

The Principles of Māori Directed Practice and Development

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Abstract

This research used a Qualitative Kaupapa Māori research methodology using semi-structured interviews to identify the principles of Māori Social and Community Work practice and development and how they are implemented.

The research was conducted in three phases: Phase One involved interviews with Māori people working in Māori roles in Government organisations delivering social policy outcomes. It was found that Government workers implement Māori principles in four identified ways: creating supportive environments, responding to community needs, keeping themselves linked into the Māori community and following Māori processes.

Phase Two involved interviews with Māori workers employed by Māori health and social service providers. These projects looked at the distinctiveness of their sites, along with the strengths, tools, principles, values and processes that underpinned their approaches. The main difference between Government and NGO workers is that, because they are already part of the community, they don't need to make that extra effort to engage.

Phase Three involved interviews with experienced Māori Social Workers about how a particular principle, whakawhanaungatanga, was implemented and the ethical dilemmas that could arise. Experienced Māori social workers were found to use a number of guiding principles and processes to protect themselves and their clients when choosing to cross traditional social work boundaries. The boundaries crossed were usually perceived as organisational rather than ethical. The processes for using whakawhanaungatanga included the worker having a clearly identified role and recognised the importance of negotiation, supervision and accountability. The role of tikanga was stressed as was the need for a process similar to poroporoaki.

Other findings of the research include a model for analysing Māori development and Māori organisations. Also a framework is suggested to avoid Kaupapa Māori deteriorating into either a culturally appropriate Critical Theory response or as Graham Smith warned, a domesticated Culturalist expression.

Key words: Social Work, dual relationships, boundaries, Kaupapa Māori, ethics, tikanga

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Chapter One Introduction

In 1979, at the age of seventeen, I became involved as a volunteer in a programme called Te Hou Ora that worked primarily with at-risk Māori youth. Two years later, at the age of 20 years, I left my employment at the ANZ Bank and started working for Te Hou Ora as a full-time youth worker. My entire adult life has been involved in youth work, social work, Māori Community Development and teaching the same.

One of my frustrations before I came to work at a University in 2000 was what I perceived as the lack of trust Non-Māori managers and funders had in Māori workers. I and others were accused of working outside our brief, crossing boundaries, working outside our contracts and not following the strict controlling guidelines of the organisation. My reply would be that if I am to work with my community I need to follow their/our processes, meet their/our needs and meet their/our expectations as well as that of the organisation.

The problem was that they wanted proof. Their epistemological view of the world meant they seemed to only accept empirical research and whatever was written into Government contracts. They would accept money dedicated to the improved outcomes for Māori, but getting processes accepted that could meet those outcomes was sometimes difficult.

Hence the inspiration for this thesis. I wanted to research the principles and processes that Māori use in Social and Community Work and write them up in a way that those using Māori cultural expressions could refer to. They could then refer the managers, supervisors and funders of Māori workers to something that could explain the Māori worldview and the processes that these workers use, thus making it easier to work with our people. I want to do this by privileging Māori principles and approaches so that Māori can maintain and develop our Indigenous Social Work practices and have these accepted.

The research questions that drive this research are:

- What are the principles of Māori directed Social and Community Work practice and development?
- How are these principles implemented?

The first step is to identify the principles that Māori Social and Community workers use in their/our everyday practice. This has been a long journey of nearly fourteen years. I originally decided on three separate projects to give a breadth of situations to identify Māori processes and the values and knowledge that underpin them. The first was a series of interviews with those working in identified Māori roles in Government organisations, the second was an exploration of a men's programme using traditional weaponry to promote a positive Māori masculinity and the third was an evaluation of a Māori health and social service provider.

The first two projects were completed early on in the PhD journey and the third was underway when things started to go astray. My interest in the organisation I was evaluating meant that they were asking me to do more and more with them. The reciprocal nature of involvement with the Māori community organisations meant that it was very difficult for me to be seen as 'taking' from the organisation without contributing back something in return. Eventually I found myself honour bound to respond to their requests by going on to their governance board. Progressively the increased involvement led to my becoming the chairperson of the organisation.

This is one of the reasons this research has taken so long. I immediately had an insurmountable conflict of interest that stymied the research. After some consideration I decided to change the research projects that were going to contribute to this thesis and create instead a series of phases of research. The project including the Government workers would be Phase One. I realised that I could take some of the interviews with Māori Non-Governmental Organisations I had already done and widen it to include other Māori health and social service providers. I would then have a project (Phase Two) where I could do a direct comparison with the Government workers. I had already been granted permission from the University of Otago ethics committee to widen the base of who I could interview and so by also dropping the men's programme, that wasn't really fitting with the overall aims, I had two good projects to work with.

However, after looking at the data I realised I had answered the first question (what are the principles etc.), but I had more to do to answer the second (how are these principles implemented)? The removal of the two evaluation projects had taken away the context and so the question was not easily answered by the data I had collected. I also realised

that while there was significant new information for the Academy, there was little that an experienced Māori practitioner did not already know. I decided to do one more project.

In what became Phase Three of the research I took one of the most significant principles used in Māori Social and Community Work – whakawhanaungatanga – and decided to explore it in more depth. I interviewed seven long term Māori social workers, who had at least twenty years' experience. Whakawhanaungatanga was particularly relevant because it is the cultural construct that often leads to most of the criticism of Māori Social and Community Work practice. Literally it can be interpreted as 'becoming as family'. If a social worker 'becomes as family' to a client then how do they manage also being a professional?

These three projects employed to answer the research questions, have been divided into three logical chronological phases. As stated, Phase One is a series of interviews with Māori workers in Government organisations. Phase Two are interviews with Māori workers in Māori organisations and Phase Three are interviews with long-term Māori social worker's exploring their engagement with the concept of whakawhanaungatanga.

So after a long journey with its missteps and revelations we arrive together at this thesis. What follows is a brief summary of each chapter's contents:

Chapter One outlines the context of the research questions and research projects.

Chapter Two offers a review of the theory that underpins this thesis - it maps the foundations of Indigenist and Kaupapa Māori theory through Postmodernism, Critical Theory and Social Constructionism and draws a distinction between Kaupapa Māori Theory and Kaupapa Māori Practice.

Chapter Three is the first of four chapters that are, or include, a literature review. It would seem disingenuous at my age (57 years) to start a literature review by asking what are the important concepts and values of Māori society. I already know many of them, they have been drummed into me by experience, often without my even being aware of it. At this early point, I especially want to acknowledge the families I have worked with over the years who taught many of the lessons I required to be an effective Social and

Community worker. In some ways my working life has been a type of literature review and so I take the risk of highlighting principles both from my experience and from the literature. While I identify the values I have found important, I will also justify and explain them using experts in the field.

Earlier versions of Chapters Three and Four were published previously, and in turn developed from earlier versions of the literature review for this thesis. While Chapter Three looks at Māori concepts for Social and Community Work, Chapter Four looks at how many of these concepts are used in the different types of Māori organisations and Community Development.

Chapter Five will look at the methods and methodology of this thesis including justifying the changes in research projects and explaining the rationale for why the research was carried out in the ways that it was.

Chapter Six will reveal the findings of the study of Māori workers employed by Government organisations with Chapter Seven reporting on the findings of interviews with Māori workers employed by Māori organisations. Chapter Eight is then a preliminary discussion exploring the findings of these two projects and their similarities and tensions.

In Chapter Nine one of the key principles that came out of the research, whakawhanaungatanga, is investigated more fully with experienced practitioners. Chapter Nine begins with a literature review on whakawhanaungatanga before reporting on the responses of those long term practitioners who use it. The chapter ends acknowledging that if whakawhanaungatanga means that the worker has 'become family' with the client how does the Māori Social and Community worker deal with the boundary issues that may arise?

Chapter Ten starts off with another literature review on boundaries and dual relationships in Social Work and then reports on how experienced Social and Community workers manage these issues when applying whakawhanaungatanga. This contributes to answering the research question on the implementation of Māori principles.

Chapter Eleven discusses the research, outlining Māori principles and the way those involved in the study implement them. It creates a framework justifying the crossing of boundaries and how this can be managed. The conclusion is that it is not the crossing of boundaries that is the problem, it is the violation of boundaries. To give a topical analogy, there are firm borders between the countries of the United States of America and Mexico. People may not violate those borders without consequence. However, they can cross those borders under certain circumstances with mutually agreed behaviour. I find this analogy helpful in understanding the researched conclusions of this work. This chapter also circles back to my theoretical work to demonstrate clearly how this thesis seeks to extend knowledge about how to conduct ethical Māori research, and better understand some of the tensions regarding Critical theory and Social Constructionism within the context of some organisational tensions.

Chapter 12 is the conclusion, including discussion on the limitations of the thesis as well as some recommendations.

To conclude this first Chapter there are a number of issues to be discussed so that the reader is not surprised by some of the idiosyncrasies of this thesis.

The word “I” is used significantly, but this is not an Auto-ethnography (this will be discussed in the methodology section). Part of the reason is to decrease the abstractness of writing where the quest to have an innocent, objective voice is a myth (Holiday, 2002) and so, at times, to be a reflexive researcher (Fook, 1996), means to admit when the personal may encroach on the research (Holiday, 2002). I have been personally involved in the debates about the theoretical location of Kaupapa Māori and so to speak of myself as an author in the third person involves a degree of pretentiousness that I have yet to reach. I will also often use personal pronouns such as “I”, “we” and “our” when discussing some parts of Māori culture and society. When possible I will be creative in the way I explain things, but I cannot use the pronouns “they” and “them” when talking about Māori as if I am an outsider looking in. When I have done this in the past it inevitably leads to regret and *mokemoke* (isolated sadness) as if I have isolated myself outside my culture. Also my forty years in the business of Social and Community Work means that I have experience in the use of Māori principles and this is used particularly in Chapter Three. As a consequence of the potential strength of my voice it is important

that the use of “I” does not overwhelm the voices of the research participants. Consequently the narrative of the findings in Chapters Six, Seven, Nine and Ten have large blocks of the actual words of the participants. Thankfully they are considered, articulate professionals from whom I was able to construct a logical narrative, but they are included in this form to give balance to the voices expressed here.

I will endeavour to use Māori words as naturally as possible. As the meanings are usually contextual, translations will occur as part of the text. While potentially clumsy, it is far less clumsy than the reader having a Māori dictionary beside them or referring to a glossary that can have a number of meanings for the same word and wondering which word fits this time. Having said that, a glossary of terms is included at the end of the thesis.

Finally, theories will be capitalised. If I am going to put Kaupapa Māori in capitals I should do the same for Postmodernism, Positivism and all the other Western theories as well.

Chapter Two Theoretical Review

This research uses a Kaupapa Māori approach, however, this is a disputed term, not just because of its challenge to the Western academy, but because even in Māori society it has a number of layers and definitions. It is an approach to research and practise that is a theory, a research methodology as well as being a cultural practice. This chapter will look at the place of Kaupapa Māori as a theory and whether it is informed by, underpinned by or sits alongside Western theories. To examine the theoretical origins of Kaupapa Māori, we will look briefly at Postmodernism, Social Constructionism and Critical Theory discussing how Indigenism and Kaupapa Māori emerged alongside and, in some ways, in response to these Western theories. Kaupapa Māori Theory and practice will be discussed describing how, through Western eyes, the validity of Kaupapa Māori comes from its association with Western theories, although through the eyes of many Māori it draws its validity from tikanga Māori (Māori culture).

As Kaupapa Māori is something I have written on a number of times before (Eketone, 2005; Walker, Eketone and Gibbs, 2006; Eketone, 2008; Eketone & Walker, 2013) I will take the liberty of using the personal pronoun “I” where the discussion intersects with my writing journey, but first Kaupapa Māori needs to be positioned in light of Postmodernism and the Social Construction of reality.

Postmodernism and the Social Construction of Reality

Postmodernism as a theoretical approach claims that knowledge and truth is a human construction representing realities that needs to be deconstructed to lay bare the ideas and power relations underpinning these knowledges (Holiday, 2002; Fook, 2007). It is a theoretical branch of epistemology and ontology that I am personally ambivalent about. As an individual who is part of two particular communities, one cultural (Māori) and one of faith (Protestant) I struggle with a purist approach that claims that all truth and knowledge is relative and socially constructed. However, in the process of the Social Construction of knowledge, Postmodernism does create the space for the theoretical discussion in the following pages. Inherent in any research that attaches itself to Postmodernism is the need to be constantly questioning itself (Holliday, 2002). This reflexivity is about acknowledging what you are doing, and why you are doing it by deconstructing your thinking and exposing the influence of layers of power and its

relationship to the construction of knowledge (Fook, 2007). Because of my dominant voice in this thesis it needs the reader to interpret what I write taking into account my most obvious bias.

Kumar (1995) claims that the original impetus for Postmodernism came from the cultural sphere because of the realisation that validity can be found in all traditions and cultural expressions. Postmodernism has created a space for discussion about culture that can expose unconscious hierarchies of power and knowledge, particularly the Social Construction of knowledge and truth. From a purist sense, Postmodernism rejects that there is one overarching truth, rejecting all ultimate truths as being socially constructed and, leaves the search for absolute truth to theologians and philosophers (Burr, 2015; Kirk & Miller, 2011). Its rise in the 1960's was associated with its attachment to the counter-cultural movements of the times with its anarchic elements meaning that Postmodernism was embraced precisely because it could be used to fight against everything Modernism stood for (Kumar, 1995). Michel Foucault's battle to upturn the hierarchy of knowledge and progress created by the enlightenment has been taken up by other Postmodernists, although Burrell (1988) and Kumar (1995) (citing Habermas) defined their actions as more 'Antimodernist'.

This means that as a revolutionary project aimed at Western society, Postmodernism can justifiably be viewed suspiciously by Indigenous peoples, particularly if Indigenous peoples are used as exemplars to fight the West's battles not for the benefit of Indigenous peoples, but for the benefit of the West's own iconoclastic efforts to recreate society and to give the West greater freedom and choice (Hicks, 2004; Sarup, 1996; Burrell, 1988). Therefore, from an Indigenous perspective, as Postmodernism is often about their cultural and intellectual emancipation to address what they feel is wrong with their cultures and societies, it may be of limited long term use to those of us trying to hold on to what is left of our own cultures under the onslaught of the West.

Postmodernism proposes that knowledge and truth we accept or adhere to is socially constructed through individuals and groups interacting with each other and their environment. In an earlier article, that will be discussed shortly, I made the error of using the terms 'Constructionism' and 'Constructivism' interchangeably (Eketone, 2008). Crotty (1998) and Andrews (2012) clarified my confusion by pointing out that

Constructivism is what an individual does by “engaging with objects in the world and making sense of them” (Crotty, 1998:79). Constructivism is about constructing reality through cognitive processes, it is a mental process using our experiences of the world (Andrews, 2012). Constructionism is slightly different in that it is a social rather than an individual process (Andrews, 2012), where; it is our culture and sub-cultures that introduce us to meaning and meanings. “Meanings” are taught and learnt “in a complex and subtle process of enculturation” (Crotty, 1998:79). Further Constructionists “view knowledge and truth as created not discovered by the mind” (Andrews, 2012:40). This means that meaning is not found or discovered, but is pieced together, constructed by individuals and groups working together.

While we can argue the differences and similarities, the upshot is that:

all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context (Crotty, 1998:42).

As there are many ways of constructing our shared reality, there are also many truths because there are a multiple of historical, cultural and political factors influencing the context (Payne, 2015). These factors can in turn be influenced by other factors such as religion, gender, economics and social class.

This theory of Social Constructionism is not necessarily prescriptive; it is primarily a description of what is happening. Alternative theories such as Social Constructionism are neither a grand narrative nor what we may regard as truth. This is because knowledge varies across cultures and societies and “may be thought of as our accepted ways of understanding the world” (Burr, 2015: 5). Social Constructionism questions Naive Realism, i.e. the complete confidence that what we perceive is common reality for us all (Burr, 2015). Individuals and groups construct their own versions of reality and, because of this, objective facts are dismissed in Social Constructionism because everything is relative depending on context and one’s perspective from their particular view of the world where that knowledge is validated by whose interests it serves. If knowledge is built by those that have the power to determine it, it calls into question the generalisability of that knowledge. It does not mean that no knowledge has integrity, rather it means that

all knowledge is partial, i.e. it can only reflect one view of the world from a limited context that benefits only some.

According to Burr (2015) there are four broad tenets of Social Constructionism. First is to challenge the notion that knowledge is created by unbiased objective observation and views of the world. Secondly, that the knowledge and understanding we do have about the world around us is culturally and historically specific i.e. that it is all relative. Thirdly, this knowledge and understanding is maintained and sustained by social interaction and processes. Finally, knowledge and social action are inseparable. How we create the world has implications for how we treat others and what we expect others to do.

To summarise Social Constructionism, it is a joint process between people and communities where agreed upon knowledge, values and processes are developed, maintained and sometimes discarded through interactions of people who are constructing a shared reality.

Indigenous peoples also construct their world/s where forms of spirituality are often part of that construction and understanding. Stringer and Dyer (2005:20) state that “we are at once physical, biological, and social beings”. Interestingly, even though they are well known for working in Indigenous contexts they do not seem to be able to go that next step and say that humans are spiritual beings as well. For Māori, any discussion on Māori society and the values that underpin that society, must accept that the people who believe in the cultural concepts that inhabit that world (and believe is the active word here), believe that they are important, not just because of the cultural imperatives and implications of the terms, but because these values are seen to intersect with physical and spiritual worlds. Therefore any discussion on the Māori world needs to discuss any spiritual world at the same time. If we can take its existence for granted at this stage, to be discussed later, we can move on to the cultural construction of what Berger & Luckmann called the “world of everyday” (1991) and which became abbreviated to the “life world” (Stringer & Dwyer, 2005).

The life world is not inherited genetically but learnt from experience through interaction with others as they negotiate the physical and social world (Stringer & Dwyer, 2005). This life world is socially constructed so that individuals learn to live in a social world

according to sets of meaning, deeply embedded in their everyday conduct, that are shared by others living in that particular place and time (Stringer & Dwyer, 2005). This does not mean that genetic, inherited responses to certain stimuli do not occur. It is claimed that our genes, coupled with external stimuli, can increase the likelihood of one person out of a group of people acting in a particular way (Raumati Hook, 2009), but is not necessarily determined. However, Social Constructionism is anti-essentialist in that it “argues that there are no ‘essences’ inside people that make them what they are” (Burr, 2015:6). This is probably the most difficult concept for those who hold to a Māori world view to accept for two reasons, firstly from a genetic standpoint, as we ascribe great meaning and worth to inherited attributes through our whakapapa (genealogy) (Mead, 2003) and the second from a cultural/spiritual standpoint. If the social world is entirely produced by the processes inherent in that world, then there cannot be predetermined outcomes. If behaviour or human nature has some predetermined element to it caused by our genes, then by definition it cannot be constructed by society. How much of our behaviour is determined by our genes is an ongoing debate even before concepts such as spirituality enter into the discussion. Whether behaviour is personal or social depends on the reality you have constructed. Where Social Constructionism differentiates itself from Māori world views, and this is when the spiritual element emerges and conflicts, is the rejection of any form of essentialism where there is any consideration of any predetermined nature of the world or of people. Where this has been abused in the past is any notion of superiority of one culture or race above another. In Māori culture issues of mana (power, prestige and esteem) and tapu (potentiality of power) are often not seen as negotiable. Whakapapa (our place in our genealogy), in some Iwi (tribes), has predetermined set expectations and reciprocities that may be socially constructed, but also may be seen as imposed by God or the gods (Shirres, 1997). However, the mere fact that I have used the terms ‘God, or the gods’ indicates there is potential for adaptation to changing circumstances and beliefs.

My struggle with the ambiguity between spirituality and Western approaches is not so much the struggle I thought it would be. I have a self-described focus on logic and I seem to be able to live with this ambiguity with little tension. Tarras (1991) concurs by claiming that “the critical search for truth is constrained to be tolerant of ambiguity and pluralism and its outcome will necessarily be knowledge that is relative and fallible rather than absolute certainty” (Tarras 1991:396). In 2008, I published an article on the

Theoretical Underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori (Eketone, 2008) outlining what I believed to be the main theoretical traditions that Kaupapa Māori aligned to, namely Constructionism and Critical Theory (which will be discussed later). One of the statements that turned out to be the most controversial was the following:

This suggests that there is no single ‘truth’ constructed by mankind that reaches across all communities but that there is a ‘truth’, a ‘justice’ and a ‘power’ which comes from participating in community and is defined by community. The outworking of this view is that decisions about knowledge are made on whether it is socially acceptable and or, whether it is useful. (It should be noted that this article seeks only to discuss the “generation of social reality, and advance(s) no claims about the status of the physical world” (Collin, 1997, p.5) by association it also intends to make no claim about the status of the spiritual world. (Eketone 2008:4).

The article was a little controversial at the time and so it was made a target article in the MAI Review and another academic, Matiu Ratima, was invited to critique it. He said;

It was surprising that Eketone did not consider the issue of Māori spirituality to be of significance. For many Māori, spirituality lies at the heart of Kaupapa Māori. Theorising Kaupapa Māori practice while playing down the issue of spirituality might be more of the same thing that C. Smith has taken issue with (Ratima, 2008:2).

As “a person of faith” I did not personally believe all knowledge was socially constructed. My own personal beliefs are that a higher being does impart “truths” to human kind, but a “purist” view of Constructionism and the Social Construction of knowledge would logically hold that all spiritual knowledge was also socially constructed. I found my “out” in Collin’s (1997) discussion on the physical world where fields like mathematics and physics may use socially constructed terms and symbols such as in the equation of $E = mc^2$, but, whatever symbols we use, energy always equals mass times the square of the speed of light. This was Collin’s way of dealing with criticisms of Postmodernism and Social Construction by scientists who did believe in scientific processes that produce facts even if the processes are socially constructed by scientists. Also Andrews (2012) agrees with Berger and Luckman (1991) saying that “Social Constructionism makes no ontological claims, confining itself to the Social Construction of knowledge, therefore confining itself to making epistemological claims only” (Andrews, 2012:42). Just as the Social Construction of reality does not always apply to

the physical world, it might not necessarily always apply to any spiritual world that may exist.

My intention was the opposite of what was claimed. Instead of diminishing the significance of spirituality, a space was left that did not conflict with my own conscience allowing at the same time the potential of a socially constructed world mediated by a Māori cultural world view where mana, mauri (spiritual ethos), tapu and noa (neutrality) are socially constructed values that intersect with an accepted spiritual world invisible to human eyes. Despite that, I accept that social knowledge is not created but constructed by a group where that knowledge and meaning are shared (Andrews, 2012). Various tribal forms of Māori culture were constructed over time with others involved in those communities through interactions which, over time, found acceptability to the wider group. As conditions change those constructions can adapt as with the arrival to New Zealand 800 years ago of various groups of Pacific Islanders who had to adapt their cultural ways to the new environment they found to become Māori (Mead, 2003).

Later we will discuss how this constructed world has implications for Kaupapa Māori, but first we need to look at Critical Theory.

Critical Theory

The second theory associated with Kaupapa Māori is Critical Theory. Critical Theory, along with Postmodernism, challenges the ideals of the Enlightenment and the grand narratives associated with Capitalism and Bolshevik Socialism (Jary & Jary, 2000). Interestingly, while it challenges the premises of the enlightenment, Critical Theory uses the tools of the enlightenment to do the challenging (Kumar, 1995). Critical Theory is “suspicious of the constructed meanings that culture bequeaths to us” (Crotty, 1998:59) mainly because of the hegemonic nature of cultures developed by those who have political and economic power where they use their power to resist greater equality (Crotty, 1998).

Critical Theory challenges the inequity, inequality and iniquity of power structures that oppress, marginalise, manipulate and coerce (Crotty, 1998). It emerged through the Institute of Social Research, often known as the Frankfurt School, which was built on a Marxist theory of history that highlighted class conflict (Jary & Jary, 2000). The

dominant theorist of Critical Theory was Jurgen Habermas also a Constructivist, who believed that we create and organise reality and can do so deliberately. Habermas was part of the second wave of critical theorists whose approach to Critical Theory had three main traits:

- The first is a form of praxis that is practical and that will lead to social change.
- The second is its critical analysis of the historical, social, political and economic context and conditions that have led us to where we are politically and economically, and,
- The third is its critique of capitalism where it needs to be overcome through liberation and emancipation

(Arens, 1997).

This liberation is brought about by political, social and economic change that empowers individuals and communities to emancipate themselves from oppression because the “social world is characterised by differences arising out of conflict between the powerful and powerless” (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001:20). This implies that for social change to occur, “layers of power need to be identified, deconstructed and challenged” (Eketone & Walker, 2013:261).

Individuals and communities need to emancipate themselves because domination is structural, but experienced personally (Fook, 2007) and so people can participate in and reinforce their oppression by accepting the position they hold in a social structure. To bring about social change there has to be an individual awakening referred to by Freire (1996) as “conscientization”, which starts off personally but leads to a collective collaborative understanding and action (Fook, 2007). Conscientization has implications for Māori and other Indigenous people because of the marginalised position they inhabit as a result of colonisation “which undermined land and property rights, instituted discriminatory policies and ignored or considered Māori values inferior” (Eketone & Walker, 2013:261).

The elitist language of Critical Theory can be difficult, especially as to use that language can create an air of superiority that can be problematic in a Māori context particularly when dealing with others involved in long-term community development such as our

elders/kaumātua. They haven't been "conscientized" like us (please note the ironic quotation marks), therefore we hold knowledge and therefore power that they don't, particularly when we are well paid for possessing that knowledge. Conversely they hold cultural knowledge and experience that we may want.

Gramsci's description cited in Young (1990) of the sub-altern are those who are not just marginalised, dominated and oppressed but lack a class consciousness, in other words are unaware of the structural nature of their oppression. If, when dealing with kaumātua (tribal elders), we seem to think that we are intellectually emancipated at the right level it can lead to frustration and disrespect on one side and offence and demoralisation on the other. The subaltern studies group from post-colonial India tried to get around this by describing themselves as the subaltern, that through resistance they can keep the attachment to being subaltern because they are from the marginalised group writing on behalf of the marginalised group and being accountable to them (Young, 1990).

Paolo Freire was one of those who took the intent of Critical Theory and applied it practically to working with the poor and oppressed in his native Brazil. His Critical Pedagogy focussed on the task of emancipation through conscientization (Habermas' critique of history) and the resistance that emerges from this understanding of accrued social injustice, and praxis is what leads to social change (Freire, 1996).

While Critical Theory's focus on emancipation is attractive, it also does have a degree of tension with Postmodernism. Postmodernism's attack on Modernism is also an attack on Socialist theories such as Marxism, the intellectual ancestor of Critical Theory (Sarup, 1996). Others claims the opposite, namely that Postmodernism emerged from Marxism because of the failure of the Marxist political and economic agenda through Communism (Hicks, 2004). Hicks (2004) also claims that Socialists, in a fit of pique, have rushed to Postmodernism to continue the fight against Capitalism.

It is the focus on power and the use of Constructivism that Critical Theory shares with Postmodernism. Indigenous theorists, whether they are aware of it or not, often use these theories to justify their positions.

Indigenism and the Indigenist

Increasingly the terms Indigenism and Indigenist have been used to define the theoretical underpinnings of Indigenous Social Work (Hart et al., 2014; Hart, 2007). Ward Churchill, a long term Indigenist rights activist from America, gave the defining description in 1993 (reprinted in 2003) of what it meant to be Indigenist.

I have identified myself as being “Indigenist” in outlook. By this, I mean that I am one who not only takes the rights of Indigenous peoples as the highest priority of my political life, but who draws upon the traditions—the bodies of knowledge and corresponding codes of value—evolved over many thousands of years by native peoples the world over. This is the basis upon which I not only advance critiques of, but conceptualize alternatives to the present social, political, economic, and philosophical status quo. In turn, this gives shape not only to the sorts of goals and objectives I pursue, but the kinds of strategy and tactics I advocate, the variety of struggles I tend to support, the nature of the alliances I am inclined to enter into, and so on (Churchill, 2003:251).

Churchill’s (2003) Indigenist vision is one where Indigenous peoples have political control over their lands to promote a sustainable environment divorced of the sexism, racism and homophobia of the West.

Resistance to the imposition of the West is a common theme in other anticolonial, post-colonial and Indigenous writings (Memmi, 1965; Osterhammel, 1997; Smith, 1997; Smith et al., 2012; Freire, 1996; Spivak, 1996; Rigney, 2006; Said, 1978) and it is this resistance to the West, along with Indigenous knowledge and development, which is fundamental to Indigenism. Despite the heterogeneous nature of the many native populations worldwide, Indigenism has become a valid term and concept because of the unifying function of Western colonisation and domination that is common to many and creates a solidarity between Indigenous peoples. Whether this solidarity arrives through shared suffering or shared resistance is implied rather than stated, but the desire for a better future that arises as part of the struggle against colonisation is common (Churchill, 2003).

A whole movement has developed in international Social Work based on this Indigenist agenda. It is Constructivist in nature declaring that “an Indigenist practitioner incorporates traditional Indigenous values, beliefs, ethics, practices, ceremonies, and

social structures” (Hart et al., 2014:3). An Indigenist practitioner, to be worthy of the name, is expected to have certain abilities and knowledges which can be identified as cultural, political and personal. The cultural requirement means that Indigenist practitioners need to have the ability to:

- reflect traditional Indigenous cultural values, beliefs, ethics, practices, ceremonies, and social structures within social work helping contexts and social justice;
- establish and maintain relationships with others based upon traditional Indigenous cultural values, beliefs, protocols, and ways of interacting;
- develop programs and/or policies that stem from traditional Indigenous cultural perspectives and ways of being; and
- implement and uphold these perspectives as a means to countering various forms of oppression.

(Hart et al., 2014:4)

These Indigenous abilities and knowledges however, are not enough. Countering oppression means that the Indigenist practitioner has to be aware of the context their people live in and so, almost inevitably, it has to become political. It is not enough just to work amongst your people as if no other outside cultural or political forces are there. The Indigenist practitioner needs to be political, they need to understand the social and political context, and they need to know how to challenge the forces that would continue to marginalise the knowledge and values of their people. Hart et al. (2014) stress that Indigenist practitioners need to practice from an anti-colonial perspective because Colonialism (in its past and current forms) obstructs Indigenous self-determination. However, to achieve Indigenous Development means that Indigenous people need confidence in themselves to achieve this self-determination. The Indigenist practitioner is expected therefore to have the ability to:

- understand oppression, particularly fourth world colonialism;
- relate colonialism with parallel forms of oppression such as sexism, racism, homophobia, privileging, and ableism;
- confront and address matters of privilege, racism, marginalization, and institutionalization that create oppressive practice and policy; and

- advocate from a position of partnership with Indigenous peoples on matters pertinent to their self-determination and development

(Hart et al., 2014:4)

The final set of abilities for a practitioner to be Indigenist and anti-colonial include personal values and commitments. These include to;

Be able to consistently self-reflect in ways that require reflexivity, awareness of social location, understanding of the significance of identity and relational development; and, explain the role of Indigenous helping practices and ceremonies in personal, familial, and community development (Hart et al., 2014:4).

Here we see the marriage of Constructionism and Critical Theory. They can work together conceptually to reinforce one another. The cultural, socially constructed world uses the strength and direction of Critical Theory to create the space for ongoing development.

These are generic overarching frameworks based on Indigenist Theory that is not specific or located. They are general, and almost Modernist (although Critical Theory is generally Postmodernist in nature). There is however, from some Indigenous people, a resistance to using the values and knowledges of specific Indigenous groups in the development of theory. Coyhis & Simonelli (2008) declare;

Our teachings are not theory. They are something we know from deep inside and are not subject to the testing, argument, doubt, revision, and need for “proof” that often takes place in the social sciences. They are gifts from the principles, laws, and values that our cultures lived by from a long time ago. For many of us, they are the way of our recovery and healing (Coyhis & Simonelli, 2008:1939).

This suspicion of ‘theory’ by Indigenous people is not unusual. Russell’s (2000) hesitation with the word ‘theory’ was because of its use to reproduce “colonial relations where the dominant, usually Western discourse, remains the culture of power” (Russell, 2000:11). She argued for the right of Indigenous peoples in her own Ngāi Tahu tribe to create their own theories, that she called Native Theory, “if theory is the development of ideas in order to make sense of one's place in time and space” (Russell, 2000:12)

The values and traditions of a group of Indigenous people can be incredibly precious to them, considered gifts of the ancestors or spiritual gifts coming from the gods or God (Hiroa, 1952) even considered innate (Coyhis & Simonelli, 2008) and therefore not socially constructed, but part of an essential self. Some cultures separate the esoteric from the everyday (Shirres, 1997), and knowledge, especially cultural knowledge that has been lost by many and retained by some, can be considered sacred and so it is not to be used for something as profane as misuse by academics (Coyhis & Simonelli, 2008).

Indigenism, while strongly cultural in outlook, has also been used to engage with the West, especially through culturally responsible and appropriate research.

Indigenist Research

While self-determination dominates Indigenist practice in the Americas, in Australia the focus has been on Indigenous Research, seeking to reform research methodologies. This research aims to meet the aspirations of Indigenous people, by taking into account the realities of living as an Indigenous person in Australia including their history, experiences, traditions and struggles (Rigney, 2006; Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003).

There are three overarching interrelated principles that Indigenist research adheres to (Rigney, 2006). Firstly the research must be emancipatory in form and function and will involve resistance to the values of the coloniser. Secondly, it must have political integrity, meaning that it uses Indigenous knowledges, culture and spiritual values as the source of its epistemological and ontological validity. It is also conducted in an appropriate manner taking into account the “cultural preferences, practices and aspirations of Indigenous people” (Rigney, 2006:46). To do this it must involve the researched people themselves so they determine the research priorities and processes. Thirdly, it privileges the Indigenous voice, particularly as aboriginals have been largely marginalised and become often voiceless in the discourses of the Australian nation.

As Indigenist Research needs to contribute to the liberation of Indigenous people, these three principles of resistance, political integrity and privileging the Indigenous voice, seem to dominate the discourse of most recent Indigenism and, as we will see later, this project of emancipation through resistance is one of the key tenets of Kaupapa Māori as well.

Although some aspects of Indigenist Research follow a narrow field regarding what is allowable (appropriate is too weak a word), Indigenist Research can use modified Western approaches and methodologies while at the same time developing new ones. Nakata (1998) believes that to change the system Indigenous people first have to be immersed in the processes of the West so that those processes can then be challenged and changed, resisting also the power of the West to define who Indigenous people are. Some go further and say that researchers and their partners “must actively seek to decolonize and indigenize the research process to transform science as well as themselves, their communities, and the larger society for the betterment of all” (Walters et al., 2009:154). Others believe that Indigenist Research is totally localised and reject the idea that Western research methods can be used to understand Indigenous people at all (West et al., 2012). This does not mean that Western theory and approaches can’t be used compatibly with Indigenist approaches. West et al. (2012) developed their own approach and then later compared it to and aligned it with Freire and Habermas’s work on Critical Theory.

One of the defining ideas of Indigenist Research is the rejection of “the notion that research on Indigenous people is for the sake of knowledge itself” (Rigney, 2006:45). The involvement of Indigenous peoples means that research must have a concrete purpose and it should contribute to emancipation. The weakness to that argument is that once his people do reach that emancipated state in what he refers to as a “neo-colonial free future” (Rigney, 2006:45) what then is research for? It seems to aim for a goal they never really expect to attain.

Not all Australians focus on resistance and emancipation. For others, Indigenist Research focuses on Constructionist approaches basing Indigenist theoretical frameworks on their “Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing” (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003:208). In their opinion, ‘Ways of Knowing’ links to their tribal ontology, how they explain their past present and future and its links to the natural world. ‘Ways of Being’ refers to the reciprocal nature of relationships with all living things and with each other and the complicated notions of guardianship and sharing resources with all living things. They refer to their ‘Ways of Doing’ as a synthesis of the ways of knowing and being expressed through such things as expression, traditions and processes (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003). While this is a simplified summary of an extremely complex and

intertwined vision of how her people participate in their society, it also has a strong focus on the importance of spirituality in the way they think about and experience their reality.

These Indigenist discussions may not have emerged from the Academy, but it is through the Academy that these views reach a wider audience. By the time of Nakata's (1998) exhortation to Indigenous peoples to join academic institutions to challenge and change the academic traditions and knowledge of the West, a succession of Māori writers on Kaupapa Māori had emerged that were doing just that.

Kaupapa Māori

Linda Smith (nee Mead), Graham Smith, Leonie Pihama and Russel Bishop were some of the fore-runners in the theorising, researching and publication of Indigenous research methodologies in New Zealand. All four emerged out of an education sector that at that time was dominated by Critical theoretical perspectives drawing much inspiration from writers such as Paulo Freire (see their respective PhDs: Bishop, 1996; Pihama 2001; G. Smith, 1997; Mead, 1996). Their work exposed the privileging of the West's knowledge and the hegemonic status that it occupied almost without challenge over Indigenous knowledges, and so they wrestled with the Academy to establish the validity of Māori based methodologies adopting 'Kaupapa Māori' as the standard they would stand behind (L. Smith, 1999). While Kaupapa Māori theory and practice has much in common with Indigenist theory and practice, there was a conscious decision to not name it as such. Linda Smith claimed the reason was that "the struggle has been seen as one over Māori language and the ability by Māori as Māori to name the world, to theorize the world, and to research back to power" (L. Smith, 2005:119) (please note that as there will be considerable discussion of the work of Linda Smith and Graham Smith they will have their initials in front of their surname to indicate quickly which author is being discussed).

This rejection of the term Indigenism in favour of an approach that is defined by Māori using Māori terms meant that Kaupapa Māori has been almost universally accepted by Māori society in general. It, somewhat ironically, has become such a hegemonic moniker that it could be argued that, by default, much research done by Māori gets called Kaupapa Māori research whether it follows its basic precepts or not (as I have noticed in theses I have marked). It is unlikely that the increasing numbers of Māori engaging in post-graduate study would have done so without the marketing of a Māori term as the

expression of Māori research. Kaupapa Māori research sounds far more attractive to my ears than Indigenist and L. Smith's (2005) earlier statement of the Māori language being used to name and theorise the world would have undoubtedly added to the general attraction. It has become so popular that a simple search of Google Scholar in September 2018 revealed that the term Kaupapa Māori is mentioned in at least 8,000 articles, chapters and theses with the work of Linda Smith alone cited over 33,000 times.

Despite the rejection of the term Indigenist in favour of the term Kaupapa Māori, for all intents and purposes it is an example of Indigenism that relies heavily on both the Critical Theory and Constructionist theoretical traditions. It is however, pertinent at this stage to emphasize the apparent distinction between Kaupapa Māori as a theory and Kaupapa Māori as a practice. Namely, Kaupapa Māori as a theory may make use of Constructionism, but has a greater connection to Critical Theory and Kaupapa Māori practice (including research) is primarily underpinned by Constructionism, but can also use Critical Theory. While sounding contradictory, this distinction should become clearer over the following pages.

Kaupapa Māori Theory and Critical Theory

The primary explainer of Kaupapa Māori as a theory is the impressive work of Graham Smith who researched Māori education providers that he labelled "resistance initiatives" (G. Smith, 2003:7). He described Kaupapa Māori as an evolving praxis that "is continuously made and remade within a critical cycle of reflection and reaction ... it is organic in that it has developed with the people and not outside them" (G. Smith, 1997:26). Smith was the first Māori school teacher at a Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori medium school) (Smith et al., 2012) and so has been involved in its development since the very beginning.

Kura Kaupapa Māori came out of the education sector as a response to Māori students who were both failing mainstream education and having their culture and language marginalised in the education system. The negative effects were primarily seen to be the result of colonisation and so Kaupapa Māori, in many ways a cultural approach, was also resisting these negative forces. Kaupapa Māori as a theory confirmed the work of Paulo Freire with his focus on conscientization, resistance and transformative praxis. In fact G. Smith's (1997) identification of Kaupapa Māori Theory as a social change movement

highlighted three similar significant components, and while the following quote is extensive, it is worth restating in his words his explanation of Kaupapa Māori theory having three main foci.

Conscientization (revealing the reality) to critically analyse and deconstruct hegemonies and practices which entrench Pākehā dominant social, economic, gender, cultural and political privilege. Kaupapa Māori critique, and analysis, correlates with established Critical Theory instruments and approaches which develop critical consciousness. Kaupapa Māori conscientising is alert to interrogating both Culturalist and Structuralist issues.

Resistance (oppositional actions) the forming of shared understandings and experiences to revive a sense of a collective politics around -

- reactive activities - collectively responding and reacting to the dominant structures of oppression, exploitation, manipulation and containment
- proactive activities - collectively resolving and acting to transform existing conditions.

Praxis (reflective change) the undertaking of transformative action to evolve change. Praxis is both reflective and reflexive with respect to theory and practice. The notion of emancipation is important here in that it provides impetus to praxis. Thus praxis is not merely about developing a critique of what has gone wrong, it is concerned to develop meaningful change by intervening and making a difference (G. Smith, 1997:38).

The purpose of the extended quotations here is to show the alignment of Kaupapa Māori with Critical Theory and the work of Paulo Freire. Conscientization (conscientizacao) is an awakening of the consciousness of the oppressed where individuals realise they must fight and struggle for their own liberation. Praxis refers to “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (Freire, 1996:33) but must be active and comprehensive, it can’t “be limited to mere activism, but must include serious reflection: only then will it be praxis” (Freire, 1996: 47)

Conscientization, resistance and praxis are the foundation of both social change theories where “transformative praxis implies conscientization and resistance have occurred. Resistance is predicated on collective experience (suffering) and a collective will to make change” (G. Smith, 1997:44).

G. Smith states that as a Theory “Kaupapa Māori Theory developed out of a description of the alignment of Critical Theory and Kaupapa Māori praxis in the writings of G. H. Smith in the late 1980's” (G. Smith, 1997:98) and confirms that Kaupapa Māori Theory has similarities and overlaps with Critical Theory. Linda Smith (1999) discusses the Kaupapa Māori position as “located in relation to Critical Theory, in particular to the notions of critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation” (L. Smith, 1999:185) so that “Māori would take greater control of their lives” (L. Smith, 1999:186).

Rather than as a linear progression i.e. from conscientization to resistance to praxis G. Smith (1997) described it as being cyclical, although the diagram he supplies is more trialectic in nature. He uses the term Kaupapa Māori Praxis as part of a description of how Kaupapa Māori needs to not just be theoretical but practical and purposeful working towards goals of emancipation. He argues for a praxis that is transformational that can deal with the multiple oppressive and exploitative forces that impose themselves on Māori. As these forces are many-fold, so does the way Māori are to resist need to be many-fold. The most encouraging and forceful part of Kaupapa Māori Theory is that it is drawn from practice, it informs practice and it guides practice and this is why it has been an extremely successful theoretical approach leading to the formation of hundreds of organisations in health, education and the social service spheres.

That Kaupapa Māori draws inspiration from Critical Theory and its outworking Critical Pedagogy is undeniable and self-evident, but some, primarily the impressive writer Leonie Pihama, argue that Kaupapa Māori is not Critical Theory but that it “may be viewed as a localised form of Critical Theory” (Pihama, 2012: 11). She goes further to try and distance Kaupapa Māori Theory from Critical Theory by explaining that “this does not mean that Kaupapa Māori theory is grounded on such theoretical frameworks but rather it asserts that the key elements of Critical Theory as a theory that challenges dominant systems of power may also be seen within Kaupapa Māori Theory” (Pihama, 2012:11). Her argument is that Kaupapa Māori is not grounded on Critical Theory because Critical Theory is grounded on “Western notions” and Kaupapa Māori is not, instead it is grounded on mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). By attaching itself to Critical Theory it gets the benefit of aligning itself with an academic theoretical tradition that wants to achieve some of the same aims of Kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori refers to it as its own paradigm with deep layers of Māori knowledge, experience and values

which set it apart from Critical Theory, i.e. Kaupapa Māori makes use of Critical Theory but is not defined or constrained by it. The inspiration comes from Critical Theory and it is to Critical Theory that writers like G. Smith and Pihama return to provide the drive and impetus of Kaupapa Māori Theory.

It would be unfair at this point to solely focus on G. Smith's work on the Critical Theory foundations of Kaupapa Māori as he also included strong Constructionist definitions and explanations. In defining Kaupapa Māori Praxis (Theory) the first definitions are Constructionist. The opening statement is that Kaupapa Māori "promotes the validity and legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge and culture (G. Smith, 2003:11) but it also challenges the inequality inherent in the Western imposition of its power and knowledge and subordinate position Māori knowledge takes and how Kaupapa Māori needs to support transformative change as it contributes to Māori advancement (G. Smith, 2003).

Kaupapa Māori Practice and Constructionism

While Kaupapa Māori is a Theory, it is actually drawn from and describing Kaupapa Māori Practice, which rests primarily on Constructionist approaches.

As mentioned, Graham Smith is one of the greatest proponents of the alignment of Critical Theory and Kaupapa Māori, however, his wife Linda Smith (1999) has a different focus, concentrating more on the cultural terms, especially in relation to research on and with Māori. Her Kaupapa Māori code of conduct, which will be discussed in Chapter Five, is on working with Māori people ourselves with a code of ethics outlining behaviours expected of anyone going into a Māori environment. It is both Culturalist and Constructionist acknowledging the cultural reality people need to apply.

Interestingly L. Smith 1999 cites her husband's very early writings describing some of the assumptions of Kaupapa Māori research in ways that relate it directly to Kaupapa Māori practice:

- Is related to "being Māori"
- Is connected to Māori philosophy and principles
- Takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori , the importance of Māori language and culture; and

- Is concerned with ‘the struggle for autonomy over our own well-being.

(L. Smith, 1999:185)

Kaupapa Māori claims to retrieve the research space so that Māori knowledge can be described and produced to prove the value of research to Māori while at the same time producing effective and culturally responsive research (L. Smith, 1999).

In Kaupapa Māori Practice one of the things people use to explain their practice is a description of cultural principles. From a Constructionist theoretical perspective Kaupapa Māori, and the Māori knowledge base it is drawn from, was developed from the changing social and political events that impacted the peoples who came to be known as Māori over millennia. However, one of the defining characteristics of Māori society is the belief in the interconnecting of the material and spiritual worlds expressed in concepts such as mana and tapu that are integral to Māori identity (Mead, 2003). Many Kaupapa Māori theorists also highlight socially constructed Māori values, such as Māori cultural ethics, Māori knowledge, and Māori languages (Bishop, 1996; Kiro, 2000; G. Smith, 1997, L. Smith, 1999).

From a Constructionist perspective, these values are considered useful in advancing, developing, and protecting the community. To practitioners of Kaupapa Māori their work is not based on the theoretical abstraction of conscientization, resistance, and praxis but a practical Constructionist focus on the underpinning values that inform the outworking of Kaupapa Māori services and providers (Eketone, 2008). It can be argued that it is the Māori concepts and processes that underpin these services that make them Kaupapa Māori rather than their political aims.

G. Smith defined a number of principles that could be used as the basis for intervention which are integral to Kaupapa Māori and are evident wherever Kaupapa Māori is being practiced (Pihama, 2001). G. Smith’s principles are Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination) taonga tuku iho (meaning cultural values and aspirations handed down from the ancestors), ako Māori (Māori pedagogy), kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga (the ability to overcome socio-economic disadvantage), whānau (the structure of the extended family), and Kaupapa (working collectively for a purpose). Pihama has added to these te reo (Māori language), tikanga Māori (Māori culture, values and norms) and

included the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi in the decolonisation process (Pihama, 2004). These culturally and politically constructed values came to largely define Kaupapa Māori and joined forces with another approach from the 1980's, 'by Māori for Māori' services to create what can be summarised as Kaupapa Māori Practice.

Kaupapa Māori Practice

In 1984, Whatarangi Winiata, used an adaptation of Abraham Lincoln's words to call for social services that were 'of the Māori, by the Māori, for the Māori' (Winiata, 1984:G-4). to help overcome the terrible disparity in social outcomes for Māori when compared to their Pākehā neighbours This call was taken up by both Māori and Government to deliver services that came to be known as 'by Māori for Māori' services.

One of the new forms of organisations that were developing was the first of a new kind of primary school using the Māori language in a Māori cultural context that was named 'Kura Kaupapa Māori' (Māori medium school). It became a descriptive term for a range of social services run 'by Māori for Māori'. Kaupapa Māori defined services sprang up all around the country delivering education, health and welfare services as the Government sought to pass on responsibility to community organisations to find new ways to deal with the large number of negative social indicators observed amongst Māori people (Durie, 2001).

There had been a large leap in the number of Māori health providers in the 1990s as part of Te Ara Whakamua, The Decade of Māori Development, with a shift to devolving services to Iwi. However, the growth in organisations could not have taken place without the direct support and encouragement of Government departments and Crown agencies such as the Health Funding Authority. They encouraged and supported the development of Māori health providers and initiatives and did so through the awarding of Government contracts (Durie, 2001).

Although 'by Māori for Māori' was often the definition, in many ways this was unsatisfactory because it needed to operate using Māori values in a Māori context (Eketone, 2008). This raised the question over who could call themselves a Kaupapa Māori organisation. Some argued that being by Māori for Māori using Māori values in a Māori context was enough. Others said that the organisation itself had to be Māori with

accountability and management by and for Māori. Some Crown entities had staff claim they were delivering Kaupapa Māori services because they were delivered ‘by Māori, for Māori’, even though their accountability was to the Crown and this was disputed by Māori organisations who were accountable to the Māori community first (Eketone & Walker, 2013). ‘By Māori’ meant more than the ethnicity of the face delivering the service and so Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination) and Mana Motuhake (autonomy) were considered as vital expressions of Kaupapa Māori where Māori cultural values are pre-eminent over every part of the organisation (see Chapter Three for further discussion on these concepts).

As Kaupapa Māori Practice expanded, various disciplines approached it in sometimes contradictory ways where Kaupapa Māori began to take on more Constructionist tendencies rather than political ones. Some stated it plainly saying that Kaupapa Māori referred “to any particular plan of action created by Māori, reflecting Māori aspirations, ideals, values and perspectives” (Royal, 2012:30). This approach stressed how it was the involvement of Tikanga Māori which is the “distinctive Māori ways of doing things and cultural behaviours through which Kaupapa Māori are expressed and made tangible” (Royal, 2012:30). For example, some in Kaupapa Māori mental health services said their approach was based on “the philosophies of Tikanga Māori” (Amor, 2002:120) and they worked “with Māori models and cultural practices that honour Tikanga Māori” (Amor, 2002:121). This sometimes involved working in eclectic ways incorporating Māori and Western approaches looking for similarities in approaches where;

Both are committed to implementing the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, encouraging and empowering whānau decision making, healing, manaakitanga [hospitality], arohatanga [compassion] and awhitanga [caring assistance] (Amor, 2002:123).

Social workers have also highlighted Constructionist approaches to Kaupapa Māori. Eruera (2012), when discussing her approach to cultural supervision, focused primarily on Constructed principles such as Whakapapa (inter-relatedness), Mātauranga Māori (knowledge base), Mōhiotanga Māori (experiences and knowing), Tikanga Māori (processes and protocols) and Pukenga (skills). Other social workers however, have become cynical in the way that Kaupapa Māori has been a generic term for Māori services with one experienced social worker, Shona Kapea-Maslin entitling her Master’s research

‘Kaupapa Māori: Fact or Fiction’. As the title suggests, she wanted to find out whether organisations that declared themselves as Kaupapa Māori providers really were. Unsurprisingly the results were mixed; there was, in fact, a continuum of practices and social services provider commitment (Kapea-Maslin, 2016).

Where Kaupapa Māori actually begins is problematic to some, particularly those who would want power over the definition, where debates continue over whether a marae running a programme from its health provider arm is a Kaupapa Māori service, even if it is in English and provided by non-Māori staff.

While academics try to define Kaupapa Māori in terms of using Māori language, culture and knowledge in “critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation” (L. Smith, 1999:185) in the community it has a much simpler meaning. Kapea-Maslin interviewed Māori social workers themselves to try and identify what they believed Kaupapa Māori to be. She got a wide range of opinion focusing mostly on the expression of their work from a cultural standpoint. They processed it as based on ‘their way of doing things’ that emerged from a Culturalist Constructionist perspective, where many were influenced by their upbringing. The way they practised was based on their understanding of tikanga, important values and principles. It could also be tribally based;

My Kaupapa Māori is who I am, where I come from, what I am doing and where I am going...Māori aspects the way of life I believe that Kaupapa Māori are the beliefs, ideas and policies of the way we work. (Kapea-Maslin, 2016:72)

For me it’s about tikanga and kawa, code of practices for me, it’s about belief Te Ao Māori [the Māori world] (Kapea-Maslin, 2016:74)

Only one of her participants was overtly political where Kaupapa Māori had to have Māori in control to maintain their tino rangatiratanga, another focused on distinctly Māori values based on inter-relationships, “manaakitanga, awhi, aroha and pono” [hospitality, caring, love and faith] (Kapea-Maslin, 2016:80)

Her participants aligned Kaupapa Māori strictly with cultural elements. In fact Te Ao Māori Tikanga was the phrase she used, incorporating many of the following values: Mana (inner strength), Whānau (extended family), Hapū (sub-tribe) and Iwi (tribe), Tapu

(separated and sacredness), Noa (spiritual cleanness), Awhi (support), Manaaki (caring), Aroha (love), Tautoko (support), Karakia (prayer), Aroha ki te tangata (compassion for others) (Kapea-Maslin, 2016).

Her research participants did not have great confidence in the ability or structure of many organisations to maintain Kaupapa Māori/tikanga Māori ways of working. She found that Kaupapa Māori existed but “in a way that was meaningful to them ... however, the essential core of Kaupapa Māori was underpinned by what the respondents considered was their conception of tikanga Māori [Māori culture]” (Kapea-Maslin, 2016:123).

The Culturalist Constructionist view seems to be prevalent in those who provide Māori services where the focus is often on tikanga Māori (strict adherence to Māori values). This Cultural Constructionist approach to Kaupapa Māori has caused some consternation from some of the earlier promulgators of Kaupapa Māori and has led to a degree of tension between those who follow what could be defined as a Constructionist rather than a critically informed approach.

Tensions Between Critical Kaupapa Māori Theory and Constructionist Kaupapa Māori Practice

There are at least four tensions between Critical Kaupapa Māori Theory and Constructionist Kaupapa Māori Practice:

- the struggle between prescriptive and descriptive theoretical approaches
- attempting to meld together the two theoretical approaches
- Constructionism, Māori knowledge and Te Ao Wairua (the spiritual world)
- the so called “domestication” of Kaupapa Māori

Prescriptive and Descriptive Approaches

If they could be distilled down to their simplest parts, a primary difference between Critical and Constructionist approaches is that Critical Theory and Kaupapa Māori Theory can be described as prescriptive, and Constructionist Kaupapa Māori Practice as descriptive, where they are describing differing things, having differing aims.

One of the challenges by Professor Whatarangi Winiata at the 2014 symposium on cultural supervision at Te Wananga o Raukawa was that he felt too much effort was spent in defining what Māori approaches should be rather than creating theory based on what they actually are (Winiata, 2014). It is one of the trademarks of some Modernist theories where theories were developed by looking at both what is and what should be. Marxism, as a social change theory, does both - it defined the world's problems in the Western world by who owns the methods of production. This theoretical tradition boasts an eternal struggle until the workers are released from the bondages of oppression and take charge themselves. Classical Liberal Theory also is another instructive theory that prescribes how society should be (Shannon & Young, 2004).

Winiata was worried that the prescriptive nature of many social theories was also being applied to Māori. His view was that Māori theories should be derived from how Māori society actually works, where theories are drawn from Indigenous experience, rather than prescribe how a group or an individual imagines it should be. He believes that too many theories are derived from ideology, even Indigenous developed ideology where the expectation is that theory will inform practice and people are expected to work and act in line with that theory. His call was for theory to be developed out of practice and experience so that it serves the people. He was particularly concerned that Māori were doing it to ourselves, being very prescriptive about both what it means to be Māori and how organisations should deliver their services (Winiata, 2014). Although he did not directly accuse some Kaupapa Māori adherents of doing this, reading between the lines it is difficult to think of what else he was referring to.

This prescription of what society should be is a hall mark of Critical Theory. Horkheimer, one of the early pioneers of what became known as Critical Theory, rejected what he referred to as 'traditional theory', in other words theory that merely describes what is already happening. Horkheimer was;

...in pursuit of a theory that is wedded to practice in the service of a more just organisation of life in society. He wants 'a theory which becomes a genuine force, consisting in the self-awareness of the subjects of a great historical revolution' (Crotty, 1998:130).

He wanted a theory that would create a just society. To do that it is necessary to prescribe what it takes to get to the endpoint you are striving for.

Melding Together the Two Theoretical Approaches

In 2004 I asked myself, is ‘Kaupapa Māori’ an example of Critical Theory or an example of Social Constructionism? The answer I found was both - Kaupapa Māori is a Critical Theory and a Constructionist Theory. In 2005 I argued that both could be melded together. If Kaupapa Māori was primarily about conscientization, resistance and praxis, then it meant that Kaupapa Māori, as outlined by G. Smith (1997), had a potentially limited lifespan. If we ever achieved the just society that Kaupapa Māori strove for then the day equality arrived we would no longer need it. Also if resistance was a key component it meant that we also needed someone or something to resist against. It seems to assume that we will forever be in an inferior state politically, socially and economically and that Kaupapa Māori ironically could become about ‘them’, and what ‘they’ did, rather than about ‘us’, and what ‘we’ do (Eketone, 2005).

Kaupapa Māori is both a Critical Theory and a Constructionist Theory, just as I am an Eketone (from my father) and a McKenzie (from my mother). In 2005, I argued that both Constructivism (actually Constructionism) and Critical Theory could be shown in what they contribute to Kaupapa Māori and how they could be melded together (Table 1.)

Table 1: Kaupapa Māori Practice and Research

Explanatory Theory	Key Components	Strategy	Goals
Native Theory (Constructivist)	Iwi Māori knowledge Iwi Māori values Iwi Māori processes Self-determination	Kaupapa Māori practice & research	Māori advancement Māori development as Māori A just society
Critical Theory (Marxist/Socialist)	Power analysis Empowerment Resistance Emancipation		

(Eketone, 2008:9)

It is through Kaupapa Māori that we can achieve the two aims of the different Kaupapa Māori branches. Constructivist (or Constructionist) approaches that use Māori knowledge, values and processes in Kaupapa Māori to achieve their goals of Māori advancement and development; whereas the Critical Theory branch of Kaupapa Māori uses a power analysis, empowerment and resistance to achieve emancipation to bring about a just society.

Unfortunately this would be heresy to some who would argue that Kaupapa Māori is old, from ancient times. However, it is through Critical Theory that Kaupapa Māori Theory gets its acceptance from the Western Academy, and it is through the Culturalist, Constructionist approach that gives it its integrity and mandate from Māori society.

Constructionism, Māori Knowledge and Te Ao Wairua (The Spiritual World)

From the perspective of a number of Māori, the weakness in a Constructionist approach would be that a purist view does not accept genuine spirituality, and a Constructionist approach has little to offer in proposing a positive future. If one truth is as “good” as another, the only value is that truth’s use to the community where the danger is that virtually anything can be potentially justified by the powerful. Theory may expose power but to make judgements on power it needs an overarching ‘truth’ to make judgements on that truth. Critical Theory’s strength is in defining truths, but its weakness is that it can be about the oppressor rather than the oppressed. We have unity with other Indigenous people because we have all been oppressed, potentially, as long as we are still being oppressed.

This is a potential conflict because of the contested origins of Māori knowledge and its connection to Te Ao Wairua, the spiritual world. To explain this it is useful to turn to the person responsible for coining the modern term Kaupapa Māori, Tuki Nepe and what she meant;

Kaupapa Māori is the “conceptualisation of Māori knowledge” that has been developed through oral tradition. It is the process by which Māori mind receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through te reo Māori. Kaupapa Māori is esoteric and tuturu Māori [authentic]. It is knowledge that validates a Māori world view and is not only Māori owned but also Māori controlled. This is done successfully through te reo Māori, the only language that can access, conceptualise, and internalise

in spiritual terms this body of knowledge...this Kaupapa Māori knowledge is exclusive too, for no other knowledge in the world has its origins in Rangiātea. As such it is the natural and only source for the development of a mechanism which aims to transmit exclusively Kaupapa Māori knowledge (Nepe, 1991: 15-16) cited in (Pihama, 2001: 118-119).

This description of the origin of the underlying concepts of Kaupapa Māori ascribes its origins to the spiritual realm. Rangiātea has a dual identity being the name of the physical place from where the Tainui waka (immigrant ship) departed, (modern day Raiatea in French Polynesia) (Kelly, 1949) and most importantly it is a spiritual place at the uppermost heaven where the supreme-being Īō-matua-kore is believed to dwell. Tāne (some say Tāwhaki) ascended to Rangiātea to bring back three 'baskets' of knowledge that mankind needs to survive and prosper in the world (Best, 1924). Therefore mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and Kaupapa Māori are believed to have a spiritual origin that can only truly be accessed in te reo (Māori language). The principles and practices of Māori culture are then supposed to have their origin in that world because they develop from mātauranga Māori.

Nepe also claimed that only in the Māori language can Māori concepts and culture be truly understood. It is only through moving through the process and values expressed in te reo that Kaupapa Māori can be understood and research be valid. The problem with this is that there are many examples of research being done in te reo Māori, that follows cultural prescriptions, but still written, transmitted or applied in ways that do not support Māori development. Pākehā authors writing in te reo such as George Grey, Elsdon Best, Percy Smith, John White, can be controversial, even Māori ourselves with such authors as Leslie Kelly. Māori are not immune to insiders behaving badly.

From a Constructionist perspective Māori principles developed as our ancestors made sense of the world they lived in. If many Māori accept that there is a spiritual world, we need to consider how much of that world influences the development of culture and meaning. One perspective says that all meaning, knowledge and values are socially constructed and religion is a way of finding meaning based on their knowledge of the world (Crotty, 1998). The 21st Century Māori mind struggles with the concept of Māori values being based on Religion and so the term spirituality, or wairua, have become far more acceptable. These terms are especially prevalent with the rise of the Te Whare Tapa Wha model (Durie, 1998a) in both health and education fields that includes wairuatanga

(spirituality) in its model of defining what contributes to Māori well-being. Māori spirituality has even been ingrained into the New Zealand school curriculum which broadened spirituality from adherence to a particular religion to the search for individual meaning and purpose (Fraser, 2004). It is part of the Western movement away from prescribed religion (Schneiders, 2003), and is increasingly expressed in Māori society as a rejection of what is seen as an introduced Pākehā mainstream version of Christianity that was used by the missionaries to ‘civilise’ Māori and then to strip them of their land (Stirling et al., 2009). However, eminent Māori anthropologist and leader Te Rangi Hiroa (1952) had no problem declaring that Māori developed religion to describe the origins of humans and the world around them. “Māori had faith in their gods, no matter how created, and the functional relationship established between them and their worshippers constituted religion” (Hiroa, 1952:432). This structure of religious expression involved the recognition of an unseen world inhabited by atua that Hiroa (1952) explained became gods. However, I was taught that atua referred to all entities that were unseen by physical human eyes, but could inhabit the space around us. Atua are not only gods, but also ancestors who are considered present with us; taniwha (water guardians); malignant spirits etc., all who are believed to interact with us in the physical world where values and concepts inherent in the culture are fed, challenged, strengthened, appeased and provoked by our actions and interactions with each other and with these atua.

This identification of the tensions over spirituality is raised because I cannot deny what I believe, and for me to make a Constructionist argument as if I am a close adherent to the logical conclusions of this approach would be disingenuous. Therefore, while Postmodernism and Constructionism/Constructivism is used, it has to be qualified and its possible limits discussed. While the reader may object to this lack of purity in theory application, it may be that some or all of this “truth” or “reality” may actually exist and may exist somewhere in the middle held in suspension by our individual experience or shared experience and a spiritual world that, although unseen, at times intersects with our physical world as both my Māori and Scottish ancestors believed and I, as a “person of faith”, also believe.

This Constructionist approach to kaupapa Māori is worrying to some and it has been criticised for departing too far from the origins of Kaupapa Māori.

The Domestication of Kaupapa Māori

In some of his later work Graham Smith responded to a distancing of various forms of Kaupapa Māori from its original focus. He explained and reaffirmed that “the key understandings of Kaupapa Māori were transported in the first place out of Critical Theory.” (Smith et al., 2012: 11). Smith had become worried that Kaupapa Māori was distancing itself from these Critical Theory origins and the focus on a structural analysis and the political action it provides. He was particularly concerned that organisations that ignored the structural analysis that Critical Theory supplies were leading to “the domestication of Kaupapa Māori ... [becoming] an opening for a browning of mainstream institutions rather than a space from which to challenge them” (Smith et al., 2012:11, 12). Examples of domestication included Government policies and interventions such as ‘taha Māori’ that introduce a Māori dimension but no structural change to an organisation.

In 2012 he became more explicit and drew a distinction between Culturalist and Structuralist approaches and said that Kaupapa Māori needs both. He reiterated and made it very clear that he saw Kaupapa Māori as having two theoretical underpinnings that he referred to as intellectual influences; the validity and legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge and culture as well as Critical Social Theory. To not have the Structuralist perspective is to be neutered and is no longer radical and becomes tamed and domesticated which leads to assimilation. He is particularly critical of the Te Kohanga Reo movement that has been heavily influenced by the Culturalists at the expense of the Structuralists with no push towards political action, worrying that ignoring the structural approach would lead to stagnation (Smith et al., 2012).

If G. Smith is correct and Kaupapa Māori has become domesticated and neutered by the Culturalist expression of Kaupapa Māori without the Structuralist then it proves, as much as it irks me to admit, that Kaupapa Māori as a theory needs the Western inspired approach to maintain its commitment to creating a just society. The danger is, without strong cultural as well as theoretical underpinnings, it could revert back to a culturally appropriate Critical Theory or a domesticated Culturalist expression. This ‘just society’ that Kaupapa Māori Theory strives for can be seen as a tension between the two approaches that causes a rivalry or it can be seen as a way of keeping each other in check.

It may be that while some proponents of it adhere to a very pure form of Kaupapa Māori, it in fact does operate on a continuum depending on the describer.

This chapter has discussed the theoretical underpinning of Kaupapa Māori as a theory and a practice. We have looked at the origins of Kaupapa Māori and the philosophical and theoretical traditions it has emerged from. While in some ways it has not been fully resolved, it will be discussed further in the final chapter. We now divert to a more Constructionist form where we look at the values and beliefs that underpin Kaupapa Māori practice by examining cultural values and beliefs important in Māori Social and Community Work.

Chapter Three Māori Concepts for Social and Community Work

This chapter is a literature review of Māori concepts for Social and Community Work. The first part will investigate the role and place of applied principles/Takepū, identifying important principles for Māori Social and Community Work practice. The second part will define these values in more detail and show how many of these principles are implemented. This chapter uses a number of personal examples from my practice to highlight the concepts discussed. An earlier version of this chapter and Chapter Four were adapted for a publication. However, one publisher wanted only half of it and so they became two publications. The bulk of this chapter appeared in the Scope Journal and is reproduced here because “all texts are the copyright of the authors” (Eketone: 2013a: 2) (see Appendix One) and this content was written during the course of the PhD. This chapter is important for the overall thesis because it directly addresses my first research question and lays the foundation for later discussion.

Ngā Takepū (Principles)

The Collins dictionary defines a principle as a “moral rule guiding behaviour; general or basic truth” (Collins, 2006: 597) it is that which guides us. Teina Pohatu has been the pre-eminent theorist describing Māori principles to be applied in Māori Social and Community Work that he translates as Ngā Takepū (Pohatu, 2008, 2010, 2015; Pohatu & Pohatu, 2011). He describes them as signposts from our ancestors on how to behave and interact with one another;

They are cultural positions that provide cultural insights, filters, markers and tools, offering well-tried ways of connecting in relationships and kaupapa [purpose], demonstrating that they are constantly thought about and used in everything we do (Pohatu 2010:242).

Pohatu describes these principles as companions to guide individuals and communities so that we are not left to flounder away developing our own moral, cultural and social compasses (Pohatu, 2008). He sees Takepū as “deliberate use of Māori knowledge, wisdom, rationales and applications” (Pohatu, 2008:17) for the process of relating and dealing with people and how Māori should interact with the material and spiritual worlds we inhabit. They are “applied principles, bodies of cultural knowledge [and] key strategic

positions” (Pohatu, 2010:241) that Pohatu describes as having their own life force considering them “kaitiaki (responsible stewards) of valued principles, deep thinking, significant attitudes, ethical positions and ways of life” (Pohatu, 2010:241-242). At a deeper level takepū, as are all principles, more than just directions, they encapsulate the key essences of our collective humanity that have been developed and understood through generations of application in the spiritual and temporal spheres.

Any discussion on Māori principles needs to delve deeper than merely explaining the meaning of the words. One of the things that may be hidden to casual describers of principles is the depth of mātauranga (knowledge) that is implicit in the terms. Pohatu (2015) discusses Takepū not just as the limited translation of ‘principle’ or even the responsibilities associated with that principle, but to delve into the many layered knowledges and applications that underpin that principle. He expands that these are not just cultural terms but have nuance of meaning from the esoteric down to how they are used by whānau (extended family).

Pohatu (2015) comes from a strong family/whānau tradition that follows the direction of how his ancestors decided and defined this knowledge, therefore his perspective is that the principles used in Social Work by an individual should be drawn from whānau, particularly “the significance of belonging to a distinct body of people with unique experiences and legacies” (Pohatu, 2015: 32). Further Pohatu asks himself questions over how his adaptation of the principles and values passed down to him by his direct ancestors would be considered by them, judging his actions and motives, considering what their expectations would be. The drive for him to travel closely in his adherence to these values was driven home to him by his firm belief that his ancestors travel in “parallel columns with and alongside me, my world and kaupapa [purpose]” (Pohatu, 2015:34), this also has implications for the responsibility he has to honouring these pathways for his grandchildren.

From a practical standpoint this can be problematic for those raised outside of their tribal areas, where generic principals are adopted where they can be both narrowed (simplified) and broadened. For two examples, firstly, through urbanisation the term whānau has broadened from its familial context, i.e. the descendants of the grandparents of your oldest surviving family member (Mead, 2003) to include groups united as a type of

whānau through kaupapa (Durie, 1997), and secondly where the term Atua (mentioned in Chapter 2) has been simplified to mean god.

Ngā Takepū are theory created by Māori, that Māori eyes see as practical, but non-Māori may view as esoteric and can be dismissed (Pohatu, 2010). There is a depth of knowledge inherent in Takepū where the Māori language is not just the preferred medium of transmission of these values, but that the underpinnings become lost when translated into English and so Te Reo is the only medium to retain the multifaceted nature of Takepū.

Pohatu explained the purpose and obligations of Takepū that, although incomplete, create a framework that can be used across contexts:

- Āhurutanga. Creating and maintaining quality space to ensure and promote the pursuit of best practice in any kaupapa [purpose]
- Tino rangatiratanga. The constant recognition of absolute integrity of people in their kaupapa, relationships, positions and contributions in any context
- Mauri ora. The constant acknowledgement that at the core of any kaupapa and relationship is the pursuit of well-being
- Te whakakoha rangatiratanga. Recognition that successful engagement and endeavour requires conscious application of respectful relationships with kaupapa and people
- Kaitiakitanga. The constant acknowledgement that people are engaged in relationships with others, environments and kaupapa where they undertake stewardship purpose and obligations
- Tau kumekume. The recognition that the ever-presence of tension in any kaupapa and relationship, ... offers insight and interpretation

(Pohatu, 2010:244)

Each applied principle has further principles associated with it. For example the forthcoming Kaitiakitanga framework, designed by a group of experienced Māori Social Workers, which will be used as a Social Work model for competence to work with Māori draws heavily on the work of Pohatu. It establishes an important theoretical framework for Māori social work principles highlighting the principles of, Rangatiratanga, Manaakitanga and Whakawhanaungatanga (Walker, 2015) (all three principles will be

defined later in this chapter). These are mana-enhancing principles (Ruwhiu, 2013) that set the ground work for competence to work in Māori communities, but are not complete in themselves. They require knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi, Te Reo, and tikanga (Māori culture), as well as understanding the historical and political context of Māori in New Zealand acknowledging the diversity of Māori experience (Tangata Whenua Voices, 2016; King, 2018; Ruwhiu, 2013).

Nga Takepū rely on “layers of purpose, obligations, patterns and rationales” (Pohatu, 2010:245) as well as wisdom and ethics drawn from a traditionalist Māori world view. The application of Takepū must be in te reo and requires respectfulness and integrity in a way that is constantly reflexive (Pohatu, 2008). This reflexivity Pohatu believes “illustrates a cultural praxis in action” (Pohatu & Pohatu, 2011:2) It is through understanding the principles of the combination of knowledge and application through cultural praxis that these Takepū achieve mauri-ora (well-being) a state that has physical, social, psychological, cultural and spiritual implications and connotations (Pohatu & Pohatu, 2011).

Like Pohatu, most Māori social and community work writers highlight Māori principles, values, concepts and processes in their writings. In fact it is almost obligatory to do so. Whether they are writing for a Māori audience, or for a Pākehā one interested in working with Māori, the expectation that Māori principles are used is explicit because of the underlying theoretical and knowledge underpinnings of Māori Social and Community Work.

I present these principles for a number of overlapping reasons. It is done;

- To locate the information being discussed and show it is drawn from a Māori world-view
- To prove the writer’s credentials to show that we share Māori cultural values and expectations
- To resist against the Western dominance of ideas that are imposed on Māori Social Work practitioners and clients
- To show what values underpin our work

- To teach students the importance of these values (many of the authors quoted in this next section (Ruwhiu, Mooney, Hollis-English, Dreadon, King, Pohatu, Bradley), would become or were teaching at tertiary institutions at the time of writing)

The identification and naming of Māori principles is an important part of Māori writing. As early as 1967 important principles and concepts for social workers were identified by John Rangihau (a significant force in changing the Department of Social Welfare in later years). Rangihau included Māori language, generosity, whakapapa, spirituality, the importance of Tūrangawaewae (belonging to a people and a place), the support of and attendance at Māori funeral observances, and what he called “I am we” the collective mind-set where we are responsible for each other (Rangihau, 2008).

Ruwhiu (1995) identifies the origins of Māori principles drawn from the traditional histories and legends of Māori society often dismissed as myths. He describes them as theoretical frameworks that inform culturally appropriate service delivery. He identified concepts for Social Work based on the esoteric stories related to Īōmatuakore (the supreme Creator) including “te pō, Īō, wairua, Ngā kete matauranga Māori e toru, mauri, whakapapa, karakia, Īōmatuakore ānake, poutama, tōhunga, patupaiarehe, kēhua, mākutu, kaiako, kaiawhina” (Ruwhiu, 1995: 23)”. Concepts derived from the Rangi and Papa creation stories (theories) were, “whakwhitiwhiti kōrero, tino rangatiratanga, marae, papakāinga, mātua, tamariki, Ngā Atua, tōhunga, mauri, Te Ao Tāwhito, Rangi me Papa, wharetipuna, wharetangata, hupe me roimata, takaaro, utu, mutu (Ruwhiu, 1995:23). Concepts derived from the Māui and Tāwhaki stories, included, “tino rangatiratanga, teina-tuakana, Ngā kui/kaumātua, Ngā Atua-Ngā tāngata, wharetangata, Te Ao Tawhito/Hurihuri/Marama” (Ruwhiu 1995:23).

These are all complex terms that require significant explanations that there is not time here to explain although translations will be provided for important concepts later in the chapter, however, it does show the believed cultural origin of the concepts. As many are linked to atua (gods), it again shows the intertwining of the spiritual dimension with the everyday world of the modern Māori practitioner and this wairuatanga will continue to be a reoccurring theme in the findings chapters.

The perceived and believed origins of many of these concepts indicate “like many other Indigenous people we concentrate on principles rather than techniques ... [where] the lessons of the past and the values imbued in cultural practices constitute a general corpus of Māori knowledge, particularly sacred which serve as a guide for the future (Henare 1999:40). Henare argues that “it sets a distinctive and contextual framework for articulating spiritual and general principles that have been tried and tested over countless generations” (Henare, 1999:40).

This was part of a move that had started to name and explain key Māori concepts, values, principles and practice frameworks. Bradley et al. (1999) identified the key ones; aroha, wairua, whanaungatanga, mana motuhake, te reo and tikanga/kawa. He said that “these represent but a small sample only of what are referred to as the conceptual fabric of Māori theoretical frameworks” (Bradley et al., 1999:3).

Ruwhiu continued to develop these concepts publishing in 2001, 2009 and 2013. He built on this perspective defining wairuatanga (spirituality) as those things that influence our approach, namely the ideology we adhere to, the philosophy that underpins our practice, the paradigms that dictate the way we see the world and the theoretical conceptualisations we use to both make sense of it and seek to change it. He also added two other overarching concepts; whānau, how we relate to others and are related to others, with the third being tikanga mātauranga, the protocols we follow and the cultural wisdom these are derived from. His eventual development of mahi whakamana (mana enhancing practice) gathered together six defining principles; te ahureitanga, the uniqueness of Māori; whakamanawa, re-empowerment and self-determination; tuhonotanga, partnerships; whakawhanaungatanga, to become whānau with your client; te whakapono, spiritual gifts that we employ; te ahurutanga, the creation of safe spaces (Ruwhiu, 2013).

As the number of other Māori Social and Community Work writers who were publishing began to rise, the number of different frameworks and models increased, all with their own emphasis. However, there are certain concepts, essentially principles and processes, that crop up again and again including:

- **Mana** (Ruwhiu, 2009, 2013; Davis, 2002; Stanley, 2000. Ruwhiu & Ruwhiu, 2005; Benson, Boyd & Hart, 1999; Kirkwood, 2014; King, 2018; Kapea-Maslin, 2016).

- **Pono** (Davis, 2002; King, 2018; Kapea-Maslin, 2016).
- **Tikanga** (Ruwhiu, 2009; Davis, 2002; Stanley, 2000; Hollis-English, 2012a; Webber-Dreadon, 2010; Hollis-English & Selby, 2015; Eruera, 2012; King, 2018; Kapea-Maslin, 2016).
- **Wairuatanga** (Ruwhiu, 2009, 2013; Stanley, 2000; Eketone, 2002; Ruwhiu & Ruwhiu, 2005; Lipsham, 2012; King, 2018).
- **Whakapapa** (Ruwhiu, 2009; Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2016; Hollis-English, 2012a; Webber-Dreadon, 2010; Hollis-English & Selby, 2015; Eruera, 2005; Mooney, 2012; Lipsham, 2012; Eruera, 2012; Benson, Boyd, & Hart, 1999; King, 2018).
- **Kaumatua** (Stanley, 2000; Eketone, 2002; Ruwhiu, 2009; Hollis-English, 2015)
- **Whakawhanaungatanga** (Stanley, 2000; Ruwhiu, 2009; Hollis-English, 2012a; Webber-Dreadon, 2010; Hollis-English & Selby, 2015; Eruera, 2005; Lipsham, 2012; Kirkwood, 2014; King, 2018, Dreadon, 1997).
- **Mauri** (Pohatu & Pohatu, 2011; King, 2018).
- **Ko au** (Ruwhiu & Ruwhiu, 2005; Dreadon, 1997).
- **Karakia** (Hollis-English, 2012a; Mooney, 2012; Murray, 2012; King, 2018).
- **Kanohi ki te kanohi** (Hollis-English, 2012a; Hollis-English & Selby, 2015; King, 2018).
- **Tino rangatiratanga** (Hollis-English, 2012a; Dreadon, 1999; King, 2014; King, 2018; Ruwhiu, 2013; Kapea-Maslin, 2016).
- **Aroha** (Hollis-English & Selby, 2015; King, 2018; Ruwhiu, 2013; Kapea-Maslin, 2016).
- **Tuakana – teina** (Eruera, 2005; Murray, 2012).
- **Utu** (Murray, 2012; King, 2018; Ruwhiu, 2013).

While many write of Māori values and principles based on their life experience and work as Social Work practitioners, Awhina Hollis-English (2006, 2012a) is one of those who has researched a wide variety of Māori social workers' practices, including the principles that inform and underpin their practice. In 2006, Hollis interviewed a selection of practitioners for her Master's thesis to ascertain whether Puao-te-Āta-tū (Ministry Advisory Committee, 1988), (a significant document in challenging how state Social

Workers treated Māori clients), changed the way Māori Social workers were able to work with clients. She found that "whakawhanaungatanga, wairuatanga and aroha are all fundamental" (Hollis, 2006:86) but that other principles such as kanohi ki te kanohi, awhinatanga, tatoutanga, mana wairua, whakapapa, tapu, mana, tikanga were also important declaring that "each contemporary model contains principles from traditional Māori society" (Hollis, 2006:35). She also found that these principles were fixed;

In terms of fundamental principles and methods of practice, social workers practice how they want to practice. [The research] participants agreed that tikanga Māori and the basic principles of their methods do not change. What does change is the political climate and its effect on the way Māori are viewed by the majority culture (Hollis, 2006:78).

These processes, concepts and principles are how Māori Social and Community workers practice and while my understanding of Takepū does not meet with the depth of Pohatu's lived whānau, Hapū and Iwi experience, my experience living and working in Māori communities can contribute and I explore this below.

Māori Concepts for Social and Community Work

For those working in Māori communities or organisations, it is important to understand some inherent cultural concepts. Many groups and projects have struggled to involve Māori people and communities, often because of a lack of understanding of these important Māori processes and concepts. As a Māori person born and raised in Otago but belonging to the Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato Iwi of the North Island, I know what it is like to learn the hard way about Māori processes. When I was growing up, issues around tapu and noa were translated as cleanliness, or showing respect; mana was not necessarily talked about, but was interpreted as politeness, respect and good manners. I seemed to know a lot of the right things to do, but not why, even though there were times where I felt paralysed in my ignorance. At the age of 21, I moved back to my tribal area for 12 years to work as a youth worker and learnt a lot from the families and the communities I was associated with, as well as from my Hapū and relatives. That gave me confidence so that when I moved back to Otago I was in a position to learn even more from the communities and people in that region.

I came to realise that Māori Social and Community Work is multi-layered and complex. Māori communities are not homogenous and sometimes have competing factions, histories and approaches (Durie, 1998b, 2001; Bradley, 1995). There may be differing perspectives between Mana Whenua (the local tribe) and Māta Waka (Māori living away from their tribe), rural communities and urban ones, traditional and modern, those who speak te reo and those who do not, those who have succeeded in education and those that have not and those whose primary identification is tribal (Iwi), ethnic (Māori), half-caste, or national (Kiwi). One extended family can reflect all these differences and variations (Bradley, 1995). Despite this, there are values that are arguably integral to most Social and Community Work involving Māori. Therefore, I will highlight some important Māori concepts and constructs that reflect how many Māori may view the world. The following concepts are not necessarily used in Social and Community Work per se, but are concepts that need to be understood for good Community Work to take place. I will use some of my personal experiences to explain some of the underpinnings of why, in Māori Social and Community Work, we do what we do. The definitions and explanations are, by necessity, brief and may not necessarily give justice to what can be very deep concepts. Some concepts may differ between Iwi as they are multi-layered, so that the more you investigate them, the deeper they go.

It should be noted that while very basic at times, (and I apologise for this), the purpose of this section is to be explicit about the meanings of different values and concepts that I wish had been spelt out more clearly for me as a young youth worker and community worker.

Tapu, Mana and Aroha

Some of the foundations of the Māori cultural world-view are mana, tapu, aroha and the appropriate application of these terms within tikanga. Many of the latter values and concepts described come directly and indirectly from these concepts. Mana and tapu are inherent in all humans, where mana is the “enduring indestructible power of the gods” (Barlow, 1991:61). It can mean power, prestige or esteem - depending on where the mana is derived from. There are four forms of mana. The first, ‘mana atua’, is the power derived from and given by the gods. In this way it is closely aligned to tapu where, according to Barlow (1991), mana is the realisation and actualisation of the tapu of the person. The second, mana tipuna, is power and prestige that is passed down from our

ancestors. We acknowledge their deeds and their greatness is passed down on to us, as all Māori are descended from important ancestors who gave their names to many of our Hapū, Iwi and place names. The third form is ‘mana tangata’ and is that recognition we gain for ourselves from others because of our own actions and qualities. The final term, ‘mana whenua, will be discussed later, but refers to the power associated with the possession of lands and has many philosophical and theological layers (Barlow, 1991).

Where mana is the realisation of power, tapu, according to Barlow (1991), is the potentiality for power. It is from this core that we get our contemporary descriptions of tapu meaning sacred or under restriction. There are two main forms of tapu (Shirres, 1997): ‘intrinsic tapu’; and the ‘extension of tapu’. Intrinsic tapu is that tapu which is inherent in us as human beings where every person is tapu in their own right. Each person possesses it and should be treated in a way that respects their intrinsic tapu, which is why we have restrictions around our bodies and our person. The extension of tapu can apply to places, times, people and things. For example, a person has intrinsic tapu when they visit a marae for the first time, but there is also extension of tapu where they are referred to as ‘waewae tapu’. They go through a whakanoa process that removes the extension of tapu while having no effect on their intrinsic tapu (Shirres, 1997).

Tapu has real impacts on the lives, actions and processes of modern day Māori. Correct processes must be followed because of the inherent tapu of the individual or the extension of tapu placed on objects, places, times or events (Mead, 2003). At the same time mana has to be acknowledged in others, (individuals or groups), to show that they too have mana. This acknowledgement is governed by tikanga. Tikanga comes from the word tika, meaning correct or right. In any occasion, many Māori people will expect the process to be tika, i.e. done in the correct manner (Mead, 2003). If tikanga is adhered to it ensures the acknowledgement of mana and tapu and ensures that neither the gods nor human beings are offended (Mead, 2003). This is where the fourth concept, aroha, can potentially complicate things.

Aroha is often translated as love, but is much broader. Barlow (1991:8) describes it as an “all-encompassing quality of goodness expressed by love”, often expressed through sharing what you have. Tikanga and aroha can both reinforce one another and challenge

one another and requires a great deal of knowledge and wisdom to put one above the other.

Whakapapa

‘Whakapapa’ is genealogy and refers to one’s ancestors, siblings and descendants (Mead, 2003). Your whakapapa and its links to whānau, Hapū and Iwi can dictate what roles a person may have at different stages of your life with all their associated rights, obligations and expectations. Whakapapa may mean that someone has obligations to people that they may not even like or in the normal course of events have much to do with. Whakapapa may entitle someone to rights, obligations and responsibilities regarding traditional food gathering such as mutton-birds or shellfish that someone from outside the tribal area does not have.

Whakapapa can be important in a community setting where people like to know who someone is and where they come from and while this can open a number of doors, it can also create another level of accountability. If someone works in a Māori community they are accountable for their actions to their relatives, as well as to the organisation they belong to. Once, a Māori colleague returned back to our organisation’s office and shared that how one of the local kaumātua (elders) was dissatisfied with the organisation. The kaumatua had said to my colleague that they were withdrawing from the organisation and finished with the words “and I shall be talking with your father”. While whakapapa can be useful in getting someone into Māori spaces, those same whakapapa links increases accountability. That colleague was having to go home and explain to her father why the organisation she worked for had not successfully met the needs of this particular kaumatua.

Mana Whenua

‘Mana Whenua’ relates to the possession of land and its ability to sustain the people (Barlow, 1991). Mana Whenua are also the local people who whakapapa to that area and to the local tribal marae. For example, Ngāi Tahu hold Mana Whenua status over most of the South Island, but the term can also specifically relate to the people of the local Hapū and local marae. These locals can also be referred to as the hau kāinga, papatipu marae, tāngata whenua and ahi kaa. For someone to belong to the Mana Whenua, they usually have to descend from someone who belonged to that marae. Being married to

someone from there does not usually count. Sometimes, someone who has married into the local people can be given responsibility for certain activities, they may even represent the marae at events or committees, but it is unusual for them to have authority as Mana Whenua (Mead, 2003). They are thought of as having their own whānau, even to the extent that there are some graveyards that do not allow “outsiders” to be buried there if they do not descend from particular Hapū ancestors. Often a person on death will return to their people to be buried with their parents, grandparents and tīpuna (ancestors), even if they have lived in another tribal area for 70 years (Mead, 2003).

Each tribe, unless there is a dispute over borders, acknowledges the mana of another Iwi over its own territory (Ritchie, 1992). With the wide spread dispersal of Māori across the country, most do not live where they hold Mana Whenua status; they live on the traditional lands of another tribe or Hapū (Durie, 2001). Recognising the Mana Whenua status of the local people is important for most Māori as we also expect others to recognise our Mana Whenua status in our areas (Ritchie, 1992). One of the examples of great hurt toward the Ngāi Tahu people is the way, in the past, their mana was passed over and ignored (O’Regan, 1995). In the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act (1998), the Crown apologised for its past failure to “acknowledge Ngāi Tahu rangatiratanga and mana over the South Island lands within its boundaries”. The lack of acknowledgement of Ngāi Tahu’s mana was not only by Pākehā (non-Māori New Zealanders), but by other Māori who came from the north and may have been unfamiliar with the history and processes of Ngāi Tahu. At times, they were seen to marginalise and trample the mana of the local people; Ngāi Tahu were looked down on because most of their people were not fluent in te reo, even though the same is true for most North Island Iwi (O’Regan, 1995).

If we look at the contemporary history of Māori initiatives in a place like Dunedin, few would have happened without the patronage, support or involvement of local Ngāi Tahu elders and community people, of whom there are too many to name. Dunedin, like most areas, has set processes and people who should be approached early on in the initiation stage of a project. Often marae have people with readymade expertise, however, there was a stage when the Ngāi Tahu Treaty of Waitangi claim was taking up a lot of people’s time and energy that there may have been some gaps (O’Regan, 1995). Even then there were people around who had an unwavering commitment to Māori and community

development. The late Ngāi Tahu kaumatua Ted Parata spoke in the late 1990's about all the committee and consultation meetings he was having to go to, however, his comment was "but that's what we asked for" (personal communication).

The mana whenua are the Treaty of Waitangi partner in any particular area and have the right to be consulted with over Article Two issues; with their views being the accepted ones for the area. They have the right to define and the right to protect those things that are important to them (Jackson, 1994). Mana Whenua have a right to have their kawa (processes) and tikanga (culture) respected and recognised and the right to define what is spiritually important to them. They have the right to define their values, their customary practices without reference to the way others do things elsewhere, and the right to choose and acknowledge their leadership (Barlow, 1991; Jackson, 1994; Hiroa, 1949). (It is sometimes surprising to see who the media proclaims to be a Māori leader with no evidence of support within the Māori community).

When consulting with Māori it should be with Mana Whenua first. When initiating projects or initiatives that have an impact on Māori locally one must talk to Mana Whenua first. They may want to be involved or they may want to be kept informed, it is their prerogative. Often they have people interested and experienced, that may benefit initiatives, and other times they may just want to know that their mana is respected and recognised.

Manuwhiri/Manuhiri

Manuwhiri can be translated as visitors or guests (Williams & Williams, 1971), but the term covers a wider contemporary meaning. Someone living in an area who is not Mana Whenua can be called manuwhiri as they do not whakapapa (have a genealogical connection) to the area. Māori living in another tribe's area are often referred to as Māta Waka and in Otago and Southland, most Māori are Māta Waka from the many tribes of the north (O'Regan, 2001). As mentioned previously, one of the causes of tension in the past between Mana Whenua and Māta Waka was when the mana of Mana Whenua was perceived to have been 'trampled' on, such as when their roles were usurped or when organisations and people had consulted with Māori by consulting any kaumātua or any Māori group, rather than with the Mana Whenua first (O'Regan, 1995, 2001). While Māta Waka, as do all New Zealanders, have the right to be consulted on many issues,

today many Māta Waka will defer to Mana Whenua as they often have already developed their own plans and strategies around particular issues for their geographical area.

When Māta Waka organise themselves into their tribal groups they are often referred to as ‘taura here’ (connected by a rope) (Mead, 2003). Ngā Whānau o te Waka o Tainui ki Ōtepoti is a group made up of whānau belonging to the different Iwi who descend from the Tainui waka, but who live in Dunedin. They are linked back to Tainui territory by a ‘taura’, a metaphorical rope. This group exists for the benefit of Tainui people living in Dunedin. Other organisations such as Te Kohanga Reo o Whakaari can be referred to as a Māta Waka group because it is a group of Māori based in Dunedin primarily responsible to itself, even though the individual whānau may have strong attachments and obligations to their home marae, Hapū and Iwi. Māta waka have an obligation to defer to Mana Whenua particularly over Article Two issues of the Treaty of Waitangi such as land forests, fisheries and taonga (treasured things), as well as a responsibility to support them in their quest for social justice around Article Three issues such as the right to equity and equality.

Tāngata Tiriti is the broader name for those that live in New Zealand who do not have Māori or Moriori whakapapa. The name reconfirms that all people who are not Māori and live in New Zealand as citizens or residents are here because the Treaty of Waitangi gives them that right (Bozic-Vrbancic, 2003). The preamble of the Treaty specifically states that a prime reason for the need for a Treaty was the presence of settlers and the fact that there were more to come (Kawharu, 1989). Claiming a Tāngata Tiriti identity at this stage of our history is undoubtedly a political statement because it acknowledges both Māori and non-Māori rights guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi.

A popular identifier for non-Māori in the 1990’s was ‘Tuiwi’ but has gone out of favour to some degree, possibly because the Williams Dictionary (1971) defines it as “foreign people” or a “strange tribe”. This was an anathema to some as they did not want to define themselves as foreign when they were an eighth generation New Zealander. In fact if you look at where the term was used most in the 20th Century, it was in the Bible where it was a translation of the term “the nations” (Paipera Tapu, 1977). As such, it was signifying that the origins of New Zealanders without Māori whakapapa (ancestry) were from all over the world and was meant as an inclusive term, similar to the term ‘ngā hau

e whā”, or, ‘people of the four winds’ which acknowledges and gives honour to everyone and their origins.

Tino Rangatiratanga and Mana Motuhake

‘Tino rangatiratanga’ and ‘mana motuhake’ are often translated as self-determination and autonomy respectively (Ritchie, 1992). The Treaty of Waitangi is the second of the original founding documents of New Zealand, the first being He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tirenī: The Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand in 1835 (Walker, 2004). Broadly speaking the Treaty of Waitangi can be defined by which issues relate to the various articles within:

- Article One primarily refers to constitutional issues and issues of government and so on.
- Article Two issues are those that pertain to tribal sovereignty, tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake, incorporating land, fishing, resources, taonga/taoka (valued possessions) etc.
- Article Three issues relate to equality, usually including social policy issues such as health, education, welfare, justice, housing, employment etc. While Iwi may have a role in promoting and overseeing Article three issues, at this stage in our history, it is still the responsibility of Government to ensure that Māori have the same access and outcomes as non-Māori in respect to social issues

(Solomon, 2012).

In the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga appears in Article Two of the Māori version. It guarantees Māori, according to Jackson (1994), the right to define what is important for Māori and the right to protect those things. Mason Durie takes it further and describes tino rangatiratanga/self-determination, as the “advancement of Māori people, as Māori, and the protection of the environment for future generations” (Durie, 1998b:4).

How we determine ‘tino rangatiratanga’ and ‘mana motuhake’ is an on-going debate and something that is continually being negotiated, despite many Māori having more expansive ideas on what these terms mean than many non-Māori. It is interesting to note that the Crown has acknowledged Ngāi Tahu as “holding rangatiratanga” within the tribal area of Ngāi Tahu (Southern DHB, n.d.), whereas with Ngāi Tuhoe, it has agreed to some

form of mana motuhake (Ngāi Tahu, 2012). The difference being that Ngāi Tahu will not only expect greater autonomy in their tribal area, but because of that they will expect to take over some of the Crown's role.

Usually tino rangatiratanga relates to tribal matters, although the Treaty of Waitangi does specifically guarantee tino rangatiratanga of the individual (Kawharu, 1989). In 1999, the Ōtepoti Safer Community Council had some funding to be distributed and so community funding applications were called for. The group overseeing the funding allocation was challenged to split the fund into two, one to be decided by the Māori caucus representatives and one to be decided by representatives of the Tauwhiri caucus. This did not happen. At the accountability hui, a statement was made that there should have been separate funding groups. As I was a Māori caucus representative, my reply was that it was unnecessary. In fact by having one fund, 87% of the money had gone to Māori initiatives and if we did it the alternate way we would only have had access to 50% of the money. The reply was that it was a principle of 'tino rangatiratanga', that it was best for Māori to decide on its priorities as there were Māori groups that missed out that might have received funding. The issue was not about the amount of money, nor the percentage of funding allocated, but goes to the heart of which values were used to make decisions about how resources are distributed and who truly had 'tino rangatiratanga'. It was a useful lesson in the competing values of the community.

Manaakitanga

'Manaaki' means to express love and hospitality to people (Barlow, 1991) with manaakitanga being the expression of that hospitality (Ritchie, 1992; Mead, 2003). It is derived from the word 'mana', and can refer to both acting in a way that shows someone has mana, and acts in a way that shows that a visitor has mana. To not treat a visitor well is to show a lack of personal mana because the mana of a visitor has not been recognised (Mead, 2003). To send visitors home hungry can be shameful and reflects on the mana of the marae, and therefore, the people. It is worthwhile to remember that even something like hospitality can have differences across cultures. From my Pākehā wife's world-view, you show hospitality by giving the visitor autonomy to make their own choices. Also, her parents grew up in the depression and so waste is frowned upon, therefore, while you seek to be seen as generous, you do not force food on people as you do not want them to eat something that they do not want. From my Māori world view, you try

to have more food than is needed so that a guest can take as much as they want and not feel they have to ration themselves, which may make them feel less welcome.

Manaakitanga has wider contemporary implications for Mana Whenua as it can bring an obligation to ensure that people living in your region are cared for. Part of this obligation is to ensure that the Government is doing its part of looking after those on the margins. As an expression of its manaakitanga obligations, Ngāi Tahu has incorporated the raising of outcomes for all Māori in its Ngāi Tahu 2025 vision document (see Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2001) as well as in its memoranda of understanding with the health and education sectors (Southern DHB, n.d.; Ngāi Tahu Development Corp, 2003).

Kaitiakitanga

Associated with being Mana Whenua is the right of ‘Kaitiakitanga’, the right and obligation to protect those things that are important to whānau, Hapū and Iwi (Jackson, 1994; Ritchie, 1992; Kawharu, 2000). This includes the obligation to care for and protect food stocks, the environment (particularly waterways) and the tribe’s important cultural areas (Russell, 2000). Iwi have a very long-term view on their ability to access their traditional food sources and see it as a major responsibility to protect resources for the many generations to follow. Kaitiakitanga also has an obligation to protect people from spiritual and physical harm. Ngāti Naho objected to the relocation of State Highway One through their territory because it would have impacted on the lair of one of the Waikato river’s Taniwha (river guardians) (The New Zealand Herald, 2002). This recognition of their kaitiakitanga was met with controversy and derision, but underlined their commitment to those travelling through their area. The stretch of road between the Bombay Hills and Huntley was for many years the most dangerous in the country, with many vehicle-related deaths. Their responsibility was to ensure that nothing they did, or neglected to do, would cause spiritual or physical harm to those passing through their area. Manaakitanga and Kaitiakitanga are closely associated, and are both obligations and rights of the local people.

Whakawhanaungatanga

‘Whakawhanaungatanga’ is about finding whakapapa links (Bishop, 1996). It is the process of identifying, maintaining and re-establishing relationships so that associated obligations are rediscovered, maintained or initiated. Sometimes it was used to avoid

conflict, where if two disputing parties could identify familial relationships, then conflict could be resolved peaceably. Today, it is mostly used to identify how people are related to one another, which ascribes some form of obligation. A colleague and I met Dr Leland Ruwhiu for the first time in 2001. We spent the first part of our time together discussing our familial histories, identifying past connections through Grandparents, third-cousins and workmates, so that after half an hour we had discovered enough whānau connections to identify some form of obligation to one another. This was done so that we could call one another ‘whānau’ and therefore feel more comfortable working together. We also become more accountable to our whānau, to behave towards each other in honourable and respectful ways.

Kotahitanga

‘Kotahitanga’ is a form of unity that is vital in Māori organisational and community practice (Barlow, 1991). Often, mainstream community groups will operate on a system of democratic decision making, where those who wish to, get to express their opinions and point of view before a motion is voted on. Whatever decision is made, the thinking is that the group has made its decision and so everyone is now expected to participate in the implementation.

Many Māori groups do not operate this way, instead, they would far rather reach consensus than have to vote on a decision where there may be disagreement (Ritchie, 1992). The reason being, that unless someone agrees with the decision, they may not necessarily be honour-bound to support it; in fact, they may even say, “Well if that is your decision then you can do it on your own”. If I do not consent to the decision, I am under no obligation to participate in the implementation and can therefore go my own way. If consensus is reached, then everyone has agreed and therefore everybody is theoretically bound by it, especially if you strive to be “he tangata kī tahi” (a person who means what they say). It is not the democratic process that necessarily binds you, it is the agreement one makes through consensus.

Kanohi i Kitea.

‘Kanohi i kitea’ is, literally, the seen face (Smith, 1999; Mead, 2003). This refers to participation in the local community’s activities, where turning up to hui and tangihanga [funeral rites] expresses a commitment to that community. A person can be seen as

representing themselves, their whānau, Hapū, Iwi, their employer, or an organisation they are associated with (Mead, 2003).

When I started work as a Māori Health Promoter for the Public Health Service of the local hospital, I was expected to advocate for change amongst the Māori community in Dunedin, run health promoting hui (gatherings) and promote healthy policy in Māori organisations. My problem was that I had left Dunedin when I was 20 years old and so needed to re-establish myself as belonging to the Māori community. I would be constantly finding excuses to visit most Māori organisations in the region. I would go to their openings, their celebrations and buy their raffle and batons-up tickets. Then, when it came time for me to need support for what I needed to do, people were far more willing to take a punt and support what I was doing as I was seen as being a part of the community. Tangihanga (funerals) are important to be at, not to do business, but to show your aroha (love) and show you are supportive of what the community is going through. Sometimes, some of our Pākehā colleagues may think that we are avoiding working, or just going for a feed, but it is a responsibility to pay respects and contribute to the costs. Sometimes, I cannot attend things and so a Māori colleague and I try to make sure that at least one of us is always at important occasions.

Included with kanohi kitea is the concept of ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’, literally, meeting together with people, “face to face” (Smith, 1999). In Community Work, the ground work for any project should involve a lot of face to face meetings. If someone sends me an email, it is then up to me if I decide to attend or participate. If I am visited face-to-face, then that invitation becomes part of an on-going relationship. On National Radio in 2013, Trevor Yaxley, an Auckland businessman, was giving advice on how to do business with China. He described how he made 61 trips to China on behalf of his company to create relationships because he said that, “Chinese do not do business with foreigners, they only do business with friends” (Yaxley, 2013). Much the same can be said of community development involving Māori; often we will only get on board a project with people who are trusted. Trust comes through relationships, and to a large extent, relationships are formed by being face-to-face over a length of time.

Utu

'Utu' is another term involved in relationship building; it refers to reciprocity (Mead, 2003) although it can mean recompense through revenge (Hiroa, 1952). The aim is 'kua ea' a state of equivalence (Mead, 2003). The building and maintenance of relationships through reciprocity invokes an obligation to one another (Mead, 2003). When my grandmother died, all of the koha (gifts) received was written down in a notebook so that the whānau knew exactly who had donated koha (money) and how much, so that the next time a member of their whānau passed away, a gift of the same or slightly more could be returned.

Reciprocity can show itself in many ways. As previously mentioned, when I worked as a Māori Health Promoter, I was expected to run events and initiatives promoting health issues such as the reduction of tobacco use in the Māori community. One of the challenges was that some of the issues I was pushing were not considered priorities of the community at the time. There are a number of ways of bringing issues to the fore: education, fear-mongering, legislation and any number of practices to get people to do what they do not want to do. I had a number of strategies, but personal and group reciprocity was one. What I used to do was support everything these key community groups were doing that I could. It might be Te Kohanga Reo, Māori private training establishments or Marae, all of which needed support. I should say at the outset that what I am about to describe was not strictly mercenary, that is, that I needed something myself. These were good positive organisations involved in promoting Māori development and Māori advancement (Durie, 1998b), and so it was also a pleasure to be involved in and support what they were doing. As a consequence of my going to their events, their fundraising activities and buying their cheese rolls, I found that the positive Māori development and health activities I was promoting were reciprocated in return with that same support. We were all on this same journey together. Realising what was occurring, I began to look for further reasons to visit them, taking information, donating t-shirts or sponsoring sports teams. I was too ashamed to ask for their support on certain issues unless I first proved my support for them. This ongoing support built up a critical mass and so when I wanted to promote Smokefree policies, they were obligated to listen and I would get a good hearing. If I wanted to run a hui (gathering) to promote child health or child safety practices, more often than not they would go well and be well attended because of the relationships that had been formed.

The best projects that I felt I was able to get going, usually originated outside of my work time. They were chance meetings at a kapa haka festival (Māori performing arts), or ideas that came about at hui (gatherings). The things that I achieved did not happen without prior relationships and the mutual obligation that comes from supporting one another. The other side of this is that, for want of a better phrase, you are what you do. By that I mean if someone has a profession or occupation, that role may be seen as a resource for the community. A number of times I was asked to do something, or run a seminar for example, because of the professional role I had. Even when I left the health promotion job, I was still called on to do things related to that role because that was where I had experience and was what the community needed at that time. That willingness to go beyond the usual also attracts obligation that, at some time, will be reciprocated. My overall vision is for “positive Māori development and Māori advancement as Māori” (see Durie, 1998b). I did not engage in reciprocity for my employer or for the wages, but hope that I did it because I had the opportunity to participate in the development of our people. Sometimes it worked, and sometimes it did not; one in particular was an unmitigated disaster. As most have forgotten about it I will not raise it here except to say that it was a major learning experience where I was trying to implement a project that Mana Whenua should have been consulted on in the first place. When someone from the mana whenua found out the conversation started off with, “What the hell do you think you are doing?” The goodwill I had accumulated in my community was not enough to save the project, meaning hundreds of wasted hours, but it did mean that I did not have to leave my job.

Some of the other things I have seen that did not go well, was when people and organisations won contracts to deliver services from a national body and then turned up to the community to get support for the delivery of that contract. These can sometimes be seen as self-serving, with the economic benefits going just one way. I have also heard comments (usually from Pākehā workers) such as, “That is not my job”, “That is not my role” or “That is not what we are here for” and are often interpreted as a person’s primary purpose being to make sure they get paid, rather than helping the community deal with what they have identified as their core issue. In fact, responses such as “That is not what we are here for” show that the community has a good idea about what it wants and that any contract we have from Government to deliver services may not in fact achieve that end goal.

Conclusion

Social and Community Work, by its very nature, promotes social change (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001). It raises important questions about the origins of a mandate to perform this social change, particularly in Māori communities given the high priority placed on Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination). Many Māori would argue that to be ethical, any organised community work should contribute to Māori self-determination and should only be for the overall goals of advancement as set by Māori. Social and Community workers need to ensure there is room for Māori communities and whānau to be active in organisations that are involved in providing services for its members. In order to do so, workers need to be knowledgeable, and recognise the importance of Māori values, concepts and processes, while still having the wisdom not to impose their own view of these concepts on the people they are working alongside. Many whānau have their own way of viewing and applying these concepts. It needs to be understood that knowledge of these concepts does not give anyone any rights or the expectation of involvement from anyone in the Māori community, it merely opens the way to opportunities to be more useful to Māori communities.

This Chapter has examined the literature and identified and explained Māori principles in Social and Community Work development and Practice. The next chapter looks further at the context in which these principles are applied in Māori Communities and Māori Community Development.

Chapter Four Māori Development and Māori Communities

This chapter looks at the different forms of Māori Community Work and Māori Community Development. Its purpose is to provide further context of the sites that Māori principles are engaged with and how they are implemented. As mentioned in Chapter 3, an earlier version of this chapter was published in 2013 and is the second part of a series of two articles written for *Community Development: insights for practice in Aotearoa New Zealand*, (Aimers & Walker, 2013) in turn based on an earlier version intended for this thesis (Copyright permission is found in Appendix One).

Māori Communities

Before World War 2 who and what the Māori community was, was not a complicated question. Most Māori still lived in their Hapū communities where a person's neighbours were often their relatives. There had been some population movement because of land confiscations and while there was the beginning of a move into towns, only 10% of Māori lived in urban areas with most Māori, still living within their tribal areas (Walker, 2004). The years after World War 2 saw a massive influx of the Māori population into the cities to the extent that by 1986, 80% of Māori were living in urban areas (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). This means that today, most Māori have grown up outside their tribal areas. However, some lived close to their home marae and so could visit back and forth.

Of those Māori who had moved to the cities, Matātua people living in Rotorua, Kahungunu people living in Wellington and Tainui and Ngā Puhi people living in Auckland could make trips back to their home marae within a couple of hours travel. This enabled many to be involved in the important events of their original community but often not part of the everyday existence of their Hapū (Rangihau, 1992). The further someone moved away from their tribal area, the more difficult it became to maintain links with that community. If someone lives in Southland or Otago it became even more problematic. My own family lived in Dunedin and so to get back to the Waikato involved a two to three day journey by train and overnight ferry. Consequently we only made it back every couple of years or so. Like myself, many Māori grew up knowing where their family came from but with little active involvement in the life of the Hapū.

Today, with airlines, improved roads and good cars, it is possible to get back “home” more often, and so today, who a Māori person’s community is, can be more complex. I was discussing this topic with a colleague who was in Dunedin in a “Māori job”. She was born in Invercargill, but her father was from a North Island tribe. She spoke about being involved in the three Māori communities of Dunedin, Invercargill and her tribal area, being responsible to them and the amount of time and energy necessary to achieve this. She spoke about their expectation of *kanohi i kitea* (the seen face) and how people didn’t realise the difficulty of doing that, but that it was important to her. In doing so, she had become accountable to all three communities. Often what Māori mean when they talk about their community, is who it is they are accountable to for their actions, for their involvement and what activities they support in the community. Sometimes this is shown by where it will be noticed if someone does not turn up. Although she did not use the term *mana*, and might hesitate to use that term, arguably, that is what she was referring to. She would not want to be considered as someone who is unsupportive of the community or unsupportive of the way that the community operates. A person may attend an event or project to uphold the *mana* of the *marae* or the event, but also to maintain their reputation, to not be thought of as “up themselves”. To be thought of as a person contributing to your community is important as the last thing someone would want from any of these communities is to be thought of as a person who somehow lacks *aroha* (compassion), lacks *tikanga* (correct ways of behaving), or lacks *mana* (integrity and prestige).

Therefore your Māori community can refer to the area/s where you grew up, the area in which you currently live and your home *marae*, (often more than one, I have four *marae* with three that I consider “my *marae*”). Of course with social media this divergence is increasing. School friends, *kapahaka* friends, university friends, close relatives (second cousins and closer) and more distant relatives with the same surname have all been included by my daughters into their Māori communities. However, for this chapter the focus is looking at Māori community in terms of the obligations and accountabilities Māori have to the local area in which they live.

Māori communities are not homogenous and have sometimes competing factions, histories and approaches (Bradley, 1995). In the book *Community Development: Insights for Practice in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Aimers & Walker, 2013), there are three

examples of contemporary Māori communities. Firstly we have Rosina Wiparata's experience as a Māta Waka, a Māori person living outside her tribe in a community where although she was isolated from her whānau, Hapū and Iwi, she was living in an urban environment joining together with other people in the same situation, doing their best first to survive.

The second Māori community was a papatipu – Mana Whenua Marae (a local marae in rural Otago) as described by Suzanne Ellison (Aimers & Walker, 2013). When she spoke about her community, she often referred to those that whakapapa to her local marae, both those that lived there and those that lived scattered around the country or the world. These were her priority, both professionally and privately, where the aim has been to strengthen the structures already in place, to seek to build up this community bound together by common ancestors. They also sought to increase their capacity to communicate with and support their members, all the while creating relationships with key players in the community, such as schools, Government departments and the University of Otago (Aimers & Walker, 2013).

The third community was described by Lin Sinclair (Aimers & Walker, 2013), where she was a Pākehā involved in the Māori section of her semi-rural geographical community. It was a Māori community that in many ways was transient, and to a certain degree isolated from each other and with many also isolated from their northern origins.

As there are a number of different forms of contemporary local Māori communities, there are also different forms of Māori community development. Just as mainstream Community Development is part of the whole social justice movement with links into progressive and socialist ideology (Eketone & Shannon, 2006), Māori Community Development is part of the bigger picture of Māori development. The years 1984 to 1994 were promoted as the “decade of Māori development” where according to Durie (1998b), six themes emerged; they were issues around the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga, Iwi Development, economic self-reliance, social equity and cultural advancement (Durie, 1998b:8). All these issues have had impacts on Māori communities and service delivery throughout the country. They are not new and have arguably what many of our people have struggled for, for generations. They are raised here because to look at Māori Community Development, we must first understand four different forms of Māori

Development: Positive Māori Development, Māori Community Development, Iwi Development and Marae Development.

To highlight the differences between the four forms, I have put them in table form (see Table 2). Although generalisations, they are useful in providing an analysis that provides insight into the workings of these types of approaches and the implications they may have for working with Māori communities.

Table 2: Māori Development

	‘Māori’ Community Development	Iwi Development	Marae Development	Positive Māori Development
Vision	Social justice	Tino rangatiratanga	Tino rangatiratanga	Positive Māori development as Māori
Mission	Define issues and develop strategies for change and address structural causes	To prudently manage the collective taonga for the maximum benefit of this and future generations	Ensure tribal structures, the environment and food stocks are there for future generations	Māori advancement
Priorities	Define issues and develop strategies for change	Economic advancement. Growth and development of member Marae	Uphold the mana of the marae. Manaakitanga, Kaitiakitanga	Economic, and political strength. Environmental, social and cultural wellbeing
Decision Making	Collective	Often hierarchical	Usually collective	Can be collective and hierarchal
Politics	Left	Those with settlement increasingly conservative	Varies, but with a focus on local and regional government	Varies

Māori Community Development

‘Māori’ Community Development is part of the standard New Zealand version of Community Development where the overall vision is for social justice particularly for marginalised groups. According to Munford & Walsh-Tapiata (2001), community

workers should address the structural causes of inequality by analysing and defining the issues and their context before examining strategies for change. Collectivity is an important part of decision making as “there is an overriding commitment to change for everyone rather than just for a few privileged individuals” (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata 2001: 15) links to critical theory place Community Development firmly on the left-wing side of the political spectrum.

Iwi Development

Suzanne Ellison (Aimers & Walker, 2013) highlights a distinction between Iwi Development and Hapū/marae Development. Ngāi Tahu, at an Iwi level, adjusted their structure to deal with the Treaty Settlement money paid by the Crown in recompense for its violations of the Treaty of Waitangi. In 2001 Ngāi Tahu produced a document describing their vision for the tribe in 2025 as Tino Rangatiratanga “Mō tātou, ā, mō, kā uri ā muri ake nei (Self Determination: For us and our children after us)” (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2001). Their stated mission is “To prudently manage the collective taoka [valued items and concepts] for the maximum benefit of this and future generations” (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2004:2). To do this they developed what could arguably be described as a top-down approach, trying to build the capacity of its member marae. Long before their settlement money came through they had attempted to do this but suffered for a lack of resources and bureaucratic government processes. For instance, the Ngāi Tahu Trust Board was often hamstrung by needing permission from the Minister of Māori Affairs to spend more than \$200 (Luxton, 1996). With the settlement of the Treaty claim and the availability of greater resources, the priority of the Iwi changed to one that ensured that it could progress on a sound financial footing with a percentage of the profits going towards a focus on tribal development at the Hapū level (Aimers & Walker, 2013).

It is interesting to observe that Iwi who have achieved significant Treaty settlements are becoming increasingly politically conservative, driven by fiscal concerns. In my own tribe, Waikato-Tainui, there was a debate over how much tikanga should affect financial investments. The Tribal manager I discussed this with in 2008 wanted no restrictions, they wanted to be able to work in a way that maximised investment returns without being influenced by Māori and tribal cultural practices. Today, our money making arm, Tainui Group Holdings, affirms that “we seek to ensure tikanga is followed for all projects”

(Tainui Group Holdings, 2012) although at times it is still unclear how investment decisions incorporate tikanga Māori.

Iwi are often hesitant to put much money into what are considered Treaty of Waitangi Article Three issues such as housing, employment, justice, welfare and health, as these are considered government responsibilities that all New Zealanders are entitled to (Solomon, 2012). Money that is put into areas such as education is often where people have already proven themselves, e.g. scholarships to tertiary institutions.

Marae Development

Marae/Hapū Development can be complex as seen by Suzanne Ellison's discussion on local papatipu marae. They too are interested in developing the marae and its physical presence for today's and future generations. Rights and obligations such as manaakitanga (wider hospitality) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship) are at the forefront of marae development where they work to ensure the environment and traditional food stocks such as seafood are protected and maintained. Upholding the mana of the marae and the hau kainga (people who live in the marae community) is also important (Aimers & Walker, 2013).

Often decision making needs to be collective because of the voluntary nature of most of what happens on a marae. This is often different to modern Iwi structures where many can be employed full-time by the Iwi, particularly those tribes with settlement monies. Marae, in common with many community initiatives, are reliant on volunteer workers and good will and so need to be responsive to their community. Hierarchical structures with authoritarian, non-accountable leadership do not get things done as efficiently, as Suzanne Ellison notes, "when you're working with community, you can't 'boss' others into buying into your vision" (Aimers & Walker, 2013:162). Their politics could be described as pragmatic but have a focus on local and regional government.

Positive Māori Development

Positive Māori development has at its core the quest for Māori self-determination and Māori advancement. Durie (1998b) argues that Māori self-determination is about the "...advancement of Māori people, as Māori, and the protection of the environment for future generations" (Durie 1998b:4).

While he states that advancement can be difficult to define, he identified three important dimensions of Māori Advancement;

- strengthening economic standing, social well-being, and cultural identity, both individually and collectively
- the better self-management of natural resources, greater productivity of Māori land, the active promotion by Māori of good health, a sound education, enhanced usage of Māori language, and decision-making that reflects Māori realities and aspirations
- advancement is also about change. Cultural fossilisation is not consistent with the spirit of development; and even though traditional values and knowledge have important lessons for today and offer some clues for the future, Māori self-determination is not about living in the past.

(Durie, 1998b:4)

Positive Māori Development promotes economic and political strength and seeks to enhance environmental, social and cultural well-being. Its leadership and decision making processes can be fluid and depend on the political, whakapapa and organisational context. Its political views can vary but it is interesting to note while the left, through the Labour Party has promoted Māori Development in concept, it has been the right, through the National Party that has been the greatest ally for allowing Māori Development to take place. In the 1990's the National Party encouraged a huge growth in Māori health, welfare and education providers (Durie, 1998a) and is also the party that has had the greater success in seeing Māori Treaty settlements take place (National Party, 2011). Perhaps it is a class divide, the elite of the right having the confidence that it will always be on top, believing that Māori would never surpass them all the while providing them with greater business opportunities. While the left may be worrying that Māori equality and justice could actually mean greater advancement for Māori over the white working class. It could be that Māori Advancement poses a greater threat to the white working class in New Zealand society.

With all the competing missions and visions and priorities, for those working in Māori Development, it is no wonder there can be tension, angst and sometimes disappointment. If someone has vision for social justice but becomes involved with an organisation delivering services to Māori, who could view the organisation as uncommitted to the

poor or upholding the political status quo. Also someone coming from collective approaches at the Marae Development level, may find the managerialism at the Iwi level dictatorial and non-consultative. It is not hard to see how tensions can arise when these four types of Māori Community Development can come from different, sometimes competing places.

However, one thing, in my opinion, that they all have is a desire for Māori Advancement, they just have different ways of getting there. One of the things that I do personally before I become involved in anything of a community nature is to ask myself “what contribution will this make to Māori Development?” While this question can sometimes be in the back of people’s minds, it is what many Māori intuitively consider. In the Tapuwae project, an injury prevention project funded by the A.C.C. to reduce Māori drink driving (Eketone, 2006), it was found that while the stated purpose of the project was decreasing Māori injury rates, when the organising committee was interviewed about the reasons for their involvement, no one specifically talked about drink-driving. All spoke in terms of Māori development and Māori advancement. It may be that many Māori have this big picture of what they want to see happen, usually around development and advancement, and so are opportunistic and will join in those projects that they think will help those ends.

Admittedly Māori Development, Māori Advancement and Māori Community Development can be very loose terms. To try and mediate these concerns, there are a set of five questions to be worked through in the last section of this chapter, before undertaking any form of Māori Community Development.

Analysing Māori Community Development

Once the community’s values, cultural concepts and context are understood, the next stage is an analysis of the process and the identification of a genuine mandate. The following analytical tool does not come specifically from a Community Development focus, but it does emerge from a Māori Development context. Russell Bishop (1996) analysed a selection of research initiatives in the Māori communities of Otago and Southland. These were different projects that had been run by himself, Huata Holmes, the late Alva Kapa, as well as Pākehā people who over the years have been supportive of Māori communities, namely, Monty Montgomery, Marie Joyce and Ted Glynn. The

analysis provided for five key concerns for community research that are just as valid and important for Community Development. These concerns are Initiation, Legitimation, Accountability, Benefits, and Representation (Bishop, 1996) and they form a framework that I frequently use to analyse the fundamental character of projects, initiatives and organisational practice.

Initiation

Who initiates the project and why?

Sometimes people outside a community may have the initial idea for a project, this is arguably not so important, often it doesn't matter who initiates a project as long as it is based on the expressed needs of the community and the community recognises it as an opportunity to achieve some of its goals. What can be problematic is when a project comes about because someone thinks that "this is the issue that Māori need to deal with". It may have been a sensational story in the media or it could come about because of an individual's own political, cultural or religious priorities. Sometimes it can be because it is a priority of the Government of the time, where organisations could bid for and win contracts with little input from Māori or the local community. A colleague went to a meeting about problems in a particular Māori community and found a number of agencies discussing the problem and looking for solutions. The scandal was that there was no-one from that community there, in fact my colleague was the only Māori there. Rosina Wiparata (Aimers & Walker, 2013) notes that the projects she was involved with came from the ground up, there were times when she and those around her wanted to do something about a particular issue and so they did it. But they owned it and made it happen.

If programmes are initiated from outside the community they can not only be difficult to undertake, they can be irrelevant. I was on a committee promoting child safety that was part of a national network that in its first year of my involvement, encouraged communities to set their own priorities and projects. There were some very good initiatives that took place, they were local, responsive and grown from the grass roots up. One year, however, it was decided that the programme needed a national profile with nationally recognised coordinated messaging and so the programme was centralised. The primary message was chosen from Auckland with little obvious consultation with the rest

of the country. So as a committee, the issue we were to promote in Otago for one week in August was: fencing around private swimming pools to reduce child drownings. My facetious comment at the time was that “in Dunedin, not only did few people have home swimming pools but that to drown in those pools in August, you’d first have to break through the ice”. This is obviously an extreme example of a centrally initiated project with little thought to its relevance at a local level, but it is not unusual.

I know in my role as a Māori health promotion advisor I would often be driving programmes to meet specific health priorities identified by the Ministry of Health and then detailed in contract outputs. It was something they identified and it was part of my role to help meet some of those priorities. The key was to try and support Māori communities in what they wanted to achieve, all the while meeting my service delivery outputs. Sometimes it worked and sometimes it didn’t. I severely learnt my lesson when trying to implement something that Mana Whenua should have been consulted on in the first place. The end result was hundreds of wasted hours.

While the initial seed of an idea can come from anywhere, the need for appropriate consultation and finding key people to work in partnership with cannot be overstated. In the past conflict occurred between Mana Whenua and Māta Waka because those wanting to consult with Māori would sometimes consult with Māori they knew rather than Māori who should have been consulted. This occurred even when Ngāi Tahu had many kaumātua (elders) and pakeke (mature adults) who were very experienced and knowledgeable in the community and social services. Hana O’Regan (1995) wrote an article that was notable for discussing the issue of northern Māori trampling the mana of Ngāi Tahu by usurping their roles in the community. In fact O’Regan called it another form of colonisation saying that this taking over the roles of Mana Whenua “had an even more devastating effect ... it certainly played a major part in demeaning Ngai Tahu pride and identity and attempting to oppress our cultural self-esteem” (O’Regan 1995: 57). Following the resolution of their Treaty claim with the Crown, Ngāi Tahu have been more available to both be consulted and be involved in what happens in the local community (O’Regan, 2001).

Benefits

Who will benefit from the project and what benefits will there be? Who will assess the benefits? Who decides what to assess and how to assess it? What difference will this make for Māori? How will this contribute to Māori Development? How is all this negotiated?

Few begrudge employment and contracts for people and organisations whose primary purpose is to see good outcomes for the community. But the benefits of any project need to be obvious and transparent, not over-hyped and certainly not leaving people feeling exploited. It can always be claimed that a particular project will benefit “the people”, but in the end there is often little control over outcomes when dealing with people. What can be controlled is the processes. The process must be positive, benefit those involved, be transparent and be responsive to the values of the community.

If the processes are right, then from a community perspective, it may not matter if projects do not exist in the long term. As Ellison (Aimers & Walker, 2013) stated, sometimes projects have a life span, nothing lasts for ever. In community development the process is just as important as the outcome (Eketone, 2006). The journey is as important as the destination. Funders may want more than that, but good processes ensure that people are more likely to be supportive of other opportunities and projects even if the benefits can sometimes be difficult to see.

Representation

Representation refers to whose values are represented; is it the values of the community, Hapū, or the organisation overseeing the project?

There is, of course, a wide range of values within whānau let alone communities but, in this instance we are talking about what are the dominant views of a community. Is it individualism where everyone has to learn to stand on their own two feet or is the dominant value one of process, where everything should be done in the right way. Is it a social justice perspective that is promoting equity and equality and challenging power structures? What happens when two or more perspectives conflict? Also who is expected to do the work? When are the meetings held? During the day when it is the community workers who are ‘on the clock’ or is it in the evenings when the majority of the community have finished their paid work? Importantly who is employed and who is

expected to work voluntarily? One of the conflicts over the years has been when professional consultants are brought in and paid large amounts of money to resolve issues, whereas Kaumātua are lucky to get petrol money. Kaumātua contributions are seen as expected, based on their aroha to the community. To a certain extent that is true, whether they are paid or not they will often continue to work, in doing so they show their mana and aroha. For us to recognise the economic and personal costs on them, is to also show the degree of mana and aroha that we have.

Legitimation

Legitimation refers to who gives legitimation to the programme and who provides the mandate. If community development is about tackling social injustice, where does the mandate come from to initiate social change in Indigenous communities? What right do non-Māori have to initiate social change in Māori society? Do the group have a valid mandate to do what they are doing and by whose standards is that validation measured?

Winning a contract to deliver services is usually not a mandate from the people involved. There have been a number of programmes over the years where differing agencies have won the Otago leg of a national project that was piloted somewhere else and then thought a good idea to roll out in Dunedin. If the community has not wanted it, it can make the project struggle. I have been to meetings where someone has started by saying, “we have received a contract [usually from Government] to do ...” To start any conversation off that way is to invite a response. If they are lucky the response will be “So what?”, if they are unlucky they may get, “Who the hell do you think you are?” The original mandate and initiation may come from Government but it cannot stay there, it has to be legitimated by key players in the community. In a Māori community this should include Mana Whenua particularly if it is receiving government funding. This is not such a problem with grass roots organisations that look at doing things for themselves such as Freedom Roadworks or Rosina Wiparata’s Brockville groups (Aimers & Walker, 2013), as the legitimation and mandate comes from within. However, at some stage when things start to go wider, a relationship with Mana Whenua will be useful and expected.

Accountability

Who is the project accountable to? Who is the group accountable to? How do they ensure they are accountable?

The usual assumption is that accountability is to the funders. Modern funding is big on financial accountability and measuring programme outcomes where compliance can be a significant part of the cost of a project. However, true accountability for Māori Community Development is accountability to the Māori community. To do this firstly a person must be part of the community. They allow themselves to be responsible and responsive to those around them and give permission to their community to hold them to a high state of behaviour.

Personally, there have been times I have been very accountable and times when I have not been. When I was interviewed for a job by a committee that included two kaumātua, I was asked at the end if I had any questions. As this was a community-based job and I felt slightly vulnerable, I asked, “Whose korowai would I be under?”. The two kaumātua looked at each other and sighed and said, “Ours”. In that brief exchange, I had secured the “covering” that I felt I needed while exposing myself to the Māori community, but I had also received a much higher state of accountability to these two men who now had the right to expect excellence from me in my work and in my relationships within the community.

A person is accountable to those they give permission to speak into their life tacitly, or by inference. Māori are also accountable to their whānau, Hapū and Iwi because they represent their people wherever they go. Being part of the community ensures greater support and with it greater accountability, as a colleague found, it is one thing to go back to work to face your boss because of some community transgression, it is another thing to go home and face your father.

To summarise this section, before embarking on any community development project amongst the many questions we should ask ourselves are the following:

Initiation - Who initiates the project and why? Who sets the goals? Who are the Mana Whenua? What are the processes they expect? Who are the key people with whom alliances and partnerships can be built?

Benefits - Who will benefit and what benefits will there be? Who will assess the benefits? Who decides what to assess and how to assess it? What difference will this make for Māori? How will this contribute to Māori development?

Representation - Whose values are represented? Whose voice is heard? Who is expected to do the work? Who will be paid and who will be expected to work voluntarily?

Legitimation - Who decides on the process? Where does the mandate come from to do social change? Where does the mana lie? Who is responsible to make it happen?

Accountability - Who is the project accountable to? Who has control of the project? Who are the workers responsible and accountable to?

Conclusion

Māori communities are complex with numerous, sometimes competing, facets, values and perspectives. Individual and organisations wanting to interface with Māori need to understand the contexts and the motivations of those communities. The different forms of Māori Development: Positive Māori Development, Māori Community Development, Iwi Development and Marae Development attract people who are overwhelmingly concerned with Māori Advancement. The quest for community workers is to recognise how they can contribute to what that community wants to achieve.

The questions associated to the terms Initiation, Legitimation, Accountability, Benefits, and Representation (Bishop, 1996) are vital in Māori community development. Some will argue that it is the outcome that is the priority as that is what government want to fund. However, it can be argued with more strength, that in Māori Community Development - process is not only as important as the outcomes but it too is an outcome. If a project has been maintained where people have been pulled together, had a satisfying involvement and finished with their mana intact, then that is good, the community has been strengthened. What is the point of a project that has measureable impacts and outcomes in one area of society, but has left a swathe of destruction in families and individuals lives? In fact it could be argued that it is the process that people remember, rather than the outcome of an activity or project. Often it is the act of journeying together that can bring the greater satisfaction and build the stronger community. Hence the need

to develop and maintain relationships that enhance mana when tackling some of the problems in society.

Summary

Chapter One discussed the questions this thesis seeks to answer:

What are the principles of Māori directed Social and Community Work practice and development?

How are these principles implemented?

In Chapters Two, Three and Four we have looked at the Theories that underpin this thesis and we have identified the principles of Māori directed practice and development and have used personal examples of how these principles are implemented. The next stage is to design a research strategy to identify what principles others in the Māori Social and Community Work sphere consider important to their practice.

Chapter Five Methodology

Introduction

The journey of this thesis has been challenging in that while the purpose of the research remained unchanged, false steps, practicalities and ethical demands meant that some of the research projects had to change emphasis. The purpose was always to answer the questions:

- What are the principles of Māori directed Social and Community Work practice and development?
- How are these principles implemented?

Therefore this chapter will firstly give a brief description of the research projects that were implemented in three phases. Secondly, the use of qualitative research processes will be justified. Then there will be considerable discussion on Māori research ethics as there is some difference between the expectations of Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and Te Ao Pākehā (The European world, in this instance the Western academy). Data collection techniques and analysis will be discussed. Finally my position as a ‘reflective researcher’ will be discussed along with justification of the validity and reliability of the research. By demonstrating links to Māori research ethics, this chapter will describe and justify the processes of these three projects and clarify the rationale for mid-stream adaptation of the methods used.

The Initial Projects

Originally three projects were devised to answer the research questions. The first was ‘Phase One’ a series of interviews with those implementing social policy in Māori roles in Government organisations. I call this the “Government organisation project.” Phase Two was to be a two-part evaluation of a Māori health and social service provider and a description of a men’s programme that used traditional Māori weaponry as the basis of a health and social service violence prevention programme .

The Government organisation programme (Phase One) was completed first and evaluation of the Men’s programme (Phase Two) was finished soon after; however, part way through the section of Phase Two, that was an evaluation of a Māori social service

provider, I realised that I was not going to be able to complete the evaluation for reasons that are discussed below. Instead, I decided to interview Māori working for Māori health and social service providers to compare their implementation of Māori principles, with that used by the Government workers in Phase One.

Once these two phases were completed, I realised they had confirmed what was discussed in the literature review. The findings did not reveal much that was not already known. There were, of course, some interesting points of tension, but the research, while revealing insights that may be new to the academy, very much confirmed what many experienced Māori practitioners already knew.

Phase One and Phase Two identified important principles of Māori directed practice and development and one principle stood out more than the others, *whakawhanaungatanga*. So, in Phase Three, devised in 2013, I set out to examine this principle more deeply and, more importantly, discuss the ethical tensions that arise during its implementation.

Qualitative Versus Quantitative; Finding a Method

To find the answers to the research questions, a Qualitative research approach is the most appropriate. While Positivist inquiry may favour objective observation to explain behaviour, Naturalistic or Qualitative inquiry “gives insight into the ways people perceive, interpret, and act in their everyday, culturally constructed worlds” (Stringer & Dwyer, 2005:20). Positivism may reveal something of our physical, environmental and even societal lives, however, it cannot reveal much about how cultural aspects are employed and why they are important to Social and Community Work practitioners (Stringer & Dwyer, 2005).

Qualitative Naturalistic Inquiry seeks to understand values and behaviours that are dependent on cultural context, where the individuals are applying and living those values in their everyday lives as well as their work (Stringer & Dwyer, 2005). A Qualitative research methodology that has open-ended semi-structured interviews would be the best approach to answer the research questions as the researcher can pick up on ideas and pursue them further to understand cultural values, principles and processes (Hall & Hall, 1996; Stringer & Dwyer, 2005; Bryman, 2001; Davidson & Tolich, 1999; D’Cruz & Jones, 2004). The task of qualitative researchers is to reveal how people have constructed

and responded to their social world, sometimes referred to as “Progressivism” (Holliday 2002:20) i.e. it is not a task of observing and describing, but inviting people to explain their understanding of the world they inhabit, the values they hold and the behaviours that are expressed through that understanding. Semi-structured interviews also allow for clarification of the context to assure the researcher they have an understanding of what the participants want to say (Bryman, 2001).

As this approach is subjective, it requires interpretation and seeks to explore interpretations, the use of these semi-structured interviews will need to rely on the ‘insider knowledge’ of a researcher who is familiar and conversant with this context (Bryman, 1988; D’Cruz & Jones, 2004). One of the most important books of recent times has been *The Reflective Researcher* by Jan Fook (1996) calling for self-reflective social work researchers. She highlights the importance of intuition in inductive research/practice and the important role that experience plays in determining and undertaking research. That is why an ‘insider’ is useful. The self-reflective insider researcher would also benefit from interviewing self-reflective practitioners. All the participants who took part in this research were, to varying degrees, self-reflective practitioners, which is why they were able to be informative about their practice.

Most literature reviews aim to be objective, impersonal and detached. In a Social Science Qualitative Research project this is sometimes disingenuous (Tolich & Fitzgerald, 2006). Each individual brings their bias, their intentions, and their plans all based on their previous investigation and experience (Fook, 1996). I take the liberty of drawing on my 40 years of experience and, as mentioned in Chapter One, the personal pronoun “I” is used throughout the literature review, theoretical review and parts of the methodology because of my involvement in both practice as well as discussion on theory. However, it needs to be made clear that this is not an auto-ethnography because the research is not drawn from my experience. The place where the personal and the research intersect is in providing examples and context from my experience and perspective while the research findings come from the research participants.

As the supervisor of mature master’s students, long term practitioners who come back to University for professional development and a master’s degree, I encouraged them to not pretend they were 22-year olds who knew little of the field, but to take their experience

and build upon it. However, they needed to be transparent about how it guided their research and see if it could be generalised by the experience of others (Fook, 1996). Experienced social workers have spent many years developing their practice by constructing hypotheses, testing them and fine-tuning and testing new hypotheses, possibly the very definition of self-reflective practice and knowledge creation. The key here was to encourage transparency and self-reflection so that the validity of the process can be judged and weighed by the reader (Fook, 1996).

I, too, do not come in cold to this research topic. Often ethics committees want proof that there is no predetermined outcome as if the researcher knew little of the topic yet at the same time showing a deep understanding of it in their ethics application. Tolich and Fitzgerald (2006) refer to this as a “sham” where qualitative researchers are required to disguise their inductive approach that seeks to create theory by pretending that it is actually a deductive approach that tries to prove a theory (Fook, 1996).

The author who comes closest to the approach advocated in this thesis is Emeritus Professor Khyla Russell (2000) in her description of tāku mōhio, it literally means, “what I know”. Like her, I cannot escape who I am, the whakapapa I have and the rights, roles and obligations that impinge on me as a researcher (Russell, 2000). Tāku mōhio refers to the knowledge that a person has through lived experience or something they regard as ‘truth’ because it is knowledge that has been imparted to them usually by someone they trust. It is a question of epistemology, the validity of how we accept what is truth. In a paper I took on Māori health in the 1990’s, we were told by the lecturer that the knowledge to be written in class assignments was to be published sources and she did not want something to be referenced with “my nanny said”. While understandable from a strictly academic view, from another perspective it would depend on who that nanny was, the context in which the information was relayed and the trustworthiness of the accuracy of the messenger in relaying the words, meaning and intended application.

The onus on me therefore is to endeavour to be tika (correct in my actions) as the reputation I have worked so hard to build is at stake, it is up to me to prove my reputation, not through hollow words, but through transparency and accountability. The aim here is not to reproduce the colonial exploitation of the native informant where only the outsider can be the objective voice to discover the truths inherent in a society (Said, 1978). The

opposite is true here, only the insider who has experience of the community and is moulded by the community can relay to the outsider what is taking place (Kiro, 2000).

This research was undertaken for the benefit of both the outsider and the insider. In my own practice experience I was sometimes constrained by outsiders trying to impose on me the way I should work, the way I should relate and the processes that were used to do this. A large part of my journey of the last 20 years has been to write to identify and contribute to a canon of work that Māori social workers could use in their negotiations with Pākehā employees and funders. My experience was that many Pākehā (particularly managers and bosses) would only believe something that was the result of empirical research. If it was not written down and proven then it could not be relied on to be valid knowledge. It could therefore be ignored. That is the origin of my quest to identify and produce knowledge in a way that they would find validity. Much of the knowledge this research will uncover is already commonly understood by many in my community, they need people like me in the positions I inhabit to create pathways for them to grow and expand without unnecessary interference. That does not mean there is not new knowledge. What this thesis hopes to reveal is not just some of the ‘what and how and why’, but the implications of these for a modern, post-modern environment.

At the time of this writing, fourteen years have elapsed since the beginning of the thesis process. The ups and downs have all contributed to what is still a coherent whole that was a journey of personal discovery in itself. However, it would be wrong to say that a rigorous research process occurred by accident. Instead, I can declare that the purposes and the outcome remained constant and the reliance on a tikanga Māori process as exemplified later by Bevan-Brown (1998) laid the groundwork for all three phases of the research project.

To be transparent with the reflective nature of the research also requires transparency with the process. This requires the “principled development of strategy to suit the scenario being studied” (Holliday, 2002:8) to ensure the rigour of the research where in every example the researcher shows exactly what they did to prove the validity of their processes and outcomes. Holliday (2002) states that research reports should try and give accounts of the actual research process, outlining the steps taken rather than a mythical account that presumes objectivity and a strict, timely, methodical approach.

This was a qualitative research conducted on Māori and as such there are a number of different forms of qualitative research to choose from.

Forms of Māori Research

Cunningham (1998, 2000) identified four types of Māori research. The first, paradoxically, is research that does not involve Māori, but uses up resources that Māori could have used, including where a Māori researcher could have gained experience. The research could also have hidden consequences for Māori that engagement with Māori could have revealed. The second type of Māori research is that which involves Māori either as participants or junior researchers, where the design, implementation and analysis comes from a Westernised perspective. The third is Māori Centred Research where there is Māori involvement at all levels, including concept, design, implementation and analysis. Cunningham (1998, 2000) highlights the dual accountabilities of this type of research that must be accountable to mainstream and Māori funders and reviewers, and which produces Māori knowledge measured against mainstream standards. Māori are in control and non-Māori can participate. The fourth form of Māori research is Kaupapa Māori research; it differs slightly from Māori centred research in that typically researchers will be Māori and prioritise Māori language and cultural processes where the analysis produces Māori knowledge (Cunningham, 2000).

The research reported here seeks to fulfil the requirements of a Kaupapa Māori approach. From the theoretical review in Chapter Two, there were a number of defining characteristics of Kaupapa Māori practice. From a Critical Theory approach it should involve a power analysis that uses reflective practice and resistance to empower Indigenous groups to achieve a just society (G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1999; Eketone, 2008) and from a Constructionist perspective it should contribute to Māori self-determination and Māori Advancement using Māori principles and philosophy involving the use of Māori language and culture (L. Smith, 1999; Durie, 1998b).

Kathy Irwin cited by Linda Smith takes this further saying that Kaupapa Māori Research is research that is “‘culturally safe’, which involves the ‘mentorship’ of elders, which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research, and which is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Māori” (Smith, 1999:184).

Proponents of Kaupapa Māori have created a standard where it is not just the ethnicity of the researcher that is important, but also adherence to certain prescribed cultural values and behaviours. Aside from the potential to side-line and impose on researchers, this creates a more involved ethical standard where cultural values and expectations are vital to meet the standards expected of someone who declares they are using a Kaupapa Māori approach.

Kaupapa Māori is also an Indigenist approach where the research uses Indigenous perspectives, values, ethical standards, processes and counters oppression (Hart et al., 2014). L. Smith (1999) argues that the mere act of research that increases the ability of Māori, or any other Indigenous people, to increase control over our own lives also makes it an emancipatory project. Increasing our ability to use our culture, language and knowledge creates a space where we achieve greater self-determination which should lead to a more just society. This self-determination is an energising force that seeks “to challenge and disrupt the commonly accepted forms of research in order to privilege our own unique approaches and perspectives, our own ways of knowing and being” (Mahuika, 2008:4).

Māori Research Ethics

As discussed in Chapter Two, the construction of knowledge through research is a culturally laden activity. International Indigenous and Indigenist research ethics are constantly informing, and being informed by, Māori research ethics. The international attention to the works of Linda and Graham Smith means that it can be difficult to distinguish, in this transfer of ideas, who inspired whom. However, this section will look at ethical approaches to Māori research that have been identified, applied, critiqued and reapplied in a constant flow of praxis and application for at least 30 years.

Linda Smith (2005) outlined the case for ethical research for Māori saying,

... for Indigenous and other marginalized communities, research ethics is at a very basic level about establishing, maintaining, and nurturing reciprocal and respectful relationships, not just among people as individuals but also with people as individuals, as collectives, and as members of communities, and with humans who live in and with other entities in the environment. The abilities to enter pre-existing relationships; to build, maintain, and nurture

relationships; and to strengthen connectivity are important research skills in the Indigenous arena (L. Smith 2005:129).

If this could be encapsulated in one term, the concept of whakawhanaungatanga would be the dominating Māori value that would describe this approach (see Chapter Three). Bevan-Brown (1998) cited in Hollis-English (2012) went further and created a starting point for ethical Māori research that have intersections with a Kaupapa Māori approach, she spells out what is expected from a Māori Culturalist perspective and is related in here in full;

1. Māori research must be conducted within a Māori cultural framework. This means it must stem from a Māori world view, be based on Māori epistemology and incorporate Māori concepts, knowledge, skills, experiences, attitudes, processes, practices, customs, reo, values and beliefs.
2. Research must be undertaken by people who have the necessary cultural skills, (such as Te Reo) and they must conduct Māori research in terms of these Māori research expertise.
3. Māori research should be focused on areas of importance and concern to Māori people.
4. Māori research should result in some positive outcomes for Māori.
5. As much as possible, Māori research should involve the people being researched as active participants at all stages of the research process.
6. Māori research should empower those being researched.
7. Māori research should be controlled by Māori.
8. People involved in conducting Māori research should be accountable to the people they research in particular and to the Māori community in general.
9. Māori research should be of a high quality and assessed by culturally appropriate methods.
10. The methods, measures and procedures used in Māori research must take full cognisance of Māori culture and preferences: Hui, Narrative, Collaborative, Whānau and Whakapapa (sic).

(Bevan-Brown, 1998:231-245 cited in Hollis-English, 2012:43-44)

The ability to meet these requirements feeds into the claim by L. Smith (1999) that the researcher needs to be a ‘Māori researcher’ not just a researcher who has the appropriate genealogy. Essentially any discussion about the nature of Māori research, particularly as it may differ to Western approaches is not just about culture and emancipation, it is about what is ethical and just because it is emancipatory or culturally proficient does not necessarily mean it is ethical. This list essentially says that if you want to do research that Māori society approves of, you have to do these things to show that it is considered safe and thus ethical. It “should not be about self-interest in pursuing a tertiary qualification, but about a genuine interest in the needs of those researched” (Kiro, 2000: 31) and it must be emancipatory.

Linda Smith lists seven practices that those involved in Kaupapa Māori research should adhere to. She refers to the concepts as those that not only make a good researcher but good people – (read, good Māori people) (L. Smith 1999). The qualities are drawn from sayings, proverbs and other cultural guidelines that “contain the ideals and aspirations which are worth seeking as well as the moral messages for those who decide not to conform to the rules of practice” (Smith, 1999:120). As such they are to encourage people to act correctly, culturally and ethically. (I should say at this point that I agree with these approaches, although my tone at times may sound ironic, it is deliberate to highlight where social control takes place, the issue here is to be transparent about it so that it can be questioned.) The practices are defined in the Māori language with her translation beside in parenthesis, with my translations in brackets if my emphasis is different, they are;

- Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people [love, compassion, genuine empathy])
- Kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)
- Titiro, whakarongo ... korero (look, listen ... speak)
- Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous [caring])
- Kia tupato (be cautious) [careful, respectful]
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people)
- Kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge).

Linda Smith (1999:120) (Kaua e mahaki was changed to “kia ngākau mahaki (be humble)” by Pipi et al. (2004: 150)).

This framework has been repeated numerous times in research and articles. According to the search engine Google Scholar, as of the 26th March 2019 this framework had been used in at least 204 articles and theses. It has also been used with little comment in a number of thesis I have marked. Either, it is so much a common sense approach and straightforward, that it is not necessary to comment on, or, people accept it because they lack the knowledge to critique it

Another ethical framework that emerged from the health sector focuses on four principles “whakapapa (relationships), tika (research design), manaakitanga (cultural and social responsibility), and mana (justice and equity)” (Hudson et al., 2010:4). This is one of the most comprehensive frameworks I have come across, forming graduated levels of relationship, expectations and process (see Figure 1).

The axis between the segments provides further opportunity to link the ethical issues to the rights, roles and responsibilities associated with the Treaty of Waitangi, the principles themselves (partnership, participation and protection), a risk/benefit/outcome continuum, and the Māori values of whakapono (faith), tūmanako (aspirations) and aroha (awareness) (Hudson et al., 2010:4).

Figure 1: Māori Ethical Framework (Hudson et al., 2010:4)

Research Design	Relationship to civil society	Cultural responsibility	Treaty of Waitangi	Relationships
Tika		Manaakitanga		Whakapapa
Mainstream	Rights	Cultural sensitivity	Protection	Consultation
Māori centred	Roles	Cultural safety	Participation	Engagement
Kaupapa Māori	Responsibilities	Māhaki	Partnership	Kaitiaki

(This has been slightly adapted from the original).

These ethical frameworks raise the bar of what is expected for Māori involved in Kaupapa Māori Research as it has a differing ethical standard to Western approaches. For the official ethical approval process, approval of this research was required by the University of Otago Ethics Committee (University of Otago, 2019), the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee and the Ministry of Health Ethics Committee. Their requirements could be reduced to the following; identifying potential risk to minimise harm, informed consent of participants and the right to privacy and dignity. Apart from the inclusion of the requirement to consult with Māori the ethical expectations were similar to what is expected internationally for qualitative research (McAreavey & Muir, 2011; D’Cruz, 2004). Māori ethics, however, usually go much further. The right to generate knowledge from Māori is not one to be granted solely from a university or governmental ethics committee. Ethical processes are also cultural and professional in nature.

While this is a Kaupapa Māori process, I would also identify it as aspiring to be a Tikanga Māori process, i.e. it is right and correct culturally. It seeks to follow a process that has, as its starting point, a respect for Māori people, processes and knowledge. These are very much culturalist and constructionist viewpoints seeking to ensure culturally safe, culturally competent and culturally acceptable research. This research seeks to identify theory, it seeks to be accountable to the research participants and to the communities from which they came. It endeavours to adhere to the cultural practices expected of Māori research in the tasks of supporting Māori Development as Māori seek to contribute to creating a just society. After all this, it is then allowed to seek to create new knowledge.

Accountability to the process is not just accountability from my peers. Taina Pohatu's (2015) article *Mātauranga-ā-whānau* argues that the first place we should turn to when looking to guide our social work practice is our whānau as it is there that an Individual can draw on a "rich source of applied knowing and experience" (Pohatu, 2015:32). One of the reasons Pohatu advocates for this is the obligation a Māori person has to their direct ancestors to uphold the values passed down to them. He asks himself four questions;

1. What will their responses be to my issue in this time?
2. What are the messages they have left me and where would I go for these?
3. How might they want me to engage in this kaupapa?
4. What would their expectations be of me?

(Pohatu, 2015:33)

This is an addition to the research ethics mentioned earlier by L. Smith, (1999). Should we meet our grandparents again in the afterlife, what will they say, how will they hold us accountable for the obligations and expectations they left behind? Pohatu aims for 'kia tau ai te ngaākau-whānau' where "whānau heart is settled and at peace" (Pohatu, 2015:33).

Ethical Approval

In essence, much of the New Zealand ethical approval process is based on informed consent where participants are given information on the study and they can decide on

whether they want to participate or not. Ethical Māori processes, as outlined in the previous section, are in addition to these requirements. Part of my accountability was to visit a kaumatua from my tribe living in the geographical area in which I did the research and get his endorsement. Then it was to secure a Mana Whenua supervisor who would hold me accountable for my actions within their takiwā (tribal area). Then it was to write a letter to the local rūnanga (tribal committee) explaining my plans and asking what involvement, if any, they would like to have on the direction the research took. Then whether they wanted to be consulted further or whether they would like to be just kept informed (See Appendix Two). I also asked for a letter of support which the local rūnanga were gracious enough to supply (Appendix Three). This was then part of the documentation sent to the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee. Only once this was approved (Appendix Four), did I apply to the ethics committee of the University of Otago and the Ethics committee of the Ministry of Health ethics committee. Approval letters were received from both of them (Appendix Five).

Marshall & Rossman (1999) stress the need for ethical management of reciprocal obligations. I was not able to manage those obligations in relation to doing an evaluation of the service in Phase Two and so the emphasis changed so that I could get the information that I required for a wider project. I decided to broaden Phase Two, replacing interviews with service users with interviews with workers from a wider group of Māori Health and Social Service providers. Ethical approval from the University of Otago ethics committee was requested for this change and granted. (See Appendix Six).

Interviewing Techniques

As this research is based on Māori principles and their implementation, a survey could ask what principles and values Māori Social and Community Work practitioner's use, but this would reveal little of how they were used.

Semi-structured interviews are a useful way of delving into complex cultural information particularly when asking about peoples experiences and examining complex cultural processes (Davidson & Tolich, 1999; Marshall & Rossman, 1999) using a series of pre-set questions designed to elicit the in-depth kind of information desired (Davidson & Tolich, 1999; Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

A set of questions was compiled for Phase One, interviews with those who had Māori roles in Government organisations. These were rather basic questions asking them to reveal details about their roles, how they came about and what processes they used.

Ethical approval was received from the University of Otago ethics committee and so Phase One was started in 2006. One of the issues that emerged from the first set of interviews is that the Māori workers were sometimes quite negative about their work places and their management. I had been made aware of the work of Preskill & Catsambas (2006) on Appreciative Inquiry and was worried that a similar set of questions targeted at Māori providers could prove equal dissatisfaction with their Māori employers. It was important that the interviews with the Māori providers were positive experiences as from a Māori ethics standpoint the research should not be detrimental to Māori (Bevan Brown, 1998).

The Crown as coloniser is incomplete in its decolonisation process. While it can emancipate, it can also still oppress and so needs to be constantly held to account in case it reverts back to its dominating position. Therefore it was less important to protect the workers from Crown agencies from being open about the strengths and weaknesses, positives and negatives of working for the Government. For those working with Māori organisations, I realised that it could be unethical to make them dissatisfied about their organisations and they needed to be treated more carefully in the data gathering sections of the research. If challenging Māori structures comes out of the research then according to Kaupapa Māori research ethics that is more acceptable than upturning the apple cart in a way where Māori workers are left feeling isolated and so an Appreciative Inquiry technique was planned for the workers in Māori Social Service providers.

Appreciative Inquiry

Appreciative Inquiry (A.I.) is a technique that embraces fully the concept that research as a practice and activity is laden with values where the mere act of researching can influence the context sometimes permanently (Preskill & Catsambas, 2006). It is about undertaking research in a way that seeks to improve and facilitate organisational improvement rather than merely critique the status quo. Research is not a neutral activity and first and foremost it must do no harm (McAreevey & Muir, 2011) however, there are

times when participation in research can leave people increasingly dissatisfied with the organisation they are working for (Preskill & Catsambas, 2006).

Humans are social animals and interact with those around them and the act of drawing attention to a human action or encounter can change the very nature and purpose of that action (Preskill & Catsambas, 2006). For example, imagine a four year old child singing a song to themselves. That singing could be an expression of inner happiness where they sing for their own pleasure. However, if a parent starts to listen and the child notices that they have their parent's attention and interest, and then that child enjoys and responds to that attention, then the singing of the song may turn from an inward expression into a performance for the pleasure and attention of others. The change in dynamic has also changed the context and the meaning of the event, which may also change the natural progression to the child showing off or becoming embarrassed. The act and its meaning have changed forever.

Appreciative Inquiry acknowledges that the act of interviewing a research participant about their involvement in an organisation can change the way the person views that organisation (Cram, 2010; Friedman, 2011; Preskill & Catsambas, 2006). If the questions asked are about what is wrong with an organisation, it can reveal or remind the person of possible dissatisfaction with the organisation. This can have a negative or detrimental effect on the organisation, creating greater tension between staff, management, community and or governance (Preskill & Catsambas, 2006).

If all that is done is to leave participants in a worse state than they were, or with little hope of change, the research process can be considered unethical (Preskill & Catsambas, 2006). A.I. is promoted as a research process that can be transformational when it prioritizes people's strengths and successes (Cram, 2010). It is promoted as a Constructivist activity that is beneficial to those who participate in it because of its focus not just on the positive, but on what contributed to that positive experience and how that positive experience can be replicated (Preskill & Catsambas, 2006; Cram, 2010).

Critiquing A.I. from a Critical Theory perspective, questions could be raised about possible collusion by participating in the strengthening of an organisation, especially if the organisation was considered oppressive, or contributes to the marginalisation of

minority groups. In that case it may be considered justifiable to raise class, gender or colonialist consciousness amongst the researched so that they may resist and achieve greater freedoms and justice.

While Appreciative Inquiry may indeed collude at times with the oppressor, it can also be a useful tool to challenge that oppression in ways that motivate people using positive approaches. Any increased dissatisfaction amongst marginalised groups, such as Māori, may be problematic. Māori organisations already struggle with a system that is inherently racist and biased against them and so research that looks at the deficits of Māori organisations potentially undermines them. A research strategy that focuses on deficits or disadvantages could be counterproductive if the overall goal is Māori Development and advancement.

Appreciative Inquiry is underpinned by a number of principles based from a Constructionist perspective that recognises research and inquiry as an intervention. These interventions have implications and consequences for the organisation/ whānau/ community in which they are involved and so those consequences must be positive for the research participants (Cram, 2010; Friedman, 2011; Preskill & Catsambas, 2006). The key is to ask questions that reveal the underlying processes that allow for good work and experience. Cram (2010) compares the strengths based approach of AI to Kaupapa Māori directly incorporating Linda Smith's cultural values mentioned earlier in this chapter. She promotes A.I. as an effective tool for Kaupapa Māori Research, particularly with whānau, especially in its role of strengthening relationships.

The limitations of A.I. include that relationship problems between managers and workers may not be addressed, as focussing on the positive means that important issues are not addressed, which could leave workers frustrated (Friedman, 2011).

Data Collection

Sample

The research participants were chosen following a “purposive sampling” technique (Davidson & Tolich, 1999; Hall & Hall, 1996; Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Stringer & Dyson, 2005) sometimes called a judgemental sample where research participants are deliberately chosen because they fit certain criteria, but are still able to represent a wide

range of opinions and experience within that group (Hall & Hall, 1996). In this case the three groups that I judged would have the knowledge and experience to be able to answer the chosen research questions were;

Phase One - those working in Māori roles in Government organisations and agencies delivering social policy outcomes often employed to liaise with the Māori community or deliver specific cultural services).

Phase Two - those working for Māori health and social services providers.

Phase Three - experienced social workers who used whakawhanaungatanga as an important part of implementing their Social Work practice.

Phase One and Phase Two were not used as an experiment, i.e. they did not include intervention and control groups (D’Cruz & Jones, 2004). Instead, they were used as a comparison to one another to identify the basic Māori principles used across the Public and Māori sectors. If there truly are Māori principles used by Māori workers then they should be evident no matter where Māori workers deploy their principles if they have the freedom and expectation to use them.

Dunedin is a relatively small city of just over 120,000 with a Māori population of 8,865 (Statistics N.Z., 2013b). There are few health and social service workers who work for Government agencies (including hospitals and schools) and even fewer Māori health and social service providers. Because of my involvement in the Community Development, social service, health and education sectors over a long period of time I already knew most of the Māori people employed in these ‘Māori roles’. I also knew most of those employed by Māori providers. It was simply a matter of contacting them, explaining the nature of the research and arranging a time where the ethics protocols could be explained and interviews could take place.

Phase Three interviews were conducted with long term social workers that I already knew or had met through the Tangata Whenua Voices in Social Work collective. The group started in 2013 when a large group of experienced social workers travelled to Winnipeg Canada to attend the 2nd Indigenous Voices in Social Work conference. There were so

many experienced Māori Social Work practitioners, managers and educators there that they decided to form a group to advocate and support Māori Social Work practice in Aotearoa. I became a member of the group at their first New Zealand hui and it was from this group that I managed to approach and interview long term (25 plus years' experience) Māori social workers.

Whanaungatanga was an important process in approaching all these workers and every person who was approached consented to being interviewed.

The sample size for each group was seven to ten.

Phase One included ten interviews with the Government workers; this appeared sufficient and may have included one third to one half of those employed in these types of roles in Dunedin. Seven identified as Mata Waka and Three as Mana Whenua. With Phase Two, those working for Māori providers; the initial plan was to interview 25 service users and staff. While those interviews took place, the information provided by service users did not address the project's goals and, especially as it was much more difficult to get quality information from the service users, these interviews were not used in this thesis. As mentioned, Phase Two was broadened to include interviews with ten workers in Māori health and social service delivery settings. Seven identified as Mata Waka and Three as Mana Whenua. These made up about half of those employed in the sector in Dunedin and so gave a good representation of those in the field.

Phase Three had seven participants. While they all had differing experiences, how they dealt with the ethics of their approach was consistent. After interviewing seven people I judged that saturation had been achieved as it became apparent that interviewing more would not add new perspectives to my research.

The Interviews

As there were three phases to this research, this section will outline how the interviews for each Phase took place.

Phase One

The initial project interviewing Government workers received original ethics approval in 2006. The ethics approval, plus the list of original questions, is in Appendix Seven. I had been advised to trial the questionnaire in case it threw up any puzzling responses, ambiguity etc. As a result, some of the questions were fine-tuned and reduced from seventeen questions down to ten questions. This change did not require additional ethics approval because of the disclaimer in the information sheet (*This project involves an open-questioning technique where there are some initial questions but the precise nature of all the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops*) (Appendix Seven).

Questions:

- The purpose of your position
- What role does the Treaty of Waitangi play here?
- What are your aspirations for your position?
- Do you find that there is an inconsistency between your aspirations and those of your organisation?
- What other barriers and difficulties do you encounter in performing your role, if any?
- What are the factors that enable you to do your job well?
- What are the positives and negatives of working for a Government agency?
- What expectations do Iwi and the Māori community have of your position?
- To what extent do you work using Kaupapa Māori philosophy or methods?
- In what ways are you supported and encouraged by your organisation to practice the way you do?

Interviews took 45 to 60 minutes. They generally took place in the person's workplace, although one took place in a café. All interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and took place in 2006 and 2007.

Phase Two

The Phase Two study involved interviews with workers in Māori Social Service Providers and was approved by the University of Otago Ethics Committee as well as the Ministry of Health Ethics Committee (See Appendix Five). This was because the organisation I was going to evaluate, Te Roopu Tautoko ki te Tonga (Te Roopu), had significant health contracts as well as Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Social Development contracts and all research with a significant health implication (well-being included) was the responsibility of the Ministry of Health.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Phase Two interviews used an Appreciative Inquiry approach to ask workers about their approach to working with Māori. There were some introductory questions about how they got involved in their organisations, followed by encouragement for them to tell stories around the following questions:

1. I would like you to think about a time when you felt really positive about something you did here. Think back and tell me a story about this experience.
2. What made this experience possible?
3. Who else contributed to it happening and what did they do?
4. If you could have three wishes for this organisation so that you would have more really positive experiences, what would they be?

The interviews mostly took place in their work places, lasted from 20 – 60 minutes and were digitally recorded. . They were conducted in 2007 and 2008 with one conducted in 2013. The 2013 interview was with someone I thought might have a significant contribution who had moved away before I could interview them in 2008. However, I need not have gone to the extra trouble as they said much the same as the other research participants.

Phase Three

During Phase Three, I interviewed long term social workers about whakawhanaungatanga and the implications for their practice. In 2013 I was able to get permission from the Otago University Ethics Committee for an extension of their

previous approval (see Appendix Eight). All the interviews took place in 2013, most were face to face at a Tangata Whenua Voices in Social Work hui in Auckland. One was done in person in Dunedin and one was recorded over Skype. The interviews ranged in duration from 20 to 40 minutes and were recorded on a digital voice recorder. The questions asked were:

1. How do you define whakawhanaungatanga and how do you use it in your practice?
2. What expectations do you think whakawhanaungatanga creates in whānau you have worked with?
3. What obligations does whakawhanaungatanga place on you?
4. What tension has whakawhanaungatanga created in your workplace?
5. Does whakawhanaungatanga mean that you sometimes cross social work boundaries and how do you manage it?
6. How do you decide which boundaries to cross?
7. What happens at the end of a piece of work?

There was variety in the way participants in the different projects told their stories. Some of it is due to the age of the respondents, their education, experience and self-reflection. For example, in Phase Three, the respondents were all long-term well-known practitioners who are leaders in their fields where what they say lends weight because of who they are. In this case large tracts of the original narrative are left intact in the findings chapters. I also made the decision to include the identities of respondents so the reader could decide how much weight to assign to each comments. The seniority of those making the statements carried far more weight than an anonymous text and each respondent in this phase gave permission to be named in the thesis. I therefore asked for permission to name them individually by email for those in centres outside Dunedin, or asked them to sign a copy of their transcript giving me permission to use it if our paths crossed in Dunedin.

Treatment of Phases One and Two, the Government and Māori community interviews, was different. Firstly, these phases involved analysis of the principles and processes that were important and so who said what was not particularly important. Secondly,

respondents were discussing their work in their organisations. As this could have consequences for their employment or the Māori community I decided to not ask for a waiver of confidentiality except in the case of one story that was easily identifiable. In this case the respondent consented to be named.

The interviews were transcribed by either my wife or my daughter. My wife is a touch typist familiar with many Māori words, but for informants that used a lot of Māori words I paid my daughter who had grown up with Te Reo as her first written language (English was her first spoken language). I then listened to the recordings and made corrections where needed. There was a little bit of editing done to remove the ums and errs and to correct occasional grammar. Each transcript was given back to the respondents with the paragraph:

Kia ora, here is the transcript of our discussion. I would really like to use some of it in my PhD but I promised that I would pass it by you first so that you could cut out anything you didn't want me to use. In some places I will use quotes, but in others I will summarise, the main things for me are the processes and values that emerge from the discussion. So if you are happy for me to still use this please sign here.

I give permission for the following to be used by Anaru Eketone in his research.

Everyone had the chance to edit their response; to change it or include that which they wanted to say.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, Phase One and Phase Two had differing interview styles. In my own mind, Government workers often tend to be more committed to the aims of Māori development than to Government policy that can change at the whim of the media, a change of Cabinet Minister or indeed a change in Government. Therefore, the questions asked of them were more direct, inviting both praise and criticism of the agencies and government they served. Māori organisations are more delicate in that they are often vulnerable, where their workers often have more limited opportunity to complain or criticise. The place for criticism is not the media, or necessarily in documents like these, but on the Marae atea, the courtyard in front of the Wharenui (meeting house), the domain of the God of war where confrontation takes place and you draw in your

supporters to tautoko through obligation and reciprocity (Mead, 2003). Or, it takes place in the Wharenuī, under the domain of the God of peace, where raruraru (disputes) are discussed and where people are encouraged to awhi (support by embracing) rather than tautoko (support by taking sides). Therefore, the interviews with workers from Māori providers looked at positive stories using Appreciative Inquiry, to determine the important processes, values and principles that underpin the organisation.

As discussed earlier, there is a judgement here, to not undermine a Māori worker in a Māori organisation. Yet I was prepared to not be so protective of Māori workers in a Government organisations. I do not believe in the end that it was damaging to the careers of those Government workers. If we look at where these Government workers are ten years later in 2018 nine out of the ten participants were still working in Māori roles in the Government and University sectors. I think it can be assumed that there was not too much, if any damage done.

Data Analysis

The transcripts were read and content was sorted into various themes, when the text was clear and potentially useful as quotes, and summary form when it was disjointed (Bryman, 2001; Crotty, 1998). Each theme seemed clearer as a stand-alone topic rather than using complete narratives. The report on the Government workers followed the flow of the questions and so were grouped together. The Māori organisational project was moved around and the order was experimented with until it appeared to create coherent stories that could be compared.

Full quotations were used when appropriate to give context and use the participants' own words when it was felt that more could be gained from larger blocks. This was to ensure and prove to the reader that the cultural concepts were identifiable and comparable. They were kept anonymous and juggled around so that respondents could not be identified, especially if they were criticising their organisations. From there an analysis took place based on my own knowledge of Māori process and assigned to themes.

The findings were drawn from the responses of participants. However, the discussion is informed by the literature, my experience and the participant's responses. My bias and experience influenced what I saw as important. My experience dominates the literature

reviews and the context it describes and is why the actual words of the participants are so important. As many of their words, as appropriate, should be incorporated into the text to create a narrative that, although meets my purpose as the writer, attempts to still maintain the integrity of the research participants. My voice dominates the first part of the thesis, therefore their voices must dominate the findings so that I don't speak on their behalf (Stringer & Dyson, 2005).

To achieve this, significant sections of Chapters Nine and Ten use the actual words of the participants in fairly large blocks. This is where the more objective work dominates, even though my experience contributes, it is the participant's voices that will be prioritised in as an unedited condition as practical.

Validity/Reliability

D'Cruz & Jones (2004) use a fourfold test to test the trustworthiness of a research process; Reliability, Internal Validity, Generalisability and Objectivity. One measure of reliability of a research process is the ability to replicate the research (D'Cruz & Jones, 2004). Can someone else run a similar process amongst Māori social and community workers and would they get consistent results? While participants are describing their values and processes at a particular time, both in history and in their own life spans, their opinions may change.

One way to test reliability is to do a pilot study (Bryman, 2001). It was identified that a number of the Phase One research participants spoke negatively about their employer (i.e. the Government). As mentioned, the questions were changed for the Māori provider group, however, the aim of both projects was to identify Māori processes and values inherent in the way they worked.

Internal validity is the necessity to make sure that genuine comparisons are taking place and that which is considered similar really is similar (Bryman, 2001). One of the ways to ensure this is taking place is to use the actual words of the participants so that the reader can make their own judgement about the comparability of the responses.

Generalisability is the ability to draw conclusions about the wider Māori social and community work community based on the answers of essentially a handful of people

(Bryman, 2001). The first two phases, Government organisations and Māori organisations, were from a small pool of Māori professionals living in Dunedin. While census details are not available, due to my own contacts I would suggest half of those in Māori roles in the social policy arena were participants in the research. In the Māori organisation study one quarter to one half of those working in Māori social service providers were participants. In Phase Three, interviewing long term social workers, the seven participants were at least half of the participants in the Tangata Whenua Voices in Social Work group and are leaders in Māori Social Work practice in New Zealand.

Objectivity “is a principle that aims to minimise the influences of the researcher’s values, beliefs and potentially vested interests” (D’Cruz & Jones, 2004:71). While important, D’Cruz & Jones (2004) argue if this can ever really be achieved, particularly in Social Work research where the expectation is to question disadvantage and inequality, particularly when the context is New Zealand and its history of colonialism. In fact D’Cruz & Jones, (2004) even question the desirability of claiming that research can be claimed to be objective in these circumstances, instead arguing for transparency and allowing potential bias to be made explicit, which is what I have attempted to achieve.

My Position as Researcher

In much qualitative research “the researcher is the instrument” (Marshall & Rossman, 1999:79). They impose themselves into the lives of the research participants and so the process needs to be ethical.

Insider research has to be as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical, as outsider research. It also needs to be humble. It needs to be humble because the researcher belongs to the community as a member with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position (L. Smith, 1999:139).

Outsiders ... “are not subject to the same moral codes as those within the community of study, nor do they understand the true dynamics that exist within the community” (Kiro, 2000:26; L. Smith, 1999). Māori research methodology “like feminist research validates insider knowledge as more accurate, since only an insider can understand the nuances of the social phenomena on affecting research participants” (Kiro, 2000: 26).

It is also recommended that issues that arise can be sorted out into what can be called technical issues and interpersonal issues that relate to ethical and personal issues and dilemmas that may arise (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Technical Issues

One of the warnings from Marshall & Rossman (1999) is being caught up in the day to day life of an organisation to the stage where you are “compelled to participate to meet the demands of reciprocity” (p.80). This is more acute in a Māori environment through the bonds and obligation of whakawhanaungatanga. Marshall & Rossman (1999) describe it as a positive interaction because a great deal of insider information can be gained from simple involvements. However, in my case it was detrimental to the original intention of the study, namely a case study to assess the effectiveness of Māori principles interviewing both workers and clients. My involvement became such that it blurred the lines to objectively analyse the effectiveness of the organisation and so the project changed to interviewing the workers of this and other Māori health and social service providers. In retrospect the evaluation of a large health and social service NGO was also too large to be a case study and would have been a large enough topic on its own.

Interpersonal Considerations

Qualitative research often requires “building trust, maintaining good relations; respecting norms of reciprocity, and sensitively considering ethical issues” (Marshall & Rossman, 1999: 85) and so it is recommended that these are essential skills for researchers.

As Phase Two of the research progressed, I felt obligated to go on the board of Te Roopu Tautoko ki te Tonga because they had supported me, eventually becoming the Chair for three years. I had intended staying on the board until three years after I had graduated with the PhD they had contributed to but felt that my involvement was enough after an increase in workload in my own job as well as Chair. This created conflicts of interest. I could have said no, but that could have created ill feeling and accusations of exploitation. If I had completed my PhD when I was supposed to it would not have been a problem. However, delays meant that I felt that any evaluation of the programme was so conflicted as to be of little use. The widening of the research meant that I could compare the Social Service Sector interviews with those Māori working in the Government sector.

Māori researchers are in a position to exploit their relationships for the benefit of the researcher and so accountability to the community is vital (Kiro, 2000). This insider approach leaves the researched as well as the researcher vulnerable because we are able to access these sometimes suspicious communities. Insider research requires time, commitment, but also that the researcher will act in the interest of the community. Whether they are, or feel, exploited may only be resolved at my tangihanga (funeral) where the benefit I gained from this research and the qualification it brings will be seen to mainly benefit myself or that it enabled me to continue to serve and enable the community.

Potential Weaknesses of this Approach

1. Because all participants are known to me and they know my various roles in the community it could influence and bias the information they share.
2. I could be just interviewing a clique of those who have the same orthodox view of Māori cultural thought and action as myself and not interview people who I disagree with, or did not meet my view of Māori ethnicity including those who did not use Māori cultural approaches.
3. They may not say negative things because I might feed that back to the community.
4. I could have a conflict of interest through my significant involvement in the sector.
5. The limitations of AI include that relationship problems between managers and workers may not be addressed, focussing on the positive means that important negative issues are not addressed, which could leave workers frustrated.

There was one organisation that I did not approach for participants because I was a past Chairperson and left after a disagreement with the manager. They could have had differing perspectives. However, I continue to have an on-going relationship with the organisation and taught most of their Social Workers in my classes. What I am satisfied with is that being an insider enabled me to engage with the participants. It would always start off with a period of whakawhanaungatanga, building on and maintaining past relationships particularly around what our respective families are doing. My insider status enabled me to ask questions that were informed and all participants had complete veto over their transcripts and had to sign them off that they were happy for me to use the material, as well as having opportunity to change what they wished. One of the participants even remarked that the process was like having some cultural supervision.

Due to various issues most participants in the first two projects signed off their transcripts eight to ten years later after their interviews and so had a lot of time to reconsider their involvement and responses.

Even though it contains elements of the personal, this is not an example of an auto-ethnography. It does have some similarities particularly writing retrospectively and selectively explaining parts of my own experience to bring understanding of the cultural world the examples and anecdotes exist in (Ellis et al., 2011). The difference here is that my experiences bring context to already accepted values and the use of whakawhanaungatanga (family like relationship building) was necessary to establish and maintain trust. The privileging of my experience has a degree of arrogance in that I am freely admitting when the example is drawn from my experience and inviting the reader to weigh the worth of it in comparison to insider and outsider views (Ellis et al., 2011). However, it does not fit in the realm of auto-ethnography because the writers experience is not counted in the actual research findings. The findings report solely on the views and experience of the research participants.

Auto ethnographers must analyse their experience (Ellis et al., 2011) and while my experience is mentioned early on it is not part of the findings. If I may use the example of a narrative, it is part of setting the scene but is not part of the story itself. However, it needs to be recognised that any preamble uses its power and confines and constrains the story in some way. Despite this it can still create validity through using the voice of the storytellers. It is a competition of voices and the reader needs a constant reminder to prioritise the true storytellers. So the inclusion of the personal pronoun “I” deliberately jars the reader into not being seduced into a compromised world created by the author.

Ellis et al. (2011) list nine forms of auto-ethnography from intensely personal narratives, where the author sees themselves as their research subject, through to a community auto ethnography, where the writer uses their own experience in collaboration with a community to show how they are part of a community and the knowledge and experience is generalisable. One form of auto-ethnography that touches very briefly on the approach here is Narrative Ethnographies and is where the writer includes their own experience in the analysis of the researched (Ellis et al., 2011). As stated, this is what this research wants to avoid.

Instead this is a form of insider research, I am researching my communities, I am interviewing my friends and acquaintances and I am probably accepted as researcher because of who I am. This carries a heavy burden and has consequences. There is little to hide in the processes and evidence.

Conclusion

This chapter described the three phases of my research project and justified the use of qualitative processes to answer the research questions. The sample and data collection were described and my position as an insider researcher was discussed in the light of Māori and Western ethical approaches.

Chapter Six Māori Roles in Government Organisations

This Chapter will look at the first of three research projects to identify the principles of Māori directed practice and development. Phase One is a series of interviews with Māori working in Māori roles in Government organisations. There are ten people interviewed in this section. Eight were in identifiable Māori-specific roles and two were Māori in mainstream roles that had specific involvement or expectations to have a Māori focus as part of their jobs. Five were designated as Kaitakawaenga indicating that they had Māori liaison roles within their organisations often set up as part of that agency's obligations to Māori.

The following are selected comments from over 70 pages of transcribed interviews. The most logical way of doing this section is by providing highlights from their answers to the various questions that highlight the important Māori values and processes that underpin the Māori principles important in this type of work. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the first half of this thesis has been dominated by my voice. These next sections therefore need to be dominated by the voices of the research participants (recognising of course that I still control the narrative). Every paragraph is a response from a research participant. Every time a new indented paragraph appears means that it is a new voice. I have also maintained the idiosyncrasies of their speech, again to maintain their voice.

As a quick note to the reader, one of the difficulties has been how to define who they work for. For some it is "the ministry" others a department, an agency, but always a Government owned and run organisation. All of them are employed by the Government and so I have chosen to use the word 'organisation' as it is a word that adequately covers all of the different types of Crown entities they work for involved directly in areas covered by the term 'social policy'.

The purpose of their position

There was a proliferation of Māori roles instigated by the Labour Government in the mid-to late 2000s as part of the Government's response to its Treaty of Waitangi obligations. Five of these workers were employed as Kaitakawaenga, Māori liaison workers, one in management and one in a junior professional role. All seven of them however, could be

defined as Māori responsiveness roles. The other three were generic roles in their agency, but had developed specialties and expertise in working with the Māori community.

The expectation of Kaitakawaenga was that it was a genuine attempt by the organisation to engage with Māori community on behalf of the department/agency/organisation where it;

Was real grassroots – out in the community, getting involved ... going to all their hui.

Strengthen links with whānau to ensure they get quality service “it’s generally the support for whānau and colleagues.”

I guess it’s called “liaison Māori” or “cultural responsibilities Māori” so, we look to target some of the boys who are deemed “at risk” and get them into programmes that will help them deal with the issues that are stopping them from engaging.

When discussing about their roles one spoke of their hesitancy to go for promotion;

So typical Māori I didn’t go “pick me, pick me” – I just lay low, as you usually do when you don’t want to be in the limelight... and they asked me if I’d do it, and to the surprise of some people.

Some found that the roles were not always thought out clearly and that there was a lack of clarity about what was expected.

Initially it was a community social work position which sat within Te Wakahauora over in Public Health South. It wasn’t a clear role – I wasn’t sure whether I was meant to be in the hospital or whether I was meant to be in the community. The hospital would phone or page me and they expected me to be here, but then the community felt I belonged out there as well.

One worker in Child, Youth and Family had noticed the Crown was trying to incorporate Māori approaches in their service but found that it was sometimes lacking;

‘Cause they’ve co-opted models that make it a consultation with whānau, and the FGC process, but it sort of ignores the fact of colonisation and the impact it’s had and it places a lot of responsibility back onto whānau, without taking into account the bigger picture. So there’s elements there where they do try to look at things, but it never takes into account the bigger picture.

The manager felt that;

The position was really around trying to get a Māori on the Management Committee ...it came about because we really felt we needed more support for our Māori whānau and we're really pushing to build up our Māori numbers on our staff.

The final worker was employed in a field where there was no Māori working or qualified in the region and so they were employed as part of a process to train their own Māori workers. However, the role was reduced to a junior role, because the professional expertise was lacking. They had ignored the wealth of Māori and community knowledge and contacts that this person brought with them and even though they had the support of Mana Whenua and were working in partnership with them it was not valued because the agency were the Western knowledge experts where Māori positions were seen as “lesser”. You were not listened to unless you had the same qualifications. Māori were judged as ‘professionals’ first rather than Māori who bring other expertise to their position, and so educating their colleagues becomes an important part of their work;

I feel for me the main objective of that position, is to enlighten my colleagues about, not just the disparity between Māori and non-Māori families, but also the difference in terms of aspirations.

Partnership between Māori/Iwi and Government was the purpose of a number of these roles, the problem being that the workers often felt isolated. Forming networks across the country with those in similar roles was important for four of these workers. Interestingly these four were all Mata Waka, whereas the people who were Mana Whenua, found the supports they needed within their own takiwa (their own tribal area).

Linking their roles to the local Māori community was seen as vital, including linking colleagues and organisations.

I know I want to be working for the Māori community and the only way that I know how to do that at the moment is to force my colleagues to see that working with the Māori community is actually advantageous to them ... because they've never seen Māori as a positive force to partner with, they've always seen them as negative. Now they see them as positive.

However, it has sometimes been difficult working and engaging with the Māori community who may not view you as having the Māori community's best interests at heart because of who you work for. To overcome this, networking and community involvement have been vital,

With my role as well I have tried to participate in ... marae activity and so I have tried to support the kaumatua hui that have been happening by cooking kai [food].

This can be tough on Māori women because they have expectations from Government community, from their own tribal groups, from Iwi in the takiwa [region] they live in, as well as Māori and Pākehā gender expectations,

A girlfriend said to me once actually the feminist revolution was probably not necessarily a good thing because here we are, contemporary women, where we feel there's an expectation that we do everything... we have to be the good baking mother, super mum, have to be the amazing sort of together professional woman, we're supposed to be the same lover... you know? We're supposed to bake for the stall and then go and help out with the hangi.

What role does the Treaty of Waitangi play here?

My favourite response to the question about the role of the Treaty was, a very loud; "Hahahaha". While this is not helpful, in this context it certainly explains concisely both the Māori and Pākehā sides that this worker viewed his organisation's commitment.

Other responses about the role of the Treaty of Waitangi showed that there was a commitment to acknowledge it and train staff as they entered the organization;

It is acknowledged, and certainly it's part of our training. We have updates on our Māori strategy and the Treaty's part of that. Any new staff that come into our organisation, we send them on Treaty workshops.

Strategy (3) is to get closer in involving ourselves with local Māori custom, local Māori protocol and local Māori people.

While there is a recognition that there had been breaches of the Treaty, often it was considered there was not a firm understanding of what that meant or how the organisation was supposed to implement a response.

How do you make Treaty of Waitangi practicable? How do you action it?

It plays a major role in it but it's whether or not they adhere to it. I know that it's just lip service really "We abide by the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi" – and I bet if you ask any of our senior management team they wouldn't even know what the principles are.

It's nothing substantive at all and when we went for induction we had to do training on the Treaty and we did the time-line. I mean, they sort of allude that we are in breach of the Treaty, and so I asked them "As Crown agents, where does that place us?", but they couldn't answer that ...You're working with that ignorance with staff and, so it's not just about the Treaty, it's about understanding rather than 'othering' people all the time and how do you work with these minorities?

Sometimes there was an orchestrated plan to try and get rid of the Treaty and the obligations it imposed;

What I saw during that time, my tenure here..., was a lot of the Treaty of Waitangi being deleted from our documents.

Sometimes, if not hostility then consternation to the way the Treaty was changing expectations within the workplace;

Most of my colleagues it's a bane – it's a thorn in the side. It's not overt yet – we don't have to say "the Treaty, the Treaty" and wave the flags. There's educated people here and they know how this land lies and they know how to negotiate it. They need the Treaty. They may not think they want it... but they need it. It's something that will maintain the peace."

Despite these views there are growing examples of recognition of the Treaty by incorporating simple Māori processes into the processes of the organisation;

Having one simple thing like having mihi whakatau is part of some of the principles so I believe it plays a vital role and I've been lucky enough to have a Manager to support me to do that. We do that here in Dunedin – like with that new girl who started, we had a mihi whakatau [welcoming ceremony] for her and she was just overwhelmed by that – we gave her a taonga [treasured item] and, it was my niece and my wife made them up so we gave them to her and her whānau. So even now at our staff training, we've had two or three that I've run, we have karakia and waiata [prayer and singing] – and I've said to them, if you want to read a poem, kei te pai tera [that is okay].

Sometimes these acknowledging of and participation in Māori processes led to the breaking down of barriers between workers in the organisation;

So we finally got one in Wellington, in Lower Hutt, at the marae and all the management team came, and they stayed the night 'cause it was all very well turning up... "I've been to a Marae experience...", but they stayed and I think that was very courageous of them to do that. They stayed and, you know what it's like when you go to a hui, the floor's open and you can talk about anything and everything... and everyone's on a level playing field, so there's no "hats". So for a lot of us Māori, who have been to a number of hui, and we get up and tell our stories. And they could be "Once were Warrior" stories – and because we've been through it and done a bit of healing in that area. ... And then some of these Pakehas got up and started saying some of their stories and then it sort of made sense with some of the things they do. It became a mamae hui [expressions of pain] really. From there our relationship with them changed... and they loved it. They felt safe that they could get up ... they just couldn't get over... 'cause they just saw me on the computer, talking with people, smiling, doing my whaikorero [welcome speeches] whatever.

They've moved from being fearful of those in the Māori community ... with the perception of them being radicals, to actually moving to see that we complement and can support because we're wanting the same outcome. We're wanting the same thing at the end. We're wanting to ensure that our environment is safe and as healthy as it can be for the whole of the community. The Māori community want exactly the same thing ... We're wanting to do it for different reasons... but the outcomes are the same.

For one worker his personal relationship to one of the guiding lights of the reorientation of Social Welfare to be responsive to the Māori experience was a career altering experience;

One thing that did have a profound effect on me was in 1987 or 1988 I think – it was when John Rangihau came down and that was to Milton, 'cause it was not long after that Puao-te-ata-tu [document] was formed, ... when I first met him I didn't realise he was related to my grandfather and he didn't know who I was 19-20, because I was brought up down here, you know that ko wai koe "who are you, where are you from?" So he came down and I met him and he asked "where are you from?", "I'm from here and these are my grandparents" that's all I knew. He said well you come and sit here, and I didn't know why. Afterwards he said your grandfather was a cousin of mine, So all day, I was panicking about having to go back ... 'cause he made me sit with him all day and I was just shivering, ...I didn't know what it was about, he was just my uncle. And then, now and over the years knowing what Puao-te-ata-tu was about and knowing what Uncle did it's quite clear what his work's about – it's about for our people.

What are your aspirations for your position?

When asked about the aspirations for their position or role the replies fell into four broad categories. The first was for their clients and the community;

Hapai te oranga o te Iwi [raise the well-being of the people].

It's really to have a relationship with my community ... a relationship that's going to be sustainable, a relationship that's going to be built over years, ... working towards having a good relationship with my ... so it's about building those relationships ... and I think once you have a relationship with them then you can start to strengthen the communities and you can start to advocate for whatever that is, whatever you are delivering in terms of your service.

But two of the respondents were concerned that because Māori were now in these roles that the expectations are increased;

So really, for me it's about doing the best I can – having patience with myself at the moment to do the best I can do. I don't want to go and make all these links and then sorry I'm not going to do it.

The problem for me and the major objective of mine is that inconsistency between what we know we can do for our families, we don't get to do because our role is to work with the 1%-2% the most at-risk children, the most in need of help, with the most severe behaviour, whereas we know ourselves we see in our own experiences in the Māori community, you see someone who's got difficult behaviour, or someone who might be neglected, not necessarily abused but neglected and that that neglect will eventually accumulate in that child's learning behaviour. We see that professionally and with our schools, that if we can only just do something right here and prevent all those years of mamae [pain], but we don't get to deliver that at the moment ... you go out and you promote what you actually do, but on the other hand you say "Oh, actually, but we can't do that for you".

One justified the aspirations by looking at the past as well as to the future;

For us we hear things and link it back to colonization...a lot of our colleagues don't see that, those things have shaped our experiences. We came with a lot of drive ... that because [we] don't want to see the same things happen to our mokos [grandchildren] that we know that happened, two, three, four generations back whereas some of the people are only new to their awareness of these things.

One of the respondents had a long term vision where their accountability wasn't just to the agency and client today, but that in the future, many years down the track they will still have confidence in their work today because of the tika processes they employ today;

I suppose I always think of my responsibilities to whānau, and that you want to be effective in what you do, and that you feel good about the decisions you're part of supporting, and in twenty years' time if someone says "Why?" Then it's all there - you're comfortable with the decisions that you've been part of.

The second set of aspirations was for their colleagues;

It's educating our colleagues.

One thing I'd like to see is my staff feeling being comfortable working alongside Kaitakawaenga [liaison workers], helping them. Working at the same level of expertise, [as other staff] not just an add-on. One of my aspirations is to get staff to see the value in valuing our other staff here.

Yes, we do work across all teams and it's a bonus for the organisation because we're able to actually work across all the teams as well.

The third set of aspirations was for their organisations;

It's about entrenching systems, processes, protocols, ways of doing things. I think it's about appreciating what it means to fulfil the Treaty. It's about being able to accommodate a different system ... to the mainstream system"

For me, for my position, there wouldn't be a need for me.

So, I suppose at the end the day, that's what I would like to see – more in our everyday work, that Māori specific tools are being developed, but also being utilised by services and how they assess situations.

The fourth set of aspirations was for themselves so that they can do the best they can for the community;

The aspirations for the position, to be designated, to be fully trained ... and then look at ways of using my skills to better enhance the environment that benefits Māori, and everyone.

Also knowing if the Government agency they work for is really for them because of the compromises they may have to make;

I was asking mum and dad and they said “you’ll know if it’s right if it comes from in here, if it’s for you you’ll know it’s for you. If you get that gut feeling or whatever that’s telling you it’s not for you, you listen to that”, that’s kei te pai [all good] because you can still do the stuff you like to do and you are good at it.

One of the issues that interested me are the tensions that emerge between Māori workers and the organisations they work for, especially when they are working for Government organisations. As mentioned in Chapter Four, many Māori in the social policy professional area become involved because of their vision and commitment to the broader aims of Māori Development. They are often there because they have a genuine desire to help their own whānau, Hapū, Iwi, Community. Not there just to help people, but to help their people. The question was asked;

Do you find that there is an inconsistency between your aspirations and those of your organisation?

Some said there definitely were;

Oh hell yeah. Well, one thing that does hinder is that it, depends who’s in Government, can change the whole thing. So depending on what Government says it could change what I’m doing next year

I’m not consulted with. It’s quite a tokenistic position.

It’s about processes and they pride themselves on processes but the process they have in place does not deal with Māori processes, and I’m finding that difficult.

One spoke about how they wanted to bring Māori values into the way the service operated, but found that “Pākehā find that esoteric – they are airy, fairy, they want evidence”, presumably evidence that fits their Western worldview and experience.

Expectations of time can be very different and can cause tension with managers who want clients dealt with as efficiently as possible;

Probably time – the time we have to record – stats - ‘statistics’ – that every 15 minutes is recorded as one stat. Every time you visit – you’re with someone – you basically time yourself ... is it a quarter an hour, is it half an hour. If it’s three quarters of an hour that’s three towards that person, that person’s name, it’s just, like I say it takes me sometimes an hour just to say who I am and where I’m from and find a connection. It’s not just ‘in, what’s your problem, and out again’. ... If you don’t have it, it wouldn’t be right. And different, just different ways of working with whānau ...

This also led to a common conflict with the need for Māori workers to be visible in their community not being fully understood by managers;

We talked before about finding reasons to attend hui so much so that it was almost like, ... you went to that hui, it was about what? In your service line what mandates you to attend that? “No you can’t go”. ... we’ve explained it a couple of times, when Māori hui, because it’s down here it’s not often enough and when it is it’s covering all sectors that other things are spoken of, community things, up and coming things, people, trends, all sorts of things are shared, so the kaupapa aside: You’re being seen... support and participate, hopefully contributed and you can contribute by going to a hui because other Māori there don’t feel as isolated and maybe can support in a way that they can contribute more and be a bit more outspoken to the take and kaupapa. So huge struggles in terms of how you wanted to work.

Some of the participants would regularly go and visit other community groups to maintain their visibility and the perceived commitment to the community that that visibility implied.

Problems with other staff were a reoccurring theme. Management and Governance may be aware of the importance of Māori responsiveness but colleagues can be problematic;

I heard a statement and this woman was talking to a prospective carer and she asked the Māori worker there “how much Marry” they had in them and the person said they were Kahungunu and Kai Tahu and she said “Yes, but how much?”, and their response was “I don’t measure it”. Then she turned to the person she was talking to on the phone and said “They are about as Māori as you can get now a days”. So I sort of think that, even as a professional they’ve got really good at quoting back articles, but people don’t really understand. There is still lots and lots of ignorance.

Sometimes the organization was unaware of how important some of the programmes and events were to making a genuine and long lasting impact on a community and would refuse funding. One Government worker did some flax weaving as a way to pay for the

room one particular programme needed to run. Others found a great deal of support by managers who were committed to creating services and staff that were responsive to Māori and worked hard to create effective and positive atmospheres, but were sometimes surprised at the reaction of other staff who hadn't made that step towards a commitment;

We had to do presentations on Māori aspirations of the Treaty, and I tell you what, all those managers were there for us. They came and stood beside us, when we spoke, they came to the workshops and participated, at one stage I was talking to 200 people every day about the Treaty of Waitangi and that can be very emotive or contentious for people, and out of the corner of my eye I could see someone going "oh what's this crap about?" and we'd made these taonga and she was throwing them around on the table – well anyway that was kei te pai [fine] for me because that was one out of two people who were actually paying attention. So that was kei te pai, but back in the day with my tino rangatiratanga kaupapa [political activism] (laughs) I would have got my taiaha out. But afterwards when we evaluated the whole week, you know the Pākehā managers, I could understand were really upset with that happening, it was just a real big mamae [hurt] for them that that happened. I said it needs to happen. That's just a constant reminder to you and to me that the work's never finished.

Some found that there were no great tensions or that they were encouraging part of the journey;

For me, no, not currently... but I think the organisation is going where I want it to go. I haven't found any barriers, apart from the slowness of others in the management to move, to pick it up but they are.

We're practicing and using the Māori language. People seem to commit themselves to that. I don't look at it as tokenism, I look at it as exercising.

What other barriers and difficulties do you encounter in performing your role, if any?

Workload was seen as huge barrier;

I think the workload's too huge... too big, so that makes it really, really hard and just the resources to do things really, really well.

Not enough time for my family. Not enough time for my friends.

Another barrier was the way Māori workers were looked at by their colleagues;

The barriers. The role has never really been accepted, ever. ... From my European colleagues, my European social work colleagues.

When I started, one of the main hurdles was getting past the fact the only reason I got the job was because I was brown because everyone else was white. So it was the blatant racism. And my Pākehā colleagues were, you only got it because you were Māori. And at that stage in my life I hadn't been confronted with that before.

Some found that they were seen as a lesser form of professional and were moving into organisational structures that are strictly hierarchical;

They don't know what they don't know, and most of the professionals here are actually trained to be quite aristocratic and ethnocentric about the quality of their training... [you are] almost forced into that type of thinking because everything in the service because everything is based on what your actual profession is. So if you are speech language therapist you are a bit higher than an occupational therapist and just below a physiotherapist and a psychologist is right up the top. And a psychologist will have their own internal battles whether you are a clinical, a recreational, and a social psychologist an educational psychologist so there is all this ego stuff going on. And we are right at the bottom of the pay scale and the ratings of all those things and [names the Māori manager] is the only person in the management team that shares an office.

Sometimes this was because the Māori worker was seen as a threat, particularly if the presence of a Māori worker implied they weren't good enough or appropriate enough to work with Māori, that meant that Pākehā staff could be obstructive;

So there was an issue of clients. We have a qualification like she has, we are qualified to work with Māori, why do we need that role? So for years I just used to walk the floors and look for Māoris. Look for the names or the brown faces on the notice boards and go in that way, and then I'd say who I was, introduce myself, and just say "if there's anything you need please feel free to ask". And then Pearse was a Māori chaplain that was here, and he would start on maternity and do the same, otherwise say we have a Māori chaplain to visit you, not in a religious sense, just another brown face. If they agreed I'd give him their names and he would come. That's how he worked for probably three years and then I went to see if I could have access to Māori clients without having to walk 50,000 miles around the ward. That was a huge progress. So a group of people met – patient affairs, there was a lot of people met, got together.

To decide whether I was... and it was around the privacy. So I did get access and all that happened was that it was a push of a button so when Māori came into the hospital they were asked their ethnicity. If they identified as Māori

they were then asked “would you like to see the Māori – and I said don’t say Māori social worker, just say liaison person – and if they agreed I got their name. And if they said “no” I didn’t, and that was fine. But I did that for probably the next four years but I said this is still not right – when the people identified as Māori I got them, I want to ask them... they can tell me “I don’t want to see you” but I want to be the person to ask...

Another said;

There’s no tolerance of Māori processes here. I’m probably really personal here, but I personally think that they’re really fearful of their own inadequacies of how they can deliver Māori things, so what they basically do with that is they keep it very closed and they do it on the surface so they follow the process but there’s no real substance to what they’re saying and doing. So tokenism? Definitely, absolutely! Marginalised? Definitely! Hell yeah.

Cultural barriers and differences could also be a barrier;

We had training today, and we had a case study and it was about going to an FGC and obviously the person there was annoyed with the amount of whānau that come but don’t know the child and they’re saying that [what] they want is ‘significant whānau’. And there was another Māori staff member there and it was like “What do they define as significant?” “Someone who’s actually seen the child” - but we were talking about that afterwards and you go to a hui, connect that you’re actually related, there’s a definite connection there.

While some may explain it away as cultural differences other are more straightforward when identifying what the issue is;

In terms of the struggle within this Department it’s always been just with the racism really. People say they’re not racist... you know it’s subtle down here sometimes, and then you actually see people’s true colours and it comes out. Sometimes I don’t think it’s a bad thing.

There’s definitely intolerance to tikanga Māori. ... We do have aggrieved staff members who can’t see why they have to accommodate things that aren’t English mainstream. Westminster style, ... A white middle class environment need to be negotiated carefully. And you’ll see and feel and experience attitudes towards you that’s not your stuff” ...

I can’t go to the Māori specific hui, I can’t go and participate with other Māori ... why are you putting these barriers in front of me? ... They may have struggled with me as well to a certain extent, because certainly the Managers haven’t wanted Māori - identifiably Māori positions in the organisation so they’ve fought to have us assimilated ... what I put it down

to is my particular Manager doesn't understand another worldview. He only knows what he knows and until you're shown another possible way you can never move from that place. So, I suppose for me just being there is a difference and it may only be a small conduit.

Sometimes the blame could be put at the door of monocultural practices and the lack of flexibility of Western processes;

The process around getting 'koha' [money for a gift], ... and blinking as they say ... to you... "Is there a cost code?" "Are they a vendor already in the system?" "Oh look, if they're not a vendor already in the system then we've got to create one... and it just takes ages so we don't actually encourage people to do things if they're not a vendor"... frickin' vendor? What? It's a koha!! You're talking about community... you're talking about kaumatua... you're talking about the people this organisation's set up to assist... The most definite barrier was, in that organisational structure.

The tensions caused by these barriers can make progress difficult to manage and some find the difference between what things are, and what they should be, discouraging;

Probably the hardest thing that I cope with is just becoming impatient for change. Just being so impatient for change and knowing that the cogs in the Ministry move so slowly and that we've known these ideas all our lives. So, for some it's a new idea for them, but for us we've been thinking about them since 1987.

What are the factors that enable you to do your job well?

The most common response to what factors enabled them to do their job well, was being supported by their management;

Being supported within the team but also being supported from management as well and usually, I can't actually say I've been denied any professional development that I've wanted to go to, especially when things crop up in terms of Māori community or opportunities as they come – so that's been pretty choice.

Being supported. And it's not just here, but at the Regional level at Christchurch as well, and at the national level so that we've got this group of people – and we actually have this group of people throughout the whole country that are supportive.

Feeling supported at work for who I am and what I bring completely, whether that be my family supporting that I think it's important to attend a hui because it's a Māori specific hui or letting me be a 'drama queen' for five minutes.

Linked to the support of management is being given the space and the trust to do the job the way they know works;

We are lucky in that sense, we can go off to the Māori [events] ... as part of our liaison work, networking all the time, we might be working in the kitchen doing the catering but we are always promoting Māori education, and those opportunities.

Being supported by management and working in Māori teams were the two most important ways of enabling Māori workers to feel like they were doing a good job and allowed to do a good job;

I think you need to have a supportive working environment because it's pretty lonely if you're on your own. You probably work quite differently if you're on your own.

The good thing for me is that every Māori staff member who wanted to could meet together and everyone is on the same kaupapa [issue]. You know that you're part of a really good strong team because you're going to get on the same kaupapa, maybe at different places and in different ways, but that unity is really important

Support from other team members and being viewed as part of the team were also important;

The staff love it actually. When I first came, if you were going to the Marae, I'd have all these excuses and questions – people were really scared. But now not anybody, nobody questioned it.

They're really keen. The neat thing is that they are really keen and that just makes things a lot easier. We work across all teams and it's a bonus for the organisation because we're able to actually work across all the teams.

For those who may not be supported so much, getting their heads around the organisations processes was vital;

I'm getting better at processes, but I've got to get smarter still. I'm not as okay yet with processes as what my European colleagues are. There's sometimes blocks, so I've just got to be a wee bit smarter because by the time I get to where I think I'm going there's a block – I've got a detour and it takes

me a wee bit longer to get to where I'm going. But you need time to do those things.

Sometimes, however, they had to be creative in the way they got around the obstructiveness of their organisation and would try to do a number of things at once;

Were there things I had to hide that I did... Yeah. There most definitely were. And that would be maybe like taking a car, booking a car out and saying 'going to networking, Arai Te Uru Whare Hauora' but there was actually a hui on. Or to go up there and meet with a facilitator who was developing a programme and having a kōrero [talk] about content or something. A hui at Otakou, 'networking', or going there for the kaupapa that didn't fit inside my service line. Going to tangi [funerals], and sure, having a car booked out for 'X' but hei aha [never mind], ... you really had to work quite smart.

What are the positives and negatives of working for a Government agency?

The obvious positives of working in a Government organisation include the degree of resourcing, the pay and the security that comes from the money available to government organisations. These include the ability to travel and meet others in the same line of work;

Opportunity. I've had heaps of opportunities to travel, go to hui, conference hui, meet people. I'm part of a national advisory committee now with all the work that I've done with Kaitakawaenga Māori – we're meeting in December. So we set up an advisory group to the executive national team, part of that. I get to take a car home – got a car now. I've never had a works car – it's never bothered me. Had the opportunity to go to these conferences every year.

However, the ability to influence policy and service delivery and be in touch with which ways the winds are blowing was seen as far more important;

I think it's better to work with the bigger picture,

Working for the man. Staying in touch. I'm very good at keeping my friends close, keep my enemies closer. I'd rather know what's going on than not. Stay well in touch with what's happening in the scene. Well in touch with the first hits that our young ones get, you can occasionally help someone avoid having a lifelong misdemeanour attached to their name.

We don't compromise anything we do. If you don't believe in what you're doing, you make sure that you find ways to express it and to find ways to

change. I'd rather get on a committee and go to Wellington, and get on the National and change things, you know, at that level, rather than just sit here and take it.

One participant highlighted the personal development opportunities that working in a Government organisation provided;

So part of my ten year plan when I went there was to try and find a career that I could give myself to, get trained in, have some sort of something when I get to 50 and, part of that, I went there also to learn the system. I knew it was a system and I knew it was Pākehā and I knew there was heaps of reporting, I knew there was heaps of transparency required, I knew there was going to be heaps of collaboration, collaborative work with other Government agencies, multi-disciplinary and I wanted to know how the hell that works.

As would be easily predicted from a Māori community development point of view, the negatives were more often expressed than the positives. A commonly expressed negative is that as a worker for the Government you can be the target for the wrongs the Government has done in the past, that ironically you have been employed to prevent from happening again;

Because of the history of the department you get dumped on because it may be the first time to resolve those mamae [hurts] from years ago "I've had a couple of women who have had post-traumatic stress through that and they rant and rave and "it's not you [me] darling" ... and it's that whole history, so you wear the lot"

This perception of a history of Māori and Government being on different sides can affect the way other Māori colleagues view you;

Some of my mates that work within the field of "Māori for Māori", in health or education, sometimes their attitude - sometimes we have the hui on but you wouldn't hear about it till afterwards. Or just an invitation was sent out - it's nice that things are coming out and it's more open.

The mistrust towards Government workers sometimes means that a Government employee has to be very aware if they are perpetuating the same oppressive practices of the past;

I would hate to think that I was part of that, that I was a colluder.

There can also be suspicion about the authenticity of your own identity, because why would you work for a Government that has oppressed your people?

And I think the other thing is that a lot of Māori people see ... – oh you work for the Government so you're not real Māori. And we're not like that. We know that we work for the Government but the Government we work for has an obligation to deliver really good services... and we are real Māoris.

Sometimes you have to be on the Government side which can be personally difficult as one respondent could not be the frontline person for the Iwi in dealing with specific issues because of the potential for a conflict of interest. The backlash can also go two ways, you get it from your own people and then from your colleagues;

You feel – you're not accepted, I don't care what anyone says, you're not accepted and they tolerate me because they have to because I'm here and I'm not going to go away just to please them. And they don't enjoy, they don't feel, there should be any more Māori positions.

Sometimes the backlash from other staff can make it an uncomfortable workplace;

Two and a half, three years ago, we had a dinner... put a luncheon on for all Māori workers... had a wonderful response. Negative backlash... it was not worth doing it again ...people seem to think that something ... Māori are getting something more... [Now] we usually meet outside ..., BBQ's and things like that. But even some of the comments that they get further up the line... and they are comments, but people forget that those comments stick and they hurt.

The cultural differences were mentioned by some;

I guess being far outnumbered, pedagogy and your tikanga [culture], you know. You see things go wrong so many times in a day, people don't even know, they don't know what they're doing.

The most common gripe was the fact that Government policy never stands still;

Consultation on Māori policy and then it can change. Policy, legislation, change of Government.

I don't always like the politics that go with it and often I feel I'm on the back foot the whole time. By the time I catch up we're behind again.

This almost constant change means that workers can be hampered in what they can do for their community;

It's a bit scary... but the Ministry like all Government Agencies are really risk adverse because the policies are reflective of the Government which is whatever party is in power. Sometimes, as professional practitioners, we know that there's certain things we should and could be doing in terms of the way we deliver our services and that's often compromised by whatever the party politic at the time. It takes a lot, sometimes, to get your head around those things.

Another consequence of regular change is a Cabinet Minister can start consulting with Māori, even very good appropriate consultation, and then something else comes along and all the work done is thrown out, or worse, promises have been made which then are not delivered on;

So we'd have things like, making a difference to Māori, role models, taking the services to Māori – you know all those generic things. So, they put all these beautiful flowery aspirations, all very well, and deliver it to all these people, and there's no follow through! It's all very well delivering the work, we came up with these aspirations – and they got some feedback from people and, see for me, if you do something like that you've got to follow up! Still haven't heard what they thought, where they're going with some of the ideas that come up, where they're going with the aspirations they start with something new – get all pumped up and Māorified “nau mai, haere mai” [welcome welcome] [deliberately mispronounced] – “I'm a Māori now, I'm on the waka” [on-board] and then they don't want to follow through because to follow through is so much harder because you've got to live up to what you've said.

Other negatives were the inability of some organisations to action their responses to the Treaty of Waitangi, the inherent hierarchies in Government (although it must be said they also occur in Māoridom), how sometimes Māori are disrespected and how one worker felt that they were singled out by not allowing them to go to relevant events etc. One spoke of their anger when Pākehā colleagues do the required training and still show little advancement;

Some have taken the professional development money and still get my name wrong.

There are a number of different ways of dealing with the negativity, a couple of respondents suggested;

You can leave. As a Māori in a Government Agency, if you don't like it, you can leave.

Another was more positive and said;

I've never felt I've come across a barrier that I couldn't get around

Another found that the answer was to persevere;

The only way we can do things well is by doing things well... and getting up and arguing and fighting and combating and blaming won't get us anywhere. And I've learnt that – tikanga Māori... I've learnt that.

What expectations do Iwi and the Māori community have of your position?

The expectations of Iwi and the Māori community have been discussed at times previously in this chapter, however, there are specific differences with those that are Mana Whenua and those who are Mata Waka. A couple of the Ngāi Tahu (the local Iwi) workers, when referring to her own Iwi, spoke of the extra demands their wider relationships impose;

They have huge expectations. And I think when anything goes wrong in the hospital "it's your fault ... , 'cause you weren't there and let it happen"... whether I had anything to do with it or not. The poua and tauas [elders] had different expectations... and they want theirs sorted right away - and that's dead right – that is their right.

They call on your services quite a lot, it takes a lot of time.

Another Ngāi Tahu person, even when others are dealing with clients from her own Iwi, felt torn because they still felt they had a vested interest in the outcomes for whānau;

So they advertised for a placement for two wee boys. Because they were Kai Tahu, and they were also Kahungunu as well but they advertised locally first within the three runakas [tribal committees]. And so that was interesting, but I wasn't involved in that. I feel a bit torn at times and I know a lot of the families.

While some may find potential conflicts of interest others felt that working within their own tribal area was of benefit both to the organisation and the Iwi;

For me I have that other arm which is the Iwi. I can start working alongside and I try and compromise. I don't see any conflict... I'm still involved ... whether it's for here or Iwi and if Iwi meetings are during work time, that's fine, 'cause that's part of my job as well. I'm not being paid by the Iwi, but I'm paid by the Ministry.

Māori workers who are Mata Waka face a different set of expectations as they try and ingratiate themselves into a Māori community inside someone else's tribal territory;

Well, when I first started my kaitakawaenga Māori position I went to every hui – burnt myself out – I learnt from that you don't have to go to all of them. Or you can go... you may not be able to stay – you go and say Kia Ora to the right people and then make your exit... you go to the kitchen, help out, and then slowly make your exit out. Because the expectations are huge, but I believe you go to the ones that you can go to and you make sure you speak to the right people... its paying them respect. What I do though is make sure that I stay and connect with those people. You don't just turn up when I want something. Then, by the same token, they expect the same from me when they want something...

I've always been of the mind that irrespective of, and whichever kaumatua you talk to, no matter what event if Kāi Tahu came along and said "Kāore" [no] it wouldn't matter what it was, who was involved, how much whatever's gone into it, if Kai Tahu came along, that would be it. If they said "Kāore" we would have to... and that's friggin' awesome because I know that if Kāi Tahu went to Ngā Puhī it would be the same.

This outsider versus local relationship means that sometimes they have to go the extra mile and Mana Whenua expect Māori from outside to look after their people;

They will call on your services – know that they can tap in - most of them know that they can tap in. They'll ring, if we don't know the answer, we just pursue it until we do find the answer.

The relationship is often reciprocal though and once you have relationships it makes it easier to approach key people;

One person I do go talk with if I do want anything or need anything from Ngāi Tahu, is [name]. She gives me some sound advice, what you need to do, who you need to talk to and I always usually talk to her first.

Another found the expectation to be involved in a wide range of activities was part of the role, but also increased the effectiveness of their role;

So in terms of what matters, for me, is how do you build bridges back to that? Or, do I just leave it as it is and carry on what I'm doing? One way of building bridges that is, for me, to join Boards. So I'm now Chairperson of [a social service organisation], I've been on the Board. So engaging a Board in governance. Working with the Marae Council. Working with sub groups.

To what extent do you work using Kaupapa Māori philosophy or methods?

As mentioned in earlier chapters Kaupapa Māori is both a practice and a philosophy. One person tried to provide a Kaupapa Māori service within a main-stream position and found it a challenge. From the replies to the question, most seem to regard Kaupapa Māori as applying Māori cultural values in the situation;

I would like to think that you use it every day ... We have our mihi whakatau [official welcome] for our new visitors and staff when they come. We try to even create putiputi [woven flax flowers], more environmentally friendly, culturally friendly... we've even got an Oamaru stone carving, I don't know if you saw it when you came in. And when you look at Kaupapa Māori – well to me Kaupapa Māori means to me its Māori and others, so it's actually involving others and their uniqueness so on my wall I've got a mat and on that mat are things like taonga [treasure] that touches people that are on that mat to represent who they are. So to me that's Kaupapa Māori as well, not just everything that's Māori – acknowledging people's differences as well.

The more isolated workers found it;

Difficult when working alone not as part of a team, need the support and guidance of other Māori.

One respondent spoke about tensions in their own up-bringing and wondering what that meant for their practice;

I'm as hungry as can be for Kaupapa Māori. So I'd like to say 100% philosophical. But I know, deep inside me, that I have my mother's Iwi, my Pākehā side, so I'm not too sure about how truly Māori my philosophy is. I can only call on what I know.

Some questioned the rhetoric around Kaupapa Māori and organisations who were supposed to apply those principals, especially if they are performing for the funders;

I don't know 'cause I saw a lot of things up at [organisation's name] too and I could say it's safer where I am (and that's supposed to be a kaupapa Māori organisation) - because of the Goldie prints, you know?

Some found that using kaupapa Māori methods was a matter of context;

It's a combination really. It depends on what the whānau wants too. You know, like it depends on every individual case. It's kind of what you know and who you are.

It depends on the whānau and where they are and whether or not they actually want to acknowledge that they are Māori, some of them don't.

Even if the whānau may not say they want to engage in that way it can be a complex situation;

Despite that they're not acknowledging they're Māori, they might be totally behaving as Māori, so you need to adjust to each individual, but whatever, there's always a strong whanaungatanga and those basic values. However, when we work at the Kura [Māori medium school], its different – or the Kohanga Reo [Māori language pre-school]. It's a different environment.

There was only one person who spoke from a Kaupapa Māori Theory position, they said;

For me about the Treaty it's ensuring that people participate and it's about relationships. Forming a partnership, if you like, but it is about really engaging with those families. ... It's about not being prescriptive... because they have the 'window dressing' stuff that you do, but to me it's more about the power stuff, 'cause that's where we get it wrong about the Treaty, ... So it is about ensuring that [the] people make the decisions – so I'm very clear about what family decide and how to support them in that.

In what ways are you supported and encouraged by your organisation to practice the way you do?

There were some very mixed replies on how supportive organisations were. Some workers found others in their organisation openly hostile and that meant they had to strive and fight to succeed;

It hasn't been an easy journey. I mean and it was worthwhile getting all the e-mails, all the wee notes – the nasty racist remarks that were flying round – it was all worth it... it was really all worth it. ... [some were] written on the dust on the window sills – you know when you get a new building... really amazing.

They dealt with it by sticking to their processes;

[My] practice Framework no-one there has never been anyone that has challenged me. And depending on who the whānau is, I've had the whānau meeting the way they want it, whether it takes an hour, and that of course doesn't suit all the doctors – but they have to do it... cause I say it's not their meeting, it's the clients'.

Other workers also just rode it out and basically said “This is who I am, deal with it”;

We can bring our culture in here, we can laugh, and we do, sometimes we have to shut the door or they shut their doors.

Some found the organisation they worked for very supportive even if occasional people were not;

[There's] a tolerance and an acceptance from our peers and colleagues, because those that want to participate will and those that don't just stay away. And that's fine.

And our other bosses here, also, I think appreciate that those are the qualities we bring to them we are in our own unique place that we actually support them on their journey and that's something that's quite specific to us here and in what we're doing.

They make a lot of room for me and actually there's a lot of tolerance on the face of it. Even if behind it they disagree with what I'm doing”

Only one was unequivocal in the support that they received;

My boss has no problem with forking over money for koha or for kai money. He has no problem with me developing a budget to provide kai for hui outside my scope because he knows that it's actually about partnership building and building relationships.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the interviews with Māori working in Māori roles in Government organisations. It included the purpose and aspirations of their positions, barriers and enabling factors to achieving their aims, their use of Kaupapa Māori methods and the Treaty of Waitangi and the obligations they have to their organisations and Māori partners. From these discussions, the following Māori principles and processes were identified and will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

Humility, liaising, linking with Māori community, relationship building, whānau, whakawhanaungatanga, kanohi kitea, networking, tikanga, respect, respect for mana whenua, availability, engaging with community, using Māori models, partnership building.

These concepts will be compared with Phase Two of the research; interviews with workers from Māori service providers described in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Seven Māori Social Service Providers

The previous chapter reported on Phase One; a series of interviews with Māori implementing social policy in Māori roles in Government organisations. The purpose was to identify the principles of Māori directed practice in this sector and align it with the experiences of Māori workers working with Māori social service providers.

In preparation for the study reported in this chapter, I approached the ethics committee and got permission to extend my approval from Māori working in Government organisations to Māori working in organisations. I also changed the open-ended question format to focus on the positive using an Appreciative Inquiry approach which was described in the methodology section in Chapter Five. I invited them to tell a story by asking them the following:

I would like you to think about a time when, as a worker you had an exceptional experience – when you were most proud of being here doing this work. You knew that you were making a difference in the lives of people you were involved with. Think back and tell me a story about this experience.

They were then asked about what made this possible, who contributed to it, what the processes were and invited to think about three wishes for their organisation so they could have more exceptional experiences.

As a result this chapter will be written in a different format than the previous chapter. Instead of a process following responses to a set of orderly questions focusing on the verbatim replies from the research participants, this chapter distils the relevant principles from their narratives with the occasional story to highlight particular points.

For instance we are not going to focus on what providers do and the specific services they deliver, instead the focus is going to be on the underlying philosophies, actions, and processes that allow, enable and facilitate the delivery of these services. The intention throughout this is to answer the research questions; identify the Māori principles they use and how these are implemented. Through these interviews over 70 themes were identified. I sorted these into a number of different frameworks such as identifying the inputs, outputs, processes and outcomes of the ABCD framework (Barr & Hashagen, 2000). I also sorted the themes into what they did, how they did it, and why they did it

that way. Another perspective involved framing them as a look at community, organisational and relational factors.

After a number of experiments in categorising I organised the themes and responses around three basic issues:

1. The distinctiveness of Māori providers.
2. The strengths of Māori providers.
3. The tools, principles, values and processes that underpinned these approaches.

At times there was a degree of crossover as these were in some ways artificial distinctions, but it helps to organise the 70 plus themes in a manageable way. Another issue is that it can be a complex activity to ensure that individual's voices are heard, what I have tried to do is use the actual words of participants where appropriate while maintaining a consistent narrative. Despite this being the story I tell, I have endeavoured to include as many of the thoughts related to the 70 or so themes that I identified.

I have also chosen to not attribute the quotations as it would be too easy to work out who the participants were. I created this anonymity in the original versions of this chapter as I had included some negative comments about current and past employers. In the end, because this was supposed to follow an Appreciative Inquiry kawa (process), I decided to delete the negative comments, but still found that the process I had followed did not detract too much from the final product and so I decided to hold this particular group of research participants as anonymous.

Ten employees of Māori service providers were interviewed, seven men and three women. All were interviewed about their work with Māori Social Service Providers. In hindsight this is unusual in the Māori sector where most involved are women, this could be because of my connections and the men I know in the community, but it could also reflect a period of time when more men were getting into the field.

Findings

1. What was distinctive about Māori providers?

While it may seem simplistic to say that Māori providers provide health and social services, often the prime purpose is to target high risk populations and;

Fill the gap created by mainstream. Improving access, providing innovative programs like other Māori providers to capture high risk.

When comparing mainstream and Māori providers and the numbers they provide services for, one of the main things that can easily be overlooked is that the mere existence of these providers is designed not to compete with mainstream providers but to deliver services to Māori communities who are not well-served by mainstream providers. However, working in the NGO sector can be a cut-throat business with limited funding where a number of underfunded groups compete for existing funding.

Every funding is contestable [and] because it's a non-profit organisation, you're always on the back foot.

NGOs are often expected to do far more than Crown agencies, but with far less resources. Sometimes there is a continuing squeeze where they are expected every year to do more for the same cost or even less. One worker who started off in a Crown agency had her contract and job moved to a Māori provider;

I was employed full-time, we had a full-time exercise consultant and we also had a part-time dietician. The funding that came over with me, I was the only one that was employed, we had 30 [clients] in the hospital we had to do because that was quality not quantity. ... That was 30, the first year that I was here it's gone up to 65, this year it's 100 Māori. Less funding, more reporting.

This increased reporting came across through three of the workers who were also involved in various levels of management. Compliance was increasingly becoming an issue. It takes up a lot of time, energy and money, it can be expensive and there was a perceived bias and conflict of interest by the funder. Māori providers are often on yearly contracts with three year terms considered a luxury. Māori providers wanted long term funding to enable continuity and momentum;

I would separate funder from the auditor. I would have long term funding rather than three or four year funding, which is tied to a political term, meaning that they will give you money and they want outcomes in two years. I think the contracts need to be over a generation. Ten years. I think that will enable momentum.

Compliance was also seen as a negative because rather than supporting organisation and looking at what they do well, it often concentrated on the negative when what organisations were after was something positive or helpful;

It's compliance not "What do you need? How can I grow you? How can I support you?" and I think Māori organisations struggle because it feels like the Ministry look for that.

This at times led to distrust and one worker managed to get another Māori person to audit them;

Well we got audited ... they had the auditors come in, and I said 'can we have a Māori guy to do our audit?' and the Manager said 'oh why is that?' and they said 'Well blah blah blah blah blah' ... And he was good, but he was toothless. You know he worked for the 'man' and I was like 'mate, this is about a review, this isn't about auditing.

Interestingly it was compliance and auditing that was seen as stifling innovation in Māori providers. The process of constantly jumping through the hoops that the auditor presented was discouraging and constraining rather than allowing organisations to be creative in the ways that addressed emerging issues.

All this increasing compliance, costs and increased expectations hampered the ability of some Māori providers to pay competitive wages. Staff were far better off financially working for the Government than Māori. It was not uncommon for Government agencies to poach workers who had the skills and networks from Māori providers.

One of the distinctive differences between Māori providers and Government agencies is the expensive delivery of Government services. Community groups can often respond much quicker, more cheaply and more efficiently;

When I look at the time and energy in terms of the people resources, in terms of the kaimahi Māori FTE [Māori worker], you know putea [funding] that went into a 3 day event on this side compared to a 3 day event of this side,

far out, this is just ridiculous – however, when it comes to being able to pull in the people, because of their community involvement, the kanohi ki te kanohi [face to face] – the kanohi kitea [seen face] that whole korero [discussion], they would come. And the putea [money] that was spent over here and over here – there's just no comparison – total waste of time. In terms of putea [funding] this is like the community action stuff.

Another distinction of Māori providers is that a number of Māori workers said their programmes often included Māori events. These include using celebrations and events such as Matariki (Māori New Year) to piggy back their services on. They are often seen as positive Māori celebrations rather than the many hui targeting deficits in the Māori community such as health and social problems;

Because there's not a lot of events where you go to the marae, or anywhere else where it's not about addressing a kaupapa [issue]. It's either about you know, we're too violent or [we're] this or we're that, the STIs, or whatever. Its' never about just celebrating ourselves. So I think Matariki is a big deal. And it should be a big deal.

Māori providers are distinctive in that because they are actually involved and part of the community they serve, they are able to bring that community onto the take (issue) or kaupapa (purpose);

If sites that capture what the Māori community ask. My experience ... they will always respond and they'll respond with an initiative and often it's innovative and experimental, in terms of it's going to work or not but you know what attracts your community.

Māori models of practice are not only expected they are essential because they aren't bound by the conservatism of Government departments and managers, making these services more holistic, incorporating not only socio-political aspects, but spiritual and cultural aspects. Holistic approaches work well with young people. A respondent talked about how they include youth and deliver programmes;

That you balanced it out with korero [discussion], with physical activity, with a kai [meal].

Māori providers often also see processes of decolonisation, defined by L. Smith (1999) as understanding how we were colonised, rejecting some of the social and political impacts of that colonisation and regaining a greater degree of authenticity of Indigenous

expression. Māori workers saw a decolonising of not just individuals but also organisational structures and processes as vital. One was involved in delivering programmes in schools and marae where they used Whakaari (dramatic performing art) highlighting a pathway to decolonisation by showing a history of pre-colonisation through to post-colonisation;

If you want to sit in a world working from a totally Kaupapa Māori perspective, I believe you really have to de-colonise yourself, there's no compromise.

By being part of the community, they have created Māori places and spaces where Māori community can go, participate openly and freely be Māori and express themselves in Māori ways;

You know, a place where Māori can be Māori, where we can speak and do those things that are of us... we pay them peanuts to do that.

Māori providers are also able to provide access to tohunga (experts in the Māori world) because of the trust and networks they can access. Providers;

Can pull in big players, ... tohunga [experts], whakairo [carving], hau ora [health], oranga [well-being], matakite [seers], raranga [weavers] ... [their] resources are just nationwide and lots of those people have been down here so the community's benefitted in that way too.

Because of NGOs place in the Māori community where they live in amongst their whānau, and the whānau of friends and colleagues, they are often first on the scene of emerging issues and have a vested interest in early intervention because it is their community.

2. What are the strengths of Māori providers?

Healing whānau was one of the strengths of Māori providers. Part of this was restoring people to the cultural values of their ancestors, especially with males, helping channel their aggression and resistance to oppression into positive areas;

I help our whānau get back to the way of our tūpuna [ancestors].

Reputation is very important, reputation for getting things done, for quality of service to clients and operating in a way that was safe for Māori. As a consequence clients often

have high expectations often with little understanding of what workers can and cannot do;

Because it's a Māori organisation they expect all sorts of things. We're the "be all and end all" of every service, be it WINZ, or the doctors, podiatrist all that sort of thing. So sometimes they get confused in to what my position is as opposed to everyone else in the community. I suppose, because they know it's a Māori organisation they expect a lot more, they don't realise sometimes what the contracts actually are and what they mean.

This can be seen as a negative as well as time consuming, especially when Government contracts are very narrow and specific. Concepts of support such as awahi (support by embracing) and tautoko (support by advocacy) were seen as strengths, because in a broader sense they were supporting Iwi, whānau and community through supporting whānau, supporting tangihanga [funerals], supporting schools, supporting marae. Going to tangihanga not just to pay respects, but to work at the back of the marae. There were often identifiable organisational skills such as the ability to organise wānanga [symposiums] and hui. But supporting the community was possible because of the number one strength identified in Māori providers that was mentioned by most of the participants, and that was flexibility;

It's the freedom and flexibility I think more than anything. To be able to go along to hui, and we meet as an organisation with other Māori providers.

Flexibility to take programmes around the regions. But more importantly the flexibility to react to situations or crises in the community;

One thing about the ability of being a Kaupapa Māori NGO is being able to react in an instant, being able to pull all the pins and stop work and call a hui, or attend a hui, or attend a tangi.

Māori providers in contrast to many Government providers have a;

'Finger on the pulse' philosophy that they can do that at the 'drop of a hat' where Government organisations with thousands and thousands of dollars, two months, three months later you're still waiting for them to come to the party and to provide some support either to the grieving or those that are working in the area.

The flexibility to drop everything when an emergency or crisis arises, mobilise resources and be there, often for hours, appears to be ingrained into Māori providers;

This is what's happening in community and we have to respond, like yesterday.

Yeah... I think it is that, their ability to rise up and meet the needs of Māori community.

To do this it requires committed workers, workers who have;

A huge heart and would do actually anything for anyone and be really flexible if at all possible, in terms of pushing the boundaries, in terms of being able to assist anyone in terms of need and, you know, the spin-off is also that you do have an organisation that 24/7, if you could organise it, they would be there. It's that flexibility of NGO but being quite passionate about their Kaupapa Māori.

Some of the examples provided about meeting emergency needs included ongoing street violence and a suicide epidemic. It requires staff who are not only able but willing to drop their usual work to meet the need of the community, because it is their community. They aren't there as advisors or consultants but as part of the community. They are truly engaged as opposed to just meeting the requirements of their job description.

Also Māori providers bring a consistency as a service and also with their workers;

So consistency with staff being there and not huge changes to staff has been I think worked in our favour and is part of our success. The way in which we work with one another and have a supportive environment to work in, I think works well.

Consistent commitment to Māori development is also important;

But the value in it was maintaining some sort of consistency, maybe not so much the delivery, or maybe it is the delivery or services, but having a consistent kaupapa within the mahi [work].

Consistency with staff and consistency of the kaupapa (issues) coupled with longevity was highlighted by three participants. This can occur when there is leadership;

And I think that is a lot about who's leading the helm and the passion of that person at the helm. They know they get treated respectfully. They know that their needs, I think, are managed as best this organisation can and they know that there's a good feed!

More importantly is the commitment of the workers themselves. Many workers had got involved in their organisations because they had basically been shoulder tapped. They had been identified in the community as reliable people and then been asked to apply for a job because their potential had been identified.

Some had become involved as a way of reclaiming an identity that had fallen away;

Part of coming home was about reclaiming those things that were Māori for me, reconnecting up with my whānau and then a part of that was about putting something back into community.

Others saw an important part of being able to draw others back to the culture;

It seems to me that the purpose for that was to be a being a link or a bridge between the community and things Māori.

It was particularly useful for working with males;

We used mau rākau [weaponry] in terms of hooking our youth, and those that were at risk. It wasn't going to help everyone but it was a way of connecting and giving the youth the perception that they were definitely unique.

Most workers were not just interested in their pay cheques, because Mainstream agencies pay more than N.G.O.s, but workers often cut their teeth on N.G.O.s.

The most common strength identified by Māori workers was the self-sacrificial nature of working in the Māori community where workers went the extra mile for clients. This could involve setting aside their usual work to support a kaupapa all the way to sacrificing their own time, money, energy and whānau time for the benefit of the others, the kaupapa or the organisation.

Money was not a big attraction, the nature of the work was;

As with any [Māori] organisation it's basically voluntary. You have to have a person at the helm who has a passion for what they're doing.

Their commitment to the kaupapa of the organisations they were involved in hung over a number of them;

But every time I moved off it has been a risk for the organisation then I go trotting back and try and keep it on the track, but it is my thing, it's my passion

One of the workers spoke of how the commitment to Māori development was their driving force;

Cause I think you don't get involved ... for money, you know? There's no great big financial material reward. What the reward is... that we maintain a place ... for the coming generations. That has to be enough to sustain that passion.

Another said;

You're not in this organisation for money or material gain, you're in here for the other stuff.

This means that people who are working for Māori providers really are sacrificing their incomes for the benefit of their community.

All these health people, like health promotion and stuff, ... they're getting all this money but the [organisation] up the road can only hire people with hearts, big hearts.

One of the injustices is that workers in Government providers are paid more but have less obligations to the Māori community;

It's been really hard on staff you know, NGOs don't pay good wages, as you probably know. I think that mainstream, Māori in mainstream get away with a lot more in terms of not being accessible to communities.

Māori providers appeared to be very committed to the Professional development and almost continual training of their staff. Sometimes this was because Māori staff, although enthusiastic, lacked professional and cultural knowledge;

I wasn't au fait on tikanga, I couldn't speak Māori at that time, I had no basic understanding as I do now.

In terms of some of the responsibilities I was given early on there within the organisation... sink or swim... learnt really fast and learnt through my mistakes, but sadly I'd hate to think that any of that was reflected in any of the individuals I was working with in terms of unsafe practice.

Therefore there has been an ongoing need to upskill Māori staff in basic language and tikanga as well as the expertise in the fields in which they work which lead on to developing leadership capabilities. It does mean that their colleagues get poached by other Māori providers, and especially by Government organisations. Māori providers can be some of the top organisations for training competent Māori workers.

That's also about developing individuals at a skills, knowledge base, and then being open enough to see those people move on to wherever their passion is at that time.

The expectation is you grow the talent and you hope to keep it within the organisation because it adds value to the organisation. So it's not good for the organisation itself that people become skilled and knowledgeable enough to continually move on, but for the individuals and for the whole aspiration and philosophy of [the organisation], it's great.

The spinoff is capable males with some training and some 'nouse' and have moved on to other opportunities that have come along.

Some of the time there was tension especially when young workers came with recognised qualifications and thought they therefore knew more than the long term community people;

Cause I mean, you can understand that young people want to flex their muscles and think they are far more qualified because they've done the hard yards at University, but not the hard yards in life.

We have looked at what is distinctive about providers and what their strengths are. This last section will look at how Māori providers do it, namely the tools and principles that underpin their approaches and the values and processes that allow Māori providers to work effectively in the Māori community.

3. The Principles, and Processes that Underpin the Approaches of Māori Providers Approaches

Identifying the principles, values and processes that underpin Māori providers is one of the key objectives of this research.

Kaupapa Māori

One of the ways Māori providers are able to do what they do is by following a community development approach to Kaupapa Māori (see Chapter Two);

Well for me, Kaupapa Māori is Māori people defining and controlling that which is... so it's based on the values and beliefs of that Māori person at that time, or that group, and that's it.

As also mentioned in Chapter Two, this perspective is different from many in academia, but follows the expectation of those working in the Māori community. Another participant took this idea further;

I think that Kaupapa Māori is about us and the way we do it, the way we interpret our world, our values and beliefs, I'm really clear... my Ngā Puhitanga says I will not do karakia [lead prayer]. My Tainuitanga, or my Haurakitanga will say it's ok, but then I have to work that out for myself. My Ngā Puhitanga says I can't poroporoaki [call farewells], however, when I'm in a place where I'm required to do the karanga [calls of traditional welcome] then I will use my Haurakitanga which allows me to do that. So I'm still interpreting, for me, what is my stuff and the tensions just have to be relieved because I'm basically living in those two different interpretations of Kaupapa Māori.

This statement, apart from making Kaupapa Māori relativist, and being an expression of tino rangatiratanga (tribal self-determination), shows some of the tensions Māori workers have in the modern world, maintaining a number of sometimes conflicting values and beliefs while still being effective. It is a discussion we will have in Chapter Ten, about which “hat” workers wear in different contexts. In this case the participant has a justification when she would do something her Ngā Puhitanga tribe and relatives might object to, she can reply, well on that day I was wearing my Tainui tribal hat and so had to fulfil their expectations on that day. (As an aside I believe this is dictated by whose tribal territory we are standing on that day. In Otago, in Ngāi Tahu territory, she can wear her Ngā Puhitanga hat, her Tainui hat or her Hauraki hat. When she is in Tai Tokerau, because she is standing on Ngā Puhitanga whenua (land), she can only wear her Ngā Puhitanga hat.)

There is one further comment that I would like to add which contradicts the Appreciative Inquiry approach, but is an important point. That Kaupapa Māori providers don't always live up to the values they espouse. There were comments about bullying, micro-managing and not being tika (culturally correct) about the way some people interacted with others. This was an Appreciative Inquiry process and I am sure I could have dug up more if I had been so inclined, but wanted to stick to the process by looking for solutions rather than problems.

Engagement

The ability to engage was a dominant theme of Māori providers. Their ability to utilise whānau, pakeke (mature adults) and kaumatua in their programmes was essential. The involvement of kaumatua was seen as very important to reach across all age groups, this meant taking care of the very young and the old. Kaumatua were important for underpinning Iwi involvement and also helped connect the Iwi to the younger age groups because of the dislocation of young people. One of the participants was a kuia (woman elder) who had long-term involvement in the community which gives her the opportunity to support rangatahi (youth) and to be someone that rangatahi could seek and consult.

A focus on rangatahi was important and always seemed to involve kai (meals). Treating them as whānau and linking to them to kaumātua was always important. Māori providers in Dunedin were also good at providing opportunities for rangatahi and university students to become involved in the community.

The ability to engage across the age groups provide considerable opportunities and moments;

But what turns people, what turned me as a young boy, and like all my other mates too, were significant moments with role models, be they Pākehā, or Māori or Polynesian they were people that cared, and you remembered them eh?

A characteristic of social service providers is the leadership and pre-eminence of women. While not a bad thing, this meant that at times tāne tautoko tāne, (men supporting men) needed to take place. One of the women respondents said;

This group that... about Māori men run by Māori men and with support from women, and whatever that is, has just got to be great for our people, and whānau, Hapū and Iwi.

Whakawhanaungatanga

Whakawhanaungatanga or whanaungatanga was the process mentioned by nearly all the participants as their principle way of engaging with clients, colleagues and the community.

With clients;

I also enjoyed the fact that we practised whanaungatanga, that the boys felt like they could really kōrero about some things that were close to their heart, and I wonder if they ever got a voice to do that anywhere else.

The position of older Māori male workers was important and the role modelling able to take place through tuakana-teina (older and younger sibling/cousins) type relationships where it is seen as a “leading by example” process where it is not necessary to tell people off, you just have to show them by your example and change is often observed;

The main thing was about being able to whanaungatanga and it was definitely about tuakana and teina relationships.

But if there was a connection could be made through some of those processes of whakawhanaungatanga... just being able to identify a waka [ancestral canoe] or being able to just say “Yeah I’ve been where you’ve been and I know what it’s like” ..., it seemed to help to make a connection and then we could start some of the work.

Whakawhanaungatanga was used across Iwi where even similar life experiences can be used as points of whakapapa (genealogical) connectivity;

And you’re drawing from peoples’ experiences and finding out, as a Ngāi Tahu down here isolated away from some of the more expensive sort of marae complexes and te reo and all the rest of it, coming into knowing that some of the people had some of the same experiences.

Whakawhanaungatanga was not just about making connections for the sake of it but using it as basis for working with one another, not just a whakapapa whānau (blood family), but a whānau of mutual interest;

You know the value was in the ability to make those connections that could actually bring about the hope that things could change, for our people and for our families that were here and would ultimately lead to something bigger for community as a whole.

All the different people you can't single it out to any one as much as to say simply all the community connections that have been made, but that's what whānau and that's what community are all about.

Networking

Engagement, networking and whakawhanaungatanga can all come under the heading of the same Māori word but I wanted to distinguish between the three concepts and highlight some nuances;

My one on one with Māori community, be that with individuals, whānau, Hapū, Iwi, roopu [group]. What can I say? That's the value of this organisation and it also challenges, I think, my networks if you like. It keeps you honest.

The ability to network across all sectors to the benefit of the service and the worker was seen as essential;

It was all about partnership, about working with each other and doing all these things.

Networking is a service that is about getting out there and talking with Māori about what's available here but network also gives Māori community access to individuals and groups and resources that, if we weren't out there they wouldn't possible have that access.

Networking with others in the Māori community was of benefit to the service provider and other Māori groups;

We've lent time, we've lent people and lent whatever, to another kaupapa with another organisation that sits quite close to our heart.

It promotes joint ventures and partnerships and an ability to pool resources often through long term relationships with other Māori groups. Good networks were essential, both networks in the community and networks amongst the mainstream services that had good access to funding;

It's opened new networks right throughout New Zealand. I've got good friends that I can network in Rotorua, Wellington, Christchurch, West Coast. So it's opened up the whole whenua [country] to me really. With my links. And even into the police force, with senior sergeants, detectives, commissioners that I can sit down and have a really good one on one conversation with. So it's given me the opportunity to walk proudly not only in the Māori world, but in the Pakeha world as well.

Kotahitanga

Kotahitanga (working with a unity of purpose) where workers within their organisations, as well as outside of it, was a valued approach to work, team work, where;

Everybody's on the same kaupapa.

Mana

The concept of mana was also highlighted that encouraged and received respect and discipline. Sometimes the mana of the worker was able to push through initiatives because of the respect and trust they had earned through their hard work and commitment;

It is based on the philosophies of mana atua, mana tangata and mana whenua. That's about the spiritual concepts, the mana whenua (the resource concepts) and the mana tangata (people concepts), and how those three concepts interact and integrate with each other on a daily basis".

Tikanga

Tikanga (correct processes), particularly in relation to Māori cultural beliefs, was considered vital. Having a “staunch tikanga” was a badge of pride to some organisations and workers. Others valued a simple straightforward approach to tikanga especially with young people.

The value base it supplied was a guiding principle;

If you understand what the tikanga of things are then... Kaupapa Māori organisation, you should have enough clues.

However, there were times when the younger ones breached tikanga and so it sometimes needed to be thought through how to approach it;

I looked yesterday, and there's a big fruit bowl in there... guess what's in it? Condoms! I'll wait till the meeting on Monday and if I have to I'll smash that bowl so that it's never be used again... and sometimes in Māori organisations, they think they're doing well, in fact it's not tika [correct].

Within this discussion on tikanga there was also a discussion on the fluidity of what different tribes consider male and female elements. This was complex and often reverted back to the lead from the tribe in the area and the context of the issue, and which “hats” the participants are wearing, as mention previously in this chapter, in regards to Ngā Puhitanga etc.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Tino rangatiratanga (chieftainship, autonomy), relating to Māori custom in Māori settings came up a number of times;

I guess it's about, manaaki [caring]. It's about tino rangatiratanga, in a truer sense, not as a political movement but as a personal movement. It is about whakapapa in the sense that, everyone who has come into this place irrespective.

I believe in a Tino Rangatiratanga focus, and that's about having the mental, the spiritual, and the physical determination. I should be able to determine as a Māori my best mentally, physically, spiritually, without any impedance or hindrance from anywhere else in the world. I also believe that to be a good healing process for our people, and from my viewpoint in terms of what I know about mauri [spiritual ethos], I believe that all Māori should know that.

Wairuatanga

Wairuatanga (a form of spirituality) and karakia (prayer and incantations) were inherent through nearly all the interviews. Being open to what are sometimes colloquially called “wairua moments” i.e. moments when they looked to the spiritual realm, play a big part in the principles of Māori practice. One such story I will relate more fully as an example. I've decided, with permission from the research participant Dennis Mariu, to name him so that the weight of the story can be given its due. He was travelling with a colleague who was trying to find who his father was;

We were just going over saddle hill and there was this track and the name of this track was called Hinemihi. My co-worker asked me 'what's that track

about Dennis?’ and I said “Bro I really don’t know, but I know it’s got something to do with you”.

After following coincidence after coincidence they came to an old Māori woman;

She told us to sit down, and she goes flat tack in Māori, she turns and she says to my mate, ‘I’ve always wondered why they kept me on this planet, now I know why. Because I’m the only one that knows your whakapapa!’ and she’s pointing to him. Because when he went in he asked if she knew his father she said ‘Yes I did know him.’ ‘Yea he was brought up around here and blah blah blah, but that’s not his real name, his father was adopted from another family. But that wasn’t his main name either, because his father was adopted from another family. So in order to find out his true name, she went back through the process of when he was whangai’d out [adopted].

It was freaky eh, and then I said to her ‘Ko wai tō ingoa kui?’ [what is your name] and she goes ‘Hinemihi’. Yea the hairs on our back were starting to stand up and everything.

Many Māori workers can tell you of these coincidences, these “wairua moments”, because the event can be so extreme that they were not viewed as coincidences.

Mauri

Mauri (life force) is an increasingly important principle in working with people and is a difficult concept to translate. I therefore will include a long kōrero (explanation) from a participant who used the concept of mauri as their defining practice;

It’s not about people, it’s not about disliking people, its more challenging people. It’s about challenging behaviours or people that perpetrate or violate a life force, whether it’s Māori, it doesn’t matter who they are. It’s not about the ethnic races, it’s about behaviours from those people that violate mauri. I come totally from a mauri perspective, of how I view the world, and for me, everybody has our individual mauri, our own life force. The natural world around me has their individual life force; mountains, trees, birds, water, sea, rain, stars planets. My journey and my challenge to myself is that first of all, take care of my own mauri or my own life force, and what are the roles and responsibilities that are attached to that. And the second part is that once I establish my own roles and responsibilities, then I go out and create relationships with other mauris that exist in my universe, like people, and once I establish a connection, find out my roles and responsibilities with that connection to make sure that I am not violating the mauri of that person”. ... “When you violate mauri, you violate mana, and you violate tapu, and you violate everything that is connected. ... Instilling those philosophies into our people and making them become aware of them. You know, clients that walk through the door, come with a mauri, or energy

that's ready to be ignited. It's just not knowing how to do that. I consider my role as being able to ignite that mauri, by not cloning them, but in my counselling and education sessions that I run for the men, providing them with information that they can take away for themselves. Yea, igniting their mauri so that they can breathe the breath of their ancestors, all the senses feel it, smell it, taste it, know it. And I believe that's my role.

Other Values and Principles

To summarise some of the other values and principles we can include - bring hope for change, respect for the land, humility, respect;

Those same things that we try to... the underlying things were the intrinsic. The underlying things – manaaki, tautoko, aroha... all of those... tuakana, teina. I mean, those were the things that we were teaching.

Also maramatanga (enlightenment), mōhiotanga (knowledge), as a way of ensuring change;

That there was enough of an understanding mōhiotanga, that a person could not then go back and do what they done because they'd been enlightened enough to know that what they were doing was wrong.

The value I had in that was to do that in a way that was tika and pono or that was professional.

The philosophy of watching out for one another and supporting one another;

Ko au, ko koe, ko koe, ko au (I am you and you are me), and we used that all the way through.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the interviews with ten Māori service providers which were assembled along three main strands:

1. The distinctiveness of Māori providers.
2. The strengths of Māori providers.
3. The principles and processes that underpinned these approaches.

From this we identified the following main principles of their practice;

Kaupapa Māori, engagement, whakawhanaungatanga, tuakana-teina, tāne tautoko tāne, whakapapa, networking, kotahitanga, mana, whānau, tikanga, tino rangatiratanga, wairuatanga, mauri, respect for the whenua, humility, respect, manaaki, tautoko, aroha, maramatanga, mōhiotanga, ko au, ko koe, ko koe, ko au, and as mentioned earlier in the chapter –kanohi kitea and kanohi ki te kanohi.

Chapter Eight Preliminary Discussion

The fundamental research question of this thesis is; what are the cultural principles of Māori directed practice, examining Māori principles that are deeply embedded in the way that Māori workers prefer to work to make their work effective? To help find the answer to this question, two groups of Māori workers were interviewed. The first group consisted of ten Māori working in Māori roles in Government organisations; the second included ten Māori who worked for Māori social service providers.

Even though they are employed by different styles and types of organisations, there are commonalities in the preferred way of working. This chapter will involve a preliminary discussion on the findings of these two projects in preparation for the third research phase, including a justification for why the research did not stop here.

Direct comparison of the results from Phases One and Two may initially have seemed problematic because of the difference in styles of interviewing, i.e. one was a straight qualitative “no holds barred” type of interview where tensions and barriers inherent in Government departments were deliberately sought. The second study was based on an Appreciative Inquiry approach that deliberately sought to avoid mentioning tensions and barriers as a seemingly negative approach that could undermine respondents’ confidence in their work. (Interestingly possibly undermining Māori workers work in Government organisations did not seem to be a problem to me, a possible weakness in the ethics of the study).

While the Government workers interviews did have a focus on any disjuncture between the aspirations of the Māori workers and the organisational priorities identifying more barriers compared to the Māori providers, it soon became clear that this was not the problem it initially posed. It was not difficult to find answers to the research question because the study questions were not necessarily asking directly what principles they used, instead both sets of approaches were to provide an opportunity for those principles to be revealed.

In some sense both Phases in their respective chapters discussed different things. However, while allowing their voices to be heard, it was not that difficult to sift through

the Government organisation section (Phase One) looking for a way to structure responses in a similar way to the Māori provider chapter (Phase Two). Namely to provide a comparison by dividing the responses in to three main sections, firstly the distinctiveness of the sector, secondly the strengths of the sector and finally the principles and processes that both sectors use.

1. The distinctiveness of Māori providers and Government organisations

The distinctiveness of Māori providers, as gleaned from the interviews with workers from Māori providers, mention the targeting of hard to reach populations and finding ways to improve these groups' access to services as a major element. Funding can make this difficult as they were often competing with other services for money in an environment where nearly everything is contestable and where they are expected to do far more for less in comparison to Government organisations. This is often because the community can do things cheaper than the Government because workers are often paid less. However, this lack of funding and more flexible structure means that Māori providers often have to be creative and innovative. They see the use of Māori models as essential, holistic and important in creating Māori spaces and organisations. These spaces are an oasis for some and a place where other Māori can reaffirm and strengthen their identity, where the involvement of Marae and Māori events such as Matariki, tangihanga and hui are intrinsic to the way Māori providers operate.

The distinctiveness of Government organisations is primarily based around their role as the representative of the Crown, the Treaty partner. This creates opportunities for partnership with the Māori community despite the Crown always holding the power. Policy is transient with regular change which depends on the Government in power (although this can change too with a change of Minister) or a simple change in policy. The processes are distinctly Pākehā and expected to be followed where any Māori processes are add-ons rather than intrinsic; where a pōwhiri (traditional welcome) or a waiata (song) is enough for them to congratulate themselves on how much they have accommodated Māori. Commitment to Māori processes or communities can be reluctant and fleeting. Despite the impression that policies are immovable, often it may be at the discretion of gate keepers with some, whom it seems, are uncomfortable and unfamiliar with Māori processes. While this can be portrayed as an aversion to risk, it is believed

that it is more linked to ignorance and racism because other managers could still be supportive and empowering.

Māori, as the minority, are always having to negotiate their access. There are high workloads for Māori workers because of the accountability to the Government and their community but working for the Government does give workers the opportunity to work on the bigger picture. However, increased resources do bring with them increased expectations from the Māori community of being able to do something about the issues they face.

2. The strengths of Government organisations and Māori providers

The strengths identified by workers in Māori service providers does provide a slight overlap with the previous section on distinctiveness, but some is worth repeating. Flexibility is key, especially when dealing with emerging issues, as they often have their finger on the pulse of the community. Government can be slow and heavy handed when dealing with Māori but Māori organisations, because they are part of the community (in fact sometimes are the community they serve), have structures and leadership styles that allow and promote flexibility. Their commitment and ability to involve whānau, support Māori community, be involved in tangihanga and provide continuity, set them up as key players in the community. Being part of the community means that are often called on to sacrifice their own time and money. They often provide access to traditional Māori resources such as tohunga (experts), rongoa (traditional medicine) and expressions of Māori cultural such as mau rākau (traditional weaponry). Part of this is a commitment to processes of decolonisation and reclaiming of a Māori identity for some, and a place to express their cultural life and values for others.

Māori providers appear to place a high value on continuing professional development. The recompense workers for Māori providers get, is often not great so they have to be committed to stay and this is a valuable asset to both the organisation and community.

Government organisation strengths are reinforced by their ability to access resources that they often hold a monopoly over. This means that they can still work with marginalised groups through Māori units in their departments. The availability of resources such as money, departmental cars, travel and conferences is valued and their systems and

processes are well resourced. Also recognised is the professionalism of some departments. Non-Māori staff are usually qualified but that doesn't ensure competency (although professional organisations are often updating their competency expectations). One of the key comments was that if managers are supportive of their Māori staff, they provide a buffer for Māori workers to work more effectively.

A key part of the resourcing of Māori workers is the ability to get professional training that can then be used for the benefit of the community. It also leads to the increased skill and development of the Māori workers. Government Māori workers tend to do more professional development that leads to qualifications whereas the Māori provider worker training appeared to be more short courses that don't necessarily add up to better pay.

3. The principles and processes that underpin the approaches of Māori workers in both government organisations and Māori providers

At the end of Chapter Seven the following principles and processes were identified for workers involved in Māori providers: Kaupapa Māori, engagement, whakawhanaungatanga, tuakana-teina, networking, kotahitanga, mana, tikanga, tino rangatiratanga, wairuatanga, mauri, respect for the whenua, humility, respect, manaaki, tautoko, aroha, maramatanga, mohiotanga, ko au, ko koe, ko koe, ko au, kanohi kitea, kanohi ki te kanohi.

These principles and processes can be divided into three clear groups:

The first group is related to building and maintaining relationship, these include; engagement, whakawhanaungatanga, networking, humility, respect, manaaki, tautoko, aroha, ko au, ko koe, ko koe, ko au, kanohi kitea, kanohi ki te kanohi and tuakana-teina.

The second group are cultural values and concepts such as; tikanga, tino rangatiratanga, wairuatanga, kotahitanga, mana, maramatanga, mohiotanga mauri and respect for the whenua.

The third group is the overarching philosophy of kaupapa Māori as ideology, as theory and as practice.

If we compare these with Māori principles and processes that Government workers used we find a close alignment: Humility, liaising, linking with Māori community, relationship building, whānau, whakawhanaungatanga, kanohi kitea, networking, tikanga, respect, respect for mana whenua, availability, engaging with community, using Māori models and partnership building.

Many of these, in word and concept, are identical. It seems that Māori workers interviewed, whether they work in Governmental organisations or Māori providers, work from the same cultural base using almost identical principles, values and processes. The inference is that most, if not all, Māori workers are working towards Māori advancement and Māori development. This may be because to identify yourself as Māori and work in Māori roles in Government organisations may mean that you are consciously standing up for Māori culture and development and, by necessity, using Māori cultural values, principles and process to do that. In retrospect it is self-evident and explains why some who work in Government organisations also claim to be working under Kaupapa Māori.

Therefore, from the two studies we can see that Māori principles are deeply embedded in the way that Māori workers prefer to work both in Government and Māori providers. Even though they are employed by different styles and types of organisations, there are commonalities in the preferred ways of working because these are things that work in our community.

One of the concepts mentioned by nearly every interviewee was the importance of engaging with whānau and communities especially through the Māori cultural practice of whakawhanaungatanga. The importance of whakawhanaungatanga was highlighted in all forms of Māori practice in societal issues. This importance meant that some workers had to lie to their employers about what they were doing and how they were doing it. They were having to break departmental policy to make time to engage properly. Government organisations, in particular, seemed to be unhappy with this crossing of boundaries and actively tried to prevent it if it was seen as outside the brief of the worker's job. While a previous chapter may have justified why this took place it does raise the deeper philosophical question about workers engaging in ways that could invite sanctions from their employers.

Overall, the research told me little that I did not already know. It may be the creation of new knowledge for the academy, but not for practitioners already working in the area. It is the question I have been struggling with since 2001; not where does mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) fit into the academy but where does the academy fit into mātauranga Māori? In the physical sciences that is the nature of hypothesis and experimentation, proving or disproving what we already expect, but in the Social Services we want to understand meaning and how these joint understandings are implemented.

Apart from some of the nuanced discussion regarding wairuatanga (spirituality) and mauri (life principle) a lot of this was not new to me personally. However, it did create an interest in pursuing one of the issues further to see how it is implemented. I decided that I wanted to focus further on whakawhanaungatanga and the ethical dilemmas it creates as it is a dominant principle and process in the social service sector. It is also the principle and process that was the most problematic for some workers. Further, I wanted to make a clearer distinction to move away from the dichotomy of Government and Māori providers and focus particularly on Social Work. As will be discussed in the coming chapter, this was influenced by my own experience as a youngish Social and Community worker.

I wanted the outcome of this research programme to tell me something new, to take things deeper and so I decided to do one more research project, Phase Three, targeting specifically on how long-term Māori practitioners defined and used whakawhanaungatanga, its ethics and the implications this had for their practice.

Conclusion

This chapter was a preliminary discussion of the findings of the first two phases of the research project outlining the distinctiveness of Māori providers and Government organisations, their strengths and the principles and processes that underpin their approaches. Phase Three will look at one of these principles, whakawhanaungatanga, in depth, how it is implemented and the ethical implications of applying it in Māori directed practice and development.

Chapter Nine Whakawhanaungatanga

Introduction

This chapter will look at what is probably the form of Māori Social and Community Work practice that is the most different from New Zealand Pākehā practice. Whakawhanaungatanga was identified in the previous chapter, and throughout this thesis, as the most important cultural principle used by Māori practitioners. It is a process that takes place in the engagement phase of Social and Community Work practice and will be described, defined and its use identified across Māori Social and Community Work practices. The process of whakawhanaungatanga and its implications inform a number of questions which are then discussed with seven long term (at least 25 years practice) Māori practitioners.

Whether someone uses approaches as divergent as Cognitive Behavioural, Strengths-based or Community Development, (as Māori Social and Community workers can use virtually any form of Social Work practice), there is at least one form of Māori Social Work practice that differs from a Western approach. Whakawhanaungatanga has consequences that are long term, can affect resource allocation, is personally demanding and can cause a great deal of conflict between workers, their colleagues and their organisations. This process takes place in the engagement phase in many Social Work relationships, and whether a Social Worker who identifies as Māori likes it or not, in my experience there is an inexorable movement for it to take place.

As a new youth worker in South Auckland in 1983 my standard practice was to get referrals from schools, social workers and the Youth Aid section of the police and then go visit the families to see if I could get them to allow their son to take part in our programmes. I found very early on that I was most successful with Māori families particularly if they could make some form of connection with myself or my family. It became a standard part of my practice, not because it was natural for me to do so but because, as a young Māori man, it was what the families demanded of me. Fifteen years later, as a part-time Māori health social worker at the Dunedin hospital, the ability to make connections is what enabled me to feel a degree of comfort in the job. Often I was an unconfident worker, but if we could make connections, if we could become whānau, then a lot of the barriers and suspicions of social workers could be removed and we could

achieve more. In reflecting on my practice, there were times when I didn't try to make those connections, I did not want to become whānau with some people and primarily it was for selfish reasons. It happened when I identified quickly that this particular whānau were going to have consequences for me in terms of time, cash, hospitality and manaakitanga. This statement reveals something to other Māori that I, at times, lacked aroha (compassion) and mana. A significant accusation to lay at any Māori person's feet let alone someone employed in a helping profession. My only excuse is that at times I had to put my whānau first. I had two daughters, and my wife, and I had already spent time fostering early in our children's lives. We had operated an open home for young people in South Auckland and so I continue to justify, to my conscience, that I had limits to what I was prepared to give.

The implications for whakawhanaungatanga, however, go beyond the personal sphere. When I was a hospital social worker, I attended a community hui and a tribal representative wanted to know whenever someone from their Iwi went into hospital. My reply was that I would ask, but "What if they wanted not to be passed on"? I was told to do it anyway. I said "What if they complain because I have breached privacy and I lose my job". They said, "Then you lose your job, but this is what we want".

Whakawhanaungatanga is clearly central to practice. The purpose of this piece of research is to interview long term Māori practitioners and delve into what whakawhanaungatanga means to them, how they use it, and the obligations and tensions of operating by it. Members of the Tangata Whenua Voices in Social Work group were interviewed over a period of three months. They had each had a minimum of 25 years practice, were all leaders in the arena of Māori Social Work in New Zealand and were based in Dunedin, Wellington and Auckland. Some had spent time in their own tribal areas but all except one had done social work outside their tribal areas. As mentioned in the methods chapter, their names have been kept so the reader can chose how much weight they can put on their responses and opinions.

As Phase Three was conceived after Phases One and Two were completed, a further search of the literature relevant to Phase Three was undertaken.

Literature Review

What is whakawhanaungatanga?

Whakawhanaungatanga is a crucial element of Māori Social work practice. It was mentioned in Chapter Three where it was described as finding whakapapa links. It is “the process of identifying, maintaining and re-establishing relationships so that associated obligations are rediscovered, maintained or initiated”. It is a process that has been appropriated by a number of organisations in the human services as part of the engagement process of dealing with whānau, clients, and research participants.

It is interesting to note that whakawhanaungatanga as a word does not appear in Williams’s Dictionary of the Māori Language. Whānau is defined as family, whanaunga is a relative or blood relation. In the online Māori dictionary whakawhanaungatanga is defined as the “process of establishing relationships, relating well to others” (Maoridictionary.co.nz)

Its base word whānau, is traditionally a group based on a common recent ancestor where “certain responsibilities and obligations are maintained” (Durie, 1997:1). In recent decades, possibly due to urbanisation and the large numbers of Māori living away from their tribal territories, the concept of whānau has spread to also include a looser collection of Māori not necessary connected by close blood ties, but united by common kaupapa. “Adopting the metaphor and model of whānau they refer to themselves as a whānau” (Durie, 1997:1-2).

There are costs and benefits from being involved in whānau. Durie provides a table as an example:

Table 3: Whanaungatanga: The Costs and Benefits (Durie 1997:21)

Individual Costs	Individual Benefits
Personal freedom	Support at times of crisis
Economic demands	Financial assistance
Koha	Access to whānau resources
Time off school	A broadened education
Time away from work	Opportunities for employment
Imposition of hierarchies	Guidance
Domination by group values	Inter-generational transfers
Conflict of loyalties	Sharing environment
Conflicting aspirations	Support in whānau endeavours
Historical burdens	Strong Identity

Whakawhanaungatanga has a number of different facets. Firstly it is a process by which a family connection is identified (Hollis, 2006) often done in a semi-formal setting allowing a group to individually identify their tribal and family affiliations (Harker-Wilcox, 2011). Through that process it allows individuals and groups to make connections through whakapapa/kinship in the first instance, but then more widely through a vast array of commonalities, past associations, (Mane, 2009) “past heritages, common respect for places and landscape features, other relationships, or points of engagement” (Alton-Lee, 2015:41). In summary “the process of identifying, maintaining, or forming past, present, and future relationships” (Walker et al., 2006:334) is about building culturally responsive relationships of trust and respect to advance a kaupapa (Alton-Lee, 2015) involving reciprocal obligations (Eketone & Walker, 2013).

The importance of whanaungatanga is its close association with tikanga, in fact Mead describes whanaungatanga as “one component of the values associated with tikanga” (Mead, 2003:28). Whanaungatanga primarily is associated with whakapapa and where relatives are expected to support one another in times of trouble no matter how far away they live. However, the term has also been transferred from family connections to those of a collective who, through attachment by shared experience, can also expect to be supported by others who form part of that group, including colleagues, workmates and school associates (Mead, 2003). Whanaunga relationships incur a number of obligations, particularly with tangihanga (funerals) where people who are considered whānau are obliged to assist. Whanaungatanga is closely associated with aroha and manaakitanga (hospitality) (Mead, 2003) and is a foundation of Kaupapa Māori Theory where it brings “notions of relationships, collectivity, obligations and accountabilities” (Pihama, 2001:139).

Whakawhanaungatanga is important because kotahitanga (unity) is important. According to Barlow (1991) kotahitanga was a fundamental principal of the ancestors and a great deal of effort was spent making sure whānau, Hapū and Iwi were connected and remained connected.

Pa Tate, in his PhD thesis discussing foundational concepts in Māori theology, firstly describes traditional whanaungatanga as being linked to whakapapa, explaining four different relationships from a Māori world, all kin-based. From that base he then goes

wider including whanaungatanga that occurs through people joining together for a common cause, in his case a “whanaungatanga based on Christ” (Tate, 2010:57). He then describes an even more inclusive whanaungatanga based on Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) which “offers us a wider understanding of whanaungatanga of kinship among all created realities, humankind included” (Tate, 2010:61) suggesting a whanaungatanga of all living things descended through the gods, the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Ruwhiu also highlights this wider relationship where whakapapa is a “catalyst for engagement between the spiritual, natural and human dimensions of reality” (Ruwhiu, 2001:66).

The use of whakawhanaungatanga by the wider human services

As a process, whakawhanaungatanga is being used in a wide range of fields including Social Work (Hollis, 2006), drug and alcohol counselling (Huriwai et al., 2001), therapy and psychology (Gilgen, 2008), teaching (Bishop, 1996), nursing (Lyford & Cook, 2004), restorative justice (Smith & Reid, 2000) mental health and addictions (Cherrington, 2009), adult education (Penetito, 2013), conflict resolution (Hakiaha, 1997) and research (Jones et al., 2010).

Whanaungatanga was originally about kin based relationships and the obligations this connection entailed as well as its ability to provide “a feeling of belonging, value and security” (Huriwai et al., 2001:1039) has made it invaluable to human service workers across the spectrum, where whakawhanaungatanga has become an important part of the healing and therapeutic professions and practices (Huriwai et al., 2001).

Tate (2010) is the author and promulgator of a series called Dynamics of Whanaungatanga which is used by many agencies, including the Department of Corrections, to promote Māori engagement amongst the various human services. One of his great passions is the process of restoration firstly in his role as a clergyman to reconcile man to God and secondly to restore and reconcile relationships between people. “One aspect of the dynamics of Whanaungatanga consists in the potentiality for the individual to share in, and exercise, the mana of the larger group, and for the larger group to exercise mana tuku towards the individual, thereby confirming and supporting te mana i ia tangata (Tate, 2010:111)” (the intrinsic mana of the individual). Therefore whakawhanaungatanga, in its wider sense, is an important part of bringing healing to

relationships not just with the people involved but in a group responsibility to resolving problems.

Whanaungatanga is seen as an integral component of well-being. The 1988 Royal Commission on Social Policy identified four supports or nga pou mana of well-being, one of them being whanaungatanga. Durie's Whare Tapa Wha model, describing a Māori perspective of hauora (well-being), also includes whānau as well as the Te Wheke model by Rose Pere (Durie, 1998a).

A report on Iwi and Māori provider success interviewed 57 Māori and Iwi providers and wrote "the principle of whānau and whanaungatanga come to the foreground as a necessary ingredient for Māori health, Māori justice and Māori prosperity" (Pipi et al., 2003:19) and that an important part of their work was to strengthen whanaungatanga ties to promote positive change, well-being and development. The report found that for Māori and Iwi services, whanaungatanga was the concept most frequently mentioned in the way they operated. Further, in a literature review on Kaupapa Māori practices it was found that in addition to the usual processes that mainstream organisations use, Māori and Iwi providers provided additional processes, namely elements such as "whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and Tikanga Māori concepts, and that these added crucial value to their delivery of a quality service" (Smith & Reid, 2000:36). They also reported that "there are many examples where the principle of whānau and whanaungatanga come to the foreground" as it "is an integral part of Māori identity and culture" (Smith & Reid, 2000:10).

More recently, in 2014, research undertaken on the Kia Piki te Ora Suicide Prevention Programme found that all 17 of their service providers used karakia (prayer), manaakitanga and whanaungatanga as part of their engagement processes (Kahui Tautoko, 2014).

Other programs and models that used whakawhanaungatanga are the Te Pito model for healing together (Te Rau Matatini, 2015), it is an underpinning part of Te Whakatika raruraru (conflict resolution) model (Hakiaha, 1997), it is a component of Te Wheke model of Waiora, (total well-being) (Pere, 1997), it has been used as an important part of cultural assessment in Mental Health (Mental Health Commission, 2004), included as

part of a whānau engagement model used by corrections (Bowman, 2015) and is part of the Whānau Ora framework developed by Kara et al. (2011).

These various sectors saw whakawhanaungatanga as vital as it is “one of, if not the most important tools in the Kaupapa Māori therapist’s toolbox. Without it the kaupapa Māori 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” (Gilgen, 2008:77). In education whakawhanaungatanga created opportunities in schools to “build mutual trust and respect” (McFarlane et al., 2007:67), in the tertiary sector to provide a sense of belonging (Rawlings, 2010) and in adult education providing a safe environment this is important because many Māori have been estranged from the education sector through their own experiences at school (Penetito, 2013).

This wider use of whakawhanaungatanga and whanau can be controversial. McNatty and Roa (2002) were concerned by the way that whakawhanaungatanga was bandied about in the social sciences, often divorced from its origin meaning. They were conscious that meanings of words changed over time, but they were concerned that Pākehā organisations in particular could adopt Māori terms and almost define them for themselves, leaving out inherently significant meanings. They argued that if you were going to use terms like whanaungatanga and whakawhanaungatanga then you had to ensure that “any principled whanaungatanga model designed for use in the context of the social sciences must include reference” to “take/kaupapa (principles associated with the dependent issue), whakapapa (principles associated with descent), wairuatanga (principles associated with spiritual embodiment), manaakitanga (principles associated with duties and expectations of care and reciprocity), kotahitanga (principles associated with collective unity), and rangatiratanga (principles associated with governance, leadership and the hierarchal nature of traditional Māori society)” (McNatty & Roa, 2002:92). This was particularly importantly where whakawhanaungatanga was used by non-whakapapa whānau as prelude or implementation of some form of intervention. They state that the “the integrity of these processes is dependent upon adherence to Māori principles at all stages” (McNatty & Roa, 2002:95).

To fail to include these value processes was paying lip service that represented “cultural colonisation at its worst” (McNatty & Roa, 2002:92). McNatty and Roa were not absolute

purists as they still saw whakawhanaungatanga taking place within whakapapa lines as well as whānau who had become so through take (issues) or kaupapa (purposes).

McNatty and Roa question many of the assumptions about whanaungatanga highlighting the invisibility of the term in dictionaries and descriptions. One of the interesting things about this article is that according to the search website Google Scholar, this article has hardly been referenced in academic writings or reports. I would have thought that an article defining a crucial concept in Māori social sciences and Māori social services in a well-known and accessible Māori journal would be a foundational document. It may be that whakawhanaungatanga is so ingrained in our own experience that many Māori don't feel we need to research it. Certainly that is my failing in Chapter Three in my description of whakawhanaungatanga as, at the time, I felt little need to reference anyone but my own experience.

Whakawhanaungatanga in Social and Community Work

Whakawhanaungatanga is a vital part of Social and Community Work (Hollis-English & Selby, 2015) and as a process is ubiquitous in Māori social work practice models as a substitute for the mainstream element of engagement. It involves a degree of self-disclosure exposing where you are from, the make-up of your family and more, as long as you are comfortable doing so. In doing so it allows for more in-depth information to be shared (Walker et al., 2006) all in the expectation of somehow joining together as whānau (Kirkwood, 2014). One of the main theorists in Māori social work, Leland Ruwhiu stresses the importance of Social and Community workers connecting with Māori “sources of identity” in both the engagement phase and intervention phase of social work practice (Ruwhiu, 2009:112).

Examples of Māori practice models that include whakawhanaungatanga are Te Mahi Whakamana (Ruwhiu, 2012), the Poutama model for Māori child protection (Stanley, 2000), Awhiowhio Poutama (Dreadon, 1997) and the Powhiri Poutama model developed by Paraire Huata (2011). In many ways these models were not new. Instead they were ways of naming those processes that Māori social workers were already using. While whakawhanaungatanga can be formulaic especially in formal settings, i.e. someone stands and recites before the group their maunga (mountain), awa (river), Iwi etc., this is a more recent form of introduction where people may be gathered from a number of

different groups such as in an urban setting. The informal whakawhanaungatanga occurs when meeting whānau for the first time.

Some of the aforementioned models can be very intensive. Stanley's (2000) child protection model was not just about identifying whānau connections between client and worker, but also delving deep into all the connections of a client whānau identifying key people and organisations who are obligated to support the whānau. Ruwhiu's (2012)

Te Mahi Whakamana has a principle of whakawhanaungatanga that states that "a client is a whānau and you are a whānau to that client. To become whānau to each other in healing engagement is paramount" (Ruwhiu, 2012:34). This can be a confronting approach taking the Social Worker out of a strictly 'worker-client' relationship.

In 2005 Hollis did a study of long term social workers who had been involved in Social Work before the publication of Puaoteata-tu, a review of the Department of Social Welfare by a ministerial advisory committee from a Māori perspective. The document produced a number of sweeping changes, but Hollis was interested in what had changed for Māori Social Workers. One of things she found hadn't changed was the use of whakawhanaungatanga in the initial part of the engagement process. These were centred around whakapapa and whakawhanaungatanga because "the social worker needs to make a connection with the client as a person before any sort of meaningful intervention can take place" (Hollis, 2006:61) and so needed to take place first (Hollis-English, 2012b). Further "tikanga Māori such as whakawhanaungatanga, wairuatanga and aroha are all fundamental aspects of Māori social work methods, are vital to their relationship with clients and also their approach in the organisational environment" (Hollis, 2006:84).

Hollis-English (as she had become) did further research for her doctorate involving 26 qualified Māori social workers. She found that participants named the process as whakawhanaungatanga, with whakapapa being the instrument by which it takes place (Hollis-English, 2012a). She states that one of the purposes of whakawhanaungatanga is that if the whānau know more about you and your background then it makes it easier to work with them. What social workers hope for is a position where staff and client are able to "acknowledge a familial relationship" (Hollis-English, 2012a:158). This has implications for social workers which will be discussed shortly.

Mooney (2012) saw the whanaungatanga relationship as one that fostered “a genuine care and love for people and treating others as you would like to be treated” (Mooney, 2012:55); whereas Walker saw whakawhanaungatanga as a place where whakapapa is acknowledged and appropriate respect is paid to whoever is there (Walker, 2002). Walker’s research was different from most in that his research was largely with people of his own tribe, some of whom could be considered his kaumatua, and so the true familial and tribal obligations emerged. This also created a great deal of accountability with his participants as the whakapapa relationships enabled him to do the research on Māori fostering in the first place and any false step could be reported on to any one of the local marae. Part of my Master’s thesis (Eketone, 2005) also included research involving a group of my own elders (including my father). One of the findings was the role of whakawhanaungatanga in Community Development which added a sense of reciprocity and therefore obligation between the people involved.

Indigenist expressions of Social Work such as Hollis’s hope of identifying a whānau connection, Eketone’s expectation of reciprocity and obligation, and Ruwhiu’s determination that even if a familial connection is not identified that you are whānau now anyway because of participating in a joint purpose, make some Western professionals uneasy (King, 2014).

The reciprocal nature of whakawhanaungatanga described in Social and Community Work is not often highlighted in writings from the wider social sciences. Social and Community workers say they use whakawhanaungatanga to make clients feel safe, but it is also important for workers to feel that there is some mutuality in the relationship, otherwise it becomes a straight power relationship. Mutuality and reciprocity means that you are also sharing power with the client. They now have some expectation of you (Ruwhiu, 2012).

This concept raises a number of interesting questions. If whakawhanaungatanga for a Māori Social Worker means that you are entering into a mutually agreed cultural space and framework that creates a whānau including the worker and client then that must create expectations from clients. If there are expectations from whānau then there must also be obligations on the worker and are those obligations also extended to the organisation they work for? If whakawhanaungatanga takes place between people and

there are obligations now in force, what happens when that organisation doesn't want to meet those obligations and so what tensions does that create in organisations? Further does the meeting of these obligations mean that workers have to step outside traditional Social Work roles and boundaries? How do they manage this and how do they decide which boundaries to cross? How do they stay accountable and how do they stay safe? Finally, if a worker has entered into a whakawhanaungatanga process, that by definition means identifying or forming some form of whānau connections, what happens at the end of a social work intervention? Does the relationship, as the modern Social Work Planned Change Process defines it, terminate (Shannon & Young, 2004)?

These are rather large issues and so, as mentioned in the methods chapter, long term Māori Social Work practitioners with over 25 years' experience were interviewed and asked the following questions:

1. How do you define whakawhanaungatanga and how do you use it in your practice?
2. What expectations do you think whakawhanaungatanga creates in whānau you have worked with?
3. What obligations does whakawhanaungatanga place on you?
4. What tension has whakawhanaungatanga created in your workplace?

There are really two major issues, the first being whakawhanaungatanga as a concept and second the implications of using that process, and therefore they have been divided into two sections. This section will look at questions one through four and the next chapter will look at the implications of whakawhanaungatanga, namely regarding Social Work boundaries and Social Work endings which will lead first with a brief literature review on the topic.

5. Does whakawhanaungatanga mean that you sometimes cross social work boundaries and how do you manage it?
6. How do you decide which boundaries to cross?
7. What happens at the end of a piece of work?

The research participants were long term Social Work practitioners; Moana Eruera, Marlene Walsh-Sauni, Lisa King, Leland Ruwhiu, Luana Te Hira, Shayne Walker and

Shirley Ikkala. The amount and quality of information was fascinating with far more data than I thought would come from 20 - 45 minute interviews. The data has been arranged in order of question to get a good overview of the issues and rather than use italics, which can be difficult to read, a change of font is used.

Data Responses

How do you define whakawhanaungatanga and how do you use it in your practice?

For **Shirley Ikkala** it was about forming a relationship:

It's a professional relationship based on mutual understanding of what the kaupapa is that we're there about. It's about a shared responsibility. It's about ensuring that that relationship is transparent, knowing that I'm in a position of power within the role that I have but being up front about what that is so that there are no surprises then they can actually make informed choice whether they engage or they don't.

...how do I incorporate whakawhanaungatanga in a relationship where there's already a power imbalance because of the title that I carried... and that actually becomes about making connections, and that was through whakapapa. That was through places. That was around making a connection through people we knew. So you spent a lot of time doing that. Now that may have taken more than one visit before you actually got down to the work.

So how I work with clients is about connections, relationships but it's also about working with whānau to ensure that the mana of that whānau is left intact no matter how difficult that conversation is, so it goes hand in hand so if you have to establish a relationship, a level reciprocal relationship ... it's about engagement. ... It's not my story so I give them what I have – this is what I know – so in my practice it depends on the role. As a role as a social worker it was about “I have information about you”. In the role of a Manager is that “this relationship is based on we have a common purpose but my role is dependent on funding”. So depending on the nature of what your role is, depended the type of relationship and how you engaged with that.

Moana Eruera came from a more metaphysical approach:

Whanaungatanga ... is the nako [earnest desire/central thought] of everything I do in my practice and so I'd describe that under a concept that I call “hono” how I join and connect myself, a wairua [spirit] a tinana [as a physical presence] a hinengaro [mind], with another person or groups of people. So, for me whanaungatanga starts inside e te tuatahi [firstly], a whakapapa tatai [family connection] relationship, that's how I describe it in

te ao Māori [the Māori world] and that sometimes extends out to other people who I work with.

I'd say whanaungatanga is when you have a whakapapa or tatau connection. The way I do that is when I talk about hono and so how I join, how I connect. How that process and that engagement occurs is the hono part of whanaungatanga. ... there are stages and phases to that... so how I meet somebody originally, sussing them out, and making each other feel comfortable about where we are in the same space. Probably there is a wairua discerning for me about when I meet somebody and in my wairua I'm immediately making a discernment about that relationship and so inside of that hono, the wairua hono [joining spiritually] and then the tinana hono [gathering together in a physical space] about how we talk and connect with each other on that level and then just growing and developing it from there. It takes work and it takes maintenance and it takes continued intentional deepening, I suppose, of the relationship so my best work using whanaungatanga, and also probably some of my hardest work, is with people that I know really well. Even though you have the relationship there existing, often to challenge or to be in spaces where you have to disagree ... become more difficult. ... then for me in that process, tika and pono kick in, so even if I love you, and have a great strong relationship with you and I need to talk to you about something really difficult, the tika and the pono kick my bum to say "Actually even though you really want to maintain this relationship with this person, you have to address those things because that's the tika thing to do"... so all of those things start to come in and inform how I make sure that my practice is pono around the whanaungatanga construct.

Marlane Walsh-Sauni:

Well in the mahi (work) that I do, I'm usually interacting with whānau or other kaimahi [workers] in 'one off' or 'two off' situations. The mahi I do really requires me to build a high level of trust as quickly as possible ... so I need to make them as comfortable as possible really quickly. So intuitively I use whakawhanaungatanga to do that ... I use it to warm up our relationship, make our connections that then make me a trusted person. If they're non-Māori I still use it in the same way but... I'm not going to make the whakapapa or genealogy links but I'll make links in another way that kind of does the same sort of thing. So, I use it frequently and it's always my first kind of tool of engagement.

Lisa King:

I'm seeking to make a connection with the person that I'm working with, ... how do I develop a relationship with these people and in what ways. So definitely it's in terms of one of the tribal connections that might connect

us. I'm always looking for where are the ways that we can connect, and through whom do we know, ... actually we're leveraging off the relationships of others, so we're always looking for where better can we connect, and how do we connect and how can we strengthen those connections.

I think whakawhanaungatanga will bring forward notions of reciprocity so it is about the relationships that I have and the quality of those relationships and how I use that. We're all looking to see how we connect but it's not actually just about putting it out there straight away but sometimes, when we talk about what we have in common we are then enabled to say more and develop the relationship. If people know that I have a relationship with Paraire Huata, it might open some doors for me or it might close some doors for me. You know, so in terms of whakawhanaungatanga and when I talk about leveraging I'm looking to see who do we have in common, what kind of experiences might we have in common that might be actually be mobilized in this respect for us to deepen our connection.

So it is an interesting thing but I think in terms of the whakawhanaungatanga kōrero it is also about where we're from tribally, it's about those relationships, and acknowledging your tupuna and the history that goes with the place that you come from and so that's one respect of using it. I think it's a relational concept ... We're looking to see how we can make connections with each other and try to understand some of the commonality that we might have with each other while still being respectful. There's still a kia tupato [be careful] with it.

Leland Ruwhiu:

It's a first consideration. So when I'm thinking of whakawhanaungatanga and I'm dealing with ... a situation where I'm asked to support a whānau and some raruraru [problems] or wā pouri [sadness] that they've got, straight away I'm having to connect as best as I can with that whānau. Part of their journey is in my preparation and finding out things about what Iwi they come from, which wahi [place], any hahi [church] connections, significant people in their whakapapa line that might whakapapa to me. ... And then when you think of whakawhanaungatanga, ... to become whānau to somebody, you have to also take into account your ways of engaging with them and know the tikanga. The second consideration is – so let's say for example we're in a hui and I've already done their pre-work so straight away I'll defer to someone that holds status inside their whānau and I'll mihi [greet] to them and make sure that I'm not trampling over the mana of their whānau so that they are the ones that take on board the initial journey. So they're there at the on-set and part of my task if I'm practicing for my whakawhanaungatanga fashion is I then become part of the mechanism within that whānau – the support mechanism – even though there might be some, a lot of raruraru [problems] around amongst the key actors in there, if I acknowledge that they have a whānau structure, that they have ways of

engaging, that they have practices that are unique inside that space and then they're asking me for support then I need to make sure that they know that I know that I can see what theirs is and then, when they pass the rakau [mantle] off to me I've got to ask myself okay, what sort of role am I taking on board in this whānau? So I'm actually having to locate myself in their whānau – whakawhanaungatanga in their whānau dynamics. And often it's in the role of being a healer and inside whānau usually that's a matua [elder] role so I see myself as a matua inside that space and that's when, even though their matua might be giving roles identifying with roles of abuse inside their family, I then take on board what I would consider to be a healthy matua inside that space to engage effectively. ... I've drawn from my knowledge base in terms of the profession but I've also looked at and checked out how that is translated into action and its usually key kaumatua that have continually reinforced to me 'go back to the basics' when engaging with our whānau, to look for using our modes of engagement which is hui, to be able to stimulate wairua, significant moments – those are hard ones inside families.

Luana Te Hira:

For me whakawhanaungatanga is the essence of one's whakapapa beyond just the blood-line relationships. ... it comes from your immediate lines, your extended lines from whānau, but in the context that I find it being used within social work practice in Aotearoa New Zealand then it's become about how do we actually connect as practitioners, connect one with another with individuals and/or their whānau and so therefore in that context for me whakawhanaungatanga becomes a vehicle of exchange and connecting individuals and/or their whānau and my role as a practitioner is sometimes just to create that opportunity.

I use it in a way to connect. I invite people to first recognize what is their own indigenouness, being how they perceive themselves. ... So when I'm supporting individuals and / or their whānau using whakawhanaungatanga, ...75% of the time is building the relationship of trust and taking time to do that. The 'how' is often about a smile, letting them know "Hey, we've come together for some purpose so I'm not going to pussy foot around with that, but tell me about yourself first. Let's get to know one another" because I'm not expecting them to unravel their life to a complete stranger. So for me whakawhanaungatanga is really pertinent around building the relationships and forming relationships of trust, but be respectful.

Shayne Walker talks about whakawhanaungatanga differently primarily because of his background. He and his wife Helen fostered over 100 teenagers over a 15 year period, so whakawhanaungatanga, becoming family, was a very important process because their commitment to being family was a full one, bringing people into their home to become

part of their family. Whakawhanaungatanga, i.e. identifying connections were important but there is a definite different power dynamic when you become part of MY family:

Whakawhanaungatanga for me ... was choosing to be very broad in who we included right from the beginning in our whānau. A part of that had to do with the fact that because my parents died really young I was brought up by my aunty and uncle and I spent a lot of time also in foster homes and I was in a couple of institutions and things like that and basically by the time I went to get married I just had this list of people I trusted and considered to be family, and considered to be whānau. ... When Helen and I got married part of it had to do with our Christian service, the fact that we believed that God wanted us to serve people. The other part of it had to do with us starting to have this much broader view of who we would include in our whānau and so whakawhanaungatanga for me was very broad in terms of we would choose to love people, to include them in our immediate life.

I think I have two ways of defining it really. 1. Those responsibilities, joys, those associations, all those things that come from part of my whakapapa within my own family, and within Kai Tahu and Kahungunu. But outside of that whakawhanaungatanga has a much broader meaning for me – it's about who I choose to love and who I choose to have in my whānau but also whose whānau I choose to belong to. So for me it's both towards me and away from me. And for me whakawhanaungatanga is strongly an action thing, it's not just a thought thing. In many ways, as I've got older, it's come back to this idea of serving other people. ... when we went out to serve other people in their communities and in their homes in ways that they needed, we've always considered that to be whakawhanaungatanga. And so the fact that even last week I was at the marae, working in the kitchen doing the things I needed to be doing as part of my whakawhanaungatanga to this community and that marae. I don't necessarily turn up to serve people that are just blood to me. It can be a need that serves other purposes. My wife is really staunch in terms of when someone invites me to do something with them, the question she makes me to answer to her is "How in any way is this good for our family?" So it's made me think about my own whakawhanaungatanga within my own immediate whānau and being able to negotiate those responsibilities that are what I would call broader whakawhanaungatanga responsibilities.

One day ... Nanny Bella rang me and said "Shayne, I need you to come out with me to visit this whānau" and I said "Nan, who is it?" and she told me the name of the whānau and I said "Nan I don't know them" and she said "Yes, but your father did!" and I said "What do you mean?" and she said "Shayne, because your father went to school with this child's grandfather that will open doors for us" and she said "Please come" and I said "Yes" and so we went out there and sure enough when we were doing our whakawhanaungatanga one of the first things to come up from them was the fact that his father and my father had gone to school together and this

somehow created some form of trust between us. It also created longer term expectations of that family on me and me on that family, and to give you an idea, years later, probably 10 or 15 years after this initial meeting, I stood and mihi-ed [greeted] to this man at his 70th as part of his whānau.

What expectations do you think Whakawhanaungatanga creates in whānau you have worked with?

Shirley:

I think working in Government, because that's primarily where I worked in social work, is that their expectation is that I would be speaking as the Government person. Their expectation of me is that I wasn't Māori first, I was a Government employee and that was the first hurdle to try and overcome that. [If whakapapa connections were identified] the expectations changed. That's when you had to be really careful and that was the tension that I found working in a Government organisation as a social worker, the tension was – could you truly, realistically operate whakawhanaungatanga when the power still laid in your hands? Because, whakawhanaungatanga for me was about a relationship based on sharing of power, sharing of decision making and I think I still struggle with that, even now I struggle with that within a Government organisation when you are the statutory body. So could I truly operate whakawhanaungatanga?

Moana:

Trust. They trust that if I've engaged them into a process, particularly if they're people that I know under that whanaungatanga relationship... if they're people that I know ... [that] have let me in the door because they know me and they trust me, then whatever happens inside of that, they'll trust that I do what I say because I have the relationship with them that we want to maintain.

[With someone I've just met] If they're Māori they would have an expectation around, culture and around probably being cautious around sharing - how much they share and when. Definitely being tika [acting correctly]. It's around the building of the relationship and that hono [join]... how that happens, and there's an expectation I suppose around basic principles – trust, respect, honesty, those things.

Marlane:

With that comes reciprocity for me to give back to them. So to first of all be respectful with their kōrero [story], whatever that might be, and to be able to show that their kōrero is going to have some kind of impact into the work that I'm doing in order that it might bring about some changes either for

kaimahi [workers], or for whānau or tamariki [children]. So their expectation is that in those encounters where I meet with them is that I grasp fully the intent of their kōrero and that I'll use it in ways that makes meaning and value.

Lisa:

I think within whānau it calls forward our obligations, our rights and our responsibilities with each other. When we use it with whānau we are calling forth on the relationship. ..., when you're talking about whakawhanaungatanga you actually have to work out what are the roles and responsibilities that the different whānau members play within their whānau so we can talk about it in terms of tuakana/teina [older and younger siblings], but actually in our context today we have to understand that sometimes our tuakana haven't fulfilled those traditional tuakana roles ... you still have to navigate the field in terms of the different roles that exist within that whānau and so then it becomes about who in this whānau holds the whakapapa korero [family stories], who in this whānau would be the ones that would call a hui, who in this whānau are the ones children would go to that they see as a safe person – and you may not use the word 'safe' but who in the whānau do the children listen to, or do you find go to the children. So, in terms of how do I use the whanaungatanga roles, it's about what are the roles and relationships that exist within this whānau and how can we leverage those strengths within there to support the whānau.

Leland:

When they get to me it's usually because they've had kōrero [talk] from others to say that, this person's pono [has integrity], tika. This is where my community development whakaaro [ideas] around whakawhanaungatanga kicks into mode, if we leave them in deficit, in other words dependent on us continuously then we haven't done our job. I'm always looking at avenues to be able to create within their experience of tikanga, they might need to add parts to their tikanga, they might need to practice parts of their tikanga so that they themselves are involved in decision making and often that's a journey in itself.

Luana:

What can they expect from me? Aroha ki te tangata, aroha ki te kaupapa. ...Aroha isn't the transliteration of just love: 'aro' – to be focused, 'ha' – to recognize the environment... and then let us consider that exchange, for the people, for the person and also the reason why we're together. Mea te whakarongo – to listen with real intent and purposefully, listening; mea te kōrero – to have critical dialogue and to talk about what's real ... just create

the space for the whānau, the individual and all their family that we're supporting, to korero [discuss], so the space becomes really important.

Shayne:

I think they expect you to be in their lives forever. To give you an idea, last year when Wendi and I ran this tangi [funeral], at the end of the tangi we were all at the pub and there were a whole lots of whānau there that I had worked with over the years and, you know how pubs are kind of segregated for smokers these days. Out the back of this pub is an area just for smokers and it just so happened that I had worked with just about every person in that room and so for me to catch up with everyone in a relaxed way, I had to go out and be with the smokers at the back. And anyway one of them said to me "Shayne I've got a bone to pick with you" and I thought "well you do something you're always going to get told off" and I said "What did I do wrong?" and she said "You didn't invite me or her, or her or him to your daughter's wedding" and then she just burst out laughing. ... She expected, just like when we turned up to do that tangi with them that we would be involved in their lives and they would be involved in our lives. And one of the things with whakawhanaungatanga, if you choose to work and live that way, is that there are expectations that relationships are for life. The nature of those relationships can change, so you may no longer be doing a time limited piece of professional social work with that whānau but you still have a relationship with them. For instance Dunedin is a small place, you still see them at tangi, you work alongside them in the kitchen when you're ringawera [working in the kitchen], all those kinds of things, all that's happened is just the nature of the relationship has changed. It's something that Helen and I really struggle with because the only people I will do social work practice with [now] are people who we have had a relationship with already because those relationships are considered to be for keeps. So if someone from CYFS rings me up and goes "Shayne we have this young man ... he could really benefit from spending time with you... you could be just what he needs" that does not tempt me at all. But if a whānau I've worked with or someone in the Māori community that I have relationships with, specifically whakawhanaungatanga relationships with, rings me and says "Shayne this is the person, these are the things we are working with, is there any way you can help us with this?" I will try and make that work and I will try and be available and work with them because for me that's more about whakawhanaungatanga than professional social work.

What obligations does Whakawhanaungatanga place on you?

Shirley:

One of the things Paraire Huata said to me at one of our trainings, he said "At what point do you take your Māori hat off at the door and you put on

your Government hat 'cause you work for the state? And how much of you are your willing to chop off and compromise?" I think that's the struggle for me as a Māori – that I constantly had to struggle with.

Moana:

To enact those things. ... to keep strength... to keep working at that whanaungatanga relationship... so checking back with them about have things changed? Connecting with them around what are the strengths of their own whanaungatanga. Sussing out, and not always verbally, ... so observing, watching, supporting them to be able to do that. I think one of our roles as a practitioner, or even as a whānau member, is helping whoever it is that we're with, strengthen whanaungatanga for themselves because then that's their own supports and maintaining and modelling how you do that.

Marlane:

Because I'm working from intrinsically that Māori ethos of whakawhanaungatanga I put on myself some huge expectations that I have to be the kaitiaki [guardian] of that kōrero [story], that it's going to be used in exactly that way and it's going to get air time. So I'm collecting kōrero that will feed into making recommendations so I'm wanting to make sure that I don't misuse it or reinterpret their kōrero, that I maintain its integrity as far as I can. So that's an obligation that I feel intrinsically as 'he wahine Māori' [a Māori woman] that is over and above anything that might be on my job description.

Lisa:

Having asserted a relationship, or claimed the relationship connection we continue to have an obligation, but the work that we might be doing with a whānau may be for a set period of time. ... beyond that event or beyond that take [purpose]... you continue to have a relationship.

I can remember years ago I did this wananga [course], it was around Kaupapa Māori Supervision with Paraire Huata ... as part of the whole session I actually acknowledged the fact that we had a connection already. I knew from years ago at the opening of our church that my grandfather and his father were there, and I had a photo that they were together long before we had a relationship, so I wanted to just acknowledge that actually we had a relationship already in terms of our tupuna [ancestor] and in terms of the fact that they are existing and that they're part of that space as well.

So I had an obligation to acknowledge those tupuna connections already that existed in terms of our relationship. ... so the obligation is not just to

the person that steps forward but that you acknowledge that they are representative of their tupuna and their whenua and where they come from. So an obligation is that the person who may be before you is not the only person in this consideration, in this inter-action, they may be the medium for it, if you like.

Leland:

Well you know, in my writings I said that there are two key things about whānau. First, I could see one individual as a whānau. Let's say I'm dealing with you as a client and I view you as a whānau. That tells you, in some ways even though you might not know it, that ... I'll be seeing you and your whakapapa lines. So I'll be looking at those that came before you, your ancestors, and then we're looking at those around you, surrounding you in the present, and then in my mind when I'm looking at the jigsaw, the healthy order plan for this person, I'll be thinking of what sort of actions this person might take on in the future that will strengthen his loved ones that are yet to arrive. So straight away, that's the way that I look at it.

I think we do have to be mindful around all that because that's our responsibility, because at another level, that's a responsibility that obligates us in terms of whanaungatanga ... to not take that relationship to lessen the relationship by not being mindful. By not putting that relationship under the microscope... I think that's an obligation as kaimahi Māori to do that. I think it's our Treaty partner's obligation to be aware that whanaungatanga for Māori is not just an effective social work practice intervention and in terms of something that we do in Aotearoa New Zealand, let's all do it now we're all whānau, there are layers to the relationship and there are layers to the kōrero and I think that's the same thing when we want to look at how do we use whakawhanaungatanga as a social work intervention versus how do we use whakawhanaungatanga as a natural part of our relationships, and it's a natural part of who we are and what we do. And then we have to say that actually in this context that I'm working in and often operating in, how do I honour those relationships and sometimes the way I honour them is not to bring them into certain spaces and or only to interact at a certain level within those spaces. And that's about, whakapapa protection, actually that's another way of thinking about whakapapa protection – that that's our responsibility as kaimahi and I think that our treaty partners need to understand that actually this is just as effective a social work intervention because obligations and responsibilities that are woven in and have several layers.

... at times I might be the potiki where they will show me through things that they are experts on, you know it mightn't even be in their heart ... but they're the experts on that. But there will be times when I'll need to be the tuakana, to be able to really challenge the kaiwhakatarā [mentor], that critical voice inside that whānau to ask them are there any other

considerations that they might need to look at when they think that they've said all that they've needed to say, or done what they've needed to have done for the health and benefit of their mokopuna [grandchild], or their whānau that are struggling. So there's huge obligations there. And look, why do they come to us in the first place? That's a huge obligation in itself because usually when they come to us it's because they're thinking "this person has some expertise and knowledge base" and what I'm trying to do is balance up the fact that when they come they've got more expertise about their experience but I might have specific expertise that could help the hui a whānau, so when we have a 'hui a whānau' [family meeting] and we see the rourou [collection of expertise] and go through that. If I believe in the whakawhanaungatanga then I believe in the tikanga and everyone, when we go together in the hui mode, we have like some ketes [baskets] that are placed in the middle of that journey and sometimes we're putting into it and sometimes we're taking out. So I think my role, it's not a static role, it's not like I am the expert, well sometimes I am but sometimes I'm not.

Luana:

Well if I frame it around the essence of 'ako' – ako being the divine potentiality of every individual - then for me that sets my precedents. It means our exchange isn't about a tick in a box. So the expectation for me is that if I make a commitment to something I'd better follow through. I have to lead by example ... If I had a word to describe that it would be the authenticity of the relationship. The respect - their whakapapa, my whakapapa – we don't stand alone and we are connecting for that moment in time – it might be just a few seconds or it could be a life time and I have to be cognisant of what that exchange might be.

Shayne:

I think there's a further obligation and it's one that comes from your ngākau [heart], it's an emotional and a spiritual obligation. When you choose to love someone you choose to love them forever and it doesn't matter whether they succeed – whatever success is – or not. It doesn't matter if you're getting on, or not – you choose that.

What tension has whakawhanaungatanga created in your workplace?

Shirley:

Look, I went through all sorts of different things. How do we negotiate those tensions? As Māori we came together and thought, well let's form a roopu [group] because we thought 'safety in numbers' and then we could actually challenge the system. What the system did is they continued to undermine

and sometimes sabotage what we were trying to do by using policy, by using legislation, by using 'code of conduct'. Then we went through a whole range of trying to be politically active as Māori. The Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act, which clearly talks about whakawhanaungatanga, talks about that power relationship – all of that within the Act. You had the Family Group Conference which was prime example of where you could actually operate that, but every time you tried to do that as Māori you were continually blocked – either resources were not made available, we were asked to then define 'whānau' and who we believed whānau was. So there were a whole lot of obstacles put in the way so that when we started to, I think for a lot of us, didn't realize that we've actually compromised who we were as Māori in order to stay within the organisations. Now I'm going to say something that I think highlights it for me – I started in the Department in 1983. What came along was the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act and then Child, Youth and Family had our Matua Whangai and that was starting to work particularly well. And they were there to provide advice and make connections and using that whole concept of whakawhanaungatanga and [we were] starting to see the benefits of it. In Auckland I think we had approximately 17 Matua Whangai men within the Auckland sites. As Matua Whangai was devolved and no longer within the department, and there was rationales given for that, but I think purely because it was successful, that was what us Māori thought – that it was too successful – what started to happen though was, out of those 17 ... after ... two years, there were only four of them left. Thirteen of them had died. They had died while on the job, and died not long after and these weren't very old men. The one I had who worked with us, he used to sit in his office quite distressed because what the organisation asked for was accountability and when he said he was working at 3 a.m. in the morning with whānau, those aren't office hours so he didn't know how to fill in his time sheet. So the stress was added on them because the policy procedures were enforced on them because they said you have to be accountable to the department hours. So again, as Māori, you conform in a way or you die. I mean, that's how bad it was. ... These were individual Matua Whangai people who came in, and these were people who came from the wharves and places, who back then ... were people who had already been doing this. His name was Mike Tipene and he was our Matua Whangai and he would be there and ... it was working well, he was doing some incredible work. He was doing things around spirituality, around tapu, around things that, as social workers, as a Government agency we weren't equipped to deal with. They were dealing with that hard stuff. What they were also dealing with was they were opening doors for our non-Māori to get into Māori families but they were guiding them and they were the ones who were keeping us culturally safe. Eventually things started to happen and structures were put in and their accountability to the organisation was demanded rather than their accountability to whānau, Hapū, Iwi, and that tension, I think, caused and contributed to a lot of their deaths. And Mike was with us and he went into hospital and he died. I used to see him at his desk quite distressed – he

would never come and ask me for help because he was a very humble man, but then we started to look around and ask where they all were, they had died - five of them had died whilst working in the Department in Auckland. So there was a whole lot of stuff that we could see that was happening and then I think later on in my working career when I went to the National Office there was this very tokenistic ... lip-service, and I kept going back to Paraire's words around "Can you truly operate as a Māori" and I think we wanted to believe we could.

Moana:

Heaps. So I think for me, and for Māori practitioners in general I suppose I... when we practice in whanaungatanga it is often queried and is often seen as an ethical dilemma, particularly if there's a whakapapa connection that is transparent. So in our mainstream organisations, in health for example, quite a number of Māori practitioners that I've supervised have had their ethics questioned about, "Should you be working with this whānau because you're related to them?" And so for us, for me, that's a strength – you have to know as a practitioner how to manage that, but it's a strength. And I think that one of the cautions for us is that - know when we're managing the whanaungatanga relationship well and know when it's becoming an issue. How do we put in place some safety mechanisms for ourselves, because we're not always self-aware in that relationship around how that occurs and for me that is a supervision issue, around how does my supervisor support me to understand and check if my whanaungatanga relationship is creeping outside of what is ok. So there's some checks and balances in there so that happens constantly. I think, in a Māori paradigm, for the Iwi social services practitioners that I work with, that's absolutely one of their strengths. That's how they get to the depth of some of the take they are working with in whānau.

Marlane:

The tensions happen in a couple of ways. One is that in this sort of mahi they like to allocate time lines. If you're going to meet with that whānau or interview those people then you'll need 'x' amount of time, so the tension has been for me, the challenge has been in extending that time to be more respectful of the engagement that needs to happen. The second thing has been about how to not only be respectful with the kōrero [discussion] and use it in meaningful ways, but also the idea of koha [gifting] to those people in terms of the things that they've brought through that process and kind of given up or shared. It's then aligning the kōrero with the objectives of the organisation and sometimes that tension is there, often whānau and kaimahi want somewhere to say it how it is, what it is for them, and often in the kind of mahi ... and reporting I do, people want to hear that in a sanitized kind of way. They want to hear your message but they want to

hear it within these sorts of constraints and that's a real tension because most of the kaimahi Māori and also whānau and rangatahi, their experiences that I'm gathering up have not been positive ones. They've been painful and they've been about mamae [hurt] and to give that respect and then reinterpret it in a way that an organisation wants to hear it is a real tension and sometimes it's not always easily achieved. And, I find that really a tension for me because I'm using me, myself, my tikanga, my being as Māori to engage with people and to collect information and then, if I'm then caught by the organisation to use it differently.

Lisa:

I want to say no, and I think that's because of where I choose to place myself. Knowing whether this is a safe space ... in terms of practice with whānau, within Hapū and Iwi. I don't think there are tensions. I mean, I can think of people where others will say "She's so slow about her practice" and you look at her practice - her practice was engaging with whānau and finding out who those whānau were so, others in her team thought she was taking forever with a whānau and we knew she was doing the whanaungatanga kōrero, she was looking for whānau placement, she was taking the time to do that I guess it's about credit, who you listen to.

And I think that we're seeing more now with the influence of that, ... , I have colleagues here now who are not Māori, ... they'll come back and say they went to a meeting and it wasn't until towards the end of the day that someone finally actually said to that person, "Well we haven't been formally introduced"... you know, and she said "I felt really awkward throughout the whole day, whereas the way we [Māori] would do it is that we would just whakawhanaungatanga with people right at the start of the hui". Particularly the non-Māori wanting that process, [it] being an effective process to actually engage with each other and know each other at a different level before we just get into the business. So if I'm thinking about what are the boundaries within social work practice, I think it's about how clear are we about what we are doing and what is the purpose of it. That we actually see whakawhanaungatanga as an integral part of our process as social workers therefore we need to assert the right to do that. We need to be able to clearly speak to it [so] should anybody actually wonder why it's taking so long ... to actually justify it. I just think that in the spaces that I've been in, even in recent times, I still want to make that connection and then if I'm facilitating or thinking about a big hui, how you kind of try and do some of those processes even though you might not be able to use them. So I think we actually still try to do it but we acknowledge some of those constraints.

Luana:

Heck yeah. Sometimes they have a way... you know, like your setting must be a certain way – so you get given an office or a meeting room. ... I'm so into the safety and everything of a practitioner, but sometimes the office environment is not welcoming so I have to quickly assess that environment, again expecting the whānau to come in and we haven't even built a rapport, we might have just talked on the phone. So ways I find organisations really get caught up in their environment – a desk, a few seats – nothing inviting to say "Hey come in, let's have a chat". If I'm working with a young person it's like going to the principal's office, and [you] think that's going to go down well for them? I don't think so. But if I say "Hey, let's go for a walk" and then I let my team leader know that we're going for a walk – that used to shift people.

The job has its own protocols and parameters and I guess that at times they had their reasons, but I also believe, as a practitioner, the safety and well-being of individuals and/or their whānau must at all times be our priority. One of the social work skills is to advocate and if we can't even advocate within our own organisations then we really need to check out our skill sets as a practitioner. ... I have to say that even Kaupapa Māori organisations became highly caught up in compliance rather than being there for the whānau, some organisations. The contract's saying and we've got these obligations, [but] if the money becomes your whole mover you're really in the wrong profession.

Shayne:

Absolutely. I really appreciate the University for starters, and the staff here.... not just my colleagues but also the management here. They seem to recognize that we have whakawhanaungatanga based community responsibilities and so as long as we meet our obligations here at work they allow us to meet those obligations in the community so in my current environment they seem to be more than understanding of that. In the past I've worked in organisations when ... for the first time I had a professionally qualified supervisor supervising my social work. Anyway we were going through a feedback of my mahi [work] for the week and what I had been doing and I was working with this young fella and his mum and dad came for tea because they were having trouble as a couple. ... the supervisor got into me saying "Shayne you've crossed the boundaries. You shouldn't have people you're working with in your home". And I said to her "Look, I completely disagree. I expect to be able to go into their homes and I expect them to be courteous and welcoming and all those kinds of things of me. Why should they not have the same expectation of me? So I said "No, I don't wear that" and it was something we never agreed on. She said that for her it was definitely that I'd crossed a professional boundary.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the concept of whakawhanaungatanga, its place in Māori engagement processes across the Social Sciences focusing especially on the place it takes within Māori Social Work practice. Whakawhanaungatanga and its broad meanings were defined and its use in Social Work explained. Seven leaders in Māori Social Work practice with over 25 years practice experience were interviewed regarding their use of whakawhanaungatanga and the implications that process had on their clients' expectations, their own responsibilities and obligations and tensions this approach has caused in their workplaces.

The next chapter will look at how using whakawhanaungatanga challenges traditional western Social Work definitions of Social Work boundaries, and what this means for the final phase of the Western Social Work practice framework, the termination phase i.e. the endings of a piece of Social Work practice with a client.

Chapter Ten Managing Social Work Boundaries

In the previous chapter we looked at Whakawhanaungatanga, what it was, how experienced social workers used it in their practice, what expectations and obligations it engendered and what tensions this approach may have caused in their work places. This chapter moves on into the next phase, looking at whether practitioners using whakawhanaungatanga cross Social Work boundaries when they use this process, examining the ethics surrounding the dilemmas this approach may cause, including how Social Workers make judgements about what boundaries to cross and how are they held accountable for their practice. A literature review of Social Work boundaries takes place first. Followed by discussion by the research participants about how they identify and deal with boundary issues raised by whakawhanaungatanga. The chapter ends looking at what happens in what is known as the termination phase of the Social Work process because if you have ingratiated yourself as whānau, family, there must be implications as you don't cease to be whānau at the end of a piece of Social Work.

As a youngish social worker in the 1990's, one of the things I noticed when working with mature Māori co-workers who were a generation older, was that there was often an expectation of "do what I say, not do what I do". By that I mean there were times when they crossed traditional Social Work boundaries that I was not permitted to cross. Coincidentally these were sometimes the same people who would criticise other workers for crossing Social Work boundaries.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, whakawhanaungatanga is the primary way many Māori meet and connect, where you identify or maintain relationships so that you become whānau, i.e. you identify that you both have connections that enable you to work together. What does this then mean for Social Workers; what boundaries may be crossed and how do you maintain them? For many years many New Zealand Social workers were not part of the communities they serviced. By that I mean they were often not from the same culture or class as their clients, and when I first worked in South Auckland they didn't even live in the same locality as their clients. When I started in Otara in 1983 as a youth worker there was a form of white flight. By 5.30 p.m. nearly all of the Pākehā teachers, social workers, probation officers, nurses and shop keepers had left Otara to their homes

in the middle class suburbs of Auckland where they had little, if any, social contact with the community's residents.

Those working from and in the Māori community have different relationships with their clientele as you could be the same Hapū or your kids may go to the same schools, be in the same kapahaka groups, or you could see your clients/ex-clients down at the local marae. This close association between client and worker may cause tension or conflict, especially if the worker works for an organisation that has very formal expectations around worker roles and behaviour; conflict between what the organisation wants, what the clients expect and what the social worker believes they should be doing.

When a significant factor of the Social Work Planned Change Model is the termination stage, i.e., the work with the client is over and so that relationship ends (Shannon & Young, 2004). What does that mean for a worker who has created a relationship where they are now whānau? Can you really take part in a process where you are whānau one day and then, once the work is finished, declare we are not whānau anymore?

Hollis (2006) noted that a number of Māori social workers received a fair degree of criticism from Pākehā colleagues and supervisors who felt that using processes such as whakawhanaungatanga crossed Western Social Work boundaries and ideals of professionalism. One of the purposes of professionalism is to divorce the personal from the professional. With Social Work one of the later professions to emerge in the West, it has sought to establish its credentials, particularly in hospital Social Work, as being as professional as the doctors, nurses, dieticians, physiotherapist, occupational therapist that they meet in their multi-disciplinary teams.

There is a significant amount of literature regarding the ethics of Social Work particularly regarding professional boundaries. Social Work as a profession, more so than its Community Work sibling, is under increasing demands from public scrutiny to be more accountable, often led by Māori consumers, (Puaote-Atatū being a leading critic) leading to the expectation of a more professional workforce. This has led to greater regulation with the New Zealand Social Work registration board accrediting both Social Work education and Social Work practitioners and driving a call for mandatory registration for Social Work just as there is mandatory registration for teachers.

The actions of some social workers have been called into question, even accusations of them acting in complicity with whānau. The internationalisation of Social Work has driven it to seek to be considered more professional as it seeks to define its role globally (Weiss-Gal & Welbourne, 2008). This caused worries that Indigenous perspectives are diminishing as the Social Work profession chases the international accreditation to become and remain members of these international bodies. In New Zealand, for example, a contemporary version of the ANZASW code of conduct (2013) has a heavily watered down bi-cultural context and expression to align it with the international requirements. Time will tell whether this greater professionalisation, accompanied with a diminished commitment to bicultural practice, will have a negative impact on services for Māori.

Boundary Issues

An implication of whakawhanaungatanga is that if you identify as whānau, what happens at the end of a piece of Social Work, is the relationship also now ended? Hollis-English is one of the few writers who has written about this Social Work paradox, she writes “the significance of the whakawhanaungatanga process in that once the whānau connection is made, it does not end when the child returns to their family, or when the professional relationship is over” (Hollis-English, 2012:136), “If the process is implemented in accordance with tikanga then the relationship between Māori social workers and whānau /clients will be never-ending, the only thing that changes is the kaupapa of the relationship” (Hollis-English, 2012:215) noting that to some the notion of “closure” in western social work was “just bizarre” (Hollis, 2006:63).

One of the concerns is that if a professional relationship evolves into one where there are other components to it, such as a mutual friendship, this dual relationship (that is it has more than just the professional component to it) and the power differential implicit in the Social Worker and client relationship remains and the relationship is no longer governed by the rules of the profession. This, it is believed, can undermine the gains made in the therapeutic relationship (Kagle & Giebelhausen, 1994).

These dual relationships (the term will be discussed in more detail later) create boundary issues that can create conflicts of interest that harm clients or colleagues (Reamer, 2003). Conflicts of interest occur when professionals find themselves in "a situation in which

regard for one duty leads to disregard of another or might reasonably be expected to do so" (Reamer, 2003:121).

It can interfere with "developing a therapeutic alliance and making maximum use of the worker-client relationship" (Reamer, 2006:108). It can also cause a great deal of difficulty if the social worker and client have to re-establish their professional relationship at a later date (Reamer, 2006). These potential complications within dual relationships mean that some workers have, as one of their principles, "once a client always a client" (Reamer, 2006:115) and so erect boundaries that keep this philosophy.

Reamer, in their work on boundary issues in social work, stated that "Social workers are trained to maintain clear boundaries in their relationships with clients" (Reamer, 2006:108). The boundaries were important so that all involved had very clear understandings of the nature of the relationship and what its purpose was.

Social Work internationally has battled to have itself seen as an accepted profession within the pantheon of professions through meeting certain criteria such as its own body of knowledge, a professional authority, a code of ethics, professional associations and community acceptance (Weiss-Gal & Welbourne, 2008). The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) from the United States of America included ethical standards around dual relationships in 1993 (NASW, n.d.) and outlined in its revised code what counted as a transgression of boundaries.

The social worker should not condone or engage in any dual or multiple relationships with clients or former clients in which there is a risk of exploitation of or potential harm to the client. The social worker is responsible for setting clear, appropriate and culturally sensitive boundaries. (NASW, 1993:5)

The code was interpreted in some spheres as stating "that developing a relationship that is other than professional, i.e. a sexual or business relationship with a current or former client, is a breach of the code" (Davidson, 2005:513).

The increasing professionalization of social work has had its critics. As early as 1996 Lena Dominelli was warning against a process that was undermining the work of what she called "the autonomous reflective practitioner" (Dominelli, 1996:153). One of the

issues with whakawhanaungatanga and ‘becoming whānau’, is that whānau does not normally end when a professional engagement ends. It is important then to take a brief look at the expectation of what happens at the end of a piece of Social Work.

Endings

The Planned Change process has been the dominant framework for Social Work practice. It is based around four key components. The engagement phase, assessment phase, intervention phase and the evaluation and termination phase (Minahan & Pincus, 1977; Berg-Weger, 2016; Cournoyer, 2013). Evaluation, sometimes referred to as reviewing, is the part of the social work process that deals with endings or termination. Termination seems an abrupt term, but does have the concept of Social Work relationships as having defined endings, where services or the work of individual social workers is expected to be terminated properly (Reamer, 2006; Adams et al., 2005).

For the termination phase to be appropriate, endings need to be planned to avoid negative reactions such as “anger, frustrations and guilt” that can occur when clients are not prepared or understand the nature of the Social Work relationship (Gambrill, 2013:517). This is vital when service users may not understand what social workers do and so not be aware of the limitations and boundaries of Social Work roles (Higham, 2009).

Gambrill (2013) prepares a brief checklist for planning for endings right from the start of the Social Work relationship including that the “expectations of clients are clearly described, responsibilities of helpers are clearly described including what can be offered and what cannot” and “feelings about endings are discussed (Gambrill, 2013:517). As part of the termination process she recommends that “final meetings should allow time to discuss feelings about ending, to review progress, to celebrate success and to plan next steps (Gambrill, 2013:525)”.

Ethics

The question then becomes, is whakawhanaungatanga an ethical approach to Social Work? The first thing that needs to be done is to align it with the relevant “Codes of Ethics”. The International Federation of Social Workers has a “Statement of Ethical Principles” that outlines the basic principles for its member organisations. The most

relevant clauses to a discussion on whakawhanaungatanga are the following three clauses which were approved in 2004:

Principle 5.3 Social workers should act with integrity. This includes not abusing the relationship of trust with the people using their services, recognising the boundaries between personal and professional life, and not abusing their position for personal benefit or gain.

Principle 5.5 Social workers need to acknowledge that they are accountable for their actions to the users of their services, the people they work with, their colleagues, their employers, the professional association and to the law, and that these accountabilities may conflict.

Principle 5.11 Social workers should be prepared to state the reasons for their decisions based on ethical considerations, and be accountable for their choices and actions (International Federation of Social Workers, 2004: 4-5).

The ANZASW is a partner to the IFSW but has its own code that it applies to New Zealand Social Work members. The relevant clauses include;

1.7 Members actively promote the rights of tangata whānau to utilise tangata whenua social work models of practice and ensure the protection of the integrity of the whānau in a manner which is culturally appropriate

3.5 Members do not abuse or take advantage of any professional relationship with clients for personal, professional, political, financial, or sexual gain.

5.3 The rights of colleagues to constructively challenge mono cultural knowledge, values and methods in social work practice are upheld by all members (ANZASW, 2013: 9-16).

The New Zealand Social Work Registration Board also has guidelines for ethical practice, including that Social Workers;

- not exploit their relationship with clients for personal or professional gain; (SWRB, 2014:4)
- establishes that it is the individual social worker's responsibility to refrain from any behaviour that would compromise their ability to work with clients in a fully professional and caring manner, or put their own or the profession's reputation in danger. (SWRB, 2014:3)

- discuss potential or actual conflicts of interest (both personal and professional) with the client and attempt to resolve them expeditiously. The social worker should bring any potential or actual conflicts of interest to their supervisor's or employer's attention. Unless a resolution is possible, the relationship with the client should be terminated with an appropriate referral being made; (SWRB, 2014:4).

In 2016 this was significantly updated giving much more detail about conflicts of interests and how to deal with them;

1.7 not work in a situation where there is a conflict of interest:

- discuss potential or actual conflicts of interest (both professional and personal) with your client and take all reasonable steps to protect their interests as much as possible.
- tell a supervisor or employer about any potential or actual conflicts of interest and if they cannot be resolved then end the relationship and refer your client appropriately. (SWRB, 2016:4)

The code notes that because New Zealand is a small country that “many people live and work in small and rural communities where people are dependent on each other. It is important that as a social worker, you keep a professional distance from clients and that there is no, or no appearance of any, advantage taken of a client. (SWRB, 2016:4)”

The code specifically outlines what it considers a conflict of interest. A conflict of interest occurs when “you cannot be totally professional and impartial. (SWRB, 2014 6)”

Areas of potential risk for conflict of interest include:

1. Working in two distinct social work roles simultaneously in which the same client could be a party.
2. Having a second occupation that involves your clients as a social worker.
3. Working with two or more clients whose best interests diverge (family/whānau, relationship, or marital conflict).
4. Linking clients with other services that could benefit you, your relatives, or your friends.

5. Exploiting the relationship of trust and confidence that exists between a social worker and a client for your personal benefit (for example, material gain, personal relationships, politics, or research).
6. Using your position to benefit yourself, your family/whānau, or your friends in a way that is unfair to clients or others (for example, jumping the queue to access services).
7. Changing to a new role where your previous knowledge of clients could prejudice clients' fair treatment or access to services (for example, a former child-protection social worker becoming a family/whānau court counsellor).
8. Accepting a client you have prior knowledge of or experience, where that experience could negatively affect the client and compromise professional boundaries.
9. Holding a personal philosophy, or religious or spiritual beliefs, that could result in your client being unfairly treated or exploited.

(SWRB, 2014:6)

Finally, there is the warning not to engage in inappropriate relationship with clients:

5.8 Maintain personal and professional boundaries and not form inappropriate relationships with clients or those close to them (SWRB, 2016:14).

Much of this is warning practitioners of the formally mentioned dual relationship,

Dual Relationships

The New Zealand Social Work Registration Board advises social workers on maintaining “clear and professional boundaries with clients” (SWRB, 2014:15) due to the power imbalances inherent in Social Work and so the need to avoid dual relationships that are inappropriate.

Dual relationships occur when a professional enters into a second role within the life of a client including friend, employer, teacher, business associate, family member, sexual partner (Kagle & Giebelhausen, 1994:213). The problem with dual relationships is when “a professional relationship shifts to a dual relationship the practitioner’s power remains but is not checked by the rules of professional conduct” (Kagle & Giebelhausen, 1994:217) as it undermines the therapeutic relationship. It is interesting to note that dual

relationships in this context occur when the professional relationship is added to or alters. For example you are a person's professional social worker and then you become a family member. The Māori whakawhanaungatanga process is that you become whānau and then you enter into a professional relationship. It could be argued that you have to become whānau before you can work effectively with that person of whānau. It has been a Māori approach for centuries and probably has its genesis in the tribal nature of Māori society where every other Iwi was a potential threat. One of the only ways to gain acceptance and trust was through whakawhanaungatanga. If you could prove some relationship then you may not be a threat. Māori social workers engage in whakawhanaungatanga to show that they can be trusted, that they are there to do the right thing. This becomes complicated in statutory Social Work and some workers may choose to or not engage, but even in cases where children are removed, the whānau ethic means the worker has to do their best by that child.

However it is not dual relationships per se that are unethical, they become unethical when they:

- interfere with the social worker's exercise of professional discretion
- interfere with the social worker's exercise of impartial judgment
- exploit clients, colleagues, or third parties to further the social worker's personal interests
- harm clients, colleagues, or third parties

(Reamer, 2003:129).

It is a recognition of the power that social workers can have over clients and their lives that there is considerable angst over dual relationships. The worry is that in the new relationship the power may remain with no longer any restraint by professional ethics (Reamer, 2006) although this assumes that personal ethics are absent. The desire is to avoid any form of harm or exploitation (Reamer, 2006).

Reamer states "Dual relationships in Social Work fall into five categories: intimate relationships, pursuit of personal benefit, how professionals respond to their own emotional and dependency needs, altruistic gestures, and responses to unanticipated

circumstances.” Social workers need to be aware of avoiding conflicts of interest that interfere with professional discretion and impartiality; the main worry is exploitation of a power relationship or something that may harm the client (Reamer, 2006:109).

Sawyer & Prescott (2010) go further and say that, particularly in therapeutic situations, “dual relationships (or multiple relationships) in therapy practice are identified as an ethical issue and a boundary violation”. The concern again is for the client that it is “the primary responsibility of the clinician is to make care of the client the first priority. A dual relationship poses the risk that the personal interests of the mental health professional or some other obligation could be more important than the needs and safety of the client” (Sawyer & Prescott, 2010:273).

For many years the USA professions code of ethics stated that once a person was a client they were one in perpetuity, however, Davidson (2005) noted that other professions such as psychologists believed that with the passage of time non-therapeutic relationships are not necessarily harmful.

Is boundary crossing wrong?

There is some discussion on whether dual relationships and crossing boundaries are inherently wrong. Crowden (2008), in their discussion on boundaries and multiple overlapping relationships in psychotherapy, draws a distinction between crossing boundaries and violating boundaries, arguing that they are not necessarily the same thing.

Crowden (2008) argues that;

Many boundary crossings are unavoidable. For instance there are many discrete communities like those comprising members of the armed services, people with particular disabilities, people with similar religious or sexual preferences where dual and multiple overlapping relationships may even have a profound and potentially positive impact on professional life. Many rural GPs and health care professionals hold the view that the overlapping relationships in rural practice lead to positive health outcomes (Crowden, 2008:15).

They go even further and argue that “if a virtuous psychotherapist does need to cross a boundary in order to best meet the goals of psychotherapy (to increase autonomy and

psychological health) and, if that action is true to the intrinsic nature of psychotherapy, crossing a boundary is arguably an ethically justifiable act” (Crowden, 2008:21).

Another issue about boundaries is that they may very well be cultural. The simple sharing of a meal or hot drink with a client can be seen as crossing boundaries in one context and perfectly acceptable in another (O’Leary et al, 2013).

One of the reasons for the strong focus on this type of professionalism is that, as a relatively new profession, Social Work may be trying overly hard to impress its professional credentials. (I used to notice this as a hospital social worker writing in patient notes as I was always conscious of trying to be as professional as the other health professionals and so, due to my personal feelings of inadequacy, my note writing was as professional and objective as I could make it.) A dominant profession like medicine does not need to beat itself up so much about being involved in the community they serve. Rural general practitioners may deal in their professional capacity with every person in their community. Their neighbours, bankers, shop keeper, church members, dramatic societies, mechanic etc. and yet enjoy and value those multiple layers of relationship where participation and observation adds to their understanding of their patients (Brooks et al., 2012).

Social workers can also find working in rural areas challenging norms that city workers may find it easier to avoid. Pugh (2007) noted three main issues regarding boundaries in rural social work;

1. The likelihood of meeting clients outside of work at the shop, schools, socialising etc.
2. The desire of many service users in rural areas to ‘place’ the worker. That is, to get some idea of whom the worker is in relation to other people and themselves in their community.
3. That in some small communities, the normative style of relating to others may be one in which it is expected that daily life is conducted in a friendlier way and is thus much less narrowly circumscribed by a neutral, ‘professional’ style of engagement.
(Pugh, 2007:1406)

These issues can be easily related to by Māori workers who work in smaller discrete communities within larger communities. As a Māori Health Promoter I found that my

greatest opportunity for networking was at my children's Kapahaka performances, a fundraiser at the local Te Kohanga Reo or a tangihanga at the local marae.

Some advise social workers to avoid dual relationships, particularly if there is a risk for harm or exploitation, but if it is unavoidable then they should "take steps to protect clients and [take] responsibility for setting clear, appropriate, and culturally sensitive boundaries" (Congress & McAuliffe, 2006:56). However, others see professional relationship boundaries as being artificial and inflexible particularly in rural communities and with minorities (Davidson, 2005). Especially when, by its nature, Social Work occupies boundary positions involved in complex situations often involving a series of tensions and dilemmas (Adams, 2005).

Often supposed boundary crossings are actually breaching agency's codes or processes and Davidson (2005) argues that accountable practitioners can be justified in crossing these boundaries in cases such as giving a contact phone number to a potentially suicidal client. Boundary violations however, are conflicts of interests where the professional's needs are met at the expense of the client.

Others go even further and argue for an;

Effective partnership which allows boundaries to be questioned and crossed in social work practice with service users and their careers, demand a critical social work perspective. Critical practice, with its recognition of power relations, is central to an understanding of the different meanings, levels and layers of partnership working with service users. In other words, the ability to reach across and where necessary to disregard boundaries (Jones et al., 2008:238).

This approach may be necessary in minority and oppressed groups. In the late 20th century at the height of the HIV/AIDS epidemic gay men had to deal with issues in the community as they occurred where the intensity and context of their work meant that "it's not a job, it's a way of life really in the end" (Deverell & Sharma, 2000:31) where the major issues were confidentiality and discretion.

How do you deal with crossing boundaries?

Times are changing with an increasing awareness of how dual and multiple relationships may be unavoidable, but also an acknowledgement that “dual or multiple relationships be used and managed as an appropriate method of social work practice” (Galbreath, 2005:07 cited in Pugh, 2007:1406).

Younggren (2002) cited in Pugh (2007) has a list of questions for psychotherapist practitioners to ask themselves before they enter into any dual relationship

- Is the dual relationship necessary?
- Is the dual relationship exploitative?
- Who does the dual relationship benefit?
- Is there a risk that the dual relationship could damage the patient?
- Is there a risk that the dual relationship could disrupt the therapeutic relationship?
- Am I being objective in my evaluation of this matter?
- Have I adequately documented the decision-making process in the treatment records?

(Younggren's, 2002 cited in Pugh, 2007:1417).

Pugh adds to this list by asking “Did the client give informed consent regarding the risks to engaging in the dual relationship? (Pugh, 2007:2018)

Crowden believes that just because boundaries are crossed it doesn't mean that boundaries have been violated and that multiple relationships can be ethical in psychotherapy when professionals “are aware of the nature of professional boundaries and are sensitive to an obligation to act from the virtues and regulative ideals that ensure the goals of psychotherapy (to increase autonomy and psychological wellbeing) are met (Crowden, 2008:26).

Reamer believes that social workers can act ethically if they can,

1. Be alert to potential or actual conflicts of interest.

2. Inform clients and colleagues about potential or actual conflicts of interest; explore reasonable remedies.
3. Consult colleagues and supervisors, and relevant professional literature, regulations, policies, and ethical standards (codes of ethics) to identify pertinent boundary issues and constructive options.
4. Design a plan of action that addresses the boundary issues and protects the parties involved to the greatest extent possible.
5. Document all discussions, consultation, supervision, and other steps taken to address boundary issues.
6. Develop a strategy to monitor implementation of action plan

(Reamer, 2003:130).

Congress and McAuliffe (2006) believe that the focus on dual relationships comes from societies with a highly professionalised work force whereas cultures and countries that have a more collaborative approach are less stringent about maintaining professional boundaries. Even in Western countries where strict separation is required to avoid all dual relationships it is impossible in rural areas. They refer to a concern that the suspicion of the problems with dual relationships “reflects an Anglo bias and that it does not support culturally sensitive practice” particularly in cultures where kinship or developing a personal relationship “may be a prerequisite in developing a therapeutic relationship” (Congress & McAuliffe, 2006:157).

Māori are not the only ones who question the rigidity of dual relationships. Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islanders workers also tread a fine balance when working with kin in Social Work relationships (Bennett & Zubrzycki, 2003). The changing nature of Social Work means that there are also varied opinions about what is acceptable in the Social Work relationships where context is crucial (Shardlow, 1995). Davidson (2005) claims that relationship boundaries are on a continuum from rigid to balanced to entangled. Entangled is when a worker “meets their own emotional, social or physical needs through the relationship with their client at the expense of the client (Davidson, 2005:518) where “workers with ‘balanced’ boundaries are authentic and caring, while maintaining clear boundaries”. “Those functioning in a ‘balanced’ manner use professional judgment and self-reflection skills in their assessments, and make decisions that are professionally responsible and accountable to other professionals” (Davidson, 2005:519).

One of the ways to manage boundary crossings is through appropriate accountability, Doel & Sharlow (2005) outlines seven forms of accountability to help safeguard workers; accountability to oneself, to the employer, to other agencies, to the public, to the client, to the profession and to the law.

O’Leary et al. (2013) explain that, in their view, some boundaries are permeable and therefore negotiable and some should be impermeable and therefore non-negotiable. However, they are rather “Anglo” in that their perspective, the permeable/negotiable aspect of the social work relationship, extends to disclosure of worker’s personal details, saying hello in other contexts, taking of calls and meetings outside of office hours and sharing food or drink. For example the taking of a koha (gift) to assist with funeral expenses of a close family member of a client could be seen as violating the Social Work relationship boundary, but is a normal and accepted part of Māori society.

Mendez and Binns (2012) support what they refer to as “embedded practice (being known as a member of the community)” (2012:608) as being appropriate and effective approaches linking closely to the principles of community development, particularly when working in rural areas. Personal networks are key to this form of practice, including the reciprocal nature of sharing and combining resources. To work in community you need to be an effective part of that community (Mendez & Binns, 2012). They reported that, while some workers chose not to live in the community they worked with, others found it invaluable in providing insight and knowledge that assisted in the programmes they were involved in. Rural social work that engages in issues at individual and community wide level is effective, but often needs involvement in that community and being part of that community.

Māori Social Work

Mooney’s research on the building of rapport with Māori teenagers outlined a number of values and processes:

- the need for a clear kaupapa
- clear tikanga processes
- whanaungatanga principles and Māori models of practice to drive the boundary setting right from the outset

- they are clear and straight-up from the beginning
- open and transparent with ... about boundaries, roles and responsibilities.
- clear role and boundary definitions
- it was essential for Māori social workers to be competent in the skills of whakawhanaungatanga

(Mooney, 2012:60)

The main issue about dual relationships is that the social worker/client relationship is one based on power and the power dynamic is no longer restrained by professional ethics (Reamer, 2006). In other words, in Western Social Work the worry about power is the power that the worker has. Conversely, in Māori Social Work the opportunity is there for the worker to be exploited; the whānau obligations can be employed to exploit the worker or the organisation. Like all ethical discussions the primary focus is around protection for the client, protection for the worker and protection for the organisation. However, most of the objections to dual relationships are that they appear to breach organisational conduct and protocols rather than professional codes of ethics.

The real issue is not the crossing of Social Work boundaries by social workers, it is that Māori Social Workers are often operating from a Community Development perspective. The issue in front of them may be child protection or sexual health etc, but the bigger picture is that they are working for Māori Development and therefore the ethics they operate under are more attuned to Community Work and Community Development.

In Chapter Nine the seven Social Workers spoke about the nature of whakawhanaungatanga, how they use it and the tension it can cause in the work place. The rest of this chapter presents their answers to the following questions:

5. Does whakawhanaungatanga mean that you sometimes cross social work boundaries and how do you manage it?
6. How do you decide which boundaries to cross?
7. What happens at the end of a piece of work?

Again considerable blocks of text are used to relay the context and meanings.

Does whakawhanaungatanga mean that you sometimes cross social work boundaries? And how do you manage it?

Shirley Ikkala:

We cross them all the time if you're looking at whakawhanaungatanga, about establishing relationships, about doing it in their time rather than organisational time. So you cross boundaries because you had a timeline you had to meet certain KPI's outputs etc. but if we look at whakawhanaungatanga, that's about forming a relationship and that relationship could be more than one visit. ... there was a level of accountability towards that whānau that you'd started to engage with. An example of that whole whakawhanaungatanga [when] it really hit home, was I was involved with a Family Group Conference, we'd organized it. It was a family from 'down the line' so it wasn't my Iwi - ..., I had to say to my boss "I'm sorry, I need to engage with the locals, because it's not my Iwi, again that was a tension because of resources. Eventually ... got Whakatohea Social Services Iwi Social Services involved, met with the family, took it to Court, had a Family Group Conference and over 200 people came because it was a small community. [I] took it to the Judge ... this family ... were well known in gangs and some of them had made a choice to leave the gang because whānau was important. All sorts of things, it was the legal system that over ruled whānau, but what did that then do for us as Māori when we had gone there in good faith, looking at whakawhanaungatanga, engaged relationships, saying "Here is a mechanism that you can make decisions, informed decisions about protecting mokopuna, here's the vehicle, we'll support you" only to go through a system that it based very much on Western notions to be told "No".

Moana Eruera:

Yes, I think it does because we're operating from a different paradigm. I think for our own best practice it can easily slip out, and an example of that is... if I'm going into a whānau that I whakapapa to, I have a whole history and knowledge that I know about them. [But] if I go cold to a whānau that I've never met before I only know what's on the referral that I've been given and what they disclose to me in our honotanga [engagement] with each other... so there's really different starting points in terms of what's a whanaungatanga relationship, particularly for Iwi providers. So those starting points are really different, e.g. the Iwi engagement. So then, it ... can easily slip outside of what, might be [seen] as a social work ethic, seen as acceptable. 'Cause actually, I learnt all that information in a space that's completely disconnected from what I'm here for.

Lisa King:

I would imagine sometimes it might. ...I first began social work practice in 1989 so I had matua whangai. There were probably more than 50% of social workers practicing then were all Māori, were connected into our community, you know? So much so, that was how I learned really what social work was. And it was on the coat tails of Pu Ao Te Ata Tu, the Department of Social Welfare, trying its best to make sense of that and honour it. So I guess those really laid the platform for me. There were times that we as a team wanted to promote more Māori, especially when we were shifted to another area and they wouldn't allow us to come together as a Māori team, so I saw some of the shifts that occurred.

Leland Ruwhiu:

... one of the boundaries I crossed right at the early phase that I had to because it didn't fit... I said to you there are two parts to the whānau. I said in one I see the client as a whānau and I see me as a practitioner as whānau to that client. ... I remember when I started social work training it was in the '80s, the first thing that they said was about your personal and your political, they tried to talk about different roles and responsibilities and you keep your private things to yourself and you don't include that inside your [work] space. I remember working as a paediatric social worker in Hawkes Bay, I knew people. These clients, these whānau that were coming in ..., I already was part of their extended whānau. And then, what it really meant for me was that I had to work out what hat I was wearing when I was with my whānau and I had to make sure that they understood that too. But I've never disassociated myself from clients. In other words, how can I not be part of their whānau if that's my thinking, if my base line thinking is whānau first? So that reinforces that view (1) The client is a whānau so they're more than just themselves; (2) I can become whānau to those clients. Now, if you look at those two things when you think of whakapapa, you and I here in this room today, you and I have known each other for a long time, our names resonate our whakapapa and there are times when we might be in debate with each other but there are other times when there is just pure synergy. My whakaaro [idea] to you is that maybe it's our ancestors that are chatting to each other that have cleared the way, that have made noa [safe] that space and that's how I feel when dealing with clients.

I remember a Pākehā student that went down to the South Island ... and she had the pleasure, the distinct pleasure in saying to me, "Leland, you know all that stuff you talked about whānau? It's a load of bull. I met this one Māori woman down in the South Island and she had no whānau around her." And I said to her "Oh, that's interesting. So, with all that knowledge that you have, with all the training that you're exposed to you couldn't even shift a psychological barrier?" and she said "What do you mean?" "Well really, think about it. You said that she had no whānau – what were you

doing for her?” My point really to her at that time was that if she really understood those two perceptions of whānau that I was talking about, she actually became whānau to that person for a short period of time. She had all this knowledge about the importance of whakapapa, wairua, whanaungatanga, tikanga, manaakitanga and all that, and I said even though this person didn’t know all that, it wasn’t about her saying to the client, “Oh I know all these things”, it’s just practicing it... if she’d practiced that then really she would have been instantly fulfilling some of those healthy roles in a whānau membership for them.

Luana Te Hira:

Part of me wants to say yes, but the other part of me is more inclined to say “not really” because if you understand the principals that inform your practice as a practitioner then whakawhanaungatanga doesn’t become the barrier to it. ... I learned very early in time [from] some really good practitioners, if you understand your policies and procedures of your organization and recognize that they are guidelines, then you know how to work it to ensure the safety and well-being of the individual and/or the whānau that you’re supporting. And they train you to look at the bigger picture... so go back to aroha ki te tangata, aroha ki te kaupapa [compassion for the people, compassion for the problem].

Shayne Walker:

Absolutely. I think you have to be very clear about your own positioning and so, for instance, if you have a philosophy that you can learn something from every person you work with then you have to accept as part of that, that every person you work with has the right to learn from you. Which means, they’re often involved in parts of your lives that some social workers would say cross professional boundaries. I disagree with the synthetic separation of the personal and the professional. I think they are the same thing and for me when I am being a professional social worker I am also being a very personal social worker therefore my Māoriness comes with me, whakawhanaungatanga comes with me. For instance, Dunedin’s a very small town and so it is quite common for you to go to tangi or to go to a sports things or to go to community celebrations and half the people in the room are people you’ve worked with. Once I was at a wedding at the Orphan’s Club and I was surrounded, my whole table was full, of young people and families I’d worked with and all the jugs were going flat and I said “Look, please don’t be embarrassed drinking in front of me. I am not your conscience. So please don’t let this beer go flat, it would be such a waste” but even after that they were still uncomfortable. Professional boundaries would say I shouldn’t have been sitting with them at that wedding but actually my professional boundaries say they’re the very

people I should be sitting with because for me the personal and the professional is the same and I can't separate them.

So how do you know when to cross boundaries then? And who are you accountable to from the Māori world.

Shirley:

I don't see it as crossing boundaries. I think it's trying to bring the two worlds together. I've been told you never share whakapapa with a client because you've crossed a boundary and there's ethics around that and I said "there's a level of sharing, but you still maintain the safety around it". You don't divulge, but you make a connection and that was really difficult to try and explain in a way that they understood. So, they talk about ethics, they talked about boundaries and I talked about bringing the two worlds together and finding a commonality and bringing it together and trying to work it that way.

... I got supervision from Paraire [Huata] ... every now and again and go and have my disclosure session with him, and he sits there with his eyes closed and then ... he'd look at me and says "So what do you want me to do about it?" and he said "You make a choice – you stay in there or get out but don't cry about it" and I went "Oh", so I had to look at ways to say to myself... "I need a check in" ... I had those 'check ins' because I did it externally. The clinical aspect was taken care of internally, and that's when the challenges came. That's when I sometimes would lock heads but ... internally if you use process legislation, theory, academia, you can work through that, but in a Māori world it was much harder because there [were] a lot more of those elements, those unseen things that you had to manoeuvre through. ... I went and worked with a family where there were things around Matakite [supernatural visions] and they needed a tohunga [priest] and it was like, ok, I need to protect myself because I needed to go with this family on this journey but I needed to keep myself safe. The organization couldn't but they didn't recognize that, that's why I had to develop my external networks and it was my external networks that challenged me and kept me safe as a Māori working within a Government organization to the point where I started to ask myself the question "Am I really operating as a Māori?" within the institution that I worked for. And I don't think I was. I think there were times when I did have to, ... you are realistically there to implement the policy.

... when I got to the national office ... what I saw in the national office and what I heard, and how I heard Māori being referred to, or the lack of, and things that I saw that people don't know about, I made a conscious choice to say 'the values of this organization totally go against me as a Māori person – I can no longer work here'. So I made that conscious choice to

leave because of the things I saw and heard. I came in at a time in the 1980's where you had Pu Ao Te Ata Tu, you had the Act [Children Young Persons and their Families Act], so it was a time of Māori actually taking a lead and so it was a really neat time to be a Social Worker. Community development was strong, we had the community involved and it was a real good feel until you started to move into the... later part of the 1990's, when you had the breakup of the Department of Social Welfare. You moved into business units and it started to take the focus away and you saw community development devolved into CFA – Community Funding Agency and then what you started to see is that they had predominantly Māori working in there and then that's when Waipereira took CFA, or the department to the Waitangi Tribunal but they pitted Māori against Māori and I think that's when you started to see the decline of Māori influence... we had that moment of drive and then I think in those 1990's the splitting of the business units, community development was completely not even part of it anymore.

Moana:

When I was working at home in Taitokerau people knew me in a range of different ways, when you know everyone in the community. Sometimes I was the Te Aroha Marae secretary, sometimes I'm Wirihiko's daughter, sometimes I'm Aroha's sister, other times I'm a social work supervisor, other times a trainer – so your pōtae [hats] are all confused. Making it clear to people when you're sitting with them in a hono, in a hui, what hat I'm wearing right now in this conversation with you. And sometimes it is more than one and then making that transparently clear as well so that people aren't confused when they see you in the supermarket – [and ask] what was the conversation about? Was that just an informal something or actually was that something else? So definitely being clear about your role with them and dual roles sometimes and just being straight up about what that is. Telling them that there could be some tensions or some crossing of boundaries might occur and that I might recognize it, but if they recognize it to say [so], ... opening up that space to be transparent about that. [Also] having good people I can bounce that off ... supervision and others I think. Because if I'm not really self-aware inside of that particular piece of work then I'm not going to raise it in supervision. ... Leland and I do [things] ... together that is a really great way of picking up on those things because one is observing the other so we're reading some of what's happening and always talk about it afterwards. So co-working, or whatever construct we want to call it – doing things together with someone who will absolutely tell you straight if they think that something's occurred there.

Marlane:

By staying within traditional tikanga boundaries. So I have to juggle which one has the greater meaning for me. Is it my tikanga boundaries or is it my

social work boundaries? Fortunately, usually I can find a way to align them. Usually. I have to wear it that some people are unhappy with me and that's usually my organization, but I go back and talk with my kaumatua to sort my accountability. Fortunately I have my dad living with me and I can sort some of that that way. I go to others, my peers, to try and balance that accountability but I cannot always achieve a win win.

Lisa:

It is about the situation that you find yourself in ...I worked in a Iwi social service, I mean you still have deadlines to meet and things to do but to not do whakawhanaungatanga, you know, that's not the right thing.

Leland:

Like I said before, the hats. Ngā pōtae rerekē [the different hats]. So there's different hats and in the first initial period of time, ... I think it's very critical and crucial... in the first initial contact point there's that time that we talk about in our profession as 'contracting' – you know, sitting down and making a contract with your clients, ... for me that's about tikanga, about laying down your tikanga and your kawa [processes] that you're going to practice in, and one of the key things that I learned in the creation of that is that there are basically three things that I try to get inside the contract. The contract... developing your tikanga's not just a one way street thing, ... how we're wanting decision making, the whānau decision making that goes on. Well I know that I'm part of the whānau space so I can participate in this, but I always try and get our whānau to do the journey of physically writing these down and then we have a kōrero and I say well then if you're getting together with somebody, what's really important ways of engaging with them in the terms of your tikanga or your contract? And often they'll say "Well, be straight up" and then what I do is I clarify that for them, with whānau, and I say "Well, when you say that the word honesty comes into mode for me and that means, let's say if I saw something happening with you would you rather me give you the soft version? Would you like me to tell you straight up what's up?" and they always say "Nah, nah, that straight up stuff is really important", so that's one of the key things ... for me, sitting down and working out what our tikanga is, a basic principle right across the board in working with any whānau. So that's the first thing. And it can vary slightly from the tikanga of the existing whānau and mine because that's a negotiated space. Nonetheless, I always push that one because then it allows me to be able to talk straight to them. The other thing has to do with confidentiality in our professional kōrero. For me it's about spending time making sure that that people feel safe, so te ahurutanga [safe space], you know, creating that space... that te ahurutanga space between us as whānau coming in to see a worker. So I spend a little bit of time on that and I always say to them "Well, you know, anything that's said here... it's really important

that you know that it's kept private" and straight away they get it. That's what they want. But then I explain to them the relationship between that and honesty. So if someone said to me, it's happened to me on several occasions, ... they say "Oh look, I'll tell you but don't tell such and such" and I always say back, "Hold it. Remember when we set up our tikanga we said that this would be a place of confidentiality but we also would be straight up with each other? Let us go and discuss that first and we'll work out what our decisions going to be in that journey – so that highlights the importance of confidentiality but also the importance of sitting down and navigating that, because some of that stuff may well need to be talked about... be it to their parents, or be it the abused person, or whatever. So those are probably two of the key things and the final one is just a very basic one – mahia te mahi. I believe that in all the tikanga, for whānau to at least look at progressing, they've actually got to be prepared to do a little bit of work and that work can only come if they agree right at the onset. So when I come back and front them up, that's where I discover that the key hat that I'm wearing is the hat that they came here for in the first place, which was to look at how they might well resolve it, even though they think I'm going to resolve it for them, but how they might well resolve it and what might shift them on in terms of their own healing. ... But that's how I've always practiced and that's stood me in good stead.

Now, people know that I am pro-Māori, we have to take into account regularly the impact of mana, how that might be trampled on right throughout, so ... wearing the hats and knowing what it is.

And see, that thing about the contradictions I think that that's exactly the terrain that an Indigenous social work practitioner needs to navigate effectively, and that means knowing who they are, being tau, being at peace with their Māoriness, you because if you're not at peace with that then you'll be chucking in a whole range of things in a big mikirapu [mixed up]. I'm telling you now, when I think of theory informing my practice, it is not clouded by anything other than Te Mahi Whakamana [mana-enhancing process]. I'm very clear on it. I can use the eight key principles of Te Pōtae Kōhatu Māori because they're Māori. I can see why people use te whare tapu wha, I can understand why people will have taken on board Ngā Takepū [principles]. But where I sit I've had to do an amalgamation of that stuff, I've had to do a synthesis of that stuff, I've had to critique that stuff and what I've come up with is, I know very clearly there are six key principles that guide how I've worked. So when I'm looking at those dilemmas that you're talking about, you know like for example one of them is whakamanawa [give strength], I'm very clear that when I'm engaging with the whānau, and even if they're my own whānau, we set up a contract right at the onset that allows me to be frank and honest and caring and loving and supportive and confidential in that space, then I look at all of those things that block the health and wellbeing of that whānau. Whakamanawa is the end state of dealing with oppression, ... they're free to be able to

engage, to be able to utilize all those things. ... but to get to that phase there's states of oppressive behaviour, oppressive people, oppressive instances, so part of it is trying to unravel that for them. I find that really invigorating to be able to do that, but that's just one value in itself that comes out of a principle that has emerged from a synthesis of theory and practice. That's what I've had to do. Now, I'm not quite sure how other people do it. I know there are a lot of practitioners that walk around here and that have their theorist that they adhere to, and become proponents of that, but I think that somewhere in everyone's practice life surely there's a time when you ask yourself, "So how do I own this person?" and I think that that's what happens when I know that this is the hat that I wear ... as a social worker and practitioner. This is [a] different hat to my role as the oldest, the mātamua, of my family and yet there are some similarities, similar characteristics in both roles.

Shayne:

It's a lot like my values base for confidentiality. I make it clear to people I'm working with that if it's a safety thing and if I think if someone is in danger then I will go outside the boundaries of this confidential relationship and if they're going to work with me and I'm working with them, then we work on that basis. I think things like that are really important in whakawhanaungatanga style relationships. I don't think we just use whakawhanaungatanga to get in the door. I think whakawhanaungatanga defines our version of family making and so family making for me is this long term idea about relationship making and so I see whakawhanaungatanga as having broad implications for me, for even how I behave in a staff meeting here, for how I behave on a Board. To me that has whakawhanaungatanga implications because it is about my personal behaviour and my relationship making skills with those people in that context, so it goes much broader for me than just getting in the door.

I think one of the basic questions is "Is this self-serving?" "Whose interests am I serving here?" And if I am serving my own interests to be very clear about that and put that alongside the other interests I may be serving from this work. But just being honest about that. I don't think there's anything wrong with being self-serving if it serves a broader purpose. Others may agree or disagree about that. I think the measure for me is this whole idea of not just doing the best thing but doing the right thing. And so for me I will ask myself now "What is the right thing to do here?" and some of my fundamentals, some of my criteria for this is "How can I best serve this young person, this child and this whānau?" and if it means they need me to turn up and rotary hoe their section and help them plant a garden I see that as both professional social work and whakawhanaungatanga. So for me I think you have to kind of ask yourself "What is my role here?"

Sometimes we end up being professionally mandated on the basis of say a contract arrangement that an organization might have. ... I remember once

I was working with this whānau and someone said to me “we can pay for this, this, this and this but we can’t pay for that” and I said “Well I’ll just do that for nothing” because it went with it. I think when people want us to work with them on a whakawhanaunga basis we also have to take cognizance of the things that we have the authority and the auspices to work, especially if we’re working for someone else and they’re already under a contract of some kind. ... the things that we just do off our own bat, and we understand what those costs are and who’s paying them and so for me, I’m very mindful, I have some family issues at the moment ... and so when I go to do things with families or in the community and things like that [they are] paying a higher cost than they usually do. ... so for those kinds of things I want to turn up, work hard and ... have the hardness of work for a shorter period of time so I can get back and be doing those family things.

I used to make politically expedient decisions all the time and that would be things like how can this enhance our reputation? How can this better us strategically for getting this kind of funding? All those kinds of things and I’d be lying if I said I still don’t do that because I do, but again my criteria now in terms of values goes back to how does this affect my family? What does it mean in terms of my own standing with that whānau? For instance, when I turned up to this tangi back in November last year I turned up to pay my respects and put down my koha and I just wanted to serve them and love them as a family and they came back and said “We need you to do this, this and this. Wendi is already doing this, this and this. Could you and her work together on this, this and this? This is what we want, this is what we don’t want”. Very clear. And so I had to sit down and figure out my work commitments at my work. I had to go and talk to my wife and make sure that she had everything she needed over the next few days and I had to make sure also that I wasn’t setting myself up to be exhausted in three or four days time so that I was incapable of anything else. So for me the values base was around negotiating those kinds of relationships and so when I think about, instead of doing the best thing, do the right thing, it’s not just the stuff that’s politically expedient. The right thing has a lot to do with what those people need and am I in a position to do that without the cost being paid too highly by other people and other relationships. And also my own personal value base of wanting to serve others, it’s that idea from Uncle Barney [Taiapa] where he speaks of kawa aroha [a process guided by love]... I think I’ve finally figured out what it means... I think it means figure out how to love these people and respect them and get on with it.

What happens – some people call it ‘termination’, some people call it ‘the end point’. What would you call it? A piece of work has finished, you’ve used whakawhanaungatanga, you’ve identified connections, what happens?

Shirley:

See I never see it as an end. A relationship's been formed and if that relationship continues to remain intact that relationship will be there [forever]. And that's what whakawhanaungatanga is about. If those relationships are built ... and there is a relationship there, then you [may] not see somebody for the next 50 years, but as soon as you see someone there's again that relationship has already been established. For me, when I looked at some of my clients, gee some of them didn't like me. ... gosh some of them – one guy spat in my face, but they didn't like me but at the end of it they understood what needed to happen because the energy was put into those people who were there to protect their whānau. Those that didn't wish to, I acknowledged them as well 'cause it was about acknowledging they're part of this whānau. And I think what we did is, when they saw that in action there was a relationship so when I walk down the street they would say hello and we'd have a chat. I was no longer the social worker but we'd formed a relationship but they knew what that relationship was based on, so I think whakawhanaungatanga doesn't end it just takes a different direction. And I think it's like when you sit around ... we'll mention someone's name, we all had a relationship but we made a connection because that one person was that connection. Now, if I see them again there's a relationship there. And I think when I look at my client base, or even the people I work with in the community, I can go back to that community and if those people are still around that relationship has already been set. And then there may be times when I've worked with some of them where it's their kids now having kids, you know, but there's a level of trust where they ring me and say "Oh Shirley, so and so's in prison. Can you..." and I say "Oh, what have they done now?" and then... I said, "No, look I'll go and see if I can get someone" or I put them onto where they need to go. I had a student here and her niece was my very first client and she is now a social worker working in Child, Youth and Family, the aunt, but she knew who I was, but there was a connection there. So that's what I mean is... I think as Māori it doesn't matter where we go we start to make that connection because those relationships have been formed. That's sort of how I do it.

Moana:

I think the thing I love about whanaungatanga is that it never finishes, so saying to them that whatever the take was that we've been working on, that's finished, but actually our relationship hasn't finished and I've seen a lot of practitioners get in trouble about that. So, I've actually been through complaints processes with kaimahi who have finished their formal client relationship and have continued to have a friendship with those clients and I've actually seen two organisations take kaimahi Māori through a complaints process around doing that. I think it needs to depend on each different one... I don't think you can make a blanket rule but there are

definitely risks in that... risks in the work of having such a close relationship. And they're not always close... whanaungatanga doesn't mean we're always intensely close, but there's definitely some risk inside of that around dependency and those kinds of things if we, depending on how close our relationship is there and depending on how much we are enabling them to solve their own issues really.

Marlane:

In some of my mahi, I go into it not necessarily expecting to see those people again because they will be in different parts of the country. But, by and by I do see them again and what I find when I do see those people again is that whakawhanaungatanga is quickly reignited. So, it is I guess lasting inside the kaupapa that I was working in, and I think that they may see opportunities to come back to ... if it was about something else, that reciprocity would continue.

Lisa:

There is such a broad understanding that you can apply to whakawhanaungatanga ... In terms of Māori kaupapa, one can make those connections we didn't know we're connected. But when you think about it also, we're not always, even with our blood type whānau, we're not always in each other's faces, and we don't always see each other all the time - and then when we do we reacquaint with each other and then we're back in together. I think the thing about whakawhanaungatanga it's quite clearly saying "Actually, the purpose of our coming together, what's important to this space at this time is this kaupapa that you come in with". At one level we might say, "Well actually we think there's another thing going on too that brings us together that we might acknowledge or we might not acknowledge, we actually think that there's another thing happening". And I refer back to that conversation about Paraire, at another level I know that's a tupuna kōrero [discussion between ancestors] happening, you know, this is just a one on one relationship with each other. But when you think about with our social work practice, I think that our relationships do transform. Yes, we do stay in relationship with each other but actually in terms of your needs, ... your need for my assistance is no longer what it was and what brought us together. When we see each other we'll still be connected – if you need me you know where I am. You know, it's that kind of relationship ... within our Māori community, we're going to see each other when we live in the same area... we'll probably see each other down at the marae meeting... our kids are going to go to the same kura, we're going to see each other down at the shops. And so those are going to be some of the tensions, you need to look at the reality and maybe those are the tensions that you actually manage.

I think that's about being pono [true]. So, nothing is in isolation that we had to be pono to be really clear about at this space and at this time, what is this that I can do? and be clear about that so that we are not actually also taking our whānau into spaces that aren't actually safe spaces. We also have to learn how to navigate those spaces and advocate into that space.

So again, the notion of relationship, we are always in relationship. And having asserted a relationship, or claimed the relationship connection we continue to have an obligation, but the work that we might be doing with a whānau may be for a set period of time. ... beyond that event or beyond that take [purpose]... you continue to have a relationship. [It] may not always be called upon but when it gets called upon again you have a responsibility to reciprocate in that call or to respond back to them. If we're doing our mahi right, we're not the major feature but actually we've been privileged to hear some kōrero and ... be involved in a journey therefore we must maintain that space that was created as sacred if you like, and that the relationships still exist... that there's a responsibility to respond should a karanga come again. And I'm not talking about always 'putting out fires' for people but I'm also saying that actually if somebody came back and called upon that relationship then it's within me to actually see what is that I can do to assist and it may be to link to somebody else, or it might be to open the door to begin a relationship somewhere else. So I think the relationship continues it just transforms, if you like, and it might not be as heavy and hard or as full on for that period of time that it was.

Leland:

For me the poroporoaki [ending process] is for that instant. For anything, ... I was just down seeing Dad on Friday and I'm going to see him again and so, even if he passes away I'll still see him again, you know. Those relationships they never dissipate. It might dissipate in my memory, like I've dealt with many many whānau. Guess what? In their minds, in their whakapapa, guess what they see? They see that critical time when they had engagement with me as a practitioner and that, for them, will always be what they use when they measure or when they engage with me. So, they've created that pūkorero around that now. You asked me what I would call termination? Well, if we believe in just looking at the hui process then the next naturally for me is the poroporoaki... but what happens in the poroporoaki? We express our love and our thanks to those who have looked after us in this journey and I think this is something that practitioners often don't consider. They don't realize that when they're working with clients, clients are gifting them experience? So we come away from them thinking "great I could deal with that I could deal with more" and I'm thinking "but where did we get it from?" and it came from that whakawhanaungatanga experience with the whānau whom we identified as clients. So that's my thoughts around that. One of the things around confidentiality and it's always happened, I'll never ever speak about those clients or their names when I'm talking to my loved

ones. In Hastings I'd go up the street and someone would say "Kia ora Leland" and my wife would look at me and say "Who's that?" and I'd say "Whānau". But strangely enough the whānau vine the whānau kumara vine, everyone knew that I was working with such and such, and such and such, because I came from Hastings but the neat thing about it is I knew that I hadn't broken that space. ... The ones that were telling other people weren't me, they were the clients themselves, so that for me is a very powerful position to come in in terms of best practice because people are looking at your principles. ... "you know we've gone there and this fella's been tika to that and engaged with us" and I've found that really empowering.

Luana:

Whenever we move ourselves into those spaces of whānau, what I am clear about is I'm only part of their journey – I am not their destination. So for me, whakawhanaungatanga isn't just about being there but it's also being able to say "Hey, this is an awesome part of your journey. Thank you for letting me be part of that but..." I'm really clear... "I'm not your destination".

Shayne:

I think the relationships are for life and I think it always goes down to how those that you've worked with perceive the relationships. And so for instance there's a whānau we worked with a long time ago where we ended up having to do some protective work with this woman and her children. Her and her partner eventually split up, and years later I saw her at a particular function and she's extremely well to do now, she's really wealthy, and one of her kids saw me and was stoked to see me but I could tell from the way that she was reacting with her husband that he had no idea of any history that we may have had. So when I greeted her all I said was we had once worked together as colleagues, or something like that, just so the ball is in her park for that. And so when I see people I've worked with I always look for their lead on it, if they're pleased to see me, if they're embarrassed to see me, if they have moved on since then - because I think it has to be at their behest not mine. And so I don't always expect that people or whānau I've worked with will want that relationship to be long term, but if it is, I'm more than happy to meet that obligation but it's not an expectation. And by the way, for me evaluation and closure can just mean a change in the nature of the relationship so it means we can celebrate a piece of work and go "Well done" or whatever but it may also mean that next week they could ring me and go "What are you doing on Sunday, we're having a big BBQ, we're going to put on half a pig, do you want to come over?" and it means I can do that and I consider that to be both personal and professional. ... And actually one other part of this I'd also like to say is that I've always gained far more than I have given. I don't know how other people see that but I

think these other people have always taught me far more than I've ever been of service to them, if that makes sense.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked in depth at the implications for experienced Social Workers in how they implement whakawhanaungatanga. How they deal with managing Western expectations regarding Social Work Boundaries, how they keep themselves and their clients safe, both through the Social Work process and at the end of the Social Work process. While this has been a lot of text, it has considerable value as it is drawn from experience, wisdom and reflective practice, hence my desire to have as much "on the record" as practicable.

This leads to the discussion chapter to look at how all this information answers the research questions.

Chapter Eleven Discussion

This chapter will discuss the findings of the three phases of this research. First it will look at the principles of Māori directed practice and development as identified by Phases One and Two and then discuss how these principles are implemented. Secondly this chapter will discuss the findings of Phase Three, an in depth look at the principle of whakawhanaungatanga and its implication regarding boundary issues for Māori social workers. Then it will update the Māori development framework, discuss Kaupapa Māori and the tensions between constructionist and critical approaches, discuss Kaupapa Māori research and ethical Māori research frameworks and discuss the validity, reliability, generalisability and objectivity of the research implementation method.

The research questions are:

- What are the principles of Māori directed Social and Community Work practice and development?
- How are these principles implemented?

In Chapter Eight the principles and processes were identified for Phases One and Two of the research. Those concepts displayed in Table 4 on the following pages, include: Kaupapa Māori, engagement, whakawhanaungatanga, tuakana-teina, networking, kotahitanga, mana, tikanga, tino rangatiratanga, wairuatanga, mauri, respect for the whenua, humility, respect, manaaki, tautoko, aroha, māramatanga, mōhiotanga, ko au, ko koe, ko koe, ko au, kanohi kitea and kanohi ki te kanohi.

These principles and processes can be divided into two groups. The first is related to building and maintaining relationships, these include; engagement, whakawhanaungatanga, networking, humility, respect, manaaki, tautoko, aroha, ko au ko koe ko koe ko au, kanohi kitea, kanohi ki te kanohi and tuakana-teina. The second group are cultural values and concepts such as; tikanga, tino rangatiratanga, wairuatanga, kotahitanga, mana, māramatanga, mōhiotanga mauri, respect for the whenua with the overarching philosophy of Kaupapa Māori as ideology, as theory and as practice.

If we compare these with Māori principles and processes that Government workers used we find a close alignment with the principles almost entirely related to building and maintaining relationships. Humility, liaising, linking with Māori community, relationship building, whānau, whakawhanaungatanga, kanohi kitea, networking, respect, respect for mana whenua, availability, engaging with community, using Māori models, partnership building, with tikanga the only concept included as a cultural value in the previous grouping. This focus on relationship building may be a result of the research design, however, it may also be because the Government workers saw their primary roles as engaging with Māori communities and building relationships between Māori and the Crown.

Identifying the principles is simple enough, the complexity arises when we look at the second question and how these principles are implemented. Pohatu describes principles as signposts for how our ancestors behaved and interacted and “cultural positions that provide insights, filters, markers and tools” (Pohatu, 2010:242), “bodies of knowledge” and “strategic positions” (Pohatu, 2008:17). So applied principles are signposts to cultural actions, those that implement engagement and explain how they are to be implemented.

Some concepts are both principle and process. For example whakawhanaungatanga is a process, an action, but it is also a principle, an expectation that we become whānau. Certainly it is in the Kaitiakitanga Framework, a consultation document on Māori Social Work competencies put out by the Tangata Whenua Voices in Social Work on behalf of the Social Work Registration Board (TWVSW, 2016). The three applied principles they defined were Te Rangatiratanga, Manaakitanga and Whanaungatanga. As they are those concepts that are both principle and action, they are defined by the term takepū or applied principle. They are three of the main principles and processes that emerge from this research as well.

A number of these concepts are both principle and process and have been displayed in the Table 4 below:

Table 4: Principles and Processes

Principle	Principle and Process	Process
<i>humility</i>	<i>whakawhanaungatanga,</i>	<i>engagement</i>
<i>tuakana-teina</i>	Manaaki	<i>networking</i>
<i>Kotahitanga</i>	<i>kanohi kitea</i>	liaising
<i>mana</i>	<i>Kaupapa Māori</i>	use Māori models
<i>tikanga</i>	<i>kanohi ki te kanohi</i>	
<i>ko au, ko koe, ko koe, ko au</i>	<i>tino rangatiratanga</i>	
<i>wairuatanga</i>	tautoko	
<i>mauri</i>	partnership building	
<i>respect for the whenua</i>		
<i>respect</i>		
<i>aroha</i>		
<i>maramatanga</i>		
availability		

(Māori providers concepts in *italics*; Government both ***bold italics*** and **bold**)

This is very close to the principles identified in the literature; mana, tikanga, wairuatanga, whakawhanaungatanga, mauri, ko au, kanohi ki te kanohi, tino rangatiratanga, aroha, tuakana - teina, manaakitanga and kotahitanga. Other concepts that did not appear in these first two groups: pono, utu and the involvement of kaumatua did appear with the third group of experienced social workers in Phase Three.

How Government workers implement Māori principles

The interviews with the Government workers highlighted the principles that were important for their practice. They also identified how these principles are implemented both in Government organisations and with the Māori community they worked for, and, also with their work colleagues. Māori Government workers must exhibit a strong commitment to their task; it is a complex and intensive balancing act to achieve positive outcomes and stay involved in the community at the same time seeking to change the environment that they are working in, all the while staying true to tikanga.

These Government workers include concepts that we can call ‘enabling factors’ those processes and principles which describe four ways in which these principles are implemented. These include:

1. Creating supportive environments
2. Responding to community needs
3. Keeping themselves linked into the Māori community
4. Following Māori processes

1. Creating supportive environments

There are a number of ways Government workers created supportive environments to enable their work to proceed and be successful.

a. Building alliances and networks

Building alliances and networks was an important way of creating supportive environments and took place across three major sites. Firstly locally in the Māori community through building relationships with local Marae and kaumātua to enable their work to progress (this is distinct from the later factor regarding maintaining relationships with their own marae).

The second way was building alliances and networks with their colleagues looking for ways to engage, relate and show kindness.

The third was building networks nationally. This was more about overcoming isolation, as many of the Government workers were the only Māori in their sections and so were a source of support, guidance and encouragement. Sometimes they found relatives that were also in these roles and so the sense of solidarity could be inspiring as well as grounding.

b. Political action, overcome racism

Sometimes political action was used to create a supportive Government environment. Some saw getting Māori into positions of power as important so that they could influence

the rules that Pākehā staff had to adhere to. Sometimes this was not appreciated and there could be a backlash such as when a Social Worker found “*the wee notes – the nasty racist remarks that were flying round*”. Others found this more political approach was useful for their own work to find out how the government processes and the establishment worked. Finding out their rules to get them applied for the benefit of Māori “*working for the man. Staying in touch. I’m very good at keeping my friends close, keep my enemies closer.*”

c. Education, training and professional development

Education, training and professional development was another way of building supportive environments. By educating their colleagues about Māori concepts and processes and the use of noho marae (staying overnight at a marae) was a strategic way of introducing Māori principles and processes to colleagues in a way that both could benefit from. The use of Treaty of Waitangi workshops to train new workers on the responsibility of Government to implement the treaty was key, especially “force my colleagues to see that working with the Māori community is actually advantageous to them”.

d. Prosocial modelling Māori processes

By educating and training colleagues they were able to prioritise Māori processes and knowledge therefore becoming freer to engage in Māori processes, protocols, and ways of doing things. They did this by modelling Māori processes, values and behaviours. This is where noho marae were invaluable as it prepared the groundwork to introduce karakia and waiata as well as welcoming processes such as mihi whakatau into the workplace. It also provided opportunities for Māori staff and Pākehā staff to be vulnerable together and be able to share their journeys and stories.

This introduction of Māori process allowed the environment in the office to be “more environmentally friendly, culturally friendly”. It was about relationships, but these relationships were a two-way street and so Māori staff had to live and work to the principles they espoused. Where Māori workers were able to work with other Māori often meant that they could feel more relaxed and secure and be themselves, let Māori be Māori “*we can bring our culture in here, we can laugh*”.

e. Support from management

All this can be made much easier if they have the support and trust of their managers/supervisors. The ones who spoke most positively about working for Government agencies were those who had supportive managers who trusted them and let them get on with their work or be who they are *“letting me be a ‘drama queen’ for five minutes.”*

The ones who were most disparaging were those who felt obstructed and not trusted by their managers. There are always at least two sides to any tense situation and we have no idea of the behaviours or attitudes of these Māori workers. However, these were often newish positions, sometimes imposed on to managers who may have not had the training, experience or buy-in to create supportive environments themselves. If managers are resistant to change or do not see Māori culture as valuable or important to their service that can influence the perspectives of the Māori workers.

f. Let Māori be Māori

Sometimes creating a supportive environment for the Māori community can have implications for the worker which can make things difficult, where the community members feel free to express the hurt and resentment from the way the institution treated them in the past; *“it’s not you [me] darling” ... and it’s that whole history, so you wear the lot”*

2. Respond to community needs/ targeting priority groups

After creating supportive environments, the next ways of implementing Māori principles was responding to community needs including setting up specific targeted programmes. Often this involved adjusting the process of the organisation so that it met the needs of Māori sometimes by reorienting the way the service works, such as changing the way a doctor in the hospital would see a meeting with whānau, that it was there to meet their needs; *“so I’m very clear about what family decide and how to support them in that.”*

3. Keeping themselves centred in the Māori community

As well as creating a supportive environment and responding to community needs, Government workers felt the need to keep themselves centred on and in the Māori

community. Most mention supporting and going to hui. From the interviews this has two purposes, to maintain access to the Māori community and for their own well-being. Most talked about going to the Māori community rather than focusing on the community coming to them. This included attending hui (gatherings) tangihanga (funerals) teaching and training wananga, discussions, community meetings on issues etc. Some used this as an opportunity to connect with elders and tribal people. Some used their expertise to become integral to the Māori community, becoming members of governance boards, participating on marae councils and working with the various voluntary and NGO groups. This contributed to their own development and wellbeing as well as being a conduit for resources into the community dealing with emerging issues. This involvement also included access to whānau as well.

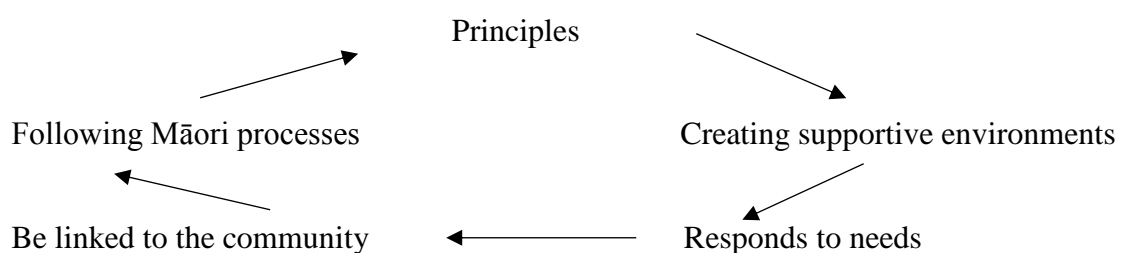
Sometimes the desire and need to stay connected conflicts with community expectations which can lead to burnout, but it was seen as a vital way of implementing the principles and processes into their particular disciplines. This can be especially complex and difficult if they also have Iwi responsibilities.

4. By following Māori processes

(Interviewer) *“That whanaungatanga is very important”*. (Repondent) *“If you don’t have it, it wouldn’t be right.”*

Implementing Māori principles creates supportive environments, which respond to community needs by keeping linked to the Māori community and to this we come full circle, where they have to use and engage with Māori principles and constructs by following Māori processes.

Figure 2: How Government workers implement Māori principles



One worker said “[My] *practice Framework* no-one there has never been anyone that has challenged me.” No one challenged them because they stuck to their tikanga (correct cultural constructs) following the principles and processes. Whether it be the process to ensure people feel welcome, to expressions of generosity. Māori principles, especially concepts and process around whakawhanaungatanga dominate with the associated obligations to serve the Māori community, to engage and uphold tikanga. Sometimes there was a clash between values and so workers would have to try and compromise;

- by working smarter
- working harder, like the social worker who walked the hospital wards of a large hospital to make sure Māori who needed support weren't missed
- hiding what they did from their managers, because while it may have violated company policy, culturally, they knew it was the right thing to do

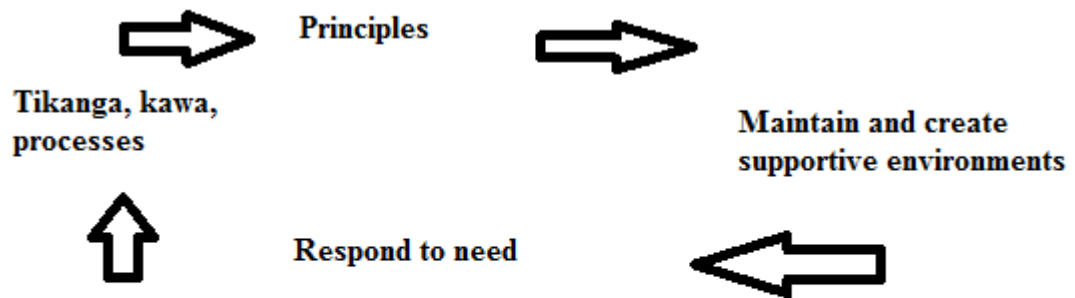
Workers in Māori organisations also implement Māori principles in ways not too dissimilar from their colleagues in Government organisations, i.e. creating supportive environments to respond to the community's needs by linking in and involvement with the Māori community using Māori processes.

How Māori Organisation workers implement Māori principles

Workers in Māori organisations also need to exhibit a great deal of commitment. Their balancing act is to be responsive to their communities almost irrespective of whether they have a contract or specific resourcing to do so, and tend to have a higher degree of expectation over following Māori processes and tikanga. They still need to maintain and create supportive environments but they are often Māori dominated environments any way and so it is being supportive of what is already existing or developing.

Their cycle is creating a supportive environment, responding to needs and following Māori processes and tikanga.

Figure 3: How Māori Organisation workers implement Māori principles



1. Maintaining and creating supportive environments

a. Involvement in Māori events

While government workers would often support Māori events by attending, Māori social service workers were often running these events based around events like Matatriki; “*supporting tangihanga [funerals], supporting schools, supporting marae. Going to tangihanga not just to pay respects, but to work*”.

b. Leadership, Māori leadership mentoring

Being involved directly in leadership and mentoring but also involved with elders and supporting their vision; “*Their ability to utilise whānau, pakeke (mature adult) and kaumātua in their programmes was essential*”.

Not just for Māori groups but through Iwi and the tribal structures. The linking of kaumātua to whānau and rangatahi was vital to supporting and maintaining Māori identities. Role modelling both in being one, and mentored by one, strengthens the community. It also makes sure community people have access to various experts.

c. Māori sites

Operating on Māori sites in a Māori context maintains and creates supportive environments. These sites were places where Māori could be Māori where they; “*can pull in big players ... tohunga [experts], whakairo [carving], hau ora [health], oranga [well-being], Matakite [seers], raranga [weavers]*”.

Groups are able to organise wānanga [symposiums] and hui. Māori NGOs are able to react immediately to emerging and emergency needs, “*call a hui, or attend a hui, or attend a tangi.*”

They are not visitors or tourists. These are their communities. It requires a constant upskilling and training, taking community people and developing their knowledge and skills, which then makes them attractive to Government organisations who have better wages and conditions, but not the freedom.

d. Recognise the Māori world view

In their sites a Māori worldview dominates, places where whakapapa is important, engaged with, valued; “*not just a whakapapa whānau [blood family], but a whānau of mutual interest.*” Where wairuatanga is natural, expected and part of the everyday life that didn’t need explaining or justifying. Where not only socio-political aspects, but spiritual and cultural aspects of Māori society are recognised and applied. They operate from a Māori world view that is reinforced by the shared beliefs and kaupapa. Where the Māori values of manaaki, tautoko, aroha, tuakana - teina, maramatanga (enlightenment) mohiotanga (knowledge) are valued. Where reciprocity is expected and that if you engage you are bringing something to share rather than take. Where identity and restoring connection back to whānau Hapū and Iwi are part of the expectation of wellbeing.

e. Decolonisation and recognising the political nature of community involvement

Along with well-being and identity there is a political process of decolonisation where Kaupapa Māori is both a cultural and political approach that means that Māori NGOs can engage with emerging issues on their terms by calling hui. These are the hui Government agencies attend in the community, rather than the community responding to government consultation requirements.

They see processes of decolonisation as important, decolonising not just individuals but organisational structures and processes.

f. The commitment of the workers

The respect and trust they had earned through their hard work and commitment also builds supportive communities.

2. Respond to community need

This response to community need means services can often be holistic where they have a ‘finger on the pulse’ where they have flexibility to drop everything when an emergency or crisis arises, mobilise resources and they can do this because their commitment is to the people rather than a narrow definition of what their job is (i.e. what they have a contract for).

They often support a kaupapa even if it means sacrificing their own time, money and energy and whānau time for the benefit of the others, the kaupapa or the organisation.

3. Māori processes and tikanga

To do this they need to adhere strictly to Māori processes and tikanga. They tend to follow Māori process like kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) – the kanohi kitea (the seen face), awhi (support by embracing) and tautoko (support by advocacy) as their principle ways of engaging with clients, colleagues and the community; *“it’s about, manaaki [caring]. It’s about tino rangatiratanga, in a truer sense, not as a political movement but as a personal movement.”*

They talked about having a *“staunch tikanga”* and if something isn’t tika (correct) then speaking out. They use whakawhanaungatanga and whakapapa as their principle way of engaging with clients, engaging with colleagues, involvement in the community and dealing with challenging behaviours.

As Dennis Mariu said *“Yea, igniting their mauri so that they can breathe the breath of their ancestors, all the senses feel it, smell it, taste it, know it. And I believe that’s my role”*.

How they implement the principles may be different even if the underlying demarcations are the same. In a Māori organisation it is expected that the basic values and processes are already embedded. In fact trouble and dissatisfaction occurs when it isn’t. Government organisations have to start from a step or two further back in that they have to create an environment where these principles can be implemented in the first place. Sometimes they hide these processes from their managers, or if they are lucky enough to have managers that protect them, let them do what they know they should be doing.

Government workers struggle because they are often constrained and controlled by Government where they may not have the freedom to act in ways that they know will produce the positive outcomes at the level they want. Māori workers in Māori organisations often struggle because they are constrained by the funders and the narrow outputs and outcomes they will fund. The obvious answer here is autonomous Māori services that are well funded and responsible to the Māori community. From the interviews with the Māori NGO workers, where the Government has tried this it deliberately funds at a lesser level all the while expecting greater service outputs.

An overarching difference between Governmental and NGO workers is the application of tino rangatiratanga, the ability of workers to self-determine as Hapū, Iwi and Māori. As was discussed in Chapters Two and Three, there was criticism over Government services and process referring to themselves as being Kaupapa Māori when they were not accountable to Hapū, Iwi or Māori. It is a major difference that we can identify between the aforementioned groups. Māori NGOs are able to operate using Māori concepts and processes with greater ease because they of their accountabilities, the expectations of their client group and the confidence and security that comes because of those expectations and accountabilities. While Māori Government workers also have accountabilities to their Hapū, Iwi and people, it is always Government that controls the bottom lines of service delivery, both the money and power structure.

So far, we have looked generally at identifying what the main principles are for Māori directed practice and development and applied that to the Māori Social and Community Work sphere. Now we are going to be more specific taking one particular applied principle, whakawhanaungatanga, examining it in more detail, understanding the meaning, how it is applied and the implications that has for practice.

Whakawhanaungatanga

Leland Ruwhiu's (2012) perspective is that when we work with someone we become 'whānau' and this is not a one-way street. If we are now whānau and obligated to one-another, some might think of it as a form of manipulation, but it is in fact a mutual obligation.

There are a number of issues here, such as the distinction between what is personal and what is professional. One of the problems that we have in Social Work is that the term “Registered Social Worker” or even “Professional Social Worker” covers a broad spectrum of practice. There is a continuum from those who are almost indistinguishable from counsellors working in highly therapeutic environments where a degree of distance has to be maintained to prevent clients from getting the wrong idea about the relationship, through to those working in Community Development. Working in Community Development, a Social Worker may become totally embedded, where they are almost indistinguishable from the people they are working with. Māori social workers exist in this continuum, but also have a continuum in their own cultural world of expectation, responsibility, obligation and reciprocity.

The nature of whakawhanaungatanga type relationships is not based around emotional attachment, but around reciprocal obligations. That is what many Pākehā may get confused about. We have created whānau relationships, but they are not primarily about closeness or emotional attachment, they are about me being obligated to you because of our tūpuna’s association. In the same vein my descendants may be obligated to your descendants because of the work we do here today.

In around 2005 my daughter was working as a youth worker with the children of people I worked with in the early 1980’s. If she had wanted to, she could have said, “Because of the relationship of our families, we are whānau therefore I am obligated to support you and you are obligated to respect me because of that connection”.

The problem may be the definition of whānau. In a Western nuclear context family is small, intimate, emotional and close. In a Māori context whānau is wider with a huge continuum of intimacy. Including many people into who you consider whānau is a rational, cultural and conscious decision rather than an emotional connection (although it may be as well). So while there can be obligations and reciprocity and warmth, many whānau relationships can be called acquaintances rather than the in-depth emotional attachment of who is considered family in a Pākehā context. At a family hui we had a discussion on who my father considered to be his whānau. We decided it was those he would travel the 1,000 kilometres to his tribal territory to attend their tangihanga. These were all his brothers and sisters and first cousins around 50 or so including most of their

partners. This was without counting their children and partners and grandchildren. They are his whānau that he has obligations to even though he may not have spoken to them in the last 50 years or even met them.

This distinction between family and whānau is important. It explains why there is tension between some Pākehā social workers belief of “once a client, always a client” and the Māori perspective of “once a whānau, always a whānau”.

There is also a distinction between crossing social work boundaries and violating them. For example an analogy can be the border between USA and Mexico, a boundary much in the news. You can cross this boundary with the permission and understanding of the law of the land and the responsibilities that come with it. However, you must not violate the border, i.e. cross it without permission or break the law once you have done so.

In Chapter Nine we identified whakawhanaungatanga as “the process of identifying, maintaining, or forming past, present, and future relationships” (Walker et al., 2006:334), it is about building culturally responsive relationships of trust and respect to advance a kaupapa (Alton-Lee, 2015) and involves reciprocal obligations (Eketone & Walker, 2013). It is a process, but was also identified as a value and as an obligation, in the words of Pohatu in Chapter Three, Takepū or applied principles are the “deliberate use of Māori knowledge, wisdom, rationales and applications” (Pohatu, 2008:17) for the process of relating and dealing with people and how Māori should interact with, the material and spiritual worlds we inhabit. They are “applied principles, bodies of cultural knowledge [and] key strategic positions” (Pohatu, 2010:241). Whakawhanaungatanga is important because it is a vital unifying concept that is fundamental to the expression of Māori Social Work practice.

Phase Three interviews with experienced social workers confirmed this but in many ways gave deeper explanations of what whakawhanaungatanga is. As an applied principle it is a tool of engagement to connect with a person and their whānau spiritually, psychologically and physically (i.e. in physical proximity to one another). It is underpinned firstly by whakapapa to enable a building of trust, but can broaden outside blood whānau to whānau joined by kaupapa (purpose) and take (issue). Shayne Walker took this further identifying that as a Māori social worker it is choosing to love people

(in this context ‘love’ is closer to the concept of aroha, i.e. compassion, empathy, a regard and commitment to and for another human being). This connection becomes “*a vehicle of exchange*” a reciprocal obligation to one another.

The Social workers identified the purpose of whakawhanaungatanga as to join what are essentially two groups into one, for the worker to become whānau to someone so that they are part of the “support mechanism” of that whānau. It is still professional and needs total transparency to protect the mana of both parties, but the aim is to build a significant level of trust very quickly. This has to be done in a way that the client can view it as valuable, that even though this is still a professional relationship, the reciprocal nature of the whanaungatanga relationship is to contribute to their healing.

Experienced social workers described whakawhanaungatanga as usually underpinned by whakapapa, looking for ways to connect through people, tribal connections, mutual ancestors, friends, family, acquaintances and places. It is seeking to leverage off these mutual relationships, searching for what we have in common. It involves a degree of “*sussing out*” using discernment and being aware of potential wairua connections.

From a practical standpoint it involves being prepared beforehand, researching tribal connections, places where they lived, religions that they and their relations adhere to or have connection to. Researching significant people and ancestors in their whānau. Knowing their tikanga and kawa, being aware of how their whānau is expected to operate and the structure of that whānau. It can also be achieved by being open yourself, choosing to love and include people.

The social workers raised a number of potential issues of this approach. There are power implications as the relationships we leverage can be positive or negative and so workers need to be very wary and extremely clear. This means identifying clearly the role of the worker, both for the worker and the whānau. The concepts of tika (correct behaviour) and pono (genuine behaviour) have to be the overriding considerations. Often social workers look at whakawhanaungatanga as the worker becoming part of someone else’s whānau. Shayne reminds us that we are also including others into our whānau and this needs to be clearly understood, especially regarding what boundaries are set for that.

Crossing social work boundaries

As mentioned in Chapter Ten, the ethics of dual relationships are centred on the inherent power differentiations between the social worker and the client. At all times the client needs to be protected from any misuse of the Social Work relationship. Most of the objections to any form of dual relationship appears more likely to breach organisational policy than codes of ethics.

Reamer (2003) believed that social workers could work ethically across boundaries if they can;

1. Be alert to potential or actual conflicts of interest.
2. Inform clients and colleagues about potential or actual conflicts of interest; explore reasonable remedies.
3. Consult colleagues and supervisors, and relevant professional literature, regulations, policies, and ethical standards (codes of ethics) to identify pertinent boundary issues and constructive options.
4. Design a plan of action that addresses the boundary issues and protects the parties involved to the greatest extent possible.
5. Document all discussions, consultation, supervision, and other steps taken to address boundary issues.
6. Develop a strategy to monitor implementation of action plan

(Reamer, 2003:130).

Davidson (2005) also believed that relationship boundaries are on a continuum from rigid to balanced to entangled. Entangled is when a worker “meets their own emotional, social or physical needs through the relationship with their client at the expense of the client (Davidson, 2005:518), where “workers with ‘balanced’ boundaries are authentic and caring, while maintaining clear boundaries”. “Those functioning in a ‘balanced’ manner use professional judgment and self-reflection skills in their assessments, and make decisions that are professionally responsible and accountable to other professionals” (Davidson, 2005:519). While Doel & Sharlow (2005) promote seven forms of accountability to help safeguard workers: accountability to oneself, to the employer, to other agencies, to the public, to the client to the profession and to the law.

The worry about the exploitation of clients espoused by organisations is not really the main issue for those working using whakawhanaungatanga, in fact it may be the potential for the client exploiting the worker.

As to the expectations of the client group in whakawhanaungatanga, while social workers use whakawhanaungatanga to engage with clients, it should be remembered that as a dominant cultural construct it is a process most Māori are familiar with and may also use to engage with the social worker. If they can find some connection it will often lead them to trust the worker because of the associated norms and expectations that go with that. According to the interviewed social workers they will expect honesty, respect, “*that you will be tika and pono*” (honourable and appropriate). If you have used whakapapa to engage creating a level of trust, you will be expected to listen, to give them a fair go and they will expect you to be professional, know what you are doing and “share power” especially over decision making. One issue for statutory social workers is determining whether you can realistically operate under the constraints of whakawhanaungatanga when the power differential is usually one-sided.

With whakawhanaungatanga there is the obligation to stay true to Māoritanga; the obligation to act professionally remembering that the personal is professional and the professional is personal. There is the obligation to contribute to strengthening the whānau of the client which sometimes means being the critical voice, i.e. the person who speaks ‘truth’ and brings transparency to negative forces such as collusion etc. The obligations also don’t end when the work ends. If we have established a whakapapa connection, that does not end when a piece of work ends. These relationships may continue for generations; they are a choice as we will discuss later. Even though these relationships may continue in some form in the future, the nature of Māori Social Work means that the relationship must evolve, in fact it is problematic if it doesn’t. However, all relationships need to be authentic.

Working with clients using whakawhanaungatanga has implications for organisations outside of the fear of crossing Social Work boundaries. Organisations have tried to limit the use of whakawhanaungatanga by reducing resources available. For some it was refining who counts as whānau, limiting it to who has a direct emotional connection with the client rather than including those who have a cultural or familial obligation to work

with them. Timelines can be unreasonable expecting cultural processes to take as much time as the organisation allows rather than following cultural rules. Organisations who operate from a mono-cultural perspective may ignore what is respectful and push for the expedient with a lack of understanding about the power dynamics of place, time and environment. These things happen because Western managers allot time to certain tasks and because those in power often want the accountability and authority of processes to rest with the organisation rather than with whānau, Hapū or Iwi. With failure to adhere to imposed time constraints, resourcing and accountability there sometimes emerges a suspicion of a breach of ethics and the crossing of boundaries due to unfamiliarity with Māori processes. With a lack of understanding, mistrust often follows.

Operating using whakawhanaungatanga can cause problems for workers if the organisation they work for tries to impose a Western approach that suits their particular philosophy of Social Work. If clients inhabit the working class and underclass, the role of social workers whose private and professional lives inhabit the middle class, social workers may expect never to have to engage in public with their ex-clients except perhaps at the supermarket. (I knew of one who would never shop at the Warehouse department store, possibly to never meet ex-clients).

Māori social workers do cross traditional Social Work boundaries at times primarily because they see themselves as working from a different paradigm with different accountabilities. With greater accountability to whānau it challenges “*the synthetic separation of the personal and professional*” that pretends that social workers are somehow separate from the community they work in.

Some view it as not so much crossing a boundary as bringing two worlds together. The social worker is on the border bringing two worlds together. There are still boundaries, but they are managed differently still fulfilling the spirit of the ethical standards. They are guided by tikanga boundaries which are agreed upon social and cultural processes and values. This is important and it has implications for the so called ‘termination stage’ of the Social Work process, that time when the Social Work part of the relationship ends. Even though the Social Work part ends a relationship may continue because “*with whakawhanaungatanga it never finishes*”. Not that the work never finishes, but a relationship may never finish. It is up to the client whether any relationship continues,

but it is important that there is a poroporoaki, ending ritual that acknowledges the work done and that part of the journey with that worker is completed and so a transformation of the relationship has occurred. Because of the power dynamic it is up to the client to determine if any relationship continues in the future; it is still bound by the ethical demands of the professional as “*we are only part of their journey*”.

When investigating the ethical requirements of social workers and the potential for dual relationships, ethical standards are very clear on what the major issues are. The overwhelming concern is that there is a risk of harm or exploitation of the client (NASW, 1993) including the developing of a relationship that is sexual or business related (Davidson, 2005). The IFSW (2018) expects social workers to recognise the boundaries between personal and professional life, but it is to prevent social workers from using their position for personal gain.

As discussed in Chapter Ten, while many Social Work writers are wary of any form of dual relationship, there are sectors that are more pragmatic and realistic about these forms of relationships. Medical practitioners that deal with a variety of different classes appear to be more accepting that their clients, particularly in rural areas, will interact with them outside of the medical clinic. Social Work seems more reluctant to acknowledge this, possibly because of the nature of Social Work, i.e. it often takes place in the home, marae or community rather than a designated clinic/surgery that is always professional in nature. It may also be because of the class distinctions in much of Social Work where a middle-class worker in an urban setting may not want or need to interact across classes when the majority of Social Work clients are from the working class and underclass.

Another major point mentioned is that just because boundaries are crossed does not mean boundaries are violated. As previously mentioned, violating international borders and breaking the rules around them is not acceptable and invite sanctions depending on the degree of violation. In a similar way, it is not the crossing of Social Work boundaries that is the problem, it is crossing ethical boundaries that is the problem. From the interviews with social workers we will discuss the frameworks they used to move ethically across boundaries.

Frameworks for crossing boundaries

Experienced Māori social workers have used a number of guiding principles and processes to negotiate Social Work boundaries.

1. Guiding principles

From the interviews eight guiding factors were identified that they considered when crossing social work boundaries: tikanga, transparency, whakapapa, tapu, kawa, tuakana - teina, identity, understanding the cost and, emancipation. These are discussed in greater detail.

a. Tikanga

There is an expectation first and foremost that Māori workers will adhere to tikanga. That they will act in a way that is tika (correct) and pono (with integrity). To violate tikanga is to not be true to Māoritanga. Social workers have to be accountable for that tikanga. They constantly need to not only be self-reflective but proactive, asking themselves what is the correct way to go forward in this instance.

b. Transparency

Social workers need to be transparent in the way they deal with clients and their whānau, they need to be honest and respectful explaining their role and the expectations clients can have of social workers.

c. Whakapapa

Relationships are initially based on a continuum of whakapapa that represents the past, present and future. If clients become 'as whānau' this has potential ongoing implications and obligations because our tūpuna (ancestors) are now engaged in this relationship. This may be hard for non-Indigenous people to understand but as Pohatu (2015) explained there is a belief by many in being held accountable by our ancestors particularly for things we do in their name. Because of this whakawhanaungatanga is a "sacred" space and takes place in a sacred space.

d. Kawa

Kawa is sticking to our processes. Being accountable to practice frameworks such as Te Mahi Whakamana (mana-enhancing practice). It means being professional; we are not talking about the pseudo-professional aura around a person that creates a distance between the worker and the client. A number of research participants consider that as a synthetic separation of the personal and the professional. Instead being professional in terms of being an expert, capable and competent in their work.

e. Tuakana – teina.

That the status we enjoy because of professional skills is temporary; while we are whānau for this time in certain contexts we may take the role of the elder sibling/cousin in this context. But we will continue to learn from them and in other situations they may be tuakana and we may be teina. This means we must understand the nature, meaning and implications of contradictions and that sometimes we will not always have a win-win situation. It is important to consider how they view the relationship and how that is managed. We are only part of their journey, but we may have future contact so trust should be built in for the future.

f. Identity

To operate in this space, we must know who we are. We must have a solid understanding of who we are, being at ease with our Māoriness and having a solid grounding in Māori cultural values. Understanding our skills, being self-reflective.

g. Emancipation

Remembering that the reason we are there is for their emancipation, whether it be from addiction, colonisation, or behaviours that are not tika.

h. Understanding the cost

Relationships are chosen and relationships cost and there is a cost to be borne with whakawhanaungatanga. There is the potential cost to our immediate family, there may be a cost personally and professionally. The obligation that comes with being a Kaitiaki (protector of relationships) is sometimes greater than the obligation to the job description. Traditional Māori relationships are built on a foundation of reciprocity. It is the nature

then, of these forms of relationships, that one day in the future they may seek to repay a social worker for their work. This may be expressed in gratitude or paid in some kindness to future generations, (for example I voted for a politician as repayment for a kindness shown to me by his aunt; I consider that obligation fulfilled). If relationships (as will be discussed later) are not terminated, but transformed, they may continue in another sphere. However, everything needs to be considered on a case by case basis.

While this last paragraph may sound dire, it is how these relationships are managed that is important.

2. How are boundaries managed?

There are a number of processes put in place by Māori social workers to manage when they cross these boundaries. One of the issues raised was that in Māori communities relationships with whānau already may exist. It would be unusual, especially in a smaller centre, to meet a whānau that a worker did not already have some form of connection with. Some may argue then that it is better for them to have another social worker but if the trust between potential worker and client already exists, that may contribute to better overall outcomes. Also operating using whakawhanaungatanga, i.e. becoming whānau, does not mean workers and clients are close, it may merely mean that they are obligated to act appropriately to one another.

Processes for using whakawhanaungatanga

While the following processes have a minor cross over with the principles, for the sake of flow they will be mentioned here.

a. Pōtae

It is important for the client to be aware right at the very start what pōtae (hat) the social worker is wearing. That they are engaging with them as a professional social worker. That there may be whānau connection and obligation. That in the context of this piece of social work they are fulfilling the requirements of the job, whether they are wearing their Government pōtae, their tribal pōtae, their Māori pōtae or their organisational pōtae. This means being transparent and managing expectations from the outset.

b. Negotiation and contracting

Right from the start it is important to negotiate mutual expectations especially in circumstances where tikanga and kawa can vary. Deciding on processes, negotiating timelines, how decisions will be made, and the role of confidentiality should all be included.

Setting up a contract allows workers to be honest, caring, loving and supportive in a way that makes it clear to the client, documenting accountabilities and defining supervision. This also provides security to the organisation by outlining accountabilities.

c. Tikanga

Tikanga, the following of Māori cultural norms, was mentioned repeatedly by experienced social workers including looking for ways to align tikanga and Social Work boundaries. Using recognised Māori processes and staying within tikanga boundaries invokes Māori ethical approaches, governs how people should be treated and is a way to operate safely.

d. Experience

Experience is important, being assured of your processes through considerable professional practice and the understanding and alignment of tikanga. Understanding the principles that inform your practice and understanding your policies and procedures. Knowing when processes are a strength and when they are not.

e. Accountability

Accountability occurs across a variety of sites. Accountability to kaumatua, yours, theirs, the Iwi in which you work, to keep you on track and ensure you follow correct processes. This isn't just for safety of the client but also the worker. One participant spoke about how the tūpuna (ancestors) become engaged in this process and the implications that may have for the worker as an individual. Accountability to peers, particularly Māori peers, is important as well as being accountable to your stated process such as Te Mahi Whakamana. Social workers are also encouraged to be accountable to external networks, finding people who understand your process and world view. Accountability to your organisational management is also important even if it means you agree to disagree.

f. Supervision

Accountability to kaumātua is a form of cultural supervision, but professional cultural supervision is important even though this can often be done with peers, including internal clinical supervision.

g. Self-reflective practice

Being reflective of a worker's practice, principles and processes.

h. Expertise

People come to social workers because there is some expertise they may have and so they need to be able to deliver. Sometimes it is to be the critical (challenging) voice.

i. Relationships are purposeful

People have joined together for a kaupapa and so there is a relationship that is formed out of that. Therefore when that purpose ends the relationship should transform as well.

j. Poroporoaki

Poroporoaki is a traditional process that transitions relationships. It acknowledges the end of a kaupapa (purpose) or take (issue), but also acknowledges the building of relationships. It is an opportunity for the client (usually the visitor) to reflect on what has happened and express gratitude if they wish. Traditionally it recognises the change in relationship.

k. A new form of relationship

In the Māori community the social worker and client may see each other regularly in the community, at the marae, tangihanga, school events etc. A relationship is still there, but it has changed because their need for our assistance is no longer there. However, a relationship still exists. In the Social Work context the worker may be the tuakana (elder cousin) because of the knowledge and skills they use in that space. In other sites the client may be tuakana because of their knowledge, skills or relationships.

Some Māori social workers acknowledge the potential for an ongoing connection because of the nature of whakapapa which may continue on for generations. However,

the nature of that relationship has to be tika and is one that both sides must be free to engage or not engage in. Particularly if the client is confused by the new relationship and what pōtae the worker is wearing. Hence the importance of negotiation in the engagement phase.

Because the social worker has this connection the obligation continues and they may be called on to reciprocate again. Relationships are always there waiting to continue as there is a responsibility to respond in the future. Again, the obligation doesn't end when the work ends, you continue to have a relationship. However, whanaungatanga doesn't mean that they are close, merely obligated.

This list is not exhaustive. It is based on series of qualitative interviews with seven people and so is investigating a range of opinions. No indication has been given whether these social workers would agree with every point or whether they agree on the degree of importance of these guidelines and principles. This is not an instruction manual on how to cross borders. It is not intended to be a check list to cross boundaries. These are the stories and explanations of long term experienced social workers who at some time stepped out knowing that if they didn't understand their processes and why they did what they did, then they were in trouble.

What can be indicated is that the most frequent comments referred to

- The worker indicating what pōtae they were wearing
- The need for negotiation
- The need for supervision and accountability
- The role of tikanga
- That there should be a poroporoaki to recognise the work is over and any relationship is transformed and continues in a different way

Further research would need to be undertaken using a quantitative form to establish how much weight to put to these opinions.

The literature outlined a different emphasis and focused on a paper trail that maps dual relationships. This is useful and advisable as it assures greater accountability and

transparency. The ethics of tikanga are only as useful as the accountability of the Social Worker to the Māori community, kaumātua, peers, supervisors, and the profession.

In summary then, the guiding principles for crossing social work boundaries are tikanga, transparency, whakapapa, kawa, tuakana – teina, identity, emancipation and understanding the cost. The processes for managing boundaries include; identifying their pōtae, negotiation and contracting, tikanga, experience, accountability, supervision, self-reflective practice, expertise, that relationships are purposeful, the use of poroporoaki, and the recognition of a new form of relationship.

In any profession there can be “loose cannons” and the purpose of an ethical framework is to protect clients, organisations and the public when faced by worst case scenarios.

This then is an explanation of how experienced social workers manage the risks associated with using whakawhanaungatanga in a Social Work context. It needs experience, an understanding of Social Work process, a highly accountable practice ethic, a lived understanding of Māori cultural process and a commitment to tikanga Māori. It also requires a high level of personal commitment understanding of the costs of the approach.

Māori Directed Practise and Development

While we have answered the research questions posed at the start of this thesis, a number of other insights have emerged through the research. This section will look at Māori directed practise and development. It will:

- Update the Māori development framework
- Discuss Kaupapa Māori and the tensions between constructionist and critical approaches
- Discuss Kaupapa Māori research and ethical Māori research frameworks
- Discuss the validity, reliability, generalisability and objectivity of the research implementation method

Māori Development

In Chapter Four I provided a table describing the different forms of Māori Development. After it was first published, it was also pointed out to me that the column for Positive Māori Development was generalised and an overall description of Māori Development whereas the other three were descriptions of specific sites where Māori Development takes place.

Table 5: Māori Development (Repeated Table 2 from Chapter Four)

	‘Māori’ Community Development	Iwi Development	Marae Development	Positive Māori Development
Vision	Social justice	Tino rangatiratanga	Tino rangatiratanga	Positive Māori development as Māori
Mission	Define issues and develop strategies for change and address structural causes	To prudently manage the collective taonga for the maximum benefit of this and future generations	Ensure tribal structures, the environment and food stocks are there for future generations	Māori advancement
Priorities	Define issues and develop strategies for change	Economic advancement. Growth and development of member Marae	Uphold the mana of the marae. Manaakitanga, Kaitiakitanga	Economic, and political strength. Environmental, social and cultural wellbeing
Decision Making	Collective	Often hierarchical	Usually collective	Can be collective and hierarchal
Politics	Left	Those with settlement increasingly conservative	Varies, but with a focus on local and regional government	Varies

From this I realised that what was missing was an analysis of what could be called Māori Social Service Organisations, or as Munford & Walsh-Tapiata referred to them, Community Service Organisations.

Community Service Organisations (CSO)

Community Services Organisations have a primary focus on ensuring that clients have access to services. While this service may meet the immediate needs of clients, workers may not be encouraged or have the commitment from their agency to examine why these clients are in their current positions. Although a community service approach may have an initial commitment to providing services within a justice framework, they may find this difficult to maintain and often resort to an individual focus on service delivery (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001).

Community Services Organisations' priorities are to meet the immediate needs of their clientele. While there is potential to identify new needs and change according to those needs, usually change happens in response to changes in Government funding as Community Service Organisations are always under pressure to compromise their vision and aspirations to fit the requirements of the funders.

Community Services Organisations are often hierarchal and may not allow for the inclusion of clients in governance agency protocols and practices. As a result leadership can be authoritarian because the bottom line becomes what is best for the organisation. It also leads to a governance that is required to focus more on finance and contracts, making sure the organisation survives, rather than pursue social and political change, and so is inevitably drawn to more conservative politics.

Interviews with both the Governmental and Māori providers indicated that it is the organisational description that most closely aligns to how their organisations worked. Sometimes the workers had their own Community Development perspectives and aspirations, however, they were often working for Māori and Government organisations that were focused on service delivery because they were usually funded exclusively by Government contracts. While these organisations could branch out and meet wider community needs, they were not usually funded to do so.

The following table replaces the column 'Positive Māori development' with 'Community Service Organisation':

Table 6: Māori Development 2

	Community Development	Iwi Development	Marae Development	Community Service Organisation
Vision	Social justice	Tino rangatiratanga	Tino rangatiratanga	Provide services to meet a community need
Mission	Define issues and develop strategies for change and address structural causes	To prudently manage the collective taonga for the maximum benefit of this and future generations	Ensure tribal structures, the environment and food stocks are there for future generations	Ensure access to services
Priorities	Define issues and develop strategies for change	Economic advancement Growth and development of member Marae	Uphold the mana of the marae Manaakitanga, Kaitiakitanga	Meet immediate needs
Decision making	Collective	Often hierarchical	Usually collective	Hierarchical, what is best for the organisation
Politics	Left	Those with settlement increasingly conservative	Varies, but with a focus on local and regional government	Varied but with a conservative governance

With all the competing missions, visions and priorities, for those working in Māori Development, it is no wonder there can be tension, angst and sometimes disappointment from workers. If someone has a vision for social justice, but is employed by an organisation delivering services to Māori, the worker could view the management as uncommitted to the poor or upholding the political status quo that is oppressive and marginalising. Also, someone coming from collective approaches at the Marae

Development level may find the managerialism at the Iwi level dictatorial and non-consultative. It is easy to see how tensions can arise when these four types of Māori organisations can come from different, sometimes competing, places and yet all fall under the category of Positive Māori Development at the same time employing the same kinds of people.

They all have a desire for Māori Advancement, they just have different ways of getting there. One of the things that I do before I become involved in anything of a community nature is to ask myself “what contribution will this make to Māori Development?” In the Tapuwae project, a project to reduce Māori drink driving that was the precursor to this research (Eketone, 2005), it was found that while the stated purpose of the project was decreasing Māori injury rates, when the organising committee was interviewed about the reasons for their involvement, no one specifically talked about drink-driving. All spoke in terms of Māori Development and Māori Advancement. It may be that many Māori have this big picture of what they want to see happen, usually around development and advancement, and so are opportunistic and will join in those projects that they think will help those ends.

Kaupapa Māori theory and practice

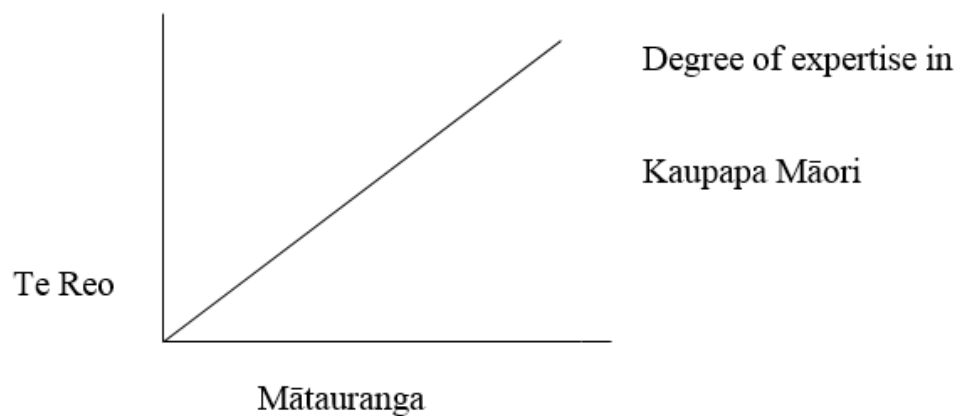
Kaupapa Māori continues to be a contested space. Writers like Nepe (1991) would say that Kaupapa Māori is related to the primacy of the Māori language and Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).

Kaupapa Māori is the “conceptualisation of Māori knowledge” that has been developed through oral tradition. It is the process by which the Māori mind receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through te reo Māori. Kaupapa Māori is esoteric and tuturu Māori [authentic]. It is knowledge that validates a Māori world view and is not only Māori owned but also Māori controlled. This is done successfully through te reo Māori, the only language that can access, conceptualise, and internalise in spiritual terms this body of knowledge...this Kaupapa Māori knowledge is exclusive too, for no other knowledge in the world has its origins in Rangiatea. As such it is the natural and only source for the development of a mechanism which aims to transmit exclusively Kaupapa Māori knowledge (Nepe, 1991:15-16 cited in Pihama, 2001: 118-119).

It may be too simplistic (or too complex) to define when something is Kaupapa Māori or not, but if we follow Nepe’s view and put the correlation on an axis where the strength

and validity of a Kaupapa Māori approach was directly proportional to the expertise in te reo and mātauranga it would explain that Kaupapa Māori is actually a continuum of expertise. This continuum would show that the greater the knowledge of Te Reo and Mātauranga Māori, the greater the ability of a person to effectively operate from a Kaupapa Māori perspective.

Figure 4: Expertise in Kaupapa Māori



This approach has been somewhat controversial in that with a focus on Te Reo it appeared to limit the ability of those who lacked Te Reo to engage in Kaupapa Māori. Having a continuum may allay some of those fears and explain why there are differences in how many people define Kaupapa Māori.

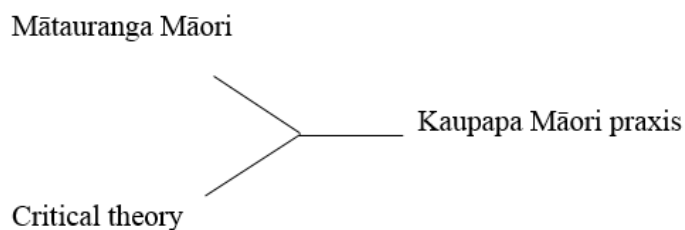
Earlier in Chapter Two a framework was used to show how Kaupapa Māori was a strategy to achieve Māori Advancement and achieve a just society (Table 7).

Table 7: Kaupapa Māori Practice and Research (Repeated Table 1 from Chapter 2)

Explanatory Theory	Key Components	Strategy	Goals
Native Theory (Constructivist)	Iwi Māori knowledge Iwi Māori values Iwi Māori processes Self-determination	Kaupapa Māori practice & research	Māori advancement Māori development as Māori
Critical Theory (Marxist/Socialist)	Power analysis Empowerment Resistance Emancipation		A just society

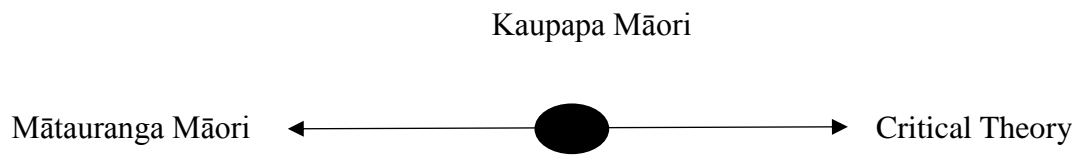
From this research I am now more inclined to bind them closer together where both Māori knowledge (mātauranga) and Critical theory inform each other (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Mātauranga Māori and Critical Theory



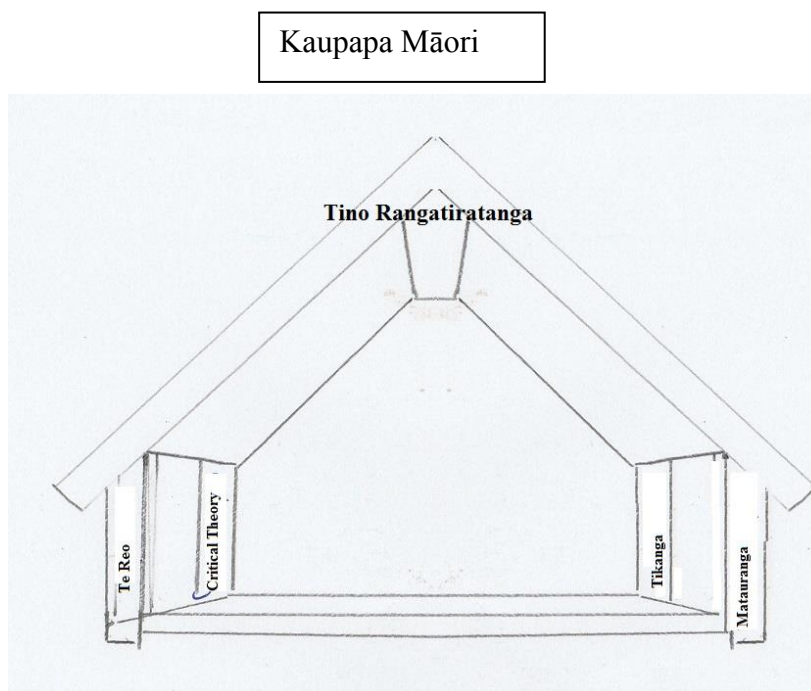
Or this next example (Figure 6) where Mātauranga Māori and Critical Theory keeps the other in check, constantly maintaining the tension to hold Kaupapa Māori in a state of equilibrium to stay true its purposes.

Figure 6: Mātauranga Māori and Critical Theory in Tension



Perhaps the more appropriate way of viewing Kaupapa Māori is as a wharehui with four pou (posts or pillars) holding it up (Figure 7). The four pou would be mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) tikanga (correct processes) te reo and the one that would cause the most criticism, Critical Theory. The overarching roof would be tino rangatiratanga, the ability to determine our own affairs and priorities.

Figure 7: Kaupapa Māori



Some would say we don't need Critical Theory, that we have enough from our own cultural heritage to describe our own theories. Maybe we do; the quest for social justice is something we have taken on as part of our culture and we have constructed it into our belief system while ridding ourselves of other practices.

It is one of the questions I have asked myself over the last 15 years. Does Kaupapa Māori need the external influence of Critical Theory or can it exist perfectly happily with its Constructionist origins? My instincts were to say that we do not need a Western theoretic tradition to add anything to our own theoretical underpinnings. As was discussed in Chapter Two, I argued that Kaupapa Māori has two theoretical underpinnings - Constructionism and Critical Theory, simultaneously aiming for distinct objectives, Māori advancement and development as Māori, and a just society.

The debate about the nature of Kaupapa Māori was discussed in that chapter where a number of writers rejected the notion that Kaupapa Māori had anything to do with Critical Theory because Kaupapa Māori originated from Māori gods and Critical Theory was a Western construction, therefore they could only align with each other. I am not convinced that my ancestors had, as a cultural goal, the arrival of a just society. We were extremely hierarchical at times, more concerned with survival and growth of whānau, Hapū and Iwi rather than the 'brotherhood of man', human rights, equity, equality and social justice.

Some may argue that the core concepts of conscientisation and resistance developed out of the Māori culture through its interaction with oppressive colonial forces. Indeed, my family has an unbroken chain of resisting the Crown since the 1860's (Eketone, 2017; 2020). However, our desire for self-sufficiency and denial of the influence of European writers is disingenuous when we hold up Indigenous writers as well as Paolo Freire and Bob Marley as inspirations for our struggle. If we can then accept the contribution that Critical Theory has made to Kaupapa Māori we can move on to the bigger picture of the use of Critical Theory in the future.

In 2005 I was critical of Critical Theory because of its focus on resistance because;

If a fundamental part of Kaupapa Māori is about critiquing unequal power relations that means that it is possible to have an identifiable end to Kaupapa Māori approaches in a New Zealand context. By that I mean a time when

Māori knowledge and approaches are not part of a resistance to western hegemonic approaches because Māori knowledge, practice and values have become, and are considered, normal (Eketone 2005:16).

Including resistance and the quest for a just society as the reason for Kaupapa Māori means that once social justice is achieved then does Kaupapa Māori become superfluous? Once we rid New Zealand society of the vestiges of colonialism in the racist and unequal treatment of our people by society, then Kaupapa Māori might cease to be valid. If it is based on resistance to colonialism we are in danger of making it more about them when it is about us. Kaupapa Māori could then be seen as a deficit approach as it always expects Māori to be in a subaltern position. This focus on resistance is the same potential weakness of Indigenism where it seems to need a coloniser or bogeyman to maintain its moral superiority and seems to never expect to attain equality.

Constructionists merely describe what is happening, as Whatarangi Winiata (2014) was encouraging us to do. To derive theory from what was happening in Māori society rather than driving Māori Advancement and Development from some predetermined, namely Socialist perspective. It is difficult to accept that we need a form of knowledge outside of our culture. Technology is one thing but ideas are another. My answer was going to be to reject the Critical Theory perspective of Kaupapa Māori and solely follow the Constructionist which I saw as more positive and having more cultural integrity. This was falling into the potential malaise exposed by Graham Smith and his fight to stop the domestication of Kaupapa Māori.

It was through conducting this research that what was clear to others became clearer to me. It is not just the imposition of the coloniser that is the problem, it is the imposition of a Capitalist system that values profit over people that is often the real issue. Greed and power is what drove many of the colonisers and it is greed and power that continues to try and marginalise the poor of whom Māori make up a sizeable proportion of the country.

One of the strengths of this resistance against oppression is the idea of defining this as “the engagement in struggle” (L. Smith, 1999:186). It is motivating, invigorating, as you wake up to continue the fight as anyone who regularly reads Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* could attest. In any fight there are victories and setbacks. But if your mind

defines it as a struggle then there will always be enemies and if it is always a struggle, then everything may become a fight which may be counterproductive in the long run.

This is why Bishop's (1996) analytical tool is useful. It questions what I pursue, how I engage and what I fight for. Initiation, Legitimation, Accountability, Benefits, and Representation may have seemed strange to the reader to include in Chapter Four, but there is so much going on that there needs anchoring points to question actions and accountability. While these principles and their implementation are crucial, they exist and are implemented in an ever-changing context that can be manipulated or just as badly forgotten about in our quest for advancement and development. Therefore, the questions it asks are vital.

The organisational analysis from earlier in this chapter can reveal tensions and expose the underlying theoretical approaches of those organisations we are involved with, but Bishop's five concepts remind us to be self-reflective and analytical in what we do.

What this research has convinced me is that the two theoretical traditions need to be in partnership, not because of Graham Smith's admonishment that a Culturalist perspective becomes domesticated by the coloniser. Instead it is because Māori ourselves can be domesticated by our own. As an Iwi grows stronger through economic power it has the ability to oppress and constrain its own people. An unjust society was existent at the time of the arrival of the coloniser and the inevitability of humans abusing power when not under constraint can be universal.

We need the Critical Theory component of Kaupapa Māori not just to resist the powers of the West, but also because our own people are just as capable of oppressing us as the coloniser was. We see this from Chapter Four in the discussion on Māori development. There was a temptation to shorten this chapter or remove it all together, but it is necessary to highlight the wider issues that emerged. Here we see the tensions between Iwi Development and Marae Development. Iwi Development is becoming increasingly capitalistic because of the need to maintain and grow the asset base and is increasingly hierarchal and in danger of becoming more and more distant from its base. It sometimes clashes with Marae Development which, because of the relational expectations and the voluntary effort required, is community based and rejects imposed hierarchies.

From Chapter Seven we find accusations that Māori can oppress other Māori and marginalise them just as effectively disillusioning them as those working for the Government. We need this duality of Kaupapa Māori, the simultaneous balancing of cultural needs and expectation while striving for equality and equity because the forces of greed, power seeking and selfishness are always there. In 1988 I went to Atlanta to a congress on Black America where, to my surprise, discussions were focused on the wealth of African American society where 50% were identified as middle class. Reflecting on my own experience, I only knew three or four Māori whom I would have described as middle class. 30 years later Māori society has changed considerably and a large proportion of us have become upwardly mobile and will be just as capable of oppressing our people and widening class distinctions. I started noticing this in the mid-2000s when attending tangihanga where some of my middle-class relations were reluctant to help with cleaning the toilets. I was also reluctant to help dig the grave because I'd only brought a good pair of shoes with me. We could still help out in the kitchen as that was more visible and we could float in and out, but a class distinction was emerging.

A key theme of this thesis has been the intersection between Critical Theory and Social Constructionist approaches. All the way through there has been tension. There is in Kaupapa Māori a strong pull to the culturalist dominated approach and so we have needed to be warned about the domestication of the theory. The Appreciative Inquiry approach used in Chapter Seven could be accused of improving the status quo rather than letting organisational partners challenge unjust and oppressive practices. What this research has shown is that Culturalist Constructionist approaches may not be enough in themselves.

The danger is, without strong cultural as well as theoretical underpinnings, Kaupapa Māori could revert back to a culturally appropriate Critical Theory or a domesticated Culturalist expression. This 'just society' that Kaupapa Māori Theory strives for can be seen as a tension between the two approaches that can either cause conflict, or it can be seen as a way of keeping both perspectives in check.

Reflection on the methodology

Is this Kaupapa Māori research? What I have learnt from all I have read and discussed is that Kaupapa Māori is a moveable feast. It seems to be based on where the describer is.

It is as if a series of writers and researchers are saying to themselves “If I am doing Kaupapa Māori, then that is the standard everyone else has to meet before I’ll accept it”.

From the research on Māori principles and their implementation including the use of whakawhanaungatanga and how workers are able to use it properly, the dominating overarching concept has not been Kaupapa Māori. It could be argued that tikanga Māori has been in the dominant position as it has appeared again and again in this thesis. It determines what are the important principles. It controls how they are implemented. It guides social workers in how they act with their clients and with their colleagues. It represents the ethical standards that social workers abide by and, as will be discussed a little later in this chapter, it is there to guide the research process.

This research has also sought to meet the cultural requirements of Indigenist research in that it was designed to reflect Indigenous values and practices in ways that counter oppression, (Hart et al., 2014:4). We have solidarity with other Indigenous peoples because of the shared experience of colonisation and we learn from one-another’s resistance. For research to emancipate it has to resist power and should strive for self-determination and decolonisation (Rigney, 2006). The intention for this research is to contribute to that emancipation by privileging Māori principles, perspectives and approaches so that Māori can maintain and develop their Indigenous Social Work practices. I was going to use the word reclaim, but we already have them, the problem is that sometimes we are prevented from using our approaches. This research adds to that brought forward by other Māori social work researchers namely John Bradley, Taina Pohatu, Leland Ruwhiu, Cindy Kiro, Awhina English, Moana Eruera, Lisa King etc.

Bevan-Brown’s (1998) definition of ethical Māori research is the most helpful and specific. It focused on a Māori cultural framework by people with the necessary te reo and cultural skills and that it should prioritise Māori aspirations and generate positive outcomes for Māori by empowering them further. Māori people should control the research and be accountable to the research participants. While this is a summary, this appears to be following what could be called a tikanga Māori process rather than a Kaupapa Māori process. What I would add to this framework is deepening the cultural framework to include the expectation of reciprocity and the obligations incurred by whakawhanaungatanga.

The other set of research ethics came from Linda Smith (1999). From the lessons learned in this research I would add to those research ethics:

- Tautuutu mai (how with you repay your reciprocal obligations)
- Whakaruruhau (have you kept your research participants culturally safe)
- Involvement of kaumatua

Returning reciprocity was either the tool that allowed me access to Māori workers, or it is what I have in my mind that I need to respond to the participants in the future. The reason whakawhanaungatanga binds us together is the mutual obligations those relationships engender. At some time that reciprocity may be called upon and it is when there is a lack of commitment and reciprocity to the research participants that people may feel exploited by researchers.

I have not been as accountable to kaumātua as I could have been. In many ways this has been a solo exercise not wanting to bother busy people. I have had support from my own kaumātua even though they do not know the specifics of what I am doing, however, any serious transgression will be eventually pointed out. I have interviewed elders and peers, tuakana and teina on a number of different levels. I interviewed people I have mentored and people who have mentored me; people I've supervised and people who have supervised me and people who have encouraged and supported me but also people who have told me off when I have stepped out of line.

As a Kaupapa Māori Research approach, this thesis seeks to identify theory, it seeks to be accountable to the research participants and to the communities from which they came. It endeavours to adhere to the cultural practices expected of Māori research in the tasks of supporting Māori development as Māori seek to contribute to creating a just society. Only then is it permitted to seek to create new knowledge.

Validity, reliability, generalisability and objectivity

D'Cruz & Jones (2004) outline a fourfold test of trustworthiness of a research process: reliability, internal validity, generalisability and objectivity:

Reliability

Can someone else run a similar process amongst Māori Social and Community workers and would they get consistent results?

In the end although it came along a lengthy path this research was a process that could be easily replicated and the results of the first two research projects were internally consistent and consistent with the findings of Hollis-English (2012a), King (2018) and Kapea-Maslin (2016). All three processes can be duplicated by someone with the access to these various groups.

Internal validity

Internal validity is the necessity to make sure that genuine comparisons are taking place and that which is considered similar really is similar (Bryman, 2001). The actual words of the participants were used as much as practicable to allow the reader to judge for themselves whether that took place or not.

Generalisability

Generalisability is the ability to draw conclusions about the wider Māori social and community work based on the answers of essentially a handful of people (Bryman, 2001). Those involved in the first two phases were all based in Dunedin although many had origins in the North Island. There is the possibility that these findings are not generalisable, but from my experience and contact with long term Māori Social and Community Workers, New Zealand is a small country with a limited number of workers who appear very well connected to one another. In Phase Three, the seven participants were at least half of the participants in the Tangata Whenua Voices in Social Work group who are leaders in Māori Social Work practice in New Zealand.

Objectivity

Objectivity “is a principle that aims to minimise the influences of the researcher’s values, beliefs and potentially vested interests” (D’Cruz & Jones, 2004:71). While I controlled the narrative large sections of text were used to give as much exposure to the participants voices as possible while still maintaining a coherent narrative.

With the long term social workers project, even larger blocks of text were used so ensure that the narrative was theirs and that the context was as clear as possible.

This is a form of insider research as I am researching my communities, I am interviewing my friends and acquaintances. This carries a heavy burden and has consequences.

This research was undertaken for the benefit of both the outsider and the insider. In my own practice experience I was sometimes constrained by outsiders trying to impose on me the way I should work, the way I should relate and the processes that were used to do this. A large part of my journey of the last 20 years has been to write to develop and point to a canon of work that Māori workers could use in their negotiations with Pākehā employees and funders. My experience was that many Pākehā (particularly managers and bosses) would only believe something that was the result of empirical research. If it was written down and proven then it could be relied on to be valid knowledge. If not then it could be ignored. Therefore, my quest was to identify and produce knowledge in a way that they would find valid. Most of the knowledge presented here is already commonly understood by many in my community; they need people like me in the positions I inhabit to create pathways for them to grow and expand without unnecessary interference. That does not mean there is not new knowledge. What this thesis hopes to reveal is not just some of the 'whats' and 'hows' and 'whys', but the implications for these Māori living in a post-modern environment.

From my teaching experience, young Māori social workers and students are also looking for frameworks that they can hang their practice on that allow them to truly be Māori social workers and not just social workers who are Māori. I have seen how students are incorporating the work of people like Leland Ruwhiu and Taina Pohatu into their practice and it is why Māori academics and practitioners need to research and publish more. One of the challenges is to provide theoretical and practical frameworks that are based in Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) particularly as these developing professionals demand more authenticity in their practice and lives. Hopefully the experiences and findings of this research will contribute to that.

The next chapter is the conclusion, summarising the research design and conclusions, commenting on the limitations of the research and offering recommendations for future research.

Chapter Twelve Conclusion

This final chapter will look at the research overall, summarise its findings before commenting on the limitations of the research and offering some recommendations for the future.

The research questions are:

- What are the principles of Māori directed Social and Community Work practice and development?
- How are these principles implemented?

To find answers to these questions a theoretical review was undertaken to map the research philosophy, namely the foundations of Indigenist and Kaupapa Māori Theory through Postmodernism, Critical Theory and Social Constructionism and draws a distinction between Kaupapa Māori Theory and Kaupapa Māori Practice. The chosen theory was Kaupapa Māori Theory which emphasised control and power by Māori as the key to the successful implementation of the principles of Māori directed practice and development.

The thesis includes four literature reviews. The first looked at Māori principles and takepū (applied principles) defining them and explaining them. The second literature review looked at Māori communities and Māori Advancement describing the sites where the principles are implemented. The third literature review was part of Chapter Nine and looked at whakawhanaungatanga, what it means, and the expectations around it and how it can be implemented in practice. The fourth literature review in Chapter Ten looked specifically at the procedures and ethics regarding dual relationships and crossing Social Work boundaries.

Chapter Five looked at the methods and methodology of this thesis including justifying the changes in research projects, explaining the rationale for why the research was carried out in the ways that it was, and identifying it as a form of Kaupapa Māori research.

The research took place in three phases which were undertaken using qualitative research methods using semi-structured interviews. Phase One involved interviews with Māori people working in Māori roles in Government organisations. There were ten people interviewed in this section. Eight were in identifiable Māori specific roles and two were Māori in mainstream roles that had specific involvement or expectations to have a Māori focus as part of their jobs. They were interviewed about the nature of their position, the expectations placed on them, their aspirations, and were asked about the barriers and enabling factors of their roles. They also described their use of Māori culture in their roles.

The second phase was interviews with Māori workers working in Māori health and social service providers. Ten were also interviewed in this project using an Appreciative Inquiry qualitative method. This project looked at the distinctiveness of Māori providers, the strengths of Māori providers and the tools, principles, values and processes that underpinned their approaches.

Chapter Eight presented a preliminary discussion exploring the findings of these two projects identifying their similarities and tensions. The biggest difference between the Government workers group and the Māori providers group was that the principles used by the Government group were almost entirely related to building and maintaining relationships whereas the Māori providers used wider cultural values as well as concepts that related to building and maintain relationships.

Government workers implement Māori principles in four identified ways. Creating supportive environments, responding to community needs, to do this they need to keep themselves linked into the Māori community and they do this by following Māori processes. This supported the theoretical hypothesis as Māori workers in Government organisations were unable to fully implement Kaupapa Māori principles effectively being limited to what, in effect, were liaison roles.

How workers in Māori organisation were found to implement Māori principles is in many ways similar to the Government workers. The main difference is that they are already part of the community and so they don't need to make that extra effort to engage. They create supportive environment, respond to needs and follow Māori processes and tikanga.

However, these Māori workers and their Māori organisations were still, as the theory predicted, unable to fully implement the principles as their outputs and outcomes were defined for them by mainstream funders. Thus one of the major points that came out of these two projects was that there was little that was new to an experienced Māori Social and Community Work practitioner and was limited in its use to guide how the power to fully implement Kaupapa Māori principles and practice could be achieved. Therefore a third project was undertaken interviewing experienced Māori Social Workers about how a particular principle, whakawhanaungatanga, was used to work with clients so that they are considered whānau, extended family members and empowered to fully implement Kaupapa Māori principles and practice.

In Phase Three these experienced social workers were interviewed about the meaning of the term and its application and the ethical dilemmas that could arise. Whakawhanaungatanga is often criticised because it is seen as crossing traditional social work boundaries. The research found that it is not crossing the boundaries that is the problem so much as violating those boundaries

Experienced Māori social workers were found to use a number of guiding principles and processes to protect themselves and their clients when choosing to cross traditional social work boundaries when the cultural ethic of whakawhanaungatanga overrode it. Usually this was because the boundaries were usually perceived as organisational ones rather than breaching any Social Work ethics.

It was to Māori cultural ethics that experienced social workers turned to, particularly the concept of tikanga, acting in ways that were tika (correct) and pono (with integrity). Whakapapa was important because of the connection with ancestors and descendants and to act appropriately in a task that may have generational consequences and so there is a cost to operating using whakawhanaungatanga. Other terms used were, tapu, kawa, tuakana –teina as well as concepts that were described in English including transparency, identity, understanding the cost and, emancipation.

The processes for using whakawhanaungatanga included;

- That the worker indicating what potae they were wearing (the role they had for that purpose)
- The need for negotiation
- The need for supervision and accountability
- The role of tikanga
- That there should be a poroporoaki to recognise the work is over and any relationship is transformed and continues in a different way

In the Māori community the social worker and client may see each other regularly in the community, at the marae, tangihanga, school events etc. A relationship is still there, but it has changed because their need for our assistance is no longer there. However, a relationship still exists. Obligation does not end when the work ends, you continue to have a relationship. However, whakawhanaungatanga, to become whānau, does not necessary imply intimacy, just obligation.

Other findings of the research

A framework for analysing Māori development and Māori organisations was suggested with the extra dimension of Community Service Organisations to describe the different kinds of Māori development. With all the competing missions and visions and priorities for those working in Māori development, it potentially exposes why tensions can emerge from those who come from one perspective and end up working in another sector. While all have the aim of Māori Development and Advancement, some with a Community Development perspective working in a Community Service Organisation could find themselves constrained and frustrated from the lack of freedom and the lack of a social justice focus. Likewise, someone from a Marae Development perspective who is used to working collaboratively and consultatively may find the hierarchy of Iwi surprising. Some may argue that Kaupapa Māori can exist in all four spaces and it probably can if organisations are clear about what Kaupapa Māori is.

A number of different forms of Kaupapa Māori was also discussed. One was a traditionalist approach where the strength and validity of a Kaupapa Māori approach was directly proportional to their expertise in te reo and mātauranga. Another way of looking at Kaupapa Māori could be as a dialectic where the ‘just society’ that Kaupapa Māori

Theory strives for can be seen in tension between mātauranga Māori and empowerment (Critical Theory) that keeps each perspective in check.

The third way of viewing Kaupapa Māori is as a whareniui with four pou (posts or pillars) holding it up. The four pou would be mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) tikanga (correct processes) te reo and power/control, an exotic building material of Critical Theory. A weakness in any of the pou would mean a weakness in the whare that could still be useful despite this.

One of the things that has become apparent in this research on Māori principles, their implementation, the use of whakawhanaungatanga and how workers are able to use it properly, is that the dominating overarching concept may not have been Kaupapa Māori. It could be argued that tikanga Māori has been the dominant concept as it has appeared again and again in this thesis. It controls what are the important principles. It controls how they are implemented. It guides social workers in how they act with their clients and with their colleagues. It represents the ethical standards by which social workers abide by and it is there to guide the research process.

However, it is to Kaupapa Māori we must turn. All through this thesis there has been tension between Constructionist and Critical Theory approaches to Kaupapa Māori. Is Kaupapa Māori an independent Indigenous theory with the power to realise itself, thus having similarities and alignment with Critical Theory owing strength to both?

The danger is, without a strong cultural underpinning as well as the power proposed by Critical Theory, Kaupapa Māori could revert back to a culturally appropriate Critical Theory or a domesticated Culturalist expression. This 'just society' that Kaupapa Māori Theory strives for can be seen as a tension between the two approaches that causes a rivalry or it can be seen as a way of keeping each other in check, because Māori may be just as capable ourselves as the coloniser was of oppressing each other.

Potential weaknesses and limitations of this research

The most likely limitation (from a Māori perspective) is that most participants were Mata Waka and not Mana Whenua in the areas which they worked and this may have some potential bias in the principles they use. In both the Governmental and Māori

organisational study seven out of the ten were Mata Waka and is why networking surfaced as such a very important principle. There are different types of pressures and expectations when working with your relatives than with another Iwi and this may have skewed the emphasis in this direction. Also both of these studies were conducted in Dunedin and so may be reflective of the dominant cultural ethos of living in Ngāi Tahu territory.

A weakness of the study could be that all the participants are known to me and they know my various roles in the community and could influence and bias the information they share. They may not say negative things because I might feed that back to the community. I already had to disqualify one of the research projects because of my conflict of interest and I could also just be interviewing a clique of those who have the same orthodox view of Māori cultural thought and action as myself.

Another possible limitation is that while we have a list of principles employed by Māori workers, we may not be able to establish the importance of each principle to practice. While nearly every person mentioned whakawhanaungatanga as an important principle, we have little direction as to the priority of the other principles apart from those highlighted as important for competency to work with Māori by the Social Work Registration Board consultation document, namely whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga.

As with any Qualitative research project there is the danger of cherry picking the data that tells the story I want to tell. For that reason, I have explained some of my potential bias and have also tried to use large tracts of the participant's voices to not only accurately tell the story of the research participants but provide context as well.

This research took a long time and New Zealand society is changing. When I started this PhD New Zealand was going through an acrimonious general election highlighted by the populist, some would say racist rhetoric of Don Brash and the National Party. New Zealand has progressed and so some of the issues raised may be moot. However, the fundamental principles by which Māori workers operate would probably not have changed.

Recommendations for future research

Conducting research with Mana Whenua Social Workers, identifying their priorities and perspectives would be useful to examine any nuance of difference between Mana Whenua and Mata Waka Social Work practitioners. Further research is also required to determine the range, depth and importance of Māori principles and processes. This could be done by providing a large list of Māori concepts and surveying Māori Social and Community workers and asking them to rank them by importance.

More in-depth qualitative research should be done to reveal a deeper understanding of these various concepts as they apply to Social Work. Few in my generation were brought up speaking te reo. Even though my Grandparents lived all their married lives in Ngāruawāhia, the heart of the Māoridom, only one of my 45 first cousins grew up as a native speaker of te reo. With the increasing passing away of our kaumātua, the depths of these Māori concepts and how they can be applied in Social and Community Work need to be researched so they are truly understood in context.

The final recommendation relates to Kaupapa Māori research. The literature on Māori ethical approaches has progressed little in over 20 years. More needs to be done to fine-tune this area especially in response to changing political and technological issues. This should involve a great deal of consultation particularly on the requirements of ethics committees and how they factor in the expectations of Māori communities and Māori research ethics. Reciprocity is a vital part of Māori cultural interaction, it is what both helped and hindered this research. However, it is my firm belief that research ethics committees should require a report on what reciprocity takes place between researchers and Māori participants, not in terms of potential conflict of interest, but of what Māori whānau, organisations and communities get out of what is too often a one sided, often exploitive, relationship.

Conclusion

This brings us to the end of this thesis. Before the final poroporoaki, I want to mention the quote that inspired me the most over this research and reveals an essence of Māori Social and Community Work.

What is the role of social and community work, what is the greatest thing we can do? As Dennis Mariu said *“Yea, igniting their mauri so that they can breathe the breath of their ancestors, all the senses feel it, smell it, taste it, know it. And I believe that’s my role.”*

Nō reira, tēnā koutotu, tēnā koutotu, tēnā tātou katoa.

Glossary

The following definitions are not exhaustive definitions but solely reflect how the terms have been used in this thesis

Ahi kaa	The local tribe
Ahurutanga	Safe space
Ako	Divine potentiality
Ako Māori	Māori pedagogy
Aroha	Love, Compassion, Empathy, All-encompassing quality of goodness expressed by love, Awareness
Aroha ki te tangata	Love, Compassion, Genuine empathy
Arohatanga	Compassion
Atua	Unseen spiritual entities, Gods
Awa	River
Awhi	Support by embracing, Caring, Support
Awhitanga	Caring assistance
E te tuatahi	Firstly
Hahi	Church
Hangi	Meal usually steamed
Hapai te oranga o te Iwi	Raise the well-being of the people
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Hau kāinga	Local tribe
Hauora	Well-being, Health
He wahine Māori	Māori woman
Hinengaro	Mind
Hono	Join
Hui	Gatherings
Hui a whānau	Family meeting
Īō-matua-kore	Supreme being
Iwi	Tribes
Kai	Meal, Food
Kaimahi	Worker
Kaitakawaenga	Liaison role
Kaitiaki	Responsible stewards, Guardian
Kaitiakitanga	The right and obligation to protect
Kaiwhakatara	Mentor
Kanohi i kitea	The seen face
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Kāore	No
Kapa haka	Māori performing arts
Karakia	Prayer, Incantations
Karanga	Call welcome
Kaua e mahaki	Be humble, Do not be arrogant
Kaua e takahia te mana	Do not trample others mana
Kaumatua	Tribal elder
Kaumātua	Elders
Kaupapa	Issue, Purpose

Kawa	Code of practices, Processes
Kei te pai	That is fine
Kei te pai tērā	That is okay
Kete	Baskets
Kia ora	Greetings
Kia ngākau mahaki	Be humble
Kia tupato	Be careful, Respectful
Ko au, ko koe, ko koe, ko au	I am you and you are me
Koha	Gifts, Money
Kōrero	Story, Talk, Discuss, Discussion, Speak, Explanation
Korowai	Cloak
Kotahitanga	Unity
Ko wai tō ingoa	What is your name
Kuia	Woman elder
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori medium school
Mahi	Work
Mahi whakamana	Mana enhancing practice
Mamae	Hurts
Mamae hui	Expression pain publicly
Mana	Integrity, Prestige, Inner strength, Power, Esteem, Enduring indestructible power of the gods, The actualisation of tapu
Manaaki	Express love, Be hospitable, Caring
Manaakitanga	Hospitality
Mana Atua	The power derived from and given by the gods.
Mana Motuhake	Autonomy
Mana Tangata	Recognition we gain for ourselves
Mana Tipuna	Power and prestige from our ancestors.
Mana tuku [iho]	Mana from the ancestors
Mana Whenua	The local tribe
Manuwhiri	Visitors, Guests
Marae	Traditional gathering place
Marae atea	The courtyard in front of the Wharenui
Maramatanga	Enlightenment
Matakite	Seer
Matariki	Māori New Year
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Māta Waka	Māori living away from their tribe
Maunga	Mountain
Matua	Elder
Mauri	Spiritual ethos, Life force
Mauri-ora	Well-being
Mau rākau	Weaponry
Mea te kōrero	Have critical dialogue
Mea te whakarongo	Listen with real intent
Mihi	Greet
Mihi whakatau	Welcoming ceremony
Mikirapu	Mixed up
Mōhiotanga	Knowledge
Mōhiotanga Māori	Experiences and knowing

Mokemoke	Isolated sadness
Moko	Grandchild
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Nako	Earnest desire, Central thought
Nau mai, haere mai	Welcome, welcome
Ngā hau e whā	People of the four winds
Ngākau	Heart
Ngā Takepū	Applied principles
Noa	Neutrality, Spiritual cleanness
Noho marae	Staying overnight at a marae
Oranga	Well-being
Pākehā	European
Pakeke	Mature adults
Papatipu marae	The local tribe
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
Pono	Genuine, Honourable, True, Faith
Poroporoaki	Call farewell, Ending process
Pōtae	Hat
Pou	Post, Pillars
Poua	Male elder
Pōwhiri	Traditional welcome
Pukenga	Skills
Putea	Funding
Rangatahi	Youth
Rangiātea	Uppermost Heaven
Ranginui	Sky father
Raranga	Weaving
Raruraru	Problems, Disputes
Ringawera	Working in the kitchen
Rongoa	Traditional medicine
Roopu	Group
Rourou	Collection of expertise
Rūnaka	Tribal committee
Rūnanga	Tribal committee
Taha Māori	Māori side
Take	Purpose, Issue
Takiwā	Tribal area.
Tāku mōhio	What I know
Tamariki	Children
Tāne tautoko tāne	Men supporting men
Tāngata Tiriti	Those that live in New Zealand by right of the Treaty of Waitangi
Tāngata whenua	The local tribe
Tangi	Funeral
Tangihanga	Funeral rites, Funeral
Taniwha	Water guardians
Taoka	Valued items and concepts
Taonga	Treasured things
Taonga tuku iho	Cultural values and aspirations handed down from the ancestors

Tapu	Potentiality of power, Separated, Sacredness
Taua	Female elder
Tauivi	Non-Māori
Taura	Rope
Taura here	Tribal group living outside its tribal area
Tautoko	Support by taking sides, Support by advocacy
Tauutuutu mai	Reciprocal obligations
Te Ahureitanga	The uniqueness of Maori
Te Ahurutanga	The creation of safe spaces
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Ao Pākehā	The European world,
Te Ao Wairua	The spiritual world
Te Ara Whakamua	The decade of Māori development,
Te Kohanga Reo	Māori pre-schools
Te reo	Māori language
Te Wānanga o Raukawa	A tertiary institution
Te whakapono	Spiritual gifts that we employ
Te Whakatika raruraru	Conflict resolution
Tika	Correct, Right, Culturally correct
Tikanga	Correct processes, Correct cultural constructs
Tikanga Māori	Strict adherence to Māori values, Māori culture, Processes and protocols.
Tikanga mātauranga	Cultural wisdom
Tinana	Physical presence
Tinana hono	Together in a physical space
Tino rangatiratanga	Chieftainship, Autonomy, Self-determination
Tino rangatiratanga kaupapa	Political activism
Titiro	Look
Tohunga	Expert
Tuakana-teina	Older and younger sibling/cousins
Tuhonotanga	Partnerships
Tūmanako	Aspirations
Tupuna	Ancestor
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Tūpuna kōrero	Discussion between ancestors
Tūrangawaewae	Belonging to a people and a place
Tūturu Māori	Authentic
Utu	Reciprocity, Cost
Waewae tapu	First time visitor to a place
Wahi	Place
Waiata	Singing, Song
Wairua	Spirituality, Spirit
Wairua hono	Joining spiritually
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Waka	Immigrant ship, Ancestral canoe
Wananga	Course, Symposiums
Wā pouri	Sad times
Whaikōrero	Welcome speeches
Whakaari	Dramatic performing art
Whakaaro	Ideas

Whakairo	Carving
Whakamanawa	Re-empowerment, Self-determination
Whakanoa	Removes the extension of tapu
Whakapapa	Have a genealogical connection, Inter-relatedness
Whakapapa kōrero	Family stories
Whakapapa tatai	Family connection
Whakapapa whānau	Blood family
Whakapono	Faith
Whakarongo	Listen
Whakaruruhau	Culturally safe
Whakawhanaungatanga	Family like relationship building, To become whānau, Finding whakapapa links
Whānau	Extended family, Family
Whanaunga	Relative, Blood relation
Wharenui	Meeting house
Whenua	Country, Land

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Appendices

Appendix One

From: Jenny Aimers <Jenny.Aimers@op.ac.nz>
Sent: Monday, 5 August 2019 9:35 AM
To: Anaru Eketone
Subject: Re: copyright

Kia Ora Anaru,

(Personal message in the email was deleted).

Yes, we are happy to give you permission to use the chapter from our book in your thesis, do you need anything more formal? Jenny

Jenny Aimers
Research Co-ordinator
Otago Polytechnic
G312
extension 8407

I generally work Mon, Wed and Fri 8.30 am - 5 pm

From: Anaru Eketone <anaru.eketone@otago.ac.nz>
Sent: Thursday, 1 August 2019 11:54:30 AM
To: Jenny Aimers <Jenny.Aimers@op.ac.nz>
Subject: copyright

Kia ora Jenny,

First I hope Peter continues to improve and that everything is tracking well for his operations. He is sorely missed around the department.

As for me I am in the final struggles of the PhD and finally produced a full draft that Amanda my supervisor has commented on and I'm working through things.

One of the issues she has identified is that I have used my chapter you published in you community development book as the basis for a chapter in my thesis. I had been advised previously by Hugh that all I had to do was say that an earlier version was published but Amanda suggested I approach you and Peter as Copyright holders for permission to use my Chapter and I have to do it formally.

So according to the University's advice <https://www.otago.ac.nz/administration/copyright/otago016321.html>

I would please like to permission to use

Eketone, A. (2013). Maori development and Maori communities, In '*Community Development: Insight for Practice Aotearoa New Zealand*' Jenny Aimers & Peter Walker (eds.) Dunmore Publishing, New Zealand. ISBN: 9781927212080 pages 185-197

It would be used as a chapter in my PhD and any potential book that comes out of the PhD. It will be available through the University of Otago Library but I do not intend to have a digital version available as I hope to publish further articles.

The Community Development: Insights for practice in Aotearoa New Zealand books will always be mentioned in association with my use of the chapter.

Nga mihi nui
Anaru Eketone

This second issue of *Scope: Kaupapa Kai Tahu* is published by Otago Polytechnic/Te Kura Matatini ki Otago. The journal's subtitle indicates the importance of the Memorandum of Understanding through which the Papatipu Rūnaka ki Arai-Te-Uru became Iwi partners of Otago Polytechnic.

The Dunedin School of Art is grateful for the cultural richness brought to the School in the process and also for the many opportunities for learning which are offered to students and staff within the framework of the MoU.

This issue of *Scope*, subtitled *Kaupapa Kai Tahu*, is on the one hand a showcase of Kai Tahu and other Iwi research at Otago Polytechnic and, on the other hand, an outcome of a growing commitment to Māori research aspirations at Otago Polytechnic and with the Māori community.

Scope: Kaupapa Kai Tahu is peer-reviewed and supported by an editorial team including the following members:

Editor: Justine Camp, Office of the Kaitohutohu, Otago Polytechnic.

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- Janine Kapa, School of Business, Otago University
- Vicki Ratana, Mokowhiti Consultancy

Pam McKinlay: Publications Support, Dunedin School of Art at Otago Polytechnic.

Simon Horner: Designer, Deft Creative Limited.

An online version of this issue is available at www.thescope.org; ISSN (for hardcopy version): 2253-1866; ISSN (for online version): 2253-1874.

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Cover: Ta moko designed and inked by Stuart McDonald, worn by Tama Tuirirangi. Photo by Simon Kaan.

Watermark: Kotahitaka (Unity) Artist Dana Te Kanawa (née Russell), Kai Tahu.

5	Justine Camp	Editorial
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21	Kirsten Parkinson	<i>KĀ HONOKA Exhibition</i>
22	Richard Kerr-Bell	"Te Kaupapa tuatahi, he manaakitaka"
28	Simon Kaan	<i>KĀ HONOKA Exhibition</i>
29	Jeanette Wikaira-Murray	Māoritanga at Ruapuke Island
33	Anaru Eketone	Māori concepts for Social and Community work
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45	Ngā Tapuae o Nexus	The Journey
57	Nikki Cain	<i>KĀ HONOKA Exhibition</i>
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Appendix Two

33 Moreau St
St Kilda
Dunedin

1 May 2006

Te Runanga O Otakou
Tamatea Rd

E te Manawhenua o tenei rohe, tena koutou katoa

My name is Anaru Eketone and among other responsibilities I am working towards a PhD in Social Work and Community Development at the University of Otago.

The topic for my PhD is "Principles of Maori Directed Practice and development" where I will endeavour to investigate a number of Maori based case studies (4 or 5) to identify the principles of a "Native Theory" approach to Maori development. (In this context Native theory is the right we as indigenous people have to define our own approaches to community development practice and knowledge. It is not as woolly as it sounds).

The first step I want to take is interview Maori workers in government departments and agencies. I'm particularly interested in those Maori employed to meet their agency's Treaty of Waitangi responsibilities. The aims of this part of the study are to; identify what are the objectives of their position, what do they hope to achieve, what barriers and difficulties do they have in fulfilling their roles, what are the positives and negatives of working for a government agency and what role does management play in enabling or interfering with them meeting their outcomes.

One of the origins for this section of this research was my frustration at the amount of writings for Pakeha on how to work with Maori as if we were the problem. One of the outcomes I hope to arrive at are, tips on how to work with Pakeha. I am also hoping to identify what Maori need to successfully fulfil the expectations of their roles, hopefully providing recommendations to employers and Government.

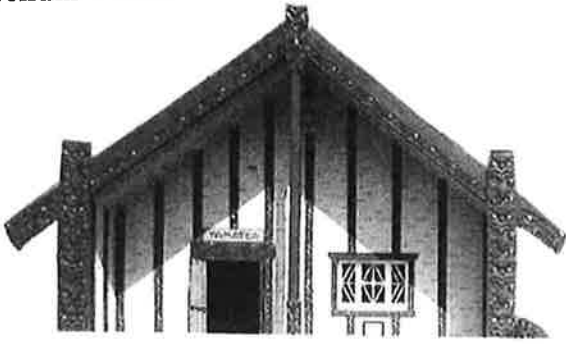
What I am hoping for from you is firstly a letter of support as I seek to go through the ethics approval and Maori consultation process (that is of course if you feel this research is worthwhile), and secondly what level of involvement, if any, you would like to have on the direction that this research takes. Khyla Russell has already consented to be one of my supervisors but as a runanga would you like to consult further or would you prefer just to be kept informed.

I am conscious that you are very busy and have tried to keep this letter to one page however I can go into far greater detail should you require it.

Naku, na,

Anaru Eketone

Cc. Khyla Russell



Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou (Inc)

Tamatea Road
Ōtākou
RD 2
DUNEDIN, N.Z.

9th May 2006

Anaru Eketone
33 Moreau Street
St Kilda
DUNEDIN

Re: *PhD in Social Work and Community Development*

Kia ora Anaru

I refer to your letter dated 1st May 2006, which was discussed at our Executive Meeting on Thursday, 4 May 2006.

The Executive agreed that the research topic you have chosen for your PhD is very worthwhile. They would also be most interested in receiving a copy of your thesis, once completed.

The Executive would also appreciate confirmation from you, of your proposal receiving 'Ethic's' Approval. If they can be of any further assistance, please contact the office.

We look forward to hearing confirmation of Ethics approval. Kia kaha mo tō mahi e hoa.

Nāhaku noa, nā

Robyn Russell
Administration Support

NGĀI TAHU RESEARCH CONSULTATION COMMITTEE *TE KOMITI RAKAHAU KI KĀI TAHU*

09/05/2006 - 19
Thursday, 11 May 2006

Mr Anaru D Eketone
Social Work and Community Development Department
Dunedin

Tēnā koe Mr Eketone

Title: Maori Workers in Government Organisations

The Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee (NTRCC) met on Tuesday, April 4 2006 to discuss your research proposition.

The NTRCC consider the research to be of importance and interest.

The Committee advise that there is a national hui for Māori workers in local and regional government called Te Waka Awhina and that Mr Mark Brunton has been an attendee at some of these hui and has additional information about the hui.

The Committee also raised a number of questions for consideration. Is the research about Māori as Māori in government, or Māori working in Māori positions within government, or government attitude to Māori working in government? As with the other correspondence on "Kaupapa Māori: Fact or Fiction", there is no response required to this point.

The Committee recommend distribution of you findings to appropriate departments of central government, local authorities and to Te Waka Awhina. A contact for Te Waka Awhina 2006 would be Jacine Warmington, 09 4053832, 027 4157919, State highway 12, Waima. She is organising the next Hui which is to be held at Waitangi from 23/26 November 2006 and hosted by the Far North District Council. The Committee would also value of copy of the research findings.

Please contact me if you would like an electronic copy of this letter.

Nāhaku noa, nā

Mark Brunton
Kaitakawaenga Rangahau Māori
Facilitator Research Māori
Research Division
Te Whare Wananga o Otago
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Web: www.otago.ac.nz

The Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee has membership from:

*Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou Incorporated
Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki
Te Rūnanga o Moeraki*



ACADEMIC SERVICES
Manager, Academic Committees, Mr G K (Gary) Witte

Mr A Eketone

19 May 2006

Dear Mr Eketone

I am writing to let you know that, at its recent meeting, the Ethics Committee considered your proposal entitled "**Maori Workers in Government Organisations.**"

As a result of that consideration, the current status of your proposal is:- **Approved**

For your future reference, the Ethics Committee's reference code for this project is:- **06/079.**

Yours sincerely,

Mr G K (Gary) Witte
Manager, Academic Committees
Tel: 479-8256
Email: gary.witte@stonebow.otago.ac.nz

24 April 2007

Mr Anaru Eketone
C/- Dept. of Social Work and Community Development
University of Otago
PO Box 56
Dunedin

Tena Koe e Anaru,

Project Key: LRS/07/04/007

Full Title: The Principles of Māori directed practice and development. The development of a tikanga Māori informed community development evaluation framework.

Investigators: Anaru Eketone, Associate Professor Pat Shannon, Dr. Khyla Russell (Supervisors)

Localities: Te Roopu Tautoko ki te Tonga

The above study has been given ethical approval by the **Lower South Regional Ethics Committee**.

Approved Documents

Information sheet and consent form version 2: 4 April 2007

Accreditation

The Committee involved in the approval of this study is accredited by the Health Research Council and is constituted and operates in accordance with the Operational Standard for Ethics Committees, April 2006.

Final Report

The study is approved until **20 Dec 2007**. A final report is required at the end of the study and a form to assist with this is available from the Administrator. If the study will not be completed as advised, please forward a progress report and an application for extension of ethical approval one month before the above date. Report forms are available from the administrator.

Amendments

It is also a condition of approval that the Committee is advised of any adverse events, if the study does not commence, or the study is altered in any way, including all documentation eg advertisements, letters to prospective participants.

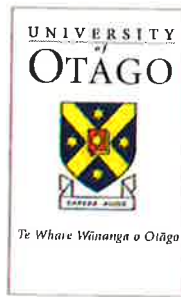
Please quote the above ethics committee reference number in all correspondence.

It should be noted that Ethics Committee approval does not imply any resource commitment or administrative facilitation by any healthcare provider within whose facility the research is to be carried out. Where applicable, authority for this must be obtained separately from the appropriate manager within the organisation.

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Riria Tautau-Grant', written in a cursive style.

Riria Tautau-Grant
Ethics Committee Administrator
Lower South Regional Ethics Committee
email: riria_tautau-grant@moh.govt.nz



Mr Anaru Eketone
Department of Social Work & Community Development
520 Castle Street
University of Otago

4 December 2007

06/079

Dear Mr Eketone

Re: Maori Workers in Government Organisations

Thank you for your email to me regarding the amendments you would like to make to the original ethics application. You have notified the Committee that you would like to complete an extra 15 interviews, and that most other parts of the original application remain unchanged.

Your proposal, including the amendments, is now fully approved by the Human Ethics Committee for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing. I hope all goes well for you with your upcoming research.

Yours sincerely



Gary Witte
Manager, Academic Committees
University of Otago

cc. Professor Amanda Barusch (Head of Department), Social Work & Community Development

[Reference Number 06/079

[5 May 2006]

**Maori Workers in Government Organisations
Information Sheet for Participants**

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

The aim of this project is to record and compare the experiences of Maori Workers within Government Organisations. It will be used by Anaru Eketone towards the requirements of his PHD.

What Type of Participants are being sought?

This research is limited to Maori Workers within Government organisations only.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to take part in a 45 - 60 minute interview to discuss your experience as a Maori Worker within a Government organisation. This interview will be recorded and will take place at a time and venue that is suitable to you. At any stage in this process you are able to withdraw from participation without causing any disadvantage to yourself in any way.

This project involves an open-questioning technique where there are some initial questions but the precise nature of all the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

Everything discussed in the interview will be recorded, typed up and shown to you so that

you are able to check that what you said has been documented correctly and if you need to, changes can be made or sections deleted.

Primarily the results of this project will contribute to the PhD undertaken by Anaru Eketone and will be available in the University of Otago library but they may also be published but every reasonable attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those directly involved in the project will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Reasonable precautions will be taken to protect and destroy data gathered by email. However, the security of electronically transmitted information cannot be guaranteed. Caution is advised in the electronic transmission of sensitive material.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Anaru Eketone 03-4795051 or his supervisor Pat Shannon 03-4797666 at the Department of Social Work and Community Development, 520 Castle St North Dunedin.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee

Maori Workers in Government Organisations

Consent Form for Participants

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information [*video-tapes / audio-tapes*] will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed;
4. This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.
5. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the library but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.
6. That reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed.

I agree to take part in this project.

.....
.....
(Signature of participant)

(Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics
Committee

Maori workers in Government organisations.

Initial questions

1. What is your position and what does it entail?
2. How did you position come about?
3. What qualifications, training or experience did you have for the position?
4. What are the main objectives for your position?
5. What role does the Treaty of Waitangi play in your organisation?
6. What are your aspirations for this position?
7. Do you find there is any inconsistency between your aspirations for the role and those of the organisation? If yes in what ways.
8. What are the barriers and difficulties you encounter in fulfilling your role?
9. What are the factors that enable you to do your job well?
10. What are the positives of working for a government agency?
11. What are the negatives of working for a government agency?
12. How do the different levels of management you work under enable or interfere with you meeting your outcomes or aspirations?
13. What expectations Iwi and the Maori community have of your position and how do you handle them?
14. What is the team structure you work under?
15. To what extent do you work using kaupapa Maori philosophy or methods?
16. In what ways are you supported or encouraged by your organisation to use a kaupapa Maori philosophy?
17. What type of systems/structures/models do you believe would better support this?



Academic Services
Manager, Academic Committees, Mr Gary Witte

Mr A Eketone
Department of Social Work and Community Development
Division of Humanities
520 Castle Street

25 June 2013

Dear Mr Eketone,

I am again writing to you concerning your proposal entitled "**Maori Workers in Government Organisations**", Ethics Committee reference number **06/079**.

Thank you for your email of 24 June 2013 requesting an extension of the ethical approval for your project, in order to undertake further interviews. We confirm an extension is approved for another three years (until 25 June 2016).

Your proposal continues to be fully approved by the Human Ethics Committee. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing. I hope all goes well for you with your upcoming research.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Gary Witte
Manager, Academic Committees
Tel: 479 8256
Email: gary.witte@otago.ac.nz

c.c. Department of Social Work and Community Development