co-authors.

Out of the conviction that this needed to be taken further, a participant-driven, qualitative research project evolved (Gibbs, 2001). With Philip and Margaret, the original group became a research team of Pasifika and pālagi co-researchers, with the inclusion of two Samoan 'afakasi male colleagues, and Nua Silipa as cultural consultant and independent data analyst. Later, three more Pasifika consultants became involved to assist with the youth phase of the project. All decision-making was collaborative, including negotiation of the research agenda, questions, method, and process. Permission to undertake the project was obtained from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, and a grant was obtained from the University's Staff Research Fund.

The initial discussion had reflected the characteristics of a focus group (Krueger & Casey, 2000), and retrospectively served as a pilot. This method was therefore chosen as a culturally appropriate, collective process of data gathering, providing participants with an audience for the telling of their stories, through which shared meanings were created. Gender-specific groups of late adolescents (18-24 years) and older adults (30+ years) were facilitated by pālagi/Pasifika pairs of same-gender researchers, and each group met for 2-3 hours. The 60 participants included 19 adult women (4 groups); 8 adult men (2 groups); 20 young women (3 groups) and 13 young men (3 groups).

Pasifika members of the research team recruited participants through personal contacts and snowballing. As "insider researchers" (Tupuola, 2006, p. 293), they bridged the gap between the research team and the researched by inviting prospective participants to separate fonos (one for the adults and a subsequent one for the young people) to explain the project further, meet the others involved, divide into focus groups according to geographical convenience, and collectively decide when and where the groups

would meet. They also co-facilitated the focus groups.

Transcripts were analysed using grounded theory methodology (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), working closely with the participants' language and concepts. Opportunities were given to participants to review and comment on the summary of themes, according to the principle of host verification (Miles & Huberman, 1984), and analysis was also checked by the independent analyst on the research team.

Having begun with a fono, a final fono was planned for all participants to serve as a kind of envelope for the focus groups, as well as an opportunity to "give back" to the participant community by reporting the emergent themes from the research. At all fonos, and at focus group meetings, hospitality was provided in the form of a warm welcome, sharing in a light meal, and the provision of petrol vouchers to acknowledge participants' contribution to the research process in terms of time and travel expenses. Through every aspect of our approach, our team thereby attempted to minimize the potential for cross-cultural research to become "re-colonizing" (Quanchi, 2004, p. 4).

Although the field work for The 'Afakasi Project has been completed, the processes of data analysis and writing up the results for publication are ongoing. The first article, based on the men's discussions, is listed in the references below (Culbertson & Agee, 2007), and more are to follow.

## **Conclusion**

In her presentation at the 2007 NMPPS conference in Hamilton, Seilosa Patterson used the image of a baby, something miraculous and new, born of the past but looking to the future, to depict the spirit of these projects. Just as the cry of each newborn breaks the air with a unique new sound, so we hope to break through the barriers of mainstream institutionalised deafness to Pacific therapeutic practices as we bring forth new voices and fresh points of view through our book, and call on others to recognise the

importance of acknowledging the effects of complex cultural heritages on identity and wellbeing. While we ourselves have heeded the voices of our predecessors and contemporaries who have guided our work, we believe that our

work together contributes to our collective capacity to give voice to the unspoken, and to enable the voices of Pacific practitioners and researchers to be heard.

Author identifications:

Cabrini 'Ofa Makasiale, Relationship Services, Manukau  
Seilosa Patterson, Youthline Family Therapist; Consultant; Trainer  
Nua Silipa, Pasifika Liason Advisor, Ministry of Education  
Fia Tupou, Counsellor/ Family Therapist, Genesis Youth Project  
Margaret Nelson Agee, PhD., Faculty of Education, University of Auckland  
Philip Culbertson, PhD., School of Theology, University of Auckland

Correspondence:

Margaret Nelson Agee, PhD  
Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland  
[m.agee@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:m.agee@auckland.ac.nz), or

Philip Culbertson, PhD  
2101 North Berne Drive, Palm Springs, CA, 92262 USA  
[p.culbertson@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:p.culbertson@auckland.ac.nz)

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# **Evidence of Swarm Intelligence in Collective Cultures: Identifying the Use of the Swarm Goal Directive of Productivity in Pacific Organisation Systems as well as Between Genders**

**Natalie M. Arun**

*Brigham Young University  
Hawaii*

**Editors note:** *The author presented this poster at the symposium as a 'work in progress'. The paper explores the literature and concludes with a methodology and procedure for her future exploration of swarm intelligence in collective cultures. To find out the results of the study, please contact the author directly at: [Maneka@byuh.edu](mailto:Maneka@byuh.edu)*

Intrigued by the existence of societies outside that of the human population, scientists have ventured to study social aggregations within insects to seek insights on effective colonizing. The most popular of these social aggregations are colonies of ants and bees. In studying these groups of social insects researchers have developed algorithms loosely termed swarm intelligence that increase work efficiency within businesses and other social organizations (Bonabeau & Meyer, 2001). A subsequent proliferation of research in surrounding fields has allowed for investigation of key variables that improve work on a global scale (Bonabeau & Meyer, 2001). James Kennedy (1999), an initiator of swarm research, has suggested that there is a high correlation between systems that rely on each other for information and greater task accomplishment.

The results of the Kennedy (1999) study indicates that intelligence is not an effect of individual genius but rather a global accomplishment produced by individuals operating on basic rules. A further study of ants exploited the idea that choices of nesting and food sources depend on both factors based on individual and collective levels (Dussutour, Deneubourg, & Forcassie, 2005). Audrey Dussutour along with Stamtiotis, Deneubourg, and Forcassie (2006) established this concept by studying collective decision-making in ant

colonies that forage under crowded conditions. Results implicate that in addition to choosing shorter paths to food sources, ants also choose wider paths, a decision based on space for the entire colony rather than particular individuals (Dussutour et al. 2006).

Thomas Schmickl and Karl Crailsheim (2004) researched foraging decisions in bees based on costs and benefits. Results concurred the colony of bees were able to avoid large fractions of possible costs while operating under the colonial paradigm to maximize net gain (Schmickl & Crailsheim, 2004).

So great is the success of collective operating systems that applications derived from ant and bee optimization algorithms have been incorporated in a variety of technical applications (Dorigo, DiCaro, & Gambardella, 1999). These colony optimization algorithms are based on a list of key elements. The list includes the assignment of basic rules of operation at the individual level, decentralized task division and pheromone communication (Bonabeau & Meyer, 2001). Since its first origination the list of independent variables affecting work quality has grown.

James Kennedy (1999) further studied collective behavior in terms of behavior of the individuals within the system. Behavior on and the individual level is termed particle swarm. James Kennedy (1999) suggests that particle swarm implications exist for beings within a given sociocognitive space. Kennedy used eleMental's (a name used to identify the artificially intelligent robots) to assess the power of collective decisions between cooperating and non-cooperating particles (Kennedy, 1999). When assigned simple tasks eleMentals that generated higher amounts of swarming were significantly better at accomplishing tasks (Kennedy, 1999). The results of this study were attributed to a form of distributed cognition.

Pierre Poirier and Guillaume Chicoisne (2006) argue that in a sense swarming is a form of distributed cognition evident in human populations. Distributed cognition provides for the accomplishment of global tasks independent of intelligence levels of individuals within any swarm system. Rather than boost intelligence in one particle, the swarm system arrives at accomplishment of complicated tasks as a result of systemic cognition of relatively unintelligent individuals (Poirier & Chicoisne, 2006).

Given that swarming is evident in humans and that swarming is a feature of a collective effort, is swarming greater in collective versus individualistic human cultures?

Consider James Kennedy's (2006) implications that swarm efficiency is greater between swarm societies-collective groups rather than individual agents acting at random. Granted the study revolved around less sophisticated models than the human brain but there is evidence to suggest that collective societies thrive in decentralized systems. Jannette Mageo (2002) infers that specifically members of Tongan and Samoan societies conduct their activities after a manner of embedded psychosocial rules just as swarm colonies do. These psychosocial rules have contributed to the advancement of such societies despite the lack of success in other areas of development. Consider the Tongan economy for example; Odden Harold (2006) reports that economic stability in the Tongan government system is due to contributions from family living abroad not economic progress in terms of export revenue. Examples such as these suggest a form of colonization or swarm intelligence that allows societies such as these to accomplish global tasks through distributed intelligence. Individuals in such systems are not required to be experts at accomplishing tasks on a global scale; rather they are required to be experts at accomplishing relatively basic directives.

Hence logic suggests that societies in which psychosocial rules have been effective in perpetuating culture and work ethics would show a greater tendency to swarm. Due to the existence of multiple aspects of swarm intelligence this literature base will focus on only one aspect of swarming that is productivity in task accomplishment. The first hypothesis is that collective cultures will have a higher productivity rate than individualistic cultures. Under this hypothesis the independent variables

will be race, categorized by two representative cultural groups.

The first independent variable will consist of two factors, Caucasian Americans, representative of individualistic societies and Pacific Islanders-collectivist society. These social representations are modeled after Kennedy's (2006) study of collective versus individualistic cognitive systems.

The dependant variable will be a measure of productivity in terms of output per given time (Schmickyl & Crailsheim, 2004; Gray, 2005). Schmickyl and Crailsheim found that when foraging, bees were able to manage cost and benefit fluctuations to provide for better production. Hence, this suggests that inherent swarming tendencies would be evident in the ability to stimulate higher productivity output.

A further independent variable of interest is that of gender, male versus female. The differences between genders have not been studied previously with regard to ants and bees (Bonabeau & Meyer, 2001; Schmickyl & Crailsheim, 2004; Dussutour et al., 2006). However gender differences are significant in human populations. The second hypothesis emerges from studies of hunter gatherer societies that illustrate that because males are often hunters or foragers and women gatherers there are obvious differences in gender roles (Hawkes, 1993). This study base approximates that there will be a significant difference between productivity rates between males and females. This hypothesis is also a further extension of James Kennedy's (1999) conclusions that social cognition is inherent in social beings and as such productivity is higher among collective cognitive efforts. Hence this study will compare gender with the same dependant variable productivity.

The above variables are but a fraction of swarming factors however with further study remaining variables could be analyzed within the human population. The results will aid in arriving at an answer that identifies the power of collective cultures in terms of inherent swarming. If collective cultures exhibit a higher tendency to swarm then more effective approaches to organizational processes may be derived to allow organizations within these cultures to thrive.

## **Method**

### *Participants*

The study required two sample sets. The first sample

comprised of two different racial groups, Polynesians and Caucasian- American as a representation of collective and individualistic cultures. Race was determined as a factor of both birth and country of origin. The second sample set required two gender groups, male and female. Participants' ages fell between the ranges of 18-35. The samples were selected at random from the Brigham Young University- Hawaii campus specifically students of psychology courses and student members of cultural clubs who were invited to participate. The invitations were extended via announcements in various classrooms and electronic mail. To allow for a normal distributive curve as ascribed by the central limit theorem the minimum of 32 participants were assigned to each group (Annis, 2007). Each sample group contained 64 participants. The number of participants totaled 128. Participants of the second gender based sample group were not selected for race and were only randomly selected for gender.

#### *Apparatus*

Swarm intelligence when applied to business foraging allows for greater work efficiency (Bonabeau, 2001; Pierre & Chicoisne, 2006). Efficiency as ascribed in business is measured in terms of output per given time (Gray, 2005). Hence, the experiment required the use of a standard timer to mark the five-minute limit per trial. Plastic balls, also named morsels, represented productivity output and a yard stick to measure out standard distances to food sources.

Teamwork within swarm intelligent systems is also largely self organized and decentralized where groups aggregate to accomplish a task (Bonabeau, 2001). Therefore two video cameras were used to record the system to record evidence of aggregation. In addition to this a tally sheet accounted for each individual contribution, source selection and demographic information. A general demographic sheet was used containing name, age, gender, ethnicity, country of birth, a list of countries lived in and time spent in each country in years.

#### *Procedure*

The following experiment was modeled after patterns previously used to measure swarm (Schmickyl & Crailsheim, 2004; Dussutour et al. 2006). A typical front yard was used as the stage for the experiment. There were four

representative food sources (basket of plastic balls) strategically hidden along the field. The first two were placed at opposite directions ten feet away from the starting point; in this case the entrance. The second pair was placed at twenty feet from the entrance also in opposite directions. The food sources were color coded. The color blue corresponded to food source one (fs1) placed on the right at ten feet. The color red corresponded to (fs2) on the left at ten feet. At twenty feet (fs3)/yellow/right and (fs4)/green/left were ascribed accordingly. Each food source contained a hundred morsels. Cameramen were directed to stand encompassing the stage and were instructed to record the experiment.

The experiment was conducted on four separate days. Day one was assigned to Caucasian- Americans and day two was assigned to the Polynesian group. Subsequent days three and four were assigned to males and females respectively. Participants were not informed of other participating groups to avoid competition. Upon entering the stage, participants were required to register their names on the tally sheet and fill out the demographic survey. Individuals were provided with private notes containing three specific instructions representative of basic simple rules used by ants in foraging.

The rules were (1) Forage for or find morsels, (2) Carry morsels one at a time to base point, (3) Within five minutes obtain as many morsels as possible. All trials allowed a time limit of five minutes measured by a timer. Every time a participant returned to the base with a morsel a check mark was granted by the experimenter on the tally list under the choice of food source that the morsel was retrieved from. After each day in the experiment a group total was derived for number of morsels collected in each trail and tally sheets were gathered. Upon conclusion of each trial participants were asked to sign out, thanked and allowed to leave.

#### **Results**

The results comprised of a 2x2 (race x gender) ANOVA for productivity. The productivity model in this literature base is patterned after the Thomas Schmickyl et al (2004) study of cost and benefit of swarming in bees. The independent variable race had two levels, Polynesian and Caucasian-American. Likewise the second independent variable, gender, had two categories, male and female. These two variables were evaluated as predictors of productivity. Standard economic measures were used to calculate productivity (Schmickyl & Crailsheim, 2004). Therefore, productivity was first analyzed using a standard productivity equation provided



below (Gray, 2005).

*Productivity = Value (morsel count)/Time*

Morsel count was a measure of the number of morsels collected by each group. Number of morsels collected per trail was added and divided by a standard time of five minutes. The productivity totals provided the dependent variable for the data set to compare to the independent variables of race and gender. The partial eta squared coefficient was used to appropriate effect size of the data set. The partial eta squared coefficient helped determine the

magnitude and strength of the relationship between two variables (Becker, 1999). To identify significantly different means within the data set, a Post HOC test - the Tukey HSD Test - was used. Previous studies effectuated the Boneferroni test; however, for this literature base, the Tukey HSD Test (a less severe measure) was sufficient. Previous studies used the Boneferroni to account for the mathematical assumptions used on the various mathematical models used in the experiment. This experiment has but one mathematical model therefore there isn't a need to place additional restrictions than the ones provided by the standard Tukey test.

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# Audience Responses to News Media Images of Pacific Health

Robert Loto

University of Waikato

*News media contain a multitude of images of Pacific peoples and health. This paper presents findings from a social psychological study of audience responses to such images. Two Pacific and two Palagi groups took part in discussions in which they responded to specific print media articles. These discussions were used to explore how different New Zealand audiences view and respond to the portrayals of Pacific people and their health. Responses from the Pacific and Palagi focus groups were compared showing both salience and difference in audience reactions. In appropriating aspects of news coverage, audience members do not simply regurgitate what they are shown by the media. They engage in complex dialogues with other audience members regarding issues raised by media coverage and in the process socially negotiate shared interpretations.*

## Introduction

This symposium paper is derived from my thesis entitled 'Pacific Islanders and Health in the Print News Media'. The primary focus of this presentation is to convey thesis findings around audience responses elicited through focus group conversation about Pacific health and representation in the Aotearoa/New Zealand media. Although audience responses was the key theme, it was also important to present thesis findings around media representation of Pacific people and their health. Therefore, this paper will firstly and briefly outline a media analysis of Pacific people and their health and then audience responses to such media coverage.

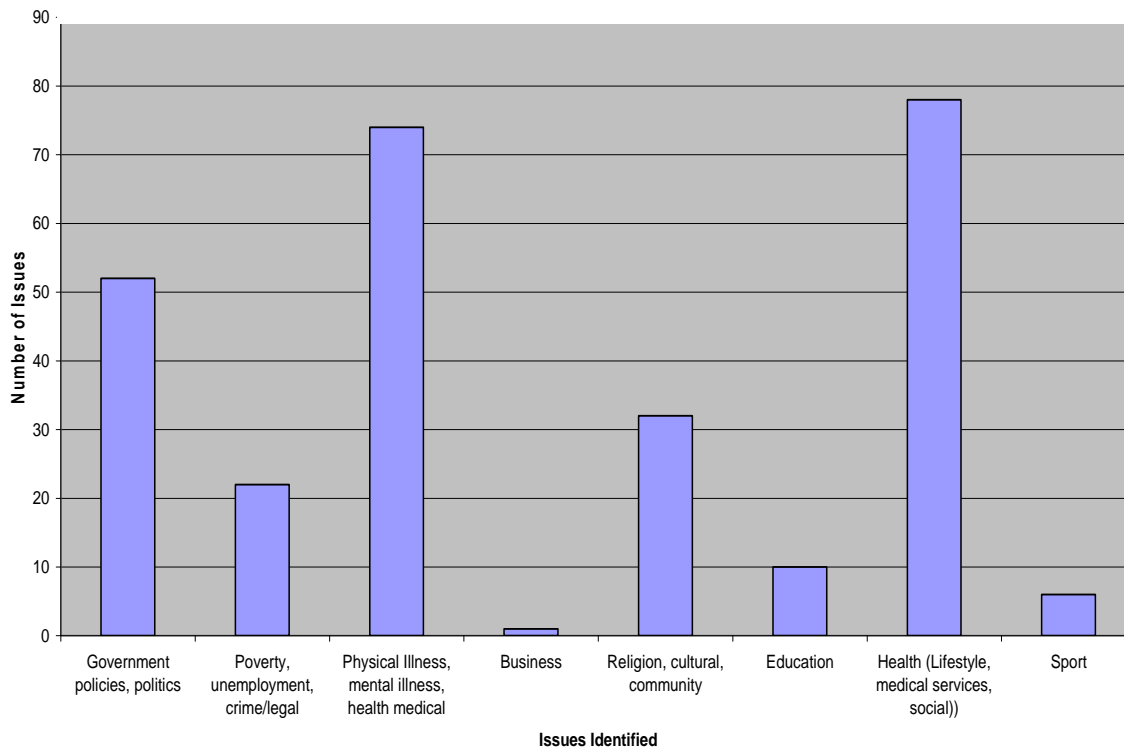
## Media Analysis

Mediated experiences and reports diagnosing social relationships, characterizing marginalized groups, and offering prescriptions for addressing social concerns are a feature of everyday life. It was found that a great number of these mediated contents evolved around the dynamics of health. Although mass media content around health issues are widely reported, it is rather limited in scope of health with coverage of minority cultural groups like Pacific Islanders.

Before engaging with audiences, it was important to analyse the media in the way it depicted Pacific people and their health. A collection of 65 articles were compiled over a three-month search period for Pacific related articles. The print items were collated from two major national daily newspapers (New Zealand Herald and Dominion Post) and the highest weekend circulation (The Sunday Star Times). The mass media source of print news items was selected for reasons of accessibility and because print journalism is recognized as a forum for serious and objective discussions. Print articles are longer and present a broader range of facts and views for its audience compared to other sources (Thorson, 2006; W. Harawira, personal communication, February 15, 2007).

## Media Analysis Findings

The following figures illustrate prominent trends of media representation of Pacific people and their health. Figure 1 shows the frequency of the issues that the reports referred to. The vast majority of these reports were related to aspects of health with high references and association of Pacific people to health concerns like physical and mental illness.

**Figure 1: Issues covered in news items**

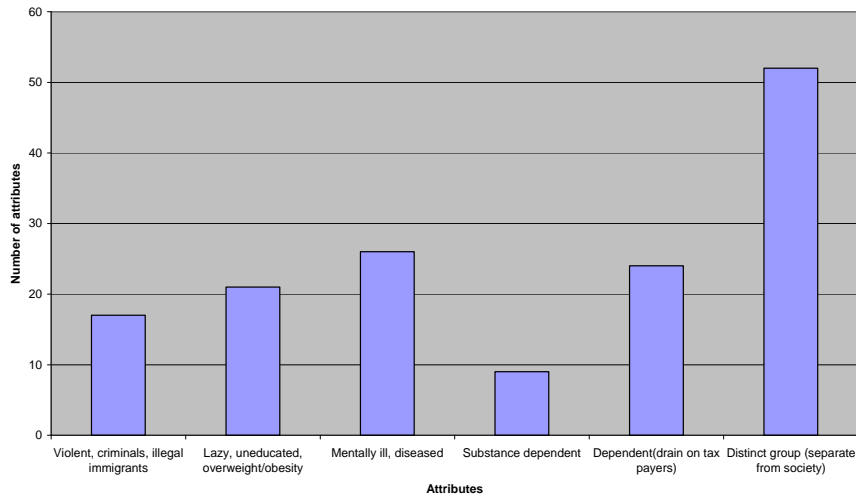
The attributes identified for reviewing the articles within Figures 2 and 3 were personally derived. These tended to be the terms that best captured the essence of the position in which Pacific health and representation were portrayed in the coverage. The articles were examined for common racist and stereotypical assumptions such as Pacific people being poorly educated, lazy, violent, substance abusers and economically dependent. Figure 2 illustrates high prevalence of news articles associating Pacific people with negative attributes. The largest category comprises of 52 specific references to Pacific people as unproductive foreigners or as inferior others, whose place in Aotearoa is under review.

In contrast, Figure 3 analyses the news reports for positive attributes such as Pacific people being hardworking, generous, physically active and honest the graph highlights comparatively low accounts for such attributes. Overall, positive

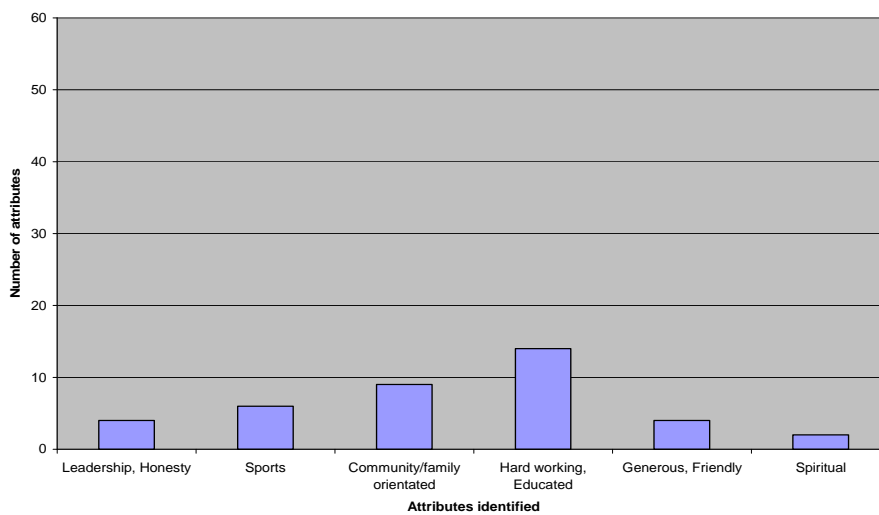
attributes associated with Pacific people were only evident in 31% of all the articles.

One of the key factors to review as a community psychologist is the issue of power; dominance and allocation of voice to speak. Figure 4 directly addresses such themes by examining the issue around the power to identify and define Pacific issues. The categories of the sources cited eventuated from the articles themselves and included both Pacific and non-Pacific voices. In consideration of who was afforded the right to speak on behalf of Pacific issues, 19% of all the articles employed Pacific people as the “expert voices”, who were generally limited to sportspeople, artists and community leaders. In contrast, the main category that was identified as having the most mediated voices for commentary on Pacific issues were those that were non-Pacific from positions of charity, government and local council representatives; health professionals; and researchers.

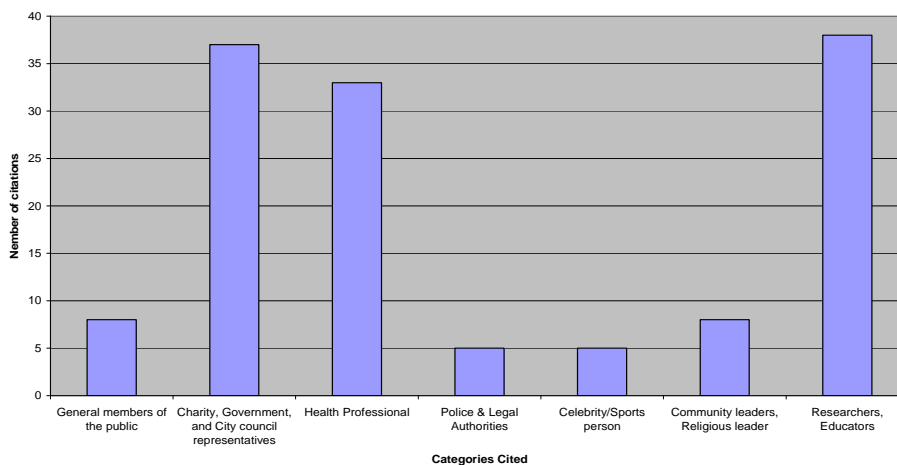
**Figure 2: Negative attributes associated with Pacific people in news items**



**Figure 3: Positive attributes associated with Pacific people in news items**



**Figure 4: Sources cited in news items**



## **Summary**

While it is necessary for the media to raise health and social issues for public consideration, the representation of Pacific people in this way is of concern. There is a comprehensive imbalance of print media coverage of Pacific identity and health. Simply, there is excessively more negative coverage associated with Pacific people. The consistent negative media images of Pacific representation and health are reflective of the media's limited definition of health. The dominant views and perspectives of mediated health messages are structured around medical views and healthy lifestyle practices.

Previous research (Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankie & Barnes, 2006) highlights how the positive achievements of minority groups are downplayed or ignored in mainstream media, and often their 'problems' direct the attention of coverage. However, this is only partially supported by the analysis presented here, as positive representations of Pacific success also occur in New Zealand print news. In spite of this, the positive representations of Pacific people promote exceptions to the rule, presenting individuals who are newsworthy because they have succeeded within the Palagi world of sport, fashion and the arts.

Prominent trends in coverage (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006; Wallack, 2003; Hodgetts, Masters & Robertson, 2004), including those identified in this analysis, facilitate constrained and domineering relationships between social groups. A particularly worrying finding from the analyses is the lack of space for Pacific people to speak for themselves beyond quite restrictive roles, and how they are displaced from their own stories. Media analysis suggests that coverage currently serves the need for positive self-identity of the Palagi majority. This invokes concerns about who gets to speak, for whom, and to whom. At present it would appear that Palagi professionals and journalists are speaking on behalf of Pacific people to a Palagi public.

## **Need for Audience Research**

Although media analysis alludes to a politics of difference, it does not however explore the marginalization of immigrant groups or consider its impact on people's lives. There is a particular shortage of examination of media representation regarding ethnic minority groups like Pacific Islanders, and also audience responses to such representations. Therefore the impetus for conducting audience responses was to explore how different New Zealand audiences viewed and responded to the portrayals of Pacific people and health in print news media. Audience responses provide an exploration into minority groups that is often ignored in terms of the audience's own views as to how they are portrayed. Audience views through discussions are used to provide insight into how both Pacific and Palagi groups interpret media portrayals of Pacific people and their health concerns. The discussions allow for documentation to see if the media's role in defining and portraying Pacific people and how their health actually influences the framing of their own views.

## **Analysis of Audience Response**

Insight into audience views and interpretations were gained using four focus group discussions. Two Pacific and two Palagi groups with six participants each (n=24), were derived to allow for documentation of specific ways which audience members engage and negotiate interpretations to media items, by offering and responding to the views of others. The Pacific groups were facilitated by myself whereas the Palagi were managed by a Palagi colleague who is well rehearsed with Pacific cultures. This was initiated to overcome concerns that Palagi audience participants would be reluctant to be open and direct with a Pacific facilitator present.

The discussion forum was constructed into two parts. The first part invited participants to talk about their own general views about media portrayal of Pacific people and their health. These discussions were not limited to print news and allowed people to frame their own interpretations using the greater mass media world. The second

part of the focus group discussions placed greater emphasis on audience views and interpretations around Pacific representation and health by responding to three specific articles assigned. The three articles are:

1. *Thinner fitter runner has the last laugh*
2. *Browning of kiwi sport*
3. *A matter of respect*

The articles were selected from a total of 65 collated items in my the media analysis section. They were used to stimulate thoughts about what attributes are associated with Pacific people, both positive and negative. The items provided numerous dimensions with subtle and complex issues embedded within its texts for group members to engage and interact with.

### Articles

This first article '*Thinner fitter runner has the last laugh*', is based on health and explores the transformation of a once obese Pacific man to a trim marathon runner. The content of the item allowed for responses to be directly about Pacific health and representation. Health issues addressed in this article included obesity, unhealthy lifestyles and challenges around Pacific health.

The other two articles '*Browning of kiwi sport*' and '*A matter of respect*', although do not specifically discuss Pacific health, it does offer the need for wider consideration of Pacific health (Wallack 2003). Often health is concentrated on in-light with medical and healthy living lifestyles (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003), and social health determinants like participation, racism, social exclusion, empowerment and social relationships are often ignored. These two articles are based on Pacific involvement, participation and contribution to New Zealand sports, music and fashion. The content of the articles allow for a shift from the common constructions and boundaries surrounding health to a more in-depth conversation about wider social determinants impacting on Pacific health and identity.

### Findings

For the first part of the focus group discussions where participants talked generally about media representation of Pacific people and their health, it was found that there is a prominent association of Pacific people with sports and entertainment. Responses were littered with references to Pacific All Black figures like Tana Umaga, Jonah Lomu; Hip Hop artists; television shows like Dancing with stars, Bro Town and New Zealand Idol which have a strong presence of Pacific faces.

The discussions also showed that Palagi participants talked more about negative associations of Pacific people with images around violence, alcoholism and unhealthy lifestyles. Palagi audiences highlighted their own deficient levels of personal knowledge around Pacific health and identity. In situations where they lacked insight to comment about specific issues relating to Pacific people, they would then reflect and often perpetuate mediated coverage. Concerns of media imbalance in its portrayal of minority people is evident, as mediated coverage are used to help negotiate ones interpretations. In the Pacific audience groups, although they were aware of these particular negative portrayals, they wanted to use the discussion forum to talk more about positive Pacific contributions and success. One of the key learning outcomes from this section of discussion was the notion that meanings people assign to health are not just invented on the spur of the moment. Participants, in terms of negotiating their own meanings and understandings around health, consider a combination of complex systems that are inclusive of cultural perspectives, personal lifestyles, and belief systems, which all contribute to the framing of ones ideas.

### Thinner, fitter runner has last laugh

Discussions about this article showed that differences are apparent between Pacific and Palagi interpretations of factors that are important to health. For example, the two groups had opposing ideas of what constituted as the ideal body weight and about determinants of health. The Pacific groups invoked the notion that Palagi often have a different perspective and definition of health

compared to their own. Palagi audiences continuously framed health in terms of factors such as living free of pain, access to medication resources, living a healthy lifestyle with reference to exercising and eating right. They generally saw health in terms of the biomedical structures, which tend to dominate media coverage. These audience responses reflect previous research claims that the media reflects aspects of the medical, lifestyle and socio-structural approaches prevailing in the community and political scene. Although Pacific audiences commented on similar factors identified by Palagi members, they referred to more holistic and social factors pertaining to health like family, spiritual, and social relationships. The Palagi comments contrasted those of the Pacific groups in terms of the extent and depth of the discussion that the Pacific participants engaged in to deconstruct ideas around health.

#### *Browning of kiwi sport*

This article invoked issues of participation, race relations, power, influence and racism within rugby, which extended to further talks about discrimination and exclusion. Both Pacific and Palagi focus groups opposed the issue alluded to in the article about Pacific people being very talented athletes but are incompetent, uneducated and would be exhausted by the skills and knowledge required for administrative/decision-making positions. Pacific participants were very knowledgeable about how their success in sports was confined to the playing fields and for the purpose of entertainment. This led to further criticisms of the media's role in framing representations of Pacific people in a manner impacting on race relations, on the issue of access to power, and the nature of participation in society. Pacific participants emphasized the importance of recognizing that differences in culture also constituted to differences in health. Pacific views reflected the need for the media to attain and represent a wider notion of health to include aspects of life such as levels of social participation and racism.

Another key discussion to evolve from this article was in terms of the alarming concern about the lack of scope of media representation of Pacific people.

Audience conversations, particularly those by Palagi participants were rather restricted to the areas of entertainment and sport. Such responses supported previous suggesting that the media often confined minority groups within fixed boundaries. Both groups acknowledge the need for more complex and reflective representation of Pacific people in New Zealand. Palagi participants often expressed claims of how media coverage of Pacific academics, doctors, authors, and judges for example is non-existent.

#### *A matter of respect*

This news article, based on Pacific success in the hip-hop music industry, allowed for wider interpretations of health issues surrounding economic participation and inclusion. The main theme to develop from the discussions was the noticeable differences with talks about the use of terms like 'Dawnraid' and 'Overstayer' as clothing and music labels. Some Palagi participants viewed the adoption of such terms for labels as Pacific people mocking themselves. The other small number of Palagi participants agreed with Pacific interpretations of such labels as a clever promotion twist of using negative historical events to empower Pacific identity. These conflicting views about Pacific involvement in hip-hop and street culture illustrated the lack of historical knowledge by some Palagi participants about the origins of such terms.

This difference in view highlighted the importance of having some understanding of cultural and social knowledge about minority groups when viewing and interpreting media images about them. The lack of knowledge about Pacific related issues by Palagi members was evident in situations where their explanations and accounts of interpretation relied more on media coverage than actual life experience.

#### **Summary of Media and Audience Analysis**

Audience responses confirm that both Pacific and Palagi participants are highly skilled at negotiating between media and interpersonal sources of information for own interpretations and meanings. Although media consumers are not passive to

mediated messages, the coverage does however help to frame participant's views. People's negotiated meanings are not one-dimensional but are rather inclusive of complex processes and thinking. In regards to health both Pacific and Palagi participants appeared to be drawing and integrating media constructed information into their conversations and for making sense of Pacific identity and health. Thus, a key finding from the audience responses is that media coverage provided Palagi participants with some understanding of Pacific people and their health. Therefore, the media's role in defining and portraying minorities is influential to how they themselves and other social groups understand and interpret one another.

A key contrast between Pacific and Palagi audiences were evident in their scope of explanations. It was noticeable that participant's socio-cultural backgrounds shaped their depth of knowledge and ultimately their response. Palagi focus groups often used and regurgitated views about Pacific people and their health from what they have experienced through the media. Although Pacific members were alert to these media coverage, they often disputed and offered alternative explanations as a reflection on their own views. These responses coincide with previous research findings (Giles, 2003; Livingstone, 1998) proposing that audiences draw not only on the mass media but also their own existing views when renegotiating understandings.

The media is an important but often ignored influential component to people's health. Findings provide need to review the media's role in portraying Pacific people as it undermines Pacific health and existence. The continuation of current trends of media representation marginalizes Pacific people and their health status; consolidating already stereotypical views. Both Palagi and Pacific participants raised the issue about the need for more complex portrayals of Pacific people outside of current stereotypes. Pacific people live in a wider range of occupational and social contexts, and these representations need to be better understood and portrayed.

### **Some thoughts to moving forward**

The findings of this thesis show that there are cultural differences in media representation and interpretation of Pacific coverage. As a result, one of the recommendations of this research as a way forward is to establish a networking relationship between Pacific communities, leaders and experts with media journalists. There is a need to critically review the professional practice of media reporting. A networking relationship between the media and Pacific communities will enable civic reporting by encouraging participation and addressing issues that affect the health wellbeing of our communities.

As psychologists we need to remind ourselves that such efforts aimed at enhancing civic participation through the media are not solely the responsibility of Pacific communities. Discrimination is a problem owned by entire societies, and it requires citizens to work together to support, change, and challenge discriminatory practices.

Our roles should include encouraging collaboration and networking relationships by offering support to groups who are working to foster a morally and politically literate public, whose deliberations are informed by more than the common sense views of the dominant group. This involves a domain of practice in which we work with and assist those challenging symbolic power by promoting and encouraging media coverage of marginalized perspectives about social and health concerns. This research contributes to this agenda by documenting the limitations of current coverage in print news portrayals of Pacific people and by providing a basis for dialogue with Pacific media activists and professionals.

### **Concluding comments: Pacific people claiming spaces**

My research has highlighted a lack of space for Pacific people to frame and speak out or challenge the restrictive media depictions of themselves, and the displacement of Pacific peoples from their own stories. My findings implore Pacific people to 'claim spaces', to participate and take action to address the notable margin of consideration of their own identity and health within the media.



The media is a vehicle for social change and is a symbolic resource for establishing identity. Therefore, minority groups like Pacific people need to participate and use the media to claim ownership in addressing their own considerations.

I share in her bigger vision for Pacific people to claim space in the media. Pacific people need to bring their fragmented voices together to conquer the mainstream media and in the words of Tapu Misa, “infect it with our brownness” (cited in Van der Zwan, 2003, p24).

Findings therefore reflect Pacific journalist Tapu Misa’s comments about the mainstream media:

*The media has tremendous potential to influence and shape opinions and views, and to contribute to positive social change. When you have a mainstream media with little understanding of Maori or Pacific cultures, inevitably there's little sympathy and support for our causes.* (cited in Van der Zwan, 2003, p8).

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## **Can the Mana of Maori Men who Sexually Abuse Children be Restored?**

**Mate Webb**

*Cultural Consultant  
Department of Corrections  
Te Piriti Special Treatment Unit  
Auckland Prison*

**David Jones**

*Senior Psychologist  
Department of Corrections  
Te Piriti Special Treatment Unit  
Auckland Prison*

The problem of child sex abuse is prevalent across all segments of society, and Maori, unfortunately, are overrepresented in this problem. In the total prison population of 6591, 13.6% are identified as child sex offenders. Of the 3,299 Maori in prison 283 (8.5%) are identified as child sex offenders whereas 631 (18.6%) of the 3292 non-Maori have been so identified. However, Maori only represent approximately 15% of the general population. In proportionate terms, approximately one of every 970 Maori men is currently in prison for child sex offences, while for non-Maori that figure is one in 3125<sup>1</sup>. Also, disclosures from offenders suggest that sexual abuse is particularly common in rural or disadvantaged areas, with offenders frequently reporting being abused by multiple offenders and being aware of chronic abuse, little of which was ever reported.

With regard to rehabilitation, child sex offences are a particular problem for Maori men, since the cultural and spiritual consequences of these offences on the offenders are worse than for most other offences. One could argue, for example, that Maori men convicted of violent offences could be seen as misapplying traditional concepts and

failing to adapt to social change by continuing to behave as a warrior in a peaceful society. Actions which Pakeha society would view as violence were, after all, once accepted in Maori society, within limits. For example, utu and muru involve causing psychological or physical pain, sometimes unto death, but this would not be seen as violence as long as it was constrained by complex social structures and norms. The sexual abuse of children never was. True, the age of consent in Maori society was at puberty, so there is a subset of Maori offenders with teenaged victims who might be better seen as misapplying the old concepts, as with violent men. Maori men who sexually abuse young children, however, not only incur consequences from the Pakeha legal system, but also deep and damaging cultural and spiritual consequences that would not accrue to other types of offenders. If we are to intervene meaningfully with these men, these issues need to be addressed alongside empirically derived dynamic risk factors which might contribute to re-offending.

In order to appreciate the Maori world view a number of key concepts must be grasped in order to provide a conceptual framework for understanding our tikanga (Maori lore). This is the framework upon which our relationships between ourselves, with others outside the tribe and with the spiritual realm are based. The key concepts in

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<sup>1</sup> Population data is derived from the 2006 New Zealand census (Statistics New Zealand/Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2008).

understanding the nature of and consequences of sexual offending are Tapu and Mana. In the Maori worldview, the Creator and other Atua (or spiritual powers) preside over and are made manifest in the natural world. These Atua (spiritual forces) are the source of the tapu and mana possessed both by man and the rest of the natural world.

The philosophy of tapu informs our conscience of the relatedness of all living things and instructs us on how to behave as fellow participants in the web of life. Tapu is sourced in the spiritual realm in Atua and in the Creator. The tapu sourced in Atua can be referred to as primary tapu and is a constant. Sexuality is a gift of Atua and is governed by tapu, meaning that there are strict rules governing human conduct in this area. Sexual contact with prepubescent children violates tapu, and any breach of this tapu has immediate and serious effects on the mana of the offender.

Mana has been defined as “the enduring, indestructible power of the gods. It is the sacred fire that is without beginning and without end” (Barlow, 1991). In a western paradigm, mana appears to share characteristics of self esteem and community standing. While not entirely accurate, this can be a useful comparison in understanding the effects of child sex offending on mana. Mana is sourced in the spirit realm, and can be divided into four subtypes. When revealed in humans and objects (both animate and inanimate) as supernormal qualities and or accomplishments, it is referred to as *mana atua*. Mana which is derived through descent from ancestors is referred to as *mana tipuna*. Customarily, the first born of a family is endowed with the most mana because he or she is nearest to the gods who transmit mana. *Mana whenua* refers to authority or ownership over the land. In the past, our moana (seas) and food gathering areas were owned very much like modern property ownership. Finally, mana which is derived through sheer personality, leadership or achievement is referred to as *mana tangata*.

Mana atua is transmitted directly from Atua. The breach of tapu inherent in child sex offending destroys this mana, and it cannot be restored. Mana whenua could be restored through assisting

the offender in acquiring more land, for example, but this is hardly likely to be of use as a treatment target. Mana tipuna could only be restored through the good will of the hapu, whanau and iwi. The only type of mana which is subject to the influence of the individual and could be restored by them once lost is mana tangata. Once that is restored, the individual might be able to access whanau land and restore mana whenua and may also be able to restore mana tipuna through their continued demonstration of positive behaviour. Mana atua cannot be restored.

The restoration of mana tangata is only possible through the efforts of the individual, but can be assisted within a bicultural setting or a Maori framework. Doing so requires a treatment approach which involves several linked components; education, whanaungatanga, and karakia. The offender must be educated in the nature of mana and tapu and the consequences of their transgression against mana. Whanaungatanga can be enabled through whanau hui and restorative justice approaches where the offender is confronted by their victim and their whanau, ideally on a marae. Karakia and waiaata can be used throughout the restoration process to strengthen the wairua of the offender and enable whanaungatanga processes to resolve smoothly. These processes can be combined into a mana restoration plan developed with the offender, which would guide the restoration process during the early phases, and would become a living plan which the offender could use to guide his behaviour through the remainder of his life.

The effectiveness of such an approach has never been fully tested by Pakeha science, but there is anecdotal evidence that these approaches can help. For example, a treatment group was run at Te Piriti in 2005 which incorporated a number of these approaches due to the large number of Maori men in the group and the presence of two Maori facilitators. This group appeared to exhibit a higher level of mana than that shown by Maori men who were involved in other treatment groups. The effect was not universal, and some men appeared to believe they had more mana than they actually did, but the experience of the group was

overwhelmingly positive. The positive results shown by bicultural treatment in Te Whakakotahitanga (Nathan, Wilson & Hillman, 2003) may also speak to the somewhat inadvertent restoration of mana, although mana was not directly evaluated in this study.

Clearly, any interventions that we can make as treatment providers which will reduce an offender's risk of further harm to the community should be followed. Those interventions which improve an offender's mana are no exception, and should be built into treatment programs. However, treatment programmes are funded according to demonstrated effectiveness, and excludes those which rely on anecdotal evidence of success. There are two approaches to dealing with this difficulty. On the one hand, we can say that mana is unknowable and indefinable, but should be treated regardless of the absence of empirical evidence supporting it, on the basis that Maori are entitled to do so under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. While this argument may result in funding, it is a weak argument, and would result in our programmes seen as cultural alternatives or adjuncts to real treatments, completely lacking in credibility. On the other hand, we could accept the challenge to prove our interventions work according to empirical rules and show that our ways are effective and worthy of funding and respect.

So, why can we not research mana according to Pakeha science? If we can assess how much mana a man has at the beginning of an intervention to increase his mana, then again after such an intervention, and if we can show that this change reduces his risk to others, should we not be entitled to the same funding as our Pakeha colleagues? For

too long, we have said that concepts such as wairua and mana cannot be tested, but if they are real, then they can be tested. True, wairua and mana are unquantifiable, but then, so are self-esteem, anxiety and depression, concepts well loved by our scientist-practitioner colleagues. Measures of depression, for example, assess only the degree to which a person reports symptoms or exhibits behaviour consistent with the construct of depression, and measures them relative to how others have responded or behaved. Why can we not do the same with mana?

There are those who will say that Maori have a separate way of understanding the world, and that it is inappropriate to use Western empirical traditions to gain knowledge of tikanga. At their heart, though, the Western tradition consists of little more than an attempt to gain knowledge through observation and the testing of ideas. This paper is not concerned with testing the literal truth of mana, tapu or tikanga. If tikanga based interventions are effective, then such effectiveness should be measurable. There is little point in arguing that tikanga based interventions are beneficial in ways other than reducing re-offending. While karakia may be good for the offender's wairua, there is no point in paying for it to be done if the man then continues to harm others in the community.

This might well be a fertile ground for a seeker of mohiotanga who dares work in two worlds. The authors are considering the development of a *Mana Index* which may be researched either quantitatively or qualitatively. Enquiries are welcome from anyone who would like to pursue either.

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# **Decolonising Fiji: Reclaiming Indigenous Fijian Psychologies**

**Akanisi Tarabe & Sereima Naisilisili**

*University of the South Pacific  
Suva, Fiji*

Creating meaningfulness in an unstable, confusing environment can redirect one to sift through the chaos for the very basic, forgotten things in order to make sense of the world one lives in. This paper represents a process of searching for these simple things to make sense of the indigenous Fijian world, with particular reference to the people of the *yavusa o Cu'u* (Cu'u tribe).

For more than a century, indigenous Fijians have struggled to live in dual worlds torn between the pull of modernization and traditionalism. Modernisation represents the new foreign life that leads many Fijians to view their traditional ways skeptically and question whether traditions are worth hanging on to. With decades of these struggles, very little makes sense anymore. The more we are pumped with foreign aid to make us modern, the more we are lost in new types of psycho- social challenges that baffle everyone, young and old alike.

Our health statistics in 2006 indicate that indigenous Fijian youths account for 83% of persons diagnosed with HIV/AIDS (Fiji Government, 2006). Almost every crime that is committed in the country has at least one Fijian youth involved making our prisons the largest establishment that house young Fijian criminals. Fiji prison statistics show that of the 1024 prisoner population in 2006, 781 were indigenous Fijians (76 %) (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, 2006). Many of these crimes are drug related. Our education system produces a large number of school dropouts and 'pushouts' every year. In an employment survey between 2004 -2005, 62% of those that were of school age but were not at school were indigenous Fijians (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, 2006). Many Fijian youths who are

psychiatric patients are addicted marijuana users. The only psychiatric hospital in Fiji, St Giles Hospital, revealed that of the 222 people seen at the hospital in 2006 for drug abuse, 64 % were indigenous Fijians (The Fiji Times January 31, 2007). One is then left to ask, is there a way out of this mess?

Parents are often blamed for the chaos. They have been accused of neglecting their children or lacking commitment to each other and their families. Others have blamed the economic disaster of the country. A widespread concern is the faulty economic policies of previous governments which result in the increased gap between rich and poor. The same bad policies have been blamed for forcing many Fijians to look for jobs in the international labour market as fruit pickers, security guards, soldiers in Britain and as care-givers in the USA.

The economic gains that families get are nothing in comparison to the social displacement of young children who now have 'absent parents'. Many of these parents have not been home in a decade. Their children now grow up in an environment that lacks the necessary scaffolds to uphold them socially, psychologically, emotionally and spiritually. All these, are pointing to a socially disadvantaged society that can no longer support a system that prolongs its own social ills. These ills are almost reaching terminal proportions.

In the last 20 years Fiji has experienced a series of coup de'tat. We now name them coup 1, coup 2 and coup 3 and so forth. The cost of these coup de'tat has been estimated at \$9.4 billion dollars (The Fiji Times, December 10, 2007). Some people have gone to the extent to name our country

the ‘coup-coup’ country. On a more serious note, these unfortunate incidents are surfacing as the ugly head of a problem that established its roots during the time colonizers stepped on our shores. Nothing has been the same for Fijians since then. The struggles are symptomatic of social dislocations caused by the disruptions in a way of life that was meaningful to *Vitians* (Clunie, 1986) later to be known as Fijians. Our dialect refers to these foreign terminologies of our people as ‘*ai Viti*’ or *Tau’ei*.

Over the years, efforts have been made to address the instability through reconciliation programmes. Unfortunately, these have failed because the initiatives were unfamiliar to our context. The objective of this paper is to present an alternative framework based on the psychology of the *vanua* and *vanua* epistemology. We hope that this framework will lead to the development of workable solutions to provide stability in Fiji.

Our perceptions of important basic things lie in the notion of *vanua* epistemology or the ways of ‘knowing and being’ of indigenous Fijians (Nabobo – Baba, 2006). *Vanua* epistemology was disrupted, ignored and made reference to by the colonizers as the ‘other’ knowledge (Nabobo-Baba, 2006) that was best forgotten for the purpose of modernization. The colonizers were successful in ripping the social fabric that gave meaning to the indigenous Fijians. Sadly, this colonial practice has continued in modern forms to the present day.

For indigenous Fijians to stand on stable ground, we need to claim our space in the body of formal knowledge and hold up *vanua* epistemology. *Vanua* and indigenous Fijians are synonymous. *Vanua* is the receptacle that holds Fijian identity. *Vanua* is our land, our tribe, our past, our present, our future, our relations, our knowledge and ways of doing things, our being and our spirituality. In other words, *vanua* is the pulse on which the Fijian heart beats.

More than a century ago, the Fijian’s experience of *vanua* ‘heart attack’, began with the erroneous diagnosis that we were a hopeless contributors to economic advancement (Rao, 2004). To address

this ‘anomaly’, a particular attempt was made by the colonisers to relocate Fijians from their villages into settlements to release them from the ‘burdens’ of *vanua* commitments (Ravuvu, 1987). This arrangement was known as *tu galala*. *Tu galala* created the ideal space for western ideas to set in, highlighting the importance of self-accumulation of resources and every other idea that went along with the concept of modernization and individualism (Durutalo, 1986). *Tu galala* was one of the tools designed to break the support system of *vanua* and smother its knowledge. Education was one of the strategies used to enhance economic goals through knowledge specialization. In addition, *tu galala* became the glaring advocate for western ways and ideologies.

We, as products of *tu galala*, along with many other indigenous Fijians today, are sifting through the mess and trying to make sense of our fragmented indigenous world. The time has come to claim our space for the recognition and acceptance of *vanua* epistemology as important knowledge.

The next part of this paper, will discuss two aspects of *vanua* epistemology and these are *vanua* consciousness and *vanua* knowledge. We perceive the two concepts as possible vehicles in restoring meaningfulness and purpose to the Fijian society. *Vanua* consciousness is the state of being culturally aware of the knowledge and ways of the *vanua* and its appropriate applications to everyday life (Nabobo – Baba 2006). For the purpose of this paper, this is expressed as *vanua* knowledge.

Since *vanua* holds indigenous Fijian identity, the recognition of its knowledge and structural network should be vigorously sought. In this way, a social and psychological safety net can be woven to ‘catch’ those who may fall through the faulty structures of a changing society. Faulty structures can create insecurity as a result of weak *vanua* identity and the loss of a sense of belonging. Such situations result in hopelessness and meaninglessness which become ideal breeding grounds for psychosocial challenges and sociopolitical mayhem.

Individualism through arrangements like *tu galala* encourage weak *vanua* identity. To illustrate this

point, we will share some of our experiences growing up in *tu galala*. We grew up in a settlement called *Cu'u*, some distance from the main village of *Waini'a* where the rest of our clan live. In this way, aspects of *vanua* epistemology were vague to us. We spent much of our young days getting educated which meant entering boarding school at 11 years of age, only to come home after each school term.

We grew up believing in the 'goodness' of western knowledge and ways but missed out some of the important basic things that have meaning to the people of *Cu'u*. For example, learning the art of weaving *iluvatu* the special mat of *Cu'u*, appreciating the connectedness that binds each tribe member to the other, the skill to fish, the knowledge of *veiwe'ani* (relationships) expressed in different ways, the caring of other people through *ta'ita'i* or to experience the inclusive nature of the large tribe we belong to. These things spell our identity and define our space of belonging. We want to highlight the richness of ways that provide the quality of life and wellbeing of our people.

Please recall the concepts of *vanua* consciousness and *vanua* knowledge. We will dwell on these two derivatives of *vanua* epistemology in order to articulate the quality of subjective well-being and life satisfaction for the people of *Cu'u*. To have *vanua* consciousness means the cultivation of the cultural and spiritual senses so that one is sensitive to the appropriate behaviour that needs to be applied at a particular time. This involves the nurturing of a sense of knowing.

Through *vanua* consciousness, health and wellbeing of people are maintained because of their relational connectedness (Comstock, 2005). Relational connectedness is a continuous thread of relationship and bonding between tribe members that ensures the quality of many things in life and life itself. It is seen in the actions of people in everyday activities.

The boundaries of *vanua* for the *Cu'u* people are expressed in *lotu* (Christian faith). Faith is the underlying factor that defines the quality of their

lives. Prayer begins every function, be it a simple meal or a village feast, a *sogo* or a village meeting. It is the deeper connection to God that stabilizes people. For example, even though Kuku Tupou is a widow in her eighties and lives on her own, she is happy and satisfied with her life. She can still weave *iluvatu*, harvest '*ie* from the bush to make mats and sweep the leaves from the big *ivi* and *tivi* trees near her house. The village people depend on her to make their children's school uniforms.

Recently, while visiting *Waini'a*, we stayed with Kuku Tupou for a week and found the reason for her wellbeing and satisfaction. God is supreme in her life and she expresses her faith in the things that she does every day. She cares about people and people care about her. At every meal, Lote and Mili's children (ages 6-12), bring a bowl of cooked food for her even though she has cooked a meal herself. This is called *tai'ta'i*.

The practice of *ta'ita'i* serves well to make sure no one is hungry, a visitor is welcome and to ensure that the welfare of old people like Kuku Tupou is taken care of.

Kuku Tupou's simple, one big room house may not be much but her lifestyle is not considered poor. The concept of poverty is usually built on western economic terms and is different for the people of *Cu'u*. Poverty, from our tribe's perspective is the absence of relational connectedness seen in simple actions such as *ta'ita'i* which shows *vei'auwaita'i* (care) and *loloma* (love). Kuku's Tupou's happiness and life satisfaction are built on the knowledge that she is secure among the people that surround her. She is regarded as a useful and productive member of the tribe. People let her know that she is needed.

One of the struggles old people go through, is society's failure to recognize them as people who have needs to be connected and needed by others. As a result, loneliness sets in and life becomes meaningless and purposeless. The same goes for our young people. Many indigenous Fijian youths are lonely and miserable because the opportunity to be relationally connected has never been provided or lost through modern lifestyles.

Vanua consciousness also provides the opportunity to share burdens when there is a wedding a death or 'au mata ni yalai (literally, taking the face of a child ). This reduces the high stress level that is associated with heavy economic responsibilities. On these occasions, people contribute collectively to the proper functioning of the *soqo* (social gathering) so that the appropriate amount of goods are presented or exchanged.

The concept of vanua consciousness includes collective emotions. This means that there is collective shame, collective joy, collective sadness and so forth. The collective celebration of success is a remarkable feeling. When the first PhD graduate from our tribe completed his doctorate, we celebrated as a vanua. The PhD was everyone's degree. After the celebrations, the next village asked for a copy of the PhD certificate, framed it and hung it on the wall of their village hall.

The idea of sharing is not confined to emotions only but extends to land ownership as well. Communal ownership ensures that every family has a piece of land to farm and a spot to build their house. In this way, all members of the tribe have a place to belong. Belonging is an important aspect of being 'ai Cu'u. It embraces the principle of inclusiveness which ensures connectedness and maintains relational ties. It is a reminder that one belongs to a family, tribe or vanua (Nabobo – Baba, 2006). This concept will work well for the multi racial society in Fiji. Sixty per cent of Fiji's population are indigenous Fijians who are already operating inclusively. The extension of this concept to the rest of the population is a meaningful option to bring about reconciliation and settlement of land disputes.

Closely linked to communal land ownership is the tribal headship. The headship title has a communal concept. This means that the title is bestowed on one through tribal consensus rather than being inherited by a particular family line. In many ways, indigenous people in Fiji, struggle with this concept and are usually caught in ugly legal battles of who should be the chief and rightful owner of a certain piece of land. From our perspective, vanua

consciousness allows ownership to be seen within a less threatening type of power structure.

Within the framework of vanua epistemology is the important element of vanua knowledge. The people of Cu'u learn the ways of 'knowing and being' from the *matua* (elders). The *matua* have lived with age and experience and make it their responsibility to see that their knowledge is imparted and *yalomatua* (wisdom) is acquired. However, this teaching-learning experience is not limited to the *matua* only. There is always someone around to teach knowledge, a skill or an appropriate behaviour. This means that the framework of knowing and learning has the consistent and continuous 'scaffolds' usually provided by the *matua*. This support is vital the lives of the people of Cu'u. For example, as a young girl my cousin Manaseva asked me (Sereima) to help her cook their dinner. She asked me to prepare smoked fish for the soup. When she found out that I did not know how, she showed me straight away. Manaseva was only two years older than me but she stepped in to teach me something I did not know.

The presence of the scaffolding role provided in the network of relatives gives the assurance that learning or the transmission of knowledge and skills are passed on to others. This is how the skills for '*ena dau*' (specialized knowledge) are acquired. For example, Veidre and Epi are the village carpenters with outstanding skills and *yalomatua* learnt from their parents. Veidre builds boats as well. At present, they are building the village church helped by the men of the village. They do not get cash payment for the work they do because their specialized knowledge belongs to everyone and they have the responsibility of using that knowledge to develop the vanua.

Another source of specialized knowledge is Kuku Tupou who is the village midwife. Recall Kuku Tupou, the senior citizen who is a productive member of the tribe, her knowledge as the '*ena dau ni veiva'asucumi* (midwife) is still very useful, learnt through observing Nana Liana and later, with extra coaching by qualified district nurses over the years. The remarkable thing is that she has



been in 'practice' for about 50 years. When she delivers a breach birth, she makes sure there is silence in the room. Loud noise could startle the baby in the birthing process and could spread out its arms causing complications. Kuku Tupou recounted to us the care she took in delivering the rare monozygotic twins, Ruci and Mili, and the discovery of new knowledge and skills in the process. Mili and Ruci are now married with children of their own who were also delivered by Kuku Tupou.

The personal relationship between the mother, baby and Kuku Tupou and a familiar environment, makes the birthing process a less traumatic experience. Kuku Tupou is very careful, very patient and connects in a personal way when the birthing is taking place. This is because the mother and baby are parts of her. The special bonding of connectedness remains throughout the birthing process so that every mother and baby is handled with care.

Vanua knowledge is very wide and diverse with the people of Cu'u. The type of specialized knowledge and skills acquired are significant because they have a personal touch when being used among the people who share it. The relational connectedness of the people involved make the existence of these knowledge and skills special and unique. Vanua knowledge was ignored for the sake of modern knowledge. We believe there is a place for 'ena dau' because of their usefulness and the mode at which they have been transmitted and learnt. For things to work for the people of Cu'u, there needs to be an articulation of these things.

The whole support system of the vanua is a safety net that stabilizes the indigenous Fijian society. The system works for the people of Cu'u and we believe it can work for the rest of the Fijian society. Therefore, for any attempt to restore stability or to enhance human development in Fiji, it is worthwhile to consider the vanua epistemological framework as its base.

In conclusion, where Fiji is at today, it is quite difficult to sift through the mess and make sense of our world. The whole world may try to put up

theories to explain what is happening, we may be called the coup-coup land or whatever else but we can still hear the distant call of wisdom, we can now see the *ta'ia* (canoe) of hope in the horizon and most importantly we still feel the pulse on which the Fijian heart beats. This is the heart that treasures the *i tutu'uni* of our 'awa which are the stories of our genealogies, the heart that *tagi* (cry) when our land is torn apart with violence and disrespect.

Our cry is echoing in the spirit. It is in the spirit – the part of the vanua which connects us to God, where we find *sautu* or stillness and peace. This brand of peace can only be found through *lotu*. This peace is the light in the tunnel. In vanua terms today, this light is expressed in our faith in Jesus. When his words such as "I am the light of the world" or "my peace I give unto you not as the world gives" are heard in our spirits, it gives us a sense of security and hope that preserves our wholeness and being despite the external instability.

Address for correspondence:

Akanisi Tarabe

P.O.Box 18776

Suva, Fiji

Email: [s88520570@student.usp.ac.fj](mailto:s88520570@student.usp.ac.fj)

Sereima Naisilisili

School of Education

University of the South Pacific

Suva, Fiji.

Email: [naisilisili@usp.ac.fj](mailto:naisilisili@usp.ac.fj)

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## **Weaving the Realities and Responsibilities: Crossing culture and concepts of healing within co-existing mental health and addictive disorders.**

**Andre McLachlan**

*Pai Ake Solutions Ltd  
Hamilton*

*This paper reflects part of a workshop facilitated by Royce Wynyard, Mihaka Hohua and Andre McLachlan at the National Maori and Pacific Psychologies Symposium, Hamilton, 2007.*

Within 'Mainstream' western and Kaupapa Māori services, competing priorities often mean that cultural and clinical services are not implemented in unison. Without this 'unison', treatment of Māori with co-existing mental health and addictive disorders may be ineffective. This paper reflects the journey of a small social service agency 'Pai Ake Solutions Limited' (PASL) in integrating western clinical approaches within tikanga Māori values.

Pai Ake Solutions Limited (PASL) provides a range of group and individual services to whānau who are affected by mental illness and co-existing substance use problems. The initial development of the service was based on the whakaaro of providing 'pai ake' (better) services for whānau in the greater Waikato. These services were initially founded on the strong values of founders Mihaka Hohua and the late Ritchie Re Cribb, which were influenced by the practices and experiences of Ngati Kahangungu, Ngati Haua, and Waikato-Maniopoto. From an initial non-clinical service provision contract, PASL began receiving referrals from individuals and whānau whose needs were not being met by mainstream service providers. Encouraging outcomes and an internal agency review of clientele utilising the service, identified that those accessing PASL services were experiencing socially and clinically significant mental and physical health, addiction and psychosocial problems.

The common presentation at PASL often included:

- Complex and long term co-existing mental illness and addictions
- Histories of unsuccessful engagement
- Histories of unsuccessful treatment
- Disconnection from whānau and the community
- Significant psychosocial distress and poverty
- Ongoing and/or significant criminal histories
- Gang affiliation
- Drug manufacture and/or drug dealing

This led to the provision of a clinical position (FTE) within the service. From the point of view of the writer, this is where the journey began – deciphering kaupapa and tikanga Māori approaches, and aligning clinical and Māori needs, aspirations and perspectives.

### **Realities and responsibilities of an ACO approach**

Some of the realities of working with this population group also form part of the service delivery responsibilities held by the team. In my role to introduce clinical service delivery at PASL, I was attempting to address what appeared to be dichotomies of perspectives. Table 1 outlines these dichotomies.

Table 1. Realities and Responsibilities

Tikanga Approach	VS	Mainstream Approach
Needs of Whanau	VS	Needs of Individual
Individual and Whānau Goals	VS	Contractual Requirements
Social Systems Approach	VS	Clinical Approach
Individual and Whānau Needs	VS	Social Responsibility
Realities of the Environment	VS	Clinician Safety

Many of these dichotomies have been reported by PASL service users as contributing to poor outcomes in the past, with restricted access to services whom will engage with their whānau and their realities. This has led to PASL to weave together the responsibilities and realities, across whakaaro, attitude, policy and practice. This whakaaro is presented in Figure 1 below.

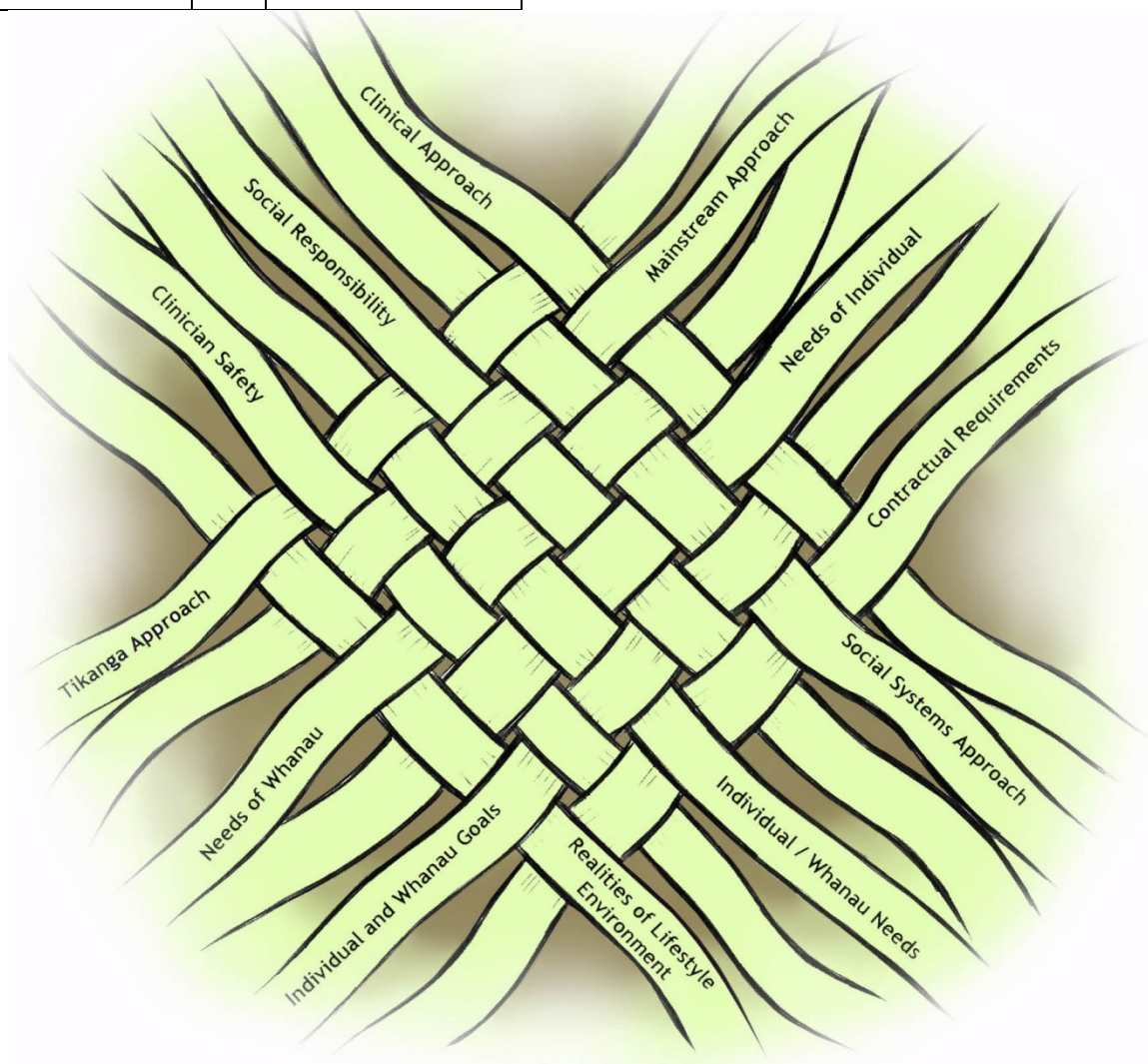


Figure 1. Weaving the realities and responsibilities

The following section briefly discusses issues within each dichotomy and PASL responses to them.

### **Tikanga Approach VS Mainstream Approach**

It is beyond the scope of this paper to define kaupapa or tikanga Māori, or in fact clinical western models (mainstream approach). In referring to Māori services in this paper, I am referring to services which are predominantly staffed by Māori, who embrace working holistically with whānau and whānui. In discussing mainstream western models, I am referring to existing Adult Mental Health and Alcohol and Other Drug Services which are predominantly 'case-management' based with minimal contact in the community or with whānau.

For PASL addressing this dichotomy has not meant dissecting a clinical approach from a whānau based approach, but acknowledging the clinical validity of working with whānau. Culture is not a 'tacked-on' assessment or intervention process, but integral in every aspects of assessment and intervention, such as te taha hinengaro (mind), taha wairua (spirituality), taha whānau (family and social network), taha tinana (physical), taha pumanawa (gifts), and taha pukenga (skills).

### **Needs of Whānau VS Needs of Individual**

Often as a service, whānau are seeking support for a whānau member who does not wish to engage. On the other hand, an individual may express that they do not want their whānau to be involved. This brings to fore concerns over confidentiality, and the ability to work with significant others independently of primary client.

Acknowledging the validity of working with whānau, and lack of whānau based addiction services, PASL provides specific groups for significant others, as well as working with whānau without an identified individual engaged in our service. Engaging 'whānau' reduces the isolation both the client and worker feels. It provides opportunities to heal 'ruptured' relationships, a common consequence of addiction and illegal behaviours, and to further develop relationship and support networks. It is important to acknowledge

and understand that 'whānau' is a network of relationships. This understanding allows therapists to effectively differentiate relationships which may have contributed to developing or maintaining presenting concerns, from those relationships which may be uplifting and positive.

When a client declines whānau involvement, we have the responsibility to explore that as a significant issue, rather than quickly accepting this response. If they said they did not want to talk about their drug use or 'voices', would we not also explore this further?

### **Individual and Whānau Goals VS Contractual Requirements**

Often the goals of individuals and whānau are not to reduce symptoms, but to: increase resilience and resource; to have meaning and purpose in life; or a connection with te ao Māori. PASL attempts to address these goals by providing an Assertive Community Outreach (ACO) service approach. This approach is a strategic whānau based approach, which is not necessarily compatible with contractual requirements focused on a high number of primary client one on one contacts. When addressing whānau and individual goals, the ACO approach takes more networking time and contact with agencies, communities and whānui members.

The Mental Health Commission (1998) recognised that contracting measures developed on the basis of western paradigms were unlikely to fully appreciate many of the concepts and activities crucial to recovery for tangata whai ora. Nearly a decade later inputs and outputs continue to dominate performance measurement for providers (Boulton, 2005).

Documenting narrative outcomes of working with whānau, and being clear in the clinical and cultural validity of working with whānau, within the team and with those with whom we have contracts with, is an important part of weaving this aspect. In our experience, contract managers have been open to realistic representations of the client group of which we work (the realities), and strategic methodologies in meeting these complex realities (responsibilities).

### **Social Systems Approach VS Clinical Approach**

Contractual requirements (as discussed above), and an increase in medically based case management when working with co-existing disorder populations, has reduced the capacity to work with whānui (extended whānau and community members). Linking people with communities in order to find a place to belong and a sense of purpose (i.e., relationship); and engaging in opportunities which inspire hope and develop a sense of mastery and self-efficacy, were traditionally in the realm of Occupational Therapists (O.T.s). However, O.T.s are only available for a small percentage of individuals in the mental health system. These tasks are now often left to social workers or counselors, with practice being dominated by 'referring on', as opposed to 'walking with' the clients to awhi the process of engagement.

PASL acknowledges that meeting practical needs and working with broader whānui is clinically valid in establishing meaningful relationships which in turn impacts positively on the ability to introduce clinical interventions. A social systems approach which focuses on engagement of the broader whānui increases the effectiveness of interventions, particularly medication compliance and monitoring of substance use and reduces the long term reliance on services.

### **Individual and Whānau Needs VS Social Responsibility**

Working in environments which are the reality for clients also presents ethical and safety dilemmas for staff. For example, we may be working with individuals and whānau who are dealing or manufacturing drugs; actively involved in illegal activities and/or gang associated behaviour. As a service that works with whānau in their homes, we also often come across young children in significant risk situations, who are often not seen by other agencies due to the transient nature of this population group. In working with individuals engaged in illegal behaviour, there are also social responsibilities. For example, the social responsibilities we face when placed in environments in which methamphetamine

manufacturing or dealing is occurring in a small community populated by large numbers of children, with these children at risk of methamphetamine chemical exposure and drug/gang confrontations.

PASL acknowledge the importance of ongoing monitoring and maintenance of relationships with the whanau and whanui to ensure the both the safety of the public and confidentiality of the clients, particularly in situations of drug manufacture and gang conflict. On intake into the service, staff are explicit about what constitutes risk (both in writing and verbally), and what our 'joint' response will be. Initial screening and assessment plans are made to reduce risk and develop personal and whānau control over safety issues. If progress is not made, hui are held to raise the concern that 'additional' support is required. This may take the form of engaging with other agencies such as Child Youth and Family, Police and Mental Health Services. PASL have acknowledged the prolific number of children who do not come to the attention of social services due to a range of issues such as: parent's fears have having children uplifted; transient nature; and being isolated from whānau and community. Due to this, PASL have accessed specific assessment processes, and now provide a training programme for assessing and responding to child welfare and parenting capacity in whānau with addictions.

### **Realities of the Environment VS Clinician Safety**

Many of the clients whom access our services are denied home based services due to a history of assault or their ongoing drug use. Risk of client self-harm, harm to staff, and harm from client to their whānau or the general community are significant issues for PASL staff to acknowledge and address in practice.

Taking this approach has not meant disengaging from dangerous environments, it has meant work-shopping community based risk management approaches, accessing a wide range of in-house and external risk management and violence risk assessment training, also building relationship with service users based on honesty, respect, and

developing clear roles and responsibilities within the relationship between staff and whānau.

PASL also have developed strong lines of communication and mutual understandings with crisis services such as women's refuge, Mental health crisis assessment team, and local police. These relationships ensure that crises are responded to effectively when they occur.

### **Summary**

Irrespective of the presenting issues, the whakaaro at PASL takes staff back to the point of '*whānau before disorders*' - a responsibility to understand the person within the context within which they present. Over the past five years, the team at PASL has developed strategies and understandings in order to 'weave' these realities and responsibilities, while maintaining the integrity of the different aspects, by seeking the commonalities rather than differences, and adapting our approach to the realities of the cultural and sub cultural presentation of the whānau. The primary

learning's regarding how to achieve this have come from Kaumatua, the individuals and whānau that access our services, and staff members and their whānau.

The overarching premise of this paper is that working more broadly, encompassing whanau and community, rather than narrowly where the focus is symptom based, is culturally and clinically valid, and an effective use of resources. This approach has the potential to provide sustainable and intergenerational outcomes, such as providing whanau with the tools to manage and support the wellbeing of whanau members and develop relationships with a range of service providers. The points discussed in this paper are a reflection of a journey. For some, it may provide validation for their approach or views, and for others it may 'spark' debate or reflection on personal and service wide practice. These approaches have assisted PASL to better understand the whānau with whom we work, and in a sense be accepted within broader whānui.

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# Claiming Spaces: Maori (Indigenous Persons) Making the Invalid Valid

Huhana (Susan Jane) Hickey

Identity is a shifting paradigm because of the constant movement between identities throughout our lives, depending on the context within which we are identifying ourselves. Once we identify, we place ourselves within a certain construct. When positioning within identity labels, multiplicitous experiences of marginalisation need to be accounted for in clarifying identity frameworks. Barile (2000) asserts that it is the multiple minority status of persons of minority ethnic identity with disabilities that positions them into multiple minority discriminatory experiences with greater limitations and discrimination than those with a single minority status identity. Barile (2000) also asserts that it challenges ethnic minority people with disabilities who work collectively and as a group where they are forced to work as individuals, often in isolation from their ethnic and cultural communities.

She states that:

*Even with membership in five or more 'groups' the individual does not necessarily get his or her needs met because the groups are designed to address a single, or double identification of minority status. The combination of disabilities, social or ethnic backgrounds, gender or sexual orientation differences are not addressed by the groups.... The challenge then is to use new analytical tools, or adapt existing ones, to emancipate those experiences of multiple levels of discrimination due to their multiple minority status (Barile, 2000, 126-7).*

For Maori with disabilities, there is the further complication of the non-validation or minimisation of impairment/ disability within Maori communities. Kingi and Bray (2000, p. 8) in their research on Maori disability identity stated that:

*It's a disability to have your land taken off you, it's a disability to have your family dissolved and shifted to an urban environment...It's a disability to be told that you can no longer grow your own food so you have to get a job in a system that has been set up by white people for white people to try and survive. We're a group of people who are brown living in a white system set up by white people, that is a disadvantage and that doesn't make it easy... Just with Life. Like being old, it's a disability.*

It is this very complex, multi-valent and intersectional nature of identity that creates the confusion and contradictions linked into the issue of indigenous and disability identity discourses. No single identity holds a higher position over another when it comes to placing ourselves into a construct, although this discourse encapsulates how these are socially constructed within indigenous communities. Professor Ngahuia Te Awekotuku puts it succinctly when she states that:

*Frequently, all the contradictions of my life are harrowing, but I refuse to reject any one facet of myself. I claim all my cultures, all my conflicts. They make me what I am; they will shape what I am becoming (Te Awekotuku, 1984, p. 121).*

## Disability Identity: a Background

Disability identity has not existed outside of models of disability which range from the western dominated medical model of disability to the social model of disability. The difficulty in acknowledging the identity of disability is that with impairment comes the loss of identifying positively about oneself and having to adopt an identity which has terminologies fixed in deficit



language. Disability identity is linguistically specific in its formation which has been socially constructed. As a result disability identity is complicated in defining elsewhere as an identity of 'other'. The process of 'othering' is applicable to identities that fit outside the concept of what was perceived as natural and leads to the negative fears around disability identity (Foucault, 1988; Hughes, 2000). Brown (2002, p.41) states that:

*For the development of disability culture, history of disabled people has an important role to play. History occupies a significant place in the formation of group identity. However, until recently, history of disabled people has been ignored.*

Brown argues that disability identity history has been ignored except through the medical aspects of disability where attention is given to disability from an objectification of the individual's identity based on medical frameworks (Brown, 2002). As other aspects of disability identity such as feminism and disability have developed so has the understanding of disability as an identity (Corker & Shakespeare, 2002; Foucault, 1988; Garland-Thompson, 2002; Morris, 1991, 1993; Oliver, 1996). The focus of this paper is on indigenous disability identity and it is in terms of these concepts that identity is discussed.

### **Indigeneity: Being Indigenous with Disabilities, Colonised and Westernised**

The assumptions behind the phrase 'double oppression' make this an adequate starting-point when looking at impairment and disability within indigenous identity. There has been minimal research to define clearly what is meant by this or any other concept of the black disabled experience. As a consequence, the phrase 'double oppression' is rather empty; rhetoric has replaced clear thinking. The predominant concept of disability – which I shall call the norm – is that it is regarded as a personal tragedy needing medical attention. The idea is vigorously challenged by the disability movement. Likewise, anti-racist writers challenge what has become the norm within the philosophy of 'the new racism'. New racism has replaced this

rather straightforward form of prejudice and substituted a more sophisticated one. The idea is a response to the steady erosion of racist bigotry and practices that have been dominant. Rather than focusing upon skin colour, new racism attempts to use culture as the marker of difference. (Swain & Finklestein, 1999, p. 93)

In New Zealand, indigenous people with disabilities also have the added issue of facing greater discrimination because of their lack of culturally appropriate services and their social economic placement within society. Added to this is the overall lack of appropriate supports from the State for all indigenous peoples. Until indigenous people receive appropriate support, indigenous people with disabilities cannot expect to see improvements in their own status. The use of the term 'oppression' is not appropriate in this context as it holds a negative assumption that may not always be the case. 'Triple jeopardy', which also has an implication of negativity, has a slightly different emphasis. 'Jeopardy' implies that, while oppression may occur, all three identities have a historical foundation of marginalisation. Therefore, even if not oppressed by society, the identities alone have a component of marginalisation. With more than two marginalised identities already attached to the individual, if a third marginalised identity is added to the existing ones, then there is a triple impact of marginalisation which is very difficult for the individual to avoid. This triple impact is identified as 'triple jeopardy' (Durst & Bluehardt, 2001).

The issue of disability as a subject being applied to indigenous people with disabilities is a problem. The perception of disability by indigenous people with disabilities differs to the perception of disability held by non-indigenous peoples. Despite society's believing indigenous people with disabilities have a disability, there may be a difference in perception between the health and disability professionals and indigenous peoples who may not see themselves as having a disability (Gething, 1995). Gething identified a lack of clear statistical analysis to the variants he found in the personal definition of what constitutes a disability between the professionals and the aboriginal

peoples themselves. Obvious impairments such as amputations or severe physical impairments are easily defined as a disability; it is the hidden impairments such as intellectual/learning or psycho-social which are often not seen as a disability by indigenous peoples generally. Many of the disabilities that affect us later in life are considered to be a normal aspect of the life cycle and are therefore not singled out or isolated as belonging to the disability identity for those people. "Disability is rarely seen as a separate issue, but is seen as part of problems which are widespread and a part of the life cycle" (Gething, 1995, p.81).

It is also relevant to note the cultural diversity that exists, which affects the definition, interpretation and attribution of factors constituting a disability. The term 'disability' does not exist for some cultural groups, and therefore they do not consider attributing this identity to a group of people. What could be viewed as a disability today differs between the different cultural and tribal beliefs of indigenous peoples. What the dominant western ideology may define as a disability may not be the same for different indigenous peoples.

For some indigenous people there is the belief that some impairments have a social or spiritual component which affects well-being and do not derive from a medical or physiological condition. Sadly, some indigenous communities do not encourage the participation of their tribal members with disabilities, hence the exclusion and isolation that often occurs for indigenous people with disabilities. Kiyaga and Moores in discussing deafness in the sub-Saharan region stated that:

*Given the diversity of sub-Saharan Africa, there are exceptions to any generalizations. Beliefs about deafness in African societies range from acceptance and protection to rejection, including considerations of infanticide. Some beliefs common to most nations in the region have the unfortunate effect of increasing the likelihood of isolation and marginalization of people who are deaf. Many traditional beliefs characterize deafness as a manifestation of a mysterious fate,*

*perhaps God's will. Some societies pity children who are deaf and see them as burdens, dependent on their families and lacking the ability to be independent. This type of belief in the lack of capability of deaf children may by itself impede access to education. In other cases, cultural practices may result in the deaf child being hidden from public view because of familial shame over having a "handicapped" child who may bring misfortune upon the family. Such beliefs can lead to abuse, neglect, and abandonment, and deaf children's potential to contribute to the development of African nations is dismissed (Kiyaga & Moores, 2003, p.20).*

An example of this exclusion for Māori with disabilities is the invisibility of identity leading to the lack of consideration where access is an issue. Some of the older marae have not been modernised or updated with ramps or sensory aids to assist anyone who has an impairment going to those marae. Some of the newer marae have addressed this with accessible toilets and bathroom areas and removing steps into the whare although there are still marae which have not, to date, been adapted. The Ministry of Health Māori Disability Services Directorate have a list of accessible marae which is posted on its website at: <http://www.moh.govt.nz>. The Ministry of Health Māori Disability Services Directorate's hui held in Auckland in June 2006, was only one of three, which did not cover the country, so many out-of-town Māori with disabilities who did not have resources could not attend. The Ngati Kapo advocacy group for Māori who are blind also raised the issue of their guide dogs on marae at hui, and objections were raised by the members of the local marae to having these dogs within the buildings. This is a common problem for Ngati Kapo members who assert their right to independence by having their guide dogs with them when they attend any hui. The objection to guide dogs on marae is often contentious with some citing the issue of allergic reactions to the dogs and other concerns. This opposition is not unique to one marae; it is an attitude that has prevailed for some time and not one that appears to be resolving in the short term. In 2007, five hui

have been arranged at which Māori disabilities issues will be raised; as yet, only dates are mooted with venues to be advised. Concerns have been raised as to access issues and broader representation to include rural Māori with disabilities and other key stakeholders. It could be deemed that the lack of sovereignty for indigenous peoples has led to the invalidation of their indigenous with disabilities. As Davies points out:

*“Insofar as colonization involves subjugation and disempowerment of a people, it is not radically different from other forms of oppression, including those rooted in gender, race, class and ability. It is true that different forms of oppression generate different relations and distributions of power: configurations that are rooted in the specific histories and the political context of those oppressions. However, it seems reasonable to presume that there are certain affiliations and similarities that cut across the diverse forms of oppression”* (Davis, 1997, p367).

Added to the identity of being a colonised indigenous person is the issue of whether or not this alone gives rise to the argument of having a triple jeopardy component. It could be argued that indigenous persons, as a singular identity, already experience higher rates of poverty and less probability of employment than non-indigenous people. Indigenous people with disabilities have the added pressure of worse statistics for them because their disability further impedes their opportunity to gain effective employment.

Full participation in society means having a full and meaningful involvement with economic, social and leisure activities. Unfortunately for many indigenous peoples, due to the economic factor this is denied. Indigenous people with disabilities face further marginalisation because as a person with a disability it is highly unlikely they will be employed, or will even access their health and equipment needs to be able to participate in employment. Therefore they face the double jeopardy of both identities. In relation to statistics for Māori with disabilities in obtaining

employment and identifying with an impairment, the latest trends and data of the Work in Progress report (2004-2005) show Māori have:

*...the highest age-standardised rates of impairment. Compared with non-Māori they tend to have more severe impairments at younger ages. Māori are also more than twice as likely to report an unmet need for transport costs. Half of all disabled Māori had a total annual income of \$15,000 or less. Over a third had no educational qualification considerably higher than their non-Māori counterparts (Minister of Disabilities Issues, 2005, p. 81).*

The report also found that 25 percent of Māori with disabilities who live in households had reported an unmet need for health services, (compared to 14% of non-Māori) which is significantly higher than the fourteen percent of non-Māori with disabilities who have reported an unmet need. It does seem reasonable to expect that if significant equipment and health needs are unmet, then a disparity will exist. It is also reasonable to assert this marginalised group would not be able to fully participate in society as per the objectives of the New Zealand Disability Strategy (2001). This is also consistent with Māori who do not identify with a disability whose health and employment statistics do not equal those of non-Māori. Having an unmet need was particularly high for younger Māori (15-24 years) where the rate was almost double that of their non-Māori counterparts. Fifteen percent of Māori with disabilities had an unmet need for special equipment, compared with 11% of non-Māori with disabilities’ (Minister of Disabilities Issues, 2005).

Indigenous people, people with disabilities and women face numerous obstacles participating fully in society as indigenous people, as people with disabilities, and as women. This is despite programs set up over the years to address these issues and reduce the marginalisation. As indigenous peoples face marginalisation generally, it is not unreasonable to assume their participation in society is limited. Unless indigenous people address the concerns of indigenous people with

disabilities, there will continue to be multiple marginalisation, denying full access to cultural life and activities within their own communities for the members with disabilities at a much greater level than for other groups. When looking at the multiplicitous nature of identity in being indigenous, a woman, of lower economic status and living with a disability, I would consider Spivak's statement, that:

*...The pattern of domination is here determined mainly by gender rather than class. The subordinated gender following the dominant within the challenge of nationalism while remaining caught within gender oppression is not an unknown story...For the (gender-unspecified) "true" subaltern group, whose identity is its difference, there is no unrepresentable subaltern subject that can know and speak itself; the intellectual's solution is not to abstain from representation. The problem is that the subject's itinerary has not been left traced so as to offer an object of seduction to the representing intellectual...the question becomes, How can we touch the consciousness of the people, even as we investigate their politics? With what voice-consciousness can the subaltern speak? (Spivak, 1999, pp.272-3)*

Religion is another strong component of Polynesian identity post-colonially. The Old Testament, in particular, plays a large part in influencing how Māori view Māori members of their *whānau* with disabilities, and the influences of the Bible account for the still active movements of *Ringatu* and *Ratana* which arose out of times of conflict and loss. When missionaries came into New Zealand, they brought with them a biblical teaching that opposed the practice of the *tohunga* and the belief in many *atua*, and involved a new process evidenced today in many practices that influence Māori *tikanga* such as *karakia* (reciting chants), *waiata* (song, chant, psalm), *himene* (hymns) and *whaikōrero* (formal speech, oratory).

*Unlike the traders, who were motivated only by commercial gain, the missionaries were the cutting edge of colonisation. Their mission was to convert the Māori from heathenism to Christianity and from barbarism to civilisation. Underlying this mission were ethnocentric attitudes of racial and cultural superiority (Walker, 2004, p. 85).*

While it is true that Māori were affected by these new colonial influences, it could be that Māori also selectively and consciously took control and selected what appealed to them. Examples of this are the *Ringatu* and *Ratana* religions that began to thrive among Māori, combining the Old Testament Bible and traditional practice in their teachings. Whatever the case may have been, there is no mistaking that the missionaries became effective in changing pre-colonial beliefs by providing medical care to Māori while teaching them the Bible. They challenged traditionally held beliefs of sickness and changed many ways of thinking in Māori culture, which still today has a mix of traditional and Christian beliefs. This has played a large part in the thinking around indigenous persons with disabilities today, in that religion, in particular the Old Testament, plays a part in the role of excluding indigenous people with disabilities from their cultural community (Elsmore, 1999). This influence still permeates Māori cultural identity, and it is this influence that continues to divide the thinking of Māori around impairment today.

### Conclusion

It is an issue of evolving our belief system when indigenous peoples with disabilities seek not only inclusion within their communities but also the ability to be validated both as indigenous persons and as persons who have specific needs needing accommodation and complete acceptance not merely tolerance because they exist.

Email: [huhana@gmail.com](mailto:huhana@gmail.com)

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## Homeless Lives in New Zealand: the case of central Auckland

**Shiloh Groot<sup>2</sup>**, Darrin Hodgetts<sup>2</sup>, Kerry Chamberlain<sup>3</sup>, Alan Radley<sup>4</sup>, Linda Nikora<sup>2</sup>, Otiillie Stolte<sup>2</sup>, and Eci Nabalarua<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup>University of Waikato, New Zealand; <sup>3</sup>Massey University, New Zealand; <sup>4</sup>Loughborough University, UK; <sup>5</sup>University of the South Pacific, Fiji

*Homelessness is a pressing and increasingly visible concern in New Zealand. Many people sleeping rough are male and of Maori or Pacific descent. This research focuses on understanding the nature of resilience through the lived experiences of homeless people. To gain insights into cultures of homelessness, a qualitative case study research design was used to engage six homeless people who took part in a series of interviews and photo-production exercises. Participants are of Maori, Pacific Island, and Pakeha ethnic backgrounds. It therefore may become important to document how homeless people see themselves in relation to their communities of origin and the wider public.*

This research on 'Homeless lives in New Zealand: The case of central Auckland' is part of a larger Marsden funded research project being conducted in collaboration with homeless people, the Maori and Psychology Research Unit, three city councils and non-government organizations. This paper will focus on the first author's research thus far for the partial requirements of a Doctoral degree.

### Literature review

Homelessness is a pressing societal concern in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Kearns, 1995; Peace & Kell, 2001; O'Brien & de Hann, 2002). As with many social issues those from economically, ethnically and socially marginalized backgrounds are over represented (Bang, 1998; McIntosh, 2005; Tois, 2005). Recent research shows that the majority of people sleeping rough in Auckland are male and of Maori or Polynesian decent (Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd., 2005). Homeless people are sicker and die quicker (Lewis, Andersen, & Gelberg, 2003; Quine, Kendig, Russel, & Touchard, 2004), experience a sense of dispossession, insecurity and cultural dislocation (Dordick, 1997; Cattell, 2001; Rollins, Saris, & Johnston-Robledo, 2001; McIntosh, 2005) are 34 times more likely to commit suicide, and 150 times

more likely to be assaulted fatally (Shaw, Dorling, & Smith, 1999).

A lack of housing may very well be a fundamental aspect of homelessness; however, it is important to note that there is much more to it than this (Morrell-Bellai, Goering, & Boydell, 2000). Little is known about the daily practices and relationships among homeless people, and between homeless people and the public (Paradise, & Cauce, 2002; Quine, Kendig, Russel, & Touchard, 2004). If researchers are to understand barriers to re-housing and why some homeless people are reluctant to leave a life of transience, or why some return to the streets even after re-settlement it is necessary to describe the processes of homelessness.

Research that focuses on pathways to homelessness documents how it often stems from vulnerability to poverty intensified by a combination of traumatic life events such as family deaths, abuse, relationship breakdowns, mental illness, substance abuse, and job loss (Morrell-Bellai, Goering, & Boydell, 2000; Toohey, Shinn, & Weitzman, 2004). Pathways into homelessness can be gradual whereby a person 'uses up' their social networks by relying heavily on friends and family for

support and a sofa for the night, and will eventually 'wear out their welcome' (Morrell-Bellai, Goering, & Boydell, 2000; Toohey, Shinn, & Weitzman, 2004). Once a person is homeless, personal vulnerability issues intensify the situation so that they can become stranded.

Violence in the homes and communities of origin of homeless people has been well documented (Toro, 2007). Substance abuse is common in the families of origin, as well as among the homeless population itself. This appears to be especially true of single homeless men (Toro, 2007). Whilst a history of substance abuse may put one at risk for becoming homeless, it has also been suggested that, once homeless, one may take drugs and alcohol to temporarily alleviate the hardships of being homeless. Criminal behaviour has often been associated with the homeless. However, Toro (2007) notes that only about a quarter to one third have a serious criminal history. Many homeless people, it would seem, get arrested for victimless crimes due to their homeless lifestyle (e.g., through panhandling, public drunkenness, squatting in abandoned buildings).

There does not appear to be any single pathway into homelessness and, as such, the way back into mainstream society varies between people. There are often difficulties in maintaining re-settlement for homeless people, resulting in their return to street life. Interventions are needed to rebuild ties with family and friends, establish new contacts, and address local public opposition to locating services.

### **A site for the research**

As the size of Auckland City grows so too does the homeless population. Across all developed nations, the highest concentrations of homeless people tend to be found in the largest urban settings and they tend to be segregated to some of the poorest areas (Toro, 2007). Work has been underway since late 2004 to respond to issues of homelessness in Auckland (Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd., 2005). There has been increasing concern expressed by visitors, businesses' and residents about the growing visibility of homeless people in

the CBD and the effect that this is having on perceptions of safety and overall amenity.

The most visible group to the public is known as 'rough sleepers', those sleeping on the streets. There is something like 180 to 300 rough sleepers in Auckland (Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd., 2005). The New Zealand Living Standards report released in July 2006 by the Ministry of Development (Auckland City Mission, 2006) highlighted the increasing numbers of Aucklanders on low incomes living in poverty. Income levels are unable to contend with increasing costs of rates, rent, transport, food and utilities. Many on benefits and low incomes are living in severe hardship and have to make do without the basic necessities (Auckland City Mission, 2006).

Central Auckland is more than a physical setting: it is an 'appropriate' location featured in media framings of homelessness and the cultivation of public expectations (Cooper, 2001). When New Zealanders think of homelessness we often think of such central business districts and images of begging on Queen Street that have populated media reports for almost a century, comprising part of our shared cultural heritage.

This research is being conducted in collaboration with service providers to ensure findings are relevant to the needs of homeless people. The Anglican Auckland City Mission was established in 1920, under the leadership of Rev Calder (Ball, 1997). It has since grown into one of the most prominent providers of charitable aid in Auckland. The role of the mission has been to provide advocacy and social and health services for marginalized people in the Auckland region (Auckland City Mission, 2006). Core services include providing food for families and individuals, an extensive range of programmes for the homeless and supporting people to overcome addictions (Auckland City Mission, 2006).

An Advisory Group, made up of agency representatives and homeless people, has been established. Recruitment of participants has been made possible through Auckland's City Mission involvement as an agency representative on the

project. This enables us to work with experienced community workers in a manner sensitive to the situations and needs of participants

The Auckland City Mission's Inner City Drop-In Centre provides a place of social contact where the homeless can be warm, eat and drink, acquire basic toiletry items, see a doctor for free every Tuesday, make telephone calls and talk to others (Auckland City Mission, 2006).

### **Strengths based considerations**

Homeless people are not only burdened with issues of daily survival, violence and social ostracism, but loneliness, depression, and fear are not uncommon as well (Rokach, 2003). Rokach (2004) has suggested that one needs to adapt to homelessness, using the notion of 'career'. As a career, daily survival of the homeless requires focus on food, clothing and personal hygiene. As the duration of homelessness increases, daily routines develop and adaptation to street life progresses. To develop skills, homeless communities collectively negotiate anti-stigma strategies through building strategic alliances most likely to engender effective action (Campbell & Deacon, 2006; Radley, Hodgetts, Cullen; 2005).

This research focuses on understanding the nature of resilience through the lived experiences of homeless people. The importance of resilience as a factor in enabling people to survive and adapt to adverse circumstances has been acknowledged in psychological research (Merritt, 2003). Herein lies the problem in conceptualizing resilience as it is often described as a phenomenon pertaining to individuals when it frequently occurs through social interactions. Through the accounts of homeless participants it is made clear that homeless people also seek friendship, support and community. Critics have argued that research has tended to focus more on the individual characteristics of homeless people, thus detracting attention from the multi-layered factors which lead to homelessness and risk-taking a victim-blaming approach (Christian, 2003).

Rather than approaching marginalized groups as the passive victims of oppression and social

inequalities, the focus shifts to 'cultures of resistance' or the strategies through which homeless people work to construct alternative meanings and ways of being. A strong sense of resilience is clearly interwoven into homeless people's stories; they have developed strengths, skills, and resources through their integration into the homeless community. It is necessary to research resilience at a communal level as it occurs somewhere and often in recital with the aspirations and efforts of others.

In this PhD research resilience is conceptualized as a practice and not just an abstract psychological construct. This takes a strength-based approach to health and well-being as opposed to the more traditional deficit focused position (Merritt, 2003). However, whilst homeless people may not be the passive victims of their circumstances their survival comes at a cost, as previous research has shown homeless people are sicker and die quicker. This perspective reaches beyond defining homeless people as both deviant (and need to be coerced) or socially excluded (and need to be re-skilled) (Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005).

### **Methodology**

To gain insights into cultures of homelessness, the information gathered from six homeless participants in a series of case studies was used. Participants were engaged through a series of interviews and photo-production exercises. Each case study will be analysed separately then compared as they relate to each other. Participants are from Maori, Pacific Island and Pakeha ethnic backgrounds. Frame (2002) talks about how the arithmetic of cultures is one plus one equals three. The two encountering cultures remain (although mutually influenced) but a third and new culture also gradually appears alongside them (Frame, 2002). In the context of homelessness it becomes necessary to document how homeless people see themselves in relation to their cultures of origin and their homeless cultures or identities. Maori and Pacific Islander peoples are over-represented in this group and therefore any approach working with providers to inform services can have a bearing on Maori and Pacific Island peoples. The concerns of Maori and Pacific Island peoples are



one driving force for this project, which is why it is conducted under the direction of the Maori and Psychology Research Unit. The success of services for, and public responses to, homelessness requires Maori and Pacific researchers who are equipped to work with agencies and to produce workable action plans. It will also enable us to develop dialogue across ethnic groups about an issue affecting lower socio-economic status people in general.

Participants have been selected because their transitions to the street and in some cases from the street are interesting, they are creative and resilient, they exemplify ethnic and gender differences and similarities, their history of homelessness is rich and in-depth, and all participants are articulate and able to capture a structure of strong feeling. The analysis is not restricted to the individual as each case summarizes the broader social category of 'homeless people', and provides a deeper understanding into lives lived on the street and beyond.

#### Case study example: Peter

In this section the photographs and accounts provided by one particular participant are analysed in the format of a case study. Peter is a Pakeha male in his late thirties, so here I am looking at Pakeha from a Maori perspective. Peter has been successful in making his life on the street in many ways, but he has also attempted to move on. At the time of the interview, Peter had been living on the streets in Auckland for a period of two years. Peter's interviews are both an honest account of his alcoholism and an insight into begging as a way of life. Peter has participated in three separate photo-interviews. His photos mark his transitions into Detox, supportive housing and finally back onto the streets. In his first set of photos he visualised his activities as a homeless person. The places he slept, going through ashtrays and bins, the Auckland City Mission, and begging and car window washing. In his second set of photos he was attempting to leave the streets and visualised his past on the street and his continued ties to the street through his friendships and begging activities. In the third set of photos Peter had returned to the streets and this was a visual diary of a typical day on the street for him.

Through his friendships with other homeless people he has learnt to window wash and begs using signs, a kind of informal apprenticeship. Rather than attempt to pass as an ordinary citizen, he frequented public spaces to beg for money where he would exploit his homeless situation. In order to be successful at begging, Peter employed a number of strategies so as to appeal to the public's expectations of what a deserving homeless person should look like. This involves appealing to the public's sympathy in a way that is both humorous and unique.



Figure 1. Peter begging outside a fast food store.

*Peter: My signs are a wee bit different. They're things like, 'Ninjas abducted family, need money for kung fu lessons,' and uh what else is it... I'm on e-bay for them apparently; quite a few people come past and recognise me ... another one is, 'I'm starving and so is the idiot holding me,' um 'Aliens abducted family, need money to build spaceship,' and things like this... it's all money-makers. Well it is for me.*

*Interviewer: Why do you put that spin on it?*

*Peter: Because they're different, they're different, and people actually come past and see them and it gives them a giggle. You know, instead of just the normal homeless bullshit that everyone's used to.*

#### Begging strategies

There is often a fundamental humiliation at being a homeless person, particularly for a man in a society where men are judged by their social standing and

economic success. For Peter the creative signs and humour associated with begging can be read as a means of dismissing or disguising the humiliation often associated with begging. Daily survival is not a simple routine but a matter requiring constant hard work.

Peter is strategic in his placement of self in the street in terms of locale and time so as to maximize his income. His work on the street is planned in detail and based on considerable thought and insight into the behaviour and patterns of the public. This requires a detailed knowledge of the routines, pathways and patterns of the public in and through the city.

In his interview Peter spoke about how he would beg in groups, participate in drinking schools; sleep in groups and how his adaptation to street life was made possible through his friendships with other homeless people. Although Peter is pictured begging alone there are other homeless people positioned all along Queen Street, whom keep an eye out for each other. Being part of a community provides Peter with protection not just from other homeless people but from the public as well.

#### **Resilience as a site**

Amongst Peter's photo sets there are often pictures of spaces that friends of Peter occupy. In these spaces Peter and his friends will get together and have barbeques, drink and socialise. Peter and his friends often go to local supermarkets and retrieve from the bins expired food and alcohol that has been discarded to fund such events. We are presented with an insight into his world, without reference to the activities that might otherwise define these spaces. These images are produced

from a homeless person's perspective which deviates from public perception that sees drinking as simply a negative and disruptive activity engaged in by 'lonely old tramps'. These images symbolise the friendships, emotional support and enjoyment often experienced by homeless people, yet are missing from the academic literature. Images taken in these locations provide insights into the practices through which homeless people construct themselves as social beings within specific spaces.

This examination of Peter's life opens a particular vantage point overlooking homelessness in Auckland, and invoking aspects of the function of the city and relations between its inhabitants. We see how a homeless man's life and his efforts to get by and survive take place within a maze of facilities, activities and intentions. From these we can detect a level of resilience in the face of disenfranchisement.

#### **Conclusion**

Understanding how homeless people live their lives will not prevent individuals from drifting into this situation. However, it can help researchers, policy makers and service providers conceptualise an action frame to interpret how these people survive, make decisions regarding change, their degree of engagement with street culture, and criteria for accepting offers of re-settlement. This requires us to address the fundamentally social nature of homelessness as much more than a housing issue. It will provide a greater appreciation of how homeless Maori, Pacific and Pakeha peoples position themselves in relation to their ethnic and cultural communities and society in general.

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# **What's in a Title? The use of honorifics in media coverage**

**Linda Waimarie Nikora & Yvonne Te Pohe**

*Maori & Psychology Research Unit,  
University of Waikato*

## **Background**

On the 15th August 2006, Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangikaahu (referred to in this paper as Te Arikini) passed away at the age of 75 years old after serving the Kingitanga movement for forty years. Her passing heralded the movement of large numbers of people to Turangawaewae marae where she lay in state. Intensive media coverage played a significant role in representing who Te Arikini was, in profiling the Kingitanga movement and activities associated with the tangi as it progressed from the 15th to the 21st August 2006.

The Kingitanga movement began in the 1850's, some years after the arrival of Pakeha colonists to Aotearoa. It was an attempt to halt the sale of land and to promote Maori authority. To achieve this, the Maori world settled upon an institution that Maori and Pakeha alike understood – a King. After much debate, the Waikato leader, Potatau Te Wherowhero reluctantly accepted the mantle of King from a representative gathering of Maori leaders from around the country. The Kingitanga leadership has remained with Waikato up to the present day. Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangikaahu was the sixth leader of the Kingitanga movement and the first woman to be elevated to the position.

In this paper, we refer to the late Kingitanga leader as “Te Arikini”, a title never applied lightly and indeed, used in reference to an extremely limited number of people. For Te Arikini, it was a title that grew in circulation as she grew into her leadership role but it was a title that came after a string of others. To begin with, she was crowned with the title “Queen” or “Kuini”. With the title of leadership also came a new name “Te Atairangikaahu” (or Te Ata) in honour of her

mother, leaving aside the title and name “Princess Piki”. The title “Ariki Tapairu” was one preferred by Te Arikini rather than “Queen” or “Kuini” and is used to refer to a chieftainess in her own right as the daughter of King Koroki.

In 1970, four years after becoming the leader of the Kingitanga movement, her leadership and friendship was recognised by the British Sovereign Queen Elizabeth II. Te Arikini became a Dame Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (DBE) for her services to her people entitling her to use the title “Dame”. In the same year she became a “Doctor” after being awarded an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Waikato, and again in 1999 from the Victoria University. As patron of many organizations (The Maori Women's Welfare League, Te Kohanga Reo) and recipient of many awards and prizes (The British Sovereign's Silver Jubilee Medal in 1978; the Office of the Order of St John in 1986; the Order of New Zealand in 1988; The New Zealand Suffrage Centennial Medal in 1993; and the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Gold and Silver Star – Japan in 1996).

To friends, family and colleagues, she was affectionately known as “Te Ata” or “The Lady” and on occasion as “Madam” but to the world, her official title, as recorded in the official programme for her 40th coronation anniversary in May 2006 was “Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangikaahu”.

## **What were we interested in?**

In this study, we were interested in examining how Te Arikini was referred to in the media coverage of her passing and tangi. We examined six days of mainstream television coverage produced and aired

by the New Zealand government owned TV One broadcaster. TV One maintains an archive of news bulletins aired in news shows that it produces. Conveniently we accessed and extracted 24 news items from TV One's online archive at <http://www.tvone.co.nz>.

Through repetitive viewing, we identified the range of titles used by presenters, reporters and those interviewed. There were 87 occurrences within 24 news clips. Ten different titles were used to refer to Te Arikiniui. Of these occurrences it was clear that references to Te Arikiniui varied according to who was presenting (P) or reporting (R) the news and by who was being interviewed (I) by news reporters. The media clips were reviewed and categorized accordingly to who the presenters, reporters or people interviewed were. Where known, the ethnicity of the presenter, reporter or interviewee was also recorded.

### Preliminary Findings

The results of our analyses are presented in the three figures that follow. Figure 1 records the range of titles and the frequency of their use. In Figure 2 and 3, the forms of address and their occurrence in our news media sample as used by presenters, reporters and interviewees are presented

by whether they were Maori or non-Maori respectively.

### Thoughts and Comments

Though we have applied a very simple analysis procedure to our media sample, what is clear from these results is that Maori references to Te Arikiniui favoured the use of the titles "Te Arikiniui Te Atairangikaahu", "the Maori Queen", "Te Arikiniui" and "Dame Te Ata". Non-Maori tended to use "Dame Te Ata", "The Maori Queen" and "Dame Te Atairangikaahu".

While we may be able to identify a "correct" honorific for Te Arikiniui, our findings suggest that its understanding and use by mainstream television news media presenters, reporters and interviewees is a matter influenced by ethnic and cultural politics. The preferred use of titles by Maori and non-Maori sets up a process where representations of Te Arikiniui are contested. To non-Maori she is a "Dame". To Maori, she is Te Arikiniui.

Through further analysis and theorising we will endeavour to further discuss the nature of these politics and the differences between Maori and non-Maori representations of Te Arikiniui.

Figure 1. Range of titles and frequency of use

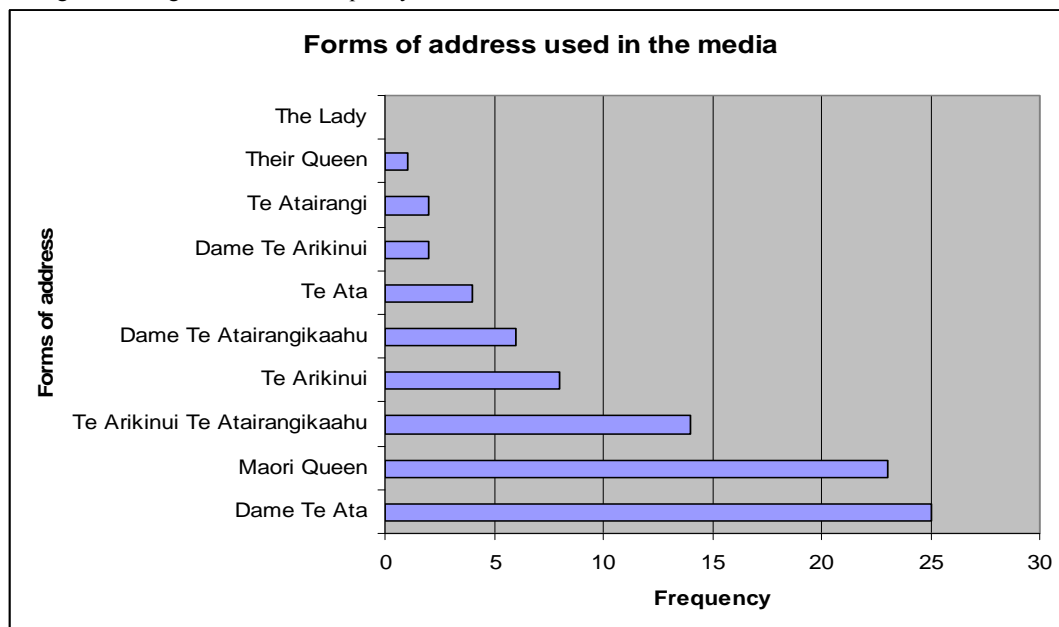


Figure 2. Forms of address used by Maori in the media

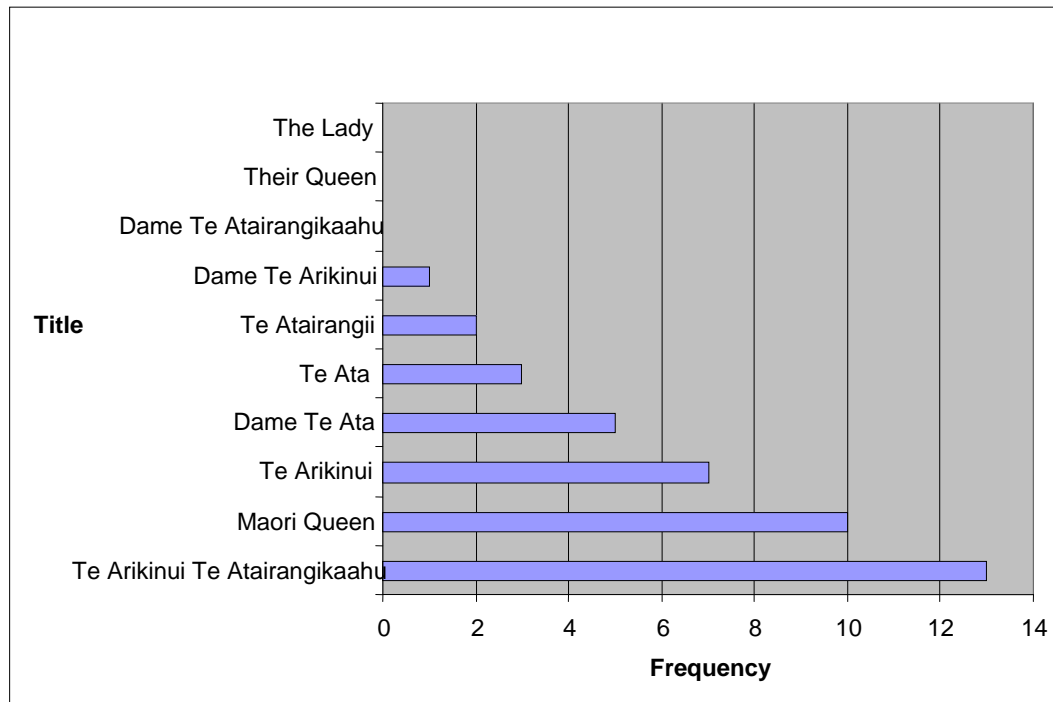
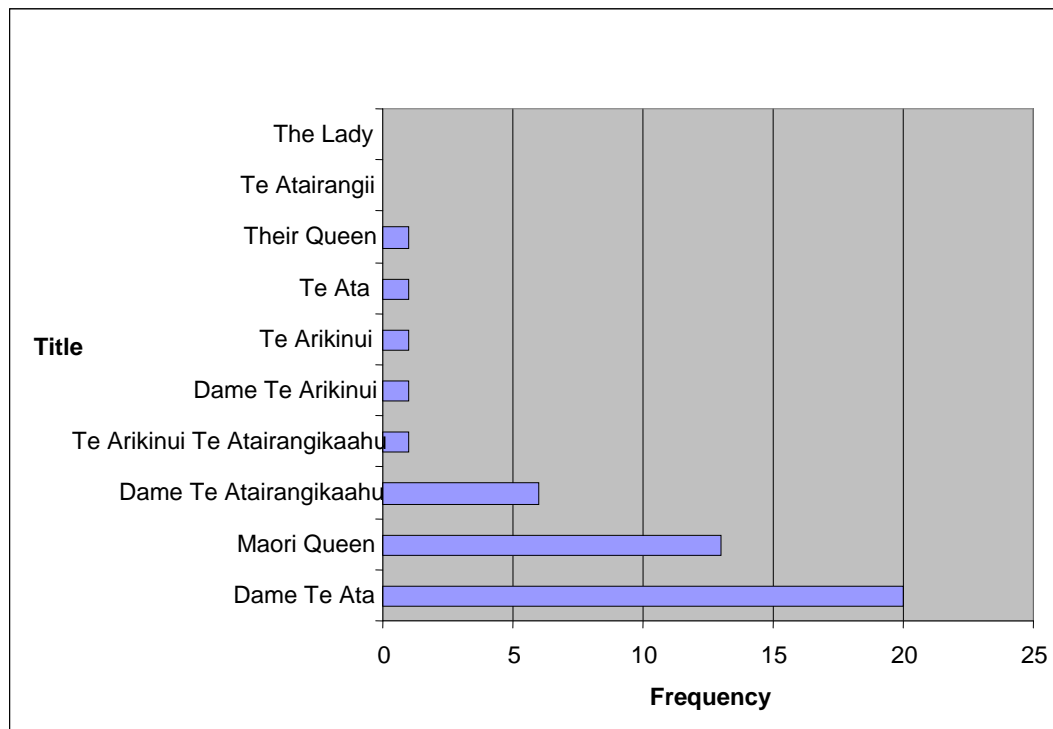


Figure 3. Forms of address used by non-Maori



## **Te Whanau o Te Maungarongo Hikoi: Maori Practice in Motion (3 July 2006 to 9 July 2006)**

**Maynard Gilgen**

*Rangataua Mauriora  
Wellington, Aotearoa*

### **Whakataki - Introduction**

What you are about to read is, in the main, a narrative. This narrative is designed to do two things. On one level it simply provides an explanation of how Puti and John Snowden used the funding received for this project. This document is therefore a demonstration of their accountability for the monies received. On another, far deeper, level this document operates to demonstrate to the reader the real power of the traditional concepts of whanaungatanga, whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, and manaakitanga. The adults, youths and elders who embarked on this journey had experiences that are not easily explained in written form. This document must try to achieve this task, and only a narrative that attempts to show these traditional concepts in action can do it.

All of the participants in this Hikoi learnt more about themselves and their identities as Maori, by undertaking this Hikoi, than they could have achieved by another means. It is not enough to merely know the names of your river and your mountain, although for many Maori today, that is all we have. The participants on this Hikoi were able to physically touch and experience these things, to sleep on their marae, visit their dead, and tread their waahi tapu. For most of the young participants who are urban Maori this was the first chance they had to ever do these things. For those young participants who had been to these places before perhaps once or twice, it was the first time they had had adults explain to them the significance of these places. For the adults, the Hikoi provided an opportunity to “recharge batteries” and simply to remind them why they do

the work they do. Of more importance was that each marae visited, each urupa, each wahi tapu, each face seen established or re-established a connection between the adults and youths themselves, and between the adults and the home peoples. Those connections are critical to enabling the adults to be effective Maori therapists on a day-to-day basis. The establishment of connections with the people they see is of paramount importance if any headway in therapy is to be made.

Whakawhanaungatanga, the art of establishing connection, is one of, if not the most important tools in the kaupapa Maori therapist’s toolbox. Without it, the kaupapa Maori therapist cannot fully understand where the person he or she is dealing with comes from, the steps that person has taken, and the context from whence that person has sprung. On our Hikoi, the elders protected and instructed us in how to do what we did in the right way. Without their guidance this journey would have been ineffective. The young participants and the adult participants needed the elders to show us the right path, the best way in which to show respect, the right way to be. That is what tikanga is.

We welcome you, as the reader, to share something of our Hikoi with us.

### **Tute - Impetus**

The impetus for this Hikoi came from John and Puti Snowden. They reported one evening in supervision during the summer of 2005 that they had been fortunate to receive funding to attend a conference overseas or to undergo training.

Instead of going overseas to attend a world-renowned conference in the field of social services and/or counseling they decided to use the funding to take members of and those associated with Te Whanau o te Maungarongo (hereafter, TWOTM) on a “Hikoi” around Aotearoa to our respective iwi.

The aim of the Hikoi instead of John and Puti going overseas to attend a conference themselves was for the following reasons:

- Whanaungatanga: It would enable everyone associated with TWOTM to be together, have some time away from mahi and to be able to visit our respective whenua, maunga, awa, moana and learn how we are all related;
- Whakapapa: It would enlighten each of us, our respective tupuna and enable us to pay respects to them at our respective urupa;
- Tikanga: We would be putting into practice Tikanga Maori, that is Maori practices at the respective marae we visited and also learn about some of the “Tikanga” and ways the Tangata Whenua behaved on their marae;
- Wairua: We would be able to “recharge our batteries”, that is, recharge our wairua by visiting different marae and wahi tapu;
- Manaakitanga: We would be placed in a position to awhi and support each other as we traveled and learn more about who we are.

The Hikoi would essentially be a process in which we would be validating who we are and how we are connected through the whenua and our respective tupuna.

The writer was also fortunate to be supported by his work, Rangataua Mauriora, for going on and supporting this kaupapa.

### **Whakatau - Preparation**

Once the idea had been mooted, discussed and supported by TWOTM now came the time to see

who was available to come on the dates chosen. (The reader is referred to the Appendix to see the itinerary for the Hikoi).

### **Hikoi**

#### ***Day One: Sunday: 3 July 2006: Ngati Kahungunu, Te Hauke, Kahuranaki Marae***

After karakia we left on a clear beautiful morning from the Hutt Valley. Our Hikoi was made of three kaumatua, eight pakeke, four rangatahi and three mokopuna. We drove to Te Hauke via Masterton. When we stopped at Masterton we swapped waiata tapes and then drove to Kahuranaki Marae, Te Hauke.

Unfortunately, as we did not make our 2pm rendezvous with the Tangata Whenua of Kahuranaki Marae we traveled on to Hastings and were welcomed to Toa Tuhi’s sister’s and husband’s home.

Although it was sad that we were unable to go onto Kahuranaki Marae, we paid our respects to nga mate in the urupa.

We were warmly welcomed by Toa’s whanau. They gave us lovely kai. We had boil up, hangi kai, kai moana and steam pudding. We were treated as Rangatira. Toa’s whanau truly demonstrated “Whakawhanaungatanga” in every sense of the word.

Following kai, Koro John Wharehinga opened the evening up with karakia and led our waiata for our poroporoaki. Koro John then arose to thank Toa’s whanau for their manaakitanga.

Koro Ngaone Tahere also arose to mihi to the home people for their aroha and manaaki of our roopu, as did other members of our whanau (the writer included).

John Snowden in particular arose to acknowledge and mihi our aroha to the Home People and also explain to them the reason for why we were on our “Hikoi”. He essentially reported that we were here to have some time together as a whanau, to have a break from our mahi and to also give the opportunity for the whanau to tread those wahi



tapu, which have meaning for us.

Terry Torea also stood to share with the whanau his pepeha in regards to coming from the Cook Islands. He emphasized the kotahitanga of the whanau and likewise spoke of praise for Toa's whanau's aroha and manaakitanga to us. Toa's whanau and all participants appreciated his Cook Island waiata.

Toa Tuhi then arose to likewise mihi to John and Puti and us for organizing us to come on this Hikoi. He reported that he had known John and Puti for over 30 years and it was wonderful to finally have them and the whanau to come and visit and spend time, although brief, with his whanau. Toa also said he had felt some pressure with Ngati Kahungunu being our first port of call. Toa also acknowledged those TWOTM whanau who were not with us as well.

Toa's brother, James spoke and so did Nora his wife. James talked to us about their whanau and whakapapa. He spoke about the connections they have with Wairoa and Mahia and how they are still exploring these. He also said that the whanau still have areas to explore in regards to their whakapapa.

Nora spoke about her relationship with James and the whanau and the aroha they have for her and likewise she for them. She informed the whanau that she, likewise to Terry, comes from Mangaia. She talked about the challenge it is to keep her te reo Rarotonga, but also informed us how proud she is of her two oldest children who are doing well at university. They are also pleased with their youngest son too. She reported how she was placed into the "mother role" after her mother passed away and how she went about raising her siblings.

James and his whanau arose and sang a lovely waiata Maori and then James also sang a Rarotongan waiata for and behalf of his wife. Terry and Nora felt moved to get up and kanikani. The wairua was awesome.

***Day Two: Monday: 4 July 2006: Ngati Porou, Rahui Marae***

We arose, had parakuihi at approximately 7:30am and left Hastings prior to 9am. The day was again crisp, clear and beautiful.

We traveled to Gisborne, where Koro John Wharehinga, who is in his 60s, asked us if he could drop in to visit with his mother.

We stopped briefly at Tolaga Bay (Uawa) for a break and for some of us to visit wahi tapu.

We awoke Hemi when we caught sight of Hikurangi for him to see his maunga for the first time.

Prior to getting to Tikitiki we stopped briefly to pay respects to Whakawhitira. This was where Puti was born. She was the only member of her whanau to be born there. She showed us her family homestead.

We arrived at Rahui Marae in the evening. We were met and given a powhiri by Puti's whanau. We again enjoyed a lovely kai together and then Ned and Kura Tibble took us to visit their Whare Karakia, St Mary's Church across the road. We were honoured to be given the korero regarding this whare and also the whenua around the Whare Karakia. They talked about the whanau relationships with those who had passed away in the World Wars and also the carvings and other items that are in the whare. They gave a korero about one of their people being taken as a slave to Ngapuhi, while there, their tupuna was converted to the Christian church Ngapuhi were involved with. When he was released by Ngapuhi and returned to Ngati Porou he began to convert some of his people to this new gospel. It was a wonderful way of ending the evening.

***Day Three: Tuesday 5 July 2006: Rangitukia, Ohinewaiapu Marae, Te Whanau Apanui, Whakatohea and then Tainui***

We arose, had kai and then headed for the metropolis of Rangitukia. While there Bobby and whanau paid respects to his tupuna at Ohinewaiapu Marae.

While traveling to Rangitukia, Hemi was also impressed with seeing his awa for the first time as well. After Bobby and whanau paid their respects at the urupa, Bobby had to push the van as it got stuck in the mud. Hemi ran away from Bobby to kindly inform us that Bobby needed help. While at the marae in Rangitukia we were also paid respects by Uenuku.

We stopped at Wharekahika, also known as Hicks Bay to pay respects to Tuwhakairiora Whare Runanga and leave a koha as the marae was in the process of preparing for their kaumatua, Rongo Wirepa, to return home to lay, as he passed away the day before in Lower Hutt. Tena koe te Rangatira, haere atu ra ki o tatou mate, moe mai.

We then traveled through to Te Whanau a Apanui, stopping at Raukokore to pay respects to the Whare Karakia built there by Duncan Stirling and whanau. Terry commented that he had read Eruera Stirling's book and had been greatly moved by it and wondered where they lay. Little did he know he was standing right in front of Eruera and his whanau as he spoke these words.

We then traveled to Opotiki and stopped for lunch before moving to the rohe of Tainui.

We eventually arrived at a motel in Manurewa at approximately 9pm. Everyone was hungry and tired. After kai before we retired we were privileged to meet John and Puti's son, Norman and his partner, Cherish Herewini and their son, Faenza (1 year old). Ngawini (John and Puti's daughter) and her partner Pau also met with us, they went to stay with Norman and Cherish.

***Day Four: Wednesday 6 July 2006: Ngati Whatua, Ngapuhi, Te Iringa Marae***

We arose early, tidied up and then headed for the Manurewa Scottish restaurant McDonald's for parakuihi. After filling the puku and van's we headed for Dargaville, the heartland of Ngati Whatua.

We stopped for a break in Dargaville. While there Maynard and his crew visited a waka and spoke

with a Ngati Whatua wahine kaimahi who talked to them about their waka and mahi.

We then traveled towards Waipoua forest but then decided to take a shortcut to Te Iringa marae across the tahuhi of Ngapuhi. This proved to be an interesting experience and demonstrated the "male ego" in process. The map-readers became stressed. The sightseers kept laughing and those anxious were beginning to have panic attacks as Te Po loomed on the horizon. It was a lovely journey through the backcountry of Ngapuhi and we all agreed there was a reason for us traveling through this whenua.

We arrived at Te Iringa marae at 5pm, in time for the powhiri by Koro Ngaone whanau. After the powhiri we were fed like Rangatira, our young taane were also happy to help in the wharekai. This was of course not influenced by the putiputi who were also working in there at the time.

We were privileged to be given whakapapa and korero about the marae and whenua of Ngati Tautahi. We happily retired with a full puku and thankful that we did not have to end up having to call the Westpac helicopter.

***Day Five: Thursday 7 July 2006: Te Rarawa, Korou Kore Marae***

We left Te Iringa marae at approximately 10am. Prior to leaving we were again visited by Uenuku. We then departed for Kaikohe.

While in Kaikohe we stopped off at the Warehouse for shopping and also paid our respects to Hone Heke at his reserve prior to heading for Opononi, Omapere and Rawene.

We stopped at the heads of Hokianga to pay our respects to the harbour and its respective taniwha. We spent time at Rawene while waiting for the ferry. We arrived in Ahipara early. Subsequently, John took us for a tour around Ahipara. We first went to pay our respects to John's parents and whanau at his urupa and then went on to the whenua of Te Neke, Maynard and his Te Rarawa's princess's section.

We arrived at Korou Kore marae at 5pm and were powhiri'd by John's whanau. Uncle Tame Mare and Buddy Nathan were the speakers for the Tangata Whenua. Koro and John Wharehinga spoke for our roopu. Again the kai was awesome. Unfortunately, due to the lack of kotiro in the kitchen we noticed that our rangatahi were absent too, unlike at Te Iringa marae. We were again privileged to have one of the locals, Uncle Tame give whakapapa, korero and pakiwaitara in regards to Te Rarawa and other hapu in particular, and about Korou Kore marae. This marae has a very close relationship with the Church of England. We again retired with full puku and smiles on our faces.

***Day Six: Friday 8 July 2006: Tainui***

We traveled from Ahipara to Hamilton today. We left Korou Kore marae at approximately 10:30am. We traveled through Kaitaia, and stopped briefly at Moerewa. It was here that Auntie Rita met her niece by chance. We then traveled on to Whangarei and continued through to Huntly. The traffic in Auckland was atrocious. We arrived in Huntly at their McDonalds near 6-7pm in the evening and had kai there. John, Puti, the mokopuna, Bobby, Carmen and Uncle John and Auntie Rita went to visit Puti's mother Auntie Mana while Maynard, Texas, Hemi, Terry, Toa, Tilly, Koro Ngaone, Daytona and Jarome went onto to pay our respects at Taupiri maunga and then to the motel in Hamilton East. We were all very tired and exhausted from traveling from Ahipara to Hamilton.

Ngawini and Pau caught up with us enroute to Hamilton and were with us for the remainder of our hikoi.

***Day Seven: Saturday 9 July 2006: Pirongia, Purekireki Marae, Kawhia, Maketu Marae***

Saturday morning we first met with Puti's mother and paid our respects to her father at his urupa in Ngaruawahia.

We then set out to travel to Kawhia, stopping first at Whatawhata for Carmen to pay respects to whanau there at her urupa.

We then traveled and stopped at Pirongia to pay respects to the maunga and have lunch.

Following kai we stopped at Auntie Mana's marae, Purekireki, at the feet of Pirongia.

We then traveled to Kawhia to visit Maketu marae and Puti's and Auntie Rita's whenua. Auntie Mana gave whakapapa and korero about Tupuna from Kawhia and the issues they had to traverse when the Pakeha first came to Kawhia.

Prior to leaving Kawhia Auntie Rita met briefly with a whanau who she knew from Waiwhetu.

Maynard and his crew also did a quick visit with his whanau in Dinsdale.

We had kai at the Hamilton Cosmopolitan Club and enjoyed watching the All Blacks beat the Australian rugby team.

***Day Eight: Sunday 10 July 2006:***

***Tamateapokaiwhenua Marae, Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui***

We tidied up and left Hamilton at approximately 10am to head for Mangakino. We arrived at the urupa on the outskirts of Mangakino at midday and paid our respects to Tupuna and respective whanau there. We then headed for Auntie Rita's marae Tamateapokaiwhenua.

During our Powhiri process we were honored to have Auntie Rita's whanau whaikorero. Uncle John replied for and behalf of us. Again we were given a lovely kai and korero by the whanau about their marae and whenua. (Sadly, on the 29 May 2007 at 7am this Wharenui was destroyed by fire).

We left Mangakino at 2pm to stop in the middle of the Desert Road to play in the snow and then continued to head for home.

We arrived back at the office in Petone at 9pm to have our poroporoaki and karakia. Heart warming korero was given as well as waiata and haka.

Tears were shed, as thanks were given for our safe

travel and whanaungatanga we shared.

Everyone was thankful for having participated on the Hikoi and that we had had a safe and enjoyable journey.

### Whakamutunga – Conclusion

It's been 18 months since our Hikoi, yet the learning from this experience has been invaluable. The writer and members of TWOTMR have used the experiences from our Hikoi often when going through the process of whanaungatanga with whanau they have seen for therapeutic reasons. For example, the writer recently met a whanau from Te Iringa marae in Dunedin. When the writer informed him that he had dined at "his table" (eaten at his marae) he was surprised, as not many people he knows even know of his marae. This greatly assisted the whanaungatanga process and we were able to connect more fluidly and more

quickly because of this experience. We could see something of each other's context. The relevance of returning home is also important and the writer has also assisted other whanau in regards to their own Hikoi home as part of their therapy as well. For our rangatahi, we understood that a trip like this was not going to revolutionise their lives immediately. But we know that seeds have been planted in each of these rangatahi and they now have a positive wairua experience to associate with their identity as individuals and as members of their hapu, whanau and iwi. Where and how those seeds might flower we cannot yet know.

The writer has also put a slide show together depicting our Hikoi that again attempts to demonstrate the experiences our narrative, Maori practice in motion.

Tena koutou katoa

### Tapiritanga - Appendix

During this phase an itinerary was also developed. The itinerary was as follows:

- **Day One: Sunday: 3 July 2006:**  
Travel from Wellington to *Ngati Kahungunu, Kahuranaki Marae* and Hastings;
- **Day Two: Monday: 4 July 2006:**  
Travel from Ngati Kahungunu Hastings to *Ngati Porou, Rahui Marae*, Tikitiki;
- **Day Three: Tuesday 5 July 2006:**  
Travel from Ngati Porou, Tikitiki to Hicks Bay, then to *Te Whanau Apanui, Whakatohea and then Tainui*, South Auckland;
- **Day Four: Wednesday 6 July 2006:**  
Travel from Tainui to *Ngati Whatua*, Dargaville and then onto *Ngapuhi* to *Te Iringa Marae*;
- **Day Five: Thursday 7 July 2006:**  
Travel from Te Iringa Marae to *Te Rarawa, Korou Kore Marae* via Opononi and Omapere;
- **Day Six: Friday 8 July 2006:** Travel from Korou Kore Marae to *Tainui*;
- **Day Seven: Saturday 9 July 2006:**  
Travel to *Pirongia, Purekireki Marae* and *Kawhia, Maketu Marae*;
- **Day Eight: Sunday 10 July 2006:**  
Travel from Tainui to Mangakino, *Tamateapokaiwhenua Marae* and then returned to Petone, Wellington, *Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*

# **The Adaptation of Cognitive Behavioural Therapy for Adult Maori Clients with Depression: A pilot study**

**Simon T. Bennett, Ross A. Flett, and Duncan R. Babbage**

*Massey University  
Wellington, New Zealand*

*A semi-structured cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) programme for depression was adapted for use with Maori adult clients with depression. Adaptations were developed in consultation with an advisory group consisting of Maori clinical psychologists and kaumatua with experience working in mental health services. The programme was piloted with 2 participants who were clients of a Maori mental health service. The programme builds on a more traditional CBT treatment programme by integrating concepts such as whakatauki, whanaungatanga, whanau involvement, and whakapapa into the therapeutic context. Despite limitations the results demonstrate considerable promise. Depressive symptoms increased substantially in both cases and both clients reflected positively on the adaptations incorporated into therapy.*

Depressive disorders are among the most common psychiatric disorders with lifetime prevalence estimates ranging from 15 percent to as high as 25 percent (Kaplan, Sadock, & Grebb, 1998). Murray and Lopez (1997) described depression as the number one cause of disability worldwide. Further exacerbating this situation, rates of depression are increasing at epidemic rates with international prevalence data suggesting that depression is 10 times more prevalent now than it was in 1960 (Paradise & Kirby, 2005).

Mental illness has long been identified as one of the most significant threats to the health status of Maori and a leading Maori academic has suggested that due to the seriousness of this threat there was a need for the development of “innovative” public health measures and “appropriate clinical interventions” to better meet the needs of Maori clients (M. H. Durie, 1998). New Zealand mental health services have generally struggled to provide effective assessment and treatment to the Maori population perhaps best exemplified by the low rates of mental health service utilisation by Maori (Baxter, Kingi, Tapsell, & Durie, 2006).

## **Epidemiology of Depression**

Until recently little has been known about the prevalence rates of various mental illness

amongst the Maori population. Approximate estimations of prevalence have historically been gleaned from hospital admission data and suicide mortality rates, however it is widely acknowledged that this information has a range of limitations. Firstly, more common disorders such as depression and the anxiety disorders are more often managed within the community setting and do not require hospitalisation. Secondly, whilst a diagnosis of depression is the single most common factor shared by those who suicide, the majority of people with depression do not complete suicide.

Our understanding of prevalence within the New Zealand population was improved greatly in September 2006 with the release of the preliminary findings of Te Rau Hinengaro: The New Zealand Mental Health Survey (Oakley-Browne, Wells, & Scott, 2006). This large scale epidemiological study based on approximately 13000 interviews was commissioned by the Ministry of Health to examine the prevalence of mental illness in the general New Zealand population. One of the key objectives of this study was to describe the one-month, 12-month and lifetime prevalence rates of “major mental disorders” among New Zealanders over the age of 16.

The first significant point to emerge from this survey with regards to the prevalence of

depression amongst the New Zealand population was that major depressive disorder was the most common single disorder in terms of lifetime prevalence (16%), and the second most common single disorder in terms of 12-month prevalence (5.7%).

Of particular interest to the researchers was the mental health profile of the Maori population. Consequently a process of 'oversampling' was employed whereby the number of Maori included in the sample was doubled compared with what would have been expected using a standard random sampling technique. Amongst the findings were that in comparison with the composite group comprising non-Maori and non-Pacific peoples and in comparison with Pacific people, Maori had higher 12-month rates of anxiety, mood, substance use and eating disorders. These differences remained after adjusting for age, sex and socioeconomic correlates (Baxter, Kingi, Tapsell, & Durie, 2006).

The debilitating nature of depression is reflected in the diagnostic criteria for a 'Major Depressive Episode' as defined by DSM-IV which includes symptoms such as depressed mood, loss of interest, feelings of worthlessness, suicidal ideation as well as physical symptoms such as fatigue, insomnia and weight loss (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). Psychiatric research findings have suggested that recurrent depressive episodes can have a negative and cumulative neurotoxic effect (Shatzberg, Garlow, & Nemeroff, 2002; Sher & Mann, 2003). Depression also comes at a considerable societal cost impacting at multiple levels including; the medical resources and professional expertise expended in treating depression, loss of earnings and reduced production due to work absenteeism, early retirement, and premature mortality (Berto, D'Ilario, Ruffo, Di Virgilio, & Rizzo, 2000). Te Rau Hinengaro found that in New Zealand mood disorders caused the greatest disruption and interference with life as compared with other common mental health disorders.

Finally a pre-morbid diagnosis of depression has been found to be the single strongest correlate with suicide completion. This has considerable relevance to Maori as Te Rau Hinengaro found that Maori presented with significantly higher

rates of suicidal behaviour than the non-Maori/non-Pacific group (Oakley-Browne, Wells, & Scott, 2006).

### **Treatment of Depression**

A number of treatment options are available and routinely implemented for depression in its acute phase. These include a range of anti-depressant drugs and several empirically supported structured and time-limited psychological treatments. The majority of studies indicate that the most effective treatment for depression should involve a combination of psychotherapy and pharmacotherapy, although neither alone has also been found to be effective (Kaplan, Sadock, & Grebb, 1998). Of the psychological approaches available, cognitive-behavioural and interpersonal therapies have been identified as the 'gold standard' in the treatment of depression since the mid-1980s with an increasing volume of high quality empirical evidence supporting their use (Williams, 1992).

Cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) is a well established and widely used time-limited treatment for depression that evolved from Aaron Beck's cognitive therapy (Beck, 1964). Over the years various forms of CBT have been developed by major theorists including Albert Ellis (1962), Donald Meichenbaum (1977) and Arnold Lazarus (1976). This work culminated in the publication of a key manual over two decades ago that integrated cognitive therapy with behavioural techniques in the treatment of depression (Beck, Rush, Shaw, & Emery, 1979). Cognitive behavioural therapy employs a series of progressive interventions that target observable behaviour, dysfunctional automatic thoughts, and at the core level underlying cognitive schema.

Whilst a number of major studies have investigated and validated CBT as a highly effective treatment for depression, these studies have either not collected data related to ethnic identity, or lacked the statistical power to examine the response of ethnic minority groups to CBT due to their under-representation in sample groups (Miranda et al., 2005). In a supplemented report, the Surgeon General of the United States raised concerns that despite the existence of a range of treatments for mental disorder, minority groups were largely omitted

from efficacy studies (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). Sue and Zane (2006) state that the gap between research and practice is far more pronounced regarding our knowledge base of evidenced based practice and empirically supported therapies for racial and ethnic minority groups.

Criticism of CBT in relation to its appropriateness with minority groups has centred on a range of perceived deficiencies in the relevance of CBT among certain populations. For example the historically dichotomous relationship between science and spirituality is an area that has been identified by many as a barrier to the acceptability of CBT to certain populations. The importance placed on rational thinking, seeking objective evidence for thoughts and the reliance on empirical validation all suggest that CBT has its foundations firmly grounded in a scientific view of the world leading some authors to question the efficacy of CBT with clients who have more spiritually based beliefs (see for example Hirini, 1997; Organista, 2006).

In 1996 the Journal Cognitive and Behavioral Practice released a special issue entitled Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Cognitive and Behavioral Practice (Iwamasa, 1996). In this issue, Organista and Munoz (1996) examine the utility of CBT with the Latino population and comment on the culturally competent application of CBT to this population. Amongst other suggestions the authors recommend judicious self-disclosure in early sessions on the part of the therapist including the sharing of background information such as where they are from, their families, and work they have done. This is an important aspect of the building of trust with Latino clients. They also advocate the integration of religion into work with traditional or religious Latino clients and reinforce church attendance and prayer as activities that help clients deal with stress and negative mood states.

Hirini (1997) raised several concerns regarding the degree of congruence that cognitive behavioural therapy shares with a Maori worldview. Amongst other things, he cited the example that the promotion of assertiveness and independence may be a less relevant indicator of healthy social functioning among Maori. Hirini's sentiments are

further highlighted by the well known Maori whakatauki, 'kaore te kumara korero mo tona reka' which emphasises the importance placed on modesty and understatement within Maori society.

Based on a review of the literature Miranda et al (2005) strongly encouraged clinicians to provide evidence based care to ethnic minority populations emphasising the importance of "tailoring" this care to make it sensitive and more acceptable to the culture of the individual receiving treatment.

The incorporation of Maori customs and practices into more traditional approaches to therapy has been both aspired to and encouraged for many years. However, the lack of empirical evidence supporting the integration of innovative therapeutic techniques when working with Maori represents a dilemma of sorts for the discipline of clinical psychology. The foundation of clinical psychology and perhaps its key point of difference as compared to other helping professions is the strong emphasis on utilising empirically validated and proven methods.

This pilot study aims to make some preliminary steps in addressing this dilemma. The initial phase of this pilot study is to develop a CBT treatment protocol for adults experiencing depression in consultation with a cultural advisory group consisting of experts in the field of CBT and its application with Maori clients. The second phase of the study will be to pilot the protocol with two participants who are experiencing symptoms of depression.

## **Methodology**

### ***Protocol Development***

A semi-structured protocol was developed in consultation with a range of mental health professionals with considerable expertise in CBT and working with Maori in the field of mental health. These resource people consisted primarily of Clinical Psychologists of Maori descent however also included non-Maori Clinical Psychologists with experience and an interest in working with Maori. Additional resource people consulted were Kaumatua from Capital and Coast District Health Board (C&CDHB) and Hutt Valley District Health Board (HVDHB) as well as local Runanga groups representing Ngati Toa and Te Atiawa. These consultants gave advice on the types

of adaptations they had used, found useful and would recommend when working with Maori clients as well as culturally appropriate research conduct.

This protocol is described in detail in a manual developed for this study however in brief the protocol consists of 12 sessions of cognitive behavioural therapy for the treatment of major depressive disorder. The treatment procedure whilst remaining structurally similar to that prescribed by Beck et al (1979) aims to incorporate a range of adaptations as recommended by the advisory group consulted as part of the protocol development.

### ***Participant Recruitment and Treatment***

All participants for this pilot study were tangata whaiora (clients) of Te Whare Marie, a community mental health service that services Maori clients living in the Wellington, Porirua and Kapiti regions. Inclusion criteria were adult clients (over the age of 18) with a primary diagnosis of depression who had not received CBT previously. Whilst many studies of this type have excluded those with comorbid mental health diagnoses, feedback from the advisory group suggested that this did not reflect the clinical reality of working with Maori. Subsequently inclusion criteria were relaxed to ensure that prospective participants with comorbid mental health issues remained eligible for inclusion providing they had a diagnosis of depression. Prospective participants who met the above criteria were introduced to the study by their community mental health case managers. These prospective participants were then given an opportunity to read information about the study and ask questions of the researcher. Those who were willing to participate signed a consent form and were contacted by the researcher.

The CBT treatment was provided by the researcher who is a Senior Clinical Psychologist of Maori descent. Participants continued to receive treatment as usual from their community mental health service throughout the course of the CBT treatment. In most cases this involved antidepressant medication and case management. All participants initially engaged in a 3-week baseline phase during which a series of psychometric measures were administered. The first eight sessions were held on a weekly basis and then sessions were shifted to fortnightly for the

final four sessions. Follow-up data was collected 1 month and 6 months after treatment was completed.

### ***Measures***

A number of measures of both clinical and cultural relevance have been selected as part of a larger study. Constructs measured include automatic thoughts, attributional style, cultural identity, and well-being across the dimensions of Te Whare Tapa Wha. For the purposes of this pilot study the variation in the participants depression severity will be focused upon.

### ***Beck depression inventory – 2nd edition (BDI-II).***

The BDI-II is a 21-item self report measure with each answer scored on a scale ranging from 0 to 3. The cutoffs suggested by the authors to describe the severity of depression are: 0–13: minimal depression; 14–19: mild depression; 20–28: moderate depression; and 29–63: severe depression. The BDI-II has been shown to have a high one-week test-retest reliability (Pearson  $r = 0.93$ ), as well as high internal consistency ( $\alpha = .91$ ).

### ***Results***

These results will be presented in two sections. The first section will provide a brief summary of the outcome of the consultation process with a particular focus on the adaptations that were recommended by the advisory group. The second section will provide some preliminary single case study data regarding two of the initial participants to complete the treatment protocol.

### ***The Adapted Protocol***

Below is a brief summation of the specific alterations that were made to the protocol based on the feedback received from the groups consulted. Below is a list of the specific modifications that were integrated into the treatment protocol as well as a brief explanation.

- *Extended use of Maori metaphor including whakatauki (Maori proverbs) to guide sessions.* A series of appropriate whakatauki were identified that had relevance to therapeutic goals these were provided to clients in the form of flash cards.



- *Use of culturally relevant examples.* A series of vignettes were developed that had greater relevance to Maori client realities.
  - *Referral to a Maori model of health (Te Whare Tapa Wha).* Participants were introduced and oriented to Te Whare Tapa Wha at an early stage of treatment as a means of considering their strengths and weaknesses in several dimensions. This metaphor of a whare was extended to the cognitive formulation stage and included analogies between early life experiences and the 'foundation of the whare' as well as coping/protective strategies and the 'roof of the whare'.
  - *Opening and closing session with karakia or whakatauki.* Sessions opened with karakia or whakatauki depending on the individual clients comfort with this process, and translations given.
  - *Self-disclosure on the part of the therapist.* Specific and judicious self-disclosure by the therapist. Primary goal of this process to share whakapapa and establish connections with participant.
  - *Extended use of visual stimulus.* The use of visual approaches to formulation and thought recording
- was extended whereby all thought records (from basic through to extended) were completed in a diagrammatic form.
  - *Deeper exploration of whakapapa (genealogy) through the use of a genogram.* Use of a genogram in the initial sessions as part of the assessment process.
  - *Encouraging whanau involvement in sessions and treatment objectives.* Participants actively encouraged to include appropriate whanau in treatment both as participants in treatment objectives and attenders of sessions.
  - *Use of Maori language.* The use of Maori terminology and phrases where possible and appropriate both in general discussion during sessions as well as in CBT homework forms (e.g., activity schedules, thought records).

### The Case Studies

#### Case Study A

Figure 1 below shows the progress of a 62-year-old male kaumatua who participated in the study in terms of the severity of their depressive symptomatology.

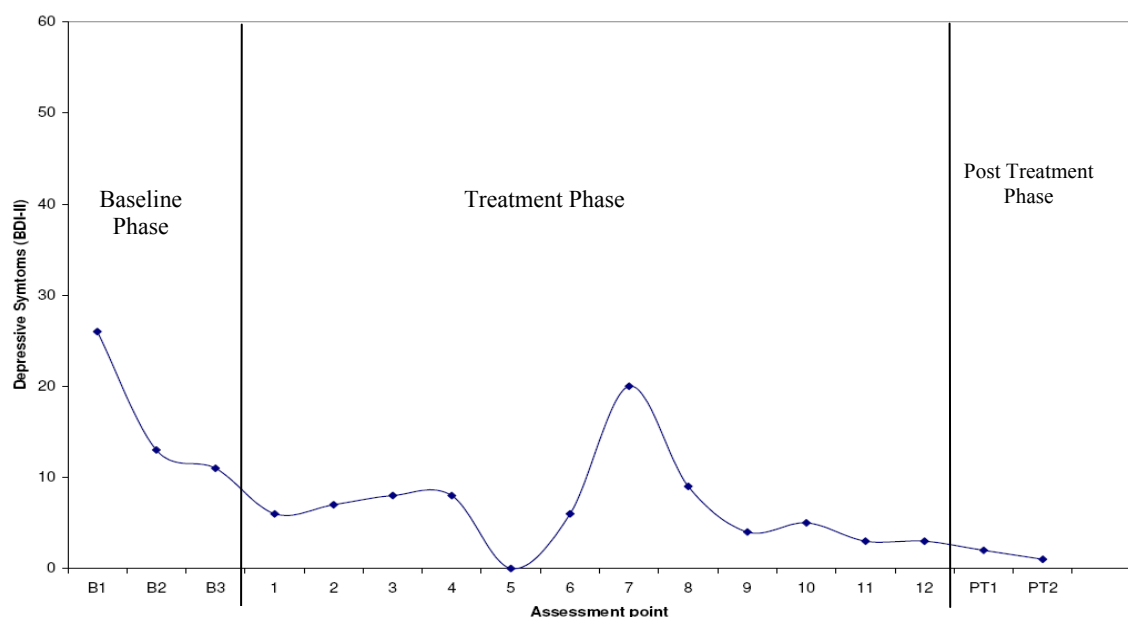


Figure 1. 62 year old male participant

Participant A progressed through treatment relatively successfully. His average BDI-II score during the baseline (no-treatment) phase of the protocol was 16.67 (mild depression range) and his scores ranged between the mild and moderate range for depression initially. During the treatment phase participant A's score ranged between the minimal and moderate range due to one significant 'spike' as seen at assessment point 7 explained by

an acutely stressful situation that arose for the participant during the course of therapy. Despite this his mean score during treatment of 6.58 (minimal depression range) was clearly lower than his baseline average. His post treatment average of 1.5 (minimal depression) also represented a substantial improvement as compared to his pre-treatment depression severity.

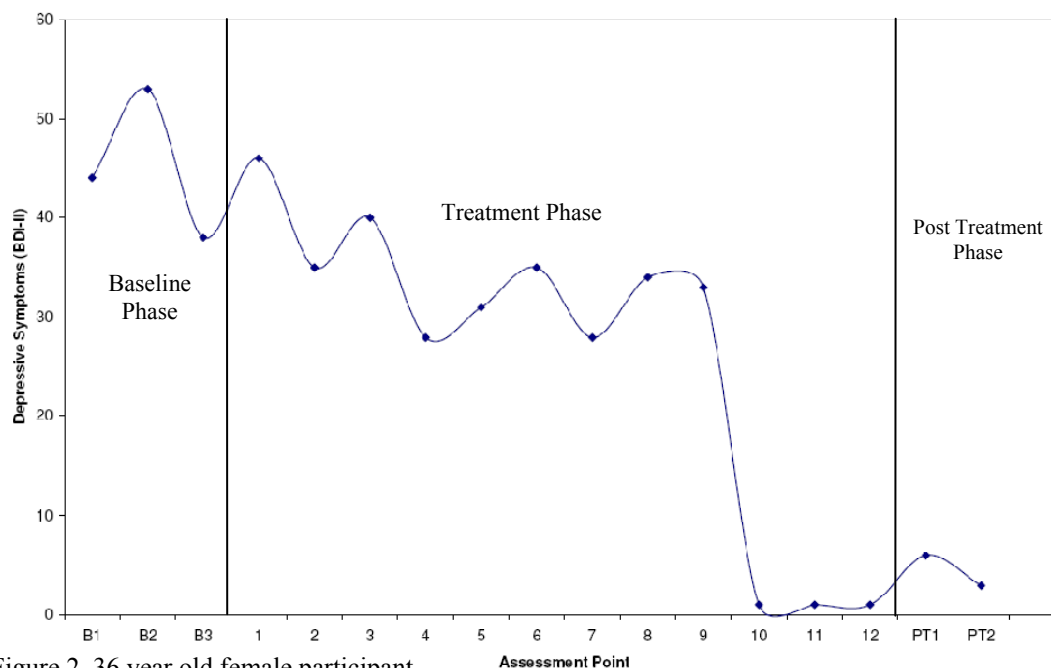


Figure 2. 36 year old female participant

### Case Study B

Figure 2 shows the progress of a 36-year-old female participant in terms of the severity of their depressive symptomatology as measured by the BDI-II.

Participant B's average BDI-II score during the baseline (no-treatment) phase of the protocol was 45.00 (severe range) and her scores were consistently within the severe range for depression. During the treatment phase the severity of participant B's depression fluctuated albeit with a gradual downward trend through the first 9 sessions however her depressive symptoms reduced dramatically following session 10. Whilst this reduction in symptoms was instigated by a positive change in Participant B's social context (the reconciliation of an important relationship) this change was mediated by a successful behavioural intervention discussed and planned as part of the treatment process. Her mean score

during the treatment phase of 26.08 (moderate range) was markedly lower than her pre-treatment average and her post treatment average of 4.5 (minimal depression) represented a substantial improvement as compared to pre-treatment depression severity.

### Discussion

Whilst the use of 'imported' therapeutic modalities (such as CBT) with the Maori population and in a New Zealand context has generated much dialogue and debate, this pilot study is the first piece of research that has sought to generate specific guidelines as to how CBT can be adapted to integrate relevant cultural constructs into the therapeutic package. It is also the first trial examining the clinical efficacy of CBT with Maori clients with any kind of disorder. Prior to considering the information generated as part of this study there are several limitations that should be acknowledged. The first issue relates to the

limited level of control that can be maintained over a community based population over a time span of approximately 4-months. As illustrated in both Case Study A and Case Study B variables outside of the therapy context resulted in increases and reductions in severity of depressive symptoms for the two participants.

There are also issues of control more specific to this study related to the relatively broad inclusion criteria employed. In working with a community population a range of issues are inevitably encountered with regards to the limited level of control able to be achieved. Unlike larger scale studies that have been conducted into depression which have screened participants to include only relatively 'pure' cases of single disorders this study has accepted participants presenting with various psychiatric co-morbidity, providing that their primary presenting issue is that of a depressive disorder. Increasingly however a number of criticisms of this traditional approach to empirically supporting therapies have emerged including that this 'sanitisation' of research populations does not reflect the reality of clinical practice (Westen, Novotny, & Thompson-Brenner, 2004). The feedback from the consultation with the C&CDHB and HVDHB was unanimous in their assertion that applying restrictive and rigid criteria would eliminate almost all of the current consumers of their services. Additionally all of the participants were simultaneously receiving treatment from Maori mental health services while they were participating in the study. Some were receiving antidepressants treatment via a psychiatrist while others were having case management input from a social worker or community mental health nurse thus creating additional sources of variation.

Whilst the single case study design utilised has advantages there are limitations with the small sample size limiting the extent to which these results can be generalised to other cases. Because of the importance of forming a positive therapeutic relationship when providing CBT, variation is often observed between therapists. The treatment provided as part of the study was delivered by a sole therapist and therefore caution must be exercised in attributing treatment success or failure directly to CBT. Despite this the sole therapist aspect of the design might also be considered a

strength as it controls for one of the largest sources of variation identified by other studies.

Another issue that manifested during the piloting of the treatment protocol, was the undoubted irony of delivering and adhering closely to a pre-ordained treatment protocol (in the interests of conducting a well controlled study), whilst simultaneously endeavouring to deliver a more culturally responsive therapeutic experience to depressed Maori adults. For example, neither of the individuals who participated in the pilot study chose to invite members of their whanau to any of their CBT appointments. This would become another source of uncontrolled variation should future participants elect to include whanau in the sessions. A decision was subsequently made in consultation with the advisory group to develop a less structured set of treatment guidelines.

As a result of the consultation process employed by this pilot study a series of alterations were made to a conventional CBT protocol for depression. These recommendations are outlined in the results section and included changes to both the structure and process of cognitive behavioural therapy. The notion that adapting a CBT treatment package to provide greater face validity when working with Maori, is in keeping with a growing body of international literature that has recommended adaptations to CBT when working with American Indians (McDonald & Gonzalez, 2006), Alaska Natives (Hays, 2006), Latinos and Latinas (Organista, 2006) and African Americans (Kelly, 2006) amongst other cultural groups.

There are undoubted parallels in the identified limitations of CBT in relation to other cultural groups and those identified by the consultation process employed by this study. McDonald and Gonzalez (2006) encourage therapists to incorporate the significance placed upon the concept of 'spirituality' when working with American Indian clients, a dimension that has long been acknowledged as critical to the identity of Maori (M. Durie, 1984; Hirini, 1997) and is also reflected by the inclusion of Te Whare Tapa Wha as a crucial formulative tool in the developed treatment protocol. Organista (2006) encourages "judicious self-disclosure" and "small talk" when initially working with Latino clients in order to put them at ease with the therapist as well as

incorporating their “strong family values” into the counselling approach. Recommendations which emerged from the consultation with the advisory group conducted for this study, included a degree of self-disclosure (e.g., the sharing of whakapapa) and the inclusion of whanau in treatment objectives.

Based on the treatment outcome of the two participants involved in the piloting of this treatment protocol it can be inferred at the very least that CBT demonstrates considerable promise when utilised with Maori clients experiencing symptoms of depression. Both clients experienced substantial decreases in the severity of their post-treatment depressive symptoms. Furthermore participants expressed high levels of satisfaction with therapy and initial qualitative feedback from clients regarding their treatment included the following:

*“I am now in a better position to analyse automatic thoughts which create negative moods”.*

*“It helped to think of the evidence for and against thereby allowing me to react in a more controlled proper way”*

*“The most important part of my treatment has been the CBT because for the first time... I was able to clearly understand what created moods leading to bad, violent behavioural patterns”*

*“It was good having someone put this stuff put into a Maori way of thinking”*

*“I really enjoyed working with a Maori counselor”.*

*“I really liked the whakatauki that we learnt, me and my son start each day now with ‘whakataka te hau....’ ”.*

This feedback has undoubtedly given a level of face validity to the treatment protocol. Firstly it suggests that CBT can be an effective intervention for Maori clients with depression. The final three comments also provide tentative support for the adaptation of CBT and the integration of cultural variables to enhance the therapy process when working with Maori.

Further research will involve delivering the adapted CBT protocol to a larger group of Maori clients presenting with depression. This will allow further inferences to be made about the efficacy of adapting CBT for the Maori population.

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# **Mental Health Inpatient Services: Improving our understanding of the needs of Maori when acutely unwell**

**Julie Wharewera-Mika**

**(Ngati Awa, Tuhoe, Te Whanau a Apanui)**

*University of Auckland*

*"Ahakoa te momo mate, whakanuia tangata"*

*This whakatauki is an expression of hope; regardless of illness or disease, people deserve dignity and respect and the opportunity to become well again (MOH, 2006).*

*There are many possible explanations for the pattern of Maori over-representation in mental health acute services. This research project focuses on how services can optimally meet the needs of Maori to improve outcomes. This doctoral research in progress is about claiming space for Maori to have a voice in identifying factors that contribute to recovery and Whanau Ora, and offering recommendations to improve the effectiveness of existing services to better meet the needs of Maori Tangata Whaiora and Whanau.*

Despite improvements in Maori health over the past four decades, disparities continue between Maori and non-Maori. Current mental health statistics reported in Te Rau Hinengaro (2006) found the prevalence of mental disorders in Maori to be high with 50.7% of Maori experiencing a mental disorder over their lifetime, 29.5% in the past 12-months, and 18.3% in the previous month. The most common disorders among Maori were anxiety, substance use, and mood disorders, with lifetime prevalence of any disorder highest in Maori aged 25-44 and lowest in those aged 65 and over. Of Maori with any mental disorder, 29.6% had serious disorders, 42.6% moderate disorders and 27.8% mild disorders.

Mental health policy development in the 1990s was aimed at decreasing the prevalence of mental illness and mental health problems within the community, to increase the health status of, and reduce the impact of mental disorders on those it affects (MoH, 1994), and to provide recommendations, strategies and guidance on how to achieve more and better mental health services (MoH, 1997).

The Blueprint for mental health services developed in 1998 by the Mental Health Commission

identified 'how things need to be' in mental health, and introduced the recovery approach to services. Recovery was defined as "happening when people can live in the presence or absence of mental illness" (MHC 1998), and described as "a journey as much as a destination" being a personal and social process. According to the recovery approach the experience of mental illness is seen as having some positive aspects for the individual and their community, as well as bringing challenges, losses and disability; with Tangata Whaiora leadership seen as crucial to making recovery a reality. The recovery approach provided guidance for how services should be delivered such as, the least restrictive setting with the least coercion, a variety of treatment options, minimising disruption to people's lives and enabling people to fully participate in the service and in wider society. Holistic concepts of Maori health which were beginning to be articulated within health services and health policy at the time were also discussed in the Blueprint, with the emergence of Whanau Ora as a unifying concept, bringing together Maori aspirations around mental health and broader Maori development goals, and seeing mental health as rooted in a bi-cultural identity. Whanau Ora can be seen as an extension from recovery which is conceptualised as an individual process, focused

solely on the attainment of individual anatomy, where Whanau Ora is much broader and rests within a context of inclusiveness, collectiveness and interdependence (MHC, 2006).

Acute inpatient mental health services are for people with severe and acute symptoms who need 24 hour care in a safe environment. With the introduction of recovery focused policies many services have and are striving to improve the therapeutic environment. However within Aotearoa, acute services are typically 15-60 bed wards on general hospital sites, communal dining rooms, seclusion rooms and secure areas for people in intensive care. The main interventions are medication and containment, with many people there under the Mental Health Act (1999) and on medication (MHC, 2006).

The Mental Health Commission (MHC) (2006) has been very critical of acute services, reporting that New Zealand acute mental health services often fail to respond well to people in acute crises, with the services themselves often in crisis. It was also reported that people in crisis are often turned away by crisis and acute mental health services, and Tangata Whaiora admitted to hospital-based acute services often find them frightening, impersonal and untherapeutic. The discussion paper suggested acute mental health services must be accessible, acceptable and effective in order to promote healing, and encouraged the development of recovery-focused acute services in peoples own homes or in a community setting, as opposed to hospital settings (MHC, 2006).

Maori continue to enter acute services at a rate that is disproportionately higher than other population groups (MoH, 2004; MoH, 2006), twice that of non-Maori and two-and-a-half times that of Pacific peoples (MoH, 2004), with admission rates high (Fitzgerald, 2004), and readmission rates even higher (Johnstone & Read, 2000). In a study of readmission rates in the Counties Manukau DHB catchment area, Fitzgerald (2004) found that although Maori had a significantly higher proportion of first admissions to the acute service than non-Maori, the readmission rate was not significantly different than that of non-Maori. Similarly to other studies, Maori were significantly over-represented in the proportion of first admissions, making up 32% of the first admission inpatients compared to the 17% of the South Auckland population they occupy (Jackson et al., 2001). With the high number of Maori utilising these types of services we need to ensure that they

are effectively meeting Maori needs in order to improve outcomes.

There have been very few NZ based evaluations of acute services conducted other than from standard hospital audits. There is a strong need for outcomes to be assessed for Tangata Whaiora accessing services to assess whether services are responsive to Tangata Whaiora needs, and whether services are making a positive difference in people's lives.

The MHC (2001) sought people's views of NZ acute services through Tangata Whaiora forums in all but 1 of the 21 DHBs. There were some positive comments on the improving attitudes of staff and on new or renovated buildings, but most were negative. It was common for Tangata Whaiora in services to experience a restrictive institutional experience, overcrowding, physical, verbal, or sexual violence, or the fear of it, traumatic experiences in seclusion, lack of empathetic attention from staff, over-reliance on medication, lack of psychological assistance, and boredom.

In a later study conducted by the MHC (2005) investigating Tangata Whaiora views of mental health service quality in general, almost all respondents reported that services had improved from 10 years ago with staff attitudes much better. However in this study the strongest levels of dissatisfaction were focused on acute services. Many issues have been raised about the standard of care provided, poor continuity of care, poor quality treatment, being treated badly, being overly medicated, not being able to access newer medications, a failure to treat Tangata Whaiora with dignity and respect, language barriers, a lack of information, and being discharged too soon or not quickly enough. Acute services need to be formally evaluated, and there needs to be more vigorous inquiry into what works in mental health services.

Many policies and guidelines identify the importance of health services meeting the needs of Maori (MoH, 1998; MoH, 2002; MoH, 2005) however little research has provided information into what Tangata Whaiora identify their needs to be to improve service delivery.

Research focused on Tangata Whaiora journeys of recovery has provided valuable information into this knowledge gap. Lapsley, Nikora, & Black (2002) conducted a study that supported the recovery process for Tangata Whaiora, with

specific influences of recovery relating to whanau care, understanding a Maori framework of mental health, Maori healing, cultural aspects within general mental health services, and Maori mental health services. In addition, some Tangata Whaiora Maori found an appropriate cultural setting beneficial, and some were helped by just seeing a Maori face. The dimension of spirituality was also found significant in relation to both illness and recovery, along with strengthening their Maori identity.

Likewise, Dyll and colleagues (1999), in their study of Maori expectations of mental health services, identified a common expectation across Tangata Whaiora Maori to receive services in a Maori environment from Maori people. This included the importance of having control over their lives to support "tino rangatiratanga" for Maori at both an individual and a collective level, the need for Maori mental health services within acute settings, and for "Maori faces for Maori cases at Maori places." With this development it was seen that, "kaumatua and kuia will be involved, Tangata Whaiora and Whanau members will be less isolated from the Maori community and there will be greater respect to Maori as a Treaty of Waitangi partner"; and finding that the lack of Maori content in Maori care means that mental health services are unlikely to achieve the outcomes Maori want. Maori participation in all aspects of mental health such as planning, delivering and monitoring was also highlighted. Maori need be actively involved in defining and prioritising their health needs, recognising that, over time, this will aid in reducing the high admission and readmission rates of Tangata Whaiora Maori into acute mental health services.

### **The Research Project**

A number of years working with Maori in an acute service resulted in the passion to conduct Maori centred research in this specific setting. This research project emerged through having general korero with Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau about their experiences in acute services highlighting incidents indicating that their needs within the existing services could be better met. The ideas raised were then discussed with acute service kaupapa Maori workers, other Maori health workers, consumer advisors and researchers prior to developing the research area, aims and methodology.

From this and ongoing consultation, this research project was proposed to address the identifiable

gap in current knowledge base, research and practise for Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau accessing acute services. The project aims to review the extent and nature of the mental health needs amongst Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau from an acute mental health service in a DHB catchment area. The overall aim of the project is to contribute to improved outcomes for Maori in gaining a better understanding of the factors that contribute to recovery and Whanau Ora, offering recommendations from a Maori perspective, to improve the effectiveness of existing services.

### **Specific Aims**

*Stage One Aims:* A review and investigation of Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau needs from an acute mental health service will be investigated;

- Current baseline information relating to Tangata Whaiora Maori admission and readmission, types of therapeutic interventions offered and provided within the service (identifying the general pattern of care for Maori).
- The needs of Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau from the acute service, identifying 'needs' directly from their perspectives
- The therapeutic interventions offered by this acute service Tangata Whaiora Maori and whanau find helpful and unhelpful in order to promote recovery
- Whanau needs from this acute service when Tangata Whaiora are acutely mentally unwell (from a Whanau and Tangata Whaiora Maori perspective); and
- The needs (in general) of Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau when acutely unwell.

*Stage Two Aims:* The effectiveness of this acute service in meeting the needs of Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau will be investigated

- To better understand 'what works' for Maori as well as identify any areas in need of improvement.

### **Methodology**

This research project utilises a qualitative design with semi-structured interviews, within a kaupapa Maori framework. This study was designed as qualitative research involving in-depth interviews, with approximately 25 Tangata Whaiora and 15 whanau (aged 18+-years) in the discharge phase of their admission, with the intention of exploring their narratives of their acute service experience and recovery journey. Potential participants are Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau within the DHB catchment area, who have had at least one recent admission (within 18 months) to the acute



service, and their Whanau. Quantitative data will also be collected via a questionnaire and the outcome tools HONOS, and Hua Oranga, and the HCC database (a computer based system for collecting and storing clinical documentation and data)

*Stage One:* Semi-structured interviews, within a kaupapa Maori approach will be used to explore the opinions of Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau on what they needed from an acute service. The use of semi-structured interviews in qualitative methods has been suggested as the appropriate technique for this area of health research knowledge among different cultural groups allowing for in-depth interviews enabling the interviewer to collect views on Maori needs at all levels, reducing any possible constraints (Bowling, 1997). An advantage of this approach is that more complex issues can be probed and answers clarified in a more relaxed environment, as it provides more in-depth discussion. This method also recognises the importance and power of Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau stories or narratives, as it involves the systemic collection, analysis and interpretation of spoken words and the meanings they give to their experiences (Lapsley et al., 2002).

The kaupapa Maori approach relates to the process of privileging Maori values and attitudes in order to develop a research framework that is “culturally safe” (Smith, 1999), and contributes to useful outcomes for Maori. The face-to-face interaction also supports the kaupapa Maori principle of ‘he kanohi kitea’ - people meeting face to face so that trust and the relationship between the researcher and participants can be further built upon (Smith, 1999). This qualitative approach aims to enrich the understanding of the needs of Maori from an acute service and to contribute in achieving better mental health outcomes for Maori.

*Stage Two:* Questionnaires regarding demographic information, admission details and ethnicity, as well as brief questions relating to the Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau view of whether or not their ‘needs’ were met will be a part of the quantitative component to the study. In addition, the Hua Oranga Health Outcome measurement tool (Kingi & Durie, 2002) will be utilised.

### **Analysis**

The interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. Narrative and thematic analysis will be used to analyse interview text and to develop a picture of Tangata Whaiora Maori and Whanau journeys.

Questionnaires used to collect Demographic data will be analysed using descriptive statistics. Responses to questions from the questionnaire will be analysed with descriptive statistics (percentages, means, and ranks) and appropriate analyses (t-test, ANOVA, Chi square) to ascertain any relationship to demographic groupings.

The Hua Oranga outcome measure scores will be calculated according to the procedure outlined by Kingi and Durie (2000). Appropriate analyses (t-test, ANOVA, Chi square) will be conducted to ascertain any relationship between responses.

### **Progress**

This study is currently in the data collection phase. *“To do this work you must have a belief in recovery in which hope and respect are absolutely crucial but also a belief in oranga. You must have an acceptance of people, patience, be non-judgemental, have responsibility, aroha, unconditional love for people (that’s hard sometimes), humour, strength, skills, persuasion, commitment, convictions, passion, manaakitanga, tautoko. Just being a good person” (Milne, 2001, p15)*

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Address for correspondence:

Julie Wharewera-Mika  
Department of Psychology, City Campus  
University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019  
Auckland Mail Centre 1142  
New Zealand  
[j.wharewera-mika@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.wharewera-mika@auckland.ac.nz)

# **Hoea a Mai Tōu Waka – Claiming Spaces for Māori Tamariki and Rangatahi in Cognitive Behaviour Therapy**

**Tania Cargo**

*Ngāti Manu, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Maru*

*Lecturer Psychological Medicine, University of Auckland*

*Senior Clinical Psychologist, He Kakano, Counties Manukau District Health Board.*

Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT) has been shown to be an effective therapeutic intervention for a variety of psychological difficulties for children and youth (Barrett, Healey-Farrell, March, 2004; Stulemeijer, de Jong, Fiselier, Hoogveld, Bleijenberg, 2005; Butler, Chapman, Forman & Beck, 2006). However there is very little literature on its utility with indigenous children or youth, most of the literature has tended to look at “minority” populations and has focused on psychological outcomes (Weersing & Weisz, 2002; McNeil, Capage, Bennett, 2002).

As a Māori clinical psychologist I was trained in CBT as the preferred model of psychological intervention. However we were only taught how to use CBT with adults and we had no opportunities to explore how children, let alone Māori children and their whānau, would relate to, experience or respond to CBT. Some years later I had the opportunity (sponsored by the Werry Centre), to do more specialist training in CBT through the Beck Institute for Cognitive Therapy and Research (USA) and subsequently I become an Academy of Cognitive Therapy (ACT) certified Cognitive Therapist. In 2006 (as part of my work for the Werry Centre) my colleague (Nikki Coleman) and I, designed a two-day workshop in CBT with New Zealand kids and teens. The workshops were called “Skate Into Skills” and were presented at eight regional workshops to over 250 child and adolescent practitioners in New Zealand.

In the workshops we introduced our “Skateboard Model” (see Figure1) which utilised a skateboard as a metaphor to both explain and work with kiwi kids and teens. The model was based on the

Greenberger & Padesky (1995) 5-part model of CBT and on our knowledge and feedback from Kiwi kids/teens. According to Greenberger & Padesky (1995) “Cognitive therapists assess thoughts, feelings, behaviours, biology and environment in understanding the origin of client problems” (p.4). These 5 areas are interconnected, each part influencing the others. A Cognitive Therapist can intervene then in any of these areas to help a client, however CBT places particular emphasis on identifying and evaluating thoughts and their connection to behavioural change (Greenberger & Padesky, 1995).

In our Skateboard Model we simplified the language to more readily fit with kiwi kids/teens (what happened, thoughts, feelings, body, and actions). We included the 5-parts as in Greenberger and Padesky (1995) model but we also placed some emphasis on the systemic and cultural factors, which are located in the area called the Skatepark. This allows us to use the metaphor of riding a skateboard, (which is something you are in control of), alongside riding it in a skatepark (where you don’t necessarily control things). We use this metaphor to socialise kids/teens into the idea of CBT. We discuss how initially you may only skate around the edges of the skatepark, but as your skills increase you will be more able to tackle some of the other obstacles in the park.

With very young tamariki we will use models of skateboards and plastercine to show them what happens when one of the wheels (thinking, feeling, acting, body) is “unbalanced”, out of shape, or too big. They learn through “doing” in an active way,

and through experimentation which is also a key CBT strategy. We then extend the metaphor to talk about what kind of ride they would get if they rode this type of skateboard with an unbalanced wheel. This type of interaction allows us to demonstrate some key CBT principles:

- All parts of the system are interconnected
- Thoughts and feelings are different
- CBT is something that you are in control of (just like riding a skateboard)

There are some things that you can't change (in the skatepark) but you can ride around them. This model works well with Māori tamariki who are into skateboarding and who aren't yet ready to explore other cultural issues such as the use of Te Reo or their own sense of what it means to be Māori. With older children we teach them to catch their thoughts and feelings by filling in a paper representation of the skateboard (our thought record). Once they are able to do this for themselves we then extend the metaphor further and include a "cognitive restructuring" exercise.

To do this we take the "thinking wheel" to the Skateboard shop to get "a fit and balance". It is balanced, by finding all the facts that supports the hot thought and those that don't. Then the new "fitted and balanced" wheel with a balanced thought is put back onto the skateboard. Then the tamariki are encouraged to check what kind of ride this might be with this new "balanced" wheel.

As well as the Skateboard Model, I also developed the "Te Waka" model (see Figure 2). The significance to Māori of waka is an ideal way to start the journey of cultural identity and to teach about CBT. In this model, a Waka with only 4 paddlers is used. The Waka itself represents the "what happened" and each of the paddles represents "thoughts, feelings, actions, and body", while the river that the waka sits on represents those things that they can't control. Again it is a similar process to using the skateboard model, in that we experiment using models of waka, building their own out of clay, or what it would be like if the paddles were different sizes.

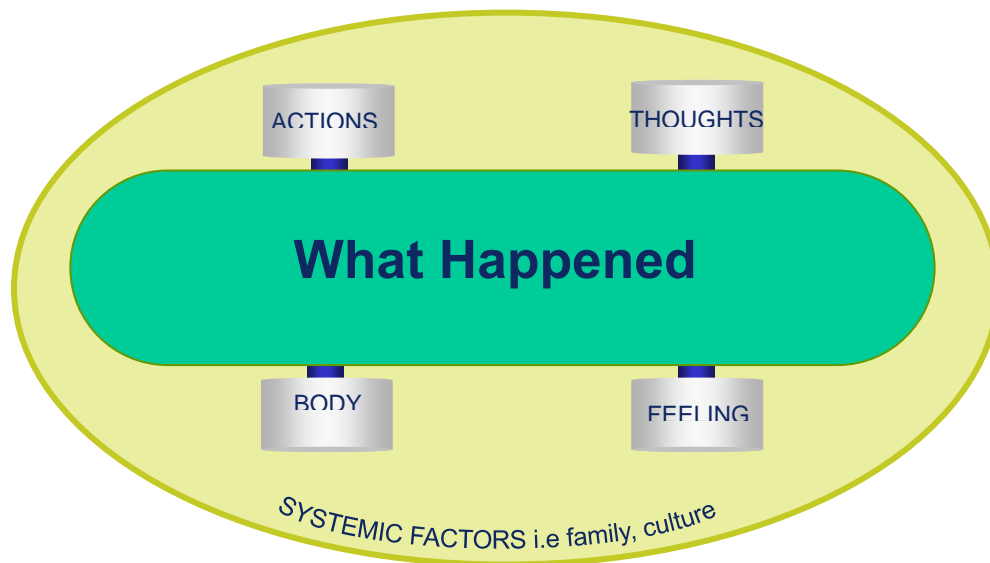


Figure 1. Cargo & Coloman Skateboard Model (2006)

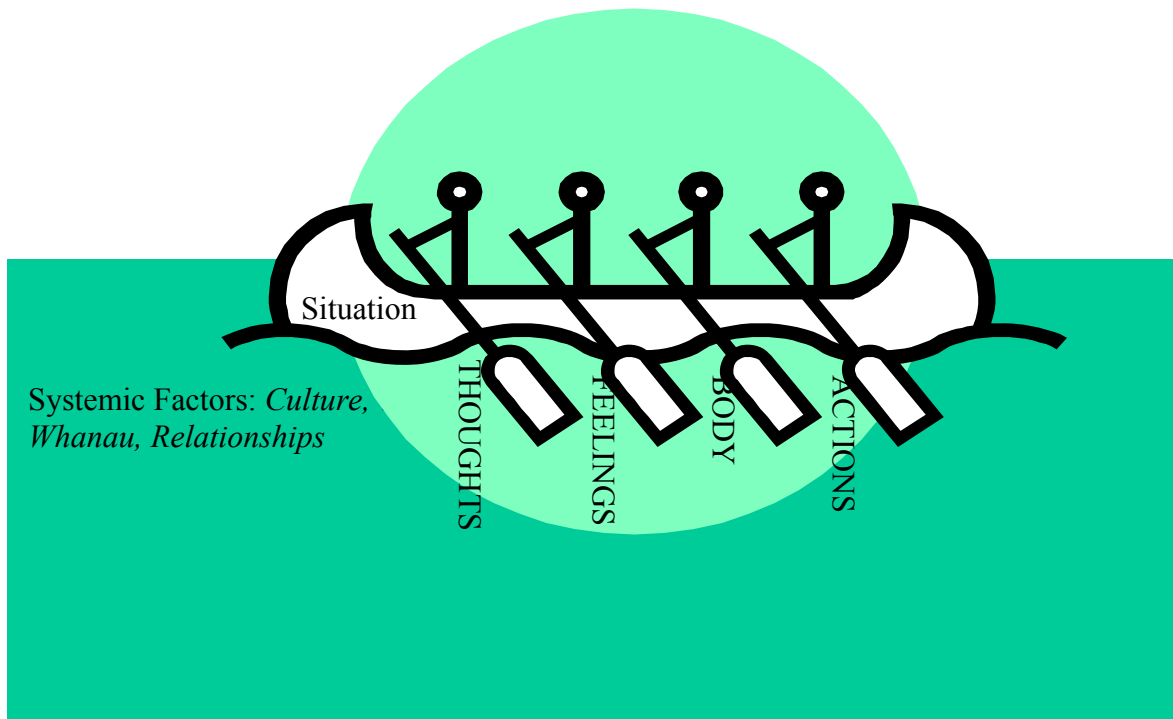


Figure 2. Cargo Te Waka Model (2006).

They also get to talk about their own waka, from their Iwi. If they don't know this information we are able to problem solve about who they might be able to ask about their waka, or get support from our cultural advisor or Kaumatua. They then present what they found at the next session. This also adds to their ability to use the waka as a symbol that reinforces their own cultural identity with their tribal group. They often make their own waka to remind themselves about the things they are learning.

### **So What Is CBT?**

CBT is a model of therapy that can be used as part of a comprehensive psychological intervention for Māori tamariki/rangātahi and their whānau. It is important that Māori whānau also have access to cultural resources alongside any western models so that they are supported, at all levels, to develop a strong and secure Māori identity which evidence suggests is a culturally unique protective factor (Lawson, 1998; Durie, 2001; Huriwai, 2002).

CBT is a structured, time limited, goal oriented, skills focused, "here and now", individually tailored treatment model. It teaches skills that tamariki can use to "take control" of how they

feel when things happen in their lives. Each session is uniquely designed to suit the tamariki you are working with. A full cultural and clinical assessment ensures that you understand the tamariki and their whānau view of the issues and that they have control over the goals for their work.

The basic premise of CBT is that "dysfunctional thinking (which influences mood and behaviour) is common to all psychological disturbances" (Beck, 1976) and that realistic evaluation and modification of this dysfunctional thinking will produce an improvement in mood and behaviour. There are four basic tenets which the CBT practitioner needs to be able to teach tamariki, rangātahi and whānau. Firstly, the same event can happen to all of us (even at the same time) but how we feel about it can be completely different for each of us (depending on what we tell ourselves about the event). Secondly, what we think and how we feel are inextricably linked. Thirdly, feelings can change really quickly, and finally that "we all have the power to change how we feel".

### **So What Is CBT Structure?**

I have included what the structure of a CBT session might look like when working with Māori tamariki, with the corresponding CBT terms (see Table 1). Structure is important and containing for Māori tamariki, who may not know what a psychologist is or does.

Table 1. Protocol Of A CBT Session With Māori Tamariki

Karakia	
Whakawhānaungātangā	Mood Check
Kei Hea Tōu Mahi?	Homework Review
He Aha Tōu Whakaaro Mo Tērā Wiki?	Link To The Last Session
He Aha Te Raruraru Mo Tēnei Wiki?	Agenda Topics For This Week
Ngā Mahi	Prioritising The Topics
He Aha Ngā Mahi Mo Whakaako?	Homework Set
He Aha Tōu Whakaaro?	Feedback
Karakia	

This kawa that we set for the work we will do is based on the pōwhiri process. Thus tamariki know what to expect each time we do some work (even when the venue changes). Using the pōwhiri process as a guide opens up the avenues to reinforce their own cultural knowledge about what happens on a Marae, then more specifically on their own Marae. I have developed a pōwhiri quiz game where cards have Māori words on one side and English definitions on the other. They answer the quiz or figure out people to ask that might know the answers. It also helps with strengthening whānau relationships. The structure that I use, still holds true to the CBT model but it also allows Māori the opportunity to utilise karakia, waiata and whakatāuāki as ways to support the learning that happens in session. This way I feel that CBT is able to support the more holistic view of health that Māori hold (Durie, 2004).

### **So What About the Homework?**

Whilst all the steps that occur in a session are fairly straight forward, the homework section is the most challenging. The number one way to get Māori kids not to do it, is to call it homework. So using sports analogies can be the most useful as lots of Māori tamariki play some kind of sport or are involved in some kind of cultural activity that requires practice. So the image of a coach and team are used - at the start when you are new to the sport you might have more practice to do, but as you get better you'll have less. Netball, rugby, basketball, league, waka ama and kapa haka are key images that Māori tamariki come up with. In fact many of my most successful ideas have come from the tamariki themselves. For example one of my rangatahi designed a new way to do "cognitive restructuring". She used a basketball and bounced it to show how much it was annoying her, then she "slam dunked" it. The next session she added a new more balanced thought to it as she "slam dunked it". It is being creative and finding ways that tamariki can get the skills and keep it fun.

Another way to guarantee homework failure is to set too much, or to make it boring. The best way I have discovered is to have rangatahi text me their homework. Mobile phones are sophisticated and many of the tamariki I work with have them from about 10 years of age. So they are really useful sources of homework. The tasks and skills they can practice using mobile phones is only limited by our lack of creativity. Mobile phones can be used to collect their stink thoughts and feelings. They can change the ring tone to a piece of music they have practiced their relaxation exercises to, or that makes them feel confident, or that reminds them to practice a certain task. They can record themselves giving themselves some strategies on how to keep calm. They can create a picture on the front that also has a coping statement on it, such as "ALL BLACK ON DISPLAY WALK AWAY", which was used with a rangatahi who wanted to be an All Black, but had difficulty walking away from trouble. This reminded him that if he wanted to

be an All Black he would need to be able to control himself better. Anything is possible and tamariki and rangatahi are the experts in what motivates them, so use all their ideas. CBT is particularly interested in getting honest feedback from tamariki. Once they trust you really want the feedback, they will give it to you. I have also been amazed at how much more this adds to the sessions when they are able to be more creative and organise what strategies they want to try or what they already know works for them.



### **So What Qualities Do Māori CBT Practitioners Need?**

Māori CBT practitioners need to have all the usual things: a sound therapeutic alliance (if you can't relate to tamariki, or they aren't ready to change then it will not work); an evolving and accurate formulation about why this tamariki is having these difficulties at this time in his/her/their lives; and sessions which are fun, structured, time limited, goal oriented, "here and now" skills focused and individually tailored for them. But you will also need a really good sense of humour. "Don't say it if you can play it"; "don't write it, if you can draw it"; an ability to keep whānau on board; and an awareness of

what goals the tamariki/rangatahi has. It is also an advantage to be able to korero Māori and have a cultural advisor or kaumatua/kuia on board to provide other expertise that you may lack.

I have also found that creating a questionnaire, helps us to remember that CBT for Māori tamariki/rangatahi is also about strengthening their cultural identity. I created a Questionnaire (see Table 2) called the "Cargo Cultural Identity Questionnaire" (CCIQ). In trialing this questionnaire and it seems to really help to remind us of some of the issues we might need to be working on. The tamariki fill it out twice; first in Blue Pen – to show where they feel they are when they first start in the work together; then in Red Pen – where they would like to be at the end of our work together. Tamariki decide when and where they would like to do this work, for example here, with whānau, with our cultural advisors or cultural therapist, or a youth worker etc. But we make sure we come back to it on a regular basis. It is not a comprehensive tool at all, but a place to start the kōrero. This work may take place in session or in association with other cultural therapists.

Table 2. Cargo Cultural Identity Questionnaire (CCIQ)

Statement <i>Blue pen- where you are now</i> <i>Red pen - where you want to be</i>	How much you agree with this statement   (1 not at all ----- 5 totally)
WAIKUA	
I feel comfortable when karakia is performed	1-----2-----3-----4-----5
I feel comfortable when asked to perform a karakia	1-----2-----3-----4-----5
HINENGARO	
I feel comfortable talking about my thoughts and feelings	1-----2-----3-----4-----5
I feel comfortable using Te Reo when talking about my thoughts and feelings	1-----2-----3-----4-----5
TINANA	
I believe that problems can affect my body	1-----2-----3-----4-----5
I notice my actions are connected with my thoughts and feelings	1-----2-----3-----4-----5

WHĀNAU	
I feel comfortable talking with (at least 1 member of) my whānau when I have problems	1-----2-----3-----4-----5
I would like my whānau to be involved in the work here	1-----2-----3-----4-----5
Using Māori images is important for me	1-----2-----3-----4-----5

### Summary

Hopefully I have been able to show that if you are Māori, passionate about working with Māori and really know both the CBT model and Māori models you can create a Māori space within CBT for our Māori tamariki, rangatahi and their whānau. To me it is about knowing the limitations of the model and not expecting that it

can deliver all things to all Māori. But it is a model that has been shown to have some good outcomes for some psychological disorders that many of our whānau struggling with. I believe that some of both is possible, with Māori models and interventions, and if needed other models such as CBT which can support other ways of knowing.

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# **Utilising Maturanga Maori to Improve the Social Functioning of Tangata Whaiora in Maori mental health Services**

**Rebecca Wirihana**

*Kapua Awatea Māori Mental Health Services  
Auckland District Health Board*

## **Introduction**

Maori mental health services under the Auckland District Health Board (ADHB) have been utilising Maturanga Maori as a key community based intervention since the closing of the kaupapa Maori inpatient service (Manawaanui) in 2003. Kapa haka has been a central component in the provision of the marae based recovery programmes. The following paper is a review of the development and progress of this programme over the past three years.

## **A Brief History**

ADHB Maori mental health services have continued through a process of metamorphose since the closing of Carrington hospital. Three kaupapa Maori based units were developed to provide an alternative to mainstream inpatient environments for Maori. The third kaupapa Maori unit (Manawaanui - a male only service) was closed in 2003. The closing of this unit led to the subsequent development of community based kaupapa Maori packages of care for Maori with high complex mental health needs. In conjunction with the package of care team, the two community support work services were also aligned to provide a community based Maori mental health service.

## **Tangata Whaiora Surveys**

A number of tangata whaiora surveys and feedback focus groups were conducted towards the end of 2004 to establish the types of supports, resources and programmes tangata whaiora would prefer to receive from our service. The large majority of feedback indicated a desire for access to Te Reo Maori and Tikanga Maori programmes. Requests

continue to be made for access to Te Reo Maori classes. The feedback received through these surveys served to strengthen and enhance the provision of kaupapa Maori recovery programmes.

## **Kapa Haka Recovery Programme Programme Development**

The kapa haka programme is based on the Whare Tapa Wha model (Durie, 2001) of well being and began in the community towards the end of 2004 with approximately 5-10 regular members. The initial focus of the group was to provide a forum for tangata whaiora to meet with kaumatua and enable opportunities to engage in whaikorero (formal speeches), mihimihi (formal greetings), waiata (song) and haka. This group consisted primarily of men who had been involved with the Manawaanui inpatient service.

During 2005 the kapa haka group was coordinated and led by the Kapua Awatea community support work service. The focus for the programme became oriented towards learning the art of performing waiata, haka and moteatea. During 2006-2007 the number of female members continued to slowly increase.

Currently the Manawaanui roopu consists of approximately twenty to twenty five regular members. The programme is conducted on a weekly basis and lasts for two hours per session and is followed by lunch. Kapa haka continues to have consistent weekly attendance. The regular attendance of tangata whaiora supports the importance of tangata whaiora feedback in the development and implementation of mental health services.

### ***Kapa haka Programme outline***

The programme session includes the following components:

- Mihimihi - Formal greetings
- Karakia - Prayer
- Waiata - Songs
- Haka - War dance
- Waiata tira - Chorals
- Himene - Hymn
- Kai - Lunch

Kapa haka continues to be led with the support of kaumatua within the ADHB who provide karakia and opportunity for tangata whaiora to learn and engage in mihimihi, whaikorero and kaikaranga roles. The kapa haka programme also facilitates the powhiri process for new tangata whaiora entering the service.

### ***Participants***

The entry criteria for the kapa haka programme include people with a major mental health diagnosis currently under the care of the ADHB community mental health service. Participants also have a desire to engage in kaupapa Maori mental health services.

### ***Evaluating outcomes***

More recently the kapa haka programme has been working towards developing effective outcome measures of tangata whaiora involvement in kaupapa Maori based interventions. This includes the implementation of the Hua Oranga measure (Kingi, 1999). Tentative results have indicated individual improvements although future research could indicate immediate and long term benefits of kaupapa Maori based interventions.

*Tangata whaiora feedback and participation -  
"Learning about Maori culture has strengthened my soul"*

Throughout the kapa haka programme a number of anecdotal comments from tangata whaiora have indicated the positive impacts the programme has had on their process of recovery. The programme has offered a place for people to connect with others and develop socially valid relationships - "These people are my lifeline". Furthermore it

allows a pathway towards strengthening self through identity - "I am now beginning to have a sense of identity...it has given me confidence and a sense of belonging".

Working from a marae based setting also provides a safe Maori environment where people can access support from staff and or tangata whaiora involved in the service - "We like it here, we feel safe when we're here".

Most importantly kapa haka has provided people a space to learn that can include participation from their wider whanau connections - "Performing will give us something to show our families".

### ***Conclusion***

Kaupapa Maori based interventions or by Maori for Maori services have long been identified as integral to the future health outcomes of Maori (Durie, 2000). It is with this view that the ongoing promotion of programmes such as kapa haka and Te Reo Maori forums are utilised to promote healthier lifestyles for Maori. Furthermore collecting and utilising tangata whaiora feedback has been central to the development and maintenance of the kapa haka programme. Future research and development of these programmes are a necessary and vital component for Maori particularly within mental health settings.

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## A Nui Wave encountering Psychology from the shores of the Pacific

Siautu Alefaio

Monash University

*The world-view of Pacific nations which lie within the vast ocean of the South Pacific is yet to be uncovered in the world of psychology. Since the first wave of migrants to the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, many differing pathways have evolved for the children of the Pacific sojourners. Pasefika youth are emerging as an influential force in youth culture today. However, these highly visible pockets of Pasefika talent mask the reality of overcrowded housing, poor health, low-incomes, tail-end educational achievement, and the frequent experience of issues to do with cultural identity and values (Tiatia, 1988; Taule'alea'usumai, 1997). Within these areas of concern Pasefika people will encounter 'helping professions' such as psychology. It is a discipline which has historically been devoted to understanding the human 'psyche' or 'soul'. Most of this body of knowledge however is derived from European contexts. The South Pacific has now produced a generation of Pasefika academics that are criss-crossing the globe with pioneering theoretical frameworks specific to our region. It is within this framework that I present to you my current thinking and its intent of 'claiming our legitimate space'.*

*"World views are best understood as we see them incarnated, fleshed out in actual ways of life. They are not systems or thought, like theologies or philosophies. Rather, world views are perceptual frameworks. They are ways of seeing. If we want to understand what people see, or how well people see, we need to watch how they walk" (Walsh and Middleton, 1984, p17).*

The world-view of Pacific nations that lie within the vast ocean of the South Pacific is yet to be uncovered in the world of psychology.

*32 years ago a man from the villages of Manunu (Upolu) and Fagamalo (Savai'i) and a woman from the inner-city village of Matautu tai-Apia (Upolu) gave birth to their middle child and only daughter, Siautu Tiomai Alefaio. The man left a prominent position in the police department's CIB in Samoa to become a factory worker in Hellaby Meats of Mt Wellington, New Zealand. The woman, a beautiful dancer in Aggie Grey's dance troupe and also an upcoming photographer at the age of 12, left all her aspirations of education to attain a job in order to make enough money*

*for the prospective dream of 'making it big' in the 'land free-flowing with milk and honey'—Aotearoa New Zealand. For some years Aotearoa was exactly that, with money enough to bring over all their other siblings and eventually their mothers.*

*My father (now a Parish minister of a Presbyterian church) and mother (an Early-Childhood educator) both self-sacrificially gave up their own hopes and dreams to pursue a bigger one—of prosperity for future generations. As a registered psychologist I have seen many journey stories similar to mine, and it is my own hope and dream that our contribution as people from the Pacific region will inevitably pave the way for future generations to embrace all that they are and become all that they have been called to be.*

Growing up in South Auckland, the heart of Polynesia in Aotearoa New Zealand, was never an easy feat. The descriptive journey stories of experiences living in two worlds, the Pacific world and the *palagi* (European) world, became more significant to me as a young adult finding my way

through life in a tertiary institution. These stories prompted me to undertake a thesis investigating young people's perceptions of their identity in the context of their families and communities and the process of adjustment that occurs when differences between the values and beliefs of the host culture are encountered. The experience of walking in different cultural worlds has been investigated in many countries, mostly where the host culture is the dominant western culture, governed by eurocentric ideals and cultural norms (Anae, 1997; Crosbie, 1993; Rodriguez, 2003). Certain issues and challenges are commonly experienced by ethnic minority groups in transition within mainstream cultural environments. Tupuola explores these prevailing issues for Samoan youth through positing a positional difference through her paper *Pasifika Edgewalkers* (Tupuola, 2004).

### **Le Malaga - The Pacific journey**

Pacific peoples comprise approximately seven percent of the total Aotearoa/New Zealand population. It is a fast-growing, ethnically diverse and relatively youthful population (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The wave of migration from the Pacific, which occurred during the 1950s to 1970s in response to the demand for labour in New Zealand, created the largest Pacific ethnic minority group in Aotearoa, New Zealand, next to the indigenous Maori, or *tangata whenua* (people of the land). The term Pacific is itself a homogeneous term used to describe a group of island nations from the region of the Pacific, including Samoa, Cook Islands, Tonga, Niue, Tokelau, and Fiji. Meleisea and Schoffel (1998) have described the New Zealand-Pacific relationship through the migratory period as "a kind of extension of the country's colonial relationship with the Pacific" (p. 166).

The majority of the Pasefika population in New Zealand is located in the urban Auckland region, which is projected to have the largest increase of Pacific people residing within its boundaries (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Auckland city is often known as the 'Polynesian capital of the world'. Associated with this 'Pasefika-browning phenomenon' is an increasing contribution of

Pacific cultures over the past six decades to Aotearoa New Zealand as a nation. The significant impact of these can be experienced in many arenas, including the rugby field, where the sporting prowess of taro-fed Pacific-Blacks such as Jonah Lomu and Michael Jones has been celebrated, in the African-American/Pasefika-Hip-Hop inspired music and arts scene, in live theatre and in the visual arts. Pasefika youth are emerging as an influential force in youth culture in New Zealand today. However, these highly visible pockets of Pasefika talent mask the reality of overcrowded housing, poor health, low-incomes, tail-end educational achievement, and the frequent experience of issues to do with cultural identity and values (Tiatia, 1988; Taule'alea'usumai, 1997).

Since the first wave of migrants to the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, many differing pathways have evolved for the children of the Pacific sojourners. The hopes and dreams for a better future have most always been sought in the realm of education (Aitken, 1996; Anae, 1997; Burgess, 1988; Dunlop, 1987; Hunkin, 1988; Anae et al, 2002). Despite the current prevailing issues of underachievement that haunt our current 'globally-prized and recognized' education system, the education encounter did pay-off for some. The encounter with academic institutions in the array of Universities across the Pacific has now produced a generation of Pacific academics that are criss-crossing the globe with pioneering theoretical frameworks specific to our region of the Pacific. It is within this framework that I present to you my current thinking and its intent.

The journey of Pasefika is born out of an historical migratory past filled with hopes and dreams of a new utopia – a new way of living, a better life with a hope-filled, expectant future. Today however, we encounter, on a daily basis, issues such as abuse, teenage pregnancy, suicide, drug and alcohol use, violence and crime. Pacific peoples are disproportionately represented in these areas of concern. Within these areas of concern the vast majority of Pasefika people will encounter 'helping professions' such as psychology. It is a discipline which has historically been devoted to understanding the human 'psyche' or 'soul'. Most

of this body of knowledge however is derived from European contexts. It has been my experience and observation that the encounter with psychological methods, practices and philosophies struggle to make sense in 'our everyday'.

The world-view of Pacific nations which lie within the vast ocean of the South Pacific is yet to be uncovered in the world of psychology. It is vital that their unique perspectives are sought and their voices heard. The unearthing of this raw material will contribute and enrich our understanding of diversity and help to unite our region with an identity uniquely our own.

*Our story is different.... our story is about family, about church and that's why it's gonna change....* (cited in Alefaio, 1999, p. 51)

### **Home is where the heart is**

In the words of our newly appointed Head of State in Samoa, Iana Afioga Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese who even before his appointment has been a voice of providence calls us to remember that we are not I's but rather we.

*I am not an individual,  
I am an integral part of the cosmos.  
I share divinity with my ancestors, the land,  
the seas and the skies.*

*I am not an individual because  
I share tofi with my aiga (family), my  
village, and my nation.  
I belong to my family and my family belongs  
to me.  
I belong to a village and my village belongs to  
me.  
I belong to a nation and my nation belongs to  
me.  
This is the essence of my sense of belonging."*

*Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese  
Tamasese Efi, Tui Atua Tupua (2002)*

Taking the essence of who we are, the journey to further lands was embarked. The journeys across Te-Moana-nui-a-Kiwa have produced

the connections of our extended Polynesian aiga/kainga/whanau/family. Yet in reaching the shores of the new promises and hope - the process of working the land has taken its toll. Our encounters with 'the West' have seen our extensive and rich connections misunderstood and to some extent abused.

Tongan writer Epeli Hauofa reminds us of our responsibility to 'claim our legitimate space'

*We are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth and together use it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us physically and psychologically in tiny spaces which we have resisted and from which we recently liberated ourselves (Hau'ofa cited Thaman 2002, p8). "*

Where do we begin? Our journey starts by 'going home'. For me this is Samoa – and so it is here that I choose to start. An investigative study undertaken in 2000 whilst in Samoa revealed some insightful discrepancies between 'ways of learning and being' in Samoa compared with New Zealand. Three major components were identified in relation to 'learning and being' based on the Fa'aSamoa (Samoan way). These were; "o le va'ai" (to see/watch/observe – visual), "o le fa'alogo" (receive instruction/compliance - listen), "o le tautala" (to speak/spoken word – oratory). A local Samoan village teacher highlights this difference well.

*Ou te talitonu o le a'oa'oga o tatou Samoa e tele i le va'ai, fa'alogo ma le tautala. O le fa'alogo o le mea fa'aaloalo lea o Samoa – e fa'asino ai le tamaititi e iloa fa'aaloalo". Believes 'learning' is very much seeing, hearing and language. This way of 'being' is a sign of respect in the Fa'aSamoa (Samoan way) – it is a sign of children who show respect.*

In life's application of this gem I began to "RECOGNIZE" (va'ai) that our learning, our way of being is steeped in Fa'aSamoa (the Samoan way). See Figure 1 on the following page.

## RECOGNIZE

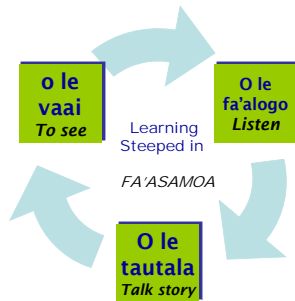


Figure 1. 'Recognise' Figure

Being home, being with the 'people of the land – my people' is where the seed was sown. It was here that the eyes of my heart were opened to 'va'ai' 'see', the heart of life steeped in family, in relational context, va fealoa'i – mutual respect and reciprocity and above all 'alofa' love. Our own heart's narratives intertwined with the biblical narratives introduced by the missionaries formed our encounter with a divine God, His 'son of man' Jesus who walked with 'the outcasts – people of the land'. This encounter is the core of Samoa's existing foundation: "E fa'avae Samoa i le Atua." From the village we migrate to the village church in the countries we choose 'to go'.

The humility of the embrace, awakened the ears of my heart to 'fa'alogo' 'hear' a new sound, the sound of 'the land', 'the seas', 'the orators', 'the divine nature calling' to begin again to 'tautala' 'talk story'. For me it was the sound of the waves, and as I listened my heart sobbed with tears for the 'safe passage'...

*(voice of child is played – songs of Samoa sung as well as conversational narrative – exciting purity is heard through the child's voice. We move then to the song "We don't need your education, we don't want no passer-bys, we are the leaders of this nation, whatever happened to In God we Trust." – lyrics to City High Anthem).*

What is happening to the innocence of the voices of our children when they encounter education – the familial narratives are lost, the excitable

innocence is gone, replaced by frustration, grief and loss and an overwhelming feeling of 'being let down'. Somewhere in the journey encounter with education the hearts of our children have been lost.

In line with the familial connections, Tamasese, Peteru, Waldegrave and Bush (2005) lead us out with the introduction to 'Fa'afaletui' – they launch our sea journey. The methodology of weaving together knowledge from within the houses of relational arrangements was brought to them through Elder Men and Women's focus group participants, to explain the process in which they viewed themselves to be a part of. Essentially, *fa'afaletui* languages a method which facilitates the "gathering and critical validation of Samoan knowledge" (Tamasese et al, 2005, p302)

The uncovering of identity for our generation today and those to come, is to heed the 'voices' of our ancestors – 'the ties to the land' in which we come from cannot be underestimated. It is our safe passage forward.

Fa'afaletui (Tamasese et al, 2005) reiterates, emphasizes and reminds us we are 'whole' beings. That unlike the modern day 'science of psychology' where the mind/body split continues to prevail, they take us to the 'raw' nature of being – 'our spirit' 'agaga' 'ruah'. Perhaps I can be as bold as to say 'our modern day science of the heart' is our 'validity'.

The philosophical underpinnings of psychology need to be explored from a current Pacific worldview. 'Galuola' describes the wave break in Samoa that they wait for when coming into the outer island (Apolima). This wave is the one that takes us into safe-landing. The encounter with psychology is a journey of changing winds, and shifting tides but as we keep navigating and keep going the right wave will come and take us to safe landing. This Galu (wave) will bring 'ola' (life) to us and finally 'meaning' to our 'everyday'.

The wave is still forming, we trust in the divine revelations of our forefathers, ancestors to guide and lead us, in so doing we re-position our mission

and co-create a new way forward in the area of psychology.

There were ancient prophets that heeded divine revelation to warn people of the importance of the 'heart', the importance of the 'spirit', the importance of greater things outside ourselves.

*Ia outou tutu i ala, ma vaavaai ma fesili i ala o le vavau, po o i fea le ala lelei, ma ia outou savavali ai, ona maua lea e outou o le malologa mo outou agaga" Ieremia 6:16*

Stand at the crossroads and look...ask for the ancient paths, ask where the good way

is, and walk in it, and you will find rest for your souls" *Jeremiah 6:16*

Our ancestral proverb says 'Ua tofo i tino matagi lelei' "A favourable wind is felt on the body" meaning the preparations for a sea trip are completed. The travelers sit and wait for wind. Suddenly a gentle breeze is felt on the bare skin and by the direction it comes from the people will know that the weather will be favourable. May we have the joy of this expectation for our encounter with psychology.

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# Claiming Space and Restoring Harmony within Hui Whakatika

Mere Berryman, Sonja Bateman

Ministry of Education  
Special Education  
Tauranga, New Zealand

*The time has come for indigenous, specifically Māori psychologies, to move from the margins, and claim legitimate space within the discipline of psychology (MPRU, 2007). Phinney and Rotheram (1987) argue that there are ethnically-linked ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are acquired through socialisation. The message implicit in this statement has profound implications for a discipline that seeks to understand and respond to the intricacies of human behaviour. Although the epistemological paradigms emerging from the experiences of indigenous minorities such as Māori may offer a challenge to mainstream knowledge and perspectives (Gordon, 1997), it is clear that disregarding such alternatives may well leave the discipline of psychology impoverished. On the other hand, paying attention to alternative paradigms may well serve to enrich this discipline. This paper presents two successful Hui Whakatika that were led by Māori in mainstream settings. Particular dimensions of, and congruencies between both are explored. The first highlights the vital role of a kaumatua in facilitating and guiding the entire process; the second focuses on the role and experiences of a kaitakawaenga as he works collaboratively with whānau members to find resolution and restore harmony.*

As the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi can provide guidance, by reflecting the three Treaty principles, those of partnership, protection, and participation within a range of disciplines, including the discipline of psychology. The principle of *Partnership* is about responding to issues of power sharing and decision making. The principle of *Protection* is about acknowledging and valuing indigenous knowledge and pedagogical values. *Participation* is the principle that provides individuals and groups with equity of access to resources and services. It is the contention of this paper that the Treaty of Waitangi may well be used to inform a process of 'claiming legitimate spaces' for Māori psychologies within the overall discipline of psychology, for the time has indeed come for indigenous, specifically Māori, psychologies to move from the margins, and claim legitimate space within the discipline of psychology.

As a nation that espouses such philosophies as inclusion, social justice and equity for all, it is worth considering what the concept of 'claiming spaces' might actually mean for Māori. Perhaps reframing this to reflect the notion of 're-claiming spaces' might better encapsulate the journey for Māori in terms of how Māori epistemology has been acknowledged throughout the passage of time. Despite the obvious kaupapa Māori renaissance that has transpired for Māori over the past twenty to thirty years, and Durie's (1997) assertion, that Māori knowledge has an integrity of its own, Māori epistemology is still regularly relegated to the margins, perceived as inferior, or simply dismissed within a range of disciplines, including that of psychology.

Bishop (1996) contends that solutions and understandings for Māori do not reside within the culture that has traditionally marginalised Māori, rather, the solutions and understandings are located within Māori culture itself (Bishop, Berry, Tiakiwai,

Richardson, 2003). These authors further emphasise the need to draw from both traditional and contemporary Māori cultural worldviews, knowledge, practices and experiences. According to Gordon (1997), the epistemological paradigms emerging from the experiences of indigenous minorities such as Māori, offer a challenge to mainstream perspectives, however, this does not mean that such perspectives must or should remain inert. Howitt and Owusu-Bempah (1994) further contend that the lack of attention to alternatives to mainstream knowledge will leave any discipline (including the discipline of psychology) impoverished. For many Māori, the term 'mainstream' in itself maintains the perspective that Māori epistemology 'belongs elsewhere', that to actually be and live as Māori necessitates 'belonging elsewhere', as generally mainstream society neither reflects nor values a worldview that is uniquely Māori. Despite that however, it would clearly follow that paying attention to alternatives to mainstream knowledge could indeed serve to enrich the domain of psychology.

Phinney and Rotheram (1987) argue that there are ethnically-linked ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are acquired through socialisation. The message implicit in this statement has profound implications for the discipline of psychology, given that it seeks to understand and respond to the intricacies of human behaviour. Understanding others depends on three specific components, as outlined by Durie (2006). These components involve: engagement; ways of thinking and theorising, and; ways of analysing. Durie explores the marae atea as facilitated during the process of pōwhiri, as a metaphor for engagement, wherein particular aspects such as space, boundaries and time take on exacting significance and meaning.

Specifically, Durie (2006) talks about the notion of 'space', whereby a realistic degree of distance is necessary at the outset until a relationship has formed. Acknowledging a level of distance effectively provides a stage for clarifying the terms under which parties come together and engage. Conversely, diminished distance may

precipitate panic or alternatively lead to withdrawal, both of which impact negatively on the processes for building relationships and establishing engagement. Understanding the concept of 'boundaries' requires making the necessary distinctions between groups, ie: tangata whenua (hosts) and manuhiri (visitors); the living and the dead; the right and the left; safe and unsafe; men and women; the old and the young. Appreciation of these distinctions enables mutually-respected boundaries to be defined without pretence, and will provide a platform upon which respectful engagement may emerge. Adhering to the domain of 'time' means that being 'on time' is less important than allocating, taking or expanding time in order to ensure that processes are completed properly, that they are being accorded the time that they deserve.

For many Māori, the same rituals or phases of engagement as those progressed during the pōwhiri process, can be adhered to during other situations or contexts of encounter. Guided by notions of space, boundaries and time, these phases broadly include:

- starting / opening rituals (which includes respecting space and boundaries at the outset, and determining who speaks)
- clarifying and declaring who you are / from where you have come
- clarifying and declaring intentions (which includes the purpose of meeting)
- coming together as a group
- building relationships and making initial connections (which includes sharing whakapapa or genealogical connections)
- addressing a particular kaupapa or issue (which includes open and frank discussions, face-to-face interactions, reaching decisions and agreements, defining particular roles and responsibilities, and taking the time that is required)
- concluding (which includes summarising decisions and agreements, and uplifting mana)
- sharing kai / refreshments

Macfarlane (1998) proposes that the traditional hui, or meeting held within Māori cultural protocols or ways of engagement, can provide a supportive and

culturally grounded space for seeking and achieving resolution, and restoring harmony. Hui whakatika (literally, a time for making amends) such as these, offer a unique process for restoring harmony from within legitimate Māori spaces (Hooper, Winslade, Drewery, Monk & Macfarlane, 1999). Underpinned by traditional or pre-European Māori concepts of discipline, hui whakatika provide a process that follows the same phases of engagement as those outlined above while also adhering to four quintessential features of pre-European Māori discipline as identified below by Olsen, Maxwell and Morris (cited in McElrea, 1994). These are:

1. an emphasis upon *reaching consensus* through a process of collaborative decision-making involving the whole community
2. a desired outcome of *reconciliation* and a settlement that is acceptable to all parties

rather than isolating and punishing the offender

3. not to apportion blame but to *examine* the wider reason for the wrong with an implicit assumption that there was often wrong on both sides
4. less concern with whether or not there had been a breach of law and more concern with the *restoration* of harmony.

The four broad concepts of *reaching consensus*, *reconciliation*, *examination* and *restoration* as described above are critical to effective hui whakatika. It is important to note also, that these traditional Māori disciplinary concepts continue to feature widely in contemporary Māori society as a means of resolving issues of concern or conflict. By following the concepts and processes as depicted in Figure 1 below, hui whakatika can be inclusive, restorative and healing rather than adversarial and punitive.

**A Model of Healing by Judge Michael Brown (1998)**

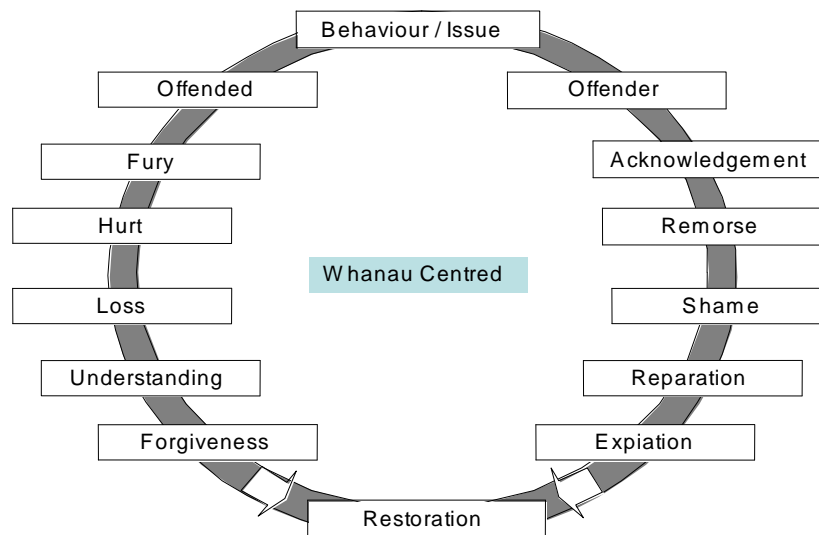


Figure 1. A Model of Healing by Judge Michael Brown (1988). Adapted by Macfarlane (cited in Fraser, Moltzon, and Ryba, 2000)

In this way, hui whakatika can be likened to more recent and contemporary notions of restorative justice (Hooper et al., 1999). Indeed, it may be argued that the aims of both processes are fundamentally similar. Restorative practice in schools requires:

*“that harm done to a relationship is understood and acknowledged and that effort is made to repair that harm. In order for that restoration to happen, the voices of those affected by the offence need to be heard in the process of seeking redress” (Restorative Practices Development Team, 2003. p. 11)*

What differs however is that the initiation and legitimisation of the hui whakatika process is able to be determined by and for Māori. Thus hui whakatika can exemplify how all three Treaty principles may be able to be applied in practice.

There are four distinct phases to a hui whakatika process. These include:

1. *The pre-hui phase:* preparing the whaariki (foundation)
2. *The hui phase* (the hui proper), which includes the following cultural processes:

#### Beginning the hui

- Mihimihi (greetings) / karakia (prayer)
- Response from manuhiri
- Reiterating the purpose of the hui
- Whakawhanaungatanga (introductions and making connections)
- Sharing kai

#### Developing the hui:

- How we are being affected, how we are feeling
- Successes to date, strengths
- Barriers /enemies to success
- Seeking out a new story (restorying), by determining and agreeing on the way forward: *What we will do, who will do what...*
- Setting a time / venue for phase 3 (forming / consolidating the plan)

#### Closing the hui (poroporoaki/ rituals of farewell)

- Whakakapi (summing up)
- Final comments by members
- Karakia
- Sharing kai
- Informal discussion

#### 3. *Forming / consolidating the plan*

#### 4. *Follow-up and review (at a later date)*

According to Macfarlane (2007), each of these four phases is critical to the overall success of a hui whakatika. It is imperative that sufficient time and effort is invested in the initial pre-hui phase, as this part of the process is equally as important as the actual hui itself. The pre-hui phase involves determining who needs to be involved, establishing a willingness from all parties to participate in this process of ‘making amends’, meeting with all parties separately in order to explain the process and preparing them for what will happen in the hui, hearing their stories about what has happened, and finally selecting a venue and time. Phase two of the process, the ‘hui proper’, follows the protocols of engagement as represented by a pōwhiri process. Effective facilitation of this phase is also crucial.

Below we present two separate case studies of successful hui whakatika that were led by Māori in mainstream education settings. Particular dimensions of, and congruencies between both are explored. The first highlights the vital role of kaumātua in facilitating and guiding the entire process; the second focuses on the role and experiences of a kaitakawaenga as he works collaboratively with a whānau to seek resolutions and restores harmony.

#### **Case Study One: Establishing spaces through kaumātua support**

The first example of a hui whakatika concerned one Māori medium syndicate within a large mainstream school that responded using the traditional process of hui to resolve a situation that involved three year 7 and year 8 Māori students, found to have been experimenting with marijuana during the school day and in their school grounds.

### ***Phase 1: The pre hui phase***

Their teachers, who were Māori and the Pākehā principal, sought advice from a kaumatua, an elder, directly connected to the local hapū (sub-tribe) and with high standing in both the Māori and non Māori community. Her advice resulted in these staff members, the three students and members of their families agreeing to come to a meeting at the school, the very next week. This group understood, albeit some with skepticism, that the meeting would be held according to Māori protocol and was being held in order to seek solutions by engaging within the supportive and culturally appropriate learning contexts provided by the traditional hui (Macfarlane, 1998). The group also understood that the school policy response would normally have been to suspend the boys, thus remove them from the education setting and potentially expose them to even greater risk of drug taking. The teachers and the families involved wanted to avoid this situation at all costs, while the experience of this principal was that support from this elder had already resulted in traditional Māori responses providing some effective solutions to other problems. Although this situation was very different to others that he had encountered, he trusted that a traditional Māori response could be very effective.

### ***Phase 2: The hui phase***

The hui was held in the school room designated as the whare wānanga (house of learning). At the elder's direction, family members accompanied each of the three boys, including a grandmother who was there for her own mokopuna (grandchild), as well as for the other boys. The principal, deputy principal, senior teacher, classroom teacher and the elder, all attended. The elder's participation ensured that correct kawa or cultural protocols were adhered to, thus protecting both the people and the kaupapa (purpose/ agenda). She began the meeting with mihimihi, then karakia that asked for guidance and support. This was followed by a cup of tea before the agenda was jointly set.

All members of the hui agreed that they would be seeking to fully address the problem without creating a situation of shame and blame. The principal gave his clear commitment to support whatever decisions came from the meeting, thus handing the power to redress the situation and restore relationships back to the hui participants.

After much discussion and at times extremely heated debate, the marijuana incident was fully discussed, ownership was acknowledged and consequences were collaboratively determined and agreed to. The students involved in the incident and their parents contributed to both the debate and the determining of solutions and consequences. The hui continued with tasks being agreed to and allocated and then it was time for poroporoaki when everyone was given an opportunity to have their final say. The meeting then concluded with a karakia.

### ***Phase 3: Forming the Plan***

As a result of the collaborative decision making within the hui, the group planned a four-day in-school suspension intervention, to be developed by the teachers and supported on a daily basis by people from each boy's family. Teachers agreed to set up the separate programme aimed at providing these three students with positive Māori cultural messages and role models, as well as specific and accurate information about marijuana and the consequences of drug abuse. The students went home from the hui with family members then returned the next day ready for their four days within the newly determined parameters of the in-school suspension.

The plan focused on three key areas:

- accurate information (about marijuana and the implications of taking it);
- open and honest sharing of information (between the specific school staff, the boys and their parent(s); amongst parents; between related professionals, specific school staff, the boys and their parents;
- keeping the boys in the education system (the boys alternative was almost certain suspension).

#### ***Phase 4: Follow-up and Review***

Each of the four days of the in-school suspension began with the senior teacher and kaumatua meeting with the boys and their family member for karakia. The day's work and timetable were then discussed. On the bell they each returned with their work to one of the three syndicate classrooms and seated themselves in their desk placed to the rear of the room. Here, the boys each worked on their individual programme under the further guidance and support of the family member who had agreed to support them on that day. Four visitors who were able to speak knowledgeably on the effects of marijuana had been invited to share their expertise at lunchtime sessions. These visitors were all Māori and had been organised with the kaumatua, from her strong local networks. They included another kaumatua with a young recovering drug user, a Youth Aide Officer, a doctor and finally a man working in the field of drug rehabilitation. At lunchtime, on each of the four days, the boys came together with members of their own family and the teachers. The boys, their family members and the teachers shared food, attended the related presentations facilitated by these visitors, listened, questioned and talked openly and honestly.

Although the rest of the students in the syndicate undoubtedly knew what had, and was happening, the syndicate teachers did not discuss any of these events with them nor did the principal discuss these events at a staff level. Interactions between these boys and their classmates were greatly reduced over the four days of the in-class suspension and although teachers did not actively monitor this, it was promoted by all of the students themselves. On the Friday afternoon, exactly one week after the marijuana incident, the in-class suspension finished and after the weekend the boys resumed their relationship with their peers and school returned to normal.

This response ensured that these students remained at school and after the in-school detention they were accepted back by their

classmates as if nothing untoward had happened. Importantly this response opened up more effective two-way communication and support between the homes of these students and their school. All groups learned from the process, the outcome was seen by all to be just and equitable to the misdemeanor, and more importantly, none of the groups (school, student or family members) lost mana.

This incident happened over a decade ago. The boys all remained at college until at least the end of year 11. The youngest of the three boys, successfully finished his year 12 having competed in top college sports and cultural teams throughout his secondary schooling. For these boys, no repeat incidents such as this were reported as having occurred throughout the rest of their schooling.

#### **Case Study Two: Reclaiming spaces with kaitakawaenga support**

The second case study of a hui whakatika intervention is one that has been recounted retrospectively by a kaitakawaenga who works for the Ministry of Education, Special Education. The kaitakawaenga regularly works alongside other specialists who are working with whānau Māori. Kaitakawaenga expertise and knowledge is an integral component to the service delivery process, as they are able to draw from kaupapa Māori ways of knowing and engaging, enabling whānau to bring their own cultural realities and preferences to the interactions.

In this instance, the kaitakawaenga had been engaged in order to resolve an issue which had transpired for a special education advisor working in a mainstream primary school. Two brothers (Māori) had been referred to this special education advisor for their severe and challenging behaviours in the school setting. The brothers were less than a year apart in age, and were in the same Year 6 class. The boys' parents were separated, and the custodial arrangements had been organised so that the parents would have both boys, week about.

Due to the apparent severity of the boys' behaviours at school, the special education advisor had hastily put in place a behaviour intervention plan for the

school setting, however the whānau had had little, if any input into this plan. Subsequently they had ceased to engage in any of the tasks that had been allocated to them in the plan. Indeed, it was clear that the boys' behaviours had actually escalated since the plan had been put in place. The class teacher and principal had both become extremely frustrated and were asking the special education advisor to do something soon in order to prevent the boys from being suspended or even excluded. The special education advisor therefore had sought help from the kaitakawaenga and at a meeting she outlined the case history to date.

### ***Phase 1: The pre hui phase***

It was determined that a hui whakatika would be convened in an attempt to collaboratively resolve some of the issues of concern. The kaitakawaenga met several times with both parents, initially separately, and then together, in order to ensure that there was willingness on their part to attend. The parents explained that they wanted to resolve the issues but were suspicious of the motives of the school, and were consequently reluctant to meet at the school grounds. The kaitakawaenga worked to allay any fears that the parents had. He listened to their concerns and the dreams that they both had for their sons. He then explained the hui process, mentioning that he would be facilitating the hui, with the support of his kaumatua, who would welcome them and any others they wanted to attend. Both parents were told that whānau support would be welcome at the hui. The kaitakawaenga also met with the class teacher, the principal, and the special education advisor and went through the same process. These meetings were critical to not only gauge the willingness of all parties to be involved, but to also clarify the protocols for engagement, and the kaupapa of the hui. With the help of the special education advisor, the kaitakawaenga organised the venue, which included setting up the room, having all of the necessary resources ready, and ensuring that there was food to share.

### ***Phase 2: The hui phase***

The hui was held in a meeting room at the Ministry of Education, special education offices. This room was regularly used for mihi whakatau and hui, and reflected many of the cultural icons of the local iwi. The kaitakawaenga had actively encouraged the parents and the boys to bring along whānau support, and they had opted to do so. The maternal grandmother, the paternal grandfather, an aunty, and an older cousin came along to contribute to the hui and to support the boys and their parents. The classroom teacher, a senior teacher, the principal, the special education advisor, the kaitakawaenga and the special education kaumatua were also in attendance; 14 people in all.

The special education kaumatua began the meeting with a mihi mihi and then said karakia in order to clear the pathway for the rest of the hui. The grandfather responded in te reo Māori, declaring the family's willingness to contribute and participate. The kaitakawaenga briefly reiterated the kaupapa and the intended flow of the hui, and then started the process of whakawhanaungatanga, whereby everyone in turn introduced themselves, and made a brief comment about what they hoped to achieve at the hui. Everyone then had a cup of tea and a biscuit.

The members of the hui listened to everyone else's stories and perspectives without interruption. Although initially they appeared to be whakamā (shy, reserved), whānau members, including the boys, began to contribute more as the hui progressed. The hui worked from a strengths based approach, in that positive perspectives were at the forefront. Honesty was also a key component, whereby people were encouraged to openly share how they were feeling.

The kaitakawaenga observed the ahua (demeanour) of the group gradually change as the hui progressed. They listened to each other's issues, struggles, and frustrations in relation to the current situation, things of which they had been previously, largely unaware. They were also listening to constructive and affirming statements, which challenged some of the previously-held assumptions that individuals had made.

Members of the hui started offering positive and supportive comments which became solution-focused. Importantly they also began to see where they perhaps needed to take more responsibility for their own attitudes and actions. There was an obvious willingness on the part of all members, to remain respectful of each other, and to remain committed to the kaupapa.

After further discussion, a list of possible and probable actions was brainstormed and pulled together. This was later constructed into a more formal plan at a subsequent meeting attended by members of the whānau, the class teacher, the principal, the special education advisor and the kaitakawaenga. Both of the boys contributed to the final discussion, and offered some suggestions, which were added to the planning list. The kaitakawaenga then summed up the hui, everyone was given a final opportunity to comment, and the kaumātua concluded the hui with a karakia. Formulation of the plan (Phase 3) took place two days later at the same venue.

### ***Phase 3: Forming the Plan***

At the request of all members of the group, the planning meeting also followed the pōwhiri process. Several members of the group commented that having the two days interim space following the hui whakatika itself had allowed them to reflect on many of the things that had transpired during that hui. According to the whānau, it had also enabled them to gain even greater strength and resolve for moving forward.

The plan focused on three key areas:

- achieving a consistency of routines and expectations (across and between both of the home settings);
- maintaining regular and ongoing communications (between the school and the parent(s), as well as between both of the parents);
- developing and maintaining positive and productive relationships (between the boys and the class teacher / principal, between the

parents and the class teacher / principal, between both of the parents).

Both parents openly discussed the inconsistencies that existed between the respective home settings, and defined the new kawa (protocols) that they would both be putting in place and maintaining in and across both contexts. These kawa included the parents being more structured, consistent and clear in their instructions and expectations of the boys, and also included the boys taking on greater responsibility for their actions, with incentives and rewards playing a role. The boys agreed that this was fair and reasonable, and felt that they would be able to adhere to the kawa. Communication protocols were also constructed collaboratively. These involved the setting up of home to school positive notebooks, the regular use of phone calls both ways, and an end-of-week group debrief for the first four weeks.

Building positive relationships revolved around the teacher and principal making time available to talk to each of the boys, as well as to each of the parents. The teacher made adaptations to the classroom programme that included curriculum content, lesson structure, lesson pace, group activities, classroom responsibilities and the provision of more regular and specific feedback. The teacher and principal wanted the parents to feel welcome and included in the school, and so reiterated the 'open door' approach that they wished to maintain.

The weekly debriefs were planned for the Friday lunchtime slot, and would include the parents, other whānau, the boys, the teacher and the principal, and kai. It was also determined that a full follow-up and review meeting would take place at the end of the four week period, with the option of calling one sooner should the need arise.

### ***Phase 4: Follow-up and Review***

The hui whakatika took place early in April. At the follow up and review meeting held four weeks later in May, the feedback from all parties was extremely positive. There had been a definite reduction in the types of anti-social behaviours that both boys had been presenting prior to the hui whakatika. The boys were much easier to manage in both of their home



settings, and they were now engaging in their learning at school. Both parents had been using positive and consistent strategies in their respective homes, which had enabled both boys to achieve several small rewards. Over the next few months, both boys also received achievement awards at the school's assemblies.

There were only two small incidents that occurred at school post the hui whakatika. The first incident involved one of the boys being sent by the class teacher to the principal for some time-out after swearing at another student. The other incident involved an altercation in the playground where both boys pushed another student onto the ground. School staff said that both of these incidents were easily dealt with and were no more challenging than others that they have to deal with regularly.

In early October of the same year, their cases were transitioned over a period of two weeks to the Resource Teacher Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) service. The transition process involved all parties, and was done so with a view to preparing everyone for the changes that would inevitably occur as the boys moved into Year 7 at the beginning of the next school year.

The parents both stated that they finally felt as if they had a voice in their sons' education and that they and the school were actual partners now. They put this down to the barriers that had started to be broken down during the hui whakatika process. Likewise, school staff mentioned that while they now felt more inclined to approach the parents and seek their ideas and perspectives in terms of the boys' education needs, they would not have actively done so had it not been for the hui whakatika process. At the last RTLB transition meeting, one of the boys mentioned that he had not been in much trouble lately. When asked by the kaitakawaenga if he thought that was better, he said "Yeah, cos I get to learn more stuff so I am getting more clever".

## Conclusion

For Māori, working to support the learning and cultural needs of Māori students in mainstream settings, by following principles from te ao Māori, can pose many challenging dilemmas. In terms of *participation* and *protection* within the Treaty of Waitangi, many Māori educators strive to ensure that the students and their whānau with whom they work are able to access all of the resources and benefits available from within the New Zealand education system. At the same time, they work to protect and revitalise their own cultural identity and integrity, as well as the cultural identity and integrity of others with whom they work. This regularly positions this work within the spaces between the indigenous Māori and the dominant Pākehā cultures (Durie, 2003). Within these spaces, cultural constructs such as pōwhiri and hui can provide legitimate spaces, determined and governed by Māori culture and protocols. These are the spaces from which enormous learning and strength may be drawn.

By developing relationships of trust and respect with cultural experts and others, and by seeking to work within these cultural spaces, opportunities can open up to see oneself in relation to others and to learn from these relationships. Within these spaces, one is able to bring oneself, and all that that represents, to the kaupapa, and be listened to. Power is able to be shared between self determining individuals and/or groups. Participants are able to determine their own actions within relationships of interdependence (Bishop et al., 2007; Young, 2005) that are culturally prescribed and understood. Too often, Māori have not been accorded respectful or legitimate space within New Zealand society, regularly being relegated to the position of *junior* partner (O'Sullivan, 2007). Rather than continue to perpetuate such disparity, a determination to reclaim legitimate spaces and protocols, as were facilitated by both the kaumatua and the kaitakawaenga respectively in the case studies previously outlined, is necessary.

Pōwhiri and hui whakatika therefore, can provide a powerful analogy for the notion of 'claiming spaces'. They both provide distinctive protocols for establishing relationships (Glynn, et al., 2001), protocols that are based on mutual respect and trust

but also on rangatiratanga (self-determination). There are five elements of rangatiratanga that emerge from both pōwhiri and hui whakatika that can also be applied to Bishop's (1996, 2005) framework for evaluating power sharing relationships and thus to the Treaty in terms of *partnership*.

1. Māori initiate the relationship and determine the procedures for this. People from the dominant culture take the less powerful, responsive, visitor, role: *Initiation*
2. Māori are largely able to determine how they will participate, how the events and kaupapa will unfold, what they stand to gain from the relationship, and how the other visitors in this space will participate: *Benefits*
3. Interaction occurs within the cultural space over which Māori have control. This ensures that the use of their own language and cultural processes is validated, affirmed and takes precedence: *Representation*
4. Non-Māori must adopt the less-powerful position. Their concentration on listening and understanding, and not on controlling or directing the proceedings will demonstrate (or not) their respect for the cultural space and cultural context in which they find themselves and upon which they will be judged: *Legitimation*
5. Proposals for new initiatives, or for collaboration on a new project, however important they may seem, are not presented until these prior processes have taken place. In this context the host and not the visitor, determines whether such initiatives are appropriate and effective: *Accountability* (Berryman in press, 2007, p. 286)

Western psychology has regularly perpetuated power imbalances that have only served to denigrate and marginalise indigenous knowledge and practices (Bishop, & Glynn, 1999; Mead, 1997; Smith, 1999). For many Pākehā, pōwhiri and hui whakatika will often require a shift in mindset away from the familiar ways in which

they prefer to engage in Māori or Pākehā spaces, to learning how to engage respectfully in legitimate Māori cultural spaces. Within the construct of these hui whakatika, what was acceptable and not acceptable was defined within Māori discourses. These cultural contexts, led by cultural experts, ensured that no one voice was able to dominate. Instead, each member brought their own set of experiences and expertise, and participation evolved on the basis of interdependent roles and responsibilities within which trust, respect and obligations to each other, and to the kaupapa, were fundamental to the collective vision of restoring harmony and respecting the mana of all participants.

In Article One of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Crown undertook to enter into a *partnership* with Māori; under Article Two, the Crown declared that Māori would receive *protection* and the right to define and retain all of their possessions. Under Article Three, Māori were guaranteed *participation* in, or access to, all of the benefits that the Crown had to offer. Throughout the decades, Māori people have continually tried to assert their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi; rights which enable them to both define and promote Māori knowledge and pedagogy. Within the legitimate Māori spaces provided by these two hui whakatika, Māori were indeed able to claim these rights and reach resolutions that were of benefit to them and where their mana was maintained. Interestingly rather than denigrate or marginalise the Pākehā who participated, these cultural spaces were inclusive and they too were able to benefit.

The people in these hui whakatika were looked after by leaders who understood the importance of mana. This kaumatua and kaitakawaenga ensured that all of the appropriate traditional practices and protocols, including those implicit in traditional Māori discipline, were employed throughout the intervention. This in turn ensured the safety of all and the ultimate success of the intervention. Bishop and Glynn, (1999) suggest that the reassertion of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices, supported and legitimised by cultural leaders, can lead to more effective participation and learning for Māori students. This intervention highlighted how this can be especially important for those at risk of suspension from our education system.

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# **Ideology is theft: Thoughts on the legitimacy of a Maori psychology**

**Armon J. Tamatea**

*Massey University and Community Probation & Psychological Services, Department of Corrections*

*'War, in fact, can be seen as a process of achieving equilibrium among unequal technologies' (McLuhan, 1964)*

We are at war. As Western science and its accompanying technology expands the frontiers of knowledge at an ever-increasing rate, 'indigenous' perspectives of knowledge are exiled into the borderlands of special interest groups and localized research programmes. Mainstream scientific thought lays claim to objective interpretations of experience at the expense of alternative realities offered by emerging theories of knowledge. Furthermore, as localized worldviews (i.e., those derived from ancestral knowledge bases and pre-industrial or non-scientific premises) challenge existing paradigms, the inevitable interactions threaten to undermine the fidelity of this knowledge. One such arena where this ideological conflict is apparent is the growing field of Maori psychology.

To clarify some terms, 'Psychology' will here refer to a *scientific* discipline that is concerned with 1.) the description, function and regularity of behaviour; 2.) the inference of personality structure, function and consistency; and, 3.) accuracy in developing relationships between known phenomena and objective evaluation. By extension, 'science' will here refer to the methods and outcomes generated within an identified scientific community with the aim of explanation and prediction in an effort to provide an account of the natural world. Given these working definitions, are we able to identify or extrapolate a Maori perspective on behaviour

that is both 'psychological' AND 'scientific'? Or should Maori perspectives of behavioural concepts be referred to as something else altogether?

Indeed, is there a tradition of knowledge-acquisition and hypothesis-generation that is uniquely Maori? Historical findings such as established pre-colonial innovations in horticulture and medicine (e.g., rongoa), celestial methods of navigation, and construction (e.g., Pa) suggest that this is the case (Owens, 1992; Durie, 1998). However, what is less certain is the existence of an established heritage of generic behavioural observation and prediction. In order for modern understandings of a Maori science of behaviour to add value to Western approaches and existing health models it would need to concern itself with exploring traditional and or unique *processes of discovery* as well as the logic behind these processes.

Maori psychology (in particular Kaupapa Maori psychology) has been described as emerging from the discontent of traditional research disrupting Maori life and presents as an indigenous 'alternative' challenge to the dominant Western research worldview (Bishop, 1999). The discourse of Maori psychologies is thus assumed to be legitimated from within Maori communities. However, of interest is *who* makes up these communities and whose interests are *really* represented.

According to Poortinga (1998), two important implications of indigenisation movements in science involve 1) informing mainstream

approaches to the field, and 2) addressing the needs of communities with non-Western interests. In other words, to address inherently ethnocentric biases in the field and to inform culturally-appropriate research and practice. Expanding these assumptions to Maori psychology implies generating and offering unique approaches to solving social and health problems that have been unresolved under the prevailing paradigm. A suggested agenda is to create psychologies to meet the needs of Maori in a way that maintains a unique cultural heritage and makes for a better collective future (Linda Waimarie Nikora, personal communication, 2006). An attempt to bridge these two worlds was proposed by Durie's (2001; 2002) 'marae encounters' model, that provides a lateral alternative to Western linear models of explanation and includes linking psychological attributes with metaphysical domains, such as space (e.g., orderliness, regulated behaviour), time (e.g., prioritisation, task completion), the circle (e.g., reciprocity, mutuality), and synchronicity (i.e., significance of events not linked solely to chronicity and causality). Despite the descriptive eloquence and conceptual sophistication of this model, explanations of behavioural functioning and individual differences do not appear well-accounted for, nor are adequate descriptors of learning processes provided to support these explanations. However, this model does offer important directions for stimulating new possibilities for exploring Maori psychology. For instance, the marae metaphor places the individual in a broad ecological and spiritual context that is not sufficiently understood within prevailing Western systems.

Furthermore, like any other scientific discipline Maori psychology may inevitably follow a developmental pathway where the accumulation of new knowledge results in periodic 'revolutions' that radically transform the nature of understanding and the creation of new paradigms (Kuhn, 1962). Indeed, the current state-of-the-art is at a crucial point in its development, and research-interfering ideologies will likely emerge as a natural by-product of this

process. For instance, if we suppose that Maori psychology 1) does not share any of the core values of Western science (e.g., validity, replicability, etc.); or, 2. is not considered to be 'understandable' by non-Maori researchers (and, by extension, not open to challenge or criticism); or, 3) at risk of becoming 'colonised' by Western approaches, then who would be the custodians or *Kaitiaki* (or gatekeepers) of this knowledge? Would Maori psychology approaches only be adequately established and understood by those on the 'inside'? Who decides? A danger with this approach is that progress would be a matter of 'mob psychology' (Chalmers, 1982) conditional on the number, faith, and vocal support of its adherents. If the epistemological direction and decision-making are made according to strict canonical models, the discipline may resemble a cult with the usual baggage of elitism (or even separatism) that would invite irrelevancy.

Feyerabend (1975) warned that scientific education simplifies science by simplifying its participants. It is assumed that a domain of research is defined before being separated from the rest of history (as physics is separated from metaphysics and theology) and given a 'logic' of its own. Systematic training in such a 'logic' then conditions those working in the domain, making their endeavours more standardized and consequently freezing potential alternative growth areas. An advantage of such a scheme is that it becomes possible to create and maintain an institution held together by strict 'rules'. This has proven to be successful in other disciplines (e.g., physics) to some extent, but is it desirable – or even defensible – to support such institutions and traditions to the exclusion of all else? Furthermore, should we transfer to these institutions the exclusive rights for managing knowledge? This writer suggests not, if at least because the Maori world is still a largely unknown domain. The encouragement of generating research questions that increase our understanding in a radiating fashion (rather than a self-limiting one) means that the field will benefit from broader research-generating perspectives and not from those that impose needless restrictions in advance. If varied

opinion is necessary for establishing objective knowledge, then uniformity of opinion can be seen as impairing critical power. In short, Maori psychology, like other psychologies, needs to concern itself with knowledge-creation (i.e., the conventions for identifying and organizing new knowledge) and also knowledge-transformation (or the ability of a field to adapt to new or changing conceptualizations of old knowledge). To ignore this process is to engage in a struggle for ideological authority over 'absolute' truths in order to win and hold political power rather than advance an agenda of improved outcomes for all. How do we determine ideology from progressive thought? By the adherents' inflexible assertion of truth, contempt for considered reflection, and fear of debate (Saul, 1995). If we accept that any worldview is inherently limited in scope, and that members of these 'knowledge communities' may inevitably prioritise the integrity of these limitations over and above the promotion of new thinking, then intended recipients – communities and researchers alike – are essentially being cheated of opportunities to explore areas not considered to exist within the scope of the prevailing ideology. Indeed, ideology is theft.

To adopt a metaphor, let us consider Maori science as co-existing on a two-way street with mainstream Western science moving towards the same destination but in different directions. In this case, the destination involves improved health outcomes, reductions in crime, and increased retention and achievement in education. The different directions are symbolic of stock-in-trade Western research methodologies and the accompanying value-base of performance-focused and outcome-driven initiatives compared with the collective-focused, consultative and more esoteric approaches of Maori science. As with any busy stretch of road, collisions are inevitable and may lead to the 'writing-off' (i.e., rethink - or even salvaging aspects of) old paradigms that no longer serve the function of adequately addressing these global issues as well as to provide learning opportunities for researchers and concerned communities to develop and explore the promise of more radical solutions.

This author welcomes the prospect of further 'collisions' (exchanges) between communities with ideological differences, and encourages researchers in the interface between Maoridom and Western psychology to generate new thinking around long-standing issues with new lenses, or a 'Collide-O-Scope' (after McLuhan, 1967) – A 'collision' of ideas with a view towards disrupting a limited paradigm and establishing new rules for discovery. Such an approach may raise concerns regarding the existing disparity between access to bearers of ancestral knowledge, modern Maori science research, and the ongoing risk of compromising the fidelity of this knowledge. However, a 'Collide-O-Scopic' attitude acknowledges points of similarity (e.g., pragmatism, altruism, and negative social realities), anticipates points of difference (e.g., epistemological perspectives, historical contexts, and methodologies), and promotes interfaced solutions that are guided by collaboration, exploration, and innovation rather than as 'add-on' approaches or diplomatic afterthoughts.

A proposed next step is the implementation of regular conferences and symposia, wide distribution of critical publications, dialogue with other disciplines and tangata whenua to create a 'thought-community' (in contrast to 'communal thought') that is not defined by epistemology, but rather by common shared goals and a willingness to share not only knowledge, but also knowledge-generating processes. Such a community would promote the nurturance of intellectual and cultural expertise, and by extension, an accessibility to otherwise untapped resources and alternative models of understanding health.

In short, it is the evolution of a science over long periods of time and not its shape at any given moment that counts. A new paradigm will inevitably be flawed – this is to be expected, because theories and models can be developed and improved. The progress of a science does not lie with a single theory or outlook, but a succession of theories (Feyerabend, 1975).

We are at war. Or, put another way, we exist in a chaotic but exciting stage in the development of our discipline. The opportunity to explore and influence the course of Maori psychology exists, but so does the responsibility to ensure

protection from misappropriation and to not deny the benefits that such fruitful endeavours can promise.

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Address for Correspondence

armon.tamatea@corrections.govt.nz or  
P.O.Box 19003, Hamilton, New Zealand

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# **Mokopuna Rising: Developing a Best Practice for Early Intervention in Whanau Violence**

**Erana Cooper**

*Ngapuhi, Ngati Hine  
University of Auckland*

*In a very difficult meeting, an extremely unpleasant man was concerned about the possible loss of his power and the continuation of his plans and dreams for the future. And I said, yeah well, you should be worried, because according to your philosophy, when you're dead, you're dead. But when I'm dead, my mokopuna will be rising. (Personal Communication, Rob Cooper, 2007)*

“Mokopuna Rising” is about claiming space for Maori to define best practice for reducing and avoiding whanau violence<sup>1</sup> It is research in progress towards a PhD, being carried out with the Ngati Hine Health Trust, in Te Taitokerau (Northland).

I found it challenging preparing this presentation about best practice in early intervention for whanau violence. Challenging because this topic is very current and present in many minds and lives, whether personally, in our whanau or friends, or on our TV or radio. It certainly feels ‘right here, right now’. Challenging also, because this research is still very much in development, and because I have thought about how presentations on research which is still developing often aim to be interesting and dynamic, visually stimulating and attention grabbing. And therein lay my dilemma. I know I have had my attention grabbed by recent (and not so recent) images of children whose short lives have ended in tragedy. I have been to presentations where pictures of those children were shown, so that by the end there was little doubt that every person watching understood, or at least felt something, about the magnitude of

family violence. I think those presentations were excellent in their effectiveness and they worked, like they should have. However, for this presentation I decided I did not want to grab your attention with those images. That is not to minimise the tragedy or pain represented by them, but rather to shift the focus slightly and instead share some interesting early ideas and discoveries of this research that I’m working on.

## **Mokopuna Rising**

This research has come to be known as “Mokopuna Rising”, based on a story that was told while I was at the Ngati Hine Health Trust. There had been a discussion one day about what we valued about being Maori, about being who we are as a people and the positive aspects of that. There was a fair amount of agreement that it was great to have a sense of who you are, who you have come from, your history, your stories of the past that still live and breathe today, your whakapapa, your connections, your sense of belonging and shared knowings of how you understand the world. And of course the sense of passing on all of that, sharing it with those who are coming after you. There was also talk of those things that made us unique as Maori and wonderings about what it was like for people who didn’t share those beliefs and ways of being. At that point, a man told the story about how the differences between cultures/ways of being were often quite clear to him (quote cited at the beginning of this paper). I loved that story. I loved it because the man who said it was my father, and some of the mokopuna he refers to are my children. I loved it because to me, it captured some of the essence of who we are as a people, and it was rich in its meaning. I also loved it because there were many unsaid words that sat alongside “... my mokopuna will be rising”; words that were closely

related to ideas of whanau being free from violence. Some of those words might have been, for example:

- I plan to invest in my mokopuna so that they may carry on some part of me, and who we are.
- My mokopuna are my legacy.
- I love my mokopuna.
- I expect my mokopuna to outlive me.

I think those are very positive messages for whanau. If all mokopuna grew up with a sense of ‘mokopuna rising’ within them, and all of their whanau honoured and treated them as such, wouldn’t that be great? That basically summarises what this current research is about. What are the positive things we already do as Maori, as Ngati Hine for example, that help us with the prevention or intervention of whanau violence? What are the positive things we could do? If we had a good way of doing things (good practice/s), what would that look like? These questions are the many threads of the development of this research:

- What *are* we doing about whanau violence?
- What *could* we be doing?
- What do we *want* to do? *Can* we do anything?
- *When* should we do it? Should we focus on prevention, early intervention, late intervention, or all of the above?
- *Who* can do anything? Should I, should you, should our whanau, hapu, iwi, whole community, even whole country be doing something?

When all these thoughts collide it sometimes feels like ‘to hell with doing this PhD – lets save the world!!’ But basically, it is the recognition that whanau violence is a big topic. These thoughts are all there as part of this topic; some I have just begun picking up, some are laying there waiting, and others might still be in a mess in the corner until I can get to them. At this stage of development, this research is like a collection of thoughts forming (mine and

others’), that at some point, I believe, will come together in a way that is interesting and useful.

### **The Research Project**

The volume of information currently available on family violence in New Zealand is large. There has been a massive growth in literature over the past few years, statistics have recently been updated, and there is a strong focus on media coverage/campaigns and new developments in the field. These will not be covered in detail in this presentation, suffice to say that if you are aware that family violence is a critical issue facing New Zealand, particularly Maori whanau, then you’ve pretty much got it.

This research is about looking at what we can do about this issue. More formally, it aims to develop, implement and evaluate a best practice package for early intervention in whanau violence, specifically in collaboration with the Ngati Hine Health Trust. It asks the question “What would a ‘best practice package’ for early intervention in whanau violence include”? It is unique in that it creates an opportunity for Maori to advance knowledge in this area, where little such literature exists. There are two stages to the project.

Stage 1 aims are:

- To explore and review existing indigenous (NZ and international) models of early intervention in family violence, in order to inform the research.
- To work collaboratively with Ngati Hine (and other) people to identify and define best practice models of early intervention in whanau violence, in order to inform the development of a best practice ‘package’.

Stage 2 aims (at this point in development) are:

- To collaboratively implement the package.
- To evaluate the package post-implementation.
- To provide recommendations for a best practice package that could be delivered throughout the community setting, and potentially other community settings.

These aims have already evolved since the project first began, and considering the collaborative style of the project, will likely continue to evolve as the research progresses. Each stage also involves consideration of the many ideas that arise. For example, it is fairly well documented that family violence intervention programmes for indigenous populations are successful if they are holistic, based on cultural imperatives, and are developed from a social, political, historical and cultural context<sup>2</sup>. However, what does that specifically look like for Maori? For Ngati Hine? If we are looking at developing a best practice package, are we talking about a package for health organisations/ practitioners to use with whanau (therefore capacity building in the organisation) or for whanau capacity building, or more likely both? What do we need to consider in developing this thing? For example, how do we include the values of the Ngati Hine Health Trust? And more broadly the ideas of Ngati Hinetanga and tikanga Maori (and describe what those are?). And of course, being accountable, responsible and open to expectation (something useful will come out of this won't it?!). Also needing to be considered are the constant collisions of Western/ mainstream and Kaupapa Maori methodological approaches to this work. For example, justifying that 'hanging out' is actually research, and dealing with dilemmas of gaining consent when every conversation you have seems rich with wisdom, knowledge and information that will be useful to the project; and being respectful of that and having an understanding of who 'owns' that information.

### **Ngati Hine Health Trust**

The Ngati Hine Health Trust (the Trust) is certainly a rich place to do this work. It is a big organisation with approximately 170 full-time and 260 part-time staff, most of whom are Maori. It is wholly Maori owned and therefore a Non-Government Organisation (NGO), which helps form part of the Northern Maori Health Alliance, a group which includes seven other Maori health providers, the Northern District Health Board and MAPO co-funder. It provides

a cluster of services including Hauora Whanui (Health Services), Whanau Whanui (Social Services), Maiaorere (Disability Services) and Matauranga Whanui (Public Health, Education & Training Services). It also has a Strategic Cluster, which incorporates Te Tari Mahi Whanau (Business Administration), Strategic Development Services, and Ngati Hine FM. The Trust is also a shareholder of the companies which run Northland's two largest Primary Health Organisations (PHOs), the Manaia PHO and Te Tai Tokerau PHO.

The Trust has this Te Mata Rehu (Vision):

*He toa kei te kokiri – hei hapai i te oranga o te iwi*

*Through our combined strength and unity of purpose, the wellbeing and development of our people is assured*

I like this as a starting point, and particularly as a point of focus for this research. The English translation is not literal, it is the paraphrasing of words spoken by our Ngati Hine tupuna, Mataroria, who shouted the battle cry "He toa kei te kokiri", which has a similar meaning to the command of 'Gather on me'. The second part of the phrase was added by the Trust; it is likely that the second part of Mataroria's call was a bit more feisty! As a vision however, it highlights the potential success that can be achieved by working together. It calls us to account to one another, for the collective good.

Working within the collective has already been, and will continue to be, a big part of this research. Even at this early stage there has been a lot of discussion about how this research may develop and be of use to our people.

### **Early ideas and discoveries**

The following quotes came from people working within the Ngati Hine Health Trust Services Cluster, and were selected to represent some of the early ideas being discussed about prevention and intervention in whanau violence.

*We are called to account for our tikanga.  
We need to apply our science (NH1).*

The application of tikanga, our own customs, rules and right ways of doing things, is frequent in conversations about addressing whanau violence, including taking a critical look at what our tikanga actually is. For example, if we consider it right to treat our children as 'mokopuna rising' then we need to hold ourselves and others accountable to that, in the broadest sense. We need to be clear about what our responsibilities are, who our responsibilities are to, and how we can carry our responsibilities out. For example,

*One day I'll be someone's tupuna. What do I want to have left behind for them? (NH5).*

There has also been much discussion about the difficulties of this work, and the importance of acknowledging that, while also accepting a responsibility towards improving whanau ora.

*Change takes time, but that doesn't mean we shouldn't start doing it now (NH5).*

*There is always hope (NH4).*

Also frequent in conversations are the concepts of acknowledging that people are complex, made up of many parts, and that all of those parts should be attended to (for example, their physical and mental health as well as their spirituality, relationships with their whanau and wider community and environment). There is clearly a strong focus on whanau, characteristics of healthy whanau, and caring skills that are necessary for work with whanau. For example,

*Develop a relationship with wairua ... it takes a more powerful force to break that barrier (NH3).*

*If a man loves himself, he is able to love. If he knows who he is and who's he is ... he has spirituality. And that starts in the home (NH4).*

*Whanau mana, whanau tapu (NH2)*

*Working with whanau is about helping whanau to help themselves, to heal themselves. And it's the way you do it, you do it with aroha. You go to them with love (NH6).*

So it is upon these beginnings that the defining of 'best practice/s' for intervention in whanau violence is emerging. I am so often humbled and awed by the sheer richness of the people involved in this research; I hope I have been able to share some of that with you.

There is no mistaking that whanau violence is a critical issue for Maori, and there is often a strong deficit approach to the topic. I think it is critical that we are able to determine and describe the positive things we already do and can do in the future, as Maori, taking responsibility for addressing this issue. One thing which is clearly indicative so far is the consistently positive attitude of the Maori practitioners I am working alongside. It's a 'contagion' of goodwill, of absolute belief and hope for change, and of Maori cultural affirmation. I think combining our skills as Maori and psychologists fits well with claiming space for Maori to define what works for us, and that in mainstream terms, we collaborate with others to determine what that is. Or, as Mataroria would have it, 'He toa kei te kokiri ...' – we gather together for the collective good. I hope that this research will be able to contribute to that. No reira, tena koutou katoa.

Address for correspondence:

Erana Cooper  
Department of Psychology, City Campus  
University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019  
Auckland Mail Centre 1142  
New Zealand  
[el.cooper@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:el.cooper@auckland.ac.nz)

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<sup>1</sup>In this paper the term whanau refers to family, incorporating both immediate (nuclear) and extended family members. Whanau violence, in this context, refers to violence occurring within Maori families.

<sup>2</sup> See Reference list.

# **DrownBase™ – Identifying At Risk Factors: Strategies and Issues around Māori Practices and Activities towards Water Safety**

**Rolinda Karapu<sup>1</sup> Mark Haimona<sup>2</sup> & Nātana Takurua<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*University of Waikato*

<sup>2</sup>*Water Safety NZ*

<sup>3</sup>*University of Waikato*

## **Summary**

- *Māori tend to swim in the sea, rather than rivers, lakes or pools. However, the difference between these waterways is small, with 'lake' being the least preferred place where Māori swim. Additionally, this outcome was not consistent with the youngest age group, 7 to 15, who selected river as their preferred place to swim.*
- *The activity that Māori mostly do while in, near or on the water is swimming, followed closely by hoe waka, though the latter could be more a result of sampling effect. This outcome is not surprising as the majority of participants (48%) were under the age of 26.*
- *As age increases so does the frequency of participants engaging in other activities such as fishing, boating, gathering of seafood, scuba diving and surfing. This was to be expected, due to the cost of engaging in such activities and the level of responsibility and competency needed.*
- *Māori learned how to swim through their whanau and friends rather than school, private lessons or self taught. This result was consistent across all age groups used in this study. Only 14% of participants selected that they learned how to swim through private swimming lessons.*
- *As age increases so does the percentage of Māori being taught to swim by their whanau and school. Private swimming lessons were higher for the younger age groups.*
- *Wearing a life jacket, swimming between the flags, supervision and safety behaviours are four main areas of water safety rules recalled by Māori.*
- *Water Safety around the home was mentioned by only one participant.*

## **Recommendations**

- *Further research into practices, attitudes and beliefs around water safety for Māori is needed.*
- *Furthermore, in order to make any future research around Māori and water safety functional and applicable to the diverse communities that make up ngā iwi Māori, the collection of urban/rural data, income distributions, swimming competency, survival strategies and tikanga is needed.*
- *That Water Safety New Zealand form strategic research alliances with key Māori researchers and agencies, to support and guide future research in this area.*
- *That future research considers the impact of socio-economic and historical factors when planning and developing strategies and programmes aimed at reducing water related deaths and injuries for Māori.*

## **Background**

Aotearoa has some of the most extensive and beautiful waterways in the world. The seas, rivers, beaches, and lakes provide endless opportunities for Māori to enjoy water activities, such as gathering kai, swimming, hoe waka, diving and fishing (Haimona & Takurua, 2003). For Māori, water is one of the greatest taonga (treasures) of

this land – both physically and spiritually. Māori have always been acknowledged as possessing expertise in swimming and aquatic activities pre-European times (Haimona & Takurua, 2003). Early writers such as Best (1976) wrote extensively about Māori games and pastimes while in, on or near the water. These early descriptions illustrate the practice that Māori children were taught to swim at

a very early age. The gathering of seafood and the consistent use of waterways as a mode of transport were also customary activities for Māori. The traditional beliefs and practices of Māori, demonstrate a great awareness and understanding of water, its dangers and its life-giving properties.

So why are there high numbers of Māori involved in water-related accidents and drownings today? One reason cited by Haimona and Takurua (2003, p.3) and more recently Edwards, McCreanor & Moewaka-Barnes (2007) is the “disruption of traditional social structures”. Social structures changed considerably with the impact of colonisation. For example, Māori no longer have access to traditional knowledge and tikanga (practices) associated with water safety. Additionally, the impact of urbanisation and colonisation on the structure of Māori whanau resulted in a more nuclear family system that Māori were not use to. Unlike the traditional whanau structures, grandparents these days are unlikely to play a central role in the raising and development of mokopuna. This results in more stress being placed on the immediate family to cater to the needs of their young. Furthermore, Māori families are likely to experience added disadvantages constrained by socio-economic conditions (Edwards et al, 2007).

Today, the number of overall drowning in Aotearoa is decreasing (e.g.86 people drowned in 2006 compared to 116 for 2005), however, the number of Māori who are drowning is still growing (Haimona & Takurua, 2003; Water Safety New Zealand, 2007). On average, 27 Māori people drown, while many more are hospitalised every year as a result of water-related injuries (Chalmers, 2004). DrownBaseTM is the official database for Water Safety New Zealand (WSNZ) that records all fatal drowning outcomes in New Zealand and categorizes them in a variety of fields. DrownBaseTM was developed in 1990 and contains records of all fatal drowning incidents in New Zealand since 1980. The statistical information allows for analysis of many criteria including site of drowning, activity, gender, age group, ethnicity, alcohol involvement, rescue attempts and region.

DrownBaseTM protocols require that the New Zealand Police and Coroners records be used to capture all drowning related deaths. It is also relied on by external organizations such as the New Zealand Department of Statistics and the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) for benchmarking and recording indicators. Up until 1996 Māori who drowned were only categorized as Māori if they had a Māori surname otherwise they were identified as Caucasian or Unknown. DrownBaseTM data has now been researched with cross analysis to identify a range of ‘at risk’ factors associated with Māori drownings from 1999 – 2006.

In 2003, Water Safety New Zealand undertook a proactive approach to establishing a water safety strategy for Māori. ‘Kia Maanu, Kia Ora – Stay Afloat, Stay Alive’ is a water safety strategy, which aimed to integrate Māori language and tikanga to reduce the number of Māori water accidents and drownings (Haimona & Takurua, 2003). Since its inception, a number of resources and strategies aimed at promoting and encouraging water safety for Māori have been developed and distributed to key agencies such as kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori.

The current study commissioned by Water Safety New Zealand, extends on this previous work by exploring four key principal areas of research;

1. Which waterways Māori tend to frequent and use;
2. What activities are undertaken by Māori while in, near or on the water;
3. Who are the primary teachers of water safety and swimming for Māori; and
4. What are the safety rules that are recalled in, near or on the water?

### **Participant Characteristics**

The final number of usable surveys for this research was 172. Of this group, 112 (65.5%) were female and 59 (34.3%) were male, with one participant not responding to this question at all. The age groups of participants ranged from 7 years to over 50 years, with the majority of participants

coming from the 26-45 yrs (n=58 - 33%), followed by the 7-15yrs (n=46 - 26.7%) and 16-25 (n=37 – 21.5%) age brackets (see Figure 1).

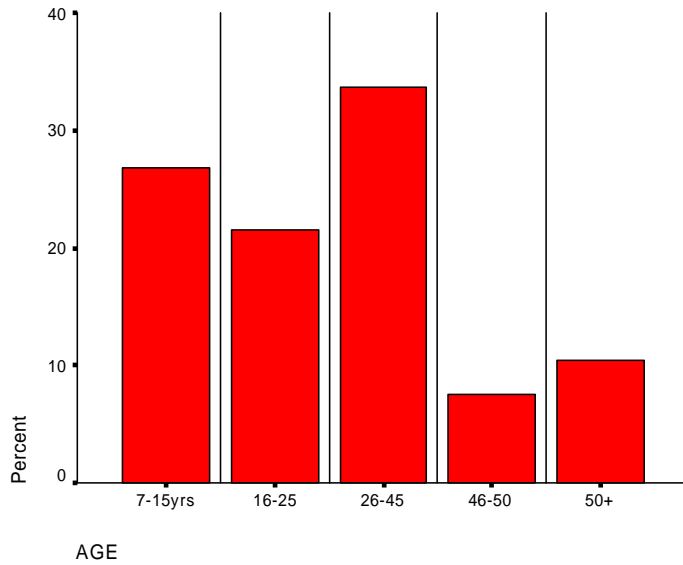


Figure 1. Age of participants who participated in this study

### Findings

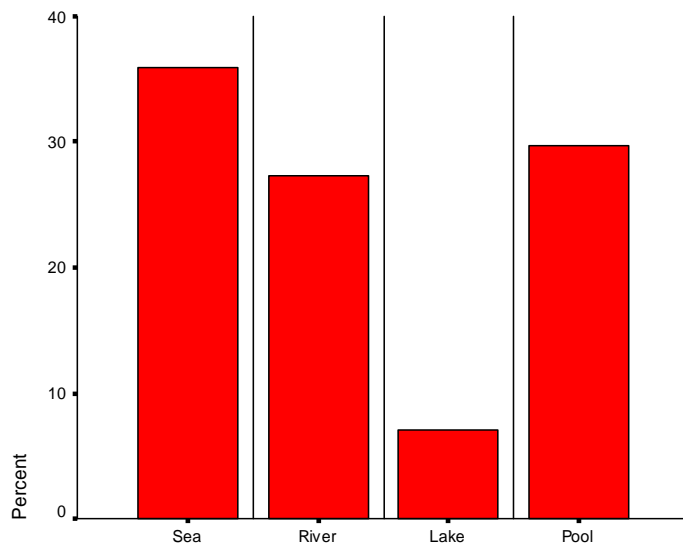


Figure 2. Percentages of participant responses when asked where they mostly swim



### ***Where do Māori tend to swim?***

Figure 2 shows that more Māori tend to swim in the sea rather than rivers, lakes and pools. However the differences between participant responses for these three categories are small. Of the 256 (multiple responses) received for the question, “where do you mostly swim”, 35.9% (n=92) of participants said they mostly swim in the sea, a further 29.7% (n=76) said they tend to swim in the pool, while 27.3% (n=70) stated that they swim in the river. Only 18 (7.0%) participants said that they mostly swim in lakes.

### ***What activities do Māori usually do in, near or on the water?***

The following graph (Figure 3) shows that the main activity undertaken by Māori, in, near or on the water is swimming. Of the 359 responses (multiple responses) received for this question, 145 (40.4%) selected swimming as the activity they tend to do most. This is followed closely by a further 79 (22.0%) participants who selected ‘hoe waka’ as the activity that they usually do on, in or near the water. A further 40 (11.1%)

participants said that they usually gather seafood while in, on or near the water. Responses for each of the ‘other’ six categories were under 10%. However, when interpreting these results in conjunction with the demographics of participants, the reader must consider a number of issues before making conclusive judgements. Firstly, 48.3% (n=83) of participants are below the age of 26, with 46 (26.7%) of these participants being under the age of 15 years. This would account for why higher responses were received for the option, ‘swimming’ and ‘jumping off the bridge’ than for fishing, scuba diving, surfing and boating options. Additionally, results for the category ‘hoe waka’ is not surprising given the fact that 74 of the participants were recruited at the National Waka Ama Championships at Lake Karāpiro. Furthermore, we can also assume that those participants recruited from Te Matatini- National Kapa Haka Festival, are more likely to be involved in other Māori events and activities such as hoe waka. Though again, this is not conclusive.

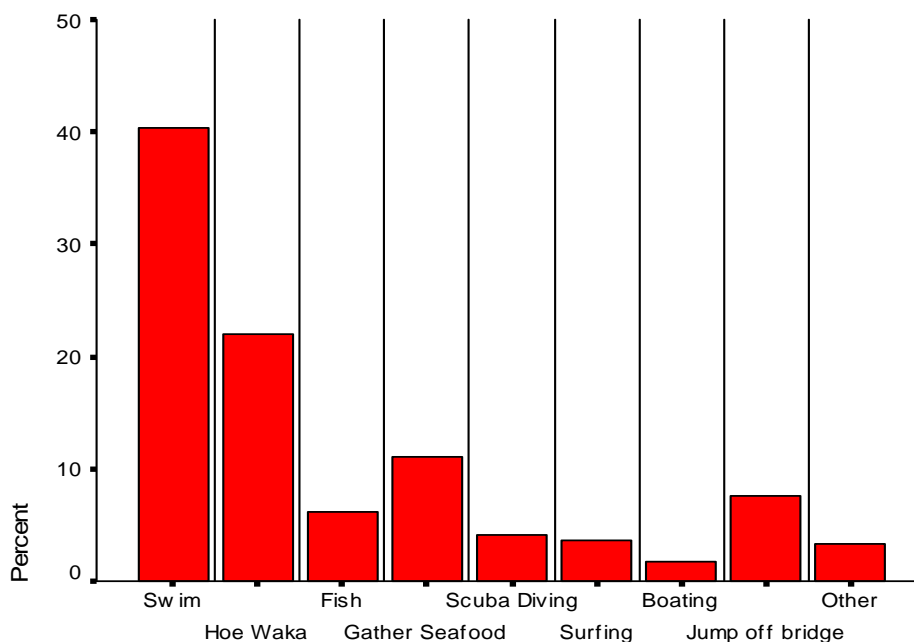


Figure 3. Percentages of participant responses when asked what activity they do in, near or on the water.

### ***Where did Māori learn to swim?***

We asked participants the question, ‘how did you learn to swim’. Participants then had the choice of choosing one of the following categories, 1) school, 2) mum or dad, 3) private swimming lessons, 4) whanau or friends, or 5) self taught. On analysing the data for this question, we felt that there was very little difference between ‘mum or dad’ and ‘whanau or friends’ and decided to merge these two categories together. Figure 4 shows that 38.6% (n=85) of Māori who responded to this question indicated that they learned how to swim from their whanau and friends. A further 25.9% (n=57) said that school is where they learned to swim, while 21.4% (47%) participants identified that they taught themselves to swim. Only 14.1% (n=31) of participants said that they learned how to swim through private swimming lessons.

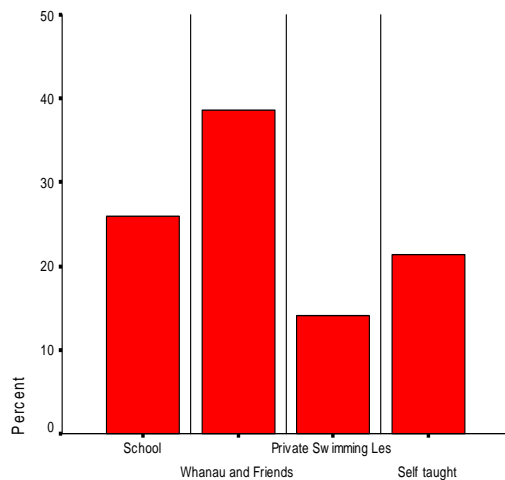


Figure 4. Percentages of participant responses on where they learned to swim

### ***Findings across age groups***

We decided to explore the findings within and between the five different age categories used in this study. Our aim here was to investigate the data for possible trends or deviations within or between these five age groups. As Figure 5 shows, the 7 to 15 year age group mostly swim in the river (39%). This was followed closely by

swimming in the pool (28%) and sea (26%). The 16 to 25 year age group selected that they mostly swim in the sea (40%). This finding was also consistent across age groups 26 to 45 (36%), 46 to 50 (43%) and 50 plus (43%). Interestingly, the age group 26 to 45 displayed little difference between mostly swimming in the sea (36%) and mostly swimming in the pool (35%). Only 21% of participants in this age group stated that they mostly swim in the river. The majority of participants in the 46 to 50 age bracket stated that they mostly swim in the sea (43%), while a further 30% of participants said that they mostly swim in the river. This age group had the lowest percentage of responses across all age groups, for ‘mostly swim in the pool’ (17%). The 50 plus age group showed that the majority of participants in this age group mostly swim in the sea (49%). This was followed closely by 32% of participants in this group who selected that they mostly swim in the pool, while a further 21% chose the river as the place they mostly swim. Participants who selected the lake as their most likely place to swim was small across all five age groups.

As shown in Figure 6, the primary activity that people undertake while in, near or on the water is swimming. This result was found for four of the five age groups used in this study. Overall, as the age of participants increased so to did the frequency of fishing, boating, gathering of seafood, scuba diving and surfing. As one would expect, frequency for jumping off the bridge decreases as age increases. Interestingly, the gathering of seafood for age group 26 to 45 was the second highest activity selected by participants in this age group. Age group 46 to 50 revealed hoe waka as the activity they are mostly likely to undertake while in, near or on the water, followed closely by swimming then fishing and the gathering of seafood.

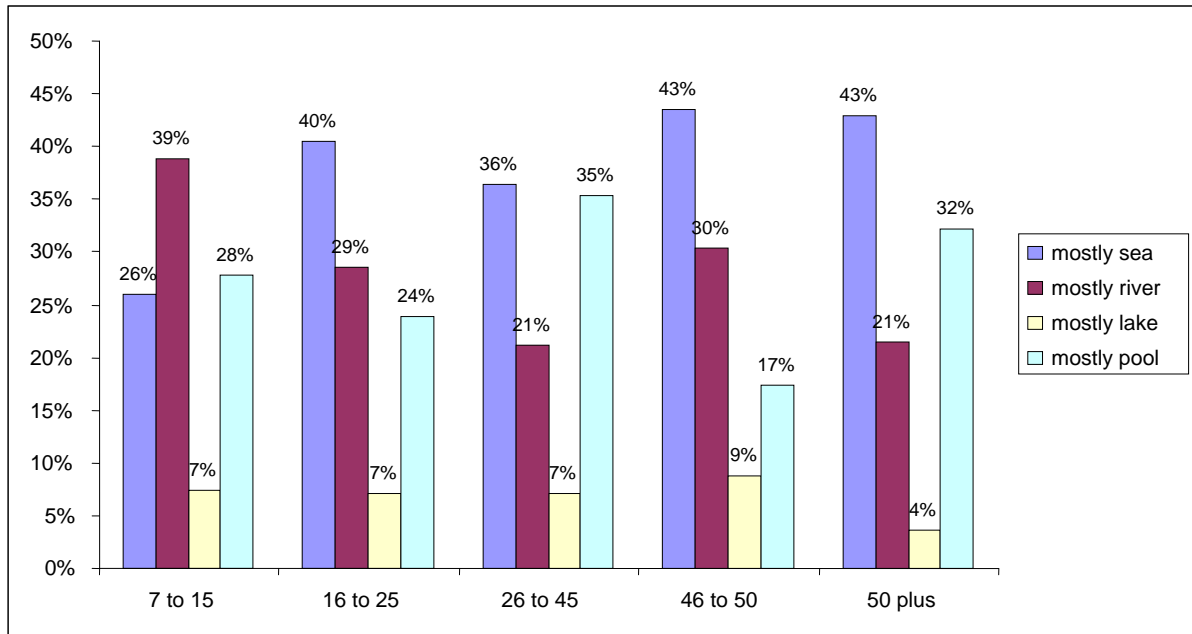


Figure 5. Percentages of participants responses according to where they mostly swim across five age groups used in this study.

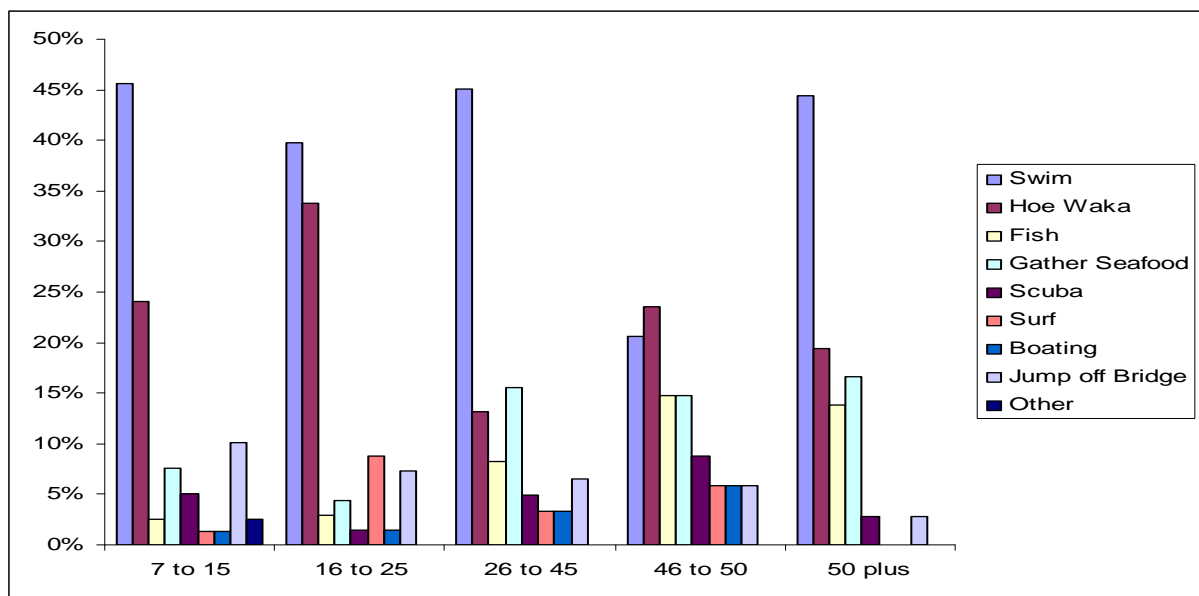


Figure 6. Percentages of participants' responses according to what activities they mostly do while in, near or on the water, across five age groups used in this study.

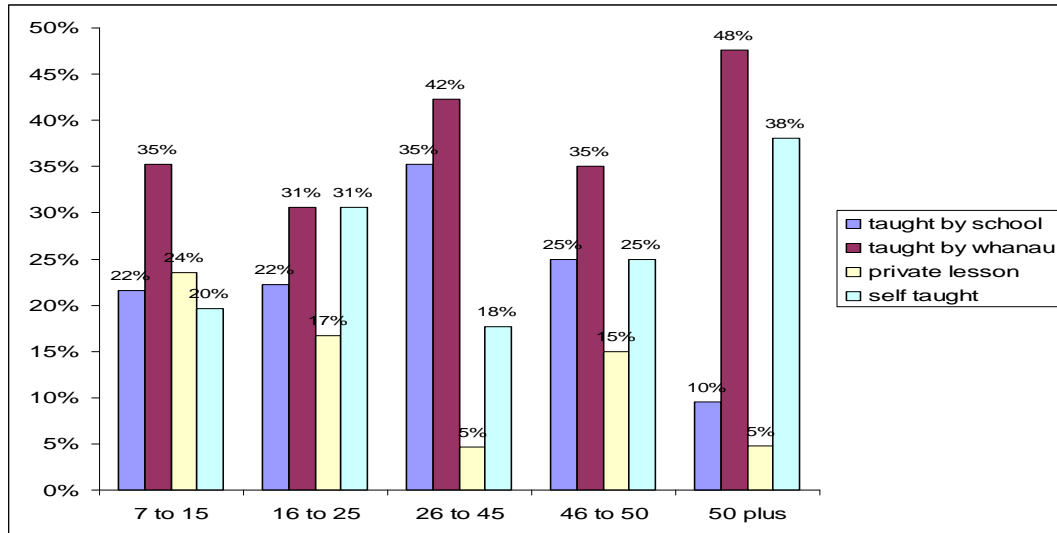


Figure 7. Percentages of participants' responses according to where they learned to swim.

As shown in Figure 7, the majority of participants across all age groups selected learning to swim through whanau and friends. Learning at school was the second highest response category for two age groups (26 to 45 = 35% and 46 to 50 = 25%, equal with self taught), while private swimming lessons were more noticeable for the younger participants in this study, as seen in Figure 7. Furthermore, there is still a lot of Māori who learn to swim through self taught strategies.

### Water Safety Rules

The final question asked participants to recall three Water Safety rules. Four main categories emerged from participants' responses to this question; 1) wearing a life jacket, 2) swimming between the flags, 3) supervision and 4) safety behaviours. Thirty six (10.5%) participants recalled needing to wear a life jacket when in, near or on the water. Responses such as, "*if in a boat wear a life jacket*" were common in this category. A further 79 (21%) stated that you must swim between the flags when in the water - "*kauhoe i waenga i ngā haki*", while 34 (9.4%) participants recalled supervising young children as important - "*mātaki i ngā tamariki i ngā wā katoa*". The majority of participants (203 comments – 55.7%) recalled a number of water safety rules that have been coded for this research under a general category called safety behaviours.

Five further themes emerged from this category; these are discussed in more detail below.

### Safety Behaviours

- *Swim with others, be seen, or tell someone where you are going.*

Three main themes emerged from this category; swimming with others, be seen, tell someone where you are going. A number of participants mentioned "*swimming with others*", "*kaua e kaukau ko koe anake*", or "*dive with a buddy*" as important Water Safety rules. This view was further supported by additional comments made around the importance of swimming in groups as well as within sight and within reach of other people, e.g. "*always swim in groups*", or "*within sight, within reach*". Additional comments around needing to inform adults/people where you are going was also mentioned by some participants', as seen in the following quotes, "*tell someone where you are swimming before you go*" or "*always tell someone*".

- *Before getting into the water*

A number of participants made comments about strategies and rules for water safety before getting into the water. These focused on three areas; having the correct gear such as "*never wear heavy clothes*" and "*have the right safety equipment e.g. life jackets*", warm-up, and being sensible around

eating and drinking alcohol before getting into the water. Comments such as, “no swimming immediately after eating”, “*kaua e kai i mua i te kaukau*”, “don’t drink alcohol and don’t wear clothing before and while swimming” and “*mau kākahu tika ō te kaukau*” were frequently stated by participants. Furthermore, a small number of participants mentioned the need to “warm up and stretch” before getting into the water.

- *Being sensible while in, near or on the water*

Some participants referred to being sensible or using common sense before, while on, near or in water. Comments such as “don’t turn your back on the water”, “*kia tūpato i ngā wa katoa i roto i te wai*” or “be sensible and responsible” were a few of the statements provided by participants. Additionally, some participants mentioned the importance of “not running around pools”, “*hīkoi, kaua e oma*” and “not fooling around” while on, near or in the water.

- *Checking conditions*

Three main areas from this category were mentioned by participants as important water safety rules. These are checking for; hidden objects, rips/tidal conditions and depth of water before getting in. Over 30% of participants who responded to this question made comments around needing to check conditions before going out on the water or getting into the water. Comments such as, “check before you dive in”, “*mātaki i ngā kauere*” and “make sure you know what’s under the water” were common in this category. Very few rules and strategies around weather conditions were mentioned by participants in this study.

- *If you find yourself in trouble*

Finally, a small number of participants mentioned the importance of implementing strategies when in trouble. These responses were generally around; “raise your hand if in trouble”, “when you are in danger put your hand up”, or “if you are in trouble, don’t panic”.

- *Safety around the home*

Only one participant from 172 mentioned the need for safety with water, in and around the home.

This was surprising given the statistics for injury and deaths around water for Māori when they are at home.

## Conclusion

There are a number of limitations to the present study that are discussed in the full report (Karapu & Takurua, 2007). The extent to which generalisation of findings can be made to the general Māori population is limited by the fact that the sample group used in this study did not involve a random recruitment of participants. In other words, only those Māori who attended Te Matatini and Waka Ama Nationals were recruited to participate in this study. Despite these limitations a number of interesting generalisations are possible. Māori tend to swim in the sea rather than rivers, lakes or pools. However, the difference between these waterways is small, with ‘lake’ being the least preferred place where Māori swim. Further research into this finding can help determine if this outcome is due to geographical location or family/individual preference. Additionally, this outcome was not consistent with the youngest age group, 7 to 15, who selected river as their preferred place to swim. The activity that Māori mostly do while in, near or on the water is swimming, followed closely by hoe waka, though the latter is more a result of sampling effect. This outcome is not surprising as the majority of participants (48%) were under the age of 26. We also found that as age increases so does the frequency of participants engaging in other activities such as fishing, boating, gathering of seafood, scuba diving and surfing. This result is likely to be related to other factors such as ‘cost’, ‘difficulty’ or ‘access’ to resources that can enable participation in these activities. Further research in this area will help to ascertain the accuracy of this finding. Māori tend to learn how to swim through their whanau and friends rather than school, private lessons or self taught. This result was consistent across all age groups used in this study. Only 14% participants stated that they learned through private swimming lessons. Additionally, we found that as age increases so does the percentage of Māori learning to swim by their whanau and school. Moreover, younger participants were more likely to take part

in private swimming lessons than older participants. This maybe as a result of ‘access’ issues (e.g. the closure of pools at school) as opposed to other factors. Further research into this area can help provide a more accurate picture.

A number of water safety rules and strategies were found to be recalled by participants, these focused on wearing a life jacket, swimming between the flags, supervision of young children and safety

strategies aimed at keeping yourself safe, before, during and while in the water. One area that was mentioned only once in this project, but is of concern for Māori, is water safety around the home. Future research into water safety and injuries for Māori needs to consider the socio-economic and historical impacts which can serve to strengthen any water safety strategy aimed at reducing water related deaths and injuries for Māori.

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# **Interpreting & Practicing Kaupapa Māori Research in a Community Setting: The In's and Out's**

**Keri Thompson, Alison Barnett**

*Pou Tuia Rangahau,  
Te Runanga o Kirikiriroa  
Hamilton*

Pou Tuia Rangahau is a unique community based research unit based within a kaupapa Māori organisation. Kaupapa Māori methodologies are utilised, with the importance of these methodologies being that Māori are defining the process, doing the research for and about Māori, with the eventual outcome being meaningful to Māori. This paper is placed within this wider context of Kaupapa Māori and how it applies to the practice of research in particular. We discuss how we interpret and practice Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR) within an urban community based organisation by highlighting a particular piece of research that was undertaken by Pou Tuia Rangahau, the Research Unit of Te Runanga O Kirikiriroa Trust Inc.

## **Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR)**

The emergence of KMR was entwined with a broader movement by Māori, and indeed indigenous people the world over, who questioned western notions of knowledge, culture and research (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). In addition, it derives from an overall greater commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, as well as the introduction of kohanga reo and kura kaupapa schools which constituted part of this wider revitalisation movement among Maori.

The Kaupapa Māori approach is a recognised research framework that is both specific and unique to Aotearoa. The approach recognises that research needs to be conducted in a culturally appropriate way that does not exclude other cultural traditions and approaches (Smith, 1997). Although proponents of a KMR approach may differ in the specifics, Graham Smith summarises the points at

which these proponents overlap in their philosophies and strategies (cited in Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori research:

- takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, including the importance of Māori language and culture;
- is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;
- recognises the unique journey of each individual, whānau, iwi and hapū; and,
- is concerned with the struggle for Māori autonomy over Māori cultural wellbeing

KMR can be regarded as research which is by Māori, for Māori and with Māori (Smith, 1999). Many researchers agree that there are certain principles which constitute KMR, and some of these principles are discussed briefly here. A central principle of KMR is Tino Rangatiratanga (self determination) which fits well with the previous point about 'by Māori for Māori'. In challenging western notions of what constitutes research, KMR also becomes about social justice, in terms of redressing power imbalances and bringing real and tangible benefits to Māori (Walker et al., 2006). The use of te reo Māori (Māori language) at appropriate times in the research process can be crucial in terms of the overall revitalisation and survival of Māori as a people, and more practically perhaps, for creating pathways into the research process (Powick, 2003 as cited in Walker et al., 2006). Clearly, the recognition of a Māori worldview and its related concepts is extremely important within KMR. For example, an important concept is that of whakawhanaungatanga – the process of forming relationships. Identifying and connecting with those participating in the research process allows

for detailed information and knowledge to be shared with Māori researchers, as well as to be entrusted into their care (Walsh-Tapiata, cited in Walker et al., 2006).

Tuhiwai Smith (1999) also discusses culturally specific concepts that are part of Kaupapa Māori practices, which she identifies as being prescribed for Māori researchers in cultural terms, playing a role similar to those of research ethics. These concepts include: *aroha ki te tangata* - a respect for people; *kanohi ki te kanohi* - face to face; *titiro, whakarongo, korero* - look, listen, speak; *manaaki ki te tangata* - share and host people, be generous; *kia tupato* - be cautious; *kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* - do not trample over the mana of people; and *kaua e mahaki* - don't flaunt your knowledge.

#### **Kaupapa Māori Research at Te Runanga O Kirikiriroa Trust Inc**

Te Runanga O Kirikiriroa Trust Inc (the Runanga) was established as a Charitable Trust and the Urban Māori Authority for Hamilton city under the guidance of the Māori Queen, Te Atairangikaahu, and the Hamilton City Council in 1987. The Runanga is mandated to focus on issues relating to Article III of the Treaty of Waitangi, and was developed to meet the multi-faceted needs of *maataa waaka* (including Pacific Island communities) within Kirikiriroa. The core values of the Runanga are *Mana Rangatiratanga*, *Whanaungatanga*, *Manaakitanga*, and *Arohatanga*. In recognition of the Runanga being a service for *maataa waka*, the Board of Trustees decided that they would not impose their understanding of what each of these core values meant for these different communities. The rationale for this is based on people interpreting the values differently, including staff of the Runanga who work in different departments and incorporate them into their work differently. Services range from crisis intervention for mental health services, off-site residential mental health services, public health and health promotion services, alcohol and drug counseling services, strategic planning and business solutions services, and research and development.

#### **Pou Tuia Rangahau**

Pou Tuia Rangahau, formerly known as the Research and Development Unit., was established as a specialist unit in December 2002. The unit was established to complete research and evaluation projects that have positive future outcomes for, and with Māori and Pacific communities within Hamilton and the greater Waikato region. The mission statement of Pou Tuia Rangahau is: "To provide evidence that supports the advancement of tangata whenua at local and international levels." In order to meet this mission statement, the following are the aims of Pou Tuia Rangahau:

- To develop research proposals that have a strong collaborative approach when working with key individuals, organisations and communities;
- To conduct research projects with, wherever possible, an emphasis on direct practical outcomes to communities;
- To assist communities to increase their research capacity and facilitate options for funding regarding specific research projects;
- To conduct and complete all research projects based on Kaupapa Māori research methodologies and frameworks; and
- To produce clear evidence regarding best practice models for the services of the Runanga, with a view to increasing the efficacy of such services.

Māori researchers within Pou Tuia Rangahau come from a variety of research backgrounds including community health, community psychology, evaluation research, Māori public health and the alcohol and drug field. Completed projects include research in mental health, gambling, *kaumātua* services, alcohol and drug harm reduction, and a variety of service evaluations. Pou Tuia Rangahau utilise the services of an external academic supervisor, as well as seek guidance from both an internal cultural advisory group and external academic advisory group.

Since its establishment, Pou Tuia Rangahau have conducted and completed a number of research projects, which have now developed into a research programme that aligns with the aims of the Runanga. The aim of our research programme entitled, "*Whānau Ora: Arohatanga*" aims to



develop and consolidate a body of research knowledge which supports Māori whānau to achieve maximum health, wellbeing and quality of life. The three themes which comprise the Whānau Ora: Arohatanga research programme are:

- 1: Whānau Ora - Whanaungatanga
- 2: Whānau Ora - Manaakitanga
- 3: Whānau Ora - Mana Rangatiratanga.

Together, these three distinct themes combine to form a programme of research which prioritises innovative and distinctive research of benefit to Māori, and seeks outcomes which strengthen opportunities for whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities to determine their own health and wellbeing. This research programme contributes to the knowledge base of Māori and seeks to engage with whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori, both as research participants, researchers and knowledge transfer processes, in the process actively engaging in building the capacity and capability of Māori researchers, providers and communities.

Theme One – *Whanaungatanga*, focuses on intergenerational communication as a means of understanding unique Māori approaches to health and wellness, and how these are communicated among whānau. Explicitly built on the strengths and assets of whānau which encourage health and wellbeing, research in this theme contributes to increased knowledge in relation to effective methods of health promotion, education, interventions, and the effective dissemination of health messages within Māori communities.

Theme Two – *Manaakitanga*, focuses on the role health and disability services play in strengthening opportunities for whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities to determine their own health and wellbeing. Research in this theme contributes to understanding excellence and best practice in innovative and distinctive Māori health models and services; and how these contribute to Māori whānau achieving maximum health, wellbeing and quality of life.

Theme Three – *Mana Rangatiratanga* seeks knowledge which contributes to strengthening the capability of Māori communities to support

whānau aspirations for Whānau Ora. Research in this theme contributes to understanding, at a population, community and individual level, the distinctive broader determinants, including cultural and environmental, that contribute to Māori whānau achieving maximum health, wellbeing and quality of life.

#### **An Example of a KMR Project completed by Pou Tuia Rangahau**

The Runanga has maintained a meaningful long term relationship and affiliation with the Rauawaawa Kaumātua Charitable Trust (formerly known as the Frankton/Dinsdale Rauawaawa Charitable Trust). This relationship has nurtured a sense of trust between the two organisations that has enabled the research unit to undertake earlier research work with the kaumātua Rauawaawa. Hence, Pou Tuia Rangahau had been approached by Rauawaawa to undertake an outcome evaluation of Community Education Programme. This evaluation project was aligned within the third theme of Mana Rangatiratanga.

The Trust is based in Frankton and is a non-profit Charitable Trust that provides full wrap-around services for kaumātua in Hamilton city. The Trust has continued to evolve and expand its services by creating more opportunity for kaumātua to actively participate in their programmes and training and employment activities and services in a culturally safe environment. The Trust has a vision to support and advocate for Kaumātua. The mission statement of the Trust reinforces its commitment to kaumātua: “Hei manaaki ngā kaumātua”. This commitment can be considered in practice as enhancing the quality of life and wellbeing of kaumātua by providing wrap-around services that are responsive to their holistic needs. The Community Education Programme operates 11 classes, with the Trust operating in collaboration with the University of Waikato Centre for Continuing Education (the Centre).

The evaluative aims of the project were to:

- Determine the overall effectiveness of the Iwi and Māori Community Initiatives pilot project, facilitated through the Frankton/Dinsdale Rauawaawa Trust

- Obtain information relevant to the development and implementation of the pilot programme, that will identify strengths, successes and areas for improvement
- Examine the current milieu underpinning government policies and trends, to inform predictions about the future direction for the delivery of tertiary and adult education
- Provide recommendations and policy advice regarding the future direction of, and implications for potential national roll out of the pilot programme.

Each project undertaken by Pou Tuia Rangahau is founded on the basis of a kaupapa Māori approach as the predominant method and is complimented by the use of a variety of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Within the context of the KMR framework for this project, a kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face to face) approach to interacting and engaging with individuals throughout the evaluation was key to maintaining the integrity of the relationships formed between the Runanga and Rauawaawa. The kaumātua considered Rauawaawa to be their turangawaewae (place where one has rights) so all hui (meeting/s), interviews, and focus groups were conducted at Rauawaawa. The appropriate cultural practices were respectfully undertaken to ensure cultural safety for all parties involved in the research. Therefore, the use of pōwhiri (ritual of encounter), whakatau (formal welcome) and mihi (speech of greeting) as formal processes of engagement which preceded research processes ensured a safe pathway.

The researchers involved in the evaluation actively practiced culturally appropriate processes that promoted te reo Māori and involved karakia (prayer), mihi mihi, and the facilitation of whakawhanaungatanga (process of forming relationships) throughout all stages of the evaluation. Utilising these KMR practices within all hui fostered trust between the researcher and the researched and encouraged open dialogue (Metge, 1995; Health Research Council, 1998). The researchers brought kai for all hui/interviews facilitated. A common practice of the research unit is to provide koha to participants that is age,

gender, and culturally suitable. Another significant factor is the use of protective mechanisms regarding cultural and intellectual property of participants. We reported on the evaluation according to a reporting template developed by Pou Tuia Rangahau, which is based upon the powhiri process (Elliott-Hohepa, 2005).

Qualitative methods such as a literature review, interviews with stakeholders and tutors of the programme, participant focus groups and thematic analysis were also used. Finally, a quantitative method was also utilised to collate and analyse statistical data such as participant enrolment records. These methods led to some interesting findings. First, it is important to state that the Community Education Programme facilitated by the Trust was, and is, a success. In addition to meeting various Adult Community Education (ACE) priorities, the success of the programme was reiterated constantly throughout interviews with stakeholders and tutors, as well as participant focus groups.

Information provided by stakeholders from the Trust and Centre emphasized the importance of the unique development of the programme because of the successful collaborative relationship between the Trust and the Centre. This was despite the ongoing funding and resource issues that impacted on the programme. The tutors of classes also reiterated that the Trust provided a unique kaupapa Māori learning environment that was founded on the Rauawaawa mission statement. Ako Māori (Pere, 1989) was an important principle discussed by tutors, with this principle promoting the reciprocal relationships for tutors and participants.

All focus group participants discussed having their expectations for classes surpassed, and as a result of attending classes, having the desire to pass skills they had acquired onto family, friends, and the wider community. Five main themes emerged from our analysis of findings: a unique learning environment; social cohesiveness; gaining useable skills, cultural revitalization; and holistic wellbeing. Similar to what tutors highlighted, participants noted that the Trust was a unique environment because the programme was

entrenched in a rich cultural history, and that classes operated from a Kaupapa Māori framework. The theme of social cohesiveness involved the discussion of topics such as whakawhanaungatanga and activities which facilitated this such as the kaumātua ball, and an inclusive environment for people from a range of backgrounds. In addition to the many social benefits of participant experiences, they also gained skills that could be utilised in a variety of contexts and passed onto others. Cultural revitalisation was an important theme to emerge from our analysis of findings. Some kaumātua were participating in the waiata class and learning to whaikōrero in te reo in order to fulfill kaumātua duties on their local marae. This knowledge could then be passed down to grandchildren, thus contributing to the intergenerational transfer of Māori culture. Within this environment, non-Māori were also able to learn about Te Ao Māori. Holistic wellbeing was enhanced by all participants we spoke to throughout the evaluation.

Based on these findings, we concluded that the Trust has risen to the challenge of meeting the needs of their community, and have done so successfully. This has been achieved by empowering kaumātua and acknowledging their participation across all levels of operation. By involving kaumātua across these levels, the Trust dispels the myth that older people cannot make valuable contributions once they reach a certain age. The Trust's philosophy provides positive ageing strategies that reaffirm Māori beliefs about the integral role that kaumātua play within society. The Trust is a living example of a place that puts into practice through a Kaupapa Māori approach, the notion that kaumātua have valuable contributions to make to society, thus claiming their own unique space.

The findings from this evaluation enabled us to develop various recommendations, including a template which outlines the issues involved in a potential national roll-out of a community education programme for kaumātua. Points highlighted within the template may also have relevance at a national level, as well as for other education and community providers. Key

recommendations included that the Centre and Adult Community Education (ACE) continue to fund the community programme and that the Ministry of Education review the funding formula that ACE use for education for older people to better reflect aged learning styles and needs. A key recommendation for the Centre and the Trust was to ensure open communication regarding all aspects of programme development, including record keeping and updating contracts and to review the way in which stakeholders collate and store participant records and information. Finally, a key recommendation to the Trust was that they identify the specific needs for men, with the view to establishing classes that meet such needs.

In summary, advocates of a KM approach cite it as an extremely influential and sound philosophical base and practice for Māori, which advances Māori cultural and educational outcomes within all levels of education (Pihama et al, 2004). Hence, the Rauawaawa Kaumātua Charitable Trust community education kaumātua programme introduces people into a kaupapa Maori environment that is welcoming, warm and non-threatening. It has brought together a range of people of varying ages, ethnicities and circumstances, who may not have had prior opportunity to meet. An important point here is that the Trust's kaupapa Maori service delivery is not only working extremely well for those participants who are Māori, but it is also meeting needs of non-Māori. Thus, Māori and non-Māori are successfully working and learning alongside one another within this environment. An implication of this is that ethnic barriers which may exist within wider society are effectively being reduced, and in their place, acknowledgement and appreciation of difference is being fostered.

### **Claiming Space for the Future**

#### ***The uniqueness of Pou Tuia Rangahau***

A key strength of Pou Tuia Rangahau is that we develop research proposals that have a strong collaborative approach when working with key individuals, organisations and communities. Our kaupapa is to work with our communities, not research 'on' or 'about' them. Our work

throughout the Rauawaawa evaluation provides a clear example of how we consult with our communities and research participants, from the conceptualisation phase, through to the development of proposals, throughout the research process, to the dissemination and knowledge transfer phase.

Many Māori communities are suspicious, and almost fearful when it comes to research because too often Māori have experiences of being 'researched on', having their knowledge taken from them, with nothing given in return (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Our research process is respectful of those we are working with, is guided and underpinned by tikanga Māori throughout all phases, and we always strive to give back to our communities by providing drafts and summaries of findings for feedback and comment, and then by disseminating the findings at the completion of the project.

### ***Ensuring Space for Future Generations of Māori Researchers***

So how does Pou Tuia Rangahau claim space for the future? One thing we attempt to do is to initiate, foster, and maintain relationships across sectors in the community, both private and public. We are able to collaborate with different groups, including academic institutions, because we work in a Kaupapa Māori organisation that values collective co-operation. We also focus on capacity building within the communities in which we work in order to contribute to increasing the number of Māori researchers claiming their space in whatever setting that may be.

Finally, the communities with whom we work own the research findings. The findings are based on their understandings, perspectives, realities and korero. We see our role as being to assist with getting their korero known to those at higher levels, as it is through this process we can contribute to influencing meaningful change. By the communities owning their knowledge and deciding what the findings mean for their communities, they are reinforcing their self determination, their Tino Rangatiratanga and claiming their own space

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### **Address for Correspondence:**

Te Runanga O Kirikiriroa Trust Inc  
Pou Tuia Rangahau, Research and Development Unit  
P.O. Box 19165  
Hamilton

Tel: 07 846 1042  
keri@terunanga.org.nz or  
alison@terunanga.org.nz

# Claiming Spaces: Prioritising Maaori Worldview

Mera Penehira, Lyn Doherty, Aroha Gray and Elaine Spark

*Ohomairangi Early Intervention Services*

## Introduction

Ohomairangi Trust was established as a provider of early intervention services in February 2002. It is funded and accredited by the Ministry of Education, and is the first Kaupapa Maaori based early intervention service to be accredited by the Ministry of Education. Essentially Ohomairangi was developed because of a need in the community for a service that could focus on developing and providing early intervention in a uniquely Maaori way, without the constraints of a crown agency. The Ohomairangi early intervention team has a commitment to supporting both the positive developments for Maaori within the Ministry of Education, and the continued independent research and development of Kaupapa Maaori services. The primary purpose of Ohomairangi is to develop and provide a Kaupapa Maaori based early intervention service across Taamaki Makaurau, which meets recommended practice guidelines. This evolves from a starting point of Kaupapa Maaori theory.

This paper focuses on the role Ohomairangi plays in creating indigenous space in Aotearoa. Given the size constraints of this paper, the focus has been further defined to one of the key underlying elements of creating such a space: 'engagement'. The processes of engagement with each other and with the children, families and communities with whom we work are paramount to the success or otherwise of interventions. The relationships that develop through processes of engagement are the foundation upon which interventions take place, and upon which we work with others for the ultimate goal of self-determining indigenous people and communities.

## Engagement

The term 'engagement' in its simplest sense is applied as a method of interaction with others,

which generally has an intended outcome. It is known to include both dialogue and written material, and may be formal or informal.

A current review of literature and internet sources indicates that the term 'engagement' is a fairly recent addition to the discourse of the New Zealand Crown and other agencies. It has become increasingly apparent in the last five years.

In 2004 the Department of Labour published the document titled "Government – Community Engagement: Key learning and emerging principles". This was the first of a thematic paper series from the 'Community Economic Development Action Research Project' (CEDAR) undertaken in 2002-2003, for the purpose of exploring the use of research as a conduit for developing a closer relationship between government policy and community. This paper was intended as a resource to support those who engage with communities and offers a significant contribution to the current review.

The definition of 'engagement' which underpins the Department of Labour's paper originates from the Privy Council.

*Citizen engagement refers to processes through which government seeks to encourage deliberation, reflection, and learning on issues at preliminary stages of a policy process often when the focus is more on the values and principles that will frame the way an issue is considered. Citizen engagement processes are used to consider policy directions that are expected to have a major impact on citizens; address issues that involve conflicts in values or require difficult policy choices or tradeoffs; explore emerging issues that require considerable learning, both on the part of government*

*and citizens; and build common ground by reconciling competing interests.*

*Citizen engagement differs qualitatively from consultation in a number of ways including an emphasis on in-depth deliberation and dialogue, the focus on finding common ground, greater time commitments and its potential to build civic capacity. In this regard, citizen engagement processes should be used selectively (Department of Labour, 2004, p5)*

Clearly the requirements of the Crown and other agencies wishing to embark on engagement are greater than those expected within consultation processes. Such differences are explored in greater depth below. This paper acknowledges the Crown's desire to encourage greater participation of citizens in policy development, referred to in this context as 'citizen engagement'.

*Engaging citizens in policy making is part of good governance. Governments are under increasing pressure to enhance transparency accountability. Information sharing, consultation and participation are fast gaining currency in civic democracy as tools for government – community engagement. Therefore for governments to respond to these challenges, they need to build a commitment and capacity of civic engagement (Department of Labour, 2004, p5).*

Not all of the literature is as descriptive or indeed shares the same description of engagement. In a paper titled "Local Authority Engagement with Maori" published by Local Government New Zealand (2004), the findings of a quantitative survey of council practices are reported. The term 'engagement' is used synonymously with 'working with' and the survey questions investigated:

- Maori involvement in council structures: This included the formation of Maori standing committees; Maori membership on other council committees or subcommittees and working parties; Maori representation on or Maori advisory committees; consideration of Maori constituencies/wards.

- Policies and practices for establishing relationships with Maori: This included a range of options including co-management of sites and activities; relationship agreements; consultation policies and practices; iwi management plans; projects and funding.
- Council resources, training and relationship monitoring: This covered things such as iwi liaison and Maori policy units; internal staff and councillor training; monitoring of relationships; hearing commissioners.

The items in the survey suggest that engagement refers to involvement which may or may not engender similar expectations of 'information sharing, consultation and participation' described broadly in the CEDAR paper above. There is nothing that assures the involvement will be active rather than passive. Committee representation for example may allow for an active role in decision-making processes or it may simply be an observatory role with limited powers. Even in the event that it does allow for an active role, a one or two member representation on a committee of eight or more has limited persuasive power or power to make change.

The CEDAR paper notes that work undertaken by councils with Maori is done so within a legislative framework and that this requires councils to 'take account' of Maori concerns in certain circumstances. The development of structures and policies to meet such requirements however is the responsibility of the individual council. The work of CEDAR may well be applied to assist such processes.

A third paper dealing with 'engagement' was published in 1999 by the Ministry of Education and provides guidelines for those who work with Maori in the education sector. They are intended to 'assist Ministry of Education staff to consult and engage effectively with Maori'. A clear understanding of the benefits of reciprocal relationships that underpin successful engagement is evident in the paper's intent.

*We need to be aware of the contribution and real difference education can make to their (communities) wider economic, social and cultural development ... Good policy design*

*and good policy implementation require us to identify how Maori may be affected by these, and to obtain and incorporate their perspectives wherever possible in all phases from problem definition and the formulation of options through to decision-making and implementation ... flexible and positive consultation and engagement will improve the quality of our work and contribute to better educational outcomes for Maori (Ministry of Education, 1999, p.1).*

The excerpt above from the foreword of the then Secretary for Education, Mr Howard Fancy, promises a commitment to relationship building that will have beneficial outcomes for both the communities and the education sector.

In terms of adding to the definition of 'engagement' evidenced in the literature generally, the Ministry of Education (1999) further states that:

*Engagement is a broad umbrella term used in these guidelines to encompass all our interactions with Maori (formal, informal, verbal, written, whether related to specific issues or not).*

It is important to note that the Ministry of Education (MoE) has not simply exchanged meanings between 'consultation' and 'engagement' but have sought to explore the relationship of each to each other. To understand the context of the MOE's definition of engagement, the following are listed as the purposes of their guidelines:

- To improve responsiveness and service delivery to make a difference in Maori education
- To comply with legal principles of the Treaty of Waitangi
- To empower by constructive engagement, raising achievement, reducing disparities and assisting those at risk
- To improve our leadership role through effective partnerships and innovation. (Ministry of Education, 1999, p.2)

In a further Crown document titled the "Strategy for engagement with Maori on international treaties", by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and

Trade's legal division, a different perspective of 'engagement' emerges. In contrast to the Ministry of Education's paper discussed above, this paper recognises the lead agency as the more powerful partner in the relationship at every level.

*The onus is on the lead agency to identify ... whether there is a need for engagement with Maori ... If it is considered that Maori involvement is required, the lead agency will be responsible for establishing the appropriate degree and nature of this involvement based on the nature, degree and strength of Maori interest. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade's legal division, 2005, p.1)*

This document does little to acknowledge the partnership role of Maori as Tangata Whenua in Te Tiriti o Waitangi and therefore the subsequent role of Maori in all other treaties negotiated on behalf of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

*...there will not be a need to involve Maori in discussions on all treaties but that the focus must be on ensuring that this occurs on international treaties concerning issues of relevance to Maori ... Maori involvement would be expected on any treaty action affecting the control or enjoyment of Maori resources (te tino rangatiratanga) or taonga as protected under the Treaty of Waitangi (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade's legal division, 2005, p.1).*

Although the final sentence in the above excerpt shows some recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and its implications for further treaty negotiations, it reflects a limited perspective, whereby the Crown remains the dominant partner who determines the basis and indeed process for Maori participation.

The document goes on to list opportunities for engagement with Maori and to its credit does suggest that these 'exist during all phases of treaty making'. Given the context described earlier of the lead agency determining the what, where and when these latter statements seem to be of limited significance. The document states that "Engagement with Maori on particular treaties will

enable the development of an ongoing relationship with Maori” (p.3). For meaningful ongoing relationships to occur who determines the points and nature of engagement will need to be addressed.

The term ‘engagement’ and more specifically the terms ‘civic engagement’ are even more prevalent in literature from North America, some of which is reviewed below.

‘Dialogue for Democracy’ (Bake, Davies, Elggren, Ethington, 2005) is a university based research project which studied the definition and application of ‘civic engagement’ in Utah. It identified that the term ‘civic engagement’ has its origins in Dewey’s (1993) concept of education in a democratic society, with Dewey (1933) asserting that knowledge is about the comprehension of information and, information without comprehension has limited value. To understand or comprehend information is to know the relationship that various pieces of information have to each other and to one’s own context. This can only occur when the acquisition of information, its relationships and its meaning are reflected on. In the context of whaanau engagement this would imply that there is little value in simply gleaning information from the whaanau. Rather, effective engagement will require an understanding of that information by reflecting on how it relates to present and future information. It requires further reflection on the context from which it is gleaned and the context to which it might be applied. This could be viewed as a process of engagement which can contribute to greater knowledge amongst all participants in the process.

In the university context engagement is applied to *a reciprocal beneficial academic relationship between a university, its students and faculty, and the surrounding community*”(Bake et al, 2005).

For this present paper we can apply the notion of ‘reciprocal benefit’ to the relationships between whaanau and others, in the facilitation of engagement for whaanau development. In so doing it would be reasonable to expect that a primary

objective of facilitating engagement with whaanau would include real benefits both for the Crown or other agency, and the whaanau.

Participants in the ‘Dialogue for Democracy’ study identified a range of definitions for civic engagement that further define how the term might be applied for whaanau engagement. Emergent themes included individual public participation, dialogue, public expression, and reciprocity and community improvement.

These themes however exist on the assumption that by definition civic engagement is a democratic process that builds a democratic society. Indeed it may be on that same assumption that this report has been commissioned. However, this review would be incomplete if it ignored the body of literature which questions this very assumption.

Literature that challenges civic engagement is grounded in an in-depth analysis of contextual issues which impact on and indeed further challenge the intent of those who initiate engagement processes with communities. The literature examines the demographics of those who tend to participate frequently in matters of civic engagement and those who tend to be marginalized in the processes and not frequently represented. It questions the intent of the engagement initiators who continue to encourage processes that only gain the participation of certain members or groups of society. If the engagement initiators truly intend the civic engagement to add value to and aid the creation of a more democratic society then it would be reasonable to expect that the underlying reasons for skewed participation and marginalisation need to be addressed. Armony (2004) writes:

*The intersections of class, gender, ethnicity, religion, and age – analyzed in light of the broader political context – are critical to understanding participation in civil society (2004, p99).*

Civic or whaanau engagement may be initiated to address and gain community input into issues of concern within society. What Armony and others (eg., Daynes, 2005) caution is that until the underlying societal causes for these issues are



addressed, the engagement may do little to improve the concerns and more to preserve the status quo.

*We need to examine the history of the issues they (engagement initiators) aim to address, and the contexts out of which their theories, models and practices emerge ... If we are to respond to the issues we face today, we must ask and answer serious historical questions as part of our work. We must know how things got to be the way they are where we are... we must uncover the historical contexts of the programs we adopt. We must ask how those contexts will fit the contexts we work in. It is only when those questions are answered that we can bring to bear the historical analogies and methods that give the movement for civic engagement its energy and appeal. (2005, p.4).*

To facilitate the most effective engagement, the literature appears to suggest two steps. First, that the Crown and its agencies first undertake a thorough analysis of who currently participates in opportunities for engagement or consultation and how the history of Maori development and colonisation in Aotearoa has created the context for the current participation demographics. Secondly, that the Crown and its agencies address any issues of inequity and mistrust reflected by the demographics. This is obviously a time consuming process which would require a long term commitment to re-building the relationship between Maori and the Crown.

Educational theorist Paulo Freire's extensive work on the development of educational pedagogies and pedagogy of the oppressed, has resonated with indigenous peoples throughout the world. Freire acknowledges the cultural underpinnings critical to the engagement and progress of any peoples. Based on recognition of the cultural underpinnings of folk traditions, and on a recognition of the importance of the collective construction of knowledge, Freire's pedagogical project created a vivid new vocabulary of concern for the oppressed, and uncoiled a new and powerful political terminology that enabled the oppressed to analyze their location within the privileging hierarchy of capitalist society and to engage in attempts to

dislocate themselves from existing cycles of social reproduction.

*Linking history, politics, economics and class to the concepts of culture and power to develop both a language of critique and a language of hope. These work conjointly and have proven successful in helping generations of disenfranchised peoples to liberate themselves (Freire, 1998, p90).*

In summary, it is relationships and the re-building of relationships that are at the heart of successful engagement. Knowing and understanding the context of the whanau will be critical to engagement practices that result in benefits for all. Finally the literature also tells us that engagement is clearly not just another word to replace consultation. It's meaning centres fundamentally on active participation and a relationship of mutual benefits.

## Conclusion

Even in a Kaupapa Maaori service such as Ohomairangi, and some might say especially in a Kaupapa Maaori service, there is the existence of power relations. This is an important part of both the engagement and indigenous spaces discourse. So, what are the important factors for us as Maaori interventionists to keep in mind?

Firstly, it is an understanding that indigenous spaces do not exist in isolation. We work within other spaces, alongside other spaces and around other spaces. How we are positioned in our collaborations or conflicts with others, however, is superseded by the fact that those other spaces actually exist. That is, we cannot pretend, no matter how staunch, how pretty, how peaceful, or how gutsy the space we have created, that we act alone. The reality is that all of our indigenous spaces exist in a context somewhere along the continuum of colonized Aotearoa, which exists in a Neoliberal world. We do not act in isolation of any of that.

Secondly, our organization is state funded by the Ministry of Education and therefore to an extent we might be perceived as state agents. What does this mean in terms of the equation that this puts us

in with families? State funding plus state agent does not equal the family position. We need therefore to recognize that and ensure that our practices with families mediate the risks they may face in such an unequal equation.

The third point to make in terms of power relations in early intervention, in special education, is that often there is an isolation factor for a family with special needs. That is, the community ties that would normally exist for families may not be there at all, or at best the ties are qualitatively different. Isolation tends to reduce one's sense of power and one's sense of belonging.

The fourth point that impacts on the power relations in our work is that which is probably the

easiest for us to mediate. That is, it is about our own attitudes and beliefs. If we as interventionists view the family as being 'in need' and operate from a 'needs based' position, then we immediately dis-empower families with that view. If on the other hand, we operate from a 'strengths based' position, then we immediately place power with the families that may be equal or greater than our own perceived position.

Finally, it is important for us to reflect and consider who creates the space. Are we creating a state space that we bring families into, because the state are our funders? Or are we privileged to be joining the space already occupied by families?

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# **Spill-over' of sustainability values and practices - a psychology PhD thesis proposal**

**Mohi Rua & Dr Linda Waimarie Nikora**

*Maori and Psychology Research Unit  
University of Waikato, Hamilton*

## **Introduction**

Tuatahi nga mihi ki a koutou katoa kua whakahuihui mai ki tenei hui whakahirahira.

The following presentation relates to my proposed PhD topic. As an audience you're probably reading the title and wondering what relevance my topic has to the symposium theme Claiming Spaces. My immediate response is 'nothing'. Nada, zilch, kore. As a 'fill-in' speaker for a presenter unable to be here, I'm reminded that despite my topics irregularity in the programme, I claim a space as both a psychologist and Maori person seeking to work with in the field of sustainability and conservation. Psychologists and Maori are interested in more than mental health and clinical investigation. We are interested in how the world goes around and seek to claim a space here too. So, this symposium and my participation DOES have relevance and I'd like to acknowledge those who remind me so. Let's take a peep into my world for the next 3 years.

## **Media Coverage**

The number of businesses in New Zealand taking on the challenge to: be 'energy efficient' (Leaman, 2007); engage in 'sustainable business practices' (Watkin, 2007), and to promote conservation strategies among their employees has had an average increase of 10% each year (Collins, Lawrence, & Roper, 2007) with practices becoming more publicly visible (Leaman, 2007; Watkin, 2007). For example, supermarkets are promoting alternatives to using plastic bags, computer companies like Dell have recycling initiatives (Dell, 2005), and businesses like Xerox are aiming for 'zero waste' (Fuji Xerox, 2007). Collins, Corner, Kearins and Lawrence (2004) examined the state of voluntary environment programmes in New Zealand. These were "a range of initiatives that firms choose to undertake to improve their environmental performance beyond what is legally mandate" (Collins, Corner, Kearins, & Lawrence, 2004, p. 57). Fifty seven percent of New Zealand businesses believe environmental

management will be much more important to their business within the next 5 years. Commercial reputations were seen to be at stake and businesses felt pressure from customers and other stakeholders to be more environmentally conscious. While costs could be considered a barrier to more proactive environmental practices, incorporating an environmental strategy can assist businesses to remain competitive in their field. Environmental behaviour, therefore, becomes an 'investment' linked to corporate profit (Fowler & Hope, 2007; Lawrence, Collins, Pavlovich, & Arunachalam, 2006; Nakao, Amano, Matsumura, Genba, & Nakano, 2007).

Public interest in sustainable living and energy efficiency is highlighted by the TV3 series "WASTED: Waging War on Waste" (TV3, 2007). 'WASTED' is a 30 minute show that audits the daily activities of family homes and takes practical steps toward reducing their ecological footprint by calculating their carbon emissions (Landcare Research, 2007; TV3, 2007).

In an effort to change the way New Zealander's think about energy use and consumption, the New Zealand Government passed the Energy Efficiency and Conservation Act (EEC Act) 2000 to promote energy efficiency, energy conservation and the use of renewable sources of energy (Legislation NZ, 2000). In passing the EEC Act, the Energy Efficiency Conservation Authority (EECA) was set up as a Crown Entity responsible for delivering the Government's energy efficiency agenda (Ministry of Economic Development, 2004; National Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority, 2001). The Government's new National Energy Strategy (Ministry of Economic Development, 2007b) sets out the long-term direction of New Zealand's energy system, so the energy sector and consumers can respond with more certainty and confidence to the energy challenges and opportunities of the future (Ministry of Economic Development, 2007a). Local councils like Hamilton City Council (Hamilton City Services, 2007) and Environment Waikato have also

been active in reducing household landfill contributions by establishing the 'green bin' recycling initiative, and increasing the number of green recycling centers in and around Hamilton, as well as energy efficiency campaigns (Environment Waikato, 2007). In addition, they have been instrumental in stimulating the intensification of 'green' activities by linking with business (e.g., Genesis Energy) to make awards (e.g., 2007 Waikato Sustainable Business Awards), promoting competitions and making community grants available.

In examining media reporting, sustainability and advocacy websites, the television show about reducing one's ecological footprint, businesses prepared to engage in interventions, and government initiatives, the impression that one forms is that there are changes afoot. Sustainability appears fashionable, increasingly economically viable, and businesses are getting involved. This movement is encouraged by organisations like the Sustainable Business Network (SBN) which works with businesses that are interested in sustainable development practice. Whatever their motivations (profits, sustainability, appealing to 'solution seekers', public profile) some businesses are clearly willing and have moved in the direction of sustainability.

### **Aim of research**

My proposed study seeks to investigate the 'spill-over' of workplace sustainability values and practices to staff/employee households. If household values and practices differ to workplace values and practices, staff are thrown into a cognitively dissonant position which they are then required to attend to. The central question in this study is: Do staff change their household sustainability practices to coincide with workplace practices, and under what conditions does this occur?

'Spill-over' is considered to be a process where characteristics in one domain e.g. paper recycling, are transferred by a person to some other domain (Leiter & Durup, 1996). Spill-over can also be understood by the notion of 'spreading' or 'transfer' (Thøgersen & Olander, 2003).

The study will involve:

- a) Recruiting businesses willing to have their sustainability practices publicly documented, and willing to promote participation in the study to their employees;
- b) Recruiting employees willing to complete a survey about the relationship of household

sustainability practices to their workplace and vice-versa;

- c) Recruiting and interviewing a willing subset of employees who have completed the survey and who engage in household sustainability practices.

### **Why are environmental issues important to psychologists**

Over the last 30 years, social psychologists have been interested and more involved in environmental issues often with an inter-disciplinary approach across economics, medicine, political science and sociology, and more recently science and engineering (van der Pligt, 1996). The major research themes in this area relate mainly to the impact of environmental pollution, noise and, natural and technological disasters (van der Pligt, 1996).

The environment does have an effect on our human behaviour and most research tends to look at the negative effects (Bell, Greene, Fisher, & Baum, 2001). In the literature, this is known as environmental stress, that is, our reactions to noxious stimuli or perceived threats to our lives (Bell, Greene, Fisher, & Baum, 2001; Dickson & Murphy, 2007; van der Pligt, 1996). Research into the environment by psychologists is based on the assumption that concern for the environment is a condition for the advancement of successful environmental protection and behaviour modification. Psychological research, as with other discipline related research on energy, the environment and sustainability issues, will help us understand how to encourage or discourage environment-related behaviours (Creighton, 1998; Harre & Atkinson, 2007; van der Pligt, 1996).

### **Relevant psychological literature**

A number of psychological theories are relevant to my proposed study. They are social representation theory, community social marketing, and the social psychology of everyday life and communities of practice. They are briefly reviewed below.

#### *Social Representation theory*

"Social representations should be seen as a specific way of understanding and communicating what we already know" (Moscovici, 2001, p. 31). Social representations help us to gain meaning from the world by ordering it, reproducing it in a meaningful way and circulating that point of view (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). From an energy conservation perspective, representations of sustainability enter into our ordinary lives and circulate through

conversations with friends, colleagues or the media. Duveen (Moscovici, 2001) claims that the social influence of communication solidifies the representation as reality, establishing an affiliation binding people together.

Wolfgang Wagner and his colleagues (Wagner et al., 1999) provide a useful overview of social representation theory. It is a social psychological framework of concepts and ideas to study psychosocial phenomena in modern societies. The framework is guided by some fundamental assumptions, that is, that social representation is about making the unfamiliar, familiar. The mere act of discussing 'sustainability' provokes images of natural resources, ecological damage, places, histories, conservation and development. This in itself is a process of making the unfamiliar, more familiar and affiliating people to a reality and cause.

#### *Community Social Marketing*

Social marketing is the use of marketing principles and techniques to improve the welfare of people and the physical, social and economic environment in which they live. Community Social Marketing understands these as fundamental principles to encouraging behaviour modification (Kotler, Roberto, & Lee, 2002; McKenzie-Mohr & Smith, 1999). Social marketing is a carefully planned, long-term approach to changing human behaviour. The behaviour change may involve doing something new (covering up in the sun), doing something differently (washing the car on the grass rather than the side of the road) or stopping doing something altogether (drink driving). Social marketing is also used to create environments that support the desired behaviour (Andreasen, 2002; Smith, 2008). Social marketing uses many commercial marketing principles and techniques, however, it aims to benefit the target audience and society as a whole rather than seeking a financial profit (McKenzie-Mohr, 2007). The Ministry for the Environment also employs social marketing techniques. In its promotion of sustainability in Aotearoa, it creates a market representation about the nature and benefits of business sustainability and circulates this representation (Ministry for the Environment, 2007). The intent is to create a reality of 'best practice' that binds businesses together through talk, action and perception.

#### *The Social Psychology of Everyday Life*

According to Chaney (2002) everyday life is considered the unremarkable and taken for granted events in our lives. Social and cultural circumstances of everyday life will differ. Chaney (2002) argues

that common expectations of a reality exist. These mundane routines or rhythms of everyday flows is consistent with the theory of 'sampling community discourses' (Guerin, 2007) where natural or normal conversations function within a social community of everyday events and do not act as a private language.

In terms of sustainability, advocates want the practice to become an everyday mundane taken for granted activity, that is, part of the everyday flows of businesses and households functioning within a larger social community and context.

#### *Communities of Practice*

Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic (sustainability), and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis like Waikato EnviroNet ("Waikato EnviroNet", 2007)<sup>1</sup>. These people meet because they find value in their interactions. As they spend time together they typically share information, insight, and advice. They discuss their aspirations and their needs, and they may even develop a common sense of identity. They become a "community of practice" (Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002). If today's marketplace is fuelled by knowledge and knowledge is power, cultivating communities of practice needs to be considered a key requirement in effective knowledge transfer. By creating, sharing and applying knowledge within and across teams, and within units and business 'communities', leverage can occur off this network to maintain or gain a market advantage for example. It is about becoming a practitioner, rather than just learning the practice (Brown & Duguid, 2000). Knowledge is too valuable a resource to leave for chance and sharing of knowledge allows communities to keep up with the rapid change (Wenger, 1998; Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002). From a sustainability point of view, the Sustainable Business Network could be considered one such model.

The SBN is a national network with an office in Auckland that employs about five staff, maintains an informative and newsy web site, and facilitates workshops for business's that wish to follow the sustainability path (Sustainable Business Network, 2007). SBN promotes sustainable practice in New Zealand and supports businesses on the path to

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<sup>1</sup> Waikato EnviroNet is a group of staff members interested in or involved with teaching, research, and initiatives relating to the environment. Its members come from a variety of Schools within the University of Waikato.

becoming sustainable. They link businesses and provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences, defining 'sustainable business' as the integration of economic growth, social equity and environmental management, both for now and the future (Sustainable Business Network, 2007).

Other theories and sub-disciplines of psychology I anticipate being helpful to my study are:

- Cognitive Dissonance Theory
- Theory of social change: workplace as a social change agent
- Community Psychology
- Environmental Psychology

### **Concluding comments**

Social psychological research can make an important contribution to helping us analyse and understand the view points of stakeholders - you, me, businesses, communities and cultures with regard to environmental issues and sustainability practices.

Psychologists can use social psychological concepts and ideas to study psychosocial phenomena in modern societies, and can act as social change agents by creating environments that support desired behaviours. In these ways, social psychologists can help people, groups, communities, societies, and cultures make that which is unfamiliar, familiar.

It is difficult to measure the impact this study can have on businesses and households per se, however, if employees do change their household sustainability practices because of workplace practices, then government campaigns toward sustainability could use this as a model for expanding existing initiatives or developing future policies toward sustainable energy use (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2002; Environment Waikato, 2007; Hamilton City Services, 2007; Ministry of Economic Development, 2004; National Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority, 2001).

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# **Claiming Collective Space: Kaupapa Maori in Psychology**

**Michelle Levy, Tamati Amuketi, Catherine Lane**

*Maori and Psychology Research Unit  
University of Waikato*

From its inception, the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato has had a focus on issues of culture, particularly those of relevance for Maori, with these early foundations laid by Emeritus Professor James Ritchie, who in 1965 took up the founding chair of the Department. These foundations have continued to be built on, utilising a variety of different strategies. Drawing on a research base which has emerged primarily from within the Maori and Psychology Research Unit at Waikato University, this paper explores strategies which have served to carve out and claim space for Maori, both within the department, and within the wider discipline of psychology.

## **Spaces Claimed**

In 2007 the Kaupapa Maori programme in the psychology department at the University of Waikato comprised:

- A Kaupapa Maori tutorial programme
- Kaupapa Maori Student Advisor
- Kaupapa Maori Sessional Assistants
- Kaupapa Maori academic staff (x3)
- Maori & Psychology Research Unit (MPRU)
- Kaupapa Maori Management Committee
- Maori focused courses (x2)
- Te Kohikohinga Maori (dedicated Maori-focused library resource)

Supporting these elements is University and Department policy affirming the place and value of Maori students within the university and department. These multiple elements reflect the view that indigenous psychology will not be progressed by a series of unrelated and ad-hoc initiatives but requires mechanisms by which developments can be consolidated to form a visible and identifiable indigenous knowledge base on which to further build (Levy, 2007). The MPRU

explicitly recognises that the ongoing and sustainable gains sought will result from the cumulative effects of interconnected elements (Levy, 2007). It is this theme of sustainable change achieved by the consolidation of multiple and interrelated pathways and the incremental gains which result, which underpin the activities occurring in the psychology department at the University of Waikato (Levy, 2007).

## **Claiming Spaces**

In 1989, Linda Waimarie Nikora became the first Maori person appointed to an academic position in a psychology department. This was a pivotal appointment in that it provided for the first time the opportunity for psychology to be challenged from a Maori perspective, by a Maori psychologist, from within academia (Nikora, 1989). It marked the start of the Kaupapa Maori agenda within psychology at Waikato University. This agenda is positioned within a Maori development framework, seeking to achieve the objectives of Maori development through the core activities of teaching, research and practice. Three key elements which underpin this agenda: preventing harm; addressing student attrition; and contributing to Maori psychologies. 'Prevention' involves limiting the exposure of Maori psychology students to the risks that stem from the dominance of the Western scientific paradigm. 'Addressing student attrition' involves supporting Maori students to complete course requirements, while at the same time enhancing the relevance of the material being studied. Contributing to 'Maori psychologies' focuses on the development of knowledge bases premised upon and deriving from Maori world views. These three elements underpin the teaching, support and research strategies which combine to form the Kaupapa Maori agenda (Levy, 2007;

Nikora, Ritchie, Ritchie, Masters, Levy, & Waitoki, 2002b).

### **Kaupapa Maori Tutorial Programme**

Over the past ten years there have been relatively high numbers of Maori students entering the psychology department at Waikato University at undergraduate level. However, the numbers have tended to drop sharply by third year, with few Maori students entering graduate study (Levy, 2007). The need to actively support Maori psychology students to successful outcomes has been identified as important for some time. Various factors impact on the successful participation of Maori students in tertiary education generally. These include the transition and adaptation to unfamiliar tertiary environments and tertiary study, financial barriers, and external commitments (Ministry of Education, 2001; Nikora, Levy, Henry, & Whangapirita, 2002a). It has also been noted that the complex interaction of a multitude of factors leads to poor outcomes within tertiary education (Nikora et al., 2002a). An important finding to emerge from recent research is that there are clear differences in the type of support needed at different stages of study (Ashwell, Nikora, & Levy, 2003; Levy & Williams, 2003). Maori students who experience success in their first year at university were more likely to be confident and competent in negotiating course requirements and the university environment in subsequent years (Ashwell et al., 2003; Levy & Williams, 2003). Engendering familiarity and confidence in the first year of study appeared fundamental. However, this type of support differs from what is required by students engaged at higher levels of study, with students at graduate level tending to rely directly on lecturers for support (Levy & Williams, 2003).

The strategy that has had the most success in supporting Maori students has been the Kaupapa Maori tutorial programme. Introduced in the early 1990s, and predating the introduction of Kaupapa Maori courses, the Kaupapa Maori Tutorial Programme was the first initiative to become embedded in the Department. The Kaupapa Maori tutorials served as a vehicle for Maori students to engage with course material, as well as to express

their thoughts about how things could be done differently, with the Maori student voice having been a major catalyst for change within the Department. Presently, the Kaupapa Maori Tutorial Programme operates alongside the Maori and Psychology Research Unit, providing tutorial support for students who wish to study in an environment that fosters *manaakitanga*, *whanaungatanga*, *te reo Maori* and *tikanga Maori*. Kaupapa Maori tutorials affirm to Maori students that the Department collectively supports their presence and their aspirations. Operating across the majority of undergraduate courses, Kaupapa Maori tutorials have come to be considered standard practice within the Department. Senior Maori students, or in some cases, non-Maori students, are employed as tutors to deliver tutorials tailored to the learning needs and preferences of Maori students. The 'taken for granted' mode of operation within the tutorial environment is culturally Maori, meaning that if students wish to speak Maori or use Maori concepts within the tutorial, they can and are not obliged to provide translations, explanations or justifications for their choice to do so. Kaupapa Maori tutorials seek to avoid the potentially negative experiences which can occur when Maori participate in mainstream activities as a minority. For example, Maori students who attend mainstream tutorials can feel as if they are in the spotlight especially when asked to provide 'the' Maori perspective on issues. Isolation can be another experience for Maori students in mainstream tutorials. Maori students thrive in an environment which is supportive of their world view. Much of the research undertaken nationally in relation to the recruitment and retention of Maori within psychology has been conducted by the Maori and Psychology Unit (MPRU) (see for example, Ashwell et al., 2003; Levy, 2002; Levy & Williams, 2003; Nikora et al., 2002a; Nikora, Rua, Duirs, Thompson, & Amuketi, 2004). This literature base, which continues to grow, has provided a foundation for the ongoing development of initiatives to support Maori students achieve successful outcomes in psychology.

### **Self Sustaining Peer Support Networks: Creating Sustainable Change**

It has been earlier noted that it is a complex interaction of a multitude of factors that leads to poor outcomes within tertiary education (Nikora et al., 2002a). Consistent with this, innovative and multiple support strategies that respond to the multiple needs of students are required to support Maori students to successful outcomes (Nikora et al., 2002a). With the focus being on facilitating sustainable change, Maori staff in the psychology department at the University of Waikato seek mechanisms which contribute to the consolidation of multiple and interrelated pathways, maximising the incremental gains which have been made (Levy, 2007). The Kaupapa Maori Tutorial Programme provides one such consolidation mechanism, being the primary vehicle by which Maori students initially engage with psychology and by which staff, both Maori and non-Maori initially engage with students. In doing so the Kaupapa Maori Tutorial Programme has been the major catalyst for change in the department, creating the foundation for the development of self-sustaining peer support networks within the department. One indicator of the success of the Kaupapa Maori Tutorial Programme in supporting students to successful academic outcomes, has been the growing number of Maori students moving into graduate study (Levy, 2007). Increasing numbers of graduate students has important implications for network development, with Corey (2007) identifying that the self sustainability network is driven by graduate level students who involve themselves in the support of undergraduates. These graduate students have themselves benefited from similar experiences and implicitly expect undergraduates to progress and provide further support to those that follow. An important point is that these networks are not exclusive to Maori students only. The focus on collective success, sharing of resources, collaboration and whanaungatanga are open to all who share the kaupapa. This non-exclusivity serves to strengthen the networks which are built.

The Kaupapa Maori Tutorial programme has also been a catalyst for other Maori activities, further consolidating a presence within the Psychology

Department. This includes attendance at the annual New Zealand Psychological Society conferences. In 2004, a number of Maori students attended the NZPS conference in Wellington as members and presenters. This presence increased for Dunedin (2005), Auckland (2006) and Hamilton (2007). While staff support has been important in these events, the co-ordination, fundraising, travelling and participation at conferences is often led by students. Having committed personal time and expenditure, students take advantage of these occasions to actively develop contacts, meet potential employers or research supervisors, establish mentoring relationships, expose themselves to career pathways, gain experience in presenting to peers and potential colleagues, network with students from other institutions and so on and so forth. The experience then consolidates and strengthens one's position within the discipline and academia.

Whanaungatanga serves as the basis for the development of a self sustaining peer support network. Preparation for and attendance at the conference creates, facilitates and strengthens tuakana-teina relationships between students. The success of the KM programme during this time is also reflected in the number of NZPsS Presidents Scholarship recipients (5) from Waikato University. At each of the conferences students stay on marae, serving to develop, build, grow and strengthen relationships. Hakari for example are built into the marae stay providing additional opportunities to host psychology staff and students from all universities and members of the New Zealand Psychological Society.

### **Summary**

This has been a very brief overview of some of the activities occurring within the psychology department at Waikato University which are aimed at claiming our space. Supported by a backdrop of research identifying the differing needs of Maori students studying within psychology, the focus has been on the development of self-sustaining peer support networks. Student participation at national conferences is one activity which facilitates these networks, both within our department and beyond. It has facilitated these networks through creating

relationships between undergraduates and graduates which aim to develop undergraduates who are driven and passionate in continuing with both the roopu and onto graduate study. But most of all it has facilitated a sense of belonging and

provided a platform by which to claim collective space within the department and the wider discipline of psychology.

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## Closing Plenary

**Richard Sawrey, Akanisi Tarabe, Dr Catherine Love, Mere Berryman,  
Leland Ruwhiu, Epenesa Olo-Whangaa, Dr Monique Faleafa**

*Chaired by Professor Linda Smith  
Pro-Vice Chancellor Māori, University of Waikato*

*The closing session of the symposium was a plenary session in which invited speakers were asked to make brief critical and reflective comment on the symposium theme and future directions regarding Māori and Pacific psychologies.*

### **Richard Sawrey**

It is an honour to be invited to be on this panel as a Pākehā psychologist. I would firstly like to pay tribute to the conference organisers for this very special gathering. Since my first involvement with the issue twenty years ago, there has been significant growth and development of indigenous psychologies through papers, presentations, symposia, conferences, workforce development and the emergence of agencies committed to indigenous psychologies in their workplace culture and clinical practice. This is something to celebrate and an opportunity to commend those who have been nurturing and encouraging people on this journey. A number of spaces in a wide range of places and contexts have been reclaimed in the years since I first attended psychology conferences.

This space has been reclaimed due to the commitment and energy of a number of people, and in particular here at the Māori and Psychology Research Unit at Waikato University under the leadership of Linda Waimarie Nikora. You and others here have nurtured, encouraged and contributed much to the blossoming and growth of indigenous psychologies over these years.

Have you ever been on a committee that was tedious and frustrating? My experience of the National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues for the New Zealand Psychological Society was the opposite. Over a number of years the spirit, energy and commitment I experienced on this committee has made a difference and encouraged Māori studying psychology to emerge into leaders in their particular fields.

These people have made significant contributions to the shaping and reclaiming of Māori psychologies. In later years this spirit and energy has invited and encouraged Pacific peoples to strengthen their journey in reclaiming their space, and we see at this conference the strong evidence of that.

In terms of the role for Pākehā/Palagi supporting this journey of reclamation, this committee provides a good example. So what are some of the things we can do as Pākehā to support this journey of reclamation? Firstly, we had commitment. All the committee members have been passionately committed to the reclamation of indigenous psychologies. We have operated in partnership with Māori and more recently with Pacific Island peoples.

Secondly, as Pākehā we need to challenge the Western world view that has dominated the teaching and practice of psychology over many years. We have made some progress on this but there is plenty of space needed to allow indigenous and collective worldviews to make their rightful contribution to psychology. This means that we as Pākehā also need to work collectively to make the necessary changes.

We also need to challenge what I would like to call 'psychological fundamentalism'. Going through my days at Victoria University of Wellington it was like a battle of the world religions in the department. The staff were divided into camps and no one seemed to be talking to each other. But I

think it seems that one ideology and theory has won the battle and every school seems to be following the market to deliver this framework. This needs to change. Universities need to embrace and make space for indigenous psychologies and post-structuralist psychologies such as narrative practice that include wider world views. We've all heard of evidence based practice but I'm much more interested in *practice-based evidence*.

But not just psychology is at risk of this ideological and philosophical capture by the Western world view. I have just come from Suva where students and staff with whom I teach are from Kiribati and Tuvalu. The results of this dominance of worldview are now threatening two nations and two peoples, their whenua and their identity.

So the future of our planet, due to climate change, is at stake if we do not move to deal with this issue. The planet is forcing us to think and operate collectively and see ourselves connected to our planet and all that is in it. Scientists and conservationists are talking to theologians and indigenous groups to find ways forward to deal with climate change, especially in places like the Pacific.

So what other things can we do as Pākehā to make space? Know our history, here and throughout the Pacific. Not to induce paralysing guilt but to become better informed and grow in our wisdom. Choose humility rather than surety. Choose serving rather than leading. Make space for silence and listening rather than filling spaces with questions. Choose responsibility rather than justification. Understand that power relations are operating every where and so we need to think not just psychologically, but collectively and politically. We need to teach our children at school about world views and these issues when they are young so that they develop a social conscience at a young age.

Thank you for your hospitality to the Fijian group. It has been wonderful to be here with them at this troubled time between our two countries. This symposium has provided some space for healing

ways forward and the beginnings of the reclamation of the indigenous psychologies of Fiji.

So to conclude, I would like to choose the metaphor of a garden. We urgently have a collective responsibility to act to create spaces for all the peoples and the seeds of all peoples, who are the children of this planet to grow and live and love.

### ***Akanisi Tarabe***

Three minutes is not enough time for Fijians. I just want to echo what someone said yesterday about time. What is more important than being on time is to be allocated time and I want to thank you. All of you know I am going to cry – cry collectively with me. Thank you for allocating us from Fiji that time to be part of you. There were many things that impacted me about this Symposium. From the marae at Waikato University and the food – I love it! I love everything. You especially - for making a difference in my life. I am the one and only indigenous psychologist ‘wannabe’ at the University of the South Pacific. Other people are more into the Euro-western models of psychology. So you giving us the space and allocating us the time to be part of you is very dear to our hearts. It has been a therapeutic process preparing to come. Most importantly this is the first time I have ever been to an international conference and have been able to connect to the heart of the participants. From the marae to here. Going back to the marae – I don't say “Waikato University marae”; I say “our” marae. What am I taking back with me after all this? I am taking the whole of the Māori & Psychology Research Unit. It is here in my heart and I have left a bit of me here to make that connection.

### ***Dr Catherine Love***

The two days spent here – te mana, te ihi, te wehi! It bowls me over. This is the most memorable symposium this year, for several years - actually since the last one. I want to pull out a couple of highlights. Firstly, I loved the fact that we have tamariki around during this conference - in peoples' stories and on the screens. For me, this is what we are working for; for our children, our

tamariki, for the next generation, to make things better for them.

In regards to the tools that I shared with you on the first day, I have to admit that I was thinking of patenting them. But I have seen that those tools, the ‘telescopic analytic visioner’, ‘exterminator spray’, ‘shape shifter’ and ‘philovactor’ are actually already in widespread usage amongst the people here. Mind you if I wanted to, I could follow a legal process of claiming ownership through patent of those tools. Like for instance the academy has with psychology, and I could seek to control who produced them, their size, shape, colour, form and use of those products. However, I am not going to risk that.

I have heard and seen such a variety of innovative and exciting initiatives and modes of practice over the last two days. I want to thank everybody here for the sharing that you have given about the work that you are doing and the ideas that you are building on. I do however have one question. Some of the work that has been done involves the use of various forms of mātauranga Māori, with teams that comprise people with Western qualifications and those with Māori qualifications. My question around that is who gets the credit, recognition, and recompense, in particular for the mātauranga Māori which is brought to bear in these initiatives? For many of us, while we may have the qualifications in psychology, our strengths may not be in mātauranga Māori and I am concerned to ensure that where that is part of the things that we are doing, that is appropriately recognised.

Lastly, while we are making progress at different rates and in different ways, we are largely relying on persuasive mechanisms. And some of us know we also have some coercive power at our disposal. For instance, a case filed with the Waitangi Tribunal perhaps, relating to the impacts of the imposition of self-contained individualism and individualistic psychology on our whānau, or the academy’s performance in relation to meeting Treaty obligations related to knowledge and pedagogical bases for our students and staff. A bit of coercive power can always make persuasion more attractive.

One proposal that I have regarding the “where to from here” is that I believe that every university in this country that teaches psychology should be contributing to a two yearly Māori and Pacific Nations Symposium. That is one of the actions I would like to see come out of this symposium. Special thanks and greetings to the Māori and Psychology Research Unit. Also thanks and greetings to our Pacific whanaunga. This time has been so much richer and warmer through your presence and contributions. Particularly to our Fijian contingent who have come all the way here, as we know there are some difficulties in your home country. To our tauīwi/Pākehā participants – the agenda we seek to follow is of benefit to us all and you are here because you know this and you support it.

#### **Clive Banks**

I am like a coco-cola bottle that has been shaken up and the lid screwed down really tight. I am full, really, really full and in a nice way. But I am still hungry. Go figure. This symposium has been exciting on a whole bunch of levels for me. The kōrero. The whanaungatanga. The way we pull together so many threads of Māori, Pacific, cultural and clinical knowledge and practice is really exciting. The exciting ways that we are using technologies. The things that we have as part of our whakapapa and putting them together seamlessly. And taking it for granted that we are allowed to do it. The question is not can we do it. Its give us the space to do it!

A few phrases have stuck with me over the last couple of days. This morning I was listening to Roma and one of the things she said was “this is all stuff that I know, but not stuff I spend a lot of time thinking about”. And I thought she is right. I know all of this stuff. And then I thought about Armon’s kōrero and a few things that Catherine said. They used words that I didn’t know about. And I will definitely be adding ‘philivactor’ to my lexicon.

There was something that my good friend Maynard said that I wanted to finish on. The hui has been about claiming space. Maynard spoke very

strongly this morning that its not about claiming space anymore. Its about watch this space! Watch this space, because we are doing it, and if we keep doing it people are going to take it for granted. When we get to where it's just the way that psychology is done in New Zealand we have won: the quiet revolution.

### ***Mere Berryman***

This symposium with its theme of claiming spaces through Māori and Pacific leadership in psychology has provided us all with a culturally affirming space in which to; listen; question; share; be challenged; challenge; think critically; and begin to formulate some directions for future pathways. We have heard how these spaces in psychology started small and were often fragile and disparate, but that they have grown. We have certainly felt their strength and been strengthened as we have come together over the past two days. We have heard how the practice of psychology can be enhanced for those indigenous peoples that we seek to serve by ensuring that we can all contribute to this space. We have also heard about the important spaces that are created by first strengthening our own identity through a better understanding of indigenous knowledge and practices, by better establishing our own ways of knowing and bringing our own world views to the fore. From another speaker we heard that indigenous and western psychologies are traveling along the same roadway and that in any collision our likenesses are more important than our diversities. In response came a metaphor to which many of us will relate. It was the suggestion that on this roadway Western psychology may better resemble the 'Mac' truck, while indigenous psychologies, the motor scooter. This was a timely reminder for me of the huge impact power has on all of our lives, as we work to shift the barriers and reclaim the spaces that were promised to Māori through the Treaty of Waitangi.

Throughout the symposium we have also been reminded about why we are all here. That is, we are here for the people we are linked to by whakapapa, the people whom we represent in our work and the reminder that many of these people face crisis situations. While we are so few, and the

need is so great, how do we ensure that our people receive the most effective support? I suspect that the other challenging question now as we return to separate, and perhaps for some, much less safe spaces in which we work, is how do we respond to maintaining this momentum, this space when we resume our work?

Western psychology has regularly perpetuated power imbalances, that have served to denigrate and marginalize indigenous knowledge and practices. We have learnt from many Māori academics and from other indigenous peoples as well, that the reassertion of indigenous cultural aspirations, preferences and practices can lead to more effective participation and learning for Māori students. More recently we have learnt that these contexts also provide for successful contexts for non-indigenous peoples. This requires non-indigenous professionals to reposition, to shift their mindset away from their familiar ways of engaging and understanding, to learning how to engage respectfully in legitimate Māori and indigenous cultural spaces. Although the epistemological paradigms emerging from the experiences of indigenous minorities such as Māori may undoubtedly offer challenges to mainstream knowledge and perspectives, it is clear from this symposium, from the presenters that I heard, that continuing to disregard such alternatives may well leave the discipline of psychology impoverished. On the other hand paying attention to indigenous paradigms may well serve to enrich and benefit us all.

### ***Leland Ruwhiu***

The wairua of this hui has been focused around whakapapa and whanaungatanga. I separate the two because we all bring our whakapapa here to this hui, with whakawhanaungatanga being the actioning of that whakapapa that we share with each other. I had a chat with a few other students about their experiences here and I likened it to a kete. I chose three aspects. There is the making of the kete; the kete filling; and the kete sharing. The first, you make your kete. Why we are all here, that is the construction of our kete. We have a number of Pākehā and a number of Pacific aiga with us. My respect and accolades of admiration



for your stories that you have shared with us over this hui. Next we are filling our kete and that's what we are all doing, sharing our whakapapa, stories, the research. The last part is sharing the kete and that is also what we are doing here. Kete filling and kete sharing is what I have got from what other students have said about their experiences here. And the last point I want to offer supports the points made by Dr Catherine Love. Why have the symposium every two years? Why not annually? And why not take it across to the Pacific? What we have done here today is to build those bridges. There should be more exposure to this sort of event for students. From a student/taura perspective I would like to thank everyone for the opportunity that we have had as students to be here and I look forward to attending more.

### ***Epenesa Olo-Whaanga***

I first of all want to really thank the organisers for putting on the symposium and for inviting us. I think that for all of us Pasifika people we are thankful that you have considered us and invited us here. I would also like to thank the university for their hospitality. The dinner we had last night at the marae was just awesome.

I have had a lot of time to think during this hui. Being with brown faces, of varying shades, is awesome, especially when you work in a place that is mainstream. Getting together to talk about issues that we have in common has been fantastic. There have been very common themes for us in this. In terms of Pasifika, there have been very similar experiences that we have shared in our journeys. Not just from our ancestors who have come here to Aotearoa, but also in our journeys as people coming through, getting qualified, and dealing with the institutions we have trained in. Having a forum like this so we can really talk about those experiences and what needs to happen for the next generation coming through has been great.

It's been really wonderful to see images of our people up on the screens and awesome to hear the stories. It's been awesome to see the students presenting the very real research that they do when

they are interacting with our people, both Māori and Pacific. I was thinking it's not just about showcasing your research. In these kinds of forums you get the opportunity to be accountable. Not only are we accountable to our participants, we are accountable to others such as colleagues, peers, and supervisors. I go away thinking I just wish I had one more day because I still want to hear more.

When I think about going ahead and the future, we do need to have more of these, more often. The challenge is for other universities to actually step up and do what Waikato are very committed to doing, not just because it makes them look good and it makes them look responsive but because at their very heart and their very core this is their calling. I do challenge those of you who are from other universities and who can make a difference in this way, that not only do you start accepting other students into your programmes, but that you support them. There is a quiet revolution going on in psychology. 'Fundamental psychology' does not work. We have seen that it fails. What people are talking about is an alternative to that. We are talking about bringing that to the fore of psychology the things that work for us; bringing what we know is inherent in us, inherent in our culture, in our whakapapa, our genealogy. Psychology needs to work for us, not the other way around. Lastly, I think that going to Fiji for one of these would be fantastic!

### ***Monique Faleafa***

It was clear from our Pacific presentations that we have had over the past two days that there are distinct diversities within and between Pacific ethnicities. As one of our speakers stated yesterday there is no country called 'Pacific' and so at this fono we have contributions from Samoan, Cook Island, Niuean, Fijian, Solomon Island, Tokolaun, Tuvaluan and Tongan perspectives. Each nation has its own specific set of beliefs, its own values, its own customs and traditions. If you add New Zealand born youth into the mix, where identity might include affiliation to both Western and traditional Pacific practices and values, you might find that their perspectives are intrinsically different from traditional perspectives. And given that more than half of our Pacific population are

considered children and youth, I think this is a very important perspective that we psychologists need to learn more about and I know its going to become increasingly more important in the future. However, there were some commonalities during this conference which does allow a conversation from a pan-Pacific perspective. Common values that were presented were values such as spirituality, love, respect, humility, reciprocity and service. Pan-Pacific concepts of family emphasized collectivity. Pan-Pacific traditional concepts of health were presented as holistic, where wellbeing is defined by the equilibrium of mind, body, spirit, family and environment. Underpinning many of the messages conveyed from the Pacific presentations here this week for me, was the importance of the centrality of relationships to Pacific people, particularly following our presentation from the University of the South Pacific on decolonizing Fiji and the disconnection and dislocation that is happening to our indigenous Fijian people. They talked about “*venua*” as a space for identity, for reconnecting and when I think about this idea that privileges relationships, I think about the idea of the concept of “*va*”. It’s a little bit different from the Māori concept of “*wa*”. Many Pacific academics and literaries have written about it and I have a definition from Albert Wendt: “*Va is the space between; the betweenness. Not empty space. Not space that separates, but space that relates. That holds separate entities and things together in the unity. The space that is context, giving meaning to things*”. So *va* is about the space between; not in the Pākehā or Palagi sense, that space is open and empty and separates. But in the sense that space is the social, the spiritual, the psychological; this symbolic space that relates us and connects us; and this space is *tapu*. In Samoa we call it “*va fealoaloa’i*”. If we don’t nurture and protect this space, this sacred space between people, family and environment cosmos, that’s when things go wrong. And as agents of healing, as my colleague Karlo Mila-Schaaf writes, we need to ask the question, “Is the *va* healthy?” Which brings me back to the Western psychology and the limitations it poses when dealing with Pasifika. Dr Catherine Love spoke yesterday about how the individual conception of self as *apriori* still underpins

psychology and how self comes before relationships. So the criticism I have, particularly of clinical psychology is that it just hasn’t moved with the times. To be relevant for Pasifika, to be relevant for Aotearoa, there needs to be movement. I think there is a space to claim for a Pacific psychology and a Pacific body of knowledge. No one is going to come and give it to us on a silver platter with a ribbon tied around it but as our Pacific people who have presented today, we know the Cook Island Tivaevae model, we know the Samoan Fonofale framework, we know the Tongan Kakala model, we know the Fa’afaletui methodology. So we need to take leadership ourselves and the solution is in the room. We need to reshape psychological paradigms so that our world views and values start to underpin psychology.

**Professor Linda Smith (Session Chair)**

I think the theme of creating space is always an interesting concept. Each of the speakers has commented a little on what that has meant for them and their observations over the last few days. Put yourself into the space that has been created and ask yourself the following questions:

- What is your role in that space?
- Who helped you get into that space?
- Who is your mentor who guides you through that space?
- Do more and more people in that space expand the space, or is it a narrow space that is very crowded now?
- In which direction is that space flowing, and are those the directions that intellectually, socially and politically that you would want the space to be going in?

Finally, in coming into that space, who else have you brought in with you? And by this I don’t just mean, the teachers, the students, the practitioners but what clients have come in? Is the expanding space simply a space that has been filled by more and more indigenous Māori clients? If that is the case, is that what we want?