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Principled action

E ngā rau rangatira mā, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

One of the things I never understood from the movies is how martyrdom works. It always seemed foolish to me that the bad guy would have the good guy in his hands and wouldn't dispose of him straight away, because of the worry it would somehow turn him into a martyr and, therefore, they would somehow win. I used to wonder: how could the death of one person be that powerful? Such has been the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis in the USA. While an innocent victim, rather than someone martyred for a political or religious cause, his murder at the hands of the police started a chain reaction that reverberated across America and then around the world—even as far as New Zealand. The cold-blooded callousness of the murder prompted tens of thousands to gather in protest across New Zealand, wishing to stand in solidarity with Black America against racism. However, these protests were met by some activists from the Māori community who argued, "Why are you just looking at America and not looking at what is happening in New Zealand?"

New Zealand, too, has seen a growing militarisation of the police, with Armed Response Teams set up in response to the shocking March 2019 attack on a Christchurch mosque by a white supremacist, who killed 51 worshippers. These heavily armed units were deployed and ready to respond in areas of potential terrorism and serious crime, targeting areas with large Māori and Pacific Islands populations. This active policing of Māori areas meant that we were likely to see an increase in similar racist outcomes as seen in America on our televisions and social media. While New Zealand is one of the least corrupt countries in the world (Transparency International, 2019), there are veins of deeply embedded racism in the way the

police enforce the law. Māori make up 16% of the population but make up 51% of those imprisoned (Department of Corrections, 2019), are nine times more likely to have a TASER pointed at us, six times more likely to be pepper sprayed and four times more likely to be shot (New Zealand Police, 2018).

Even though normally the New Zealand Police are unarmed, in the seven months after the Armed Response Teams started, three Māori and Pacific Island men were shot and killed by armed police (Scoop Media, 2020), the same as the number of people killed by the UK police for the whole of 2019 (Inquest.org, 2020). Although they were not killed by the Armed Response Team, their presence almost certainly contributed to the growing militarisation of the New Zealand Police and its inevitable consequences.

This general realisation was an awakening, where the populace was turning to re-look at how the New Zealand Police are fulfilling their mission "to make New Zealanders be safe and feel safe." To the credit of the Police Commissioner, Andrew Coster, he realised that a groundswell of opposition was rising against armed police and when 4,000 letters arrived in his inbox in the course of a week, he announced on 9 June that the trial was ended and was not coming back. He said, "It is clear to me that these Response Teams do not align with the style of policing that New Zealanders expect." He also acknowledged that "How the public feels is important—we police with the consent of the public, and that is a privilege" and that consent was in danger of waning (Radio New Zealand, 2020).

The militarisation of the police became such an anathema to the public that even the National Party, which often portrays itself as the law and order party, announced two days later that it was ending its "Strike Force Raptor" proposal of an elite police squad to

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“target and harass gang members” (read: *brown* gang members) (McCulloch, 2020). While there has been some talk in the last few weeks of reinstating the policy, I am unaware of any general support for it.

What this tells us is that Pākehā politicians have known all along that these militarised police options were going to target populations based on race. It was expedient because it was done with the consent of the white populace, who tolerated this because it soothed their fears. At the same time, it maintained an environment where white people could feel superior to their darker neighbours because the crime statistics proved who was better. This, after all, is the foundation of endemic racism—the fear that we might all be equal.

While we can argue the semantics of martyrdom, Floyd’s death did set a chain of events in motion that has had other impacts on New Zealand. The marginalisation of American minorities highlighted how racism was an accepted part of America’s past where statues and institutions could celebrate perpetrators of slavery and colonial dispossession without question for decades, if not centuries. As most of us are aware, this led to the pulling down and removal of numerous statues around the world. The toppling of statues also encouraged a re-examination of New Zealand’s colonial past and its statues commemorating the use of military force to suppress the dissent and resistance of the Māori population in the 19th century. Some statues have been vandalized, some removed and authorities are re-looking at monuments and the names of buildings, businesses, towns and street names that have potentially problematic pasts.

Personally I am against people taking it upon themselves to unilaterally damage or destroy monuments and property. In the 1980s and 1990s I lived in Auckland where there was one monument in particular that I considered a tribute to colonialism and racism, the tree on top of One Tree Hill, the highest point in the City of Auckland.

My understanding was that the native tree that had previously been on top of the hill had been cut down by the settlers and replaced with exotic trees to signal to the people of the land that Pākehā were now in control. Seeing this ritual domination of the landscape, I would see that tree, grit my teeth and mutter to myself. In September 1994, my family moved back down to Dunedin, and a couple of days before we left Auckland I went to the top of One Tree Hill to say my goodbyes to the city. The other thing I did was I put my hands on that tree and said aloud “God I pray this tree die,” such was my antagonism to what it represented. It was the following month that the tree was attacked by a chainsaw, and being ring-barked it was eventually taken away completely. So be very careful with what you curse.

One of the responses to that attack on the tree was that there was an attack on my tribe’s waka taua, where it and its building was set on fire in retaliation. While attacks on Pākehā monuments, etc., always make big headlines (e.g., the attack on the America’s Cup), the continual attacks on sites, monuments and buildings important to Māori much less so. In Dunedin in the late 1990s, a response to Treaty settlements was that our local marae was destroyed by arson, as was the Ngai Tahu Law Centre. Some of our public carvings have been attacked in protest by Pākehā as recently as July 2019 and the landscape has also been attacked by the settlers and their descendants. Right now, my hapū Ngāti Tamainupo is fighting the destruction by developers of the last of the pits that give Ngaruawahia its name.

Some may disagree with my resistance to damage and the threat of damage as a form of protest, but I worry that we have more to lose. The progress I have seen in my lifetime, even more so than in my father’s lifetime, tells me that reasoned discussion is still a more powerful medium for change and that civil disobedience does not need to be destructive. In fact my favourite forms of protests are creative. Witness the statue

of Queen Victoria in Dunedin that had a necklace of potatoes placed around her neck to protest British heartlessness in the Irish Potato Famine.

My view is that our political activism should be as principled and ethical as our social work practice. As free of hypocrisy as we can make it, always knowing what we believe and why we believe, leading us on to principled action.

Speaking of principles, in this issue of *Te Komako* we feature a number of authors highlighting the principles that underpin Māori research, theory and practice. Emma Webber-Dreadon details a new model of supervision for Māori that builds on her previous influential work of the 1990s. It reinterprets the supervisory relationship, re-examining these positions and naming them as *kaitiaki* and *tiaki*. She defines nine of these principles with some associated questions to use in supervision. I am sure that the practical outworking of this model will be beneficial to many social workers.

We have three writers who each individually describe their distinct *kaupapa* Māori methodologies for undertaking research. Kerri Cleaver describes an innovative way of doing *mana wāhine* research with Ngāi Tahu women who have been through the state foster-care system. Her approach uses traditional *pūrākau* and how the identity of Ngāi Tahu women are increasingly validated through the connection with the past. Marjorie Lipsham has also used *pūrākau* as a way of informing her research methodology; however, rather than focus on *iwi* narratives as Cleaver does, Lipsham focuses on *whānau* narratives with very personal examples of how research can, and should, follow Māori processes. Ange Watson uses *harakeke* as a model to both explain and guide the research process and gives an example of how this process was used to discuss ethics in Māori social work.

Erica Newman writes an informative piece on the practice of adoption in Aotearoa

before the implementation of the Adoption of Children Act in 1881. The need for the act is a fascinating tale of cross-cultural misunderstandings and racism.

Hannah Mooney, Michael Dale and Kathryn Hay present a research project they undertook to investigate the quality of social work placement for Māori social work students. Māori students have extra requirements and expectations inherent to their identity and so need placements that take these extra requirements into consideration in how they are placed and supported.

Finally, in late 2019, a group of University of Otago social work students invited a group of Māori social work practitioners to speak at a seminar on the most important things they have learnt in practice. Three of the *kōrero* are presented reflecting a variety of practice and approaches. All three are very personal, revealing much about themselves and how they approach working with Māori. Each is slightly controversial in its own right. Awhina Hollis-English advocates resisting the maxim of the “*kumara* doesn’t speak of its own sweetness,” that it sometimes it can be a false modesty and that we should step up to the leadership opportunities put before us. Heramaahina Eketone provides a challenging discussion on self-care in social work and how we deal with those things we come across in our work that weigh heavily on us afterwards. She speaks of them in terms of issues of *tapu* and *noa* and discusses how we cleanse ourselves spiritually after working in difficult situations. Kerri Cleaver highlights how in social work, every life story that a Māori social worker brings in to social work is “a Māori story,” especially as it reflects the reality of many of the *whānau* that we work with.

This year of 2020 is one few of us will ever forget, with Covid-19 and physical distancing, protests against racism, the growing financial crisis and possibly a climate starting to spin out of control. However, it has also opened our eyes.

Māori were some of the first to get organised to deal with the impacts of Covid-19 on our communities. We have seen a growth in articulate young Māori voices speaking out convincingly against injustice and there is a growing acceptance of the underlying nature of racism within our country.

Maybe I am naive to pin my hopes on principled action, tikanga if you will, but it was what I see in the people I admire, those Māori and Tauīwi who are making a genuine difference in our community, nation and world. It is what I also love about social work.

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

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Navigating wahine Kāi Tahu methodology

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ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION: Indigenous research is diverse and rich with multiple epistemological understandings. There is no one template for how we go about this. Shut out from the hallowed halls of academia for generations, Indigenous wāhine have taken up the diversity of our perspectives and, in doing so, space has been created to compose from our own contexts.

APPROACH: This article explores one way of engaging in research as an Indigenous social worker. It is the sharing of my own process of mapping out my legitimacy in an academic space and in a Māori space as a colonised wahine Kāi Tahu caught in the dual complexities of decolonising and living in this time. Navigating wāhine Kāi Tahu methodology is about the journey to create from my own context, honouring the process and the voices and experiences of the wāhine Kāi Tahu who shared in my research. The process includes the melding of traditional Kāi Tahu stories into a methodological framework in Indigenous ethnography.

KEYWORDS: Herstory; mana wāhine; Kāi Tahutaka; Mahika Kai; Pūrākau; social work; autoethnography

*Ko Aoraki te Mauka
Ko Aparima te awa
Ko Takitimu te waka
He wāhine Kāi Tahu ahau
Ko Kerri Cleaver tōku ikoa*

This article explores one way of engaging in research as an Indigenous social worker. It is the sharing of my own process of mapping out my legitimacy in an academic space and in a Māori space as a colonised wāhine Kāi Tahu, caught in the dual complexities of decolonising and living in this time. My hope is that it will open up possibilities and provoke discussion around our multiple authentic voices. It is not intended as a template for other people's research methodology, nor is it intended to direct the way in which research should occur. It is the exploration of self, of one wāhine in the context of cultural connectiveness and storytelling.

My PhD research (not yet completed) is a collection of mana wāhine pūrākau. These are specifically the stories given visually and orally about the belonging and identity journey of wāhine Kāi Tahu who have been through the state foster care system. In this journey of research, I am both emic and etic (insider and outsider), telling my own pūrākau through autoethnography, but also as an outsider to each wahine's journey. The methodology developed to hold these taoka (treasures) is the combining of a set of imperatives held in a korowai (cloak) of Kāi Tahutaka.

Epistemology

Hinepipiwai

Hinepipiwai was part of an exploring party travelling through the Whakatipu-ka-tuku, (Hollyford to Whakatipu) trail. She attempted to climb the highest peak to get an extensive

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view over the region. When she was not able to reach the summit, she sat at the highest point to admire the view. The mountain was subsequently known as Te Taumata-o-Hinepitiwai.

In my own world, wāhine and Kāi Tahu take centre stage. From this perspective, world history is re-written as herstory and ourstory and a re-balancing of gender and sexuality occurs to make space for all, inclusive of takatāpui and LGBTQI+. The seminal works by Matahaere-Atariki (1997), hooks (1989), Spivak (1988), Johnston and Pihama (1994), Wanhalla (2015) and Lorde (2018) directed me towards a methodology that recognises the footprint of colonisation and imperialism, but also talks back to it in a specific way centring silenced voices. Audre Lorde (2018) said “you cannot dismantle the master’s house with the master’s tools” which I interpret as a call to the marginalised to find their/our own tools (Lorde, 2018). Personally, this was the call to both dismantle a house built on my whenua where once stood our kaik (villages) and shelters that held our wāhine Kāi Tahu truths and to use our abundant collection of Kāi Tahu tools to rebuild through our own pūrākau. Lorde’s words provoke us towards resistance against acts of *Othering* and, in the academic environment, activate against the expectations that methodology and research needs to submit and conform to the western patriarchal view (Said, 1979).

Kaupapa Māori Research is one version of a decolonising methodology proven to be both effective and rich in research and reclaiming of Māori knowledge and rights (Bishop, 1998). Kaupapa Māori Research is the foundational collective recognition of Māori epistemology as legitimate and academically stringent and provides the footing by which whānau, hapū and iwi are able to develop our own tools and understandings centred in our own experiences of who we are (Smith, 2013). The tools and understandings for my research was clearly Kāi Tahutaka and flow

on as a natural, localised response where our own ways of being are core.

The pūrākau of Hinepitiwai resonated with the idea of preferencing wāhine Kāi Tahu stories and specifically conferred the urge and need for relevant methodology that future gazed with a wide view, while also understanding that there will always be some unseen elements (hidden behind the mountain), making space for research surprises and variations. Hinepitiwai understood that, in order to safely navigate the way forward as they travelled along mahika kai trails, it was important to take the time to have some oversight forward and back.

Kāi Tahutaka

Epistemology is how we think about knowledge, justify why we align to certain theories of knowledge and rationalise our beliefs. The act of defining my research to wāhine Kāi Tahu and my self-defined declaration that wāhine Kāi Tahu are at the centre of my world leads in to my certainty that Kāi Tahutaka is the epistemological positioning of this research.

As a white-passing wahine Kāi Tahu, I have spent many years grappling with microaggressions against me from both Māori and Pākehā that seek to question the authenticity of my whakapapa and reduce me to their pre-determined definitions either through blood quantum or through a series of tick boxes of *authentic Māori* in which, in their eyes, I inevitably fail. Admittedly these microaggressions would never stack up to the overt racism that I see people of colour (POC) subjected to on a regular basis. I would never seek to invalidate the very real racist experiences and harm that POC deal with, and of which I have little experience, as a white-passing Indigenous wāhine. However, in understanding my own iwi-centric standing, it is most likely that my own encounters of attacks against my culture and identity have steered me towards my staunch Kāi Tahu pou (stake in

the ground) where I intentionally align with the words of Tā Tipene O'Regan:

I regard myself as Ngāi Tahu. I regard myself as a New Zealander of Irish descent—so I value hugely the western tradition that lies behind that Irish descent, and being a New Zealander ... but the thing that makes me uniquely of this place—is my Ngāi Tahu descent. I'm not interested in that being part of a general Māori descent in particular. (Tipene O'Regan in O'Regan, 2001, p. 55)

An important distinction that I make in taking a Kāi Tahu epistemological position is that the researcher and co-researchers do not need to be fluent in Kāi Tahu. The truth of being Kāi Tahu is unprecedented land loss, cultural knowledge loss and language loss. If Kāi Tahu are lucky enough to have maintained the links and knowledges to whenua and traditions, these are the exceptions and not my own experience. So, to hold up the mana of each wahine in the project, the Kāi Tahu epistemological position is openly a growth and learning space.

I was drawn to the mahika kai trails, to our Kāi Tahu traditions of travel, gathering kai and resources and sharing of knowledge, stories and resources. Mahika kai is a complex system of resource and food gathering that spans across the takiwā (tribal boundary) and is controlled by whakapapa and ahi kā principles (Williams, 2004). Kāi Tahu mahika kai trails are centred in whakapapa which is the generational transmitted connections between us and our tūpuna, between animate and inanimate and in the relational ties to tikaka, philosophies (epistemologies) and herstories.

Kāi Tahu regularly, to this day, engage in mahika kai journeys, the most obvious being yearly trips to the Tītī islands. The coming together of communities, on the islands or in inland mahika kai points have always been about more than resource

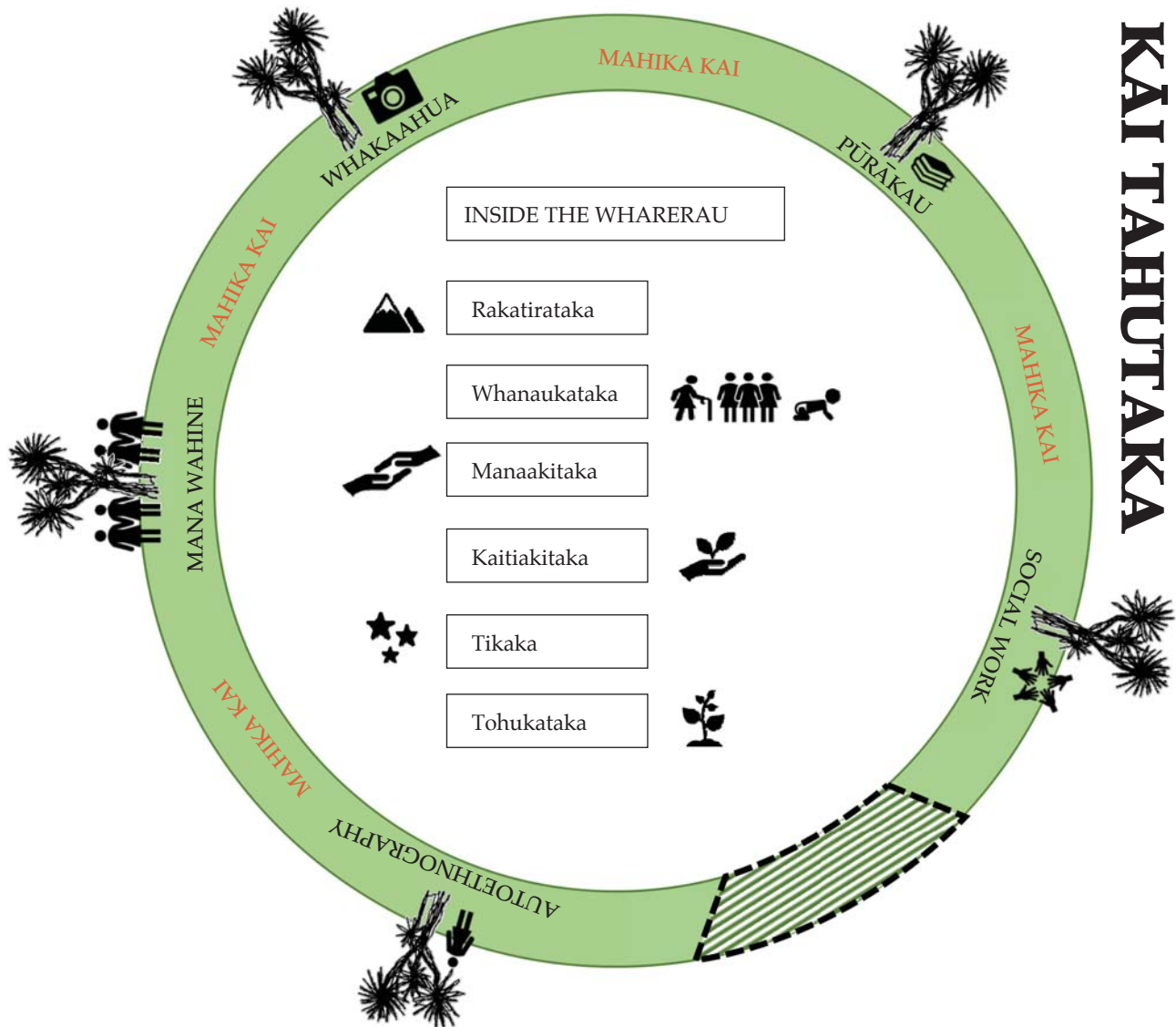
collection. It has also been points in time that allow sharing of stories, marriages and resources. Mahika kai is utilised in my research as the symbolic representation of traditional systems of coming together and communication. During the inland journeys of which Hinepipiwai was on when she climbed the mountain to look over the trail, Kāi Tahu had poutohu/signposts that were track markers. Often these were tī kōuka/cabbage tree which were also an important source of carbohydrates for Kāi Tahu. The tī kōuka is used as both the symbol of pou holding up the wharerau/house and also as poutohu symbols for the research journey. The poutohu are Mana wāhine; Whakaahua (used to represent photographs); Pūrākau; autoethnography and social work.

The wharerau is a round house which was used traditionally by Kāi Tahu as both temporary dwellings but also as a place of learning and storytelling. It is a symbol of this and represents the nature of our differing settlements and that, as Kāi Tahu, we developed a system of sustainability around our resources that spanned the Kāi Tahu boundaries that make up our takiwā.

The below visual methodology represents the wharerau as both the space where the research occurs but also the mahika kai trails that is the journey itself. Through the process of mapping out what it means to be Kāi Tahu and therefore what Kāi Tahu actually is in my research project, I draw on the Ngāi Tahu cultural principles: Whanaukataka; Manaakitaka; Tohukataka; Tikaka and Rakatirataka which are named as principles inside the wharerau as the relationship building between researcher and co-researcher.

The Puaka star constellation sits outside of the wharerau and is the process of presenting the whakaahua, pūrākau and autoethnographical accounts of the mana wāhine that have been part of the research. In this particular article, Puaka is only briefly discussed towards the conclusion.

Kāi Tahu Wāhine Experiences of Identity and Belonging Post Foster System.



Each poutohu is expanded on in this paper to highlight the interdependencies and complexities of each as they relate to Kāi Tahu herstorically, contemporarily and in their interactions with each other.

Mana wāhine

Written histories are not without bias or personal agenda, they are put together according to the norms of the age and

through the lens of the writer who holds the pen. Through the articulation of written histories, the multiple truths of history / herstory / theirstory are unlikely to be seen or heard from those rendered voiceless. Spivak coined the term *subaltern* for those that remain invisible and silent, which Indigenous women both currently and historically readily and consistently remain (Spivak, 1988). Wahine Kāi Tahu have also struggled in this confinement of enforced silence where she is spoken about, and spoken for, but rarely given the space to speak herself (Matahaere-Atariki, 1997). For those who know wahine Kāi Tahu raketira, this may be a questionable statement as there are those that are able to carve out space to talk and sometimes be heard. However, we have largely remained omitted from past literature and like many Indigenous women have been misrepresented, had our theories suppressed and as such many of what are important wahine narratives have been listed as “myths” rather than truths (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Murphy, 2013).

The core of the issue where women, Indigenous women, Māori women and Kāi Tahu women find themselves secondary to a dominant discourse is illustrated by Wynter (2003) as the creation of the truth of a superior race exhibited as *Man*. For Wynter, Man is born out of an “axis of subjugation” centred in the “bio-economic man” where dominating white supremacism meets neoliberal capitalism. The results of this are world economic exploitation, gendered oppression and, for Indigenous peoples including Māori, this sits against the backdrop of colonisation. Wynter’s work has been essential in my developing an understanding of the way in which multiple systems work against the wahine Kāi Tahu in her attempts to take her rightful place at decision making tables, in the centre of debates around her body or her parenting or in her connection and responsibilities to whakapapa.

When researching in the space of child protection and state foster systems an

analysis of the way in which Man is preserved on top while justifying enduring dehumanisation of all others is fundamental to how we go about research which resists rather than replicates. Wynter (2003) argues that the re-enforcing of Man by Man is purely economic and power based and coincides with the current colonial distribution of wealth, ongoing theft of land or resources, labour atrocities and the mistreatment of children which have all followed from past constructions of women as hysterical and POC as biologically inferior.

Examples of the way in which Wynter’s definitions of Man have sought to oppress Māori women are found in our records. In the 1880s, Pākehā women in the Women’s Christian Temperance Union determined Māori participation in the organisation while demanding their cultural assimilation including agreement to not take moko kauae (chin tattoo) (Else, 1993). Through Ngā Komiti Wāhine, Māori women, including wāhine Kāi Tahu sought participation in land rights and tribal affairs including addressing family harm, substance abuse and traditional skills. Through the 1950s until present times, the Māori women’s welfare league continued to seek a re-alignment to a gendered imbalance of power while supporting the whānau system. All these attempts by wāhine Māori to be heard have been directly challenged with attempts at silencing from an Aotearoa version of Man.

The re-balance of power does not occur as a natural course or event and the struggle towards equality and diversity rights requires intentional attention, as highlighted by Mikaere:

The challenge for Māori, women and men, is to rediscover and reassert tikanga Māori within our own whanau, and to understand that an existence where men have power and authority over women and children is not in accordance with tikanga Maori. (Mikaere, 1994, p. 149)

For this research, the placing of mana wāhine as a poutohu is a given and absolute intentional act of centring our wāhine Kāi Tahu, in all our multiple versions of ourselves past, present and future. Kāi Tahu such as Angela Wanhalla (2015) are now piecing together the remnants of hidden wāhine pūrākau hoping to provide our mokopuna with a clearer narrative of who we are as wāhine, seeking the stories of our strength and endurance.

An exciting Kāi Tahu development in storytelling is *Kā Huru Manu*, the collection of place names and meanings, a resource which is now openly available. For a project that utilises mahika kai trails and storytelling in methodology this resource has provided many wāhine Kāi Tahu stories from around our takiwā. Some initial analysis of place-names in *Kā Huru Manu* affirms the unsurprising reliance on resources as the majority of our places are named after resources rather than people, one of my favourites being Te-Kaika-o-kēroa, the home of mosquitos. A clear warning to cover up if visiting that spot. The collection also includes some really significant stories of wāhine Kāi Tahu who were warriors, swimmers, guides and heroes, including Kaiamio, Hakitekura and Hinepipiwai. These treasures are threaded through my research and support the wāhine Kāi Tahu who have chosen to share their journeys of identity and belonging. The importance of mahika kai alongside mana wāhine is connected to our responsibilities to our mokopuna, acknowledging Wynter's connection between economics, land, resources and the misuse of power. In order to truly calibrate a world where the Indigenous woman is heard, we must remember the meaning of whakapapa as it pertains to the whenua.

Mana wāhine as a Poutohu is the layering of herstories and pūrākau across time but as a specific purposeful intention to preference mana wāhine and grow sharing the stories of our tūpuna taua while sharing our present day experiences.

Pūrākau

Recently while driving through Central Otago with my whānau, we drove past a sign saying "Kōpūwai Conservation reserve." I launched into storytelling mode telling of Kōpūwai and Kaiamio, a giant and a wāhine Kāi Tahu. Kaiamio had cleverly escaped the kidnapping from Kōpūwai after he had killed all her hunting party and after returning to her kaik she returned with a large party and killed Kōpūwai through both strength and stealth. The importance of Central Otago to Kāi Tahu has grown on me through my PhD journey and through the discoveries of our stories and our connections. This was made obvious in that moment and, while we did not make the time to visit the site itself that day, the next time we pass this particular piece of whenua we will have factored in time to visit the site itself and share our thoughts about Kōpūwai and his two dogs, now turned to large stones. Knowing the stories of our tūpuna wāhine and being able to weave them in to our everyday not only strengthens us in the now but also us in the future.

Pūrākau/storytelling has a whakapapa in my life, in the stories of my tūpuna, the stories of my own parentage and the stories that I have told and chosen not to tell. While at the time I could not articulate the importance of pūrākau I now understand that pūrākau started my own journey of connection and belonging after the foster care system. This occurred when I was in my early 20s and studied at Whitireia Art School. Each year in the programme, students were asked to work towards an end of year exhibition. The year I was there the exhibition was Ko Wai Au, an exploration of who I was and where I came from. Until that time I had not explored this and my inward view of self was captured within two generations of lived experiences. The voyage through that year lead me to dive deeply in to archival information but also on a trip south to stand on my marae, to reconcile intergenerational experiences and hear of tūpuna that I had not known of but who are

a part of me. I looked deep in to the stories that led me to be me. That was now two decades ago and the importance of pūrākau has remained with me.

The work of Leanne Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back* (2011), advocates for the listening with open hearts and feeding the fires or what we would call ahi kā. To Simpson, storytelling is intrinsically tied to the relationality we have with land and "land as practice" while also providing theories that we do not find in western academia. Storytelling for Simpson is a collective rising of Indigenous being and she asserts:

Part of being Indigenous in the 21st century is that regardless of where or how we have grown up, we've been bathed in a vat of cognitive imperialism, perpetuating the idea that Indigenous Peoples were not, and are not, thinking peoples—an insidious mechanism to promote neo-assimilation and obfuscate the historic atrocities of colonialism. (Simpson, 2011, p. 32)

Other Indigenous women have equally asserted the use of storytelling including social worker and academic Kovach (2010) who states that storytelling sits in Indigenous methods which should incorporate Indigenous paradigms. Upon our own shores of Aotearoa, the work of Somerville (2010) and Lee (2009) both describe the diverse benefits of storytelling in research and as a continuation of our Māori theories. Somerville references the imaginative occupation through storytelling where we are able to see our connections even when dislocated from our lands.

Perhaps our greatest modern-day Māori storyteller, who straddles success as orator and academic is Moana Jackson who so eloquently and powerfully delivers key messages and ideas through the use of pūrākau. The way Jackson weaves his own stories, his ancestors stories and the stories gathered through his encounters with

peoples of the world evokes emotions and feelings that create thinking and reflection (Jackson, 2013). The pūrākau that Jackson shares incorporates autoethnography and pūrākau together delivering in a way that is often missed through processes such as ethnography and data analysis.

Like all the poutohu of this research, pūrākau doesn't stand alone and is intertwined through the others. The layers of pūrākau gifted by the wāhine Kāi Tahu visually and orally talk of navigating belonging and identity and richly weave in with our whenua and our reclaiming of who we are in relation to our tupuna and mokopuna. These are also woven into the pūrākau of our tūpuna wāhine.

Whakaahua Taoka

Whakaahua/photography has its own whakapapa for Māori and for Kāi Tahu. The choice to use whakaahua in the methodology is a way of engaging in contemporary forms of storytelling and acknowledges the work that our visual and digital artists have taken to connect us to our stories and our whenua.

As subject of the colonial gaze, the depictions of the Indigenous women as sexualised, submissive and exotic representations of a lesser woman is well documented (Yegenoglu, 1998). Examples of this are the bare-breasted victim; the wrinkled and aged smoking kuia; and the child-bearing savage which date back to early photography. Painters such as Goldie and Steele re-enforced grand narratives of the powerless Indigenous wāhine and in doing so made challenges to the inherent mana of wāhine Māori (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Wanhalla, 2015).

Photographical ethnography, introduced in New Zealand as early as 1848, presented a dichotomy of positive and negative representations of our tūpuna (Mills, 2009). Wāhine Kāi Tahu were exploited in the 19th century, portrayed as the "beautiful half caste" through early tourism, in what

Wanhalla (2015) describes as an essential tool of assimilation. Wanhalla (2015) equally implicates ethnography here in the historical erasure of the wāhine Kāi Tahu herstory. Through the objectification of *the native*, names and stories were insignificant and grand narratives of *racial types* prevailed as though cartographs and photographs held universal truths.

Photography as a methodological choice by ethnographers such as *Anderson (1923)* and Bateson and Mead (1942) continued casting the researched as subjects/objects removed from the research or researcher. The camera held the space between *us* and *them*, allowing the researcher to remain unattached and without any requirements to engage in any reflective gaze of self-as-researcher. Attempts to move from oppressive visual data collection to inclusive forms of research were led by John Collier and the creation of photo elicitation, named Visual Anthropology in the 1950s (Harper, 2003). These recent developments in photographical research tools have been tied to participatory inclusion and anti-oppressive ethnography developing from *photo novella*, *foto novella* or to Participatory Action Research (PAR) such as Photo-voice (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Alternatively through the last 180 years, Māori were ourselves directing portraits and developing our own skills and tools around the photography and the digital arts. Photographs have become historical/herstorical objects of significance to Māori and Kāi Tahu as evidenced in whareniui around the country, demonstrating the early adaptations to Māori culture making way for contemporary tools and skills (Brown, 2008). Kāi Tahu photographers and artists have cultivated their arts in the same space made real by mana wāhine who have been rebuilding traditional knowledges. Art as the culturally significant was a purposeful part of a Kāi Tahu social structure where stories and herstories are told through waiata, pūrākau, weaving, carving and painting. Writing Indigenous women back

in to history/herstory through the arts is an international movement towards the re-establishment of these Indigenous women's knowledges (Kerموال, 2010). Re-membering through art and image is in resistance and response to being dis-membered through colonising domination (Kerموال, 2010). Some wāhine Kāi Tahu photographers engaged in re-membering, reclaiming and remembering are Conor Clarke, Fiona Pardington and Rachel Rakena, contributing in stories of identity and belonging and incorporating *being* into seeing and photography. Through visual recognition of: whenua and nature as living and having life-force; the challenges of the post-colonial wāhine; the importance of our cultural artefacts; and the connections to whakapapa, these wāhine explore through the camera what it means to be wāhine Kāi Tahu (Brown, 2008; Mills, 2009).

In an article exploring wāhine photographers, Mills (2009) attributes digitisation of images by wāhine to the re-emergence of mana wāhine centred cosmologies and a writing back to the didactic binary genderised myth made *truth* through colonial discourse. For Mills (2009) and our wāhine Kāi Tahu photographers, the image is taoka and wāhine voice and growth with the potential of lifting wāhine Kāi Tahu to the status of "preciousness" and "potentiality" and is part of Kāi Tahu cultural remembering (Pardington, 2013). Māori digital production also provides a form of resistance to cultural reductionism of an *authentic* Māori placed as close as possible to that of our pre-colonial tūpuna.

The use of photography in the research is an intentional and purposeful and part of the herstorical movement towards diverse representations of our selves. For the wāhine who have been part of the research, the use of a camera has been meaningful and layered in rich narratives of places, people, resources, art and spanning time. This was in some ways unintentional in its depth but has melded completely with the wider wāhine Kāi Tahu persistent call to be heard.

Autoethnography

Navigating adulthood and the transition into adulthood was difficult for me and fraught with many obstacles as a state ward exited from the system at age 17. The desire to research and write about my own experiences came from a growing understanding of what had been done to me and developed further during my research in my postgraduate diploma in Child Centred Practice. Working in child protection has highlighted the difficulties that lay ahead for the 'us' in the post-foster-care system and that my own experience was not isolated. There is research specifically looking at *transitions* internationally and in Aotearoa but very few researchers had looked solely through an Indigenous lens.

Autoethnography as part of my methodology allowed me, as the researcher, the space to share my own story, intertwined with that of my sisters. Eight months into my PhD, my sister, my only sibling, died suddenly. The impact that this had on my own story was significant as I went about the task of burying her and was confronted with the multiple ways in which disconnection to culture and identity play out even at the age of 46. We had both been served a life sentence through our experiences in the state foster care system and the repercussions continued to play out throughout our adult lives. In each of our ways we had been chipping away at the barrier created through the oppressive institutional systems of and from the foster system but, in the end, the quiet (or for me, not so quiet) chipping away only put a small dent in that barrier. In this I needed the research to allow space to truly be an insider and tell our own version of our journeys.

I give credit to Bochner and Ellis (2016) in their early work developing autoethnography as a research methodology. They asserted that purposeful research did not have to follow patterns of ethnography which are historically seeped in issues of Othering regardless of attempts towards

participatory and inclusive methods. Autoethnography is a powerful and meaningful tool of doing research that allows Indigenous and Indigenous ways of thinking and feeling and validates the story in its wholeness (Ellis, 2004; Kidd & Finlayson, 2009). Autoethnography isn't new to Indigenous communities who have utilised storytelling over centuries and applied these as learnings throughout generations, drawing meaning and value from them in the modern world as much as in the past (Simpson, 2011). Autoethnography has helped and supported diversity, Indigenous voices, recognition of the experiences of People of Colour and space for takatāpui/LGBTQI+ to be heard by reducing the limitations of traditional research methodologies and making space for multiple epistemologies. But, perhaps in my own research, the fundamental singular achievement of autoethnography is the push back at data collection and data analysis which became standardised without any real critique around the purpose and meaning relevant to each qualitative research project (Kidd & Finlayson, 2009).

Data collection and analysis may be important in many research projects but, when considering research that utilises *pūrākau* / storytelling, the question I apply is "Does stripping back a story to words and themes enhance or reduce the mana of that story and its' orator?" I have woven *wāhine Kāi Tahu pūrākau* through my research which are examples of autoethnography intergenerationally. These stories in their wholeness are allowed to grow and change from generation to generation and do not represent *one truth*. Here *data* analysis is discarded and a practice of response, reflection and personal insight replaces it. Ellis (1999) calls this *evocative autoethnography* where the author writes to pull out emotion, feelings and connection and the reader makes associations with the text or performance, drawing on their own stories through their own emotive responses. Mello suggests that, to superimpose a data analysis method over narratives such as these,

mistakenly implies one individual's ability to "authentically represent" another person's descriptive value (Mello, 2002, p. 233).

In an Aotearoa context, researchers, including Kidd and Finlayson (2009) in their research with nurses who experience mental illnesses, have struggled with the approach to analysing interviews/stories/pūrākau and found that holding stories whole can take the reader closer rather than further away from the stories (Kidd & Finlayson, 2009). Kidd and Finlayson found participants could readily analyse their own stories, respond to them and were able to work effectively with the researcher to collaborate and co-create what would be presented. Kidd's response to the research ethical dilemma of sharing power with the participant was to hold the stories whole and write poems or vignettes in response to them from her interpretation.

I shared this ethical dilemma and have utilised a mix of separately telling my own story and enabling the wāhine Kāi Tahu to tell their own in whatever way they decide. This means that they may choose not be included in the final PhD, they may choose to be represented by a photograph and not the pūrākau that runs alongside it, or they may choose to write themselves into their own story. As a researcher, I am willing to move and shift to the needs of the participants/co-researchers and to fully engage in the principle of Rakatirataka. For me the process of whakawhanaukataka is the outcome, not what is produced.

Social work

The anchor of my professional self is my ethics and professional standards as a social worker. Every part of the 10 competency standards of the Social Workers Registration Board (SWRB, 2020) is fundamentally important to both my social work self but also to the way in which I engage in research and commit to the social justice struggle against oppression in all its various forms. The meaning of research as a wāhine Kāi Tahu for me is the transformation that can

occur at all levels, micro, meso and macro. This is social work, seeking change and doing so in a manner that upholds mana.

As a social worker, I am trained and I am registered with the SWRB. This includes signing a code of ethics and a set of practice standards. They are the framework which expects and demands we do our job in a way that upholds the mana and dignity of our clients. Our code of ethics state integrity and honesty, respect for Māori as tangata whenua and building trust.

The 10 core social work competencies are all really important to good practice. Competency 1 (Competence to practise social work with Māori), has some vital expectations that relate to our everyday life, our practice and for this project, to research. The stated principles of Te Rangatiratanga, Te Manaakitanga and Te Whanaungatanga (SWRB, 2020): defined broadly this requires us to act in a manner that is mana enhancing, respectful, encouraging and warm, self-determining and culturally sustaining. As social workers this is an important template for practice that affirms strength-based, whānau-led work even in the toughest of situations. As a social worker researcher these principles are equally important. Pūrākau sits in the essence of my social work practice. From early on in my training Narrative Theory, Strengths based and Rangatiratanga became the key parts of how I wanted my practice to develop. These combine to create a framework that centres the voice of the whānau that I work with. That included making space for whānau to tell their stories, be heard and to have a response that supports them.

Puaka

I have represented the collection of stories and photographs as Puaka, the star constellation that signals the Kāi Tahu New Year and represents a time of harvesting and beginning. As discussed across this article, the data collection and data analysis for this project is a move away

from standardised qualitative methods. The Puaka image in the visual methodology is the fluent reality of how we work together with understanding and care, respecting these are the treasures of the Kāi Tahu wahine who gifted their time and expertise.

Conclusion

Navigating a methodology that combined a number of elements deemed important to me was no easy feat. It took a lot of work and a fair amount of going around in a spiral until I consolidated my thinking and feeling to something that I could be happy with. This was not done in collaboration with my participants as the process of engaging participants has been slow and ongoing. However, as stated, the methodology itself has allowed for participants to self-determine what and how they engage with the project and I believe that it has upheld their mana.

My biggest learnings from this process are around making space and opening up for all our lived realities as Indigenous Peoples. We have all journeyed our own whānau, hapū and iwi paths through colonisation and where we all stand today is a reflection of this. As we are not homogenous, our methodologies and responses to the world will also not be.

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Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: Constructing a methodological approach centred on whānau pūrākau

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ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION: This article discusses the development of a distinctively Māori methodology that centres knowledge and practices that are embedded within whānau. Mātauranga-ā-whānau is a Kaupapa Māori approach that brings a focus upon Māori knowledge that is transmitted intergenerationally.

APPROACH: The development of Mātauranga-ā-Whānau as a methodological approach supports both the assertion by Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) that Kaupapa Māori must be committed to the validation and legitimisation of Māori worldviews and the argument by Leonie Pihama (2001) that there are multiple ways of expressing Māori theories and methodologies. Pihama (2001) highlights that affirming whānau, hapū and iwi ways of being within the broader discussion of Kaupapa Māori is critical. While it is beyond the scope of this article to provide an in-depth discussion of both Kaupapa Māori theory and Mātauranga Māori, it is important to note that both cultural frameworks inform the way in which Mātauranga-ā-Whānau is discussed.

CONCLUSIONS: Drawing upon whānau knowledge, experiences and practices, through pūrākau, this article introduces how Māori can approach research applying culturally grounded methodologies.

KEYWORDS: Kaupapa Māori; mātauranga Māori; research methodology; Mātauranga-ā-Whānau; Indigenous research; pūrākau

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau has been integral to my work as a social work educator and is central to my current doctoral research. It was developed as a methodological approach within my master's thesis (Lipsham, 2016) and is founded upon Kaupapa Māori theory and Mātauranga Māori. It is an approach to research that supports the assertion by Smith (G. H. Smith, 1997) that Kaupapa Māori must be committed to the validation and legitimisation of Māori worldviews and to the argument by Pihama (2001) that there are multiple ways of expressing Māori theories and methodologies. Pihama (2001) further

highlights that affirming whānau, hapū and iwi ways of being within the broader discussion of Kaupapa Māori is critical. Pohatu's (2015) article on Mātauranga-ā-Whānau further supports the affirmation of whānau knowledge within research and his analysis regarding the politics and discourse of decolonising methodologies is crucial when working with Māori.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau is a distinctively Māori approach which centres knowledge and practices that are embedded within whānau, and focusses upon ways of

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knowing and being that are transmitted intergenerationally. To explain Mātauranga-ā-Whānau, I will discuss briefly the nature of Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), Whānau and Kaupapa Māori as it relates to relationships and the transmission of knowledge. This will be followed by a sharing of pūrākau from my own whānau, as a means by which to highlight the mātauranga that stem from each of the pūrākau and which have guided me in the identification of key methodological signposts that form, what I refer to as the Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework.

Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori is embodied knowledge, understanding, wisdom and practices that we as Māori use in our everyday lives. The role of ancestral knowledge and practices has been well documented as central to Mātauranga Māori, Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous methodologies (Mead, 2003; Nepe, 1991; H. R. Pohatu, 1995; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). The centrality of our grandparent generations in the transmission of mātauranga Māori is also critical to the revitalisation and regeneration of our language and cultural ways of being (Pere, 1994; Pohatu, 2015). The application of Mātauranga-ā-Whānau as methodology is grounded upon mātauranga handed down through generations that is being sustained for current and future generations. Learning from people such as “our Nana” is central to this discussion as they often hold and unlock knowledge and practices from generations before her. Her memory is of three generations before her. The teachings from her mother and other kuia and koroua also have their origins three generations before them.

Relationships are important to the transmission of mātauranga Māori (Mead, 2003). Whatarangi Winiata (2020) highlighted that mātauranga Māori is “a body of knowledge that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing upon concepts handed down from one generation of

Māori to another” (p. 1). Furthermore, he highlighted the ways in which the process of intergenerational transmission contributes to both the maintenance and growth of mātauranga Māori, stating:

Accordingly, mātauranga Māori has no beginning and has no end. It is constantly being enhanced and refined. Each passing generation of Māori make their own contribution to mātauranga Māori. The theory or collection of theories, with associated values and practices, has accumulated mai i te ao Māori / from Māori beginnings and will continue to accumulate providing the whakapapa of mātauranga Māori is not broken. (p. 1).

Hirini Moko Mead (2003) also emphasised the expansiveness of mātauranga Māori and the contribution made to the growth of Māori knowledge by each generation. Mead (2003) noted:

The term “mātauranga Māori” encompasses all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present and still developing. It is like a super subject because it includes a whole range of subjects that are familiar in our world today, such as philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, language, history, education and so on. And it will include subjects we have not yet heard about. Mātauranga Māori has no ending: it will continue to grow for generations to come. (pp. 320–321).

Both Whatarangi Winiata and Hirini Mead are highlighting that each generation needs to contribute to the changing nature of mātauranga and it is the upcoming generation’s obligation and responsibility to its growth. The considerations to this growth include ensuring it is tika (correct) and that the integrity of the mātauranga is upheld and honoured. Nepe’s (1991) earlier work adds to such understandings and further highlights that we have a “systematic organisation of beliefs, experiences, understandings and

interpretations of the interactions of Māori people upon Māori people, and Māori people upon their world” (p. 4).

What is clear is that, in order to be able to grow mātauranga, we need to make contributions at every level, whether big or small. For example, this can occur through theory, practices, sharing pūrākau and language. My Nana knows this inherently and goes about the business of teaching us and helping us to learn through a Māori lens daily by transmitting important knowledge to us from rongoā to karakia, raising and caring for children, te reo and pōwhiri, dressing and cleaning and thinking and caring. Mātauranga that is transmitted intergenerationally is highly valued and evolving. It also includes all Māori being able to explain their world through experiences within whānau.

Whānau

Whānau, within this context, refers to a Māori model of extended family that is inclusive of at least 3–4 generations and which stretches across multiple layers of relationships that are grounded within whakapapa (Māori cultural genealogical template). Whānau refers to both extended family and to give birth. As such it is both a concept and practice that affirms intergenerational and intragenerational relationships. For Māori, whānau is a source of knowing—and experiences should be drawn from this source of “potentiated power” for the purpose of fashioning frameworks (Pohatu, 2015, p. 39). Pohatu (2015) stated:

When asking the question, “where is the first place that we would go to, to draw experience of mātauranga from?”, this small piece proposes that whānau is an obvious ‘first place’ to turn to. It proposes that for Māori, whānau is an acknowledged rich source of applied knowing and experience to draw from, where there is a willingness to invite it as a highly valued companion (hoa haere) in

kaupapa, no matter what it is, where we are and who we are with. (p. 32).

This highlights that whānau wisdom offers us well-trying ways of working and that this knowing can be invited into spaces as signposts for our research approach. My whānau knowing is invited into the space of research moving it from the margins to assume its position “in guiding us at all levels of our lives ... so that deep discussion can be invited, reflected upon, endorsed by cultural thought” (Pohatu, 2015, p. 42). The affirmation of whānau as key to Māori approaches is highlighted by the inclusion of whānau as a key principle within Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology. Kaupapa Māori gave some urgency to revitalising, validating and inviting intergenerational knowledge into the research space in the 1990s, and continues to do so today (Nepe, 1991; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). To contextualise this, a brief overview of Kaupapa Māori is now provided.

Kaupapa Māori theory

Kaupapa Māori is a Māori philosophical foundation that has underpinned the development of the methodological approach discussed in this article. Kaupapa Māori requires Māori researchers to have an awareness of te reo and tikanga, and ground processes and methods upon them (L. T. Smith, 1999). In its broadest sense, Kaupapa Māori refers to Māori knowledge and Māori ways of knowing and doing. G. H. Smith (1997) highlighted that a Kaupapa Māori foundation for theory and research provides a platform for the (i) validation and legitimisation of te reo and tikanga Māori; (ii) the prioritisation of the revitalisation of te reo and tikanga; and (iii) the assertion of self-determination and autonomy for Māori.

Much of the early work within Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology emerged from a direct challenge by Māori to the mainstream Pākehā education system and the assimilation policies and approaches upon which it is based. Education is a

particular site of struggle which is controlled and determined through dominant interest groups (G. H. Smith, 1997). The development of colonial schooling and education systems in Aotearoa has been central to the marginalisation of Māori language, culture and knowledge systems (Simon, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). A key component of that marginalisation was a deliberate process of individualisation within education to align with wider colonial systems that privileged a nuclear family construct over the collective relationships embedded within Māori societal structures of whānau, hapū and iwi (Pihama & Cameron, 2012).

Most specifically, Kaupapa Māori educational sites such as Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and Whare Wānanga have been central to the design and implementation within the education sector as a Māori designed response to the erosion of Māori language, knowledge and culture (Hohepa, 1990; Royal-Tangaere, 1997). Our ancestors had clearly defined spaces and pedagogical approaches to learning and teaching with multiple sites, both formal and informal (Hohepa, 1999; Nepe, 1991; Pere, 1994; Royal-Tangaere, 1997).

Schooling was not the only colonial structure that intentionally contributed to the breakdown of the fabric of Māori society. The breakdown of traditional Māori structures in terms of culture and language through colonisation is described by O'Regan (2006, p. 157) as a context where Māori were "systematically alienated from their homelands and livelihoods." The impact of this on whānau and intergenerational knowledge transmission has been significant and, for many whānau, highly destructive (Durie, 2001). This included the whānau as the initial site of learning within a context that was inclusive of multiple generations and where the grandparent generation was most critical in the transmission of all aspects of mātauranga (Pere, 1994).

To construct a methodological framework within whānau, and to build on knowledge

transmission within whānau, the recalling and retelling of pūrākau is a crucial component. Pūrākau, a form of Māori narrative, will be shared to illustrate how knowledge is transmitted and thought, and will show the pathway to the methodological signposts that form the Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau—Framing the methodology

This methodology informed by Mātauranga-ā-Whānau is about understanding experience, ways of knowing and ways of being when working with Māori, in a way that works for Māori. Intergenerational transmission of knowledge through pūrākau is key to Mātauranga-ā-Whānau. Cultural thought and cultural patterns are readily recognisable through pūrākau (a traditional form of storytelling) (Pohatu, 2015). Pūrākau have the "potential to unlock philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori" (Lee, 2015, p. 98). Within this section, five pūrākau are shared, a short comment on the theory from a Mātauranga-ā-Whānau lens follow, then the key concepts are transferred into methodological signposts from each of the pūrākau. The methodological signposts are briefly expanded further on in the article. These pūrākau have elucidated key principles and practices that have formed the Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework shown in Figure 1.

Pūrākau

Nana, my maternal grandmother, is the ultimate philosopher. She was raised among her iwi in Ngāti Maniapoto (King Country, Aotearoa, New Zealand) and has spent most of her adult life living in the Waikato region of Aotearoa, New Zealand. My Nana is a deep thinker and theorist. She navigates various roles as an agreed leader of our whānau and has provided deep learnings for me as a Māori woman. Her first language is te reo Māori, though she is more

than proficient in English. Given that any methodology should be equally concerned, not only with the access of knowledge and people, but must also be grounded upon the values and principles that underpin how the knowledge and the people should be treated and engaged with, it is my Nana's teachings that inform this for me. Nana does not change the way she moves and engages with the world regardless of whether the context is Māori or non-Māori. The way that she engages in her world is naturally occurring, is logical to her and is guided by her life-long learning within Te Ao Māori. Further, tikanga, which include, in part, the values and principles of manaakitanga, aroha, ngā ture, tapu and whakapono, underpin her engagement. Several pūrākau, or personal narratives within our whānau, are now shared.

Pūrākau 1—Koha

When I was in Nana's care as a child, I would be allowed to go and stay with my cousins during the holidays. Nana would hand me a \$20 note and would say, "give this to Aunty for letting you stay with her, make sure you work while you are there and do what you are asked." This may not seem like much to the untrained eye; however, Nana was teaching me how to treat people in terms of respect, behaviour, reciprocation and being thoughtful of the needs of others. This was not a one-off practice; it happened every time I visited someone else's home. There may have been other underlying factors connected with the money in terms of what Aunty would have needed to take care of me for the week. Twenty dollars was a lot of money in the 1970s, however, this practice was not about the money.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: The practices here are foundational in our whānau and arguably within Te Ao Māori. Specifically, the principles of, āta mahi (to work diligently), āta whakaako (to deliberately instil knowledge and understanding), āta whakaaro (to give time to thought—to be creative and reflective) and āta whakarongo (consciously

listening with all the senses) apply in this example. Nana did not carry out these actions or teach me about them because it was 'the right thing to do'—she was engaging tikanga. Tikanga underpins a methodology grounded in Kaupapa Māori theory. Respect, good behaviour, reciprocation and being thoughtful to the needs of others as noted in the pūrākau are koha through a Māori lens and play a crucial part in being able to engage with Māori or Kaupapa Māori. The giving of koha is seen on the Marae, as part of a formal pōwhiri process and it is common today for the koha to be monetary. However, its primary focus is not about recompense, but mutual obligations and strengthening ties (Durie, 2001). It is common for Māori to koha money, food, labour or time to their communities. The practice of koha for Nana does not just belong at the Marae during pōwhiri, or at kaupapa. Tikanga extended into all areas for Nana.

Methodological Signposts: Tikanga, Mātauranga, Ako.

Pūrākau 2—Raising mokopuna

Nana shared the responsibility of raising her mokopuna. During my early childhood, at a time when both of my parents did not have the capacity to raise us, my eldest brother and I lived with Nana, our middle brother became whangai to my Mum's eldest sister, our sister was adopted to our Mum's cousin at birth and our youngest brother lived with my Mum's youngest sister. Although there came a time when we were returned to our parents during our teenage years, my Nana had already played a significant role in my life, and she still does today at 90 years of age. Nana was raised by different kuia and koroua in her childhood. Sharing the responsibility of raising grandchildren is a normal practice in Te Ao Māori and being in our grandmother's care as children was an enriching and empowering part of our lives.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: A key epistemological belief within this pūrākau is that the whole whānau is involved in

the raising of a child and this is true also for engaging in research. There will be times when a Māori researcher will not only be involved with the participant of the research but, depending on the research, their whānau, hapū and iwi and other Indigenous knowledges and people. As a Māori researcher, you should expect to learn about the whakapapa of the whānau and my experience has been that whānau want to be engaged in kaupapa. My whānau play a pivotal part in my doctoral journey, from my Nana to my eldest brother, cousins, my son and my niece. Before choosing the topic for my doctoral research I met with my Nana to ask her permission—it was at that point that whānau members became involved. Nana wanted my eldest brother and older cousin involved as they were who she trusted in terms of taking care of and keeping our whakapapa information safe. I chose another cousin to be involved as she is a fluent speaker of te reo and would be able to talk with Nana more effectively. My son and my niece were chosen as first cousins to enable them to learn about research and be part of the intergenerational transmission of knowledge. What I know from my experience of having my whole whānau involved in my upbringing, to now being involved in my doctoral journey, is that whakapapa is a central principle and cannot be underestimated. Nana's decision to include others in this research is underpinned by her wanting everyone to be part of a learning and teaching experience to enable mātauranga to be transmitted.

Methodological Signposts: Ako, Whanaungatanga, Hui/Wānanga

Pūrākau 3—Karanga

A karanga is a Māori ceremonial call, or a welcome call, that is carried out in many different contexts which can include the birth of a child and welcoming people onto a Marae or an equivalent event of welcome. My cousins and I asked our Nana about the prospect of learning karanga. She replied by asking us what we thought that meant and

that if we wanted to have further discussions on the topic, we would need to set a date that suited all of us, and that the meeting would need to be held at our whenua (our ancestral land) in Benneydale. The meeting held at our whenua, as discussed by Nana, may not include the actual teaching of karanga, but rather, the tikanga of karanga, and that there will be reasons why some will be selected for karanga and others may be appropriate in other roles. As mokopuna, we understood her body language, the tone of her voice and the feelings we had as she talked. We understood these things as a collective, but also as individuals. Interestingly, that initial discussion would start to naturally weed out, if you will, those who were truly interested and those that were not. Although it was not confirmed, Nana's theory of selection was already in play.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: Nana's strategy in the karanga pūrākau was to offer up the place in which Hui (meetings/gatherings) could take place in order that she might see who was interested in karanga. Underpinning the strategy was the idea that the conversations are held at a place that was appropriate and fitting to the context and study of karanga, rather than the carrying out of karanga proper. The questions that were part of the continuing conversations regarding karanga are cultural markers. For example, learning karanga is steeped in tikanga and therefore, if possible, researching at one's Marae, a place of importance to them, or on whenua is important. Learning in wānanga is important. Nana knows this, and her questions were based around this thinking. The questions in the pūrākau lend themselves to analysis, processes, hui, inquiry, conditions, place, space and curiosity. When engaging in research with Māori, the following questions are important:

- who is asking?
- why are they asking?
- where will conversations take place?
- what will be discussed?
- who will take part and why?
- was the discussion relevant and

appropriate at that time and place, and

- who was it relevant to, appropriate to, who would it benefit?

It is necessary to understand the where, when, why and how questions regarding Māori knowledge. Māori regard some knowledges as tapu, and an example of this follows in the next pūrākau. Also, Māori are protective of information because, in the past, non-Māori have misused research for their own power, control and gain (L. T. Smith, 1999).

Methodological Signposts: Tikanga, Mātauranga, Aro, Wā, Wāhi, Hui/Wānanga

Pūrākau 4—Tapu

Nana considers Māori knowledge to hold aspects of tapu and treads carefully, especially when teaching aspects of Te Ao Māori that are part of tikanga. This is partly why the conversation regarding karanga developed as it did. Nana would consider karanga as a ritual steeped in tapu. I recall a time during my early years in tertiary education—I was completing a National Diploma of Social Work and we were asked to research our whakapapa. I returned to the Waikato to ask Nana, very enthusiastically, who my tūpuna were and what their names were, etc. I had a pen and paper ready to write the information down. She did share information with me, and I wrote everything down. After the conversation, she asked what I'd do with the paper—"paper?", I asked, "yes" she said, "that you wrote our whakapapa on." She was worried that it would be thrown away, ripped up or discarded. To her, the paper represented whakapapa, and therefore people who had passed, and the deep respect that she held for them meant that she worried about their wellness, as well as mine if I did anything wrong with the paper. The paper became tapu through her lens as Māori because tūpuna names were written on it.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: This is an example of how mātauranga is transmitted and the

multiple layers of learning and teaching. The idea of tapu has evolved over generations and Nana is carrying through her knowing into what we might consider today as a contemporary example. Tapu is explained by Rangimarie Rose Pere (1994, p. 39) as "spiritual restriction, ceremonial restriction, putting something beyond one's power, placing a quality or condition on a person or on an object or place; but whatever the context its contribution is establishing social control and discipline, and protecting people and property." Tapu is a critical concept within the broader understanding and practices of tikanga. Whether it is a contemporary example or not, the consequence of tapu is still relevant and cannot be disregarded as superstition. Tapu is a means of social control and protection but it often occurs and is largely a concern at a whānau level. Tapu is important when thinking about engaging with others, things, knowledge, places or any context within research. "Just because you are Māori, or your topic and/or participants are Māori, doesn't necessarily mean you are conducting or engaging in Kaupapa Māori research" (Rautaki Limited, 2016, n.p.). To engage in Mātauranga-ā-Whānau you must be able to think about the safety of whānau and self through a Māori lens. Tapu acknowledges those things that exist outside of being human as well as very practical considerations, and we need to always be aware of our responsibilities to all things physical and metaphysical. Our role as insiders to research is also important here. We should be reflecting on the concept of tapu to uphold the tino rangatiratanga of whānau and mātauranga in our research, the consequences will not just be on us otherwise, but on the participant whānau, our whānau and wider communities.

Methodological Signposts: Wā, Wāhi, Tikanga, Mātauranga

Pūrākau 5—Whānau Hui

My upbringing was informed by Māori principles, Māori ways of being and Māori

rationales. These areas were particularly noticeable on the Marae, in the home or at specific events like tangihanga (funerals). Another of these forums was the whānau Hui or family gathering. In my whānau the Hui was a forum specifically used for dealing with any tensions or conflict inherent in the family. There were several uncles who could facilitate the Hui, but they would seek advice and guidance from Nana. Children were privy to the tensions within our Hui but importantly, they were privy also to the way that tensions were managed and the resolutions that resulted. The Hui would start in much the same way every time we met. Firstly, karakia (prayer) by our Nana, then a mihi (informal greeting) regarding the reason we were all there, then each person (including children) would be given the opportunity to speak moving in the direction of the next person to the left. Finally, after everyone in the family had spoken and resolutions obtained, a karakia and mihi to end the Hui would be carried out before proceeding to share in a meal. Inevitably however, the Hui would take a considerable amount of time, sometimes crossing into two days. During the Hui, voices would be raised, comments would be made, crying was inevitable, and emotions ran high. In these moments, my Nana often used cultural skills and techniques to guide the Hui while gently reminding the family about behaviour and engaging respectfully with one another. This is where I first heard Āta phrases. My Nana would stand and, in te reo Māori, discuss the family's ability to āta whakaaro—or think clearly and think deliberately. She would use the term āta kōrero—the ability to watch tone, speak with clarity and speak in a manner which conveyed respect. In these moments, the atmosphere calmed and the reflection this prompted was evident (Lipsham, 2012, 2016).

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: Hui can be translated to mean a gathering or meeting. Hui could be explained as qualitative in nature and has some similarities including, studying personal constructs, oral histories and human interaction. However, the

inclusion of Hui means ensuring Tikanga Māori (Māori protocols) are within the process of meeting with the participants and qualitative research has not always allowed for a cultural dimension (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996). Hui include tikanga or protocols such as karakia (acknowledging sources), whanaungatanga (getting to know one another), sharing intention or kaupapa (reason/topic for Hui), addressing the kaupapa in Hui, closing rituals and sharing in food (Bateman & Berryman, 2008; Salmond, 1975). These processes are key to a successful research Hui and if one cannot carry out these processes themselves, then a companion could be asked to contribute their time to make sure that the Hui is carried out with integrity. Hui are important because they carry with them an understanding that, within a Māori context, a high value is placed on manaaki, whakapapa, aroha, ensuring personal mana and protecting the mauri and wairua within relationships (Mead, 2003). When engaging the signpost of Hui in research, the researcher must know the appropriate tikanga associated with Hui. This includes being able to enter, engage and exit the Hui accordingly.

Methodological Signposts: Tikanga, Mātauranga, Ako, Aro, Hui, Wānanga

Discussion

The pūrākau presented here illustrate a range of intergenerational teachings and learnings. It is from my lens as a mokopuna, though many of my cousins and siblings may have different interpretations of what has been shared here. What we would all agree on however, is that Nana has been able to transmit knowledge to us all in a way that is positive, caring and nurturing. Nana is a very humble individual, who is very calm by nature. She knows all of her mokopuna intimately, all of their names, their habits and connects to us in terms of our mauri daily. There are many more pūrākau that will be utilised in my doctoral study that may include stories from my siblings and cousins which will further add to the Mātauranga-ā-

Whānau framework. This section, however, has concentrated on identifying the pūrākau, the theory and the signposts that form the framework.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework

From the pūrākau, the Mātauranga-ā-Whānau theory and the identification of methodological signposts, a framework was constructed for my master's research. Since engaging in my doctoral research however, I have added further methodological signposts including Ako, Aro, Mātauranga, Wā and Wāhi. In the following section I will give a brief overview of each of the framework signposts that I have identified in the pūrākau above, which are illustrated in Figure 1.

Signpost 1: Pūrākau: In research, a pūrākau approach unlocks philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori (Lee, 2015). Pūrākau is a traditional Māori storytelling approach that engages Māori voice, heart, mind and soul. Pūrākau have inherent power with the potential to create transformation for Māori. Māori value knowledge and value the telling of their own pūrākau for the purposes of sharing, transmission, developing, learning and teaching in part. In my doctoral research, pūrākau is the vehicle through which Mātauranga-ā-Whānau is transmitted, engaged and understood.

Signpost 2: Ako: Ako is the pedagogy of learning and teaching in the Māori tradition which includes a range of tikanga. Within research it is acknowledged that both the researcher and the participants are involved in the teaching and learning, it is a reciprocal relationship (Pere, 1994). This includes the consideration of Āta and its varying signposts (Pohatu, 2004). Ako is important to my doctoral research as it also considers the positions of mana, tuakana/teina, equity, power and control.

Signpost 3: Aro: Aro is reflective praxis throughout the research process for all

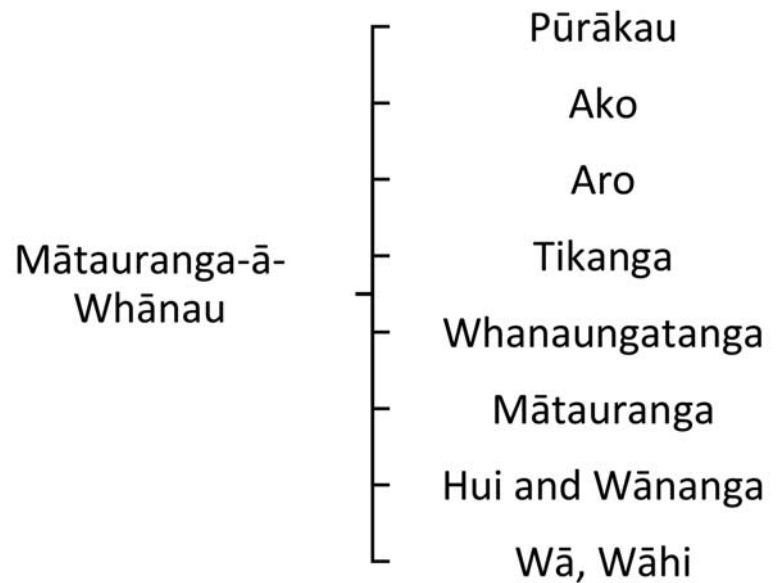


Figure 1. Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework.

involved. As the researcher, having a critical lens is important. It is important for me to reflect on politics, colonisation, relationships and power at micro, macro and chrono levels when engaging in research that involves Māori. For the participants, there is a need to allow time to think through and connect to the questions. It is important, too, not to restrict time allowing time to ponder, talk with other whānau, hapū, iwi, and sit with the information.

Signpost 4: Tikanga: Tikanga is the fundamental values, protocols and practices that inform us as Māori. Mead (2003) notes that tikanga provides us with the processes by which to do things in a way that is tika, or correct. In the research relationship, from entry and engagement to the exit, one must consider tikanga. Tikanga is a huge subject which means the Māori researcher (or their hoa haere) has to be capable in areas such as te reo, kawa, karakia, manaaki, etc., and to also ensure that the research process is affirming and validating of the cultural relationships, values and practices that are critical to Māori.

Signpost 5: Whanaungatanga: Whanaungatanga means to action the

process of coming together as a whānau, being relational and connecting to each other's whakapapa. In this research it relates to building relationships, strengthening ties, building rapport and establishing a connection on a physical and spiritual level. Whanaungatanga means I need to know the community I am working with, my own communities and be connected in some way (or make connections) to the people that I want to engage in research with. It will also mean maintaining those relationships post-research.

Signpost 6: Mātauranga Māori: As discussed briefly above, Mātauranga Māori is a broad body of knowledge that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing upon concepts handed down from one generation of Māori to another. Mātauranga “encompasses all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present and still developing ... It is like a super subject” (Mead, 2003, pp. 320–321). In my research, mātauranga is a *hoa haere* (constant companion) to thinking about pūrākau and drawing on knowledge from the past and present. In my view, I am not able to view pūrākau through a Māori lens without understanding Mātauranga in the first instance.

Signpost 7: Hui and Wānanga: Both of these processes offer the opportunity, through culturally grounded processes, to gather together to engage with, and transmit mātauranga. These processes include traditional welcomes, tributes, ceremony, respect paid to the living and the dead and to the hosts and food. Both hui and wānanga provide an atmosphere that engages the physical and metaphysical sites of being Māori. Both have survived principally through the activities of the Marae where traditional knowledge is passed down the generations by word of mouth. When utilised within my research, both can be explained as qualitative in nature and have some similarities including studying personal understandings, oral histories and human interaction (Salmond, 1975). As noted above, however, hui and

wānanga ensure tikanga Māori is central (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996).

Signpost 8: Wā, Wāhi: My upbringing and the pūrākau in my whānau have taught me that time and place are very important aspects of life. Wā meaning time, and wāhi, location or place. This signpost considers when and where the research will take place. This can be considered a conversation between the researcher and the whānau; however, wā and wāhi should be considered the choice of those who are participating in the research, unless they would consider it appropriate for the researcher to host them. As the researcher I am considering their aroha, their koha and their mātauranga as a central focus of the research and therefore, where they may want to share information is crucial.

The above signposts, although only briefly introduced, show how I will and have approached research. Inviting pūrākau, teaching and learning, reflective praxis and analysis, ethical practices informed by Māori, building relationships, knowing knowledges, gathering in ways that are appropriate and at times and places that suit the participants are the signposts that will inform my doctoral research. The development of each of the signposts is key at this stage of my doctoral journey.

Concluding reflections

The use of Kaupapa Māori methodologies within research has been advocated for by Māori for over thirty years. This article has provided an overview of a methodology not only grounded within mātauranga Māori but within whānau specifically. As Pohatu (2015, p. 37) stated, Mātauranga-ā-Whānau “is an important site and source where Māori have the daily opportunity to use our own images, sources, people, experiences, words and knowing, locating messages, then interpreting them into our contexts.”

Mātauranga-ā-whānau brings forward the capacity for Māori to support, through

the affirmation of whānau knowledge, a wider revitalisation agenda that focuses on the reconnection of our whānau to ourselves, our lands, our language, our cultural ways of being. This is an affirmation of whānau as ora, though we must be cognizant of the fact that some Māori continue to experience disconnection and displacement from their whakapapa. This may be considered a limitation; however, as methodology, Mātauranga-ā-Whānau requires us to commit to placing our whānau and broader whakapapa connections at the centre of our processes. This aligns with Pohatu (2015, p. 32) who emphasised that

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau “offers whānau-members opportunities to see and shape its wider usefulness in the many worlds we connect with and move in through our lives.” Mātauranga-ā-Whānau as a research approach brings a focus upon Māori knowledge that is learned within whānau intergenerationally and ensures that the research process is affirming and validating of the cultural relationships, values and practices that are critical to Māori.

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Glossary

Ako	Practice of teaching and learning. The idea that teaching and learning occurs at every level and across generations.
Aro	Reflection, reflexive practice, to understand, consider, pay attention to
Aroha	To sow compassion, love, connection, warmth
Hapū	To be pregnant, or sub-tribe
Hoa haere	Considered or constant companion
Hui	Meeting or gathering
Iwi	Tribe
Karakia	Prayer, incantation, spiritual guiding words to Māori deity
Karanga	Ceremonial call of welcome
Kaupapa	Floor, stage, platform, topic, policy, matter for discussion
Kawa	Protocols, customs
Koha	Valued contribution, gift
Kōrero	Conversation, talk, talking
Kuia	Older woman
Koroua	Older man
Mana	Prestige, power, spiritual power, charisma, authority
Manaaki	Hospitality, uplifting one's mana
Manaakitanga	The practice of being hospitable, being kind, generosity, showing respect.
Māori	Native, indigenous person of Aotearoa New Zealand
Mātauranga	Knowledge that is Māori, see explanation in text.
Mauri	Life essence
Mokopuna	Grandchild/ren
Ngāti Maniapoto	Tribal group located in the King Country - geographical area of Aotearoa New Zealand
Ngā ture	Law, lore, rules
Pōwhiri	Formal ceremony of welcome
pūrākau	Narrative. Story. Messages of kaupapa and whakapapa.

<i>Rangatira</i>	Chief, leader, one who can lead and gather others
<i>Rongoā</i>	Medicine, remedy, medication
<i>Tapu</i>	Sacred, prohibited, set apart
<i>Tangata Māori</i>	Māori person/people
<i>Tangihanga</i>	The funeral process
<i>Tautoko</i>	To support, prop up, verify, advocate
<i>Te Reo</i>	The Māori language
<i>Te Ao Māori</i>	The Māori world
<i>Te Kōhanga Reo</i>	Early childcare centres
<i>Kura Kaupapa Māori</i>	Primary school level
<i>Whare Kura</i>	Secondary school level
<i>Whare Wānanga</i>	Tertiary level institutions
<i>Tikanga</i>	Correct procedure, habit, lore, method, manner, practice, convention
<i>Tino rangatiratanga</i>	Autonomy, self-determination, self-governing
<i>Wā</i>	Time, a period, a term
<i>Wāhi</i>	Location, place
<i>Wairua</i>	Spiritual essence
<i>Wānanga</i>	Gathering for the purpose of learning. In-depth learning centre. To meet, discuss, consider.
<i>Whakapapa</i>	Genealogy, to layer, lay flat upon one another
<i>Whakapono</i>	Knowledge of what is true, truth
<i>Whānau</i>	To be born, give birth, family, be connected familiarly
<i>Whanaungatanga</i>	Building connections between whakapapa, rapport building, establishing relationships
<i>Wharenuī</i>	Meeting house, large house at a marae
<i>Whenua</i>	Earth, land, ground, placenta

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Pā Harakeke as a research model of practice

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ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION: This article will present a research study with seven Māori social workers (kaimahi) when exploring tukia (collision) of their personal, professional and cultural worlds.

METHOD: Kaupapa Māori underpinned this research, and pūrākau was utilised to connect the research to Māori worldviews; however, the framework was guided by Pā Harakeke. Pā Harakeke is often used as a metaphor for whānau and a model for protection of children, whānau structure and well-being. Pā Harakeke underpinned the structure of the research and this article will unfurl how it framed the methods and methodology. The harakeke sits well in this research as the focus is on the well-being of kaimahi Māori—caring for the carers, helping the helpers and healing the healers.

FINDINGS AND OUTCOMES: An outcome from the Tukia research was that kaimahi shared words of wisdom (Ngā Kupu Taonga) outlining what assisted them to navigate their way through personal–professional collisions. These include self-care, use of appropriate supervision, organisational and cultural support mechanisms and growing from experiences. It is the hope that these taonga may help other kaimahi who experience Tukia in their mahi. These Ngā Kupu Taonga are presented in a Mauri Ora o te Pā Harakeke framework.

KEYWORDS: Harakeke; social work; Kaupapa Māori; kaimahi; tukia

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*Te Harakeke, Te Kōrari,
Ngā taonga whakarere iho
O te Rangi. O te Whenua. O ngā Tūpuna.
Homai he oranga mō mātou
Tihei Mauri Ora*

The flax plant, the flax flower,
Treasures left down here
Of the sky, of the land, of the ancestors,
Give wellness to us all

(<http://www.flaxwork.co.nz>)

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(Photograph taken at Kairau Marae, Waitara by the author on 23 February 2017)

In 2017, I presented the results of research that explored the tukia or collision zones for Māori social workers (kaimahi) when their personal, professional and cultural worlds collided. The research explored tukia and some of the values and ethical issues pertaining to these collision zones (Watson, 2019). This subsequent article will outline and focus on how the Pā Harakeke philosophy underpinned the structure, methodology and methods that were utilised in the Tukia research.

I remember talking with my Head of School as I began my research journey and confiding with him that I was not sure if I would be good at research. He advised me to wait until I was in the process of the research experience because it would start to make more sense once I was doing research. He was right; however, I wondered how I could make the transition to research easier for myself. My own personal framework of social work and supervision practice was grounded in Pā Harakeke and the learnings derived from this. As a social work practitioner, I had utilised the learnings from the Pā Harakeke as a way of working alongside whānau. It was a natural fit because I was able to centre the person (and whānau) I worked alongside as the focus. Then, as a supervisor, I utilised these same learnings, but transplanted them into the supervision arena. This transition was also a natural fit because I was able to place the supervisee as the focus. On my journey to becoming a researcher, I decided to transplant these learnings into my research work where I was able to place the kaimahi (research participant) as the focus. The transitions for myself from social worker to supervisor, and from supervisor to researcher were transformational—however, the secure base of Pā Harakeke aided me immensely through these transition times.

This article will explain Pā Harakeke as a philosophy, and then report on how it provided a practical and pragmatic framework for the Tukia research study by breaking the plant down into nine components, then explaining these components and their relevance and

application to the research. As Pā Harakeke sits within a Te Ao Māori framework of Kaupapa Māori, Mātauranga Māori and Pūrākau, this will be explored in terms of the relevance to the research. Finally Ngā Kupu Taonga (words of wisdom) from kaimahi are shared and presented in a Mauri Ora O te Pā Harakeke framework.

Tukia

The word *collision* is used in this article to describe the “crashing together of a practitioner’s personal, professional and cultural worlds” (Watson, 2017, p. 4). This happens when a social worker’s own whānau come into the service they work for, or a service they work closely alongside. There are similarities between the collision zone in social work and the collision zone in rugby because both are “hard-hitting, can be unexpected and can leave you winded, or worst still, wounded and sent off the field with an injury!” (Watson, 2019, p. 29). The word collision was the most accurate to describe a violent crashing together of the practitioner’s worlds causing an impact. The Māori word *tukia* means to ram and crash into (www.Māoridictionary.co.nz). It can also be used to describe the ramming of a bull’s horns (I. Noble, personal communication 25 February 2017) and, in the context of the research, accurately defined the experience of collision as the feeling of being rammed and crashed into.

Pā Harakeke

Pā Harakeke has often been utilised as a metaphor for whānau and a model of protection for children, and whānau structure and well-being (Metge, 1995; McLean & Gush, 2011; Pihama, Lee, Te Nana, Greensill, & Tauroa, 2015; Turia, 2013).

At the centre of the plant is the Rito (1) and represents the baby or child, surrounding the rito are the Awhi rito (2) parent fronds or mātua, then surrounding the awhi rito are the Tūpuna (3) and (4)—these are the grandparent and ancestor leaves. (See figure 1: Image of Harakeke)

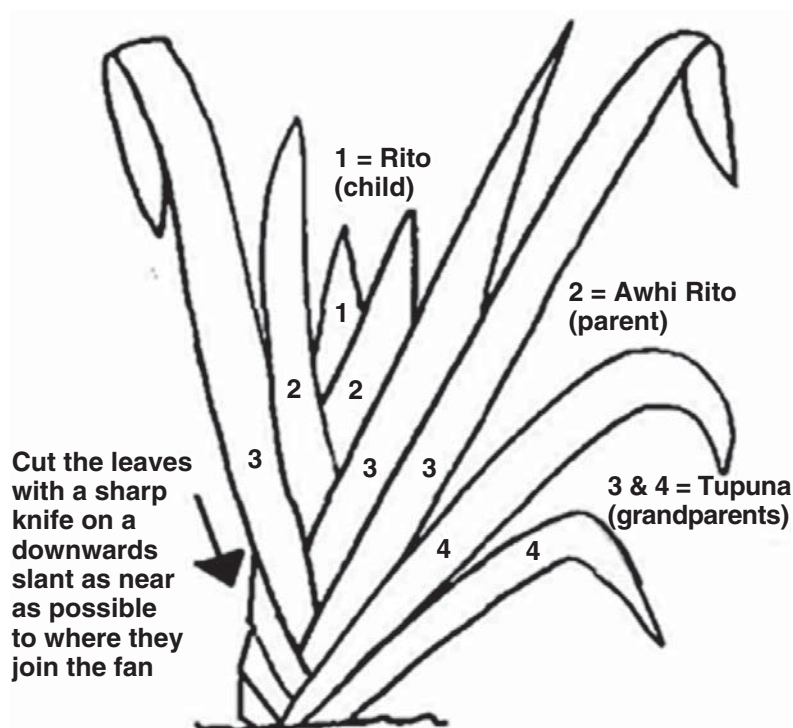


Figure 1. Image of Harakeke (<https://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/harakeke/>).

Pā Harakeke as a philosophy is about strengthening the whānau at the centre—the baby (rito) and the parents (awhi rito). The outer fronds (tūpuna) provide protection, shelter and care for the inner fronds. Pā Harakeke is about protection of our most vulnerable, whānau and collective strength, connection to the whenua and to Papatūānuku, our connection to whānau, hapū and iwi, and our connection to the past, the present and the future. Pā Harakeke acknowledges the role and responsibilities of others—the tūpuna (grandparents) in helping to strengthen the whānau—it is about developing community and inter-generational roles and support. It is about whakapapa and protecting whakapapa. It is about regenerating generations. It is about valuing children as a taonga and supporting parents to be the best parents they can by keeping the rito as the focus. It is about growing strong, healthy and flourishing whānau and is a natural fit when working with whānau.

Pā Harakeke descends from a Te Ao Māori framework that allows social

workers, supervisors and researchers to utilise knowledge from their Te Ao Māori worldview. Weavers hold a lot of mōhiotanga (understanding) regarding the Pā Harakeke. Tikanga surrounds the Pā Harakeke from before the seed can be planted to the harvesting of the rau (frond leaves). Some tikanga when harvesting the rau includes not cutting the rau when it is raining, nor at night, nor when the kōrari (flower) is in bloom, cutting the rau at a certain downwards angle, and the most important tikanga is *Waiho te whānau*—never ever cut the whānau in the middle (rito and awhi rito). One only ever takes the tūpuna fronds when harvesting. If you cut the whānau in the middle, the whole Pā Harakeke could die. Karakia are utilised at different times e.g., when planting the harakeke or when harvesting the harakeke.

Pā Harakeke as a research model

Pā Harakeke can be utilised as a three-fold model: 1) working alongside whānau; 2) in supervision (Eruera, 2005, 2012; Ward, 2006); and 3) as a research tool (Isaac-Sharland, 2014; Watson, 2017). A series of writers described the Pā Harakeke as a research model. Eruera (2005, 2012) presented He Kōrero Kōrari, a Kaupapa Māori supervision framework, and applied it to different fields of practice and claimed that “Tangata whenua frameworks founded on cultural knowledge, values, principles, beliefs and customary practices contribute to Māori development, self-determination and improved wellbeing for whānau Māori” (2012, p. 13). Isaac-Sharland (2012) utilised the Pā Harakeke as a metaphoric ideal in her research on the link between Te Reo Māori and Mana Whānau. Whereas Ward (2006) presents the kōrari (Te Tai Tokerau kupu for harakeke) and utilises it as a framework of practice by positioning social work students as the rito, the student’s whānau including mentors, class peers and workmates as the awhi rito. Social service lecturers, student services, counsellors and agency supervisors representing hapū are the tūpuna, with Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers (ANZASW),

the Social Workers Registration Board (SWRB) and iwi also as tūpuna leaves. The whenua represented the clients who were supported by social work students and practitioners.

Similarly, the intent of the Tukia research was to utilise Pā Harakeke as a research framework by positioning kaimahi as the rito, kaimahi whānau, hapū and iwi and kaimahi organisations (including managers, colleagues, supervisors) as the awahi rito, and the tūpuna fronds representing professional bodies (ANZASW), (SWRB), tertiary education institutions, policies and laws that guide Aotearoa social work practice and the link to global Indigenous social work.

For the purpose of Pā Harakeke as a research model and tool, the plant is comprised of nine components (please see Figure 2. Harakeke framework). These components comprise rito, awahi rito, tūpuna, pakiaka, kōhatu, pakawhā, whenua, kakau, and kōrari. Each of these components will be explained and then the relevance to the research will be highlighted.

Rito—the baby

Te Rito is the pēpi of the harakeke (the centre shoot) and in the Tukia research, represents the kaimahi who were the research participants. In the research methodology, kaimahi selection and recruitment were discussed, alongside criteria and consents. The criteria for participant selection were that they had to identify as Māori, be a social worker, have over three years' experience in social work, and have experienced a collision of their personal, professional and cultural worlds (defined as when their own whānau are referred to the service they work for or into an organisation that the kaimahi works closely with).

The researcher is an ANZASW Mana Whenua Rōpū member, so there was opportunity to discuss the research at a local hui and pānui were left for prospective participants to make contact. This worked in the kanohi kitea sense of being “the seen

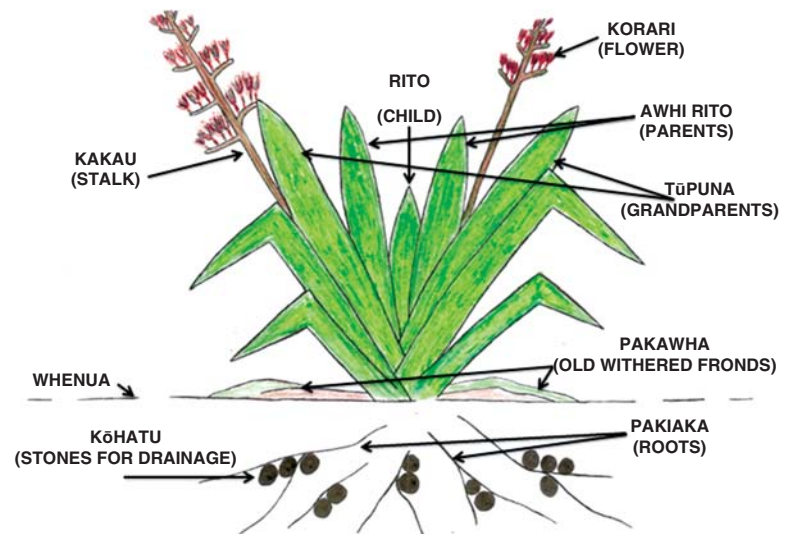


Figure 2. Harakeke Framework (diagram drawn by Hinemoana Watson-Pitcher)

face” and talking to prospective participants’ kanohi ki te kanohi (Cram, 2009). The pānui was also sent to ANZASW head office requesting that it be disbursed to Māori social workers in the North Island. There was a great response via ANZASW, in that over 10 responses were received. Seven kaimahi were interviewed for the research, all were ANZASW Māori social workers practising social work in the North Island of Aotearoa, five of them having worked for (in the past or were currently working for) the Department of Child, Youth and Family Services (CYF—now Oranga Tamariki).

By placing the research participants—kaimahi—as the rito, they became the focus. One of the reasons I did this relates to me being a supervisor of social workers and the realisation that because social work can be very challenging at times, sometimes the kaimahi need tautoko as much as the whānau they journey alongside do—the helpers need to be helped and the healers need to be healed themselves. Ruwhiu, Ruwhiu, and Ruwhiu (2008) in their article about heart mahi for healers discussed their contribution as a “contribution about caring for healers” (p. 32). Often social workers are not placed in the focal position because the people we work alongside are placed there.

It is important that the “helpers” are helped and the “healers” are healed because the “wounded healers” (Jung, 1961) can work through their own pain and vulnerability to work effectively with others (Gilbert & Stickley, 2012) and these kaimahi can contribute significantly to the practice of social work. The Tukia research is about the well-being of the worker and is another way to manaaki and tautoko kaimahi in terms of supporting them through collision experiences. The uniqueness of Pā Harakeke allows kaimahi to be the rito.

Awahi rito—mātua /parent fronds

The awahi rito are the mātua, the parent fronds of the harakeke. They provide the most immediate shelter and support to the rito. In the Tukia research, the awahi rito represented the kaimahi whānau, hapū and iwi and also included the kaimahi organisational supports i.e., colleagues, managers and supervisors.

Within the discussion chapter of the research, the awahi rito section outlined the supportive and non-supportive systems of whānau and the organisation/mahi where kaimahi work; it also explored the dilemmas kaimahi may face with regard to colluding, considered CYF protocols for working with own family, and discussed the importance of appropriate supervision for Māori social workers.

Tūpuna—grandparent fronds

The tūpuna fronds are the grandparent fronds that support the awahi rito to support the rito. The tūpuna provide protection, shelter, support and care to the whole whānau unit (rito and awahi rito) of the harakeke. This concept acknowledges the role of tūpuna in helping and supporting whānau and this idea that it takes a village to raise a child.

In the Tukia research, the tūpuna is represented by kaimahi professional bodies (SWRB and ANZASW), tertiary education

institutions where kaimahi trained (the influence of their social work training), and the policies and laws that guide Aotearoa social work practice. Tūpuna also links to global Indigenous social work. In the discussion chapter of the Tukia research there was a focus on the policies and laws that guide social work practice historically and currently in Aotearoa, particularly Pūao-te-Ata-tū (1988), the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989, and the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples’ (2007) outcome of changes, and how this links globally to indigenous social work. It also explored the Children, Young Persons, and their Families (Oranga Tamariki) Legislation Bill (New Zealand Legislation, 2017) introduced into Parliament in mid-December 2016. These proposed changes were part of the transformation of CYF to the new Ministry for Vulnerable Children (Oranga Tamariki) which became a stand-alone Ministry with a separate Chief Executive.

Pakiaka—roots

The pakiaka are the roots of the harakeke which are hidden within the whenua and Papatūānuku and are not normally seen by the naked eye.

The pakiaka represent the foundation and the underpinnings of the Tukia research. These encompass a Te Ao Māori view of the world underpinned by te reo Māori and tikanga. A Kaupapa Māori approach was undertaken for the Tukia research, alongside pūrākau pedagogy. Pakiaka also houses the kaimahi personal worldviews, values, beliefs and ethics. This is because these are our foundational beliefs and views of the world that ground us and give us roots. Kaupapa Māori theory and pūrākau pedagogy outlined and discussed the story of Te Wehenga—the separation of the primal parents Ranginui and Papatūānuku by their sons—and this was utilised to demonstrate the whakapapa of the universe, of mankind and the Pā Harakeke.

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori is primordial; having existed from age-old times, and is evident in Māori whakapapa back to Io-Matua-te-Kore (the Creator of Te Kore) (Pihama & Southey, 2015). Pihama explains, “Kaupapa Māori is extremely old – ancient, in fact. It predates any and all of us in living years and is embedded in our cultural being” (2015, p. 9). The foundation work of Kaupapa Māori theory was executed by Graham Smith (1997) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) in the field of education. G. H. Smith (1997) espouses that Kaupapa Māori is an evolving, transformative theory that can be understood through initiatives spearheaded by Māori, which connect to being Māori and link to Māori philosophy and principles. He highlighted six key principles of Kaupapa Māori: Tino Rangatiratanga (Self-determination principle), Taonga Tuku Iho (Principle of cultural aspiration), Ako Māori (Principle of culturally preferred pedagogy), Kia Piki Ake I Ngā Raruraru o te Kāinga (Principle of socio-economic mediation), Whānau (principle of extended family structure), and Kaupapa (principle of collective philosophy) (Cram, 2012). Walker (1996) described Kaupapa Māori theory as a theoretical framework that is fluid and evolving, and as an Indigenous theory of change that is transformative. L.T. Smith (1999) sees Kaupapa Māori as decolonising theory and asserts that outsider research on Māori has impacted negatively and left Māori distrustful of research. This affirms that outsider research has continued to colonise Māori, and Kaupapa Māori should be, “theory and practice of active resistance to the continued colonisation of Māori people and culture” (Mahuika, as cited in Pihama & Southey, 2015, p. 43). Pihama upholds that Kaupapa Māori, “must be about challenging injustice, revealing inequalities, and seeking transformation” (2001, p. 110). Kaupapa Māori values Maori knowledge and ways of doing, focusses on emancipatory research by Māori, with Māori, for Māori, and empowers whānau, hapū and iwi (Moyle, 2013; Pihama & Southey, 2015; L.T. Smith, 1999). In this

sense, Kaupapa Māori research is seen as an emancipatory, decolonising, transformative process whereby Māori researchers are “insider researchers,” walking alongside their Māori participants on a journey of tino rangatiratanga for the betterment of iwi Māori. This is firmly set in Mātauranga Māori.

Mātauranga Māori has been defined as Māori knowledge (Pihama, Smith, Taki, & Lee, 2004) and in Māori Pūrākau, mātauranga was a gift from Io-Matua-te-Kore and brought to the earthly realm when Tāne ascended the heavens and brought back the three kete of knowledge (Rikihana-Hyland, 1997). Royal (1998) ascertains that whakapapa is a vehicle for, and an expression of, Mātauranga Māori and that the whakapapa origins of Mātauranga Māori take us back to Papatūānuku and Ranginui. Mātauranga Māori is an important component of Kaupapa Māori research, as is Te reo Māori and tikanga (L.T. Smith, 1999).

Māori research requires the researcher to assert their identity and understand that colonisation has made it a “damaged identity ... but it was also a resilient and resistant identity” (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2013, p. 2). Māori research is also about asserting tino rangatiratanga and understanding the framework of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and how it might be lived out if it was fully honoured. A key component of a Kaupapa Māori philosophy is the assertion of the strength and resilience of Māori voices, experiences and conditions (L.T. Smith, 2005). Therefore, Kaupapa Māori is a vehicle for transformation for Māori researchers and is testament to the resistant and resilient capacity of Māori.

Kaupapa Māori approach in the Tukia Research

I have been a social work practitioner grounded in practice; my strength was in social work practice. I have always been more interested in the practical application of practice to real life so the foundation

of this research comes from Kaupapa Māori approaches that I have utilised in my practice—the Pā Harakeke model and Pūrākau. Pā Harakeke and Pūrākau grounded this research in a Māori worldview (Taonga Tuku Iho principle). Kaupapa Māori approach in this research acknowledges that I am a Māori researcher who identifies as Māori thereby having “insider status.” I carried out Māori research with Māori practitioners (Tino Rangatiratanga principle); therefore, this research sits within a Maori worldview (Principle of Ako Māori). This research valued Māori ways of knowing and doing, and aspired to positive outcomes and aspirations for kaimahi, whānau, hapū and iwi (Kaupapa principle).

Cheryl Waerea-i-te-rangi Smith identifies Kaupapa Māori theory as emerging, “out of practice, out of struggle, out of experience of Māori who engage struggle, who reject, who fight back, and who claim space for the legitimacy of Māori knowledge” (2002, p. 13). This aligns to the Tukia research because it takes the journey of kaimahi who may have engaged in struggle through collision experiences, to legitimately claim space through Māori knowledge. A Kaupapa Māori approach allowed for a tino rangatiratanga journey of the kaimahi Māori participating in the research, as well as myself as the Māori researcher. Kaupapa Māori is utilised in all aspects of the methodology i.e., collecting data, analysing data, engaging with participants, and working with supervisors as this is part of tino rangatiratanga and collective understanding.

Kōhatu—pebbles/stones for drainage

The kōhatu are the pebbles/stones that allow for drainage surrounding the roots below the harakeke. Kōhatu represent the ethics and boundary issues of the research. The reasoning for this is that the kōhatu physically sit within the pakiaka (roots) of the harakeke and the pakiaka is where the values, beliefs and worldviews of kaimahi

sit. Ethics and boundary issues sit within and are impacted by our worldviews, values and beliefs. In the Tukia research methodology, Māori cultural ethical principles that guide Kaupapa Māori research were encompassed in this section, as well as discussion regarding the Massey University Human Ethics Process, and discussion of any conflicts of interest.

Ethical considerations

Mead outlines seven Māori cultural ethical principles that guide Kaupapa Māori research (1996, p. 221) and other Māori researchers have outlined these principles as well (Bishop, 1996; Cram, 2009; L.T.Smith, 1999). The principles are outlined as: Aroha ki te tangata (love and respect for people), He kanohi kitea (the seen face), Titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero (look, listen and then speak), Manaaki ki te tangata, Kia tūpatō (be cautious), Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample on the mana of people), and Kia māhaki (be humble). These principles were the guide for the ethical considerations of the Tukia research and were unpacked in the Kōhatu section further.

The Tukia research identified several challenges, ethical dilemmas and boundary issues by kaimahi experiencing collision. These were pinpointed to accountability issues, conflicting cultural tensions, issues of biculturalism in practice, and the issue of colluding (Watson, 2019, p. 31). These were the kōhatu of the Pā Harakeke model.

Pakawhā—old, withered fronds of experience

The pakawhā are the old, withered fronds, near the base of the harakeke, that start to change colour and drop off the harakeke plant back to the whenua, the earth. The pakawhā represent the experiences of kaimahi—both positive and negative. The positive experiences are incorporated into kaimahi practice and the negative experiences are released back to Papatūānuku (as they fall off the harakeke)

thus helping to regenerate the plant. From a resilience and strengths perspective, the negative experiences are seen as a learning opportunity and can still contribute to the well-being of the Pā Harakeke—thus there is learning from all experiences.

Within the Tukia research, kaimahi shared their positive and negative experiences of collision and how they were helpful or unhelpful for them.

Whenua—the land

Mā te tū i runga i te whenua ka rongō, Mā te rongō ka mōhio, Mā te mohio ka marama, Mā te marama ka mātau, Mā te mātau ka ora!

By standing on the land you will feel, in feeling you will know, in knowing you will understand, in understanding comes wisdom and then life!

This whakataukī illustrates the fundamental importance of whenua to Māori. The whenua is our link to Papatūānuku and the land where the Pā Harakeke nestles. Papatūānuku, the great earth mother, the “rock foundation beyond expanse, the infinite” (Marsden, as cited in King, 1992, p. 135) elevates the female role for Māori and forms the basis of mana wāhine relationships and all relationships. Murray (2012) discusses the importance for Māori of reconnecting to Papatūānuku by returning to the whenua and that “the relationship we have with Papatūānuku is reflected in the relationships we have with ourselves and others” (p. 10). The whenua is our connection to Papatūānuku and our whakapapa to our Creation story in Te Ao Māori. In the Tukia research, the whenua is explored further through the use of pūrākau as pedagogy. Papatūānuku is the base, the framework, the solid, secure attachment that I go to in times of need and Papatūānuku is the solid, secure framework that is a Kaupapa Māori way of doing. Pihama et al. (2004) stated that a Kaupapa Māori theoretical foundation has to be constructed from Papatūānuku. Our creation story and narratives form the basis

of our worldviews and ways of doing in Te Ao Māori.

Kakau—the strong stalk

The kakau is the strong stalk of the harakeke that will eventually hold the kōrari—the flower.

In the Tukia research methodology, the kakau represented the methods used within the research. The kakau unpacked the data collection, personal interviews, the interview process, whānau tautoko, respect for privacy and confidentiality, the collection and storage of data, data analysis, participant rights, researcher responsibilities, and equipment.

All interviews were kanohi ki te kanohi and occurred throughout the North Island, from Wellington to Auckland. Interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher. Transcripts were returned to kaimahi for checking, approval and consent. Kaupapa Māori research methods used in the interview process included karakia, whakataukī, waiata, whakawhanaungatanga and whakapapa connection, use of conversational te reo Māori, koha (in the form of gift cards) and the provision of kai as part of manaakitanga.

Personal interviews were utilised in the research because they are a qualitative method of inquiry and aligned well with Kaupapa Māori research, particularly in being kanohi ki te kanohi with kaimahi. Interviews are an effective method in assisting understanding of the lived experience of participants (Patton, 2002) and the research was about capturing the lived experiences of kaimahi who had experienced collision.

In the Tukia research, the Pā Harakeke was often utilised as a framework to structure the research into order. In the Methodology and Methods section, the framework incorporated the following four themes:

1. Pakiaka / roots (Kaupapa Māori theory

and approach); 2. Rito/child (Kaimahi/Participants); 3. Kakau/stalk (Methods); and 4. Kōhatu/pebbles for drainage (Māori Ethical Considerations) and these sections were explored in detail. The data were analysed into six key themes with subthemes. These themes originated from the interview questions: 1) managing the collision (what helped, hindered and could have helped); 2) impact of the collision (personal, professional, cultural); 3) influences on managing the collision (values and beliefs, worldviews); 4) Dual Roles, Accountabilities, Boundary Issues and Ethical Dilemmas; 5) Words of Wisdom; and 6) Emerging Themes (Differences in ways of working, conflicting cultural tensions, and working biculturally). The sixth theme had not been a direct focus of the research questions interview schedule but had emerged from the interviews. Then in the Discussion section these six key themes were categorised into the Pā Harakeke framework again as: 1) Te Rito: Kaimahi, 2) Pakiaka: Māori worldview; 3) Awhi Rito: awhi/tautoko from whānau, organisations and supervisors; 4) Kōhatu: Ethics, boundaries, dual roles and accountabilities, conflicting cultural tensions; 5) Tupuna: Laws and policies guiding social work and links to Indigenous social work globally; and 6) Kōrari: Words of wisdom. Within

the Tukia research there were many opportunities to utilise the Pā Harakeke model as a framework.

Kōrari—the flower

The kōrari is the flower of the harakeke and ngā manu (komakō and tui) come to feed off the kōrari. The kōrari is the pinnacle of the Tukia research as it represents the outcomes and learnings from the research. A tangible outcome of the kōrari is represented in the Mauri Ora O te Pā Harakeke: Ngā kupu taonga (see Figure 3).

Ngā kupu taonga were words of wisdom shared by kaimahi who have experienced personal–professional collisions. The taonga are represented by the different components of the Pā Harakeke.

Te Taonga o te Rito

These are the learnings and taonga from the rito or kaimahi themselves and included: a) Care of Self—“Be gentle on your ‘self’”. Kaimahi shared that, when going through the tukia experience they needed to be gentle on themselves, look after themselves and do what made them feel well. They also shared that it was important to have confidence in yourself and have self-compassion;

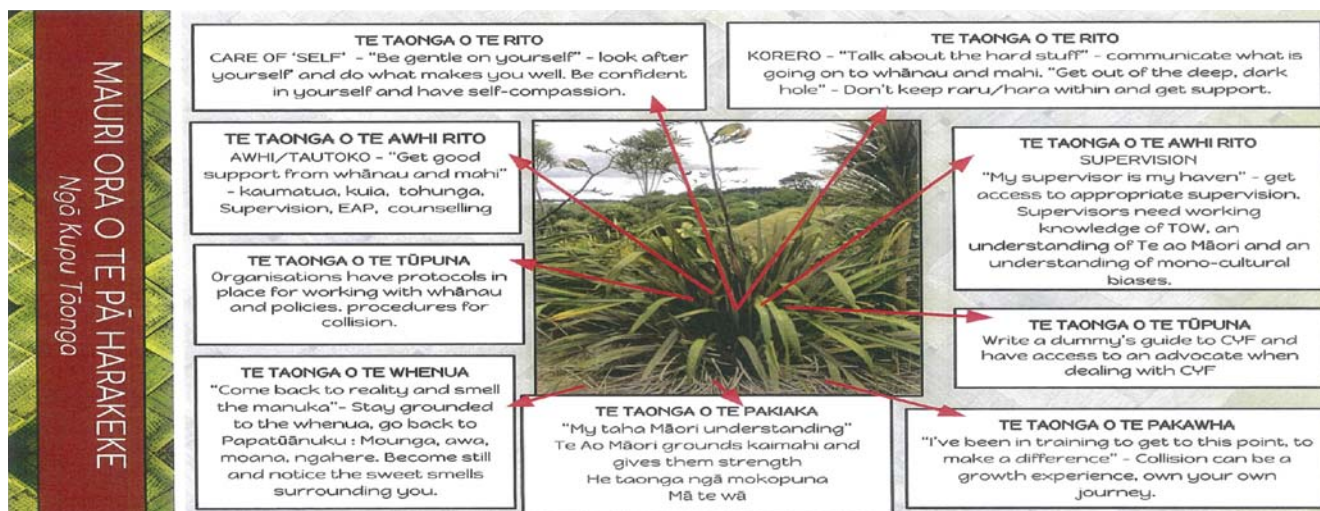


Figure 3. Mauri Ora O te Pā Harakeke: Ngā Kupu Taonga.

b) Kōrero—“*Talk about the hard stuff*”. Kaimahi disclosed that being able to “talk about the hard stuff” was essential and becoming a good communicator was necessary. Kaimahi needed to communicate what was going on for them during the tukia experience by talking with whānau members and work colleagues; c) “*Get out of the deep, dark hole.*” This taonga is about not keeping the raru within and sharing the burden. Talk about what is going on—go through the process of it, acknowledge it and embrace vulnerability. Again communication is essential. Kaimahi expressed that they needed to be proactive in getting support for themselves.

Te Taonga o te Awhi Rito

The learnings from the awhi rito (kaimahi whānau, hapū and iwi, as well as kaimahi organisations including colleagues, managers and supervisors) included: a) Awhi/Tautoko—“*Get good support from whānau and mahi.*” Kaimahi shared that it was essential to get good support from whānau and work colleagues and to utilise kaumātua and kuia support and, if necessary, tohunga support. From their organisational side, kaimahi discussed the supports of supervision, Employee Assistance Programme (EAP), and counselling as being helpful to manage the collision experience; and b) Supervision—“*My Supervisor is my haven.*” The role of appropriate and supportive supervision was highlighted by kaimahi as being essential to manage their way through the tukia experience. The “My supervision is my haven” comment by one kaimahi showed the need to access appropriate supervision for kaimahi Māori. Supervisors need a good working knowledge of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, an understanding of Te Ao Māori and an understanding of mono-cultural biases and how these impact on the supervision forum (Elkington, 2014; Eruera, 2012; King, 2014; Lipsham, 2012; Murray, 2012).

Te Taonga o te Tūpuna

These are the learnings from the tūpuna (grandparent fronds which encompass

professional bodies i.e., SWRB and ANZASW, the tertiary education institutions where kaimahi trained, policies and laws that guide Aotearoa social work practice and the link to global Indigenous social work): a) Organisational protocols for collision—organisations should have clear protocols in place for working with whānau, and policies and procedures for dealing with collision issues for kaimahi, supervisors and managers in navigating when whānau are coming through their services. Kaimahi stated that it was better to have something in place rather than muddle their way through as a collision unfolded for the kaimahi and their organisation; and b) a Dummy’s Guide to CYF (now Oranga Tamariki). It was suggested by kaimahi that it would be helpful if there was a Dummy’s guide to CYF to help whānau navigate their way through the organisational processes when dealing with CYF. It was also suggested that whānau should have access to an independent advocate when dealing with CYF.

Te Taonga o te Whenua

These are the learnings from the whenua (our connection to Papatūānuku). The first taonga was Ground yourself—“*Come back to reality and smell the manuka.*” The whenua is the ground on which the harakeke nestles and the whenua taonga is to stay grounded and come back to Papatūānuku by going to maunga, awa, whenua, moana, roto and ngāhere. This involves seeing, hearing, touching, smelling and tasting. This saying talks about the kaimahi having clear expectations and understanding of expectations and idealism i.e., what the kaimahi wants to do and what they can realistically do. This is about remaining grounded and realistic and keeping our feet on the ground as we are seeds and descendants of Papatūānuku. Grounding themselves assisted kaimahi through the Tukia experience.

Te Taonga o te Pakiaka

These are the learnings from the pakiaka (the roots, particularly represents kaimahi

worldview, values, beliefs and ethics). The pakiaka are the roots and represent the Māori worldview and understanding of the kaimahi, underpinned by tikanga Māori and concepts. Te Ao Māori grounded kaimahi and gave them strength, “*My taha Māori understanding that I have a belief that life continues, there is no end, and that everything happens for a reason.*” Kaimahi particularly viewed mokopuna as taonga, reinforced the idea of “Mā te wā”, and were aligned to the philosophy of te tino rangatiratanga.

Te Taonga o te Pakawhā

These are the taonga from the Pakawhā (the old withered fronds that represent the experiences of kaimahi—both positive and negative). “*I’ve been in training to get to this point, to make a difference!*” Kaimahi expressed that, although collision can be confronting and challenging, it can also be a growth experience that makes them stronger and more resilient, and better equipped to work alongside other whānau experiencing challenges. The taonga here is that collision can be a growth experience, that kaimahi will come out the other side of and it is important to own your own journey.

Ngā kupu taonga were shared openly by kaimahi and give good direction to others that may be experiencing collisions of their worlds. They also indicate that there is a pathway through collisions and that kaimahi will come out the other side; however, it is important to ensure there are robust processes and supports to help kaimahi through and there is an emphasis on the importance that kaimahi kōrero about what is going on. One of the key messages is that collision can be a growth experience that kaimahi will come out the other side from and there is a strong possibility that it will become a lived experience that will strengthen kaimahi practice.

As mentioned earlier, the kōrari is the flower that will be fed upon by ngā manu. The tui and kōmako are often found on the

kōrari. Ngā manu will represent the people who will be interested in and feed from this research—students, lecturers, kaimahi, organisations, whānau, hapū and iwi.

Conclusion

Utilising Pā Harakeke as a framework for this research, the kaimahi were placed as the *rito*. In this instance the kaimahi is the *rito*/baby that needs protection, nurture and safety. The *rito* are the seven kaimahi who were interviewed for the Tukia research. The *awhi rito*/parent plants that support the *rito* were the kaimahi whānau, hapū and iwi and also the organisation/agency they worked for including managers, team leaders, supervisors and colleagues. It is the mahi of the *awhi rito* to protect, nurture and keep the *rito* safe. The *tupuna*/grandparent fronds are represented by the professional bodies of ANZASW and SWRB, and the tertiary education institutions (where kaimahi have acquired social work training from). Also included in the *tūpuna* fronds are the policies and laws that guide Aotearoa social work and the link to indigenous social work globally. The *tupuna* fronds support the *awhi rito* to enable them to continue to support the kaimahi as the *rito*. The *pakiaka* are the roots of the harakeke and these roots go down deep under the harakeke and represent the underpinnings of the research. *Pakiaka* represents the Māori worldview and understanding of the kaimahi, underpinned by tikanga Māori and concepts, and kaimahi values and beliefs, as well as the Kaupapa Māori approach to this research. The *kōhatu* are the stones/pebbles that allow drainage for the harakeke and surround the pakiaka. The *kōhatu* are the ethics/boundaries, dual roles and accountabilities, and the conflicting cultural tensions experienced by kaimahi, and also the ethical considerations of the research. The *pakawhā* are the old, withered fronds found near the base of the plant. These fronds represent the experiences of the kaimahi—both positive and negative. The positive

experiences are incorporated into kaimahi practice and the negative experiences are released back to Papatūānuku (as they fall off the harakeke) thus helping to regenerate the plant. From a resilience and strengths perspective, the negative experiences are seen as a learning opportunity and can still contribute to the well-being of the Pā Harakeke thus there is learning from all experiences. The *kakau* is the stalk that will eventually hold the flower or *kōrari* on the harakeke and represents the methods used in this research—including the research design, the sample, participant recruitment, the interview process, the storage and collection of data, and the analysis of the data. All of these methods will lead to the findings and analysis which are represented by the *kōrari*. The *kōrari* is the flower of the harakeke and represents the outcomes and learnings from the research and *ngā kupu taonga* that kaimahi will pass on to others experiencing collision. The pinnacle of the research is found here in the *kōrari*—the flower that will be fed upon by *ngā manu*. *Ngā manu* are the birds that will feed off the *kōrari*; the tui and *kōmako* are often found on the *kōrari* and *ngā manu* represent the people who are interested in the Tukia research results.

This article has outlined the methodology and methods used in the Tukia research study. Kaupapa Māori theory underpinned the research, *pūrākau* pedagogy informed the research methodology, and the Pā Harakeke model underpins the layout and structure of this research. This approach allowed the Māori researcher to have insider status, to carry out Māori research with Māori practitioners, a by Māori, with Māori, for Māori approach that allowed for a tino rangatiratanga journey for the kaimahi participating in the research, as well as the researcher. This research also values Māori ways of knowing and doing, and aspires to positive outcomes and aspirations for kaimahi, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* through the journey of kaimahi who may have engaged in struggle

through personal–professional collision experiences.

Also highlighted is the Mauri Ora O te Pā Harakeke: *Ngā kupu taonga* which kaimahi have shared as words of wisdom for other kaimahi who might be experiencing collision of their personal and professional worlds. Kaimahi expressed that, although collision can be confronting and challenging, it can also be a growth experience that can make them stronger and more resilient, and better able to work alongside other *whānau* experiencing challenges.

Mā te hē, ka tika.

Learning is achieved through experience.

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Practice of adoption in Aotearoa before the 1881 Adoption of Children Act

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ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION: With the arrival of Europeans in Aotearoa New Zealand came a familial kinship structure and ideas of caring and nurturing children different from that of indigenous Māori society. Europeans brought with them a practice of adoption, a concept that differed from the indigenous kinship practice of *whāngai*. This led to misunderstandings between the two cultures about care arrangements, particularly when a Māori child was left with a European couple. Even the reasons why Māori engaged in this type of arrangement was often not fully understood by Europeans. For Māori, these arrangements were usually temporary, while Europeans considered them to be permanent. Hence, we have the beginning of the challenges that contributed to the creation of the 1881 Adoption of Infants Act, a first within the British Empire.

APPROACH: This article begins with a description of the Māori practice of *whāngai* and the European practice of adoption preceding the 1881 act, highlighting the key differences between each—the most significant difference being the European idea of *permanent* and the Māori idea of *temporary* care arrangements.

KEYWORDS: Adoption; *whāngai*; kinship; Māori; European

The purpose of this article is to discuss the practices of adoption in Aotearoa New Zealand before the enactment of the first Adoption of Children Act in 1881 and its intersection with parallel Māori practices of the 19th century. This article begins with a description of the Māori practice of *whāngai* and the European practice of adoption preceding the 1881 act, highlighting the key differences between them—the most significant of which were the European idea of *permanent* and the Māori idea of *temporary* care arrangements. Finally, we follow how initiatives led by the government of Aotearoa New Zealand resulted in the legal, permanent care arrangements for children by initiating the 1881 Adoption of Infants Act.

Whāngai

Whāngai is the Māori kinship method of child circulation where a child may move,

or be moved, from one familial household to another for a specific reason, sometimes temporary and sometimes permanently (Newman, 2011). The practice of *whāngai* within Māori society, even with Crown intervention, is still evident today. The word “*whāngai*,” means “to feed” but in the context of a child, a *tamaiti whāngai*:

... focused not only upon food but also upon nurturing, educating, providing opportunities to grow up as a healthy individual with one’s *mauri* strong, one’s *mana* secure and one’s *tapu* intact. (Mead, 1997, p. 209)

Atawhai is another concept that is often interpreted as adoption and is defined as meaning to show kindness or to foster (Williams, 1992). However, neither *whāngai* or *atawhai* are equivalent to the English term

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“adoption.” A child within Māori society was deemed to be a taonga (treasure) of the entire whānau (family) (Bradley, 1997; S. Walker, 2001). Decisions on where a child should live and with whom were not taken lightly. Initial discussions were usually held between the two parties (parents with possible atawhai/whāngai parents) and mediated with a kaumātua or sometimes a meeting with all members of the whānau, ensuring that the right decision was made for the child and whānau (Metge, 1995). Metge does note that approval by all whānau was valued but not always essential, especially if the child was already a member of the whānau (Metge, 1995). If the child was whāngai there was no legal transfer from one set of parents to the other and it was never presumed that this care arrangement would be permanent. Importantly, the tamaiti whāngai retained all knowledge in regard to their history, their place within the community, spiritual values, and genealogical links (Bradley, 1997). Tamaiti whāngai were usually cared for by relatives, depending on the circumstances and reasons for this arrangement (Papakura, 1986). Individual parents did not have the right to place children into another culture or with strangers, as this was believed to be an act of cultural violence that was avoidable if the child stayed within their own whānau (Aginsky & Buck, 1940; Mead, 1997; S. Walker, 2001).

The concept of whakapapa (genealogy), the connection to the ancestors is an essential element for Māori identity and for the spiritual wellbeing of Māori (Te Rito, 2007). It is within whakapapa that the history of a lineage is taught. Whakapapa is not just a chart that provides names of ancestors with links to relatives, it also exists as a genealogical narrative that is inclusive of each ancestor (Te Rito, 2007). For children to develop their identity they need to be nurtured, to gain knowledge of who they are, where they belong, and to be able to reciprocate the care that they have received; a difficult task to undertake without the knowledge of whakapapa (Newman, 2011).

There were, and are, a number of reasons for a child to become whāngai. These include the death of one or both parents, to help relatives who were struggling to conceive, or if there were problems in the home such as the illness of parents. Often the first born grandchild would be raised by the grandparents and this is still practised by some whānau today. This provided the grandparents the opportunity to transfer traditional knowledge to their grandchild (Metge, 1995).

The essence of whāngai is to focus on the welfare of the child and the community at large. A primary concern in the arrangement of whāngai is that the child retains their identity, and has the knowledge of where they come from and who they are descended from. Not only is this significant for the child's own identity but also for retaining their rights to land succession (Graham, 1948, p. 268). For Māori, this form of care arrangement of children was essential as they believed in “keeping the children in the family, because if a stranger became the parent of the children, the children would drift away from the family” (Aginsky & Buck 1940, pp. 208–209).

Relatives had a responsibility to ensure whakapapa was retained and taught to the child in order to provide them with a strong identity. Whāngai was a normal kinship practice within the Māori kinship structure where the tamaiti whāngai usually continued their relationship with their biological parents. Whāngai was not seen as an anomaly or a disadvantage to the child, parents, relatives or community, it was simply a kinship practice that did not alter who the child was, where they came from or what their role was within the whānau. With the advent of colonisation, the 1852 New Zealand Constitution Act recognised the status of tamariki whāngai as part of the:

... laws, customs and usages of the Aboriginal or Native Inhabitants of New Zealand, so far as they are not repugnant to the general principles of humanity,

should for the present be maintained for the government of themselves, in all their relations to and dealings with each other, and that particular Districts should be set apart with which such laws, customs or usages should be so observed. (pp. 18–19).

As such, tamariki whāngai was an acceptable custom, at least until 1910 (Griffith, 1997).

European adoption

The European settlement of New Zealand, since 1840, introduced a different concept of family and societal structure. These new settlers stressed a more individualistic view rather than a collective one; they lived as individuals or within a nuclear family. European family structures within European society were generally paternalistic with the husband/father being the head of the family and the breadwinner, while the wife maintained the household and cared for the children (Mikaere, 1994). The use of institutional care such as orphanages, poor houses and workhouses to care for the orphaned, neglected and destitute was well understood within these European households (Tennant, 2007). But this was all quite foreign for Māori.

Early European writers have described traditional processes of adoption in Māori society and, although these writings contain valuable information, they are written from the perspective of their own preferred cultural ideals and practices. For example, when the concept of whāngai was discussed it was compared to the English term “adopt,” which the *Oxford Dictionary* defines as to “legally take (another’s child) and bring it up as one’s own” (Soanes & Stevenson, 2008, p. 17). This is similar to the explanation within the original 1881 Adoption of Children Act which defines the effect of the adoption as:

When such order [adoption] has been made, the adopted child shall, for all purposes, civil and criminal, and all advantages and benefits and other legal consequences of the natural relation of

parent and child be deemed in law to be the child born in lawful wedlock of its adopting parent. (1881, p. 49)

This continued with the passing of the 1955 Adoption Act and is current within the 2020 reprint with the wording on the effect of adoption stating:

The adopted child shall be deemed to become the child of the adoptive parent, and the adoptive parent shall be deemed to become the parent of the child, as if the child had been born to that parent in lawful wedlock. (1955, pp. 1141–1142; 2020, p. 18).

As with most colonial settlements, Europeans had a keen interest in understanding traditional practices of what they understood to be adoption in order to understand who had rights to land. From a European perspective, when a child was adopted, for all intents and purposes they now belonged entirely to their new family.

Informal European adoption

Before 1881, it was common for European couples, in general, to care for children who were not their own; this might have been a child given to them by the parents for any number of reasons. This was seen as an informal adoption, a system of caring for children that European settlers had practised in their home country. The issue of informality created insecurity for the adoptive parents with the possibility of parents returning to claim their child. Some adoptive parents wrote up contracts between themselves and the birth parents regarding the custody of the child—however, these held no legal value. If the biological parents returned to claim their child, in most circumstances the courts could not intervene. Court intervention only occurred if a child was being mistreated and the birth parents were behaving in a manner that was detrimental to the child (Gillard-Glass & England, 2002).

This was not the only issue that arose from early, informal adoptions. Another significant issue related to inheritance, especially land succession for Māori. A child who was part of an informal adoption was not entitled to inherit from either their birth or adoptive parents as there was no legal transfer of children at this time (Adoption of Children Bill, 1881).

So how did these two ideas of family, in particular the practice of moving children between households, fit in Aotearoa New Zealand society before the advent of formal legal practices of adoption? Europeans believed that if Māori were to survive, or at least not become extinct altogether, then some Māori children should be raised within a European family. As the following quote shows, for some, this was a way in which to save a decaying race. Where only by growing up within a European household and cared for by European women could a child flourish and a race be saved, assimilated in the ideas and morals of the “civilized” Europeans.

It is only necessary to look at a young Maori child which has been brought up in the house of a European and has been looked after by a European woman to see the beneficial effect which cleanliness, ease, and good food, would have on the whole New Zealand Race. The puny limbs of the young savage grow stout, the protuberant belly disappears, the languishing eye becomes bright, the face chubby and the complexion so clear that you can trace the blush of its red blood through its olive coloured skin. (*New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian* 1852, p. 2).

Building relationships or whakawhanaungatanga between Māori and their European neighbours would highlight how tikanga practices could be used within both worlds. There was no reason why those relationships would not extend to temporary whāngai practices in both directions, remembering that Māori would share their

children with family or at least with people they know. The issue here is that Europeans might still see this as a permanent, non-intrusive arrangement whereas Māori might not.

There are few cases before 1881 of Pākehā adoption of Māori children. Sometimes informal adoption resulted from the abduction of a child, especially during the New Zealand Land Wars, when children were taken by force from one society and raised in another, a concept contrary to the practice of whāngai. For example in 1868 at Te Ngutu o te Manu, William Fox abducted a seven-year-old Māori boy named Ngatau Omahuru after attacking the village of the child’s parents. In January 1869, Fox had Ngatau baptized and named after himself. Although Fox never intended to adopt this child, his actions resulted in an informal transracial adoption. On the child’s baptismal certificate his new name replaced his birth name; however, his biological parents remained recorded as his parents. Fox had the child sent to Wellington to receive a Pākehā education and it was not long before the boy became assimilated into Pākehā society (P. Walker, 2001) and became one of New Zealand’s most notable informal transracial adoptions.

Records in newspapers of this practice between the two cultures were more sensational when Māori were caring for European babies. For instance, this example from *Wanganui Herald* in 1877 of a European father who sold his daughter to a Māori couple, which appears to have resulted in the best interests of the child.

A curious story comes from the Hutt. A certain laborer resident in that locality actually sold his own daughter, a little girl of five years of age, to a Maori for the sum of £2 sterling. The purchaser is married, but has no family, and bought this little girl to adopt and bring up as his own child. The poor child fared ill, and was much neglected by her natural (rather unnatural) parent. She is most

kindly treated by her adopted father.
(*Wanganui Herald*, 1877, p. 2).

Another example includes the reporting, in 1869, in Makara, of a white child seen to be living with a white man and a Māori woman, deprived, malnourished and uncared for. The child is reported to be living amongst the Māori and that he was originally from the Waiarapa. There was great discussion about how his Māori guardians ill-treated the child and how the locals, white locals, provided the child with as much pastoral care as they could. The report finishes with not wanting to publish any names “until the matter is brought before the public in the ordinary way” (*Wellington Independent*, 1869, p.2).

Although the following examples are dated after the 1881 Adoption Act was enacted, they provide further evidence that adoption took place between Māori and Pākehā. On 25 November 1882, the *New Zealand Mail* reported a case where a white girl, Annie Freebody aged nine, had “been living under the care of a Māori named Winiata in the Wairarapa district” (p. 22). Mr Justice Richmond ordered Winiata to surrender the child to him as she was to be returned to her relatives. One can only assume that an agreement had been made between the parents or at least one parent for the child to have been placed into Winiata’s care. With the 1881 Adoption of Children Act now in force, it would appear that the relatives of the child requested Annie to be returned.

What was seen to be a “a special feature of public interest” was where a “Maori chief” sought permission to adopt a European child at the regular meeting of the Hospital and Charitable Aid Board held on the evening of 9 April 1888, published in the *New Zealand Herald* on 10 April 1888, page 4. This same case was also published on 11 April 1888 in the *Otago Daily Times*. In this article, the Māori chief was named as Te Whakarata from Waitangi and he had the support of the Reverend H. Lawry and Reverend Mr Gittos. A following article in the *Otago Witness*

had yet more information identifying the European child as a female.

Another case was reported on 5 April 1889 by the *Daily Telegraph* that a white child, illegitimate, was living with Pomare at the Tapairu pā. The child’s name was Coleman. According to the Māori who were raising Coleman they had adopted the child. However, the reporter believed this to be nonsense as Māori could not adopt a non-Māori child (which is interesting as this did not come into law until the Native Land Act of 1910, but it shows that the rules were changing before legislation went through). The reporter concluded that the child was being ill-treated and that the child had been deserted therefore had become a “white slave.” The reporter concluded that Coleman should be “charged as a neglected child, removed from the deleterious atmosphere in which he is at present” and once his parents were found, they should maintain him at the industrial school. The reporter finishes with “at present his only school is the pah gutter” (p.3).

Each of these articles provide a glimpse that Māori were taking care of European children but these only appear to be reported when there was an issue or when it was perceived as an anomaly. Other instances of Māori taking care of European children must have occurred based on the fact that the Native Land Amendment Act in 1910 put a stop to Māori taking in European children, by this time legally adopting them.

Half-castes “Euronians”

In 1843 there is an infamous newspaper article written by G. W. Hope, titled “The Euronians, or the children of European and Native Parents.” This article discussed the rights of half-caste children which he defines by stating “we allude to the descendants of European fathers and Maorie mothers, commonly called “half casts” (*Daily Southern Cross* 1843, p. 2). And describes these children as “the children of misfortune, and as such, are too often

neglected and despised" (Hope, 1843, p. 2). An assumption was made that children who were deemed to have been born under reputable circumstances and within English law, i.e., a legal marriage between the European father and Māori mother, surely would be able, under English law, "to inherit the properties of their English fathers, and according to native custom, and to the treaty of Waitangi, they are entitled to all the rights and privileges of their native ancestors" (Hope, 1843, p. 2). Although in theory this would seem plausible, at this point it appears that there had not been any legislation passed that made this practice legal. Hope describes the case of a Mr Maxwell who was married to a native woman and had a number of children. Maxwell was the proud owner of a considerable amount of land which he had purchased from Māori before the government of New Zealand was established. He had provided his children with a quality European education but Maxwell died, drowned, while his children were still young,

... his lands are unclaimed, unoccupied and useless to his family, from comfort and civilization his children have been reduced to want and to barbarism itself. His young sons whom he endeavoured to educate and to bring up as civilized beings, are now living with the natives almost naked, and dependent on their bounty for their bread. Their father's property has been by this Government rendered valueless, their right to it is denied, and they will themselves become savages and heathens. They have no protector, no one to look after their interests, or that of their parent and her other children. Neither the Church nor the State have become their guardians: on the contrary, the Government and the Commissioners of Land Claims have thrown every obstacle in their way. (Hope, 1843, p. 2).

The purpose of the article was to make the government of the time provide rights and privileges for the Euronesian children of

Aotearoa New Zealand—from both their European and Māori parents. The article finishes with the suggestion:

We sincerely trust that these remarks may be read by some of the benevolent, charitable and religious people at home, and that some effort will be made by them in behalf of this unfortunate class of persons. It would be well to appoint protectors and to establish an institution in this country for the maintenance and education of such persons. Let not our friends at home however expect any assistance from Government or from religious sects in this country. The case we have mentioned above is known to the Government, and ought to be known to the ministers of religion, and yet nothing but the destruction of the valuable property of these unfortunate orphans has been accomplished. Charity, justice and mercy seldom find their way into the British Colonies, and if they do, they soon expire. (Hope, 1843, p. 2).

It is interesting that, rather than focus on the rights of inheritance for the children, it was considered that it would be in their best interest to be institutionalised so that they would avoid living within *te ao Māori* and remain within European "civilisation." This is one example of how Europeans perceived half-caste children and provides evidence that those with European blood were seen as even more deserving of a civilised life. With the number of half-caste children rising around the country, some thought it was necessary to intervene in order to rescue them from an uncivilised life.

The idea of intervening to rescue half-caste children is evident within early legislation as, only three years later, 1846, Governor Grey introduced an Ordinance for the Support of Destitute families and illegitimate Children. Grey's intention for this ordinance is described as "a first step towards preventing destitution in the Colony" (*New Zealander* 1846, p. 3). The targets were "mainly wife-deserters and fathers of illegitimate children"

(Tennant, 2007, p. 29). It appears it had a focus (as it is written within the Legislative debates) towards half-caste children where children born to European fathers would benefit from being placed within a European family and the father would benefit by avoiding any additional charges for maintenance.

Clause 8: In every case where the order of the putative father shall be made in favour of the Half-caste child, or in favour of any other person of the Native race, it shall be lawful for such Justices to make an order on the putative father for the payment of an additional sum to be applied at such times and in such manner as they may direct to the education of such child in the English language and in the duties of the Christian religion: Provided always that the sum to be paid as last aforesaid shall in no case exceed one-fourth of the sum to be paid as aforesaid for the support of the child, nor the whole sum to be paid as hereinafter provided, in composition for such sum: Provided also that when and so soon as any such child shall by order of such Justices be committed to the custody of any person of the European race, such additional sum shall cease to be paid. (Ordinance for the Support of Destitute Families and Illegitimate Children, 1846).

The concerns that were expressed in Hope's article appear to be partially addressed when Boarding Schools for the Education of Native Children attached to Church Mission Stations opened. In 1849 such a school opened in Otawhao, Waikato for the "offspring of European fathers and Native mothers" (*New Zealander*, 1849, p. 2). Stating that "the large and increasing number of children of this class imperatively requires that some provision should be made for their Education" (*New Zealander*, 1849, p. 2).

Advertising of children

The advertising of children was not uncommon (and not illegal) until the 1955

Adoption Act. I have not come across any advertisements that state whether the child is European, Māori or half-caste—just advertisements either wanting to adopt a child or a child being available for adoption, even though there still was no adoption of infants legislation before 1881.

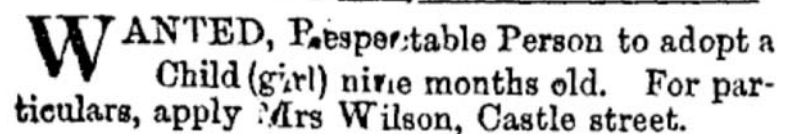
Fostering still held a lot of value in the care of neglected or orphaned children and it can be assumed that this was the first option when a child was in need of care, before placing them in institutional care.

As stated, the advertising of children continued until the 1955 Adoption of Infants Act and was not uncommon nor illegal. The following are a few examples:



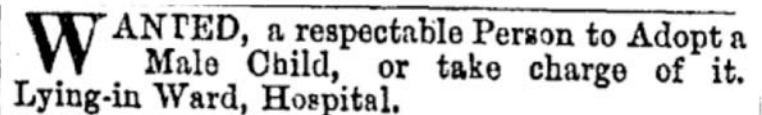
A WIDOW LADY, having no family of her own, would be glad to take charge of or adopt a child if a premium were paid.—Address, "Water," HERALD office.

Figure 1. Wanted Advertisements. *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XV, Issue 5316, 29 November 1878.



WANTED, Respectable Person to adopt a Child (girl) nine months old. For particulars, apply Mrs Wilson, Castle street.

Figure 2. Wanted. *Evening Star (Dunedin)* Issue 3712, 15 January 1875.



WANTED, a respectable Person to Adopt a Male Child, or take charge of it. Lying-in Ward, Hospital.

Figure 3. Late Advertisements. *Evening Star (Dunedin)* Issue 5007, 21 March 1879.

None of these advertisements show any preference stipulated when a person advertised to adopt a child.

Institutional care

Colonial charity work first targeted women and children with the first voluntary institutions being: the early church industrial

schools, later orphanages, along with refuges for *fallen* women which appeared in 1864 (Tennant, 2007). The church orphanages were the start of institutional care and they were believed to be the easiest and best way to instil moral and spiritual values in children.

In 1867, an act to Provide for the Care and Custody of Neglected and Criminal Children stated that “any Province in New Zealand to establish for the purposes of this Act industrial schools and every such school shall be occupied by and used for males or females exclusively.” This act also established reformatory schools. In the understanding as to who was neglected, the act provided these definitions:

13. Every child who answers to any of the descriptions hereinafter mentioned shall be deemed to be a “neglected child” within the meaning and for the purposes of this Act What children to be deemed “neglected.”
- (1.) Any child found begging or receiving alms or being in any street or public place for the purpose of begging or receiving alms.
 - (2.) Any child who shall be found wandering about or frequenting any street thoroughfare tavern or place of public resort or sleeping in the open air and who shall not have any home or settled place of abode or any visible means of subsistence.
 - (3.) Any child who shall reside in any brothel or associate or dwell with any person known or reputed to be a thief prostitute or habitual drunkard or with any person convicted of vagrancy under any Act or Ordinance now or hereafter to be in force.
 - (4.) Any child who having committed an offence punishable by imprisonment or some less punishment ought nevertheless in the opinion of two justices regard being had to his age and the circumstances of his case to be sent to an industrial school.
 - (5.) Any child whose parent represents that he is unable to control such child and that he wishes him to be sent to an industrial school and gives security to the satisfaction of two justices before whom such child may be brought for payment of the maintenance of such child in such school.

Figure 4. Excerpt from *An Act to provide for the Care and Custody of Neglected and Criminal Children, 1867* (p. 167).

No longer were the parents the sole carers of children, the Crown now took an active role, especially in deciding who was, and was not, fit to be a parent.

These children were sent to an industrial school to either be maintained or reformed. Part of the care arrangement in the industrial schools was the licensing-out of children in domestic service. In such a case the child must have been of sufficient age and strength, and of fair education. The contracting party had to pay reasonable

wages, and provide sufficiently for clothing, board and lodging. The wages were paid to the master of the school, who placed the amount as received in the Post Office Savings Bank to the credit of the person who had earned them. It is understood that all such earnings, with the accumulated interest, would be paid to the young people once they reached adulthood or marry, good conduct being in every case a condition of payment (see *The Neglected and Criminal Children Act, 1867*, p. 5; *Amendment to The Neglected and Criminal Children Act, 1870*, p. 96; *1880 Report on Education: Industrial Schools and Orphanages (Papers Relating To) 1881*, p. 4).

It was not unusual in the 19th century for a married couple without children of their own to apply for a young orphan with a view to his or her adoption. Of course, there still were no adoption laws at this time so, in these cases, the children were licensed-out to the party under the terms of the act, and, if the child should be improperly treated, or if the party’s conduct should prove unsatisfactory, the child would be recalled to the school. The licensing-out of children was only intended to be for a specific time period which was initially three years (see *The Neglected and Criminal Children Act, 1867; 1880 Report on Education: Industrial Schools and Orphanages (Papers Relating To) 1881*).

In 1869, under the provisions of the Neglected and Criminal Children Act, 1867, the Caversham Industrial school was established and it was seen as one of the best managed schools in Aotearoa New Zealand and used as a model for others. In a report on Industrial Schools and Orphanages it was stated that, in the first year of Caversham being opened, the children admitted had been taken from brothels, and their parents described by the police as being of the lowest class. The school believed its purpose was “rescuing boys and girls from the paths of vice and infamy, and providing them with such a training as would fit them to become useful members of society” under

the guidance of the master and matron who made strict rules and boundaries for the children to live by (see the *1880 Report on Education: Industrial Schools and Orphanages (Papers Relating To)* 1881, p. 4).

However, the school came under scrutiny in 1880 when the school was, amongst other issues, alleged to have had six boys and 19 girls adopted out when there was no legal adoption of children legislation at the time. One of the main concerns was that the school's practice of "adoption" was perceived by a number of people in authority to be a legal practice of slavery. Under the investigation, however, it appears that in this instance the word "adopt" was used instead of "license-out," as stated in the report:

... we found that, although in the return of children alluded to the word 'adopted' is used, that word is only meant to express that the child was licensed-out, the warrant in both cases being precisely the same. We took exception to the word "adopted" being used, inasmuch as it has no existence in the Act, and only tended to mislead. The master, seeing the force of our objection, promised in future the word should not be used. As regards the remark that some of the girls had been licensed to "single men apparently," we found that in every instance the whole of the children had been licensed-out to married men, with one exception, that exception being the case of Mary T to the Rev. Father Crowley, a Roman Catholic priest at Lawrence. This girl was licensed-out two years ago, her age then being ten years. (Caversham Industrial School: (Report of Commission Appointed To Inquire into the Working and Management of) 1880, p. 2).

Throughout this period, the word "adopt" had been used either in advertisements or as it had in the allegation made here. The Crown had issues with the idea of adoption and was worried that it could be synonymous with the practice of slavery. When the adoption of children bill did

actually make it to parliament, this was a major cause for concern and debate in parliament.

The 1881 Adoption of Children Act

The introduction of the Adoption of Children Act in 1881 was designed to alleviate the issues of birth parents reclaiming their children, and to give the child inheritance rights as a full and legal member of the new household. George Waterhouse, New Zealand Premier at the time, introduced the Adoption of Children Act as a Private Members Bill. This resulted in New Zealand becoming the first country in the British Empire to have a legal form of adoption (Else, 1991). The bill was promoted as making permanent the care of a child or children in a family prepared to take on the responsibility as if the child had been born to them. Anne Else explains that Waterhouse's intentions were:

... designed to ensure that people who were willing to go to the expense and trouble of taking in and rearing other people's children would have the same status, rights and rewards as other parents, and in particular would be protected from 'disturbance' by the original parents. (1991, p. x).

Concerns were raised when Waterhouse introduced this bill. While many believed it was introduced with good intentions, amendments needed to be made before the bill could be passed. A number of concerns were raised including the age of the child, eligibility to adopt, protection of the child against use for the purpose of slavery, and from situations where someone intended to form an intimate relationship with an adopted child once it was older (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD), 1881). One member was concerned that Waterhouse's underlying objective was to legitimise illegitimate children. This would affect "the marriage law, the law of legitimacy and the law of succession which at present existed in the colony, and he did

not think that those laws should be dealt with in such a Bill as this one" (NZPD, 1881, pp. 131–132). Not all members agreed with this view, but amendments were made and on 18 September 1881, after the third reading in the House of Representatives, the Adoption of Children Bill was passed (NZPD, 1881).

Keeping the birth parent(s) a secret from an adopted child was not a concern for the 1881 Adoption of Children Act. Upon applying to adopt a child, all information about the birth parent(s), the child and the adoptive parents were presented to the District Court in the form of an affidavit. A District Judge would hear the case and approve or decline the adoption. These hearings were all public and any person who was affected by the adoption could be present (Griffith, 1981). Once the adoption was approved, the only amendment that could be made to the child's name was to hyphenate the adoptive surname after the birth surname (Griffith, 1981). Judges at this time did not have the authority to make any other changes (Newman, 2011).

This Act was to have no effect on the practice of whāngai, in fact, this customary practice continued to be recognised under the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 (Griffith, 1997).

Conclusion

Māori and Pākehā had their own understandings of how to care for children. Māori practised whāngai, Pākehā understood "adoption" and institutional care. What occurred from 1840 to 1881 was a conflict of ideas about the temporary or permanent care of children who were not the biological children of the carers. Informal adoption was encouraged by the Crown government with the intervention of ordinances. The Destitute Persons Relief Ordinance of 1846 was introduced in part to cater for half-caste children and that encouraged European fathers to place their children in the custody of European

families to gain a European education. The introduction of the "1867 Ordinance for Neglected and Criminal Children" established the Industrial and Reformatory Schools where children from dysfunctional families (according to the Crown) would be saved and raised as good citizens of society. Throughout this period the terms "adopt" and "adoption" had been used even though there was no adoption law at the time and these were terms that appeared to terrify the authorities as they saw them as a form of slavery. This concern was an important part of the debate in parliament when the 1881 Adoption of Infants Bill was in the process of becoming an act.

The government's main concern was the status of Pākehā and half-caste children. The lack of visibility that Māori held within the society of the time meant that Māori custom was mostly ignored. It was not until Māori ourselves started to notice that Pākehā were using whāngai arrangements as a way to inherit Māori land that Māori adoptions were placed under the jurisdiction of Native Land Court. While this change and the widespread adoption and fostering by Pākehā of Māori children in the mid-20th century is not covered in this article, it is a site of ongoing research and discussion. Throughout this time, Māori, especially those who continued to live in their kāinga, continued, and continue the practice of whāngai.

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Quality social work placements for Māori social work students

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ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION: Māori perspectives should be genuinely represented and integrated into social work education to ensure Māori and non-Māori social work students alike are prepared for working effectively in Aotearoa New Zealand. In field education, Māori students may have particular needs and expectations that should be considered by academic staff and placement host organisations. Consequently, the placement experience for Māori students should reflect these needs and expectations.

METHOD: As part of a wider research project which aimed to advance the quality of social work placements for Māori and Pasifika students, a hui was undertaken with a roopu (Māori branch) of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Work (ANZASW) in late 2014. This article focuses on their views of what constitutes a quality placement for Māori social work students. The project explored two key areas: what does a quality placement look like for Māori social work students and what can tertiary institutions do to better support Māori students to have a quality placement?

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS: Participants emphasised the usefulness of placement preparedness, clear expectations and open communication prior to, and during, placement. The placement should also be culturally safe and adequately challenge the student. Tertiary providers should support the student's placement by being in regular face-to-face contact; preparing the student for the placement environment; supporting external cultural supervision; and by critically reviewing their curriculum.

KEYWORDS: Māori; Indigenous; social work; field education; quality placements; students

A social work placement is an essential part of social work education. It is the place where theory and practice connect, and the social work student has the opportunity to consider the realities of the workplace. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Social Workers Registration Board (SWRB) stipulates that students studying for social work qualifications at degree level are required to undertake a minimum of 120 days of field education during the final two years of

their programme (SWRB, 2019). Social work students must have at least two placements in two differently structured settings and fields of practice and students are required to have weekly supervision with a registered social worker (SWRB, 2019).

A unique feature of the Aotearoa New Zealand social work profession is a commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi—a bicultural partnership that should

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underpin education, policy, and practice. It is essential that Māori are supported to become social workers so that there is a strong Māori social service workforce implementing Māori practice approaches. This is particularly important when Māori are overrepresented as users of social services and contend with institutional racism. Māori perspectives also need to be represented and integrated into social work education in order to ensure all students are prepared for working effectively in Aotearoa New Zealand. In field education, Māori students may have particular needs that should be considered by academic staff and the placement host organisations. Consequently, the placement experience for Māori students should take these needs and expectations into account.

As part of a wider research project which aimed to advance the quality of social work placements for Māori and Pasifika students, a hui was undertaken with a roopu (Māori branch) of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Work (ANZASW) in late 2014. This article focuses on their views of what constitutes a quality placement for Māori social work students. In the next section, consideration is given to salient aspects of the field education context, with a particular focus on the experience of indigenous students. The methods used in the study are then noted, before the findings from the hui are presented. In the final section, the findings are discussed and implications regarding field education placements for Māori social work students are identified, along with recommendations for practice.

The context of field education placements

This section draws upon both international and Aotearoa New Zealand sources to consider: the importance of placements within social work programmes; field education for indigenous students; and factors that contribute to a quality placement.

The importance of placements

The centrality of field education placements to student learning is well documented; however, there are concerns that it is under-resourced (Douglas, 2011; Hay, 2018; Maidment, 2000). In Aotearoa New Zealand, social work receives 35% less funding per student from the Tertiary Education Commission than other areas that require work-integrated learning, such as education and health sciences (Tertiary Education Commission, 2020). Implications for field education are significant as placement host organisations receive no financial compensation to support placement students, adding to the difficulty in gaining placements, especially when the sector is under-resourced. In particular, the SWRB requirement that students receive weekly individual supervision with a registered social worker can present a challenge for agencies. The current practice environment in Aotearoa New Zealand is that there is increased competition for field education placements due to competition amongst education providers and limited placement availability in some locations (Hay, 2018).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the programme recognition standards set by the SWRB contain specific requirements. Students completing a social work qualification must be able to demonstrate the achievement of core competencies at the completion of the qualification (SWRB, 2019). The field education placement is where students typically demonstrate these competencies, and Standard 1 requires that competence to practise social work with Māori is achieved (SWRB, 2019).

Field education for Indigenous students

Social work education internationally is dominated by western frameworks; however, Māori have a particular worldview that needs to be respected and nurtured in social work practice and education. In a placement context,

professional enculturation can occur where Indigenous students are likely to engage with non-Indigenous frameworks (Cleak & Wilson, 2018; Zuchowski, Savage, Miles, & Gair, 2013). If Māori practice approaches and tikanga are not entrenched in a placement organisation, Māori students may find it especially challenging to observe, experience and critique their culturally appropriate models and concepts. Drawing on the work of Eketone and Walker (2016) who discuss the nature of Kaupapa Māori theory, decolonisation and its alignment with anti-oppressive critical approaches, current pedagogy can be challenged so that the validity of Māori knowledge becomes integrated, accepted and inherent in the curriculum and practice of field education.

Hollis-English's (2015) research into Māori social work approaches noted that Māori draw on Mātauranga Māori in their practice. "They come from a particular worldview that is influenced by one's experiences of being connected to a whānau, hapū and iwi, being indigenous in Aotearoa New Zealand and having embedded in one's ancestry, specific values and traditions belonging to that culture" (p. 6). She reinforced that this is *best practice* with whānau Māori accessing services. A key implication identified by Hollis-English is the need for tertiary providers and social service organisations to support Māori social workers (and students) to utilise their own approaches. This raises a question as to what approaches might be best practice for Māori students in social work field education and how the tertiary provider can best support this. In Aotearoa New Zealand there are two kaupapa Māori social work programmes, and 17% of placements in 2019 were in Iwi or Māori organisations (SWRB, 2019). It is not, however currently known how many of the tertiary providers place their students in kaupapa Māori placements and whether any specific teaching and support is given to these students, either before or during their placements.

In Australia, Gair, Miles, Savage, and Zuchowski (2015) explored the placement experience for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. They found that many of the students experienced both subtle and overt racism while on placement, parallel to their daily lived experiences. Participants noted that they found other Indigenous students and workers helped them to cope with these issues while on placement. They recommended that students be supported by a cultural mentor (with or without social work qualifications) and suggested that further preparation for placement be undertaken, as one participant stated, "Take them out, introduction to the workplace ... their policy and stuff, how they can be supported ... how they work culturally in that organisation" (Gair et al., 2015, p. 44). An additional recommendation was that field educators be screened for cultural suitability. Non-Indigenous field educators are not always able to provide safe placements, therefore more Indigenous field educators supporting Indigenous placement students are required and the student's lived experience needs to be given more credibility. The authors recommended several strategies to support Indigenous students including placement preparation by the agency staff; cultural support and mentors for the students; increasing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academic staff; and anti-racism strategies in the universities and placement organisations.

In Canada, a collaborative study comparing the experience of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students on field placement in Aboriginal agencies was conducted (Clark et al., 2010). It found that decolonising field education programmes and teaching students about the historical and current implications of colonisation should be emphasised. The participants highlighted the importance of having cultural practices available and included in their education, such as through spirituality and ceremony, inclusion of elders, and responsiveness to, and understanding of, grief and loss practices.

Other areas noted were the importance of a relational, supportive approach, anti-oppressive placement experiences and the use of student wellness plans and self-care in placements. The research concluded that “cultural safety and intersectionality provide frameworks for transforming field education” (Clark et al., 2010, p. 22). The importance of developing an indigenous intersectionality framework for social work field education was also highlighted by Clark and colleagues (2012). This framework would incorporate complex and intersecting structural factors impacting on Indigenous social work students. They recommended an ongoing evaluation process that involves Indigenous students having input into the tertiary institutional processes including placement and having language framed around Indigenous rights, not Indigenous needs.

Social work is a value-laden profession and Māori social workers (and students) are consistently faced with cultural tensions in their practice (Watson, 2019). Watson’s research focused on social workers having to manage tension within their own whānau when they access services, where Māori experiences of these tensions are often more pronounced given the intersecting dimensions of the personal, professional and cultural. There are difficulties when Māori social workers are walking in and navigating the two worlds of Te Ao Pākehā and Te Ao Māori (Watson, 2019). It is likely that Māori social work students also face these tensions, especially when they are placed in mainstream organisations. Forms of discrimination may also be apparent to students during placement. For instance, minority students in Gladstein and Mailicks’ (1986) research mentioned that, during placement, they were only assigned clients from the same ethnic group. The organisations justified this as wanting to use students’ cultural insight and/or language skills but did not necessarily consider the learning needs of the student. These researchers also recommended the use of cultural role

models and the development of specific, culturally sensitive support programmes to meet the students’ unique needs.

In combination, these research examples signal the need for a closer examination of current practice by both tertiary providers and placement host organisations so that Māori students can have suitable and successful placements.

Factors that contribute to a quality placement

Education providers should increase their support to students during placement because a quality placement is seen to produce “better qualified social work practitioners” (Flanagan & Wilson, 2018, p. 576). Several quality frameworks for field education have been developed, although none of these is specific to Indigenous students (Bogo, 2010; Hay, 2019). Bogo (2010) recommended four foundational principles: 1) that it takes place within an available and supportive relationship; 2) learners benefit from a balance between structure and autonomy in practice and learning; 3) learners need to develop reflective and conceptual capacities; and 4) observation, reflective discussion, and a provision of constructive feedback facilitates mastery of skills (Bogo, 2010, p. 105). In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, Hay (2019) identified quality components as including: 1) a student learning focus; 2) the student is wanted; 3) the student is suitable and ready; and 4) there is good stakeholder engagement.

Maidment (2000), also speaking from the Aotearoa New Zealand context, highlighted possible cultural bias in social work education. In her research, Māori student participants noted that they were not prepared for placement in a way that suited their learning styles and assessment methods were less effective for their learning. Māori participants considered orientation to field and agency and one-to-one supervision as very important to their learning. Maidment

(2000), however, proposed that the integration of Indigenous frameworks in social work education were in a formative stage at that time.

An Australian study by Gair and Baglow (2018) noted that poverty and psychological distress was increasingly common among university students. They found that this was exacerbated for social work students who experienced increased financial stress and mental health vulnerabilities when undertaking compulsory placements. Placement requirements created additional pressure as students tried to balance paid work, placement and family. They noted that there was also less time available for self-care and reflection (Gair & Baglow, 2018). Study awards, such as the now defunct non-government organisation (NGO) study awards in Aotearoa New Zealand, reportedly assisted with these personal pressures, so that students were able to focus on their placement rather than financial difficulties (Yeung, Mooney, & English, 2016). Māori were significant recipients of these awards (over 40%) which were highly successful in assisting with qualification completion. Many Māori social workers were able to continue to contribute to their Iwi organisations and communities while they completed their studies as both the student and organisation were supported in these awards (Yeung, Mooney, English, & O'Donoghue, 2019).

Indigenous students in British Columbia were found to be more vulnerable to stress and ill health in government placements (Aro, 2004). Therefore, particular care needs to be taken to ensure that Indigenous students are placed with supervisors who are sensitive to their needs. Indigenous students employ a number of strategies to rebalance their holistic health—good attention to self-care, engaging in cultural practices and development of support networks are themes that emerged as strategies for coping with the stress of the practicum. Further,

improved preparedness prior to placement may help to alleviate increased anxiety in students undertaking placement (Kanno & Koeske, 2010).

While preparedness may help, the quality of the supervisory relationship also has a significant impact on student satisfaction with a placement. Supervision is a crucial element of a student placement. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the SWRB (2019) requires that students receive one hour of supervision each week during placement. This must be provided by a registered social worker from within the placement agency, or externally.

Māori social work researchers have emphasised the importance of the tertiary institution satisfactorily preparing and resourcing students and field educators / supervisors. For example, Moorhouse (2014) found that students lacked an understanding of the purpose and nature of supervision and therefore did not understand what constituted an acceptable standard. She identified the need for students to be adequately prepared for supervision. Field educators should also understand the core components of supervision. In addition, cultural and Kaupapa Māori supervision should be considered and resourced in the same way as other forms of supervision (Moorhouse, 2014). Lipsham's (2016) research yielded similar results, including that students were not sufficiently prepared for placement supervision in the classroom prior to placement and needed increased opportunities for bicultural supervision.

A number of areas have been identified as influencing whether a placement is of quality, and while there are pre-existing frameworks to reference, none is specific to Indigenous students. The importance of placement preparedness is important for all students. However, Māori students have different placement needs and these should be carefully considered by tertiary staff. Supervision is a key component that should be resourced adequately to provide specific cultural support, particularly for Māori.

Method

As mentioned, this article focuses on the findings from one component of a broader research project. The aims of this project were to:

- a) Advance current knowledge on what constitutes *quality* social work placements for Māori and Pasifika students;
- b) Enhance current teaching practice and institutional support of Māori and Pasifika students enrolled in placement papers;
- c) Improve current institutional practices in respect of organising, monitoring and evaluating placements for Māori and Pasifika students.

The overall objective was to improve the practices of the Massey University Social Work Field Education programme, and better support Māori and Pasifika students prior to, and during, their placements. The intention was to add value to their placement experiences, assist with the retention of these cohorts of students and strengthen relationships with placement host organisations that may be supporting future Māori and Pasifika students.

This project utilised a qualitative methodology and explored the subjective views of Māori social work students (retrospectively) regarding what might constitute a quality placement. It was reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. A Māori-centred approach (Cunningham, 2000) was applied and the research was undertaken by a Māori researcher with attention to appropriate Māori processes and ethics. Māori-centred research can be applied when Māori are significant participants and senior members of a research team, a Māori analysis is utilised and Māori knowledge is produced (Cunningham, 2000).

Permission was sought and granted by the executive members of an ANZASW roopu (branch) to complete a hui following one of the bi-monthly roopu hui with roopu members opting out if they wished. The roopu members were invited to participate as they were Māori social workers who had experienced social work placements during their social work training. A hui is similar to that of a focus group; however, the language of hui is more culturally appropriate and means “gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference” (Māori Dictionary, 2019). The researcher was a member of the roopu, so care was taken to highlight that the research role was separate from the usual participation in roopu activities. Participants were provided with an information sheet (outlining key information about the research including rights of the participants) and the interview questions via email and this was distributed by the roopu chair to roopu members prior to the roopu hui. Open-ended questions encouraged kōrero from participants regarding their views on quality placements for Māori social work students. Roopu members who were keen to participate signed a consent form prior to the hui.

Six members chose to participate, and they reflected on their experiences as students and as members of an agency supporting Māori students. Additionally, two of the participants reflected on their experience as field educators and supervisors of Māori placement students. Demographic data relating to the years of social work experience of the participants was not gathered. The tertiary providers they refer to are not named in this article, but it is important to note that the experiences were not all related to one tertiary provider. The hui was opened and closed with karakia and the researcher provided kai to indicate the process was complete and to thank the roopu for their time and contribution. The hui was audiotaped and transcribed by a Māori staff administrator from Massey University; individual participants were not identified in the transcript. The transcript was then analysed thematically and the results are

presented below under two main headings: What does a quality placement look like for Māori social work students? and What can tertiary institutions do to better support Māori students to have a quality placement?

Findings

The following findings offer insight into Māori social workers' views on social work placements for Māori students. This section is structured into the two key themes above phrased as questions, with subthemes. The first theme asked about what a quality placement looks like for Māori social work students; while the focus of the second theme was what could tertiary institutions do to better support Māori students to have a quality placement.

What does a quality placement look like for Māori social work students?

For many of the participants, a quality placement included having clear expectations and open communication, a culturally safe environment, and an expectation that the student is open to being challenged.

Clear expectations and open communication

Preparation for placement was identified as critical. Māori social work students' need to understand the context of the placement agency (including location and history), placement expectations, and how their tertiary institution will support them. The Kaupapa (purpose) should be clear for all involved. One participant explained they complete interviews with students prior to placement to "...make sure that they fit and understand exactly what we're looking for and expecting and vice versa." Both the student and the placement organisation have important roles setting up a quality placement:

We make sure we determine and define what it is, quality, from a student's point of view and from our point of view.

I think, you know, communication is essential. Good communication from the manager, supervisor and the staff ... Take responsibility for the student.

This practice was in response to observing other professional programmes in their organisation of placement (for example, nursing) and from experiences of placements that did not go well because misunderstandings had occurred. Defining expectations provided a chance to explore the student's level of learning and engagement. One participant preferred final-year placements so that they could treat the student more like a colleague:

In order for them to get a quality placement they have to come with the mindset that they are a beginner practitioner and be ready ... They get supported but they actually are expected to behave professionally and ... plan their calendars and fulfil their obligations like they are actually working, and if they do that they tend to get a much better experience; they get treated like a staff member as opposed to, "You're just a student."

This organisation had considerable expectations of the student's initiative:

We make it a student responsibility. I as your field work educator or supervisor am not going to facilitate that for you. You're a social worker. Go and network, go and meet them, do it.

One participant mentioned that the placement should be at least 12 weeks in order for the students to fully integrate and develop relationships within the organisation. This was based on their experience of an eight-week placement when they were a student:

You have the whanaungatanga or getting to know the organisation that you're with, then you're getting to know the work, and you're going out with other

workers, and then, you know, the ideal is that you have your own caseload; whereas I went in eight weeks... I didn't get the experience of "flying solo", if you like. So it's really important.

A culturally safe environment

The student feeling "culturally safe" was highlighted as an important factor for a quality placement. Participants agreed that the Māori social work student should be welcomed appropriately to the organisation through pōwhiri or mihi whakatau (formal cultural welcome processes). They should feel invited and wanted and have a solid orientation to the service "not just dumped in, 'this is where you're going to be working'." This welcome would include sharing kai (food and refreshments) together. This aligns with traditional Māori processes of formally entering situations and places.

All participants agreed that Māori students should be supported and allowed to be themselves, to "be Māori" in their social work placement. This was regardless of their level of knowledge of tikanga Māori and Te Reo Māori:

I think that for Māori students; being allowed to be Māori ...

...they will have that tikanga Māori ingrained, they may also have te reo ingrained, but there are others that may not, but they still acknowledge themselves as being Māori. So, you know, just being allowed to be who they are as Māori.

This highlighted the unique nature of placements for Māori students, that their cultural identity should be recognised and integrated into the placement setting. One way to support Māori students who are not in a Māori organisation could be through supervision:

...maybe hook them up with peer supervision or have external supervision, Māori with a cultural component ...

There was recognition that supervision should be formal and regular (occurring at a set time with an agenda) but also flexible to fit with the nature of the agency and work involved. An example of flexibility could be the supervision venue, for example, in the car or while sharing kai.

Supervision was viewed as essential for student learning and directly linked to the quality of placement. The supervisor should be organised, have a weekly plan, but also be adaptable:

... but I think in order to get a student through with quality they need to be, the person they're allocated to as a supervisor, needs to follow through and make sure that everything is done properly.

There was a suggestion that the field educator role and the supervision role be separated. This would mean the student was supported by two people in the organisation:

So any student coming into us now will get a field work educator and their supervisor internally is going to be a different person, and that's in recognising that if for whatever reason the student has a problem with their field work educator and that person is usually their supervisor as well they may not feel very comfortable talking about that so we have decided to split the role to help them get a better quality...

This separation was also considered beneficial when there were other experienced social workers available in the organisation to provide input and it lessened the field educator's workload.

The participants viewed external supervision as valuable. One suggestion was that this could be offered by the tertiary provider to retain the direct connection between all the parties involved in the placement:

We provide internal supervision, which is ideally weekly, I do think that for some

students, not all, they would greatly benefit from external supervision from their institution as well.

Well we're providing like clinical supervision if you like around the actual work and what they are doing but that's very defined and for them to then be able to go and kōrero to a supervisor from school in their setting that helps them align what the school's expectation around their mahi and their assignments with what they're facing in reality. I think that would be useful ... They also need to sound off as well.

Challenging the student

Experiencing challenges increases the likelihood of students having a quality placement:

...well I myself, have to pull them out of that comfort zone and quite often it's like pulling teeth with some of them...

There was an expectation that students demonstrate resilience and an openness to be in a challenging workspace. One participant was concerned that Māori students who were placed within Iwi organisations would be too comfortable and therefore not push themselves.

Coming from a Māori organisation, an iwi organisation, and having Māori students coming in for placement, some of them tend to relax and want to kind of cruise along because they're more comfortable in an environment where they feel that they are safe and they tend to think, "Well I know everything", and this is only what I've picked up on some of them and we have mostly Māori students coming to us. So, I guess it's about getting them to step out of that comfort zone, making sure that they step out of the comfort zone and go into areas that they will end up going into when they go out into the workforce anyway, rather than just sit back and cruise.

There was also some discussion about whether there were differences between older and younger students:

I mean I've had a lot of adult students or older students, who are very clear about what they want to do, what area they're going to go to.

They're keen in their first placement, but they also tend to relax as well and I suppose that's a different sort of relaxation, they know that they're in their comfort zone, they know that they're in a safe zone, so you can get the best out of them then, but you also ... then you get students that are older, older students, who will just cruise.

These comments appeared to be in reference to particular students the participants had had on placement.

Supporting Māori students to have a quality placement

Participants were asked how tertiary institutions can best support a quality placement for Māori students. Themes were: Kanohi kitea—that the tertiary institution should be proactive and visible; that placement should be the students' sole focus; and that tertiary institutions have a responsibility to adequately prepare students.

Kanohi kitea: A visible tertiary institution

A quality placement, from these participants' perspectives, meant that the tertiary institution was visible, active and present. For instance, the institution should be involved in setting up the placement and attending the student welcome and poroporoaki (end of placement). This would support the integration of the student into the Māori community where they would be on placement. The participants also suggested increased placement visits by tertiary staff:

...more visits from your coordinator, placement coordinator ... I think one at the beginning, maybe one in the middle and definitely one at the end, just to follow up, and if they're having problems at the start, you know.

I think that's one of the main things that in order to have quality it's to have all of those supports, to ensure that all those supports are there, they're solid, and they're there on a regular basis not just, you're there for say three months and they just ... your supervisor [tertiary staff] turns up halfway through. I really think that a supervisor needs to be, this is from ... [the institution] say that the supervisor needs to be there at least once a fortnight and keeping an eye on their student.

This active relationship was seen as particularly important for Māori students; for example one participant suggested that a handover should occur between the tertiary institution and the organisation at the beginning and at the end, not just a placement visit in the middle:

Yes. Taking in and taking out ... Well going into an environment. I'm just thinking in pōwhiri process and things like that ... So you're doing your pōwhiri and karakia and everything like that, you cover all of that part and then you leave them and then when it's time to finish you go back in and you do all of that process again to take them out, to take them home.

Participants discussed whether it would be appropriate for the tertiary institution to keep in contact with the organisation and student via email. While some participants agreed, others suggested that, in relation to Māori students, the ideal communication would occur face to face. The participants all emphasised that one visit half-way through the placement was insufficient.

Placement the sole focus

A number of the participants were adamant that students should focus solely on completing placement, and being actively present, instead of being distracted by additional course work:

When students are coming to placements that they should be finished everything and ready to go. I think it's really unfair that they're often having to do another paper or even two papers to the side. It diminishes the whole experience, so I really don't support how they do that now.

This was seen as particularly important for students in their final placement:

This is the last one and then they're out; finished. It would be great if they were actually coming in and everything was behind them and they could focus a hundred percent.

Prepare the students

The tertiary provider has a pivotal role preparing the student for their placement. Students should be prepared to participate in a pōwhiri or mihi whakatau, and all parties should take into account diverse Māori realities and knowledge of Te Ao Māori:

Do they need assistance with things like a pepeha or protocols and things around like a mihi whakatau or pōwhiri or what have you? Some of, you know, there's such diversity amongst Māori; some of them are coming in and they're at this level but others are [not]...

Participants also suggested improvements to the curriculum, such as having specialised courses so that the student has greater knowledge of the field of practice. This would be beneficial for the student *and* the placement organisation. It was noted that other professions had commented that students' lack of specific knowledge was

surprising, suggesting specialisation in social work education.

The other thing that I think would be really useful here for [tertiary institution] to do is looking at the social work practicum as a whole, I understand why a lot of the stuff was generic, but when you're getting people going on placement, like to mental health or [care and protection] or social workers in schools or wherever they happen to be going... 'cause a lot of students know what area of social work they want to go into and it's going to be helpful for organisations when you getting students who have studied in these certain areas, it's just going to be a better fit ... and it's going to help them more to get those jobs at the end if they were to do that ... So yeah, maybe a little bit of support there.

There were concerns that students were at times "thrown in the deep end" and ill-prepared to utilise Māori models of practice and to manage difficult and challenging situations like abusive parents or teenagers.

I've been told, at [tertiary institution] for example the students aren't even taught Te Whare Tapa Whā anymore. So in terms of what the institutes can provide, maybe they need to look at not just field practice but specific Māori models probably need to be introduced or reintroduced.

Another participant highlighted that when they were on placement there was confusion about the tertiary institution's assessment requirements:

I know of fellow students that have gone into placements and they haven't been given clear indication of what's expected as an outcome from that placement ... And they just didn't make it clear and a lot of people were getting told, "No. Go do it again."

This created unnecessary stress and some students had to resubmit work.

The findings reflect the participants' experience and commitment to enhancing the placement experience of Māori social work students. In particular, the participants identified the importance of clear expectations, open communication, the provision of a culturally safe environment, and challenging the student. They also spoke about the need for a visible tertiary institution, placement being the sole focus for students and the institution's role in preparing students.

Discussion

There is a case for considering field education differently for Māori students; this is evidenced in the literature and reinforced by the Māori social workers who participated in the hui. The participants demonstrated insight into the nuances involved in facilitating a placement that meets the particular needs of Māori students. Interestingly, their focus was less from their experience as students and more on their experiences as the supporting kaimahi, field educators and supervisors. Perhaps their current roles and experiences were easier to reflect on than reaching further back.

Quality placements for Māori social work students

A quality placement includes establishing expectations prior to the placement starting. Although placement preparation is universally important, it may be even more important for Māori students as they are often contending with a placement environment that is predominantly western. Further, there may be increased competition and reduced availability of placements if Māori students have particular needs or desire specific learning environments.

There are several factors that can assist with strengthening current pre-placement practice. This includes the tertiary provider

and the placement host organisation meeting with the student prior to placement and discussing each other's expectations. This reduces the chance of misunderstandings which could lead to an unsuccessful placement. Putting more effort into the placement organisation process would help to create an environment of success and could enable other quality placement components to be explored, for example, whether the student is wanted and whether the student is suitable and ready (Hay, 2019).

Welcoming students in a culturally appropriate manner, such as with pōwhiri or mihi whakatau establishes a strong foundation for placement relationships. A robust orientation is also important as emphasised by Maidment (2000) who noted that Māori students rated orientation to the placement as important to their learning. In addition, orientation to placement is a key aspect of a successful placement as identified by Flanagan and Wilson (2018).

Growing the presence of Indigenous knowledge in field education and enabling a culturally safe environment for students is essential for quality placements (Gair et al., 2015; Moorhouse, 2014). Students should be supported to "be Māori" whilst also allowing space for their diverse realities. Some Māori students may not be confident in Māori spaces and may need additional assistance to prepare and practise. Hollis-English's (2015) work supports that Māori social workers should be able to utilise their own cultural frameworks in practice. Interestingly, the research participants took more of a micro approach in their responses rather than a critical, macro approach taking into account wider systems and structural influences. Perhaps this was reflective of the nature of the questions asked, rather than an assumption of the absence of a critical lens.

One way to enhance Māori student placement experiences and to support their cultural needs is to place them in Iwi and Māori organisations. However, Māori students should still be challenged in their

learning within an Iwi/Māori service. Creating stronger relationships between Iwi organisations and tertiary providers appears necessary. A consideration for future research could include examining how many tertiary providers place students in Iwi/Māori organisations and the different expectations and criteria amongst the providers.

In any placement, a key mechanism of support is supervision. If a Māori student is placed in a mainstream service, then additional support or external supervision could be provided by a cultural mentor/supervisor, a Māori social worker and/or, as the participants mentioned, the tertiary institution. Matching Indigenous students with Indigenous mentors or supervisors could help to support a successful, quality placement (Aro, 2009; Gair et al., 2015; Moorhouse, 2014). Whilst a registered Māori social worker would meet the SWRB placement regulations, this does not preclude that additional cultural support could be provided by a non-social-worker with the necessary cultural skills and knowledge. Field educators or mentors could be screened for cultural suitability as suggested by Gair et al. (2015), although how this could be undertaken sensitively requires further thought. Ensuring that both Māori students and field educators/supervisors are prepared so that supervision is effective is also important (Lipsham, 2016). Whatever the approach taken, cultural and Kaupapa Māori supervision should be well-resourced by the tertiary institution (Moorhouse, 2014).

Participants noted that a student placement is more likely to be successful if the student is adequately challenged and able to work effectively in specific fields of practice such as care and protection and mental health. Social work qualifications in Aotearoa New Zealand are generic and this specific focus does not occur until post-qualification. The participant views signal a tension between what agencies may be expecting from students and what students, as learners, are able to contribute. Although it is

not unexpected that agencies prefer students who can significantly contribute to their core work, field education is, by its very nature, a learning experience (Maidment, 2001). Further conversation and compromise may be required here, especially given the low numbers of Iwi/Māori placements and high numbers of students seeking placements (Hay, 2018; SWRB, 2018).

Support from tertiary institutions

The participants emphasised the level of contact and support that should be provided by the tertiary institution including involvement in a handover practice; attending the pōwhiri or mihi whakatau and then collecting the student at the conclusion of placement. Regular contact by the tertiary provider throughout the placement, with more than one mid-placement visit—face to face was strongly suggested. Flanagan and Wilson (2018) also note the importance of regular support from the tertiary provider. This support could potentially include cultural supervision offered by the tertiary provider, and thereby address some of the concerns raised by Lipsham (2016) where she highlighted a gap in adequate bicultural supervisors for Māori social work students. This approach could give staff the opportunity to assist the student with any placement difficulties and work through their assessment requirements, avoiding the issues that occurred for some of the participants during their placements.

A further tension between the participant perspectives and some tertiary providers is the opportunity for students to have little to no other course work during their placement. Placements may already be a stressful time for students who juggle multiple responsibilities and potentially give up paid employment for the placement duration. Additional course work adds to these pressures. There may be pedagogical explanations for this, but more research needs to be undertaken to identify the issues and tensions here. Examination

of completion rates may also be useful. Gair and Baglow (2018) and Aro (2004) particularly noted the susceptibility of Indigenous students to stress while undertaking placement, especially financially. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the NGO study awards had a high uptake by Māori social work students who were able to work towards a social work qualification whilst maintaining their jobs and connections to their whānau and communities (Yeung et al., 2016; Yeung et al., 2019). Reintroducing these awards for the social work sector would be of considerable benefit for many future students. Finally, tertiary providers should continue to review curriculum design and how it may disadvantage Indigenous students and consider ways to enhance their learning experience.

Conclusion

Overall, this research presents a challenge for tertiary institutions to actively reflect on what quality placements are for Māori social work students. In particular, attention should be given to curriculum design, placement preparedness, cultural support and tertiary provider interaction with agencies. A critical, decolonised and intersectional approach is recommended.

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Kaitiakitanga: A transformation of supervision

Emma Webber-Dreadon (Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa, Rongomai Wahine, Rongowhakata)

ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION: This article explores Māori social work supervision in Aotearoa New Zealand, from cultural, iwi, hapā and whānau perspectives. It describes an emerging model of kaitiakitanga (supervision) entitled “He Maunga, He Tangata, He Tapu, He Kahu.”

APPROACH: It is based on the author’s experience and tribal relationships, and proposes a model reinterpreting the supervisory relationship by first re-examining the meanings of these relationships from a Māori perspective. It explains the rationale of the model in order to clarify its origins, principles, purpose, obligations and responsibilities in the field of kaitiakitanga (supervision). The nine principles discussed, along with four overarching themes identified within Te Ao Māori, reflect the importance of integrating customary practices in to achieve the best outcomes for the people we serve and work with.

IMPLICATIONS: These principles are crucial to the practice of kaimahi-a-iwi and kaitiakitanga, where it is important not only to care, protect, guide, teach, influence and encourage, but also to consider self-care, and develop safe and accountable practices for all people.

KEYWORDS: Supervision; cultural supervision; kaitiakitanga; kaitiaki; tiaki

Huianui te Maunga
Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Matangi
Rau te Awa,
Takitimu, me Horouta ngā Waka,
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa, Rongomai
Wāhine, Rongowhakata ngā Iwi,
Ngāti Apatari, Ngāti Kāhu, Ngāti Pāhauwera
ngā Hapū,
Kihitū te Marae,
Te Rauhine me Hine Ringa ngā Whare
Tipuna.
Rewi Taimana Webber ōku Matua
Te Paea Ahuriri O’Keefe ōku Whaea,
Emma Webber-Dreadon ahau,
Engari, kei Tauranga Moana ahau e noho
ana ināianei.

Contemporary Māori Knowledge,
Kaitiakitanga is such an example of this.
(Emma Webber-Dreadon)

Historically, there have been many inequities, biases and prejudices to overcome in the practice of social work and in social work supervision for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Through continued assimilation and colonisation, Māori have had to accept western methods of social work and supervision, methods which are often in conflict with traditional Māori practices. Regrettably, the prevalence of these historical western practices continues to be evident in the current dominance of Eurocentric education, philosophies and practices observed in almost all social

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Old Wisdom is New Wisdom,
Traditional Māori Knowledge is

service organisations. Even with—and since—the advent of Puao-Te-Ata-Tū in 1988 (Department of Social Welfare, 1988), and the declared importance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, there continues to be, by many, a fundamental ignorance of Māori processes.

With this article, I will explore social work supervision in Aotearoa New Zealand, addressing it from my Māori perspective. It has several discussion points about social work supervision, its transformation from a western perspective to a Māori perspective, and an emerging model of kaitiakitanga (supervision) titled “He Maunga, He Tangata, He Tapu, He Kahu.”

It begins with a *personal notion* that relates to the transformation of the word *supervision* and subsequently the transformation of supervisor, supervisee, client and social work. There is a brief discussion around the history of supervision, and a question: “What is cultural supervision?” Following this is a notion that explains the theoretical sphere of my developing model, and the rationale to clarify its origins, its principles, its purpose, its obligations and its responsibilities in the field of kaitiakitanga.

Reinterpretation

The word *supervision* has never resonated with me. It seemed such a *severe* word, with a variation of meanings including to direct, command, order, control, instruct, and manage to name a few. Instead, I have chosen to use the word *kaitiakitanga* as description of a supervision relationship between the Kaitiaki and the Tiaki. It thereby became important for me to rangahau (research) “kaitiakitanga.” In doing so, I located Ahukaramu Charles Royal’s (2007) interpretation of kai-tiaki-tanga:

- *Te Kai* – We are the instrument of action
- *Tiaki* – To watch over, to care for, to conserve, to nurture, to protect
- *Kaitiaki* – Caretaker, protector, guardian

- *Tanga* – preservation, conservation and protection

I thereby elected to reinterpret not only supervision, supervisor, supervisee, but also social worker, client and social work (see below). Graham Smith describes such a reinterpretation (from a western perspective to a Māori perspective) as “transformative praxis, a Māori form of resistance against all acts, ideologies and forces, which attempt to subordinate Māori knowledge, Māori worldviews and Māori aspirations” (2003, p. 3). The transformation of these words within the construct of supervision must surely systematically advance them to a customary kaupapa Māori concept, because they are valuable components of effective kaupapa Māori supervision and to reposition them within kaitiakitanga purposely fits them within a Te Ao Māori framework.

Inclusively, the following are their respective changes and responsibilities.

- *Kaitiakitanga* (supervision)—is a very specific instrument of action. Its role is valuable, crucial within social work, because it is an *action* to support, uphold and maintain responsible, trustworthy engagements between the Supervisor and social worker (Supervisee), to assist, guide, encourage and maintain *best social work practice* when working with clients and their whānau, hapū, iwi and or family.

Although, using the word *kaitiakitanga* instead of supervision is recent for me, it has a philosophical, scholarly and ethical position that emphasises and expresses the absolute worth of people, individually and collectively, and for me it represents a much more humanistic, sensitive, social and thoughtful approach than the word *supervision*.

- *Kaitiaki* (supervisor) whose role is to care, protect, guide, teach, influence and encourage the supervisee in their work. Additionally, it includes a

concentration on the “*how*”! How the Kaitiaki communicates, how the Kaitiaki carries out their role and how the Kaitiaki delivers the kaupapa “*i hinga a ia ki te mahi*”—“she/he put their heart and soul into the work.”

- *Tiaki* (supervisee/social worker) whose role is to support, protect, guide, encourage and care for the people they serve—the tangata whaiora.
- *Tangata Whaiora* (client) those we “serve,” who need assistance, support and comfort.
- *Kaimahi-a-iwi* (social work) An action that concerns itself with individuals, whānau, families, groups and communities to improve, enhance and enrich the *mauri-ora* (wellbeing), and the restoration of social functioning and the overall health, not only for Māori tangata whaiora, but of all cultures.

Responsibilities

- The *Kaitiaki* role and responsibility is firstly to the Tiaki, the Tangata Whaiora, and their whānau, hapū, iwi, and or family, and inclusively their own whānau, hapū, iwi.
- The *Tiaki* role is firstly to support, protect, guide and care for the people they serve – the tangata whaiora, their whānau, hapū, iwi and or family, and their own whānau, hapū, iwi and or families.
- The last responsibilities of the *Kaitiaki and Tiaki*, are to the profession of social work, and their places of employment.

Eruera (2005) contends that, kaitiakitanga, whilst not named or known as supervisory, is supervisory in nature. Inclusively it is my contention that kaitiakitanga is positioned as being a socially, heartfelt and humanistic approach, with concerns for the people, their physical, emotional and spiritual needs, their welfare, their values and their dignity

which do not fit neatly within many western supervision approaches and processes, because of kaitiakitanga’s adaptability, its application and its cultural differences. It is traditionally an intimate relationship between Māori, their environment and nature, based on the *care of all things* (Pohatu, 1995, 2008). It is deeply rooted and embedded within the multidimensional and complex systems of tikanga, which contributes to the effectiveness and efficient performance of the Tiaki, when working with tangata whaiora and their whānau or family. It is also a process that allows the Kaitiaki to understand and gain more in-depth insight to the Tiaki and his/her practice.

In 1990, the Anglican Archbishop, Whakahuihui Vercoe told the people present at the remembrances of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, including royalty, that “One hundred and fifty years ago, a compact was signed, a covenant was made between two people, but since the signing of Te Tiriti, our partners have marginalised us ... and they have not honoured Te Tiriti” (Phillips, 1990). To progress past such injustices, our Te Tiriti partners Pākehā, need to recognise and accept without ridicule, the value of kaupapa and tikanga Māori advancement, especially in the world of kaimahi-a-iwi and kaitiakitanga. When considering the development of these, they must be aligned with Māori worldviews that shift the focus from the past to the present, to the future and progress them to capture and recognise the value of kaupapa Māori.

With the resurgence of Te Reo Māori language and the heightening realisation of the importance of tribal identity and whakapapa, it is important for Kaitiaki and Tiaki to recognise this. But, while this vocation may well be undertaken for philosophical reasons, “there is also a serious obligation to move from ‘theory to applied practice’, if we as Māori want to positively shape our destiny, and that of the people ‘whom we serve’ (Webber-Dreadon, 2018 np). Te Ao Māori is the *core source*

of Māoridom, revealing many traditional values and concepts that can be translated into theories of practice and provide practical tools for Tiaki and Kaitiaki in their work. It is these that will ensure positive development if Tiaki and Kaitiaki potential is to be realised

If kaitiakitanga is to be effective for the Kaitiaki and Tiaki here in Aotearoa New Zealand, it needs to be positive, practical, constructive, educative, reflective and empowering, with a tikanga Māori base—taking into account that tikanga is derived from the word *tika* (Mead, 2003), regarded as the proper, correct and right procedures, with protocols specifying the right way of doing things, underpinned by core values and principles governed by Māori politically, socially and spiritually.

As Māori, we need to consider Māori frameworks within kaimahi-a-iwi and kaitiakitanga that have common themes influenced by Māori values, Māori philosophies and Māori aspirations. These starting points are from Māori cultural paradigms and theories, supported by Māori cultural traditions and gifts that our tīpuna have passed down to us through time. In addition, there are those published Māori writers such as Leland Ruwhiu (1995, 2005, 2013), Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata (Walsh-Tapiata & Webster, 2004), Moana Eruera (2005, 2012), Jacquelyn Elkington (2014), Anaru Eketone (2012), Lisa King (2014), Sharlene Davis (Thomas & Davis, 2005), Awhina Hollis-English (2017) and the late John Bradley (see for example, Bradley, Bradley, & Jacob, 1999), to name a few, who have all made contributions to kaitiakitanga: “he taonga tuku iho.”

History of supervision in Aotearoa New Zealand

Prior to the 1960s, supervision was not necessarily seen as a valued tool of social work practice in Aotearoa, New Zealand but, in the late 1960s, the then New Zealand Association of Social Workers (NZASW),

now named Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers (ANZASW) undertook extensive work on supervision. Between 1973 and 1985 the Association, in conjunction with the New Zealand Social Work Training Council, did further work, but there was little written about supervision until 1994, when five articles regarding supervision were published in the ANZASW Review (1994, Volume 6, 5/6). Four years later, in 1998, Kieran O’Donoghue, published *Supervising Social Workers, A Practical Handbook*. Since then there has been a resurgence of articles about supervision and issues associated with supervision in Aotearoa New Zealand, supported by the ANZASW, which describes supervision as being:

A process in which the supervisor; enables, guides and facilitates the social worker(s) in meeting certain organisational, professional and personal objectives. These objectives are “professional competence, accountable and safe practice, continuing professional development, education and support. Supervision should be an open, honest and transparent process. (ANZASW, 2015)

In addition, Beddoe and Davys (1994) defined supervision as being much more client centred, rather than administrative (i.e., recording, reviews, reports etc.), line supervision or managerial (accountability to the employing organisation), with the focus being more on developing the supervisee’s skills than dealing with the emotional personal content of a supervisee’s work.

But do these words have the same innate, or a “deeper heart” meaning in comparison to kaitiakitanga?

Unfortunately, in my experience, there are very few non-Māori supervisors and managers who have or can provide the type of supervision needed when working with our Māori people here in Aotearoa New Zealand through bicultural or kaupapa

Māori kaitiakitanga. This I believe is due to their colonial bias (Webber-Dreadon, 1999). It seems many are not interested in wanting to gain more in-depth knowledge of kaupapa or tikanga Māori.

What is cultural supervision—a Pākehā concept?

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the term *cultural social work or cultural supervision*, over many years has been (and continues to be) explained by many, to meet the cultural needs of Māori but, in my opinion, it is part of a mainstream colonial *afterthought*. In my Māori world, there is no such a thing as cultural social work or supervision. A suggested rightful term perhaps could be kaupapa or tikanga Māori social work or supervision, and more recently, kaitiakitanga. My vision in relation to this kaupapa is to bring about a change in attitude and understanding as to what is cultural supervision and what it is not!

Kaupapa Whakaroa (theory) – an emerging model

Consider theory in a Pākehā world and consider theory in a Māori world.

Ngata's *English–Māori Dictionary* (1996) enlightens us that *kaupapa whakaroa* is the Māori term for theory. While these words are simple, they are scholarly and sophisticated because they offer a practice framework that is positioned within Te Ao Māori, the receptacle and proprietor of all Māori words, terms and expressions. It is, therefore, my contention that there is not just one theory in a Māori world, there are many which make up *kimikimihia kaupapa whakaroa* or in Pākehā terms *eclectic theories*. They don't follow one entity or system, but rather an assortment of different entities, because Māori words are adaptable and variable with a whakapapa that is responsive and dependent on the context and how they are used. Hollis-English (2017) asserted that Māori-centred theory is developed out of a metaphysical and

theoretical view and, as such, *kimikimihia kaupapa whakaroa*, in its varying forms, is the foundation theory of my emerging model "He Maunga, He Tangata, He Tapu, He Kahu," because it has many different entities and mediums within it, which suggests that Māori articulation is the source of theory in my Māori world.

It is important to note that Māori *coming out of the shadows* are continuously developing new and different theories and models of practice, as we claim back our own kaimahi-a-iwi and kaitiakitanga methodologies (Eruera, 2005). Academically, the development of Māori theories and models of practice in kaimahi-a-iwi and kaitiakitanga have grown, but there are still many racial and tribal barriers to overcome. There is so much depth and detailed meaning in a word far beyond *tino rangatiratanga*, and *kimikimihia kaupapa whakaroa* which are only minute parts of the transformation of the Pākehā context of theory, because there is a clear intent that is grounded in Māori cultural frameworks and history. It is a collective of customary approaches that draws out the innate gifts of Māori that set out the obligations and responsibilities within kaimahi-a-iwi and kaitiakitanga, because its main concern is the well-being of others (Pohatu, 2004). While there might be few set, practical frameworks, there are many informed guiding principles that are grounded in Māori philosophies and values based on traditional Māori worldviews and Māori knowledge that are powerful tools for the transformation of kaitiakitanga. Māori have an ancestral relationship with kaitiakitanga, which is not only about the wellbeing of people, but also about the wellbeing of the environment and the whenua, and protecting it for the future of all people.

Origins of an emerging model

As I have already published a supervision model, *He Taonga Mo Matou Tipuna, An Indigenous Approach to Social Work*

Supervision' – *Te Āwhiowhio* (Webber-Dreadon, 1999), I found it very difficult to create another model of supervision, let alone kaitiakitanga. My thoughts were very conflicted. I kept returning to the Āwhiowhio and perhaps even updating it, until the day I met Jodie Owens, with whom I had worked with at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa many years ago. I explained my conflicting thoughts to her, and she took me on a ten-minute journey, and out of our conversation came "*He Maunga He Tangata, He Tapu, He Kahu*". I am ever grateful for those ten minutes she spared me.

The route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a *passionate, subjective approach*. That is more likely to lead to a goal (Marsden, 1992)

The beginning and reality of an emerging model

To give further context to the model, I want to do it first through an experience of travelling to my whenua.

Driving on to Ngāmotu – Kihitū – my whenua



"MERE TE HUIA" HE TOHU

As I look down from the road upon the hill
I see Ngāmotu - Ngāmotu our whenua,
Stark, beautiful and barren,
Embraced by the hills to the west, and to the
north,
Caressed by the Pacific Ocean to the east
and,
Edged by the ever-flowing Wairoa
Hōpūpūhōnege Ma Tangi Rau River to
the south.

As I travel down the gravel road,
On my way to the Marae and the Urupā,

I feel your presence everywhere.
Resting, watchful and ever present

I look to the right as I travel down that road,
And there I see you, resting below Huianui,
under the totara tree,
Wrapped in the korowai of Papatūānuku,
earth mother,
Overseen by Ranginui, Sky Father.
Resting, watchful and ever present

I see you, gazing out over the whenua,
The whenua of Ngāmotu
The whenua where there was once a thriving
community,
Now a whenua stark, bold and barren,
Overflowing with its corsages of blackberries
and gorse,
And a few derelict houses
Where are the people Moko?
I she asks,
Where are the people?
Scattered e kui,



Figure 1. Source: Emma Webber-Dreadon.

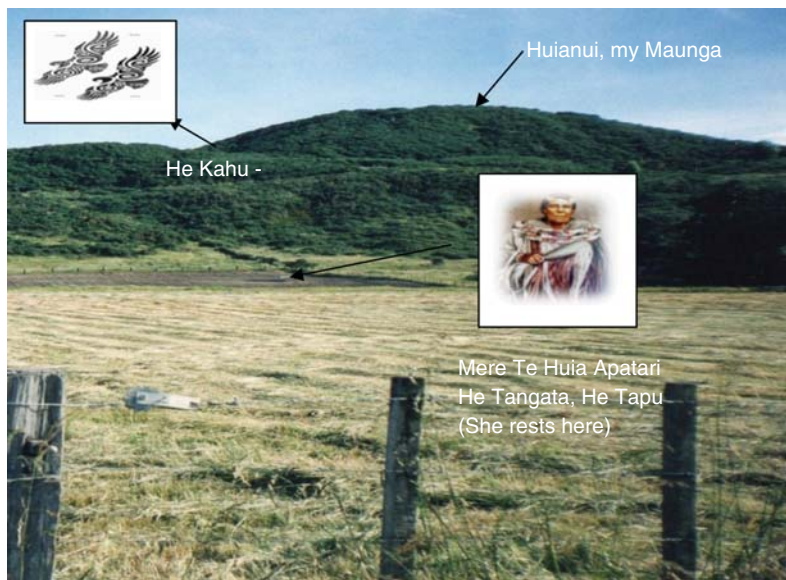


Figure 2. Source: Emma Webber-Dreadon.

Scattered like the seeds of grass, into the wind,
To the four corners of the earth, I say.

Why, she asks why?
Look at the whenua Moko,
It is lonely she says,
I am lonely she says

I cry

I have positioned my emerging model on my whenua, utilising my maunga as the anchor, my Great Great Grandmother as *he tangata*, and by her resting on the whenua, she makes it *tapu*, and the *kāhu* (the hawk) as the kaitiaki of this model. It was these entities that facilitated the foundation of my emerging model, that began with an exploration of my imagination, as I reconstructed my historical reality into a model of kaitiakitanga, inspired by my maunga Huianui, my kuia Mere Te Huia Apatari and the kāhu (harrier hawk), after which my hapū is named–Ngāti Kāhu.

The following simplistic imaginarily artistic sketch (Pic 1) is set on the whenua of Ngāmotu, (also known as Kihitū), across the river from the township of Wairoa, at the mouth of the Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Matangi Rau river. The maunga is a representation of Huianui, my maunga, and at her feet my Great Great Grandmother, Mere Te Huia Apatari (nee Hukinga), rests under a totara tree planted by my maternal Grandfather in 1946. She was a sub-lieutenant of Te Kooti, and her role was to guard the entrance to the Wairoa-Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge -Matangi Rau river, to stop the marauding tribes from going up the river to plunder the many Pa set on the river. She represents “he tāngata – the people,” and her final resting place represents “he tapu – the sacredness not only of the whenua but also the occasion of kaitiakitanga.” The kāhu not only represents the Kaitiaki, but it also represents the Tiaki, the Tangata Whaiora and their whānau.

The kāhu (hawk) is very significant to me, because everywhere I go, it follows me,

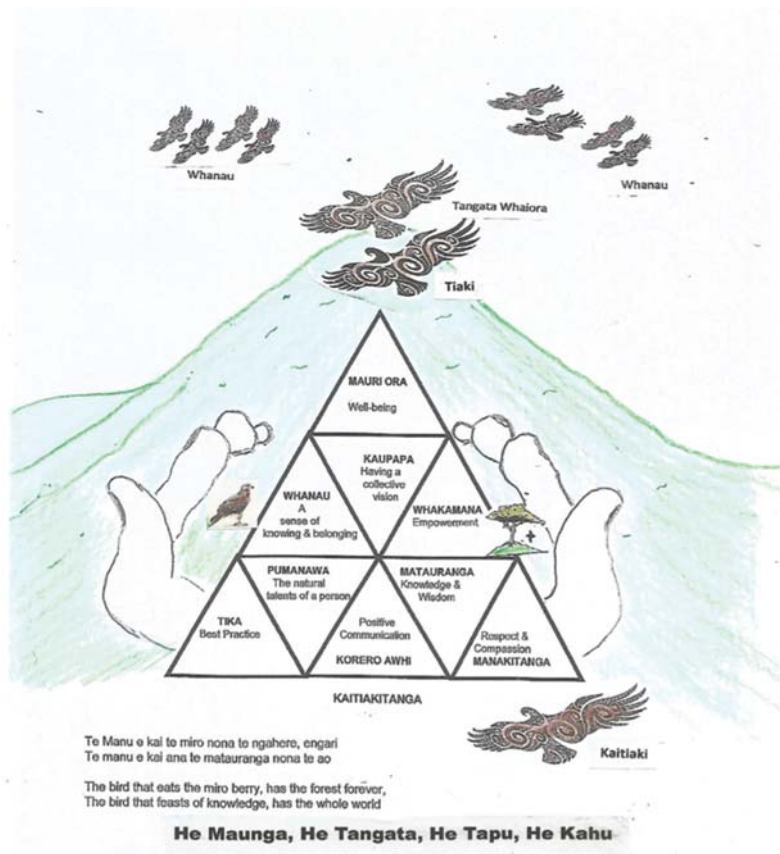


Figure 3. Source: Emma Webber-Dreadon.

reassuring me that my kuia is watching over me, and it is what always draws me back to my whenua, the whenua of Ngamotu, my maunga, my kuia and my whānau and hapū. It reminds me, “I am the people and the people are me,” and we need each other.

“He Maunga. He Tangata, He Tapu, He Kahu” positioned on the maunga within the representation of my hands, are set to honour Kaitiakitanga. At the base, sits the Kaitiaki (Supervisor) watching the Tiaki (Supervisee) farewell the Tangata Whaiora (Client), and his/her whānau as they leave for their home with mauri ora.

Noticeably, there are nine triangular sectors and within each of them is a takepū (principle) that is intended to guide the Kaitiaki and Tiaki through a kaitiakitanga session. Inclusively, there is a beginning, “He Karakia Timatanga” and an ending, “He Karakia Whakamutunga.” These are the spiritual and safe (ahurutanga) pathways for, during, and at the completion of, kaitiakitanga.

In considering and using ngā takepū (principles) in Table 1, and their valued actions, it is essential that they be aligned with Te Ao Māori, because they shift the focus in practice from the past, to the present, and on to the future, i.e., Kaitiaki (past), to Tiaki (present), to Tangata Whaiora (future). Doing this involves the need to capture and recognise the value of kaupapa Māori advancement.

Additionally, the triangular sectors hold a wrap-around action of self-care. Whilst this is often regarded as a personal responsibility, it is also the role of the Kaitiaki to encourage self-care, because kaimahi-a-iwi can be a pathway to mental, emotional and physical exhaustion causing burnout. Being with nature is but one natural and practical activity that assists self-care and mauri-ora, for both the Tiaki and Kaitiaki, because it helps them to maintain hope in the midst of suffering.

Reflective learning

An important part of this framework is reflective learning which promotes deeper learning and questions. It is an extension of critical thinking. It assists us to question practice; this includes stepping back from what we have done, or are doing, to analyse a situation, and looking at how it might or will improve social work practice, with a human element. It makes learning a more conscious process to find things out that one might not have thought of before, or how one would do it differently next time: to frame and reframe one’s social work practice for the future. Reflective learning is something that we consciously focus on

Table 1. *The Principles of Kaitiakitanga*

Kōrero Awhi: (Positive Communication) Kanohi ki te kanohi contact is central and critical to kaitiakitanga – It is inclusive of karakia, mihimihi, open and trusting communication, planning of session, encouraging ‘best practice’ of the Tiaki, throughout kaitiakitanga.
Tika: (Best Practice) The Kaitiaki must remember that the Tiaki are the experts of themselves, thus it is important that the Kaitiaki encourages the Tiaki to bring their ‘whole selves’ to kaitiakitanga, and to build on their knowledge.
Manaakitanga: (Respect and Compassion) It is important for the Kaitiaki to always act with respect, compassion and aroha – Even perhaps consider a tuākana–teina relationship and provide a safe and supportive environment. Most of all, be honest.
Kaupapa: (Having a Collective Vision) It is important for the Kaitiaki to always encourage the Tiaki to have a collective vision for themselves and the tangata whaiora that they serve.
Pūmanawa: (Natural Talents) As a Kaitiaki, always try to locate, explore and encourage the natural talents of the Tiaki, so that they in turn will encourage the pūmanawa of the tangata whaiora.
Whakamana: (Empowerment) The Kaitiaki must always try to empower the Tiaki, so that they will do the same for the tangata whaiora.
Whānau: (A Sense of Belonging) The Kaitiaki encourage and assist the Tiaki to always know who they are, who they belong to and who belongs to them, so that they can awhi, encourage and assist the Tangata Whaiora to locate themselves. This is an important part of kaimahi-a- iwi.
Mātauranga: (Knowledge and Wisdom) The Kaitiaki must always consider and encourage the knowledge and wisdom of the Tiaki, so it may come forth more, and then the Tiaki can do likewise with the Tangata Whaiora.
Mauri Ora: (Well-being) At the completion of each and any session, the Tiaki must leave with a sense of mauri ora, and this can be passed on by the Tiaki to the Tangata Whaiora.

in order to improve aspects of the lives of tangata whaiora. In doing so, we explore and examine situations to assist us to understand and make sense of our own practice experiences and how we work or want to work as Tiaki and Kaitiaki.

Questions

We cannot disagree about the importance of questions within kaitiakitanga, but the questions must reflect Māori values and beliefs, because they are a principled craft

Table 2. KAITIAKITANGA PĀ TAI

KARAKIA TIMATANGA	WHAKAARO HURITAO (Reflections)
1. WHITIWHITI KORERO (CONTRACT)	What would you like to work on today? – list. What would you like to work on first?
2. TAKE (KEY ISSUE/S) Identify key issues and priorities	What is the take (key issue)? (take away the word - problem) What have you done about it so far?
3. WHANAUNGATANGA (BUILDING A RELATIONSHIP) Consider the ethnicity or tribal connection of the Tangata Whaiora	How did you make the connection with the Tangata Whaiora? Where do they come from i.e., Whānau, hapū, iwi links? Where is the Family from?
4. WARIU – TIA (ASSESSMENT) INTERVENTION & PLANNING Analyse the situation and choose what to do?	What have you thought of to do so far? What have you done so far? What are you thinking of doing? How can you help them reach their goal? How will you know when the Tangata Whaiora has reached their goal—if at all?
5. WHAKAAROHANGA: CONSIDERATIONS	Would you do anything differently or What do you want to do differently?
6. TIKANGA (ETHICS) AHURUTANGA (SAFETY) What ideally should happen?	Are there any ethical or safety issues here? What do you need to do? What should happen? What is the 'tika and pono' thing to do?
7. WHAKATAKOTO (STRATEGIES) Applying new techniques.	Are there any other strategies you could use to assist the tangata whaiora reach their goal? How will you know this strategy will or has worked? If it doesn't work, what will you do?
8. THEORY	What theory are you applying?
9. PARALLEL process: (TRANSFERENCE) Dynamics of Kaimahi & Tangata Whaiora	What's going on for you so far? Has it happened before? What did you do about it then? Does the Tangata Whaiora or the 'take' remind you of anyone or anything from your past, or your whānau? Have you been in a situation like this before? Have you tried to deal with this before?
10. AKORANGA HOU (NEW LEARNING)	What have you learnt from this? Can you apply this new learning to this case? Now you have learnt this, how might you do it differently?
11. WHAKAMUTUNGA (CONCLUSION)	How will you know if you have achieved the goals you planned? How will I know you have achieved these? Did you talk to the Tangata Whaiora about how they feel? Do you think we have finished working on this take?
Tiaki Evaluation:	Tell me of a 'proud' moment you have had recently! How was this session for you?
KARAKIA WHAKAMUTUNGA	NEXT APPOINTMENT

of kaitiakitanga. The constant framing and re-framing of the questions should not only be an attempt to find answers, but also for the Tiaki to seek new knowledge, thoughts, positioning and direction, to determine more positive pathways, growth, motivations and advancement for the tangata whaiora. Along with listening, they are essential tools of the Kaitiaki. The art is in how you ask the questions.

Allyson Davys provided a set of supervision questions in her teaching (“101 Questions”), later published in Davys and Beddoe (2010), which are pertinent to western supervision. With some adjustments they could fit other cultures and approaches including Kaitiakitanga. However, such an adjustment needs to focus on the Tiaki, their qualities, their culture, their nature, and their creativeness. The following Kaitiakitanga Pātai, Table 2, is a set of questions that can be asked in a session.

The philosophy of kaitiakitanga

Carroll (2000) enjoined us to believe that the spirituality of kaitiakitanga draws a distinction between *functional* kaitiakitanga and the *philosophy* of kaitiakitanga. He maintained that functional supervision is something that is done, like applied balanced techniques, strategies and methods that are used for a purpose, but the philosophy of kaitiakitanga focuses on the being of people and the meaning that kaitiakitanga has for us, almost before anything is done. It is an ongoing extension of our lives that contributes to a philosophy of kaitiakitanga for Māori, as the basis from which to build a kaitiakitanga framework and explore functional supervision techniques.

Within the contexts of kaitiakitanga and tikanga Māori, there are many consortiums that indicate that Māori have an extraordinary social infrastructure that supports kaimahi-a-iwi and kaitiakitanga from a mātauranga Māori perspective, because Māori have a way of knowing that deepens understanding. Māori Marsden

contends that Māori knowledge is the understanding of everything visible or invisible that exists across the universe. This includes all Māori knowledge systems, and ways of knowing and doing, which he defined as wisdom (Marsden, 1988) and it is these that guide the social relationship between the Kaitiaki and Tiaki, but also guide the use of the principles that are set on the maunga. Having the aptitude and skill to apply all the principles within a kaitiakitanga session is a challenge within itself and to do this, it is important that the Kaitiaki and Tiaki identify their own knowledge and understanding of tikanga and its customs at the beginning of the kaitiakitanga relationship, with the simplest question perhaps being, “What do you know about tikanga Māori?”

There is no strict pattern in the use of the principles except for mauri ora which is the most practical and should not be used until last, as it is the outcome that the Kaitiaki and Tiaki ought to be aiming for when using the model. The focus of kaimahi-a-iwi and kaitiakitanga is always for the best outcomes, and while there are challenges in applying tikanga within kaitiakitanga, we first need to understand how to action the traditional concepts and principles. Mātauranga Māori provides that value and belief which forms the ethics and principles of kaitiakitanga, because they govern the responsibilities to include customary practice and values since these help explain and enlighten us about different spaces and aspects of the world around us—they provide an insight into different perspectives about knowledge and knowing (Royal, 2007). Māori have a fondness for trying to understand the connections and relationships between all things human and non-human, the visible and invisible (Marsden, 1988), which is in direct contrast to western thinking because they are always trying to seek knowledge and understanding by a close and deep examination of something or someone in isolation first. For example, “What does it,

that he/she do? What is it for?" While Te Ao Māori, tikanga and Mātauranga Māori hold on to their value, because this enables new creativity—one that honours and treasures the past, responds appropriately to the present and challenges, and enables the creation of new possibilities and new knowledge for the future.

"He Maunga He Tangata, He Tapu, He Kahu" provides me with the medium of *taku manawa* (from my heart) as the Kaitiaki, so as to deliberate the nine triangular principles with the four overarching themes identified within Te Ao Māori (the maunga, the kuia, he tapu, he kāhu), because they reflect the importance of integrating customary practices as a professional to achieve the best outcomes for the people we serve and work with and for. The principles are imperative in the practice of kaimahi-a-iwi and kaitiakitanga, where it is important not only to care, protect, guide, teach, influence and encourage, but to also consider self-care, and develop safe and accountable practices for all people. We all require inner depth Māori cultural perspectives to ensure the development of best practice for the Tiaki which, in turn, will eventually interrelate with the Tangata Whaiora, their whānau, hapū and iwi to bring about mauri ora for all.

In Conclusion

Whilst this paper has been a challenge for me, my tribal constructs, my whenua and whakapapa have played a significant role, because my personal, ethical and professional identities stem from my whakapapa. Using my own maunga, my kuia, and the kāhu as starting points in the development of this model of practice has given me the courage to explore new philosophies and concepts which I had never thought of doing before. It has opened a whole new kaitiakitanga pathway for me, and to use such a humanist and valued approach with the Tiaki must, in turn, allow reflective connections of belonging. When communicated with the Tangata

Whaiora, they also learn who they are, who they belong to and who belongs to them. A pathway to move forward more positively.

I feel that, during this journey, I have been embraced by the kāhu, my kaitiaki, which has led me each step of the way. My moemoea for this aromatawai is that it will contribute to kaupapa Māori supervision so that those who follow will discover their own pathways to open the doors of Te Ao Māori and grow their own Māori world of kaitiakitanga.

Whether it be written, sung, carved, danced, drawn or chanted, it is hoped that globally, indigenous people are encouraged to celebrate their traditional beliefs, knowledge and approaches as the unique gift they have to offer the world. (Thomas & Davis, 2005 p. 196)

Nō reira, Tēnā Koutou, Tēnā Koutou, Mauri Ora Tātou Katoa.

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Introduction to the three viewpoints on “The most important thing I learned in practice”

Anaru Eketone, (Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato) University of Otago, Aotearoa New Zealand

At the end of 2019, a Māori Social Work Practice and Research Symposium was jointly held by Ka Uri o Tānewhakaripiripiri, (the Maori social work students' group from the University of Otago) and the University of Otago's Social and Community Work programme. The symposium was run primarily for Māori social work students and had as its theme, “The most important thing I learned in practice.” The keynote address was given by Dr Awhina Hollis-English, one of the founders of the Ka Uri o Tānewhakaripiripiri and while all presenters were recorded, three were transcribed re-edited and are presented here.

These three very diverse presentations cover a wide range of experience, showing some of the contrasting places that social work can take place and what we can learn from a social worker in those places. *Te Komako* has always tried to support the practice of tangata whenua practitioners, as well as providing perspectives for those who work in this area. Contributions on research, theory and opinion (commentary) are always valuable and can help inform our practice. But also vital are descriptions of how we practise, our feelings, our motivations and our guiding principles, and it is these that often inspire us the most. As an educator I find that it is not my presentation of theory or practice models, or values, processes and principles that light up people's eyes. It is the stories of practical application, of bringing hope, or contributing to personal and social change that light up students' visions of what they can do and how they can do it and the outcomes good practice can

produce. So while this journal will prioritise academic research and theory, there will always be a place for people to discuss their practice, because it is here where the human connection takes place.

I would encourage you, wherever you are in the country, on line or live, to set up seminars where social and community workers can talk about their practice to inspire each other in ways that, of course, maintain confidentiality and privacy. What Ka Uri o Tanewhakaripiripiri did can be done very easily. For example, get three or four people to speak about the most important things they have learnt in practice. Fifteen to 20 minutes at the most and get someone to record them, transcribe them and share them either on line or with us here at Te Komako.

In the meantime, here are social workers humbly sharing some of the things they have learnt on their social work journey. As I noted in the editorial of this issue of *Te Komako*, all three kōrero present varied practice and approaches in social work. All three are very personal, revealing much about the authors and how they approach working with Māori.

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The most important thing I learned in practice

Awhina Hollis-English, (Ngāti Porou, Kahungunu ki Wairoa, Te Whānau ā Apanui, Whakatōhea)

When I was invited to talk at this symposium, I couldn't say no. It was the opportunity to come back to where I trained, to talk to future Māori social workers, and to see the lecturers who inspired me and shaped who I am today. There's absolutely nothing better than that.

When I was invited to do this keynote talk, they said, "Just talk about the stuff you learned when you were a social worker" ... and I was like, "Did you know I've never actually been employed as a social worker?" My life and journey mirror those of many social workers in that we do not always take an employment opportunity that's simply called 'Social Work,' but we take our training and apply these social work skills to many roles, both in our professional and personal lives. So today, I will reflect upon the 'stuff I've learned' as a social work student and how I've grown, both in my career and my personal life.

I started out studying 20 years ago at Victoria University, where I met my husband and had a wonderful time making life-long friendships, but not doing what I should have, which was study. We moved to Dunedin and I decided to find a degree that would suit my personality, so I enrolled in a paper called "Working with People." I had no idea it was a social work paper. The first assignment I did was one of those self-reflection ones: asking questions like 'Who am I?' and 'Where do I come from?' I got my first ever 'A grade' and knew I'd made a good choice.

I've never seen myself as an academic person. At school I struggled with maths and didn't even do science. I couldn't spell and my 7th form English teacher didn't think I should bother with the bursary exam.

But I got enough grades to attend university and I was partly naive enough, partly pig-headed enough, to know that I could do it if I worked hard.

In this reflection I will address three simple ideas:

1. **Teka tae noa kia reka** – fake it till you make it
2. **Te whakakoha rangatiratanga** – the gift of time and being in the moment
3. **Kia mau ki to ukaipo kia mau hoki ki to whānau** – keep a hold of your roots

Teka tae noa kia reka – fake it till you make it.

When I got into social work I had the opportunity to reflect upon my upbringing. I'll share a bit about myself before explaining my first key point.

My brother and I were raised by our mum and dad in the 80s and 90s. I was oblivious to a lot of the financial struggles and historical trauma my parents were dealing with, like many of our people have. My father—who grew up on the East Coast, tūturu Ngāti—had very limited access to education and employment opportunities and, having been kicked out of home when he was 14, he was forced to make his own way as a kid in Wellington, using his own wits and grit and with limited support from some kind relations. My father didn't learn to read until my brother and I were learning to read, so I was brought up not really realising what a challenging life he had led, until I did my social work degree and started really unpacking how these things can affect us.

The strength that my father has is matched by that of my mother, who is the 10th of

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14 kids, in an Irish Catholic Pākehā family and grew up in Taita and Naenae. My mother's upbringing was similar in some ways to my dad's, but also very, very different. I won't go into it, it would take forever! But I learnt through these two people that, while culturally and historically they are very different, they somehow make it work.

My mother learnt how to make a wonderful situation with very little money, no family support around us as kids but a lot of creativity and imagination in place of money and toys. While dad focused on working hard in his job to provide for us. Te Ao Māori was always important to my Pākehā mother; she did a reo Māori degree and bought me Ranginui Walker's *Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Mātou* as a 21st present. So I was really lucky to have parents who instilled the importance of our whakapapa and taught me the value of hard work. Whakapapa and hard work carried me through my social work degree and gave me the strength to keep going.

At the time I started studying, in my mind I always had this nagging, relentless voice that I wasn't yet 'enough.' In later years, when I interviewed Māori social workers for my research, I heard this same reflection all over the country – a pervasive sense that "I'm not Māori enough," "I'm not fluent enough," "I'm not old enough," "I'm not young enough," "I'm not smart enough." All of these intelligent capable people feel that they're not enough, just like I did. I remember thinking – well who is saying this to us? Who is putting these voices in our heads that we're not enough? These insecurities mean nothing to the whānau we are working with as social workers, they don't care whether we got an A or a C in our essays, they just want us to do our jobs and do them well.

These insecurities drove me further into studying and are perhaps why I went on to do a Masters and PhD while still in my 20s. Now, looking back, I felt: "I'm not old enough, I haven't had kids, I haven't had the life experience." Looking back now, having had kids and a fair chunk of life

experience, I no longer think young people must read all the books before they 'work with people,' or that social workers must have kids before they can support a whānau. While it is my inclination to read that book so I am better prepared, my studies gave me the lens through which I can appreciate my achievements and the strength of character to ignore the nagging voices who might make us doubt our self-worth.

In my generation (I'm an Xennial) it's common to hear people throw around the label "Plastic Māori." Our parents moved to urban areas, Whina Cooper told them to marry Pākehā and Te Kōhanga Reo was yet to be established in small towns (I missed it by a few years). There was a lot of language loss and disconnection from intergenerational supports, so we struggled along, culturally isolated within nuclear families. My dad took us home to Waipiro every summer, but I didn't like the road between Napier and everywhere-on-the-East-Coast, so much of my childhood memories are of feeling carsick on the dirt roads with no seatbelts and lying sick on someone's couch when we arrived, with all these beautiful Aunties and Uncles coming to give me a kiss and ask "How are you, my dear?"

We need to stop calling people (or ourselves) Plastic Māoris. One of the things I feel really strongly about is that we are enough. We are enough. If you feel like you're not fluent enough, that is just an internal voice telling you that. That's not enough to hold you back from making a difference in the world.

Teka, tae noa kia reka is a phrase that has been quite influential in my life: it means, "fake it till you make it." It's not about being a fake person, it's about combatting those insecurities, and knowing that with the knowledge, skills and values gained through our studies and our whakapapa, that we "got this," we are enough.

So "teka tae noa ki a reka", fake it till you make it. If you do, then all of a sudden, you'll realise you're actually making it.

Te whakakoha rangatiratanga – the gift of time and being in the moment

In my 30s I became a lecturer at Massey and I started having kids—everything changed for me, as you can imagine, it does. As a lecturer, you have the luxury and the purpose to reflect on the application of theory to practice. Being a lecturer is very theoretical, while being a parent is very practical. I found that the process of applying theory to practice to be a useful tool in my 30s as I endeavoured to juggle all that life threw at me.

When Taina Pohatu developed Ngā Takepū for Te Wananga Aotearoa (and for social work in general) I was inspired, and like many of my Māori social work colleagues, I began to engage with Takepū so that I could use it both in my life and my teaching. Being a Māori social work lecturer is not just about teaching students about Māori social work, it's about living and breathing our research and content because we love it; it's so closely connected to our identities and our interests. My colleagues and I decided to live and breathe Ngā Takepū so we could be better at teaching it to our students.

Te whakakoha rangatiratanga was probably one of the most significant of his takepū for me as I was a new mum, coming to terms with this new role. *Te whakakoha rangatiratanga* is about engaging in a way that is really focussed on the other person, being in the moment, giving the gift of time and respect and making that relationship real and completely genuine.

As I worked on it and on myself, I realised that I was doing a hundred million things and not being present in the moment, especially with my kids. I'm very much a 'doer', shall we *do* this? Ok, we've done it! Then, I'm thinking about my children, am I present with my children? Am I focussing on them? I challenged myself to apply social work theories to my own personal life and to use the skills and knowledge I've gained

to try and build a happy life for my kids, one that honours their rangatiratanga and also allows for my own values to be present in everyday life.

I would challenge every social worker, especially Māori social workers, to allow yourself the time and space to apply our models and theories to yourselves, these are our taonga, we can use them, apply them to our own lives in order to better enrich them.

Kia mau ki to ūkaipō kia mau hoki ki tō whānau – keep a hold of your roots

We have three children. My oldest is eight and youngest is four, in between is my daughter Ramari who is six. When I was pregnant with Ramari, I contracted a virus called cytomegalovirus (CMV) that passed to her through the umbilical cord and resulted in severe brain damage. Cytomegalovirus caused a variety of damage to her brain and body, microcephaly, epilepsy, spastic quadriplegia cerebral palsy, she is non-verbal and non-ambulatory. It's the type of virus that can sneak in there and do a little or a lot of damage or not be passed on to the baby at all. We consider ourselves lucky that she made it out alive and has a rich and fulfilling life given all that CMV threw at her.

Having a medically complex child thrusts you into the health system in an 'all or nothing' type of way. We have had multiple paediatricians, occupational therapists, speech and language, orthopaedics, physio, the list goes on, but most importantly today, social workers. I've given up work so that I can take on this new role as a parent of a medically complex child and I've taken my training and social work experience into this new role. I've clung to my social work knowledge, I've needed my communication skills, advocacy skills; I've leaned on my values and beliefs in ways I never thought possible. And I hold my social work training closely, knowing it has helped me be a stronger mother and better advocate for my children.

Looking back at my social work training and the knowledge I've gained about whānau strength and resilience helped us shape our own whānau. We moved back home to be surrounded by grandparents and connections. Strengthening those relationships with people we love and who love and care about us has also helped build up our own whānau. I've learnt as a social worker, as a mother and of course as an academic, that children thrive in an environment where they are surrounded by love and loved ones. For me personally I needed to learn to say 'no' to new employment opportunities and to say 'yes' to self-care, and to take the time with my children. I learned that our whānau need to have access to Māori social workers; that our taha Māori is key to us feeling whole and that, even though we can have amazing medical specialists, sometimes we need a Māori practitioner to acknowledge us and sit with us.

A difficulty I've found in my own career and in my research is that Māori can often burn out. One of my research participants called it 'brown face burn out' and while I don't necessarily have a brown face (I get pretty pale in winter!) it is easy for Māori social workers to take on the caseloads of many Māori whānau, as well as being in a position where we support our managers and colleagues with their cultural education. Alongside that, we will guide our workplace with improving its bicultural practices through mihi whakatau and karakia. We will also be trying to support our Marae, attending hui, mowing lawns and doing dishes at tangi. As we get older we will be caring for our parents and our mokopuna if we are lucky enough.

As Māori social workers, we gain our strength from these connections. We strengthen them when we are struggling, we lean on them in the tough times and we give back to them when we can. For many Māori social workers, myself included, it is

the additional workload that 'fills our cups' and helps us feel the energy needed to do the day-to-day mahi. For me, it is the colleagues and my own whānau and whakapapa that gives me strength so that I can then give to others. Supervision—good Kaupapa Māori supervision—is so, so important for us. Alongside this, especially when we are young and new Māori social workers, are role models.

Throughout my studies and various jobs I was lucky enough to have Māori role models to learn from and who guided me. This was particularly important to me when I lived away from my roots. As young Māori social workers we must gravitate towards people who are open to sharing their practice with us and we reciprocate however possible. I've had many mentors so far and hope to have many in my future. Being open to opportunities and humble enough to know that there is so much more to learn are key characteristics I live by. Now in my 40s I hope to be in a position where I can continue to learn from mentors and in turn, inspire others to pursue their dreams.

Finally, I just want to say to you that, just because I have a PhD, I'm not any cleverer than anyone else. As Māori social workers, we want to make a difference in the world for whānau, hapu and iwi, however that change might look, we want to build up our people, strive for positives. Having the knowledge that my tipuna are behind me and supporting me along the way has been hugely motivating as well as knowing that something I write or say might inspire someone, particularly a Māori student, to work hard to achieve their goals. I'm the first one to say, if I can get a PhD then anyone can! Through our connections with our roots, our whakapapa, we gain the strength needed for our profession and for challenging times. We gain strength again through giving back to our communities and valuing our matauranga Māori by implementing it in our practice and in our day-to-day lives.

The most important things I learnt in practice

Heramaahina Eketone, (Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato)

Growing up with two social worker parents, I was always going to end up working with people. Right from when I was a tamaiti, my father wouldn't say "What do you want to be when you grow up?" it was "How are you going to help our people, what are you going to do?"—no pressure there! I ended up studying social work and having a father as a lecturer was difficult at times, because right from the start he said, "Because you're my daughter you won't get any help from me, if you want to ask something, ask someone else." However, Shayne Walker was also there and he really looked after me. There were tuakana in the department like Awhina Hollis, Suzi Wereta, Justine Camp and Kerri Cleaver, who were a few years ahead of me and really looked after me as well. So I was the lecturer's daughter, the brat, I guess and I got my revenge on Dad at the end of year when you do your reviews of your lecturers: "Has your lecturer been helpful?"—"Not at all!"—I thought I was being a bit hilarious. My mother was furious because I didn't realise that poor reviews could potentially affect things like promotions. What an actual brat.

As well as graduating in Social Work and Community Work, I also did a Bachelor's Degree in Māori Studies, and a Diploma for Graduates in Whakairo/carving. There was a Whakairo course at university, which I did for three years at the same time as social work. After I graduated with my Social and Community Work qualification, I was employed by the Māori mental health team, Te Oranga Tonu Tanga, based at Wakaari hospital in Dunedin as a Kaioranga Hauora Māori, a Mental Health Clinician. The things that I learnt through study, life and at Te Oranga Tonu Tanga were the things that

have got me to this point right now and I don't think I would be here, especially, without those things.

Some of you will know one of the taniwha of Dunedin, Reitu Cassidy, and by taniwha I mean a rangatira (nah, taniwha). She is one of my biggest mentors, my tuakana, because she is a real stickler for tikanga. When you think about keeping or having kaupapa Māori within organisations, you look at her and she's: "Do it this way, you do it this way every single time," and she's really staunch. We need those mana wahine around us, to lift us up as wāhine, to feed that kōrero, so she is definitely a stickler for the rules, "This is how you do it," particularly with tikanga Māori.

There were a few other tuakana/taniwha at Te Oranga Tonu Tanga, Raewyn Nafatali, Sarah Martin, and Isobel Wheelan. Isobel was so knowledgeable in Māori models of practice especially in Māori mental health. She was taught by the best, Rose Pere, Mason Durie, and Paraire Huata to name a few. But when she was at the pinnacle of matauranga Māori, sadly she passed away. The things that I learnt under her were pure magic, because I was lucky enough to be her shadow. So those four wāhine, in practice, they really looked after me. I've always needed looking after. Awhina Hollis-English talks about having those quality people around you—you find them and you do not let them go. We still catch up years after I left Māori Mental Health, I still keep in close contact with three of them, and the fourth one's looking over us.

I was working with rangatahi at Te Oranga Tonu Tanga but got to a space where

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I couldn't do it anymore after the passing of my cousin. I found I needed to take some time away from that intense mahi and focus on other things.

I am a toi person, I have always been involved in various kinds of Māori art and so now I teach Kāwai Raupapa level 4, an 'Introduction to Māori Art,' at Te Wananga o Aotearoa. I am also an apprentice Tā Moko artist under Stu McDonald of Moana moko. I've been training, practising on my kiri tuhi, my uncle for the past 2 ½ years and in 2019 I branched out to moko people who are not my whānau. One of the approaches to moko that I have been encouraged by my kaiako to grow in, is its use to bring about emotional, mental and spiritual healing. It is interestingly the way that my training as a social worker, my interest in Māori art and my experience as a mental health worker have been brought together to work with people, especially regarding tikanga and what this means for my own self-care as a practitioner.

As Māori workers, we often forget about self-care because the focus is so much on our clients and their whānau. So it is important that we consider self-care and the way we look after ourselves, especially when we deal with circumstances that are heavy and weigh on our minds. When this happens, I have found that we need to find a way to whakanoa ourselves, to emotionally, spiritually cleanse, and restore ourselves.

We all know that there are things that we do to look after ourselves, things that settle us emotionally, physically and spiritually. What I'm really learning with moko is that you don't want to give your own hara, your own stuff, to anybody. The client is in a vulnerable position and has to trust you and your processes. With moko, it really comes to the forefront of, not just self-care—because you should be doing self-care all the time—but to whakanoa. I didn't do that when I was working in mental health. I should have been doing that process after every client, or after every day, I should have been doing whakanoa and that's to remove any of that

tapu, any of that hara, mamae that might be lingering around and there are a number of things we can do to whakanoa ourselves.

There are a few of the things that provide that whakanoa—karakia is the first one. We should all have karakia whether they are to Te Atua ki runga, Te Ao Hurihuri or Te Ao Katoa, those kupu, those words that clear away those things that can be negative. It doesn't matter if you don't even feel that there's anything there, just do it anyway because it actually clears that way for you as we are not always aware when things are happening in these different realms.

Water, is another one. You know we go to urupa or we go to tangi and when we leave, we sprinkle ourselves with water and often that is the only time that we do it. We should be doing it anywhere and anytime. So every once in a while, not every time, but after doing moko, I'll just sprinkle some water and cleanse myself out emotionally and spiritually through this physical action.

Kai is another one because kai is also noa. For instance, in Ngāpuhi, some people grab the bread and do the same thing as we do in Tainui with water, it's just as noa. Debriefing with kōrero. Having a tangi, shedding tears, where tears are salt water. Sea water, salt water is a rongoā, it's a medicine, and it's in us so if we have a tangi our hara gets attached to that and we can get rid of it through having a cry.

Having a shower that's like extra. So you've done your sprinkle and you're still feeling a bit yuck, or a bit tense, you've had a kai. It's still not working, you have a cry, and so go for shower or a swim. Get bucket-loads of water.

The last thing, and this will be controversial to some, is that sometimes the most noa thing for me, is a good cold beer. The reason why I know that this works and is true is that I did a little traveling a few years ago and ended up in Germany. I was with a group of Māori who went to a concentration camp. We went in and came out and we did it all ... we did the karakia, the wai, the kai ... but we just

couldn't get that mamae off us. The mamae was too much but as soon as we cracked open a beer—waipiro or rotten water is so noa, I felt normal again. I'm not talking about hitting the piss. I'm talking about actual whakanoa—using it to get rid of that tapu and that mamae. No more than one is needed. One is to do the job, two or more are for fun.

Sometimes these are the steps for me, other times I just need a karakia, that's all I need to rid myself of something. What I learned in social work was being able to listen to kōrero from clients and not take it on or let it affect my inner self. It was probably the most powerful thing that I learnt there, that you don't actually have to carry other people's mamae. Another thing, and this was a hard lesson that I learnt, is you cannot work one way and live another. I'm talking about, not just the extremes, but the little stuff. From encouraging people to letting things go when you can't or won't yourself, for giving advice that you don't follow to making a fool of yourself out on Saturday night when you're a drug and alcohol counsellor.

If you have those things too separate, it will catch up on you. Working in mental health it caught up on me. I wasn't looking after myself. I got to a space where I realised "I'm not in a good space, I need to leave for now." And what really helped was getting into Te Ao Toi, the art world. Before I was ready to moko other people I had done about 100 hours. Ninety hours of that has been on my uncle and 10 was on whānau. That was over 2½ years, 100 hours—it isn't a lot. People think I've been dragging my feet and I have in a way, but the reason is because I've wanted to be clear, I want to be free and light and utterly safe for anybody who lies on that table so that when they give me their precious kōrero it's not going to touch me. It's not going to hurt them and when they get back off the moko table it's a new kōrero, it's a new space for that person. So I spent 100 hours on moko but a good 2,000 hours on myself—on sorting my shit out. I had to because I was working with youth and my kōrero was "sort your shit out"... but I didn't

sort it out myself. So that kōrero—that idea of sorting it out, sorting yourself out, so that when you step in front of those people that are literally giving you their all, that they are safe because you're safe.

I had in my mind, as a Māori social worker, this idea of being professional or being seen as professional. That idea of earning it, or being in that space where, "Yeah I actually feel that I can contribute and help people." It's in our blood. We have been drawn to this profession or to this space to work with people. Whether it's in a social work capacity, or in a moko capacity, or a kaiako capacity it doesn't actually matter. What this space is teaching us is how to look after ourselves, work with other people, and know that we've earned it.

Just like with moko, if you're Māori you've earned it already. It's in your blood. It's not about earning or coming up with a goal, that's fine, but that's you. That's your own making. But don't let those things hold you back from doing what you're actually supposed to do.

I had one other thing: toi (art) for me is rongoā. Tā Moko especially is medicine, my approach is that it is a healing practice. One of the things I'm pretty sure can be mirrored with social work, or with working with people is that moko has an utu, it has a price. Some of those prices are telling that story, being honest, being truthful, shedding mamae, getting rid of some of that pain and, in return, getting some healing especially on that spiritual side. Shedding some blood, toto, for the ink, for the story. Shedding some tears and gaining a moko, gaining a kōrero that you can wear and have for the rest of your life. So for me, moko is a physical representation of what we already have anyway, our whakapapa, our story and our ability. Māori have a real ability to work with other people, it's a real gift. For me that's my way of giving back and working with my people. My kaiako, Stu McDonald, is teaching and showing me that moko is a rongoā and that it can actually be used to heal and I totally believe that.

The most important things I have learnt in practice, advice for social work students

Kerri Cleaver (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha), University of Otago, Aotearoa New Zealand

I accidentally came across social work. I'd been living up North doing craft design and then got pregnant with my oldest daughter, so we moved down to Dunedin. I was waiting for the weaving course to start at the University of Otago, however it took a few years to get under way. Eventually I was pregnant again and the course still hadn't started, so I thought I would try some social work papers. I was hapu for the first couple of weeks and then carrying the baby for the next year to all my classes and everyone was so supportive.

Even though I didn't end up doing the weaving course, art has been a part of my social work. One of the things to be careful of, is that I started to lose it in the years of working in white agencies. There is value in what you take with you and art for me has always been part of that, as has doing weaving with whānau, but it has really been for my own self-care. It's good not always being in a place where we're dominated by our thinking and our working, but having something for yourself as well. For me, being connected to those things that strengthen my being Māori are an important part of my self-care.

When I took a break from front-line social work in 2016, it was because I was burnt out. I'd done just over 10 years—and probably did about four months too much. I had planned my exit and didn't do my best practice over those last four months, so I think one of the things I've learnt is that you should recognise when you need to take a break. I didn't completely take a break; I did lots of things in the community, but it is different than working in a full-time job and looking after other peoples' needs.

That wasn't the part of the job that I found really hard, the part I found really hard was institutional constraint, whether in the institution itself or the agencies I worked with. That dynamic was what really, in the end, made me need a break.

Reflecting on my journey as a social worker, I would not say when I started working that I was a Māori social worker. I would say that I was a social worker who was Māori. I think I found it complicated by the "Are you Māori enough?" question, but for me, some of the things I did in practice were not based solely in tikanga and kawa, so I didn't want to own that space of being a "Māori social worker." However, I was a social worker who was Māori and brought special skills into that role. But, through my journey, I now know that I am a Māori social worker and I think I probably always was. It just took me a while to grow into knowing that. I think I might have always been a social worker too, as being a social worker isn't something that only applies during work hours, it's just something in my life.

Until 2020 I had only worked in Pākehā organisations. I worked at Oranga Tamariki and then as a social worker in schools for the Anglican Family Care, followed by some contracting work for ACC through Delta Psychology—so all of those roles were really in Pākehā organisations. I think it takes its toll on you as a Māori social worker. When I went for a job at Child Youth and Family, Oranga Tamariki, I rang up this colleague, a Māori person and said "Can we have a chat?" I asked "Is this going to be safe? Is it going to be safe to work here?" and she was like "Yes, absolutely—it's totally going to be safe to work here."

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“Is this going to be whānau friendly?” because I had three young children by that stage ... and it was like “Yeah, no—I’ve got children. It’s totally all good to work here as a parent” ... and it really wasn’t. And then she jumped ship!

So, interview your agencies, back yourselves, because you are Māori social workers—that’s special and that’s something our Pākehā colleagues don’t have. They don’t have the lived experiences of being Māori. And it doesn’t matter what that lived experience is, it really doesn’t matter how that’s lived out, it doesn’t matter if you are at the start of your journey of finding out your whakapapa and finding out your connections. That is something that you are dealing with and carrying, and that is a lived experience of being Māori. It is something that other people can’t understand, but that you do and that is special when working with many whānau because they are often dealing with those same issues. So when you go into job interviews, back yourself and know that you can talk to that. That it is real knowledge that you carry. Take some time to reflect on how you might present that in an interview process. I know that if you’re going to go work in a Māori agency, they are already going to understand that. They know what strength you bring. But if you’re going to go and work for a Pākehā organisation like Oranga Tamariki they often don’t ‘get’ that. Some of them do, but generally they really don’t.

I have to say we are in changing times and one of the things is knowing who to ally with, and also knowing that you don’t have to. Just ally with the people that you know want to do the good work—and there are people out there who are willing to do the good work. Don’t just waste your time on people trying to convince them to see it your way—they’re never going to see it your way, so you’re just wasting your energy. I’m not suggesting that you don’t try to have those conversations, but if they’re not working, then move on.

I’ve been on interview panels and it’s been an amazing experience. Especially when Pākehā listen to you. Usually when you are on an interview panel, you are the only Māori and because “they” don’t get that there should be more than a token Māori, you will have to explain what they are getting from a Māori social worker that they might not get from someone else. You need to be able to understand that strength for yourself, going into that interview, what that looks like for you and how to talk that up.

When you go into those interviews, interview the agencies and see if they’re going to be a ‘good fit’ and be willing to leave if they’re not. Also, don’t hold on to the ties of agencies that don’t look after you. Just jump ship and get another job. Grow: take the time to grow your roles in the community. I had already started that process before I had fully trained as a social worker. It started with the first social work paper that I did, when I said to myself, “I’m not doing enough in my community.” So I started going to the marae and helping out in the kitchen and doing Kotahi Mano Kaika—I’m still really terrible with my reo, I think I am worse now at my language than I was back then! (I don’t know how that happened). It is important to build those connections in the community. I think it’s so much harder to maintain those connections if you’re in a job for 40 hours a week. That is why it is important to work for an agency that supports those relationships. But if you’re not in an agency that supports that then that becomes difficult.

Do your research. Do as much research as possible before you go into an interview: you need to know what the job is. You also need to know what the other things that the agency does are. We look for that when we’re on the panel.

In your examples—and again this is specifically if you’ve got a panel of non-Māori interviewing you—you’re going to have to be explicit about the things

that you do as Māori, because they're generally not going to pick up on that otherwise. The things that you might take for granted, especially regarding ways of working, you might actually have to voice so that it is understood. You might have to explain a Māori model and as you're talking through it, translate it. When taking about building relationships, "Oh, that's whakawhanaungatanga" ... just pop it in so that they go "Oh, right—they're working in a Māori way." It's common knowledge to us. It may not be not common knowledge outside of us.

Finally, when you're out there going for jobs: you are the sweetest kumara, so back yourself.