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**MAORI VOICES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF INDIGENOUS
MODELS OF COUNSELLING THEORY AND PRACTICE.**

**A thesis completed in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology
at Massey University**

Catherine Maarie Amohia Love

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the stories of four Maori counsellors who are employed in Western style organisations. Two 'readings' of participants' narratives are provided. The 'readings' are constructed from two distinct discursive frames, identified as ENGLISH-Maori and MAORI-English. It is proposed that participants' conceptions of self and other are constructed through narratives based in a MAORI-English discursive frame, and that their models of counselling are developed within this discursive frame. It is further proposed that meanings made within this discursive frame are not readily available to 'others' whose constructions of self and other are based in an ENGLISH-Maori or Western discursive frame. This mismatch leads to misunderstandings which impact negatively on the credibility and status of Maori counsellors and Maori models of counselling when viewed from the perspective of Western models of counselling theory, practice and organisation. It is also posited in this thesis that a form of 'sub-textual' communication exists within which Maori meanings are made and conveyed in the English language.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
1. PREFACE	vii
2. POSITION STATEMENT	1
2.1 He Purapura I Ruia Mai I Rangiatea	1
2.2 Positioning Self	2
3. INTRODUCTION	17
3.1 Theoretical Stance and Method	21
3.2 Discursive Frames	23
3.3 Structure	27
3.4 Overview of the Methodological Journey	30
3.4.1 Kimihia te ara tika	30
3.4.2 Points of illumination	31
3.4.3 Continuing the journey	34
4. CONTEXT ONE: NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF MAORI IDENTITY	48
4.1 Introduction	48
4.2 Personal Narratives	48
4.3 Western Constructions of Maori and Maoritanga	52
4.3.1 Western Stories of Maori and Maoritanga	56
4.3.2 Summary	69
4.4 Maori Constructions of Maori and Maoritanga	71
4.4.1 Maori Stories of Maori Identity	72

4.4.2 Summary	81
5. CONTEXT TWO: CONSTRUCTIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY AND COUNSELLING	84
5.1 Introduction	84
5.2 A Genealogy of the Self of Western Counselling and Psychotherapy	84
5.2.1 Psychology's subject	86
5.2.2 The self-contained individual	87
5.2.3 Referential selfhood and psychopathology	91
5.2.4 Summary	95
5.3 Counselling Discourses	96
5.3.1 Discourse 1: counselling as 'helping'; a universal human activity	97
5.3.2 Discourse 2: counselling as a specialist professional domain	99
5.3.3 Summary	108
5.4 The Nature of Culture-Counselling Relationships	112
5.4.1 Typologies of the culture and counselling relationship: multicultural models	112
5.4.2 Multicultural approaches in local and international contexts	118
5.4.3 Bicultural approaches to counselling	121
5.4.4 Summary	132
6. STORIES ONE - A FIRST READING	134
6a Yvonne's Story 1	136
6b Ron's Story 1	(Appendix) 413
6c Grace's Story 1	(Appendix) 476

6d	Pat's Story 1	(Appendix)	530
7.	CONTEXT THREE: MAORI CONSTRUCTIONS OF HEALTHY SELFHOOD		190
	7.1 Introduction		190
	7.2 Maori Models of Self		191
	7.2.1 Whare Tapa Wha		192
	7.2.2 Nga Pou Mana		193
	7.2.3 Te Wheke		193
	7.3 Dimensions of Te Wheke		195
	7.3.1 Wairuatanga		195
	7.3.2 Mana ake		211
	7.3.3 Mauri		222
	7.3.4 Whanaungatanga		225
	7.3.5 Tinana		241
	7.3.6 Hinengaro		244
	7.3.7 Whatumanawa		250
	7.3.8 Ha a koro ma a kui ma		251
	7.3.9 Summary		251
8.	STORIES TWO - A SECOND READING		252
	8a Yvonne's Story 2		252
	8b Ron's Story 2	(Appendix)	583
	8c Grace's Story 2	(Appendix)	690
	8d Pat's Story 2	(Appendix)	771
9.	SUMMARY		354
	9.1 Cultural Selves, Knowledge and Identity		354
	9.2 Features of the Models of Counselling Developed by Maori Counsellors		361

9.3 Areas of Conflict for Maori Counsellors Working In Western Style Organisations	371
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10. DISCUSSION	379
-----------------------	-----

11. REFERENCES	387
-----------------------	-----

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Healthy Referential Selfhood and Psychopathology	93
----------------	---	----

Table 2	Healthy Indexical Selfhood and Psychopathology	94
----------------	---	----

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Te Wheke Reproduced with permission of R. R. Pere	194a
-----------------	--	------

APPENDIXES

Stories One - A First Reading

Ron's Story	413
--------------------	-----

Grace's Story	478
----------------------	-----

Pat's Story	530
--------------------	-----

Stories Two - A Second Reading

Ron's Story	583
--------------------	-----

Grace's Story	691
----------------------	-----

Pat's Story	771
--------------------	-----

Consent Form

841

Interview Schedule

843

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PREFACE

Over the past several decades there has been growing recognition within the mental health arena of the inappropriateness of applying models of counselling rooted in and developed from Western individualistic conceptions of self and other, to groups subscribing to more socio-centric conceptions of self. However, in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, Western models of psychology and counselling and typologies of mental health and ill-health associated with these, continue to be applied to the indigenous Maori population, who hail from a socio-centric cultural tradition. This practice continues to occur despite increasing appreciation of the negative implications associated with the imposition of Western models of self, health and illness onto Maori.

The continued application of Western models of psychology and counselling, and concomitant marginalisation or exclusion of Maori models from professional psychotherapeutic and counselling contexts in Aotearoa/New Zealand may be traced, in some part, to a lack of knowledge and understanding on the part of Western mental health professionals, of the nature of Maori models of self, of health and of counselling. Although selected aspects of Maori conceptions of self and some differences between dominant Western and Maori counselling practices have been identified¹, there has been little work on the development of coherent Maori models of counselling grounded in Maori conceptions of self. The lack of a comprehensive base of knowledge and understanding amongst mental health professionals has contributed to the marginalisation of Maori models of counsellor training, accreditation, theory and practice. As a result, Maori models of counselling theory and practice remain largely 'informal' and are all but excluded from recognition and participation in mental health services in this country.

This exclusion is of particular concern because of the high representation of Maori amongst mental health service consumers, as psychiatric patients and in other areas associated with counselling and psychological service provision, such as the justice

¹ See for example, Abbott & Durie (1987), Durie (1985a, 1985b, 1989, 1995a), Hirini (1997), Lawson-Te Aho (1993, 1996), Stanley (1993).

system, social and child welfare services, and alcohol and drug abuse and addiction programmes. Alongside this is a growing recognition that Western models and methods of defining and treating problems of Maori 'mental illness', 'criminality' and 'antisocial behaviour' have not worked (Jackson, 1988, 1989; Te Puni Kokiri, 1996, 1998).

One response of the counselling and psychology professions to the over-representation of Maori (and other indigenous peoples) amongst mental health consumers and the recognition that existing Western models of counselling and therapy do not 'fit' or apply to these populations well, has been to introduce some modification to the practice of counselling. Modifications have generally taken the form of an 'add-on' approach. In this approach, an overlay of 'cultural sensitivity' is typically added to existing counselling theory and practice. A more recent innovation is to exhort counsellors to meet certain 'standards of cultural competency' (Ponterotto, Casas, Suzuki, Alexander, 1995; Sue & Sue, 1990, 1999) which are also added to the repertoire of existing counselling practice, while having minimal effect on the underlying theory. An additional response has been to increase the numbers of Maori (and other indigenous peoples) training and practicing in the professions of counselling and psychology. Not infrequently, Maori professionals and students of these professions are expected to provide 'inside information' about Maori culture to their fellow professionals, while simultaneously operating according to existing, culture-bound standards of professional training and practice.

It is argued in this thesis that the imposition of a body of Western cultural practice known as 'professional counselling', regardless of how polite, sensitive or competent the imposition, is ultimately destructive and genocidal in its effect on indigenous peoples. Thus, there is a mismatch between models of counsellor training, theory and practice predicated on Western conceptions of self, and the indigenous selves to whom these are applied.

The dominance of Western models of self, psychology and counselling alongside and associated with the destruction of ‘traditional’² forms and expressions of Maori culture (through, for example, genocidal colonial policies of assimilation, suppression and oppression) have also resulted in a lack of discursive resources with which to articulate a contemporary Maori practice of counselling. This lack of discursive resources (resulting in part from the large-scale loss of Maori language) and coupled with a colonial overlay has, for many Maori, meant a dearth of available resources with which to construct and articulate a coherent Maori model of self, health and counselling. Within a Western discursive framework, this unarticulated experience of self may be attributed to up-bringing and socialisation. Within a Maori discursive framework, the unarticulated experience of self may be attributed to whakapapa³ and wairua⁴.

Thus, for many Maori, there is a deeply felt mismatch between our experience of self and the discursive resources within which to articulate this. In effect, there is a mismatch between our world, culture, milieu which is largely unarticulated, and the dominant culture immersion which has provided us with the resources (their resources) from which to construct our selves discursively.

Two areas of mismatch are identified. These are:

1. the mismatch between personal, culturally constructed but largely unarticulated Maori conceptions of self, and the models of self available in the dominant Western culture narratives which delineate the parameters of articulatable selves, and
2. the mismatch between counselling theory and practice as constructed within Western bodies of knowledge, and the modes of being and knowing within which

² The view articulated by Hanson (1989) of Maori culture and tradition as invention is acknowledged, although his thesis is not wholeheartedly adopted. However, Hanson’s position, that because “elements of the current invention of Maori culture become objectively incorporated into that culture by the very fact of people talking about them and practicing them... the analytic task is not to strip away the invented portions of culture as inauthentic, but to understand the process by which they acquire authenticity” (1989, p. 898) is compatible with my thesis.

³ Whakapapa refers to one’s genealogy, collective family and ancestral history and source of spirituality.

⁴ Wairua refers to the spirit and spirituality which is deemed to exist in and around all people and things and to flow in a continuous stream through time.

indigenous (in particular New Zealand Maori) models of being and of counselling are constructed.

These areas of mismatch form the primary themes running through this thesis.

One of the aims of this study is to ‘flesh out’ a framework within which a Maori conception of self and model(s) of counselling based on this, may be articulated in contemporary, largely English speaking Aotearoa/New Zealand. This framework, structured herein within the parameters of Pere’s (1988, 1991) model of health ‘Te Wheke’, goes some way towards articulation of the mismatches identified above.

HE PURAPURA I RUIA MAI I RANGIATEA

Ko Taranaki te maunga
Ko Tokomaru te waka
Ko Rakeiora te tohunga
Ko Te Whiti o Rongomai te poropiti
Ko Te Atiawa te iwi
Ko Ngati Te Whiti me Tawhirikura nga hapu

Tenei au, he uri o Taranaki whanui, o Te Atiawa, Taranaki me Ngati Ruanui.
He uri o Manukorihi, o Parihaka, o Taiporohenui, kei Taranaki.
He uri o Pipitea, o Te Tatau o te Po (Pito-one), o Waiwhetu, kei Te Whanganui a Tara
He uri o Waikawa, kei Te Waipounamu
He uri o te motu o Arapaoa

Anei te kaupapa tuturu o tenei pukapuka:

Maungarongo ki runga i te whenua
Kororia ki te Atua i runga rawa
Whakaaro pai ki nga tangata katoa
Ahakoa no hea i pupuhi ai
Ka uru te kino ki te pai

POSITIONING SELF

In Maori terms little credence is given to claims of objectivity and neutrality. It is recognised that we all come from particular positions. Maori narratives are usually preceded with an explicit position statement. This often takes the form of pepeha. Pepeha are declarations of who one is in terms of relationship to whanau, hapu, iwi, marae, land, river and sea. Through knowing who the speaker is, listeners may locate the truths of the speaker within their wider context or webs of meaning. In addition to pepeha, speakers in Maori contexts usually precede their core narratives with a mihi. A mihi is a greeting to and acknowledgement of the listeners present. It has the effect of providing explicit recognition of the respective positions of listeners. Thus a statement made by a speaker in a Maori context is offered from an overtly subjective position and received by listeners from equally overtly subjective positions.

Different whanau, hapu and iwi have different narratives, often around the same events. Thus there is recognition of the existence of multiple narratives, each accorded a relative and subjective 'truth' status within the contexts from which they have sprung.

The preceding pages contain my pepeha and mihi. They provide a statement of who I am by describing where I am from. The pages following here, however, expand on my position and develop the subjective truths from which this thesis springs.

Ko Wai Ahau

Along with the forests, birds, fish, sea and winds, I descend from Papatuanuku, the earth mother and Ranginui, the sky father.

Tamarau was a demi-god who descended from the heavens to impregnate Rongoueroa, a woman of the earthly plane. My iwi, Te Atiawa, comes from the lines of Tamarau and Rongoueroa, through their son Awanui-a-Rangi.

2 Position Statement

Along with other iwi of North Taranaki we remember the ancestral travellers on the Tokomaru waka¹, and in particular Rakeiora, the tohunga who guided our ancestors to the shores of this land, and Amokura, the bird who led us to the shore on which we alighted.

My mother is of English descent, her mother being from England and her father from the lines of early English settlers in this country.

My father is of Te Atiawa, Taranaki tutuuru, Ngati Ruanui and Nga Ruahine-Rangi iwi. These iwi hail from the province known as Taranaki and claim Taranaki as their maunga tapu. As the indigenous people of Taranaki we have been, and continue to be, in a state of war with the settler government of New Zealand. We are a people who have been embroiled in a war of 155 years duration and have had our lands confiscated for daring to assert our rangatiratanga in relation to our own lands, minds and peoples. We are the people who wear the white feathers to signify our remembrance of the wrongs committed on our people and our own commitment to continuing to fight a peaceful war for justice as taught us by the prophets of Parihaka, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi.

To ensure the survival of our people some of our tupuna travelled from Taranaki to Te Whanganui o Tara, where we claimed and held lands, some of which remains in our possession to this day. Most of the lands we currently 'own' are governed by the Maori Reserved Lands Act (1955) and the Maori Reserved Lands Amendment Act (1997) which prevents Maori owners from exercising the full rights of ownership of our lands. This nominal ownership of land thus gives us a place to stand but cannot replace our lands and the history in our Taranaki homeland.

When I was born, the eldest of what were to be five siblings, we lived first in the home of my grandparents and great-aunt (my grandmother's eldest sister) who lived with my grandparents throughout their married life. I was fortunate enough to be raised on land that was my great-grandparent's farm (on my paternal grandfather's side). While I was a baby, my grandfather gave the land by their house to my parents. I grew up living with

¹ 'Tokomaru waka' refers to the canoe known as 'Tokomaru'.

2 Position Statement

my parents, grandparents, great-aunt and with others of te rito o te whanau, with extended whanau close by. In effect I had three mothers and two fathers; or perhaps more accurately, I had five adults intimately involved in and contributing to my development.

My grandparents and great-aunt had built their home on top of a hill that overlooked Wellington harbour, Wellington city, including Thorndon, Petone beach, and the Hutt Valley. All this land and sea had been the domain of Te Atiawa under the chieftainship of our tupuna Te Wharepouri, Ngatata-i-te-Rangi, Wi Tako Ngatata and Te Puni. We would swim and fish and dive and walk and run and play on this our ancestral land. My grandparents made sure that we knew our relationship to those who were there, where the burial sites were and the other landmarks. This was my world and I was happy.

Once I was old enough to realise that many of my Pakeha friends had only one or two parents I realised how lucky I was. During my pre-school and primary school years my mother was tired and busy having other children and my father was busy working. My grandparents and great-aunt seemed to be the most significant people in my life and they showered all their mokopuna with love, acceptance, correction and learning.

Some of my early memories are of long car journeys and visits to dark dusty halls. Leaving while it was still dark, I would be wrapped in blankets and sleeping on and off until daylight came. We would arrive, my father, grandparents and I, at some small, cold and dark hall. We would go in all together and go around greeting everybody. These halls seemed to be filled with very old people sitting on hard chairs and forms around the walls. I would be taken around to hongi or kiss them all. Some of the old women would hold me and cry and wail. We would stay there all day, leaving on the return journey to Wellington in the late afternoon or early evening. I would invariably be asleep by the time we arrived home, and would wake as I was carried from the car and put into my own bed. It was a routine that I didn't particularly like. We would have to remain in those halls for a long time before we could go out and play. And the old people just sat and talked and talked, sometimes standing to speak, sometimes laughing, sometimes sounding angry, sometimes crying. They were gentle people and I never heard a voice

2 Position Statement

raised in anger directed at the children. The atmosphere as I remember it was predominantly one of sadness and of tiredness.

It was not until many years later, on attending hui mo te muru me te raupatu that I realised what these long car trips, small dark halls and long days were. They were land meetings in Taranaki. Hui held sometimes in small marae, more often in scout halls because the marae had been confiscated and meeting houses destroyed.

I first became consciously aware of being Maori and therefore not Pakeha through a comment made by a class-mate. We were both six years old. I thought her beautiful with her white-blonde hair and pretty dresses. She simply called to me one lunch-time and told me, "I hate you because you're a Maori". After school I asked my blonde-haired, blue-eyed mother if it was true, that I was a Maori. My mother confirmed that it was.

Around that time, or perhaps from that time, I became aware of the explicit and implicit messages, "You must be twice as good (as the Pakeha), to get to the same place." "If you want to be seen as equal, you must be better." During the 1960s and 1970s as I was growing up, numbers of Maori families were deemed to be 'deficient,' and numbers of Maori children were taken by Social Workers and placed under the guardianship of the State, in 'the best interests' of the children, of course. It was fashionable at that time for middle-class Pakeha families to foster or sometimes adopt a Maori child. Thus, the 'Welfare' was a threat to many Maori whanau. I was not permitted to wear bare feet to school, no matter how hot the day or how intense my hatred for shoes. I was not permitted to leave my hair out and flowing. My family were determined that there would be no room for criticism or allegations of neglect, that we would negate the stereotype of Maori common at that time.

I went through the Western school system. Learning that Captain Cook discovered New Zealand, standing at morning assembly to face the New Zealand flag as it was raised, singing God Save the Queen, and reciting the Lord's Prayer.

2 Position Statement

At primary school, we learnt about 'Maoris.' We did a Maori module each year. We learnt about Maori people and Maori culture. We learnt that Maori people wore flax skirts, called piupiu, cooked food in 'hangis', sang Maori songs and did dances with 'pois' and sticks. This was Maori culture. This was the way that real 'Maoris' lived.

I had learnt that I was Maori, but I did not live in the way that we were taught Maori people lived. I must not be a real Maori. Or perhaps I was a 'not good enough Maori'.

When I was 14 years old and at secondary school, I took part in a large-scale national research project on young Maori. As part of the research, we were required to complete a questionnaire. One of the questions we were asked to answer was whether we thought of ourselves as Maori only, Maori and Pakeha, or Maori and other. I decided that I was Maori and Pakeha. This was my identity for some time to come.

On the one hand, I felt that to respect my self, my parentage and whakapapa, I must acknowledge and value both sides equally. If I did not, I would be trampling on my own mana. On the other hand, Maori and Pakeha realities seemed to be at war within as well as without. I could not deny my Maori heritage, to myself or to others, so I set about 'improving and developing' my Maori self.

During my late teens and early twenties, together with other young Maori from various iwi and various backgrounds, I was passionately involved in the Kotahitanga movement, in marches for Maori land rights and in fighting for the survival of our language by learning te reo Maori and taking papers and courses to learn more about 'Maoritanga'. There were ten of us, young Maori at university, we felt we carried a responsibility and the weight of expectations on us. There were expectations from our own, and expectations from others who, we felt, were often watching, judging, wanting to learn from us more than learn with us or teach us. We were united in feeling cheated of our heritage, we were united in our anger. We were all products of the state education system and its national curriculum. We were all attempting to claim our heritage back from this system, while simultaneously learning about our heritage and ourselves from within this

2 Position Statement

system. I wondered if what we learnt about ourselves from within this tertiary education system was a slightly more sophisticated version of the 'Maori modules' of those primary school years. One out of the ten in our group finished with a degree. Nine of us 'dropped out'.

When I was 25 or 26 and studying once more at University, I was asked by a Pakeha psychology lecturer to provide Maori 'input and information' within his class. My response at the time was to inform the lecturer concerned, "I'm very pakehafied." The meaning behind this statement was that I considered myself to have been brought up in a Pakeha environment. In effect, I was defining myself according to the definitions of Maori, of 'real Maori,' that I had been taught. So, I considered myself to be 'pakehafied' because I was not fluent in Maori language, I did not 'know tikanga' in the sense of a complete set of rules of behaviour in traditional Maori forums, I could not recite my whakapapa 'far enough' back, and I did not have a 'real marae' to spend time on. However, I would note now that this lack of 'traditional' knowledge and experience was shared by the vast majority of Maori of my generation.

The stereotype of marae, promulgated in books, media, Maori modules at school and even University Departments of Maori Studies at that time, was of traditionally designed whare tupuna, resplendent with carvings and located in tranquil country settings near sea, river and bush. In fact, all our marae in Te Whanganui A Tara were razed and erased last century. My great-grandparents were involved in rebuilding one early this century, Te Tatau O Te Po. This house of ours is not traditional in style. It lies between the main road in front and the railway track behind. It is flanked by large commercial buildings. This, our house, does not look like the marae we read about and see in books and film. This, our house, is not an easy walk from the sea and bush. This, our house, is not surrounded by the homes of aunts and uncles, nannies and tauheke. This, our whare, does not fit the stereotype of 'real Maori' whare. We called it 'the hall'.

I learned more about what it is to be Maori. I thought I learned this within the department of Maori Studies at University. I learned about the statistical story of

Maoritanga. I fit the statistical story of Maori. I am or have been a teenage mother, a smoker, poor and dependent on a state benefit.

I kept learning about my Maori self through studying in psychology. I wondered why so much of this psychology felt uncomfortable, even abusive, to me. I knew I must be quiet to be safe. I knew that if I shared too much of my self I would be seen to be 'psychologically abnormal', 'deviant' and 'pathological'. I knew that my self was very clearly abnormal if not downright pathological within this positivist psychology. In my third year of study in psychology, a Canadian lecturer spoke about Maori perspectives of mental health and illness. He spent ten minutes of the lecture on Maori perspectives and his pronunciation of Maori was terrible, but I thanked him afterwards. It was the first time there had been any acknowledgement of a Maori reality, and, it felt to me, of my being as valid and visible.

My learning continued. I began going to whanau, hapu and iwi hui. I moved away from Maoritanga narratives and began to know myself through my whanau, hapu and iwitanga. I learned by listening and watching. I listened to the children of those old people from my childhood hui; they are the old ones now. They kiss my children as I take them around to each one, they look at them long and hard and sometimes they cry over them.

Hoki ki to maunga

Kia puria na Tawhirimatea.

Return to your mountain

That you may be blown and buffeted by Tawhirimatea.

I start to connect these recent learnings with my life-long lessons. As I learn about various aspects of tikanga, I begin to understand more of my family and myself. I learn about the kawa of our marae and about manaaki manuhiri. Now I understand what my grandparents were doing when I brought friends home to their place. The little rituals, embarrassing to me, charming to my friends, make sense. My grandfather would invariably sit my friend at the table. He would focus his attention on him or her. He would speak words of welcome in English and in Maori. Then he would gently find out where she/he was from, his/her background and that of her/his parents. Meanwhile, my grandmother would be preparing food which would be laid out on the table and eaten by the friend first and then us. Then my grandfather, supported by my grandmother, would again welcome this friend invariably ending with the words. "Well, you're family now." This is tikanga in twentieth century capital city Aotearoa, this is the kawa of my childhood home. I realise that I have been living and practising our kawa and tikanga in my home and throughout my life.

I learn how our marae, Te Tatau o te Po, 'the Hall' came into being. I learn that the construction of traditional meeting houses was not condoned in 1930s Wellington. I learn of the sacrifices made and generosity shown in the Great Depression in order to build our house. A traditional meeting house was not acceptable to town planners, but a hall in the style of community halls of the time was. This explains the insistence of some of the old people that our house is called, 'the Hall.' Hence, there is no clue on the outside that this is a Maori house. It is only on entry that the many hours of work put into creating kowhaiwhai and tukutuku patterns becomes visible. As if to punish, the land immediately outside the door to our house was taken to build a main road; the land immediately behind taken to provide a railway, and our gardens later taken to become a

2 Position Statement

motorway. Under threat of demolition if our house did not comply with Council building code standards, lands to the side have had to be sold to provide for the necessary renovations. I understand now that our house is a proud symbol of oppression, creativity and survival.

Now my interest is in how 'modern Maori,' in all our diversity, approach and understand the construction of professional counselling and ourselves as practitioners of this profession. As modern Maori, we are born into a world of Western domination, and struggle to survive the impact of Western colonialism, education, oppression, and racism. I wonder whether we can maintain our truths within a storyline born of Western truths that seek to invalidate our own.

I look at myself as one modern Maori, positioned within storylines that may or may not intersect, that may or may not run parallel, struggling to reconcile these storylines as they define myself and others. I wonder how others construct and reconstruct their selves and their worlds within this context.

I speak as a product of Maori and Pakeha stories, as one whose views and realities, whose 'interpretive world(s)' are constructed from narratives which appear to me to highlight difference and contain inherent contradictions (Shweder, 1990). My voices are those of a woman and an academic and also of a child to my elders, a mother to my children, a part of whanau, hapu and iwi narratives. This search and re-search, the interpretations and revelations here-in, cannot help but be shaped by these multiple realities.

There are two phrases that I have often heard spoken by Maori attempting to describe their experience as Maori in English language terms:

"Maori are the only truly bicultural people in this land" and "All Maori are schizophrenic." I suspect that these descriptions are, in effect, one and the same.

DISCURSIVE FRAMES: MY JOURNEY

Initially this study's methodology appeared relatively simple. I had planned to interview several Maori professional counsellors about their counselling theory and practice. From these interviews I planned to identify and describe Maori models of counselling.

When conducting the interviews I was not initially aware of the processes surrounding the translation and interpretation of natural discourse. In this case, the translation and interpretation was not across two language systems, but across two discursive frames (encompassing distinct conceptual systems and structures) within the same language system.

It was originally envisaged that interviews with Maori who worked as counsellors would enable the identification of a 'Maori model of counselling'. I had thought that participants would point out ways in which their counselling practice was informed by their Maoritanga, and that this could lead to the identification of a distinctively Maori model of counselling theory and practice. In effect, I envisaged that my task would be to list the characteristics associated with Maori ways of working in the context of 'professional counselling'. However, the process has been distinctly less linear than I had anticipated.

I had assumed that communication between myself and participants would be 'enhanced' by my own position as a Maori person, and my familiarity with some of the issues for Maori. However, I had not considered how the dynamic of Maori-to-Maori communication might impact on the nature of information and understandings developed, or more precisely, on the negotiation and co-construction of meanings. In fact, I found that the understandings and the meaning-making processes shared between myself and participants could not be adequately storied within the discursive framework that structures Western academic narratives generally, and counselling theory and practice narratives in particular.

2 Position Statement

Although there was a particular quality of communication that I relate to a common discursive frame and shared meaning systems, participants also tended, initially at least, to exhibit some caution in their communications with me. I relate this caution to my status as an academic researcher. I was tested. Tests revolved around participants establishing the discursive frame I operated within. They wanted to know whether I was a Maori who thought primarily like a Western academic researcher, or was I an academic researcher who thought like a Maori.

The testing took the form of apparently casual conversations. However, I realised that underneath the conversations another set of meanings were being communicated. Participants then observed whether I responded to the overt text of their conversations, or whether I recognised and responded to the underlying sets of meanings. In some cases I responded to the overt text, in other cases I responded to the 'sub-text'. When I did not respond to the sub-text, it was usually because I did not 'hear' it at the time, but recognised it only later on reflection. To my surprise however, rather than 'clarifying' or 'exposing' the sub-text (that is translating meanings into a Western discursive frame or an overtly Maori discursive frame) I found myself responding to participants' sub-textual communications with my own. That is, I tended to respond in such a way that my communications could fit in either of two discursive frames. Attempts to explicitly reconstruct Maori sub-text through English idiom seemed over-wordy, imprecise and lacking in meaning, and hence inadequate. I also could not adequately communicate meaning within a traditional Maori language form because I did not have sufficient fluency in Maori language to do so. Nor would most participants have been able to understand Maori language communications, had I been able to 'explain and clarify' in Maori language. Furthermore, it struck me that this means of communication, and the 'testing' process was characteristic of much of my own communication, particularly with other Maori, and featured in communication between Maori generally. It was when attempting to write up, organise and explain our conversations, that I realised that participants' narratives could also be 'storied' in two distinct 'ways' (with several options available in each 'way'), and that the distinction between these 'ways' lay in the sets of meanings created within particular discursive frames.

The backbone of this thesis are the stories of participants in this study. In first meeting and interacting with the stories presented here, readers will inevitably co-create their own meanings. For the majority of readers (who may be expected to hail from Western cultural and academic contexts) meanings made through interacting with participants' stories will primarily be those which are coherent within a Western discursive frame.

I provide here two authorial 'readings' of participants' stories. To a point, the 'readings' I provide are arbitrary; that is they are two of many possible 'readings'. In this sense, I am exercising authorial privilege by imposing my own 'readings' of the text onto the words of others. In part, authorial privilege is also maintained through the organisation of stories. The point of the two 'readings', however, is to illustrate how Maori narratives may be constructed through English language and idiom. In the two 'readings' of participants' stories, the presentation of narratives, that is participants' words and the structure of their stories, remains unchanged. However, the alternative readings illustrate how the webs of meaning, and the discursive frames from which they are woven, may differ. In this way, different readers may translate/interpret the same narratives in diverse ways, with cultural contexts and the discourses that are dominant within these being a primary determinant of the nature of the translation/interpretation and meanings attached to these.

As most Maori do not speak Maori language fluently, the primary means of verbal communication amongst Maori people is through the medium of the English language. It may be argued that, as language is fundamental to the construction of meaning, those who are confined to the English language are confined also to Western discursive frameworks and the systems of meaning associated with these. Thus, storylines will be limited to those that are coherent within this discursive frame. According to this position, we know that which we have words to create and describe. Therefore, the loss of Maori language is seen as directly associated with a loss of 'traditional' Maori culture and cultural forms. It is debatable whether there is room within this position for the

2 Position Statement

acknowledgement of a Maori culture and cultural forms which have been modified and transformed through acculturative, assimilationist and genocidal processes.

This dissertation asserts that Maori discourse has difficulty attaining, and perhaps cannot attain, coherence within Western discursive frames. For example, Maori narratives that characterise land in close interpersonal terms; land as our spiritual mother, land as our creator, ourselves as created from and answerable to the land, our position as indivisible from the land, and our mana, spiritual and physical survival as dependent on the land, have little space to create coherence within a Western discursive frame that sees land as a commodity to be bought, sold, utilised, perhaps conserved, perhaps treasured, perhaps loved, perhaps exploited...but ultimately divisible from one's identity and being.

A number of questions then become pivotal to this thesis. Can we 'know' that which we do not have words to describe or symbolise? If so, can we communicate such knowledge? In particular, to what extent is it possible for cultural forms and culturally constructed narrative truths to be communicated in isolation from the language associated with the culture? To what extent might particular cultural narratives attain coherence within other culturally constituted discursive frames?

An effect of the imposition of a Western discursive frame, and the characterisations of self and other underpinning these, has been that it was, and often still is, unsafe for Maori visibly to adhere to and/or communicate Maori cultural forms within a Maori discursive framework. In earlier times, Maori language was forbidden in schools and was excluded from participation in the systems and institutions of the nation. All children were required to attend school, and Maori children were punished if they spoke Maori at school. As a result of these concerted attempts to invalidate and eradicate Maori language, few Maori now speak te reo. In recent times particularly, some cultural forms, such as 'art', 'music', 'song' and 'dance', have been subject to support and examination within the dominant Western discursive frame. This may be because such forms are considered 'safe' in that they are divorced from obvious historical statement, spiritual content and political intent and may be viewed as cultural artefacts or personal

2 Position Statement

expressions of 'cultural identity'. Maori discourse may be seen as more readily controlled and confined if appropriated into a Western discursive frame and subjected to Western re-definition. Thus whakairo (carving), moko (tattoo), waiata (songs) and kapa haka (performing arts) are re-defined as art forms. In fact, within a Maori discursive frame, these 'arts' are primarily spiritual, political activities and symbols which embody specific historical narratives. Through such re-definition, in effect the appropriation and 're-storying' of Maori narratives, attempts are made to deny the communication of Maori political, historical and spiritual truths.

Overt adherence to Maori discursive frames may render one vulnerable to imprisonment (if tikanga Maori or Maori lore comes into conflict with New Zealand law), incarceration (for example, in psychiatric institutions or in 'chemical straitjackets' if one's way of being is in conflict with the norms on which the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM), the International Classification of Disorders (ICD) and other Western-derived models of psychiatric disorders are based), stigmatisation (again if one's 'self' is too obviously divorced from the 'normal self' of Western culture), or rejection and isolation (from dominant educational, social, employment and market place systems and structures).

It is proposed here that Maori cultural narratives, and Maori selves, are thus rendered invisible and voiceless within the dominant Western discursive framework. It is further proposed that the pressure, indeed the imperative, for Maori discourse to remain invisible and voiceless has led to the development of a coded 'sub-text' which I refer to here as 'MAORI-English'. The 'sub-text' is inchoate rather than explicit. It relates to the meanings that underpin the narrative, that is, how it is made meaningful. It is through this coded sub-text that Maori may communicate and maintain communication within a Maori discursive frame, whilst simultaneously communicating, or appearing to communicate, within a Western discursive frame. Thus, those that 'know the code' (that is the unstated meanings and connections) may understand, abbreviate and re-construct communications at the sub-textual level, while those that do not merely engage with the overt text. It is this dynamic which underlies much of the extensive misunderstandings

2 Position Statement

which characterise Maori - non-Maori, and specifically Maori - Pakeha, communications. As communication between culturally constructed selves forms the 'stuff' of counselling endeavours, and the negotiation and co-creation of meaning is at the heart of the counselling process, this distinction between dominant Western cultural text and Maori sub-text is of critical importance.

INTRODUCTION

This study was born out of two areas of experience and observation. The first relates to a well-recognised social observation of the disproportionately high rates of psychiatric illness amongst Maori and the different patterns of diagnosis, treatment and prognosis amongst Maori and Pakeha populations (Te Puni Kokiri, 1996). Awareness of these differences raised questions about the usefulness of Western methods of diagnosis and treatment of Maori in relation to psychiatric illness in general and the psychology of Maori in particular. In addition, the differential patterns of diagnosis and psychiatric admission and re-admission rates for Maori and Pakeha highlighted gaps in understanding (my own and others in the field) about the cause of these different patterns.

The second area which prompted my interest in the subject matter of this thesis was the frustration that I experienced over years of studying clinical psychology, therapy and counselling in the academic arena and practice-based contexts. The frustration developed as I realised that psychology, and in particular clinical and counselling psychology, provided a limited framework and language through which the human mind and behaviour could be understood, explained and analysed. The understandings, explanations and analysis – the language of psychology – did not adequately reflect my experience as a Maori woman. More than this, some of the diagnostic and therapeutic models I learnt about, and the models of healthy selfhood on which they were based defined me, my family and community as unhealthy. Things that I had learnt to value, practise and aspire to were constructed through psychological narratives as deviant. In addition, large chunks of my reality were missing from the understandings, explanations and analyses of people that psychology espoused. To make matters worse, I found that there was no space in the positivist psychological discourse of the time for me to locate or narrate my own meanings and realities. In other words, I could not construct a coherent account of myself, my whanau, community, and culture through the language of psychology.

As a psychological therapist and counselling practitioner, I found that I was sometimes referred Maori clients with whom my senior colleagues had had trouble achieving effective results. I discovered that my relationship with Maori clients tended to be of a

3 Introduction

different nature from my relationship with non-Maori clients. In effect, I related to Maori clients first as Maori; and second, in terms of our relationships within whanau, hapu and iwi structures.¹ I also found that clients I related to in this way tended to progress well, leading to the rapid and successful termination of counselling. The different ways of relating, and the positive outcomes that seemed to be associated with this, further raised my awareness that Western models of psychology and counselling did not necessarily provide positive outcomes for Maori. It also prompted me to consider that my own 'indigenous' model of relating and providing counsel, a model developed out of a knowledge base removed from my psychological training, might have some value.

These factors led me to explore the nature of contemporary Maori systems of healing. Specifically, I was interested in what might be defined as models of counselling and therapy. The original and primary question of interest in the present study was "How do contemporary Maori approach the practice of professional counselling?". Subsumed within this question were numerous other questions and considerations. These included: "Who are contemporary Maori?"; "What is professional counselling?"; and, "What are the culturally constituted bases of contemporary Maori approaches to professional counselling?"². Thus, in the course of examining the primary research question, a number of issues were identified, and diverse approaches examined. This chapter provides an academic orientation to the rationale and structure of the present work.

Within the academic arena, issues of 'culture and counselling' have typically been addressed from a Western standpoint. Perspectives on the culture–counselling interface, and the discourse through which these are constructed, have likewise been developed within this position. Examinations of 'other' cultures and cultural groups have thus been conducted and interpreted through Western lenses. Examinations of 'other' cultures by counsellors and those from associated disciplines have also typically been conducted with a view to maximising the 'effectiveness' of counselling across cultures.³ As such, the

¹ Whanau here refers to extended family, hapu to sub-tribe and iwi to tribe. In effect, I am referring to kinship and genealogical ties.

² Professional counselling understood here to include the practice of counselling with an organisational recognition of this as central to one's role, and financial payment for this.

³ The nature of counselling 'effectiveness' is debatable. However this debate will not be entered into here.

3 Introduction

emphasis has been on identifying those elements of counselling practice in need of modification. In this way, culture appears to have been conceived as a somewhat problematic factor of which counsellors have been urged to take account in their work, so that the exportation of psychological theory and practice to non-Western peoples may be most effectively achieved.⁴ This imperative provides the rationale behind cultural sensitivity training, and requirements that counsellors acquire a certain level of knowledge of other cultures in order to more effectively apply (impose) various models of counselling theory and practice (on) to culturally different peoples. Internationally, and specifically in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, this typically implies that counsellors, in order to practice as culturally sensitive, safe and/or competent practitioners, acquire a certain level of knowledge about indigenous and/or minority group languages and cultures. In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context this usually means acquiring knowledge of Maori language and culture.⁵ This in turn implies that increased levels of knowledge about 'Maoritanga' translates to increased competence and ability to work with Maori people. Embedded within this imperative, however, is a logocentrism which Derrida (1976, 1978 in Chandler, 1998) sees as having come to embody Western metaphysics. That is, an assumption that the word, as signifier, has a privileged relationship with meaning and truth. Drawing on Ong's (1967, 1982) analyses and the work of Derrida (1976, 1978), Chandler (1998) locates logocentrism as an "interpretive bias ... which privileges linguistic communication over ... 'non-verbal' forms of communication and expression and over unverballed feelings. Logocentrism also privileges the eye and ear over other sensory modalities such as touch."⁶ Thus, there is an assumption that one can come to 'know' and 'understand' a culture through learning about it, and in the Western tradition 'learning about' is mediated through the spoken and written word. At the same time, however, Derrida's theories emphasise language, as signified in the word, as a means of extending our sense of the world, that which we can 'know', whilst simultaneously reducing our

⁴ See, for example, Sampson's critique of Miller's Presidential Address to the American Psychological Society in 1969, in which Miller appealed to psychologists to discover "how best to give psychology away" to the people (Miller, 1969, p. 1079 cited in Sampson, 1991, p. 277). See also Sue and Sue (1990, 1999).

⁵ See Ponterrotto, Casas, Suzuki and Alexander (1995) for a discussion of these issues; also Smith (1989) in reference to the notions of cultural sensitivity and cultural competence in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and Lawson-Te Aho (1996) for a discussion on the appropriation of Maori cultural knowledge.

⁶ I do not distinguish here between the notion of phonocentrism and that of logocentrism, seeing speech and writing as alternative manifestations of essentially the same signifiers. See also Synott (1993) and

3 Introduction

awareness of its mediation. Thus language extends our ability to 'grasp' and conceptualise things through categorisation according to the word, while limiting our ability to conceptualise that which we do not have words to signify. Derrida's deconstructionist style of reading texts illustrates the multiplicity of legitimate interpretations of a text and highlights the multiple layers of meaning at work in language. His work attempts to show that language is constantly shifting, creating tensions between the ideals of clarity and coherence that have traditionally been assumed to govern Western philosophy.

The assumption that models of counselling developed within Western cultural contexts can be 'applied', albeit with some modification, to other cultural contexts and to members of other cultural groups is also both monocultural and assimilationist. Such a stance fails to acknowledge the validity of 'other' cultural systems of healing and ways and means of providing counsel, and reflects an assumption that indigenous models are superceded by and should be subsumed within progressive Western approaches. This perspective has dominated psychological and counselling discourse. It is identified here as indicative of an oppressive and universalistic position, in part because it is based on the premise that Western models of psychology, counselling and therapy are universally valid, coherent and applicable.

It has been well argued that psychology and counselling, along with associated models of mental health and illness, are based on a particular conception of self. Thus, the position identified above is also indicative of an assumption that there is a fundamentally universal and essential human self, and that this is congruent (if not synonymous) with dominant Western conceptions of 'self'.⁷

In contrast, from a relativist position, culture is located as foundational to and constitutive of conceptions of self. It is therefore central to the development of counselling theory, practice, systems, and structures. From this perspective, culture is viewed as forming and informing the development of psychological theory and counselling models and, indeed, as the very basis of that Western construction known as psychology. Counselling, with its

Classen (1993).

⁷ Landrine (1992) and Sampson (1993a; 1993b) examine these propositions in some depth. These

3 Introduction

roots firmly in the field of psychology, is likewise viewed as culturally constituted and contingent. If this position is accepted, the emphasis shifts from the Western model's simple examination of 'other cultures' (premised on the invisibility, neutrality and dominance of Western cultural forms⁸) to a consideration of the cultural foundations, justifications and development of culture-specific counselling theories, practices, systems and structures.

The relativistic position carries with it an expectation that models of counselling theory and practice, built upon particular cultural foundations, may differ in fundamental respects from those developed within other cultural contexts. As such they may not be valid, coherent or applicable across different cultural contexts. Therefore the value and validity of culturally constituted models must be meaningfully assessed within the context of the culture within which they attain coherence.

Theoretical Stance And Methodology

The culture of interest in the present study is that of the New Zealand Maori.⁹ The specific subject matter is the exploration of Maori models of counselling in contemporary Aotearoa, in relation to the discursive constructions of self within which these are framed.¹⁰ As indicated above, this dissertation asserts that the relationship between culture and counselling is interdependent. Counselling develops within a cultural context, attains coherence within this context, and is open to theoretical examination and constructively valid discussion (only) within the cultural contexts from which they have emerged. As culturally contingent conceptions of self and other are at the core of psychological and

arguments are examined further at a later point in this work.

⁸ The emphasis in this work is on cultural forms, as opposed to race or colour; however Wong (1994) provides a telling analysis of the privileged position of 'Whiteness' within psychological texts and subtexts.

⁹ It may be argued that the delineation of a 'Maori culture' or 'Maoritanga' is itself a modern and/or Western construction. For example, Hanson (1989) and Walker (1996) see 'Maoritanga' as a post-European phenomenon, although they develop rather different positions from this point of common ground. Many 'Maori' do not subscribe to description and definition of their cultural selfhood as 'Maori' or as embodied in 'Maoritanga', preferring whanau, hapu and iwi based points of identity. These issues are raised further at a later point in this work.

¹⁰ A number of post-structuralist philosophers and linguists, including Derrida, argue that our identities,

3 Introduction

counselling theory and practice, I argue that it is necessary to develop a position grounded within Maori epistemology, in order to construct coherent accounts of Maori models of counselling.

From a narrative perspective, meaning is made through the way in which we story our worlds.¹¹ I have chosen to work with a narrative approach because this approach opens up the possibility for a variety of stories to be told. A narrative approach provides space to talk about academic and personal experience, to include stories told in diverse ways and located within particular, culturally constituted, 'webs of meaning' (Waldegrave, 1990).

Of relevance to the present study, and particularly in terms of 'balancing out' the deconstructionist emphasis in post-structuralist (specifically Derridian) theory, are the formulations of Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin in relation to dialogics. Drawing in part on the ideas of Socrates and Buber, Bakhtin developed his ideas along two major lines consistent with the stance taken in terms of the nature of narrative and storying in this thesis. A major tenet of Bakhtinian dialogics is that communication and meaning resides in the boundaries of consciousness between two or more people, "who use words that are both socially originated and infused with past and future voices. [Thus] whereas deconstruction would highlight this ambiguity [between language and meaning] as the inability of words to convey precise meaning, Bakhtin welcomed this vagueness of meaning as a means by which to create meaning dialogically. Bakhtin sees the entire scope of human life as a dialogic process whereby we find meaning only through our interactions with others." (Honeycutt, 1994, Chapter 2, pp. 1,3). Thus, Bakhtinian dialogics emphasises context, and the space between speaker/author and listener/reader as site of the construction of meaning. His notion of 'heteroglossia' as "the concrete socio-historical context" which is a pre-requisite to the construction and re-construction of texts illustrates this (Honeycutt, 1994, Chapter 4, p. 1). Another tenet of Bakhtinian dialogics is the notion of polyphony, which exists in literary genre where an author creates characters that are ideologically different from him or her self. In social discursive contexts, polyphony may be seen as referring to the multiple voices of selves.

our selves are constructed through language.

¹¹ See expositions on the nature of narrative in Sarbin (1986); Waldegrave (1990); White and Epston

The discursively located practice of storying, then, is a device through which academic, Maori and personal meanings may be constructed and negotiated. Therefore, narrative and discourse provide an acceptable academic theoretical framework for the present study.¹²

Discursive Frames

This study is based around a series of stories. The stories are told through voices speaking within culturally constituted discursive frames. Using the concept of discourse as a primary methodological tool, three discursive frames are delineated.¹³ The three discursive frames are employed as a means of exploring the negotiation of meaning in narratives.

It is proposed that systems of coherence¹⁴ form the framework within which areas of discourse may be delineated. In order for the discourse to be intelligible (meaningful), the coherence systems within which it is framed must be accessible to readers/listeners.¹⁵ Thus, in order to engage in meaning making within a particular discourse, one must know not merely a range of isolated concepts, but the relationships between them, the values ascribed to them, and the way in which they cohere to create systems of meaning; a coherent discursive frame. Linde (1993) describes such systems as systems of common sense. Thus, the coherence systems which frame discourse may be considered to represent the parameters of common sense.

The role of listener/reader is also that of translator/interpreter. The role is never neutral,

(1990).

¹² Discourse related terminology is often problematic. While narrative is accepted as providing an appropriate Western theoretical framework for this study, the method is not without its problems. It may be argued, for instance, that the narrative approach privileges the word, and simultaneously dismisses unspoken, unlanguage, unspeakable experience. See for example Flaskas and Cade (1998).

¹³ While these are in some senses, artificial, they are necessary to portray the process of meaning making in different cultural milieu.

¹⁴ The term 'coherence' as used here is relative, it refers to a subjective and imperfect sense that a narrative is meaningful and related to and contiguous with other systems of meaning. See Linde (1993) for a discussion on the nature of coherence.

¹⁵ It may also be argued that coherence is constructed through discourse. While this position is

3 Introduction

because in translating/interpreting we inevitably impose our culturally constituted systems of making meaning and constructing coherence. Quine (1960, p.58), writing in reference to the translation of native utterances argued that “better translation imposes our logic upon them” (cited in Hutchins, 1980, p. 46). This position effectively advocates for translation as the imposition of one conceptual system onto another in order to create coherence within the culture of the translator. If one conceptual system is available or primary, the translation of any utterance to create logic and coherence will necessarily involve the imposition of that conceptual system over the original other within which it was framed. However, in relation to the role of listener/reader in translating discourse, Malinowski, as interpreted by Hutchins (1980), argued that translation may only be meaningfully rendered in the context of ethnography. His translations of utterances thus varied according to context. Following this position, Hutchins noted that:

“In spoken communication in particular, the meaning of a message is not in the message itself. The meaning is in the interpretation of the message. The interpretation is accomplished by reference to a large body of conceptual material that seldom finds explicit representation in the spoken messages of the speech community.” (Hutchins, 1980, p. 47)¹⁶

The three discursive frames delineated in the stories contained here-in represent three areas of discourse constituted through a variety of voices engaged in the creation, negotiation and re-creation of stories. Distinctions between these areas of discourse are conceptually based and represent reifications. However, the strategy is aimed at giving voice to storytellers located within various cultural milieu, in such a manner that the monologism inherent in many texts is made explicit and a dialogical text promoted.

Dialogue takes place within the confines of the discursive frames. Voices within these frames do not attempt to engage in dialogue outside of their frames, for to do so would entail a shift by one or the other to a position removed from their discursive frame. In

acknowledged and accepted, the argument is ultimately circular. The two are interdependent.

¹⁶ Hutchins concluded that in order to translate natural discourse, “the translator must first parse the utterance into its representation in the conceptual structure of the source culture (that is the culture surrounding the language to be translated).” (1980, p. 47)

3 Introduction

other words, in attempting to translate one system of meanings into another, the communicator is required to become subject to the imposition of the 'other' system of logic and meaning.¹⁷ Coherence within the discursive frame of the 'other' is then lost. Stories here-in, then, are told within the parameters of the three discursively created and maintained 'virtual reality' worlds.

My 'self,' is openly and visibly engaged in, central to and subject of this re-search. My self, as author, is positioned as participant, observer and translator/interpreter. Thus, authorial voice is unavoidably privileged within all three discursive frames. This technique does not aim to provide a critical perusal and objective analysis of texts, but rather a forum for storytellers engaged in telling stories to create a text at once subjective and hybrid.

It is argued that the position of the writer and of participants, straddling Māori and Western discursive frameworks, and their associated worlds, truths and realities, are constituted through multiple voices.¹⁸ The voices speak within (and achieve coherence within) distinct discursive frames. At times a tension is apparent as attempts to synthesise multiple personal voices to create a coherent storyline are elusive, sometimes there is no attempt at synthesis because the voices are unable to communicate across frames without losing sense or coherence.

The three discursive frames are distinguished in the stories told in this text as three distinct type faces, as demonstrated below. While distinct, the identified discursive frames are clearly not independent of each other. However, the separation of what are essentially aspects of the discourses through which realities are constituted, into three discursive frames, is a methodological device which allows for more clarity, transparency, and integrity than a 'synthesis' of constituent discourses into a single, allegedly coherent storyline would allow. Such a 'synthesis' would inevitably privilege one system of meanings to achieve coherence within that system. Ultimately, as this is an academic work, it would be Western academic discourse that would be likely to maintain a

¹⁷ See Sampson (1993a) on issues relating to monologism, dialogism, power, voice and communication between central subject and 'other.'

3 Introduction

privileged position; thus the monologism which Sampson (1993a) has identified as a feature of academic discourse would effectively be reinforced.

The bulk of the thesis is written in the present type face, which is characterised as 'discursive frame one'. This type face represents my own multiple voices and those of the key participants in this study as they tell their stories (with my self again present as co-constructor, facilitator and organiser of stories). Hence, discursive frame one presents a personal discursive frame through which the multiple voices of participants, my self included, speak. The voices within this discursive frame tell stories of self and other, of past, present and future.

'Discursive frame two', presented in italicised type, includes authorial voice speaking from a position within Western academic discourse. This academic discursive framework is constituted of a polyphony of academic voices. Differences in speech, position and stance between voices engaged in academic discourse are characterised in the present study as representative of dialectical variation, rather than differences in discursive frame. It is argued that this discursive frame is composed of shared meanings which enable the systematic construction of a coherent academic discourse. The most fundamental of shared meanings relate to conceptions of 'self', 'other' and the foundations and parameters of 'legitimate' knowledge. A 'reading' of participant narratives from within this discursive frame is constructed in an attempt to provide context and understanding of the narratives from a position within discursive frame two. This frame represents dominant discourses within Aotearoa/New Zealand in general, and New Zealand psychology and counselling narratives in particular. This frame represents the construction of Maori meanings from primarily Western 'materials'. I refer to this discursive frame as ENGLISH-Maori discourse.

'Discursive frame three' presents Maori discourse as constituted through narrative accounts in Maori voices. The focus is on contemporary Maori constructions of self. Voices speaking within this Maori discursive frame include those speaking in written modality, through Maori media and those voices carried by the writer from

¹⁸ See previous discussion re-: a Bahktinian orientation for an exposition on this position.

3 Introduction

participation in the formal and informal systems of Maori whanau, hapu, iwi and community. A 'reading' of participant narratives is constructed within this Maori discursive frame. The third discursive frame may be characterised as a contemporary Maori frame. Within this frame Maori voices speak in a form which I refer to as MAORI-English. Within this discursive frame, Maori models of self and of counselling are positioned as central, while indelibly imprinted with the effects of British colonisation and a hegemonic society.

Discursive frames two and three are used to generate different 'readings' of the participant's stories, which constitute the main body of this work. Direct comparison between the 'readings' located within the different discursive frames is not emphasised, although the juxtaposition of some slices of discourse in relation to others may invite comparative analysis. The active involvement of readers in translation/interpretation and in the creation of coherence is likewise recognised and promoted.

Discursive frame one, representing personal voice, is used throughout the study. Within this discursive frame, the multiple voices of myself and participants find expression. In particular, readers will recognise the influence of Western academic and Maori discursive frames throughout my authorial commentary.

Structure

As outlined above, the central data within this study are presented as a series of stories constructed from participants' narratives, and utilising three discursive frames. The focus of the interviews from which the narratives emerged was the elucidation of models of counselling which formed and informed the counselling practice of participants. This focus reflects an assumption that counsellors operate within implicit models based on their constructions of self, other, and the world around them. The implied and informal models of participants are explored through identifying meanings, motives, assumptions and realities through which participants create coherency in their constructions of themselves as Maori, as practising counsellors, and as purveyors of particular theories relating to counselling.

3 Introduction

The participants' narratives are organised largely according to a general biographical format. This includes attention to their childhood and upbringing, how they came to the counselling profession, their histories of counselling work and 'models' of counselling; that is, what they do in their counselling practice and why they do what they do, the 'theory' which underpins the practice. In addition, themes that emerged from the text of participants' narratives are identified and employed in the construction of coherent stories.

Following this introductory section, two chapters relating to context are presented. The first chapter in the 'context section' examines stories of Maori identity and history. Particular attention is given to Western constructions of Maori as a singular and distinct racial, ethnic and cultural group. Although the primary focus of the study is on contemporary Maori experience and epistemology, historical constructions are considered to be of relevance in relation to their impact on current constructions of Maori identity. However, analysis of 'pre-European Maoritanga' is not conducted in depth, in part because identity was not conceived of in terms of 'Maori' and 'Maoritanga' before European contact and settlement. Contemporary Maori conceptions of 'Maori identity' are juxtaposed with conceptions of race, culture and ethnicity as constructed within a Western discursive frame. In summary, this section aims to create a picture¹⁹ of Maori identity as a site of contested meanings, and of the resistance of Maori peoples to ongoing European colonisation.

The second chapter in the 'context section' is concerned with the nature of counselling; in large part this may be seen to be embodied in the *whakapapa*²⁰ of counselling. This chapter provides a summary of the historical development of counselling, from an activity embedded in social roles and relationships, to a profession with an associated body of academic research, theory and practice. Debates around the definition of counselling, the location of counselling theory and practice in relation to other Western academic areas, and the political power aspects of counselling are identified. Attention is given in particular to the preferred models of 'self' which are implicit within academic psychology

¹⁹ As is the case with pictures, this is a necessarily partial picture, in that it is both incomplete and not impartial.

3 Introduction

and counselling literature, and to the potential and/or actual proscriptive function of counselling theory and practice in maintaining a particular model of self in a privileged position.

At this point a 'first reading' of participants narratives is offered. In the interests of brevity only one narrative is included in the body of the work at this time, the remainder being appended to be read if desired. In the 'first readings', the narratives are interspersed with commentaries constructed within a Western discursive frame (*discursive frame two*). These commentaries are designed to provide a context to guide readers in their translation/interpretation and generation of meanings from the narratives. The contextual comments and explanations of terminology used, incorporate references to Maori culture and cultural forms. However, the comments and explanations are constructed within a Western discursive frame. Thus, the commentary and explanations in this reading of the participants' narratives may be characterised as 'ENGLISH-Maori'. That is, they are rooted in English language, Western culturally constituted coherence systems, the storylines available within the parameters of such systems and in typically Western narratives about Maori culture.

The third context chapter is then presented to provide an insight into Maori models of self. 'Te Wheke,' a model developed by Rangimarie Rose Pere (1988, 1991), is outlined, and Maori narratives relating to the dimensions of this model are presented. In line with Maori discursive protocols, senior Maori speakers/writers are accorded the right to speak/write without interruption; thus, there are at times extensive quotes which I, as author, do not attempt to revise or interpret.

In the second presentation of participants' narratives, the structure and organisation of readings remains the same, and the first 'ENGLISH-Maori reading' is retained. Underneath this, however, runs a second, 'MAORI-English' sub-textual reading. This 'reading' is constructed within discursive frame three; the focus is on the construction of meanings and creation of coherence within a Maori discursive frame. This second reading may be characterised as a 'MAORI-English' reading, in that the primary language used is

²⁰ 'Whakapapa' in this sense may be rendered as genealogy, history and relationship to a particular area.

3 Introduction

English, but the meanings are constructed according to Maori narratives of self and other. Te Wheke provides a framework on which sub-textual Maori meanings may be ‘hung.’ In other words, participants’ narratives are related to the dimensions of Te Wheke and aspects thereof. Although there are multiple constructions of participants’ narratives available within Western and Maori discursive frames, Pere's Te Wheke model is used here as a vehicle to construct, delineate and make visible a sub-textual storyline. Thus, if one is reading the participants’ stories from a position within a Maori discursive frame, this is one way of connecting with the sub-text.

In the concluding sections of this study, a summary of key points relating to the process and ‘findings’ of this textual journey is provided, and then issues, dilemmas and possibilities are discussed.

An Overview Of The Methodological Journey:

Kimihia Te Ara Tika²¹

‘Tika’ may be translated as ‘correct’, ‘right’, ‘truth’ and ‘justice’. The term tikanga is often translated as customs, protocol or traditions. As used here, however, ‘tikanga’ refers to ways of perceiving, thinking and acting that are based in particular conceptions of what is right, correct, true and just. These ways of perceiving, thinking and acting often find expression in formal and recognisably Maori contexts, through custom, protocol and tradition. However, I take the position that tikanga, with its basis in that which is tika, is expressed and performed in numerous contexts other than those overtly recognisable as based in custom, protocol and tradition. To know what is right, correct, proper and just, according to who one is, where one is from, who one faces and the nature of the situation at hand, and to act in accordance with this, is tikanga.

As I embarked on this research, there was no substantive literature relating to tikanga in research or tikanga associated with the theory and practice of psychology and counselling. To ensure that I was knowing, respecting and following tikanga at all stages in this

²¹ A translation of ‘kimihia te ara tika’ is ‘to seek the path of right, of truth and of justice’.

3 Introduction

research, I tried to listen to the whispers within and around me. I sought advice from my elders; I listened to and acted on my 'intuition'; I looked for *tohu*²² which would point me in the right direction; I looked to *whakatauaki*²³ - those sayings passed down from our *tupuna* to guide us. I drew on my own experiences and knowledge base, attempting to identify right from wrong in this context by searching for the core principles, values, meanings in other situations where *tikanga* was clearer, and transferring these principles to the present situation. My belief has been that my job is to seek the signs which will lead me to the path that I am meant to follow. Once known, once seen, once sensed, I am to follow *te ara tika*, the path that is right for me (according to who I am, the present context and in relation to those I face and am accountable to). This is the path to my truth. On the right path there is protection and good company. Conversely, to take an alternative route is to walk *he ara he*, a wrong, incorrect and untruthful road. To take a wrong road is dangerous.

At times when I came to cross-roads I stood still. At times I was paralysed with fear lest I take a wrong road. I waited until I could see the signs which showed me the way. This journey is the methodology herein. I think it is right, this *tikanga*, for me, for who I am, where I have come from, and where I stand now.

Some Points of Illumination

Outlined below are some points of illumination that occurred on this journey.

Illumination I: A Second Year Psychology Class

The lecturer asks us how many people believe in 'ESP' or 'paranormal phenomena'. He invites people to share their experiences. I am one who shares. I am shaking with fear as I do so. I shake because it feels unsafe but also necessary to draw a picture of this part of my being that has been rendered invisible and voiceless in psychology.

²² *Tohu* are signs which are of spiritual origin, but manifested in the temporal realm.

²³ *Whakatauaki* are words of wisdom passed down from our ancestors. They serve to remind us of our

3 Introduction

The lecturer then proceeds to deny the reality of those who have shared. He takes us through a review of psychological research in the area. The research is mainly based on cards with shapes on it. The existence of 'paranormal phenomena' is not proved.

I am shattered. I am angry. How dare this psychology presume to define my experiences and my reality within its narrow parameters of understanding as 'paranormal' (meaning 'not normal'), and then invalidate my experiences, declaring my reality to be 'unproved' and therefore undeserving of truth status.

I am frustrated. The narratives I would use to frame my understandings if I were to attempt to explain my position, are not valid within the discourse in use in this university and in this psychology. My discursive frame finds itself in conflict with the prevailing discourse in academic psychology in three areas. First, emotional expression, and in particular the emotional expression of anger and hurt is not considered a valid narrative style in academic psychology. My discourse would contain themes of hurt and anger. My discourse would contain outrage at the actions of this man and this discipline in trampling on the mana²⁴ of others. Second, definitions of 'normal', 'abnormal' and 'paranormal' within my discursive frame diverge from those within academic psychology. The things labelled 'paranormal' and 'abnormal' in psychological discourse would be called normal and natural in my own narratives. Those things characterised as outside of/extra to our senses, must only be outside of the senses of those who are senseless, or whose senses are blunted or undeveloped. They are part of the wairua.²⁵ There must be no wairua²⁶ in psychology.

The third area in which my discursive frame finds itself in conflict with the prevailing positivist academic discourse is in the recognition of multiple narratives and multiple truths. Within the positivist academic pursuit of universal truth, the existence of multiple valid narratives and multiple truths is denied. Within my framework, those who shared

truths and guide our thoughts and actions.

²⁴ In this context, 'mana' may be explained as prestige and authority.

²⁵ The term wairua refers to our spiritual being and participation in the spiritual realm.

²⁶ In this context, wairua refers to spirit and spiritual dimension

3 Introduction

were offering gifts of experiences, realities, truths. These are taonga.²⁷ They are to be treated with respect and honoured, regardless of whether one agrees with or adopts those particular narratives oneself. This is tikanga. Where is the tikanga in psychology?

Illumination II: A Post-graduate Psychology Seminar.

A question is put to the listeners. ‘What is intuition?’ We have a few minutes to think about and record our answers. Then we feed back our definitions of intuition.

The fellow staff and students of psychology in this seminar are all Pakeha. The feedback unanimously associates ‘intuition’ with unconscious processes, and non-verbal communication. Unspoken is the message: there are ‘rational’ and temporal explanations for the ‘intuition’ phenomenon. These explanations are sited within ourselves, as intuition, of course, is teaching from within.

I look at my own definition of intuition, ‘guidance from without’. It is a careful way of saying what I mean. What I mean is that I see ‘intuition’ as direction from the spiritual realm. This cannot be safely said in a post-graduate seminar in our psychology department.²⁸

Illumination III: A Maori Language Course for the Unemployed.

“Today,” says our tutor, “we are going to talk about kehua.”²⁹ Who has had experiences with kehua?”

All eight Maori hands go up, the one Pakeha hand stays down. We go around the room talking of our experiences. Our tutor starts. It is safe. Some have one experience to speak of, others have several, a few have had frequent experiences over their remembered lives. The experiences are different, yet common. We describe our experience of this Maori

²⁷ A taonga is a treasured thing, something regarded as precious and of value.

²⁸ I have defined myself according to the ‘container’ metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson (1980); Lakoff (1987); Sampson (1993a); but I have given myself-as-container permeable boundaries. Intuition comes from outside myself as container but it permeates within. It does not belong to me, but is given to me.

3 Introduction

reality in English, as that is our first and only language of competence. The Pakeha student says that she has heard about others' experiences and believes.

Continuing the journey.

The first step in following an appropriate tikanga for this search was finding what felt right and what felt wrong to me. This took the form of lists headed 'What I do want to do' and 'What I do not want to do'. These lists represented my initial, somewhat naive attempts to develop a research methodology appropriate for me as a rangatahi³⁰ woman of Te Atiawa and Taranaki whanui,³¹ and appropriate also for those who would be participants in this research. The items on these lists have been achieved or not achieved to varying degrees within this research. In most cases the items I initially identified emerged as more complex than I had anticipated, and sometimes they became moot as my theoretical stance developed. However, these items represent a process of developing a methodology and theoretical rationale that was consistent with my own experience of my self as a Te Atiawa woman seeking a place within the 'Academy.'³²

The list of 'What I don't want to do' came first and was informed in part by my discomfort with numerous aspects of this subject, psychology, that I had been studying, and the research methodologies that I had been taught. In effect, 'what I don't want to do' was an exposition on the elements of Western derived research processes and practices that appeared to me to be wrong or unjust; that is not 'tika'. Presented below are some of the items from these lists. Beneath each item, I include a comment or illustration pertinent to

²⁹ Kehua may be translated as 'ghost' or 'spirit'.

³⁰ 'Rangatahi' here refers to my comparative youth.

³¹ 'Taranaki whanui' refers to my position within the wider grouping of the tribes and sub-tribes of Taranaki Maori.

³² At the time that this research was being developed, there was little available information on 'kaupapa Maori' research, or Maori centred research methodologies. The process described here represents my personal attempt to synthesise my values, aspirations and beliefs as Maori, with the research methodologies that I was trained in as a psychologist and academic.

3 Introduction

the bullet-pointed item.

These are the things that I do not want to do:

- I do not want to perpetuate the impression that the translation of Maori concepts into the English language represents a simple transposition of Maori concepts into equivalent Pakeha (Western) concepts.

It is my belief that Maori concepts cannot be fully translated into English language idiom or Pakeha (Western) conceptual structures and coherence systems. Although I have found it necessary to attempt to define particular words and concepts in the context of the present study, I have done so on the clear premise that the translations represent 'best attempts' and can only approximate that which they attempt to describe in the context in which they are located.

- I do not want to compare and contrast Maori and Pakeha concepts and coherence systems.

This point is related to the previous one and emphasises my perception that Maori and Western concepts are embedded within complex systems of coherence which frame discourses and which are culturally constituted and contingent. As such, the discursively produced 'standard' and nature of truths within these frameworks are not amenable to meaningful comparison across frameworks. To attempt to engage in such comparison would require the identification of a central standard to compare an 'other' against. In most cases comparisons between Maori and Pakeha/Western systems have located Pakeha/Western constructions as central, the standard against which the Maori 'other' is compared and judged. Once again, I have engaged in some comparison on this journey, but I have attempted to keep this to a minimum and to use Maori as the 'standard' against which Western models are measured.

I do not want to reframe and refit my participants' understandings into Pakeha/Western

Introduction

frameworks for understanding.

Related to the previous two points, I have attempted to avoid privileging Pakeha/Western discursive frames and making participants' voices subject to analysis (only) within this framework. While parts of this work include guided 'readings' of participants' stories from a position within a Pakeha/Western, ENGLISH-Maori discursive frame, and while Western discourses are given space here-in, direct comparative analysis between frameworks has been kept to a minimum.

- I do not want to present Maori perspectives for dissection, analysis and judgement by Western academics.

My rationale for this point is, perhaps, best illustrated in the following story:

A story of (in)digestion.

I am speaking with a kuia³³ about the idea that 'in translation there is transformation'. She knows this idea and tells me, in her words, what this means to her.

"When the Pakeha want to understand us, they pull us apart and cut us up. They cannot swallow us and our understandings whole. They have to cut our reality into bite-size pieces that will fit into their thin-lipped mouths. Then they chew and mix our beliefs all up and process us within their organs. When our realities reappear out the other end, they are unrecognisable...a different size, shape, smell, texture, and colour. This is what the Pakeha does to us. This is why it is dangerous to allow them to eat with us at our table of knowledge, because they will feed from us and excrete us.

³³ 'Kuia' may be translated as 'female elder.'

Introduction

I mean, look what's happened to our taniwha.³⁴ Our taniwha were once creatures of power and of mana, of ihi and of wehi.³⁵ Now we have books written about taniwha. Animated taniwha appear on television. They are consigned to the realm of children, of myth and of fairy tale. Our taniwha have been redefined. They are unrecognisable. They are more like water-dwelling English dragons than taniwha. The taniwha that our children are introduced to are comfortable and containable within the Pakeha digestive system. They have been stripped of their power and mana, their ihi and wehi. They are one-dimensional; that dimension is physical. There is no wairua in these modern taniwha.”

This story makes sense to me. I check it out, engaging in reflexivity. Speaking with my taueki,³⁶ I ask a question.

“What is a taniwha?”

“A taniwha”, he replies, “hides in murky water. Then, sometimes they come out. That is why you must be careful. You must always be alert and watching around you. These taniwha, they hide, you might not see them. And they're fast. Because you never know where a taniwha might be. And if you're not careful, he'll eat you up.”

This is a lesson. This is a warning. I am swimming in murky waters. I am in a pool called psychology, part of a river of academia. I must be wary. Perhaps the university is a taniwha toying with me before it swallows me up. Perhaps I should escape to a well-trodden path far from murky waters.

³⁴ ‘Taniwha’ appear in a number of traditional Maori narratives. They carry a number of meanings and represent a number of facets of Maori storytelling genres. They have been translated into English language and idiom as mythical ‘sea-monsters’ comparable to English dragons.

³⁵ The concepts of ‘ihi’ and of ‘wehi’ are related to ‘mana’. ‘Ihi’ may be translated as “Power ... essential force ... shudder, quiver” (Williams, 1971, p. 74). Wehi may be translated as to “Be afraid ... terrify ... awe, regard” (Williams, 1971, p. 481)

³⁶ ‘Taueki’ is a Taranaki Maori term for an elder.

Introduction

- I do not want to take from participants without giving back.

A Story of Utu

Utu. Another example of translation/interpretation that results in 'cultural diminishment'. In my experience of Western schooling, we learnt about 'utu.' What we learnt was that 'utu' meant revenge. We learnt that 'utu' was very important to 'Maoris'.³⁷ We learnt that utu was the reason that 'Maoris' had so many wars, and were prone to killing each other. The primitive need for revenge apparently prevented 'Maoris' from living in any kind of constructive or harmonious way. Until the Pakeha came along and taught the 'Maoris' about God and about living together in peace and harmony. The story of 'utu' that I learnt about in school fitted into the 'noble (but ignorant and misguided) savage' characterisation of Maori which was dominant at the time (and is arguably still influential).

I believed this story. But I was not comfortable with it. This was another Pakeha storyline separating me and my lived experience as a Maori person, from my being as a Maori. What I learned later made sense to me and left me feeling much more comfortable.

What I learned later was that utu is about maintaining balance at all levels. Utu is about reciprocity, reciprocal rights, responsibilities and accountabilities. Utu is about fairness, justice and protecting oneself and others. Utu is of social contracts, mana and spirituality. Utu is of past, present and future. Utu is an element of tikanga that runs through all things. Utu has many meanings, many dimensions, many connections. In this context, the information that I wish to take from participants establishes a relationship of obligation and accountability on my part. In most cases a relationship between myself and participants based on utu has been established prior to our involvement in this research, and often prior to our meeting each other. The new dimensions to the relationship also extend

³⁷ Although the word 'Maori' stands without the addition of an 's' in the Maori language plural of the term, I am using the word 'Maoris' with the addition of the 's' to indicate the ENGLISH-Maori usage of

Introduction

beyond my individual self and those of participants, to our respective whanau.

• I do not want to tread into tapu³⁸ areas.

Some knowledge may be public and some knowledge may not. Some areas are tapu, they have a power of sacredness and restriction which means it is wise and safe not to touch, poke or prod.

I do not fully understand tapu, but I know enough to be careful and to respect. I have seen and heard enough to fear also the consequences of not respecting tapu. This element of tikanga will influence the topic chosen for research. Some areas will be touchable and some will be best left untouched. I will not attempt to uncover things which have been left covered. There will be a reason for leaving these things covered. Thus my emphasis must be on throwing new light on that which is noa.³⁹

Some academic colleagues would like me to speak with tohunga,⁴⁰ to go to the 'experts' on Maoritanga, to take what I can from them and to share it around, to lay it open for prying eyes and prodding hands.

I will not attempt to do this. I do not expect that I would be able to had I wanted to. The wisdom of others is tapu in itself, in that it must not be used and abused. To ask for knowledge in order to gain something for oneself is an abuse. To betray the trust of knowledge-givers by giving out their precious knowledge to a public who may or may not understand, who may or may not respect, and who may or may not re-interpret and re-use, is not tika.

the term in the context of my own schooling experience.

³⁸ 'Tapu' may be translated as "under religious or superstitious restriction; a condition affecting persons, places, and things ... Beyond one's power, inaccessible; ... Sacred) (Williams 1971, p. 385).

³⁹ 'Noa' may be translated as "Free from tapu or other restriction; ... Of no moment, ordinary; ... Within one's power" (Williams, 1971, p. 222)

⁴⁰ Within the ENGLISH-Maori discursive frame within which the understandings of these university colleagues are located, the term 'tohunga' is taken to mean an expert in 'Maoritanga' generally and in 'Maori spirituality' in particular. The term is often imbued with 'priest-like' connotations. Within a MAORI-English discursive frame, tohunga derive their powers and gifts from the Gods. These are

Introduction

So, I think, I will speak with 'ordinary people' about 'safe'/noa subjects. Then I will not get hurt and I will not hurt others. This is the way I think early on.

I should have realised. I should have connected this with my known reality. When training in clinical psychology I reacted negatively to the custom of referring to people as cases. I argued against the continuation of this custom on the grounds that these were whole people with pasts, presents and futures, with family, friends, networks and roles to play, who should not be defined on the basis of a particular 'presenting problem' at a particular point in time.

I conduct my first interview for this work. The participant does not want to remain anonymous, declining to use a pseudonym. Worse for my social science-influenced methodology, she ties her words not only to her name, but also to her whanau, hapu, iwi, marae. Each subsequent participant spontaneously takes this same stand, refusing to use a pseudonym, and thereby separate themselves from their words, and myself from them. This is a refusal to allow me to adopt this pretence of scientific objectivity, of the separation of self from story, of spoken from written, of present from past, and being from context.

Stepping out from under the Western ENGLISH-Maori discourse I have used to frame my understanding of this research, I enter into a Maori discursive frame. Then I see.

The participants in this study, and the stories they have to tell, are tapu. They exist within their systems of whanau, living and dead, of sacred stories, of mana-based relationships. Their words, in the stories they share with me, are part of themselves and part of their larger being. There is mauri,⁴¹ mana and tapu in these words. I am reminded that it is who people which comes first. The stories that are told are defined by the whakapapa of the storytellers. Whakapapa is not incidental to, but central in the stories of my participants, and in my own story of

signified in the signs (tohu) they bring to the temporal realm.

⁴¹ 'Mauri' is usually translated as 'life force,' 'essence' or 'ethos.' It is seen as existing in all people and

Introduction

this re-search.

For a long time I am paralysed with fear. Too terrified to proceed forward lest I stray from the path and am eaten up.

- I do not want to exclude Maori from access to the research by using an academic language with which participants and other Maori would be largely unconversant.

A short story about a big book:

When I was in the early stages of this research, I went to stay at my grandfather's place. I took with me some light reading, namely a PhD dissertation written by a colleague. My grandfather had no formal school qualifications, but he was a highly educated man. He was a reader and composer of poetry, and a collector of stories. My grandfather had a great respect for knowledge(s), perspectives, learning and the written word. This grandfather of mine was fascinated and enthralled at the sight of my 541 page, 'big book'. Almost daily he would ask, "Whose Big Book is that?". He was 87 and his short term memory was failing, but he still loved learning. When I informed him that it was my Big Book, he would reply with delight, "Phew, it's the biggest book I've ever seen!" The Big Book, containing so much knowledge, was given pride of place in the middle of the table in the living room, where everyone who came could see it and comment on it. If they failed to do so; my grandfather would point it out to them and proudly tell them that it belonged to his moko.⁴²

My grandfather would touch the book every now and then, just lay his hand on it. After a few days he opened the book, flicking through the hundreds of word-filled pages. After a week or so, when he was alone in the house, he sat down to read it.

When I arrived home that evening, my grandfather asked me, as usual, whose Big Book

things, including that which people create.

⁴² The word 'moko' as used here is a term for grandchild.

that was. I replied as usual. My grandfather asked me sadly, “What is the use of a Big Book with so many big words that no-one can understand it?”.

I looked at my big book lying lonely and isolated in the middle of the table...and wondered.

These are the things that I do want to do:

•I do want to provide a space for Maori voices to speak and for Maori perspectives to stand on their own, as valid on their own account.

In my experience of ‘Maori culture’ as presented (via the word) in a university context, for largely non-Maori consumption, many of the Maori stories told are located within non-Maori frameworks and rely on these frameworks for support. For example, statistical stories of Maori have meaning in relation to an ‘other’, and in particular, only in the context of Western standards of measurement such as definitions of ‘success’ and ‘failure’, ‘criminal,’ and ‘mental illness’. In other words, to locate Maori narratives within Western academic discourses effectively positions Maori narratives as ‘standing under’ Western ‘under-standings’. This positioning, I believe, constitutes oppression.

I had hoped to provide a space for Maori voices to speak within a Maori discursive frame with little or no space provided for Western (re)interpretative narratives. As previously outlined,⁴³ however, I found that the process of eliciting participant narratives was a process in which narratives were co-constructed through the interaction of texts, my own and that of the participants. In addition, it became apparent that meanings generated from the narratives became “meaningful in the space between” (Honeycutt, 1994, Chapter 5, p. 1) myself and participants and between speaker/author and reader/translator. Further, any idea that I may have had that it might be possible to locate and present a ‘pure’ Maori voice and identify the parameters of a type of ‘pure’ Maori discursive frame was dispelled as the process of speaking/writing and the construction of narratives, as a dialogic externalisation of the various voices of past and present (my own and that of the

⁴³ See previous discussion of the Bakhtinian thesis.

Introduction

participants), became clear. That is, contemporary 'Maori voices' and 'Maori discourse' include and embody the history of oppression, assimilation and imposition of Western narratives as dominant themes that have contributed to the construction of contemporary Maori selfhood and discourses around this.

- I do want to provide a piece of research that will be accessible and of benefit to Maori.

During the course of my university studies, I have often been amazed at what appears to me to be arrogance in research. This arrogance takes the form of an assumed 'right to ask, and right to know;' that is, a right to knowledge. This right is, however, effectively limited to those who have the language to know. Without access to academic languages and media of communication, non-academics are effectively barred from entry to this knowledge base. Paradoxically, if one acquires the language to access academic knowledge, one cannot help but acquire the thoughts and meanings also.

- I do want to be careful and respectful in regard to safeguarding access to, exposure and use of knowledge that is shared.

I have become increasingly aware that the sharing of knowledge is a sacred thing. I have also become increasingly aware of the tapu of that which is true for different people and peoples. The tapu nature of the head in Maori tradition, may be related to the role of the head in the production of knowledge and construction of truths. The sense of caution that I feel in dealing with anything Maori, and in particular in relation to the dissemination of Maori knowledge and Maori truths within a Western academic arena (an arena in which it may be construed that I could be trading Maori knowledge for Western qualifications; in other words selling such knowledge for my own benefit) is a serious issue. The complexities of this item are perhaps best expressed by others older and wiser.

In the words of Te Uira Manihera:

Introduction

Tapu has to be held in the highest esteem. You see in people, it is not in the hands: it is in the head, in the crown...We take it seriously, knowing that it survives. In particular it protects us from the temptations of the modern world. We may put on Pakeha clothes, we may eat Pakeha food. But deep inside we are Maori at heart and tapu will stay with us forever.

The handing down of knowledge by old people is a very difficult thing now...a lot of people say no. They would rather take a knowledge of their own traditions with them than pass them on to the present generation. They believe that if it goes out to another person outside the family, in a short time it will have dissolved, absorbed by all the other people who have access to it.

There is also a fear that by giving things out they could be commercialised. If this happens, they lose their sacredness, their fertility. They just become common. And knowledge that is profane has lost its life, lost its tapu.

(Manihera, in King (Ed.), 1992, p. 9)

Ngoi Pewhairangi makes similar points in relation to the care that must be taken when learning or disseminating information about 'things Maori.' Most particularly, Pewhairangi exposes the dangers involved in disseminating Maori knowledge to Pakeha:

When you learn anything Maori, it has to be taken seriously. It involves the laws of tapu...Tapu is something that teaches you how to respect the whole of nature, because Maori things involve the whole of nature...

It's especially hard to communicate this sort of thing to a

Pakeha...He's got to see it and see how Maoris suffer through the breaking of tapu connected with all the culture...

I know there are a lot of Pakehas who would love to learn, not only the language, but the Maori heart. And it's a thing one can never teach. Quite a number of Pakehas are sincere about it. This is part of the Maori they want to learn: respect for nature, respect for anything Maori, how they should come on to a marae, for they should come into a meeting house, and how to learn to speak like an orator. But anyone can speak on a marae once they've been shown the proper procedure. This is just scratching the surface. Maoritanga goes deeper than that and I don't think Pakehas are aware of this. They think that because they've been to university and studied the language and the culture, they've mastered it. To me listening, it sounds as if there is no depth there at all, especially as far as tapu is concerned. There is so much tapu connected with the whole culture and I don't think Pakehas can absorb it.

One thing hard for the Pakeha to understand is that our elders never allow us to sell any knowledge of anything Maori that is really tapu. To them it is priceless...And this is the part of Maoritanga you can never teach. You know it is there all right, you've got it there.

(Pewhairangi, in King (Ed.), 1992, p. 10–11)

Rangihau adds the concept of 'mauri' to the previous accounts of the sacred nature of knowledge and learning.

I often speak of the mauri or the life force which Maoris give to many different things. We believe that every time you give of

yourself you are starting to lose some of the aura, some of the life force, which you have for yourself....These things are certainly not to be taken lightly. It is difficult for me to interpret it in a way that the Pakeha mind can see. I talk about mauri and some people talk about tapu. Perhaps the words are interchangeable. If you apply this life force to all things – inanimate and animate – and to concepts, and you give each concept a life of its own, you can see how difficult it appears for older people to be willing and able to give out information. Only when they depart are they able to pass this whole thing through and give it a continuing aspect. Just as they are proud of being able to trace their genealogy backwards, in the same way they can continue to send the mauri of certain things forward and down to their children after death...

I have been talking about such things as life force, aura, mystique, ethos lifestyle. All this is bound up with the spirituality of the Maori world and the force this exerts on Maori things. It seems to me that people who want to enter this world need to enter it with a lot of respect and always be aware of these different life forces which are going on and which the Maori believes are part of his being.

(Rangihau in King (Ed.) 1992, pp. 12–13)

- I do want to honour and practise the institution of utu in and beyond this work.

By giving time, energy and information to me to enable me to pursue this research, participants and I have entered into a contractual relationship which extends beyond the limits of this study. In some cases, participants may have chosen to participate in this study because of a previous relationship between parents, grandparents, children or grandchildren; theirs and mine. However, through their participation I

Introduction

am indebted to them. This debt will need to be repaid at some future time, and perhaps several times over. It is important that I acknowledge the debt to my family and descendants because the obligatory repayment incurred by me in this process may extend to the members of my family also. Similarly, the obligation is not just to participants, but also to their families and descendants. In this way, a relationship is established that extends beyond myself and participants, beyond the academic arena and beyond our respective lifetimes.

CONTEXT ONE: NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF MAORI IDENTITY

“My concerns...[are] with these forms of domination that centre primarily around the construction of the other: forms that deny life by controlling its definition and reality. The effect of these constructions, if not their conscious design, has been to rob the other of any genuine standing in the world, thereby permitting the dominating groups to operate more freely to achieve validation for themselves and to ensure the maintenance of their privilege.” (Sampson, 1993, p. 4)

Introduction

Storytelling may be thought of as “the construction of our understanding of our experience in narrative terms” (Mishler, 1986, in Sarbin (Ed.), 1986, p. 235) and narratives may be thought of as constructed within particular discursive frameworks. For the texts of this study to ‘make sense’, to enable readers to co-construct a coherent account of the journey and identify some ‘reference points’ from which to take their bearings, key features of the discursive frames should be exposed and examined.¹ This chapter provides a (con)textual overview of the terrain from which the subject matter of this study is constructed.

Personal Narratives

Questions of Maori identity carry with them a long history of pain. The pain is my own and also that of whanau, hapu, iwi, friends, the living and the dead.

¹ See for example discussion of expansion as a methodological procedure by Labov and Fanshel (1977 cited in Sarbin (Ed.) 1986). Also see Mishler’s discussion of cultural interpretation of stories (in Sarbin (Ed.) 1986). For similar discussions utilising more modernist metaphors refer to Gergen and Gergen (1984), and Hutchins (1980).

4 Context 1

When I turn my thoughts to the topic of 'Maori identity', I see the old people and the suffering etched on their faces. I recall the 'land meetings'² that feature in my earliest memories, as my elders struggled over their lifetimes to have returned to them the land that was wrenched from under their feet, a struggle that continues and now dominates my own life. I recall that our grandfathers were taken from their families, imprisoned in remote Southland caves at her Majesty's pleasure, many never to return.³ I recall that those who died as captives have still not been accorded the dignity of a proper farewell, their names are remembered only in family stories and their descendants have been unable to identify or visit where they lay. I recall that our grandmothers were raped by white men, and many of us carry testimony to this in our genes.

As New Zealand citizens we are required to fill out census forms every five years. On the census forms that existed for the majority of my life-time and before, we were required to state whether we were 50 percent or more Maori blood. If we had 50 percent or more Maori blood in our veins, we were Maori. If we had less than 50 percent of Maori blood in our veins, we were not Maori. This method of defining us was repeated in systems and structures throughout our colonial society. Along with other Maori of the time, I thus grew to know my self through an identity based on fractions. The imposition of this Western definition of Maori identity reduced us to identifying ourselves in terms of quarters, eighths, sixteenths, and thirty-seconds of Maori blood. In an attempt to explain the nature of the pain associated with my 'Maori identity', I present here a series of vignettes drawn from my own experience.

² As a people dispossessed of the land which is the basis of our identity, spirituality and social and economic systems, the need to reclaim land has dominated much of the energy of our people.

³ Recent research indicates that up to one thousand Taranaki Maori men were transported to the South Island and imprisoned there, many with hard labour. Several hundred women and children followed them to the South Island. Records indicate that around five hundred of these returned. Many of the remainder died while in the South Island (Ngatai, T. and Te Whareaitu, T. O. Personal Communications, 1998).

4 Context 1

Memory I.

In a school yard at around ten years of age. Myself and Maori school-mates are calculating our percentages of Maori blood. “I’m a quarter, you’re an eighth, he’s a sixteenth and she’s a sixty-fourth.”

Memory II.

I am in my late twenties and at an all-Maori party, with a friend who is a gentle and talented teacher of Maori language. She is one of the very few of my age group raised by her grandparents on her traditional lands and steeped in *te reo me ona tikanga*.⁴ A young man with a newly acquired university degree in Maori language challenges my friend for being at a Maori party. He asks her what she is doing there and tells her she should go. My blonde haired, blue eyed Maori friend hangs her head.

Memory III.

Sitting with my aunt at her kitchen table. I am in my mid-thirties. My aunt has served thirty years on the local *marae*⁵ committee, some of it as chairperson. She is in charge of the kitchen for all *marae* functions. A member of Te Atiawa and Ngati Raukawa iwi, she is a respected *kuia* with a reputation for supporting young women in difficult situations. At my suggestion that she formalise her helping activities by applying to become a Maori Community Worker, she informs me; “But I’m not really Maori, you know.” I ask her why she says this. My aunt tells me that she doesn’t speak Maori, doesn’t know enough about Maori culture. I look dubious. Besides, she continues, trying to convince me of

⁴ *Te reo* refers to Maori language. *Te reo me ona tikanga* refers to the ways of thinking, being and behaving that are embodied in the language.

⁵ The *marae* is the central gathering place and venue for the maintenance and performance of Maori cultural

4 Context 1

this sad reality, did I know that she was not able to tick the Maori box on the census forms because she really probably had less than fifty per cent Maori blood. So she is not really Maori.

Memory IV.

Throughout my life, watching our old people sitting in silence because they don't have the language to express themselves. Witnessing our humiliation – young and old – as others, of other iwi stand on our paepae to speak for us; others whose land, institutions and reo have not been as thoroughly razed as ours; others who sometimes fought with the Pakeha against us, and were in return granted parcels of our land by the Pakeha Crown. Watching our rangatira⁶ choke on the words, as he tries to speak the only language he knew for the first seven years of his life.

The choking is reminiscent of his sobs as a seven year old when he was taken from his 'mama', enrolled in the compulsory state schooling system, and beaten for speaking his mother tongue.

It is undeniable that our identity, our very selves have been subjected to a bitter contestation of meanings. Our lives have been defined by our identity as Maori, an identity imposed through the processes of colonisation; and then our Maori identity has been denied and negated, through the genocidal systems that have featured as central in our colonial experience.

There are three streams of events that need to be documented in order to provide a context for the stories of which this dissertation is comprised. Firstly, there is the imposition of Western reductionist systems of categorisation on the basis of race, ethnicity and culture. Next, and related to the first stream, is the emergence

forms.

⁶ Rangatira may be translated as chief or leader.

4 Context 1

of genocidal, ethnocidal and assimilationist⁷ policies that have fractionated and fragmented Maori selves and Maoritanga. Finally, there is the incompatibility of Western systems of constructing identity, with Maori realities. This incompatibility has commonly resulted in one of two outcomes: first, the exclusion of Maori discourses from participation in Western discursive frames, political, social and academic; second, and producing equally disturbing outcomes has been Maori participation in, and internalisation of, Western-framed discourses of Maori identity and inadequacy.

Western Constructions of 'Maori' and 'Maoritanga'

"We live in an age in which, in a far greater degree than any previous one, the destruction of races, both by annihilation and absorption, is going on".

(Flower, 1882, p. 188: cited in Bodley, 1990, p. 182).

'Maori' is the term widely used in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand and international discourse to refer to the indigenous people(s) of this land. However, understandings of the meaning of 'Maori' are problematic. In part this is because any answer to the question 'who is Maori?' inevitably reflects particular political

⁷ Genocide may be defined as "the systematic attempt to destroy a race or people" (Sluker, 1995). Ethnocide may be defined as "the systematic attempt to destroy completely the culture of a people" (Sluker, 1995). Ethnocidal policies are designed to effect the destruction or eradication of cultural systems and artefacts including economic, spiritual, family, language and epistemological systems. Bodley (1990) provides a description of 'cultural modification processes' enforced on tribal peoples by colonial governments and social scientists around the world. These processes are typically enacted in the name of progress, improvement and development, and include persuasive and coercive mechanisms to effect the aims identified here as 'ethnocidal'. It may be argued that the difference between genocide and ethnocide is moot, as the destruction of a culture and ethnic characteristics effectively equate to the destruction of a people. Thus ethnocide is seen as a form of genocide. For the remainder of this work, the term genocide will be used with the understanding that ethnocide is encompassed within this term. (Harker & McConnachie, 1985). Assimilation may be seen as a key strategy of genocidal policies. In Aotearoa/New Zealand it has been enacted through persuasive and coercive mechanisms of the state. A formal policy of assimilation was pursued in Aotearoa from the beginning of self-government in 1952 until 1961 (Metge, 1976). Many would say that informal assimilation has existed since Britain assumed sovereignty over New Zealand in 1840, and still continues to dominate Pakeha premises and practices in relation to Maori. Assimilation policies and practices have been widely rejected and resisted by Maori.

4 Context 1

and ideological positions, and carries with it significant social implications.⁸

Maori have been defined and categorised within dominant Western discursive frames according to constructions of race, culture and ethnicity derived from this framework. These constructions are founded on some fundamental tenets of Western philosophy, including particular conceptions of individual selfhood.⁹ For Maori, however, identity has been premised on a conception of self which differs in fundamental respects from that associated with a Western world-view and philosophy.¹⁰ It is thus asserted that there are fundamental differences between Maori and Western definitions and understandings of the meaning of the terms Maori and Maoritanga.¹¹

The term Maori as defined and exercised within Western frameworks, while not overtly denying diversity, emphasises commonality and implies the existence of an homogeneity based on constructed racial, ethnic, or cultural criteria. The danger is that the uniqueness, fundamental identity, and very existence of the interconnected but independent peoples who are subsumed under this term get lost. Western definitions of 'Maori', 'race', 'culture' or 'ethnicity' reflect an ascribed commonality. These terms impose an identity on the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa which is defined by Western peoples and based on their identification of areas of commonality. It is arguably the most surface of common denominators that are visible and thus identified as cultural icons.¹² It is argued here that the historical and contemporary imposition of Western

⁸ See for example Pool (1991, p. 11) who states that defining Maori identity is "more than merely a methodological or conceptual issue, but also has social, political and constitutional ramifications."

⁹ Such conceptions of self are described by Sampson (1993) in terms of self-contained individualism, and by Landrine (1992) as referential selfhood.

¹⁰ A 'traditional Maori' conception of self is consistent, although not synonymous, with those described by Sampson (1993) as ensembled individualism, and by Landrine (1992) as indexical selfhood.

¹¹ Maoritanga here refers to 'Maoriness', what it is to be Maori, including that which is known as Maori culture.

¹² I am indebted here to Kiwi Tamasese, who has described the effects of this ascribed commonality, as applied to Pacific peoples. In effect the Western drive to identify Pacific Island peoples as a cultural group has resulted in tinned corn beef and coconuts emerging as the primary surface common denominators and cultural icons of 'Pacific Island culture.' Thus, Pacific Island 'culture(s)' have become known as a 'corn beef and coconut culture.' (K. Tamasese, personal communication, September 4, 1998).

4 Context 1

conceptions of race, culture and ethnicity reflect continuing genocidal themes within Western narrative constructions of indigenous peoples. The commonalities assumed by Western conceptualisations of race, ethnicity and culture are genocidal in effect, because they seek to define us according to Western constructions and assumptions of universality and commonality. In so doing, they privilege Western conceptions of a 'group identity' based on a collective of individuals who share certain features as characterised within Western narratives. Such a collective identification undermines the essence of *nga iwi Maori*.¹³

It is proposed here that Western conceptions of 'group based' identity are based on conceptions of collectives of individual selves who have particular common denominators as perceived and defined by Western describers. Thus, 'Maori' may be defined as a 'racial,' 'cultural,' or 'ethnic' group based on Western constructions of these concepts. Narratives based on Western constructions of race, culture and ethnicity effectively negate the possibility of narratives around commonality, difference and identity produced within our own discursive frames, from being heard¹⁴ within Western monologic discourse.¹⁵

It is argued here that race-based definitions of Maori have been genocidal in that they identify Maori in terms of statistical stories whereby the percentage of 'Maori blood,' will become diluted until the category of 'Maori' is ultimately eradicated.¹⁶ More recently discourses defining Maori in terms of 'descent,' may

¹³'Nga iwi Maori' may be translated as 'the Maori peoples.' This term emphasises the plurality of the term Maori and allows space for both commonality and difference. Te iwi Maori may be translated as 'the Maori people.' This is a modern term and refers to Maori as a group in opposition to Pakeha and *Tauiwi*.

¹⁴In effect, voices may be 'heard' if they are located as central. Voices which speak from the margins suffer distortions in 'register' (Sampson, 1993) to the extent of becoming unintelligible to those sited in the centre. See Sampson (1993) for an exposition of the nature of voice, and the factors which mitigate against the 'voice of the other' from being 'heard' within Western monologic discourse.

¹⁵ While some differences may be acknowledged within culture-, race- and ethnicity- based narratives, such differences are positioned as marginal within these narratives, as they are assumed to be subsumed within the primary commonality of race, ethnicity or culture.

¹⁶ This is a form of eradication or genocide through assimilation.

4 Context 1

have the effect of similarly reducing the basis of 'being' for Maori.¹⁷ In a Western discursive frame, and using English language idiom, one descends 'from' elders and ancestors. The analogy is one of moving away, increasing distance. Within a Maori discursive frame, one can whakapapa 'to', the emphasis here is on decreasing distance and increasing connection.

It is further argued here that definitions of Maori based on the concept of a 'Maori culture' are genocidal because the culture concept is predicated on a conceptualisation of 'Maori culture' as learned, and as measurable in relation to and in comparison with Western constructions of 'traditional (pre-European) Maori culture.' Thus, there is an assumption that one can 'have' or possess the culture to a greater or lesser degree. As 'Maori' cultural forms change, moves are made to measure the extent of acculturation¹⁸ within individuals and within 'Maori culture' generally. These moves are predicated on an assumption that Western narratives around 'traditional' Maori culture represent a 'real and true' Maori culture.¹⁹ As Maori contact with and immersion within a Western

¹⁷ Although 'descent' is an important component of being Maori, the term 'descent' does not encompass the full dimension of 'whakapapa.' Whakapapa is often translated as 'genealogy,' and the term does refer to lines of genealogical descent, however, the notion of 'whakapapa' also encompasses the history, spirituality and place of Maori in the spiritual and temporal order. Thus, while 'whakapapa' may define the 'being' of Maori in relation to elders and ancestors, the notion of 'descent from' may not carry the same implications.

¹⁸ Casas and Pytluk (1995) define acculturation as a "psycho-social phenomenon...the product of culture learning that occurs as a result of interaction between the members of two or more groups...acculturation is ... a process of attitudinal and behavioural change undergone willingly or unwillingly by individuals who reside in multicultural societies ... or who come in contact with a new culture due to colonization, invasions, or other political changes ... it is perceived to be an open-ended process" (p. 171). Although this, and other definitions seek to define acculturation in terms of a 'culture learning' process that is at least two sided, most instruments aiming to measure 'acculturation' do so by identifying the extent of 'loss' of the original cultural knowledge and forms. Thus, implicit in the concept of acculturation is the loss of features of the original culture and the adoption of features of the 'new' culture. Also often unstated, but central within any discussion of acculturation, are the issues of power, dominance and oppression. The more powerful and dominant culture is less likely to change, or be modified, while the less powerful cultural group is more likely to undergo change, modification and loss as a result of contact, particularly oppressive contact, with the more powerful cultural group.

¹⁹ Metge (1976), Smith (1994) and Stewart (1997) see this conception of Maori culture and tradition as a static reification, located in the past and essentially irrelevant to the modern world. This conception is seen as incorporating an assumption of the dominance and superiority of Pakeha culture, while simultaneously denying the vitality and adaptability of Maori culture and cultural forms in colonial systems and institutions. This conception of Maori culture as synonymous with 'pre-European tradition' also underpins assimilationist models and provides a theoretical basis for the development of instruments such as an 'acculturation gradient' and an 'index of Maoriness.' Stewart (1997) further identifies the propensity to "view Maori society as a cultural artifact and dichotomise it into the 'traditional' and 'contemporary,'" as contributing to the "cultural universe of

4 Context 1

environment that is both colonial and genocidal, continues, it is inevitably found that Maori become increasingly 'assimilated' and 'acculturated.' It then becomes possible to define those who are deemed without 'sufficient' knowledge about or learning within 'Maori culture' as acculturated or without (outside of) Maori culture. The outcome of this is the exclusion of many Maori (as defined by Maori) from membership of the Maori cultural group. Thus 'Maori culture' becomes 'lost' to most and posited to be in the possession of an increasingly select few. In similar fashion, modern Maori cultural forms and performance come to be deemed less than 'real' or 'true,' in comparison with 'traditional Maori culture.'

Western constructions of ethnicity tend to incorporate notions of race and culture. Definitions of ethnicity sometimes identify membership of a particular 'cultural group' as a necessary and sufficient criteria for membership of an ethnic group. The notion of descent, reflecting the construct of race, may also be included within criteria for membership of an ethnic group.²⁰ Thus, constructions of ethnicity also reflect the genocidal impulses outlined above.

Western Stories of Maori and Maoritanga

From the early period of Pakeha colonisation, the New Zealand population has been divided into Maori and non-Maori statistical components (Pool, 1991). Western attempts to define Maori have undergone changes, becoming increasingly complex with the passage of time. These difficulties stem from a number of factors, amongst which developing conceptualisations of 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'culture' are central. These conceptualisations are themselves both reflective of and constitutive of political and philosophical considerations.

identification, meanings and stipulations of truth [Said, 1978] in which Maori have been positioned as objects of subordination and inferiority." (Stewart, 1997, p. 82)

²⁰ See Thomas, 1986.

4 Context 1

In the New Zealand context, David Thomas (1986) and Paul Spoonley (1990) have made significant contributions to academic efforts aimed at clarifying the nature of racial, ethnic and cultural categorisations, particularly as these pertain to Maori. Thomas (1986) summarised concerns about the processes and categories used to define Maori. These concerns related primarily to the questionable nature of assumptions used to categorise people into ethnic, racial and cultural groups, and the equally questionable nature of comparisons, conclusions and explanations generated from these.

Research studies which make comparisons between different ethnic groups frequently assume that cultural patterns coincide with ethnic categories. This assumption often leads to a reliance on cultural assumptions for any differences found between ethnic groups. Such explanations may be erroneous. For example, New Zealand researchers frequently use 'blood', race or ethnicity definitions of who is Maori or Pakeha and then go on to contrast the differences in 'culture' or lifestyle characteristics which are assumed to be closely related to 'racial' or 'ethnic' differences. This failure to distinguish between the concepts of ethnicity, culture and race is often evident in research reports and other literature concerned with differences (Thomas, 1986, p. 371).

Stories of the Maori Race

Typologies of Maori, particularly last century and in the early part of this century, focused on 'racial constitution'. 'Maori', then could be defined as:

Polynesian, a hybrid sub-group of the Mongoloid, Caucasoid and Negroid divisions of humankind (Walker, 1996, p. 26).

The use of the term 'race' began to lose credence in the social sciences following the second World War.²¹ The notion of 'race' and the categorisation of people

²¹ In part, this was a reaction to publicity about race-related atrocities committed during the war, along with social scientific research efforts aimed at proving or reinforcing notions of Aryan superiority (Sue & Sue, 1990, 1999;

4 Context 1

on the basis of race came to be viewed by social scientists as a problematic notion at best and, at worst, as both fallacious and dangerous.²² For a number of political and ideological reasons, the term 'race' has thus been rarely used in recent social scientific discourse. However, it may be argued that the conceptual division of peoples according to phenotype has persisted without significant interruption, despite careful avoidance of the 'r' word.²³

Whilst accepting that the concept of 'race' has no scientific validity, Thomas argues that categorisation according to 'race' is a "social fact" (Thomas; 1986, p. 372) and as such has relevance for research, particularly in the areas of social stereotyping and racial prejudice. Thus, while it may be politically correct and academically defensible to avoid reference to 'race', the notion of 'race' nevertheless exists as a social reality. It is the social construction of 'race' which underpins individual and institutional racism, impacts on the lives of individuals and groups, determines life choices and life chances and provides the framework for contemporary models of racial and cultural identity formation (for example see Helms, (1995) in Ponterotto et al. [Eds.](1995); Sue & Sue, 1990). Proponents of the 'Race-Based' position identified by Carter and Qureshi (1995)²⁴ would argue, in the American context, that racial divisions are central to the development of American systems, laws, institutions, customs and social order. From this 'race-based' position, racial boundaries are seen as preceding and superceding cultural and ethnic group identification, and are viewed as "deeply embedded in the social and psychological makeup of all Americans"

Ponterotto et al., 1995).

²² Montagu (1952) identified the central arguments which underpinned the widespread rejection of the construct of 'race'. In particular he noted: that human races do not exist; that the concept of race is a dangerous myth developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to provide an ideological rationale for colonialism and the exploitation of indigenous peoples; that the wide biological variations amongst human beings do not constitute scientific validation for distinct 'racial' divisions; that 'racial divisions' are in fact social divisions.

²³ Spoonley argues that 'race' is an "ideological concept (which) structures social and political relationships and derives from a history of European colonisation. The idea of race has evolved from its use in scientific explanation (now discredited) and as a justification for the oppression of colonised, non-European peoples. It continues today at various levels, both as part of common-sense explanations of the world and as important means of mediating relations between groups who are said to be phenotypically or racially different." (Spoonley, 1990, p. 5-6).

4 Context 1

(Carter & Qureshi, 1995, p. 252).

Although official definitions and methods of categorisation of Maori have varied over time and between institutions,²⁵ colonial New Zealand has favoured biological definitions of Maori. Biological definitions have generally taken one of two forms, identifying a Maori person as (a) a person of half or more Maori 'blood'; or (b) a descendant of a NZ Maori. For the bulk of New Zealand's colonised history, the former definition has been utilised in statistical and statutory formulae. As previously noted, until 1986 census definitions of Maori were based on estimations of Maori blood, with those who identified themselves as having half or more Maori blood identified as Maori, while those with less than half 'Maori blood' not so identified.²⁶

Current census attempts to define Maori feature two separate questions, one pertaining to biology (Are you of Maori descent?; Q. 7) and one pertaining to affiliation (Do you identify as Maori?; Q. 8). These questions relate firstly to the biological concept of race, and secondly to the concept of 'cultural affiliation.'

Other sources of information and statistics pertaining to Maori have featured definitions and processes which are primarily based on biological notions of race, and which have proved at least as problematic as earlier census definitions (see Durie, 1994; Pool, 1991; Te Puni Kokiri, 1993). Ministry of Justice data, for instance, has been based on a definition of Maori as those of half or more Maori blood and on a data-gathering process of observer identification. Observer identification is a method of data-gathering known to result in the

²⁴ The typology proposed by Carter and Qureshi (1995) is discussed further in the following chapter.

²⁵ Hunn (1961) identified ten separate statutory formula. See also Pool (1991) and Durie (1993).

²⁶ As previously noted, problems relating to Maori compliance with biological categorisation (the numbers and proportions of Maori identifying themselves as 'more than half NZ Maori 'blood' were inconsistent with statistical expectation, being far higher than could be statistically explained other than by 'category jumping') were partly responsible for the exclusion, from 1986, of the 'half or more Maori blood' definition from census forms. The conflict between biological definition and social definition in Western attempts to categorise Maori, continues to the present.

4 Context 1

under-identification of Maori, in comparison with self-identification methods. Ministry of Health statistics are largely reliant on hospital discharge and admission data. The definition of 'Maori' employed by health workers has also been based on the concept of race. The process used to collect data is often dependent on the 'best estimate' of hospital admissions clerks (Durie, 1994; Te Puni Kokiri, 1993). This is a form of observer-identification which has been demonstrated to under-estimate Maori markedly in comparison with self-identification based processes (Durie, 1993; Te Puni Kokiri, 1993).²⁷

The binary positioning of Pakeha and Maori as self and other, which is fundamental to the categorisation of 'Maori', has dominated Western constructions of Maori identity since the advent of European settlement. Ethnographic accounts and academic studies from the 19th Century to the present have continued the imposition of binary understandings of self and other, of us and them, of brown and white, civilised and uncivilised, coloniser and colonised. The reification and imposition of 'the Maori race' discourse has been achieved through the incorporation of this notion into political, historical, educational, psychological and statistical story-lines. The notion of race is thus a central tenet in the construction of the New Zealand social and constitutional order.

Both the 'half-or-more-Maori-blood' definition of who is Maori, and the observer identification method of classification may be characterised as assimilationist and ultimately genocidal in effect. The gradual dilution of Maori 'blood' would result in the eventual assimilation of the Maori race into the larger Pakeha or non-Maori pool, with the ultimate outcome being the extinction of Maori people, at least as a statistical category.

Stories of Maori as an Ethnic Group

²⁷ The precise definition of Maori currently used by health workers may be described as 'mixed or unclear' (Durie; 1993). -

4 Context 1

Spoonley (1990) considers that while the concept of 'race' was discarded as a result of the rejection of overt colonialism and the development of new social movements in the 1950s and 1960s, it was superseded by the development of a concept called ethnicity. He defines ethnicity as:

a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative (supposedly) common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitomy of their peoplehood...a necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind (or ethnicity) among members of the group. (Schermerhorn, 1970: cited in Spoonley, 1990, p. 41)

According to Spoonley's account of the nature of 'ethnicity', any similarity to the notion of 'race' resides in the 'biological component' of common ancestry. Ethnicity, however, features the additional elements of '(individual) choice', self-identification, positive feelings and an explicit association with 'culture', ("ethnicity is essentially an identity that reflects the cultural feelings and experiences of a particular group" Spoonley; 1990, p. 41) which he does not see as associated with racial categorisation. Both Schermerhorn and Spoonley consider a collective consciousness of similarity with members of one's group and of difference from other groups to be a criterion of membership of an ethnic group. Schermerhorn (1970, in Spoonley, 1990) also defines an ethnic group in terms of a collectivity within a larger society, thus implying a minority status.

Thomas argues that personal preference is a necessary and sufficient condition for establishing ethnic identity. This position implies an element of personal choice in the establishment of ethnic identity, a position consistent with Western philosophical and ideological presumptions about the nature of the self, the primacy of individualism and the dual imperatives of individual freedom and

4 Context 1

*personal choice.*²⁸

Just as concepts and terminology associated with the notion of 'race' may be characterised as ideological in nature, and associated with particular political and social movements, including colonialism, so the notion of ethnicity may be characterised as ideological and associated with particular political and social movements.

Stories of Maori Culture

The culture concept also defies easy definition, in part because it is, again, a social construction and thus subject to negotiation. Herskovits (1955: 306; in Harker & McConnachie, 1985, p. 25), however, proposed that there are three features inherent in any conceptualisation of culture:

1. *That "culture is universal in human experience, yet each culture is unique."*
2. *That "cultures are stable, yet each contains an inner dynamic manifested in constant change."*
3. *That "culture fills and largely determines the course of individual lives, yet rarely intrudes into conscious thought."*

Unlike the concept of race, and some conceptualisations of ethnicity, the culture concept encompasses learned behaviours and bears no direct relationship to biological characteristics. However, in common with the concept of race and that of ethnicity, the culture concept may be associated with particular ideological, political and social movements.

²⁸ This position in relation to dominant Western philosophy and ideology is examined further in the next chapter in reference to the work of Landrine (1990), Sampson (1993), Carter and Quereshi (1995) and Paulston-Bratt (1992).

4 Context 1

That the culture concept was already in evidence in Western discourse, and was associated in this discourse both with definitions of Maori identity and with genocide is illustrated in the following extract:

In April (1855) the Reverend James Buller, presented a lecture to the Wellington Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute. Discussing the Maori he asked: "What will become of the Maori? The general opinion is that they will become extinct." (Buller, 1878: Appendix A) Buller's view was that they would become extinct, but not in the sense of dying out. Rather it would be achieved through assimilation with the Pakeha. The task of a Christian education and progressive civilisation was to prepare Maori for this assimilation.

(Anon. The Wesleyan Maori Mission At Te Aro: 1839–1877; undated)

Definitions of Maori and Maoritanga which are based on notions of culture provide a framework for the development and utilisation of classification systems pertaining to degrees of cultural knowledge. There is an understanding of culture as a system of meanings, symbols and signs which are shared between cultural group members and transmitted, through learning processes, to individual members of the group. Concepts such as 'acculturation', 'enculturation' and 'cultural knowledge' have led, in the NZ context, to 'measures of Maoritanga;' measures which attain coherence only within those discourses which characterise Maori in terms of the particular narratives employed in the construction of the culture concept.

Drawing on the work of Berry (1993), Casas and Pytluk (1995) describe enculturation as a form of 'ethnic socialisation.'

Enculturation is seen as the process by which individuals acquire,

4 Context 1

through generalised learning in a particular cultural milieu, or by specific instruction and training, the cultural and psychological qualities that are necessary to function as a member of one's group

(Casas & Pytluk, 1995, p. 158).

Thus, enculturation is viewed as the process of learning a set of requisite knowledge and skills (qualities), and as such as a primarily cognitive process. It follows from this that if individuals do not acquire the necessary learning, they may not be classified as a member of the cultural group. Therefore, by this definition, if individuals born into one cultural group are adopted into another culture, and/or socialised into this culture, and/or schooled in this culture, they become of that culture, rather than their culture of origin.

The concept of acculturation, in part, describes the above situations. Acculturation is seen as of prime importance in the development of ethnic identity (Casas & Pytluk, 1995).²⁹ It involves socialisation into a group other than one's own, and a concomitant loss of one's own culture.

Acculturation is the product of cultural learning that occurs as a result of contact between the members of two or more culturally distinct groups...it is...a process of attitudinal and behavioural change undergone, willingly or unwillingly, by individuals who reside in multicultural societies...or who come into contact with a new culture due to colonization, invasions or other political changes.

(Casas & Pytluk, 1995 p. 158)

The acculturation process is also conceived of in terms of the adaptation of

²⁹ These authors reflect the confusion around the meanings of the terms culture and ethnicity in their equation of

4 Context 1

individuals from a minority culture to a culture which has achieved dominance in their society (Knight, Bernal, Garza and Cota, 1993, in Casas & Pytluk, 1995). Both the acculturation and enculturation concepts are widely applied in reference to individuals and groups of individuals.

The culture concept provides a framework for categorisation according to 'acculturation', 'enculturation'³⁰ and, in an Aotearoa/New Zealand context, 'Maoritanga.' According to this narrative framework, Maori are identified as a cultural group. Maori culture is seen as consisting of a network of shared meanings and symbols within which Maori language is central. Hence a lack of knowledge of Maori cultural meanings and symbols, including Maori language, implies a lack of Maori culture. Predominant or exclusive learning, training or instruction in the meanings and symbols of the dominant Western culture also implies a lack of Maori culture. If Maori identity is equated with possession of 'Maori culture' then, those who are seen to be not in possession of adequate amounts of 'the culture' (that is, accepted Maori cultural symbols and forms) may be categorised as 'non-Maori.'

As a result of conceptualisations of Maori culture constructed within this narrative framework, studies have been conducted, and scales or tests developed and used, with the aim of assessing, quantifying or otherwise categorising the degrees of 'acculturation', 'enculturation', 'or 'Maoritanga' possessed by individuals. As noted above, this implies that Maori culture is something one may 'have' or 'possess' in varying amounts. In a sense this is similar to the notion that one may be more or less Maori according to the quantity of 'Maori blood' one possesses.

enculturation (the culture concept) with ethnic identity.

³⁰ While acculturation refers to the learning of an 'other' culture and implies a concomitant loss of the original culture, enculturation refers to the learning and absorption of the original 'source' culture. Berry (1993) defines enculturation as the socialisation process "by which developing individuals acquire ... the host of cultural and psychological qualities that are necessary to function as a member of one's group" (cited in Casas & Pytluk,

4 Context 1

In the NZ context, academics (Maori and non-Maori) have participated in discourses from which this understanding of culture is constituted. Studies which are based in, support and re-create narratives around 'degrees of Maoriness', 'possession of Maoritanga' or 'scales of acculturation' illustrate adherence to this conceptualisation of culture. Recent studies by Maori academics, for instance, have investigated acculturation as associated with 'degrees of Maoriness' or 'possession of Maoritanga' and as measured by scales of 'acculturation', 'Maori Knowledge', 'Maori Cultural Identity', and 'Paranormal Beliefs.'³¹ These, along with other investigations into the etiology, incidence, prevalence and/or symptomatology of mental illness amongst Maori, are framed within Western discursive constructions of self, other, health and illness. Maori participation in these Western discursive frames, and support of these constructions, is perhaps a function of the monologic nature of the Academy. In particular, this is reflected in a requirement that those wishing to participate in academic discourse, and to be viewed as credible and intelligible within the Academy within this discursive frame, must construct narratives which attain coherence within the Western discursive framework. Thus, in investigations, such as those discussed above, and which have been conducted by Maori and non-Maori people, Maori narratives are invisible, and Maori constructions become subject to Western narratives. In attempting to use an 'approved form' of voice, one that is acceptable within the dominant monologic discursive frame, Maori risk losing coherence, intelligibility and meaning within their own discursive frame.³²

1995).

³¹ See for example Cherrington (1994) and Olsen (1993). Walker (1996, p. 25) also notes that "Maoritanga is difficult to pin down by a process of listing criteria as Ritchie attempted to do with his Maoriness scale of 1-10 and Metge with her list of 12 characteristics for 'Maori ways'. Paradigms of this kind are static and as a consequence are difficult to match with the dynamism of human behaviour."

³² Cherrington (1994), investigated the relationship and presenting symptoms of Maori and Pakeha patients diagnosed with schizophrenia. She proposed three hypotheses. Firstly she hypothesised that Maori and Pakeha differed in respect to levels of Maori knowledge and strength of paranormal beliefs; secondly she hypothesised that Maori would have higher frequencies of hallucinations, delusions of control and sub-cultural delusions and hallucinations; and thirdly, she hypothesised that paranormal beliefs and cultural knowledge would influence the frequency of presenting symptoms between Maori and Pakeha. (p. ii) The "main questions to be asked and answered" (p.2) according to Cherrington were, "Do Maori and non-Maori express schizophrenia in the same way? (and) What influence does

4 Context 1

In Sampson's (1993a) terms, in order to be heard the serviceable other must:

...use the approved forms of the dominant groups... We are reminded here that merely having a voice is not sufficient if that voice must speak in a register that is alien to its own specificity, and in doing so lose its own desires and interests. While indeed, having a voice is preferable to being held silent, in so far as that voice is not reflecting one's own interests, desires and experiences, then one may speak, but only to further the already dominant groups' agenda.”
(Sampson, 1993a, pp. 10-11)

It is apparent that meanings are still being made around the terms culture, race and ethnicity. The term 'race', once a foundation of Western social orders and the basis of extensive research and 'knowledge production', has lost much of its popularity, but, some argue, not its meaning or impact. In fact, the term 'race' is beginning to reappear in contemporary academic discourse, with an emphasis on the concept as a 'social fact' with implications for power relations in society and for individual and group identity.³³

The movement away from the concept of 'race' and towards an emphasis on culture and ethnicity may have been indicative of a movement within the social sciences away from an assumption of the primacy of 'nature' and towards an increased emphasis on the 'nurture' side of the 'nature-nurture' debate. The

culture play in the expression of schizophrenia?” (p. 3). In this research, Cherrington positioned the diagnostic category of 'schizophrenia' as central, and generated a study around the possibility of differential symptoms. Questions as to the location of this category of mental illness within Western discursive frames, or the cultural constitution of such a construct went unasked within this narrative. Rather, questions as to whether the expression of schizophrenia across cultures was similar or different, whether differences existed between presenting symptoms for Maori and Pakeha patients, and if so, whether cultural beliefs might account for these differences were asked. This narrative then, in common with most other narratives featuring Maori and psychology, attempted to raise issues of cultural difference without addressing the central issue of the cultural constitution of psychology, psychiatry, the very notion of 'mental health' and the culture concept itself.

4 Context 1

pendulum appears now, however, to be swinging back towards a recognition of the influence of nature and phenotype in particular on social and psychological development.

The political, philosophical and ideological implications of the swinging pendulum raise a number of questions. For instance; it may be that rejection of phenotypical categorisations also implies a commitment to 'nurture' explanations; and an associated emphasis on cognitive processes, learning, as constructive of selfhood. If this is so, how does it accommodate other cosmologies which include non-cognitive, inherent/inborn characteristics as central to selfhood? Could it be that social scientists, in attempting to unwrite race from the annals of research, theory and practice, are at risk of subscribing to a universalist philosophy of absolute individualism?³⁴

In the NZ context, academic debates around the meanings associated with race, ethnicity and culture have been reflected in attempts to define and identify 'who is Maori?' It is apparent, however, that the terminological and conceptual debates around the issues of culture, race and ethnicity may be characterised as hegemonic discourse in that they are based within a common network of assumptions or 'webs of meaning' (Waldegrave, 1990) about the nature of self, other and the social order. Individual theorists may position themselves at different points within the meaning webs; however, the framework within which these positions are made meaningful and through which narratives are constructed as coherent are based on the fundamental assumptions underpinning Western discursive frames, with those regarding the nature of the self as pivotal amongst these.

Western notions of race, culture and ethnicity form the basis of contemporary

³³ See for example Helms (1995); Kerwin and Ponterotto (1995); Rowe, Behrens and Leach (1995).

³⁴ See Ponterotto et al. (1995) for arguments supporting the assertion that a universalist position ultimately supports a doctrine of absolute individualism.

4 Context 1

Western genocidal narratives. These notions reflect a bias towards 'self-contained individualism',³⁵ through which race, culture and ethnicity, while identified as group-related concepts, are also seen as located within individual selves, and as ultimately able to be removed from individual selves and replaced with alternative racial, cultural or ethnic identities.

The above discussion of the various storylines emerging from Western constructions of Maori identity points to several conclusions, which may be summarised as follows:

- Western constructions of Maori identity have developed according to Western conceptions of the self as constituted, at least in part, through the constructions of race, culture and ethnicity.
- The constructs of race, culture and ethnicity reflect a logocentric bias in that they assume that selves are constructed in large part through a mind-mediated learning process of which the 'word', spoken, written or thought is the primary tool of construction.
- The process of categorising Maori according to these Western concepts of race, culture and ethnicity ultimately supports the genocidal policies associated with colonisation processes.
- Assimilation, in various forms, has been a significant part of these policies and processes. Race, culture and ethnicity may be seen to be assimilationist in the assumption inherent in these constructions that there is a 'pure form' that will become diluted over time, through intercourse with the dominant culture, race or ethnic group. Significant interest in measuring degrees of dilution of Maori culture, race and ethnicity have been apparent amongst researchers and statisticians.
- The notions of race, culture and ethnicity have contributed to a tendency to reify traditional Maori culture, race and ethnicity, thus denying or minimising

³⁵ This term is discussed in some depth in the following chapter. See also Sampson, (1993a).

4 Context 1

the vitality of contemporary Maori existence.

- The notions of race, culture and ethnicity have contributed to views of the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand as an homogeneous group, and a corresponding denial or minimisation of the differences which provide Maori with identity.

Maori Constructions of Maori and Maoritanga.

“Maoritanga is a term coined by the Pakeha to bring the tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity.” (Rangihau, in King, M. Ed., 1975; 1992, pp. 189–190)

While debate about the criteria necessary to answer questions about the nature of Maori and Maori identity in relation to the constructs of race, ethnicity and culture continues within Western discursive frames, non-academic Maori discourse tends to be focused on other considerations. Categorisation of the indigenous peoples of New Zealand according to notions of a Maori race, ethnic group or culture has been rejected by a number of influential Maori voices.³⁶ There are a number of factors underpinning the rejection of racial, ethnic or cultural categorisations of ‘Maori’ and ‘Maoritanga.’ One of these is a view that positions narratives which incorporate the themes of race, culture and ethnicity as incoherent within ‘Maori’ discursive frames; or alternatively as attaining coherence only in relation to the tauwi ‘other’.³⁷ From this position, the adoption of storylines incorporating such categorisations may be seen as symptomatic of colonial imperialism, and in particular, the imperative that the ‘other’ adopt the voice of the dominator (Sampson, 1993a).

Maori stories about the nature of Maori and Maoritanga tend to be based on conceptualisations of whakapapa as the foundation of being.³⁸ Race-based stories, cultural group-based stories and ethnicity-based stories of Maori selfhood

³⁶For example see Rangihau (1975, in King [Ed.] 1992) and Walker (1996).

³⁷ Tauwi is a term that is used to describe the settler population; that is those who have settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand since the 18th century. It includes, but is not limited to, the Pakeha and Pacific Island population.

³⁸ In addition to previous comments relating to the nature of whakapapa, I note here that whakapapa defines us as one with Papatuanuku, our spiritual mother and source of spiritual and temporal sustenance.

4 Context 1

ultimately result in the exclusion of whanau, hapu and iwi Maori based stories of selfhood from full participation in the dominant discourse. Whakapapa-based stories are inclusive and focused on survival. Whakapapa-based stories of selfhood do not rely on division, fractionalisation or learning to attain their coherence. Whakapapa-based stories are centred around themes of physical and spiritual genealogy. The emphasis in these stories is on connection and inclusion. Within a whakapapa narrative, genealogical ties determine the nature of our being and provide roles, responsibilities, purpose and identity. Within this narrative, a group that is not genealogically based, and therefore without an ultimate relationship to the land, carries no accountability to the past and no responsibilities to the future.³⁹

Maori Stories of Maori Identity.

When white-skinned people began arriving on the shores of the South Pacific islands now known as Aotearoa/New Zealand, the indigenous⁴⁰ inhabitants described these strangers who appeared from the sea as 'pakeha'. Although there are a number of explanations of the word 'pakeha', the term as used here alludes to a likeness between these people and bleached driftwood, which has been carried across the sea before being deposited on the beach. Thus, 'pakeha,' describes both the state of being stricken with whiteness, bleached or drained of colour, and the manner of arrival, from the sea to the beaches (Love, 1972; Walker, 1996).

The term, pakeha, then, was a descriptor which served to identify the new arrivals as different and as 'other.' The term 'maori,' on the other hand,

³⁹ The nature of Maori conceptions of self and the centrality of whakapapa to these is explored further in the section of this thesis entitled 'Context 2.'

⁴⁰ The concept of indigenous peoples has been the subject of some debate. For the purposes of this dissertation, indigenous peoples are defined as "who they say they are" (Bodley, 1990, p. 153). See Bodley (1990) for further discussion on the meanings and definitions of the term indigenous.

4 Context 1

emphasised the position of the indigenous peoples as normal, natural and central.

Ethnic (sic) features such as skin colour and hair form were not components of Maori identity in pre-European times...isolated in the Pacific from 1500 BC they did not conceive of themselves as a race vis à vis other races.

Instead Maori thought of themselves in terms of iwi (tribe; literally bones). With the arrival of European navigators, traders and missionaries, the indigenous peoples applied the descriptive term pakeha...or te iwi Pakeha⁴¹ (an illustration of the assumption of common bones, a shared genetic inheritance) to these strangers. Conversely, because white skin was a strange and abnormal condition to them, they adopted the term maori (normal or natural) to distinguish themselves

(Walker, 1996, pp. 25–26).

Walker, in effect, contends that 'maori', a descriptive term, was later transformed into 'Maori,' an identity defined by difference from the 'other', and featuring phenotype as a component.⁴²

Although population estimates before the recording of census data in the latter part of the 19th century are not considered particularly reliable (Pool, 1991), the Maori population in 1800 is estimated to have been around 100,000 (Hirini, 1997). While there had been contact between the indigenous people and European sailors, whalers and missionaries since

⁴¹ As Walker alluded to, the term 'iwi' is often translated as 'tribe'. However the term also refers to 'bones'. The two translations are, of course related, with the tribe in effect being defined in terms of their common 'bones'.

⁴² Walker may be using ethnicity as a pseudonym for 'race'. The categorisation of peoples on the basis of phenotype,

4 Context 1

at least the latter part of the 18th century, it was the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840, which opened the floodgates for Western, primarily British, settlement. Estimates of the Maori population at this time range from 100,000 to 200,000, with the Pakeha population estimated to be around 2,000 (Jackson, 1992). By 1896, the Maori population was an estimated 42,000, a 60% reduction; while Pakeha numbers continued to grow (Pool, 1991).

From the time of concerted British settlement until the early years of this century, most people did not envisage that there would be a need to address the issue of the definition of Maori. The indigenous population, already dispossessed of much of their lands, homes, social structures and institutions, demoralised and decimated from European-initiated land wars, and ravaged by introduced diseases, were widely believed to be a 'dying race' (Hirini, 1997; Pool, 1991; Walker, 1996).

The Superintendent of the Wellington Province, Dr Featherston, recorded that:

The Maoris (sic) are dying out and nothing can save them. Our plain duty as good, compassionate colonists is to smooth their dying pillow. Then history will have nothing to reproach us with (Buller, 1884, p. 54: cited in Pool, 1991, p. 28).

Contrary to expectations, however, Maori people survived; making a "remarkable recovery against all odds" (Hirini, 1997).

The overtly genocidal policies of the 1800s (which led, in at least one province, to the payment of 5 pounds for the head of a Maori woman or

⁴⁵ implied by the concept of race, is discussed later in this section.

4 Context 1

child, and 10 pounds for the head of a Maori man)⁴³ subsided as “good, compassionate colonists” (Buller, 1884, p. 54: cited in Pool, 1991, p. 28) smoothed the pillow of the dying race. Genocidal policies, which had existed since the 1840s, became dominant.

Assimilationist policies, stemming from the genocidal theme, overtly and covertly permeated New Zealand social systems and institutions (Metge, 1976; Walker, 1995; 1996). The primary theme of the dominant discourse, a theme promulgated in schools and media throughout the country, was that expressed in the assimilationist and homogenising phrases ‘We are all one people’ and ‘We are all New Zealanders’ (McCreanor, 1995). Few voices within the dominant Western discursive frame dissented from this view, and those that did could be readily characterised as ‘radical’, ‘communist’ or ‘naïve’, and written out of the main text. ‘New Zealanders’ prided themselves further on the widely promulgated ‘fact’ that ‘New Zealand has the best race relations in the world’ (Walker; 1996). Maori voices went largely unheard, and those who adopted a ‘Western voice’ in an attempt to be heard found their stories relegated to footnotes, and quickly edited out.⁴⁴

The processes of maintaining the monologic status of the dominant discourse, and of ‘editing out’ alternative Maori discourse, together with a parallel process involving attempts to appropriate and re-define Maori discourse, was described by Wi Tako Ngatata-i-te-Rangi in the Legislative

⁴³ Waitangi Tribunal (1996).

⁴⁴ A prime example of this may be seen in the reaction of politicians, policy makers, media and public to the ‘Maori and the Criminal Justice System’ report written by Maori lawyer Moana Jackson (1987). In the report Jackson presented an outline of Maori systems of justice, law and lore which were based in tikanga Maori. He suggested that these systems were at least as valid and effective for Maori as the Western system, and probably more so. He recommended that a Maori systems of justice be recognised, validated and operationalised within Aotearoa/New Zealand society. Jackson’s report and the research that it was based on was dismissed as invalid and his recommendations vilified and publicly rejected by politicians, public figures and the media. In 1998, a similar fate has befallen the authors of a Crown and police commissioned report detailing ‘Maori Perceptions of the Police’ which contained findings that may only be described as extremely negative in terms of Maori perceptions of the New

4 Context 1

Assembly of the fledgling nation during the 1870s. Te Atiawa Chief Wi Tako was one of four rangatira invited to join the Legislative Assembly to represent the views of Maori people. During his time in the Assembly, Wi Tako repeatedly asked that all Bills and Motions be translated into the Maori language so that he and his people could understand them and could participate in discussion and debate concerning them. These requests were not fulfilled. Thus the legislative process remained and remains entirely monologic, with Maori voices, speaking from within a Maori discursive frame, excluded from participation. A newspaper, 'Waka Maori', was established in 1871, ostensibly to keep the Maori population informed on Maori issues before the Assembly by publishing speeches made in the Assembly pertaining to Maori matters. In 1875, Wi Tako Ngatata-i-te-Rangi had this to say on the matter:

Three years have gone by, and the speeches of Maori members have not been heard. They have not been published in the Waka Maori. A great many speeches have been made by the members which have not been published in the Waka Maori...Such tales as that of Robinson Crusoe and other trivial things were introduced into the Maori paper, while the speeches of the Maori members have been excluded from it...If the speeches of the Maori members are not to be published in the Waka Maori, the name of that paper had better be altered to that of 'Robinson Crusoe'.

(Parliamentary Debates; Legislative Council and House of Representatives, Volume 18; 16 September, 1875)

As policies of assimilation gained momentum, growing industrialisation increased the demand for a pool of unskilled labour, land continued to be

4 Context 1

alienated from Maori control and systems of physical and cultural sustenance were largely destroyed. Maori were both pushed and pulled into the cities. Separate native schools gave way to mixed-race classrooms, children were schooled together and later worked together, state housing policies of pepper-potting meant that Maori and Pakeha families lived side by side, and intermarriage flourished.

Pre-1986 census definitions of Maori reflected an explicit political agenda of assimilation. Using this definition, with inter-marriage as a key assimilationist strategy, the number of Maori people would gradually decline, and eventually disappear. However, contrary to this assimilationist statistical story-line, the numbers of people identifying as more than half-blooded Maori, and even as full-blooded Maori, increased, rather than decreased (Durie, 1995a). In effect, Maori were adopting their own criteria with which to identify themselves, and rejecting those imposed by the state. This movement represented an important site of resistance by Maori to the genocidal policies which continued to be maintained by the state. Maori effectively exercised the right of self-definition.⁴⁵

The rejection by Maori of this model of identity may indicate that phenotypical characteristics are largely irrelevant to and incoherent within Maori narratives of self. For Maori, there are other criteria more definitive of selfhood. One of the difficulties with a reliance on physical characteristics in the categorisation of contemporary Maori is that numbers of those who are of Maori descent, and who identify themselves as Maori, do not exhibit the physical features associated with the original observation and categorisation of difference.

⁴⁵ This was not a deliberate strategy on the part of Maori. Rather it appeared to be a movement based on the reclamation of identity whose 'time had come'. Large numbers of Maori simultaneously and independently refused to conform to demands that they identify themselves in terms of the proportion of Maori blood contained in their

4 Context 1

As previously noted, identity for the indigenous people of these islands before European immigration, was not race-based.⁴⁶ Nor was/is Maori identity necessarily framed in terms of Maori as opposed to Pakeha selfhood.⁴⁷ While traditional structures and systems based around whanau, hapu and iwi have been seriously weakened, the survival of whanau, hapu and iwi structures and metaphors are indicative of ongoing Maori resistance to the imposition of purely binary, race-, ethnicity- or culture-based definitions of selfhood. Whanau, hapu and iwi identity supports whakapapa-based conceptions of self.

Maori responses to Western attempts to define Maori, and construct a 'Western - Maori' identity, have largely been indignant. In contrast to Western attempts to define Maori as a racial, ethnic or cultural group, many Maori do not ally themselves to this position. Instead the self is rooted within whanau, hapu and iwi narratives which locate selfhood as indivisible from land, whakapapa and the spiritual system by which the Maori world is governed and of which all Maori are a part. John Rangihau describes his experiences of racism and oppression at the hands of Pakeha, as well as experiences of unity with Pakeha in war-time as factors in his own identity. In addition, his words expressing his sense of self and concerns about Pakeha constructions of 'Maori' and 'Maoritanga' speak Maori truths today, as they did at the time of utterance almost a quarter of a century ago.

In the Maori world...you would be aware of the spirit of the land you are going to, and of the mauri or life force of this land. You are aware of this through a number of ways. When

⁴⁵veins.

⁴⁶ See Walker (1996).

⁴⁷ See Rangihau (1992).

4 Context 1

I take strangers into Ruatahuna I stop and we get out of the car and I say to them, "This is an old Maori custom". These days what I ask people to do is stand in silence for a little while and pray in their own way. It doesn't matter what sort of person I take into the area, I do it. There was a young Australian boy who came in from Rotorua and became very sick so they had to rush him back. He had come in with my wife and as soon as he became sick she said, "Oh that was my fault, I didn't do the right thing by him." And I knew exactly what she meant.

All this stems from the fact that down through the centuries the Maori has been very close to nature...For Maori generally I believe there is this emotional tie to the land because of...creation.

In addition to the land ties, I have become aware of my identity in a number of ways...

You know the number of people, Pakeha people, who know better than I do how to be Maori just amazes me. I could never be so audacious as to suggest to a Pakeha that I know better than they do how they are to live as Pakeha. But I am constantly reminded of the number of Pakeha people who know better than I do what is good for me. It is about time we were allowed to think for ourselves and to say things for our own reasons and not for the reasons set down by Pakeha experts. The Maori is content to stand right where he (sic) is, retain his culture and retain his identity, and be himself, not a foreigner, in his own country.

4 Context 1

Although these feelings are Maori, for me they are my Tuhoetanga⁴⁸ rather than my Maoritanga. My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Maori person. It seems to me that there is no such thing as Maoritanga because Maoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Maori. And there are so many different aspects about each tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others. How can I share with the history of Ngati Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato?⁴⁹ Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history.

To me, Tuhoetanga means that I do all the things that are meaningful to Tuhoe. But I cannot do the things that are meaningful to other people. One of the things, for instance, that is an unbroken law from my own ancestors is that the Tuhoe person must at all times be humble. Humility is one vital aspect of Tuhoetanga. Now I cannot go around telling other people to be humble. That may not be their way: but it is mine. And I say to all Tuhoe people that they must be humble, because I know them, they're part of my tribal background, they're part of my history, they're part of me.

I can't go around saying because I'm Maori that Maoritanga means this and all Maori have to follow me. That's a lot of hooley. I have a faint suspicion that Maoritanga is a term

⁴⁸ Tuhoe is the tribe that Rangihau is part of. Tuhoetanga may be broadly translated as 'Tuhoeness', that is one's 'being' as Tuhoe.

⁴⁹ Ngati-Porou, Te Arawa and Waikato are the names of other tribes.

4 Context 1

coined by the Pakeha to bring the tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity. (Rangihau, in King, M. Ed.; 1975; 1992, pp 189–190).

The above discussion of Maori constructions of Maori identity reflect a rejection of the positioning of Maori and Pakeha that has dominated Western narratives. While some reject the very notion of a Maori identity, culture, race or ethnicity, others see this ‘Maori identity’ as existing in relational terms. Thus, while identity is primarily based on whanau, hapu and iwi (and these in relation to other whanau, hapu and iwi) there is also space for an ‘iwi Maori’ in relation to an ‘iwi Pakeha.’

These Maori constructions of identity reflect a continuous link through genealogy, to ancestors, land and the spiritual essence of all animate and inanimate things. Ultimately, these are represented in whakapapa. While individuals may or may not (through choice or otherwise) gain particular areas of Maori knowledge, practise particular customs associated with Maoritanga, hold to certain systems of belief or become fair-haired and light-skinned, they cannot choose their whakapapa. And whakapapa cannot be diluted out of existence. Whakapapa, as the foundation of Maori identity is as much a spiritual as a physical concept, thus it is not dependent on learning.

Summary

4 Context 1

This chapter has looked at discursive constructions of Maori identity and Maoritanga as developed within two distinct discursive frames. In effect these represent different 'readings' of the same 'text'.

Western stories of Maori identity have reflected Western philosophical and political themes. Central themes have included the division of human from human (based on an assumption of self-contained individualism), person from animal and object (reflecting an assumption that there is a qualitative difference between people and the rest of the natural environment), and people from land (a necessary pre-requisite to the commodification of land). Recent attempts to define Maori identity have incorporated the notion of descent from a Maori as an indicator of Maori identity. This indicator is sometimes combined with the notion of 'affiliation' and with various indicators of Maori knowledge and participation in 'Maori activities'. Genocide, assimilation and polarisation, related to these themes, have appeared as key plots in Western stories of Maori identity.

Maori stories of Maori identity have emphasised whakapapa, an emphasis which promotes connection, inclusion and survival, and resists genocidal forces. In addition, storylines developed within Maori discursive frames have constructed an identity based on a multiplicity of whanau, hapu and iwi relationships, rejecting the singularity of categorisation according to notions of a Maori race, culture or ethnic group, except in relation to a Pakeha other. An additional component of Maori stories of identity has been the theme of survival against the ongoing forces of colonisation, genocide and oppression.

Thus, it appears that there are fundamental differences in meaning associated with constructions of 'Maori' and 'Maoritanga' within dominant Western discourse and those narrative constructions of selfhood arising from Maori discursive frames. Discourse within both frameworks illustrates the negotiated and

4 Context 1

negotiable nature of meanings around 'Maori' and 'Maoritanga'.

In the course of this study, the term 'Maori' will be used in reference to the indigenous peoples of New Zealand. However, the term is used in a Maori sense rather than as a reference to racial, cultural or ethnicity based categorisations. In other words, the nature of Maori identity as understood in this work is based on whakapapa. As such it is not mediated by cognitive and word mediated processes, and, thus Maori identity is viewed as being inborn, a function of whakapapa, rather than learned or chosen.

CONTEXT TWO: CULTURE AND COUNSELLING RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

This section looks at the relationship between culture and counselling from three perspectives. First, an examination of the genealogy of the culturally based construction of 'self' which is pivotal to Western understandings of counselling theory and practice is undertaken. Particular attention is paid to the relationship between cultural constructions of 'self,' and the overlapping fields of psychology and counselling as they have developed in the Western world. A second aspect of the culture-counselling relationship which is examined in this section, is the construction of contemporary Western counselling discourses. An over-view of two inter-related streams of discourse and narratives within these, is provided. Third, a variety of approaches to understanding the nature of culture-counselling relationships, with particular reference to the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, is outlined.

1: A GENEALOGY OF THE 'SELF' OF WESTERN COUNSELLING AND PSYCHOLOGY

What we assume a self is by and large predicts our assumptions about how a self relates to others, takes control, develops, 'ought to' behave, think and feel, and 'goes wrong'. Thus culturally determined assumptions about the self are beneath all Western cultural, clinical concepts and understandings of normalcy, psychopathology, and psychotherapy.

(Landrine, 1992, p. 402)

In order to establish counselling as an independent professional field, counselling theorists and practitioners have been concerned to delineate for their area of research and practice a distinct and individual arena within the social sciences, one separate from other social science arenas such as psychology, philosophy and anthropology.

5 Context 2

However, I argue here that the main orientations, theories and practices that have developed in the context of the academic study and professional practice of counselling also underpin psychological theory and practice. Consequently, counselling textbooks and training courses utilise therapeutic orientations identified with the psychological domain (that is, those of the humanistic, cognitive-behavioural and psychodynamic traditions).¹ Psychology courses, in particular those concerned with clinical and counselling psychology, also utilise the work of those who may be identified as belonging to the counselling field.² In genealogical terms, psychology may be characterised as a parent discipline to the contemporary counselling profession as the emergence of psychology as a recognised area of academic study and professional practice preceded that of counselling. However, boundaries between counselling and some areas of psychology are less than clear. In this regard and because of the emphasis in contemporary Western counselling theory and practice on the psyche, it may be argued that contemporary counselling practice is a form of psychological counselling.

It is apparent that Western constructions of contemporary counselling share, with other social sciences, a common genealogy and an ongoing intimate relationship such that attempts to individuate counselling from these relationships are untenable. In particular, models of counselling and psychology are predicated on particular understandings of self and other. In this section, I will review some of the assumptions about the nature of 'self' that are implicit within psychological theories and therapies, and by extension, within counselling theories and therapies also.

¹ Although some would distinguish between 'cognitive' and 'behavioural' approaches (see for example Sampson, 1993) I take the view here that pure behaviourism has largely given way to an approach that includes consideration of the role of cognition and may be defined as 'cognitive-behavioural'. In recent times, also, some writers have identified a 'multicultural' orientation as the 'fourth force' in psychology and counselling (see for instance Ivey, Ivey & Simek-Morgan, 1997). This proposition is addressed later in this chapter.

² An examination of course content and readings in the psychology papers pertaining to clinical and counselling psychology confirms this view.

Psychology's Subject³

The majority of psychologists appear to have reached a consensus that the proper object for psychological inquiry (i.e. psychology's subject) is the individual human person; whatever else it may do, psychology's task is to study the individual and to develop the laws of his or her functioning.⁴

(Sampson, 1983, p. 135)

Sampson's position is supported by a number of authors including Pepitone (1981 in Sampson, 1983) who coined the term 'individuocentric'⁵ to describe the position that characterises psychological inquiry and Hogan (1975) who has described Western approaches to psychology as constituting an 'egocentric psychology.'

Across the domains of psychology of course, there are a variety of aspects of the individual that may become the focus of inquiry within a range of subspecialties; for instance, behaviour, cognition, neuro-physiological functioning, human development (and particular areas there-of) and self-in-relation.⁶ However, notwithstanding the differing emphases and foci of interest, it is widely accepted that it is the individual person who is the subject of psychological inquiry. From an acceptance of this understanding I move now to consideration of what it is that constitutes the individual person, the self, that is the subject of inquiry.

In the post-modern era, attention has turned increasingly to examining the nature of dominant Western conceptions of self. As a result, this conception of self has been

³ This term is used by Sampson (1983) in his examination of the Western model of self that is the subject of psychological enquiry.

⁴ Although it may be argued that some would define psychology's subject in terms of the study of 'organisms,' I agree with Sampson (1983; 1993) that this does not represent a fully accepted perspective, nor does it represent the dominant focus in psychology.

⁵ Individuocentrism is defined as "adopting the individual as the only reality and as the fundamental unit of analysis, and individual dynamics as the source for all social and cultural dynamics" (Pepitone, 1981 in Sampson, 1983).

⁶ Although, it may be argued that social psychology emphasises something 'more than' the individual person, I agree with Sampson (1983) and Allport (1968) in identifying the primary focus in social psychology as on "the effects of other individuals on *the individual* (sic) who comes under ... scrutiny" (Sampson, 1983, p.135); that is, self-in-relation to others.

extensively deconstructed in relation to its role as the basis of Western models of mental health and illness and professions relating to this. Underpinning the deconstructive exercise are several related notions: first, that the manner in which the human being as an embodied entity is constructed, varies historically and culturally; second, that the construction of the individual is a socio-cultural process rather than a natural event; and third, that the constructionist process is discursive in nature.⁷

Geertz (1973, p. 229) has described the dominant Western conceptions of self which underpin social scientific theories and practices, as 'peculiar' in the context of conceptions of self as constructed within most of the world's cultures:

The Western conception of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action organised into a distinctive whole and set contrastively both against other such wholes and against a social and natural background is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures.

The Western conception of self described by Geertz has been widely supported, elaborated and assigned a variety of descriptors.⁸ In this section of this study, two elaborations of Geertz's 'peculiar' Western conception of self will be outlined; these are, the 'self-contained individual' as described by Sampson (1977; 1983; 1993; Sarason, 1981), and the 'referential self' examined by Landrine, (1992).

The Self-Contained Individual

The notion of 'self-contained individualism' is viewed by Sampson (1975, 1977, 1983, 1993) as a predominant theme that describes the Western (and most particularly the American) cultural ethos. This concept of the self is thought to be of comparatively recent origin in the Western world. The emergence of self-contained individualism as a significant cultural theme has been traced to a period around the 16th Century

⁷ See Sampson, 1993 for an elucidation on these assumptions.

⁸ See, for example Sampson, 1993; Shweder and Levine (Eds.), 1984; Heelas and Lock, 1981; Sue and Sue, 1990, 1999;3.0. Landrine, 1992)

(Baumeister, 1987, p. 163; Morriss, 1972; Snell, 1972; Tuan, 1982 in Sampson, 1988, p. 17),⁹ and may be seen to have been nurtured and developed to its current form in the Western world, and primarily in the United States (Baumeister, 1987).

The notion of 'self-contained individualism' elicits an image of 'self-as-container', in which individual and discrete 'container' selves exist independently of each other, with all that is 'self' contained within the boundaries of containers as the embodiment of individuals.

Spence (1985, p. 1288, in Sampson, 1988, p. 16) defined individualism as:

the belief that each of us is an entity separate from every other and from the group...this leads to a sense of self with a sharp boundary that stops at one's skin and clearly demarks self from non-self.

Spence's observations are consistent with those of Heelas and Lock (1981) who found that there are some cultures, including that which is dominant within the Western world and the United States in particular, in which firmly drawn boundaries marking self and non-self separation are seen as normal and healthy. In these cultures, maintaining the boundaries between that which is seen as intrinsic or 'self', and that which is seen as extrinsic or 'other' is vital to development, maturity and good mental health.

Following on from the firm, well-defined and clearly differentiated self-non-self boundary, self-contained individuals tend to feature a psychology of self that may be characterised as 'exclusionary' (Sampson 1988, p. 16). That is, 'others', including people, animals and the environment are excluded from the region defined as belonging to the self.

⁹ Not everyone concurs with this dating of the emergence of 'self-contained individualism'; Morris for example (1972 in Sampson, 1988, p.17) claims that elements of self-contained individualism were found several hundred years before the 16th Century. However, there appears to be general agreement

5 Context 2

In addition to a firm boundary between self and other and an exclusionary definition of self, the healthy and mature self-contained individual is seen as possessing a high internal locus of control (Heelas & Lock, 1981; Sue & Sue, 1990, 1999; Sampson, 1988). That is, such persons see themselves as being governed primarily by internal rather than external forces and attribute control over their decisions and their lives to their own motivations and attitudes. Alongside an internal locus of control orientation are preferred values and belief systems promoting personal choice, freedom to choose and individual responsibility for individual actions and directions. Further to this, achievement and success are seen, within a framework of self-contained individualism, to be contingent on the personal qualities and characteristics possessed by individuals (Sampson, 1988).

Self-contained individualism is reflected in developmental models such as Erikson's (1959) model of identity. The notion of 'ego identity' proposed in this model represents a synthesis of prior identifications into a coherent and singular whole; in effect a unity of 'self' (Sampson, 1988) which is positioned as a pre-requisite for social and personal well-being. According to Erikson's developmental model, the alternative to developing an ego identity, is the dangerous state of 'identity diffusion.' 'Identity diffusion' is characterised by the lack of an 'organising centre', by multiple foci and changing senses of self. The inference in Erikson's formulation is that these latter characteristics lead to a chaotic and diffused state, as opposed to the ideal of a stable and orderly state of equilibrium. 'Self-actualisation' is also placed by Maslow (1968, in Peterson, 1996) at the pinnacle of his hierarchy of needs model, and identified as the aim of some humanistic therapies. The centrality of the 'self' of cultures featuring the 'self-contained individualism' as a primary cultural theme is perhaps illustrated by reviewing entries in the American Heritage Dictionary which are pre-fixed by the word 'self'. There are 85 entries referring to 'self' in this work, many of these implicitly featuring a concern with individual selfhood, in the context of individual well-being and development.

that 'self-contained individualism' began to emerge as a dominant force in the West around the 16th Century.

Self-contained individualism may be contrasted with 'ensembled individualism' which features a self-other boundary that is 'fluid' (that is distinctions and differentiations between that which is self and that which is non-self are not reified and are less vital to identity), inclusive (that is, the region that is defined as self may be seen as including a number of people and elements of the environment), and a 'field control' orientation (that is, power and control are located in a field of influences that may include, but are not confined to, the 'self').

These two conceptions of self may be seen as expressions of two distinct 'cultural themes', that of egocentrism¹⁰ and that of 'sociocentrism.'¹¹ These 'cultural themes' correspond with the culturally constituted constructions of self previously identified. These constructions of self are, in turn, associated with two distinct orientations relating to 'indigenous psychologies'.¹² These orientations may be positioned as the end points on a continuum of conceptions of self. At the extreme egocentric end of the continuum lies self-contained individualism featuring an emphasis on individual self-sufficiency to the point that a fully self-contained person is one who "does not require or desire others for his or her completion of life...(and)...either are or hope to be entire unto themselves...(while)...needing or wanting no-one" (Sampson, 1977).

The development and entrenchment of an indigenous psychology located toward the extreme end of self-contained individualism may be broadly associated with the advent of industrialisation and urbanisation. However, self-contained individualism may also be seen to be associated specifically with the core values and institutions of contemporary North American society. In particular, the North American cultural values of individual freedom, responsibility, independence, autonomy and

¹⁰ Egocentrism is based on an 'egocentric world view' in which the social world is seen as subservient to the individual (Sampson, 1993, p. 67; Shweder & Bourne, 1984, p. 190).

¹¹ Sociocentrism is based on a 'sociocentric world view' in which individual interests are seen as subordinate to the interests of the collectivity (Sampson, 1993, p. 67; Shweder & Bourne, 1984, p. 190).

¹² Heelas, in Heelas and Lock (1981, p.vii) describes indigenous psychologies as "the cultural views, theories, conjectures, classifications, assumptions and metaphors-together with notions embedded in social institutions-which bear on psychological topics". In Heelas's formulation the psychological may extend beyond the domain of the human, into the territory of animism, thus including the "psychologisation of the 'natural' world". Indigenous psychologies are aligned with generally

achievement may be viewed as being predicated on conceptions of self and selves in society consistent with self-contained individualism and, further, as requiring this form of individualism for their achievement. Sampson (1988) argues that conceptions of self consistent with a self-contained individualism are seen to support the position that socially responsible behaviour issues primarily from individuals who see themselves as personally responsible for and in control of their behaviour. Thus, it is an ethos of self-contained individualism that underpins the North American emphasis on personal responsibility for pro-social behaviour, and which, in turn, provides a framework for the particular construction of institutions and systems central to North American society including the democratic political system based on the notion of individual rights, responsibilities and personal freedom of choice, systems of law and justice predicated on individual responsibility and mental health and illness diagnostic systems and institutions which feature the assumption that mental health and illness are internally located within individuals.¹³

Referential Selfhood and Psychopathology

A number of authors have deconstructed Western conceptions of self, reaching conclusions similar to those outlined above.¹⁴ Reviewing the work of these authors, Landrine (1992) developed an analysis of the relationship between these Western conceptions of self, the conceptions of self dominant in most non-Western societies, and Western constructions of psychopathology. Landrine used the term 'referential self,' to describe the conception of self which is dominant in Western societies, and the term 'indexical self' to describe conceptions of self dominant amongst non-Western peoples.

Landrine (1992) concluded that Western conceptions of mental health are predicated on referential conceptions of 'normal' selfhood and further, that violations of these

accepted, culturally pervasive claims, as opposed to specialist, "unique and invented" psychological opinions.

¹³ Sampson (1988, 1993) argues that while a self-contained model of individualism is widely seen to be associated with the enactment of these core values, the actual effectiveness of the this model of individualism in supporting the core values of North American society is debatable.

¹⁴ See for example Heelas, P. & Lock, A. (1981); Sampson, E. (1977, 1989, 1993); Shweder, R. & Levine, R. (1984); Sue, D. & Sue, D. (1990, 1999).

5 Context 2

norms constitute 'psychopathology'. Thus, peoples who hold an indexical conception of self are defined a priori as abnormal and may be diagnosed as suffering from a variety of psychological or psychiatric disorders. The following tables summarise Landrine's (1992) conclusions in relation to: (a) assumptions associated with referential conceptions of self, assumptions which violate referential conceptions of self and the nature of psychopathology associated with these violations; and (b) assumptions associated with indexical conceptions of self, normal beliefs and behaviours associated with indexical conceptions of self, and psychopathological interpretations of these based on referential conceptions of self.

Table One: Healthy Referential Selfhood and Psychopathology

HEALTHY REFERENTIAL SELFHOOD: SELF IS... ..	PSYCHOPATHOLOGY FROM A REFERENTIAL PERSPECTIVE	DIAGNOSTIC CATEGORISATIONS (Derived from referential perspective)
Presumed to be a singular, distinct and integrated entity. In possession of firm boundaries separating self from non-self	Experiencing self as fragmented, without firm boundaries, or as multiple entities.	Psychosis, delusion, multiple personality disorder, experiencing 'boundary issues', ego diffusion.
Encapsulated. It exists within the body but is not contiguous with the body.	Perception of self as outside of body.	Disassociation, psychosis, hallucination, delusion. Schizophrenia, Bi-polar disorder.
A cognitive and emotional universe, the center of awareness, emotion, judgment and action.	Experiencing thoughts and feelings as emanating from somewhere other than the self, as controlled by someone or something other than the self. Failure of family to recognise or respect individual autonomy, freedom of choice or rights (e.g., to privacy).	Thought disorders, delusion, obsessive/compulsive disorder, psychosis, schizophrenia. Family enmeshment, domineering parents or other members, smothering behaviour, victimisation.
The originator of one's own behaviour, and responsible for one's own behaviour.	Attribution of thoughts and actions to forces or persons other than self. Attribution of control or responsibility for one's behaviour to anyone or anything other than the self	Psychopathy, delinquency, brain damage, compulsive, paranoid and psychotic disorders, including schizophrenia.
Seeking primary control – acts upon the world and others in order to meet its needs.	Passivity; belief in the forces of fate, belief that one will or should be directed by others; failure to act upon the world; lack of belief in self-efficacy.	Learned helplessness, lack of assertiveness, lack of self-confidence, low self-esteem.
Primary, relationships are secondary. Relationships are experienced as derivative – the self is seen as pre-existing relationships, and relationships are rejected if they fail to meet the needs of the self.	Experiencing one's self as secondary to relationships (e.g., as daughter; part of tribe/nation). Believing that one's relationships (e.g., with family, ancestors) pre-exist and pre-ordain one's selfhood. Inability to leave or break away from destructive relationships.	Subservience, lack of assertiveness, failure to individuate, low self esteem, loss of ego boundaries, delusional.

Table Two: Healthy Indexical Selfhood and Psychopathology

HEALTHY INDEXICAL SELFHOOD: SELF IS:	NORMALITY FROM AN INDEXICAL PERSPECTIVE:	PATHOLOGY; REFERENTIAL INTERPRETATION:
<p>Constituted and created through interactions and relationships. Without enduring traits, trans-situational characteristics, desires or needs of its own in isolation from its relationships and contexts.</p> <p>Not an entity to which one can refer.</p>	<p>Self-description based on the context of situations and relationships.</p> <p>An inability to reflect on individual self.</p> <p>Difficulty answering questions with an individual and internal focus, such as: What do you think/want/need?</p>	<p>Concrete thinking is equated with lower intelligence, though disorders, tangential thought and speech, schizotypal, schizophrenic, borderline personality disorder, splitting/dissociation and paranoia</p> <p>Lack of insight and verbal ability</p> <p>Resistant to or not ready for therapy.</p>
<p>Keenly aware of relationships. Reflects on relationships rather than 'self'. Self is not a separate entity that can be reflected upon in isolation.</p>	<p>Concerned to preserve and promote relationships rather than self interest, esteem, autonomy, etc.</p> <p>Motivated primarily by other rather than self interest. Answers questions re: what he/she 'really' feels, wants, wishes for from therapy and questions re: personal history with descriptions of events or confusion and silence.</p>	<p>Externalisation, immaturity, projection, lack of ego boundaries, enmeshment, lack of assertiveness, low self esteem, masochistic personality disorder, resistance, lack of readiness for psychotherapy.</p>
<p>A foyer which includes other people and portions of the natural and supernatural world.</p> <p>Boundaries of the self are drawn around a 'foyer' in which family and self, living and dead may be seen as a single unit.</p>	<p>Gods, ghost, family, and/or parts of the natural environment may be experienced as parts of the self and perhaps as competing voices within the self. Their needs and desires are felt as one's own.</p> <p>These persons, forces and immaterial beings, rather than the self, are seen as responsible for actions taken by the self.</p>	<p>Family enmeshment; lack of assertiveness; inability to separate own needs from that of family.</p> <p>Lack of differentiation of self, failure to accept personal responsibility, delusional, suffering from hallucinations, psychotic, schizophrenic, suffering from bipolar disorder or manic episodes, superstitious, unintelligent, uneducated.</p>
<p>Defined by social context.</p> <p>The self and the roles it occupies are seen as synonymous.</p> <p>Self identity or identities are constituted by social locations.</p>	<p>Individuals have duties and obligations to perform for the larger unit; they do not possess individual rights (e.g., to privacy, autonomy, self-determination).</p> <p>Failure to perform one's role is to suffer a loss of self and identity.</p>	<p>Depression, histrionic personality disorder, anxiety disorders, panic attacks, dependence, enmeshment.</p> <p>Lack of self-esteem, self reflection and/or social skills.</p>

Summary: Part 1

Contemporary professional counselling is positioned here as an offspring of psychology. The genealogical roots of psychology and counselling are located within Western conceptions of the self. These conceptions, in turn, spring from the historical and contemporary socio-cultural context of the Western world. Within the North American context specifically, the need to develop a discrete national identity separate from that of the 'home nations' from whence new American citizens came, and to support the founding individualistic principles of individual freedom, responsibility, independence, autonomy and achievement has led to the ensconcement of American ideals of selfhood at the extreme self-contained end of the self-contained/referential continuum.

Western conceptions of self, characterised here as 'self-contained individualism' and as 'referential', underpin categorisations of mental health, illness and psychopathology which have become dominant in Western societies, and which have been exported to non-Western societies. From a referential perspective, 'other' conceptions of self, in effect 'other selves' (those referred to here as 'enssembled individuals' and 'indexical selves') are constructed, by definition, as abnormal and concomitantly as pathological.

2: COUNSELLING DISCOURSES

Three primary orientations are generally recognised within the counselling field and within therapeutic psychology, these are: the existential-humanistic orientation, the cognitive-behavioural orientation, and the psychodynamic orientation. It has also been claimed that a 'fourth force,' one featuring a multicultural orientation, has been emerging in recent times.¹⁵ From these primary orientations, numbers of theories and models of counselling and psychotherapy have been developed, taught, researched and expounded upon. The number and variety of these theories and models of counselling and psychotherapy is reflected in the large number of definitions of counselling that have been proposed.¹⁶ The number of definitions will not be added to here, nor will one particular definition be adopted. Rather, I propose that the multitude of theories, models and definitions of counselling, along with the primary orientations from which they spring and which they reflect, are bounded by a particular discursive framework. The central plank of this discursive framework is the conception of self identified in the previous section. From this central tenet, the framework is constituted of a variety of inter-connected pieces, including notions around the nature of time, control, justice and 'otherness' associated with Western culture.¹⁷

Contemporary counselling concepts have been related to developments in Western thought and philosophy over a number of centuries:

Counselling concepts can be traced back to the Greek Philosophers, to parts of the Old Testament, or to other early sources. In this sense, the social philosophers of ancient Greece, for example, Plato (427-347 B.C.) and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.); the hedonists; the philosophers of the British Association School, such as John Locke (1632-1704), George Berkeley (1685-

¹⁵ See Ivey, Ivey and Simek-Morgan (1997). Questions as to the nature of this emergent 'fourth force' are discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁶ In 1987 Ivey, Ivey and Simek-Downing identified over 250 distinct definitions of counselling.

1753), David Hume (1711-1776), and James Mill (1773-1836), and others were influential because they sought to define the nature of mankind, and the nature of society, and the relationship between the individual and society. (Shertzer & Stone 1980, p. 23; cited in Hermansson, 1997, p. 12)

The above quotation highlights the place of counselling in historical and cultural context, locates counselling in relation to prevailing philosophical tenets of society and emphasises the relationship between contemporary counselling concepts and discursively constructed notions of self and society. The philosophical discourses identified above are concerned with conceptions about the nature of self and appropriate relationships between selves. From these conceptions, in turn, certain preferred values may be identified, and narratives based on these values delineated. The Judaeo-Christian tradition has been associated with a climate in which the ethic of unconditional service to others, and the love motive are preferred values. From these values within Judaeo-Christian discourse spring narrative themes such as altruism, charity, compassion, love for one's neighbour and social responsibility which feature in many definitions and descriptions of counselling.¹⁸

Counselling discourses are constructed within the discursive framework identified above and narratives are created from this. My aim in this section is to identify key themes within counselling discourses as constructed within the Western discursive framework and to outline threads of competing and parallel narratives within these.

Discourse 1: Counselling as 'Helping': a Universal Human Activity.

The most basic definitions of counselling identify counselling simply as 'a helping relationship'. Definitions of counselling based on the notion of 'a helping relationship' feature two key components: first the provision of help, and second a

¹⁷ It is worth noting that Sampson (1993) and Landrine (1992) amongst others identify dominant Western discourses as patriarchal in nature.

¹⁸ See Brammer and McDonald (1996) for a discussion on the influence of Judaeo-Christian tradition in the development of counselling and helping behaviours generally.

5 Context 2

notion of relationship within which help is provided and received. This view is tied to altruistic narratives related to Judaeo-Christian discourse. Definitions of counselling which emphasise the notion of a helping relationship imply an individual focus, that is a focus on one individual helping another, but do not exclude social considerations from the equation. Counselling narratives based on this understanding of counselling also do not specify the cognitive, psychological and verbal (talk therapy) emphasis that is associated with dominant contemporary understandings of counselling. Definitions of counselling which focus on the 'helping relationship' tend not to specify the provision of counsel as the basis of the relationship or a key component there-in.

The provision of counsel has been a feature of a variety of social systems over time and across cultures. Within Western history, for example, the role of the wise woman, the patriarch, matriarch or priest have included the provision of help and counsel. Within non-Western systems, that which may, within this discourse, be described as 'counselling' may be seen to be a feature of tribal, kin-based and/or community relationships and of that which may be loosely termed shamanism. In contemporary Western contexts the provision of counsel may occur in the context of interpersonal relationships such as amongst family, friends and colleagues.

In times past, and in some contemporary contexts, who provided counsel to whom and in which area tended to be related to the experience and expertise of the 'counsellor' in that particular area. Thus an older women, experienced in child bearing and child rearing might counsel a young mother; similarly a cousin experienced in the art of survival and resource gathering, whether in the corporate jungle or the Pacific Ocean, might counsel a less experienced cousin. Thus counselling was (and in non-professional 'counselling-as-helping' discourse continues to be) tied to pre-existing relationships and to context, that is the context of area of expertise. The provision of 'counselling-as-helping' may also be less likely to be overtly focused on the cognitive or psychological functioning of those in receipt of counsel than is the case in modern characterisations of professional counselling and psychotherapy.

5 Context 2

As previously noted counselling narratives within 'helping' and 'human service' discourses intersect with Judaeo-Christian discourses, associating counselling with 'good' and 'Christian' qualities based on altruism and caring for others. Words and phrases such as empathy, altruism, compassion, unconditional positive regard and love are prevalent in these narratives.

"The simple word 'compassion'; among other things relates the counsellor to the long line of compassionate people who have carried out a counselling function over the ages – whether as Homeric tutor, as priest, or even as witch-doctor. In this regard the counsellor of today is part of an ancient tradition founded on the helping relationship."

(Lawrence, 1980, p. 3; cited in Hermansson, 1997, p. 12).

In summary, discourses around counselling as a universal human activity, locate counselling in the context of human relationships additional to or pre-dating the counselling process, tend not to emphasise the cognitive and psychological aspects of those in receipt of counselling, do not necessarily focus on verbal exchanges as a key component of counselling process, and may contain an implicit or explicit assumption that counselling is an altruistic act. Historically, cross-culturally and in contemporary 'informal' or 'non-professional' situations, the provision of counsel occurred (or occurs) in relation to the matter for which help was sought and/or provided and the perceived expertise of the 'counsellor' in these matters. In these narratives, then, counselling is not delineated as a self-contained process and relationship, one separate from the context of ongoing relationships.

Discourse 2: Counselling as a specialist professional domain.

'Counselling-as-helping; a universal human activity' discourse, has become increasingly overtaken by narratives which characterise counselling as a specialist and professional activity, and which locate counselling processes within the realm of intellectual activity. McCully (1969) retains the altruistic notion of 'helping,' while

5 Context 2

simultaneously locating counselling within a market place discourse by identifying counselling as a 'helping profession'. He then defines a 'helping profession' as:

...one which, based upon its specialised knowledge applies an intellectual technique to the existential affairs of others toward the end of enabling them to cope more effectively with the dilemma and paradoxes that characterise the human condition. (McCully, C. H. 1969, p. 32)

This quotation of thirty years ago, illustrates a move to remove 'helping' activities from the domain of community knowledge and relationships and to place such activities into the arena of specialised knowledge from whence it is positioned to participate in the professional market place. Definitions such as that cited above, with an emphasis on specialist knowledge and intellect, also provide a framework for the conceptualisation of counselling as an activity related to the mind, and specifically to individual minds (as opposed, for example, to social or spiritual conditions and relationships). Thus, counselling is provided with a 'self-contained' identity based on and contiguous with a body of specialised knowledge. At the same time, counselling is removed from the context of situations and relationships and into the context of a 'helping profession.' The separation of counsel and support from social context, interpersonal relationships and spirituality is further emphasised in contemporary descriptions of counselling as a helping relationship. For instance, Brammer and McDonald (1996, pp. 38-39) emphasise that the relationship has a discrete beginning and an end which is tied to resolution of the problem that help is being provided for.

Generic Counselling Narratives

The idea of 'generic counselling' is a comparatively recent development and one related to the positioning of counselling within the professional market-place. The primary assumption underlying generic counselling narratives is that counselling may be divorced from client/counsellor/person-specific experiential or relational knowledge. Concomitantly, there is an assumption that counselling may be

considered a discrete entity with its own body of knowledge, theory and practice. The emphasis in this body of knowledge, theory and practice is on the 'human condition' as embodied in individual people and on the intellectual or cognitive aspects of this. It is this claim to specialist intellectual knowledge relating to the 'human condition' that provides counselling with a niche in the market-place. A related claim, that counselling has the status of a 'profession', is a plank of its marketing campaign.

The Specialisation and Professionalisation of Counselling

The emergence of counselling as a profession is a relatively recent advent. Although, as noted above, counselling as an activity has long been a part of Western and non-Western societies, counselling roles have been taken by people who were associated with the individual or group in need of counsel in some way other than as a specialist counsellor. Similarly, those who sought counsel may have had a relationship with those who provided counsel which was not delineated by or synonymous with the status of client. Thus the provision of counsel was an activity that took place within a variety of relational contexts,¹⁹ with counselling activities a function or extension of these contexts. As previously noted also, the adoption of counsellor and client roles, and conventions as to who sought counsel from whom, was also likely to have depended on the nature of the problem to be addressed. The formal assignation of a person known as a 'counsellor' and another as a 'client' in a relationship based solely or primarily on the activity of 'counselling,' divorced from other relationships, and the provision of monetary rewards specifically for such service, is a comparatively recent development.

It may be argued that the nature of modern Western and industrialised society has led to a discontinuity of sorts between the universal tradition of counselling and its contemporary manifestations.

¹⁹ The term 'relational contexts', as used here, encompasses inter-personal relationships, social (group) relationships, relationships between people, land and the natural environment, between past, present and future and between people and spiritual essences.

5 Context 2

There is a clean break between the counsellor of today and this great (ancient) tradition. If the period up to the end of the nineteenth century could be called the era of the incipient counsellor, the era (now)...is the era of the professional counsellor.

(Lawrence, 1980, p. 3, cited in Hermansson, 1997, p. 13)

The foundation for contemporary manifestations of professional counselling was laid in the capitalist philosophy proposed by Adam Smith in his 1776 classic, 'An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.' Smith is credited with being the 'intellectual father of capitalism' (Yardeni & Moss, 1990). He proposed free trade tied to the demands of the market, the division of labour and occupational specialisation. Smith's (1776) arguments favoured the development of individualism, and pursuit of individual self interest,²⁰ together with an increasing diversification and specialisation of roles in the labour market. The location of professional counselling within a capitalist free market economy is significant in a number of ways.

Professional counselling as a consequence of capitalist expansion

Goode (1960) noted that, "an industrialising society is a professionalising society." (p. 902, in Hermansson, 1997, p. 13)

The development of counselling as a profession is correlated with the manifestations of a capitalist economy including urbanisation, industrialisation, increased mobility of individuals and families, and an associated breakdown of relatively permanent communities and traditional support systems. Counselling has emerged as one of several helping professions designed to meet a market demand created through the loss of traditional, community based systems of helping. A variety of theories, strategies, skills, and conventions have developed in conjunction with the construction of counselling as a professional activity and an occupation worthy of remuneration.

Jackson (1995) considers that the history of professional counselling in the Western world may be traced alongside the history of the American Counseling Association (ACA). This association was established in 1952, originally bearing the name 'American Personnel and Guidance Association.' From 1983, it was known as the 'American Association for Counseling and Development,' and from 1992 adopted its present title (Jackson, 1995, p. 5). Jackson identifies the counselling movement as originating in the industrial cities of the American Midwest and eastern coast. During the early part of the twentieth century, the movement was focused on vocational guidance, with counsellors' primary role being to counsel clients with a view to matching them to an appropriate slot within the employment market place. In relation to the place of African Americans and other minorities in American society, and in particular in the market place, the vocational guidance movement served to maintain the oppression already suffered by these groups. Many vocational counsellors excluded minority clients while others matched minority clients to the types of employment they were able to access, thus restricting the quality of the career advice that was provided (Aubrey, 1977 in Jackson, 1995).

In New Zealand, the inaugural conference of The New Zealand Association of Guidance and Counselling (NZAGC) was held in 1974. The Association was later re-named the New Zealand Association of Counselling (NZAC). The development of a counselling profession in this country has generally mirrored the American model, with an initial emphasis on vocational counselling giving way to a generic form of counselling with an intra-psychic (psychological) focus. Increasingly, areas of specialisation within the counselling profession are emerging (for example, grief counselling, alcohol and drug counselling, marriage or relationship counselling, family counselling and abuse counselling).

In its genesis then, the professional counselling movement had a strong and direct relationship to the emergence of industrialisation, the notion of a labour pool and

²⁰ It should be noted that Smith did not advocate the pursuit of self interest in isolation. He believed that self interest would be restrained by competition, and ultimately provide benefits for society as a

5 Context 2

employment market associated with this (including the maintenance of minority groups within the pool of unskilled labour required) and of course, a capitalist economy and philosophy.

Counselling as a 'helping profession' within the human service industry.

In most contemporary Western discourse, professional counselling is located within narratives pertaining to human service professions. It is also particularly aligned with psychology, and is sometimes identified as a branch of psychology (counselling psychology) which may be located at the intersection of scientific and mental health narratives. It has been argued that counselling is also related to religious experience, specifically Judaeo-Christianity, and that counsellors may be seen as having priest-like associations (Hermansson, 1997).²¹

Brown and Srebalus (1996) discuss the position of counselling in relation to mental health service provision. They note that the numbers of people (in an American context) who are estimated to be in need of mental health services has doubled over the previous decade (that is from 1986 to 1996) and that this has created an unprecedented demand for mental health services.²² While acknowledging that the counselling profession is a relative newcomer to the array of mental health service professions, Brown and Srebalus (1996) argue that the large number of professional counsellors, together with their location in a wide variety of work environments and particularly in their placement in public agencies, makes them widely available and accessible and ideally positioned to provide counselling services within the mental health arena. Alongside these factors, it should also be borne in mind that counselling services are generally considered cheaper to purchase than the services

whole.

²¹ In relation to the association between spiritual qualities and religious institutions, see also 'The Secular Priests' by Maurice North, 1972; and 'The Faith of the Counsellor' by Paul Halmos, 1969, 1978.

²² Brown and Srebalus (1996) cite estimates of those in need of mental health 'treatment' in the mid-1980s as 1 in 10. A decade later these estimates had risen to 1 in 5 of the American population. Many more people may be considered 'at risk' and as potential consumers of primary mental health care and psychological or emotional support services.

5 Context 2

of other mental health service providers, thus further increasing the potential marketability of the profession.

Problems facing the counselling profession in its attempts to gain a sizable share of the mental health market include a partial lack of credibility and recognition relating to the level of qualification, training and accreditation standards for counsellors, a lack in many areas of an enforceable ethical code and a lack of legislative recognition of the privileged communication between counsellors and clients. However, as Brown and Srebalus (1996, pp. 15–16) note: “these problems...are being aggressively addressed by the profession and will be resolved.”²³

Professional counselling associations in the Western world, led by the North American contingent, have developed or are developing national and/or regional training standards and accreditation criteria, ethics committees with powers to enforce ethical standards of behaviour (by means of de-registration), training and accreditation standards for counselling supervisors, and lobby groups to encourage legislative recognition of privileged communications between counsellors and clients. Counselling is now widely recognised as a profession, and is intent on pursuing this line to secure a place in the mental health service delivery market place:

The counselling profession has made giant strides towards assuming the trappings of a profession and is well positioned to assume a major role in the delivery of mental health services.

(Brown & Srebalus, 1996, p. 14)

It may be seen that counselling narratives, in common with that of other health and human service industries, tend to combine altruistic idioms with market-place imperatives.

²³ Szasz (1978) discusses the semantic inflation that has occurred in psychology, counselling and therapy, to produce a rich store of psychopathologies and an equally rich store of psychotherapies by which they may be ‘treated’.

Credential inflation in counselling: a function of capitalism.

As a developing profession which is looking to compete in the professional marketplace, counselling theorists, teachers and practitioners have created a body of knowledge (drawn from a variety of theoretical orientations, most notably philosophy and psychology), established a base of research and literature, produced a plethora of counselling-related books and journals, and generated distinctive jargon relating to these, as well as borrowing from the jargon of related fields, most notably psychology.²⁴

In further consolidating its place within the professional market place counsellors have collaborated in the establishment of professional bodies, many of which are associated with training programmes, systems of accreditation, and the development of criteria for admission to the profession. Professional bodies function as gatekeepers, controlling access to professional status. Thus, in order to claim a place for counselling as a profession, and to compete in the market-place of professional social and health service delivery, professional counselling bodies have developed criteria which require people to meet an increasing level of training and qualification to gain membership of the professional body and accreditation as professional counsellors. Under-graduate and graduate level courses in counselling and counselling psychology are now offered, along with a variety of specialised counselling training courses. This, in turn, has led to the development of a core set of counselling principles and ethics.²⁵

Counselling Hierarchies

Within discourses around counselling as a profession and associated with its location within the capitalist market-place, narratives emerge relating to a hierarchy of

²⁴ Counselling 'jargon' typically includes popular, professional and research-related terminology such as 'issues' (as in 'boundary issues' and 'identity issues'), 'therapeutic interventions,' 'counselling skills acquisition', and 'data-gathering phases'.

²⁵ These principles and ethics include an emphasis on intentional helping, the necessity of supervision, the notion of empathy, positive regard, confidentiality, as well as notions of appropriate and

5 Context 2

professional counselling theories and practices, and terminological debates stemming from these. Hermansson (1997) discusses debates around the nature of boundaries between activities that are referred to as interviewing, psychotherapy, counselling skills and counselling. In relation to distinctions between counselling and psychotherapy, Hermansson identifies three positions taken by Belkin (1988); first, that there are no essential differences; second, that there are historical and practical differences, with psychotherapy seen as being aligned with a medical model perspective and reductionist thinking and counselling with a more comprehensive perspective with its roots in vocational guidance and humanistic psychology; third, there are differences in degree related to the severity of the disturbance of clients and the depth of therapy.

Ivey, Ivey and Simek-Downing (1987) similarly distinguish between interviewing, counselling and psychotherapy, with distinctions relating primarily to depth of involvement and degree of specialisation. Hermansson (1997) sees issues of status, politics and power as underpinning these distinctions, and considers that, regarding debates about the distinctions between psychotherapy and counselling, as with other terminological debates in the field, “there is often a hefty dose of elitism evident in the discussion and debate” (Hermansson, 1997, p. 9).

Many authors note that the similarities between what is referred to as psychotherapy and what is called counselling tend to outweigh any differences of degree or kind. Frank (1973), writing at a time when the claims of counselling to the status of a specialist mental health profession were at a comparatively early stage, saw the terms as largely interchangeable, with common characteristics being that counsellors and psychotherapists operate as healers (in a manner similar to a range of traditional and folk healers), using words and sometimes actions and rituals to help heal suffering people. Recent research in Aotearoa/New Zealand found that practitioners did not distinguish greatly between the terms ‘counselling’ and ‘psychotherapy’ in regard to their practice. However, they tended to use the term ‘psychotherapy’ in their public

inappropriate boundaries, and associated concepts of individuation, ego, enmeshment, identity and identity diffusion, along with others.

5 Context 2

profiles because it was seen as conveying a higher sense of prestige and expertise, which, in turn was seen to be important for marketing and gaining funding contracts (James, 1992, in Hermansson, 1997, p. 9). Debates around terminology and the distinctions between various areas associated with counselling reflect a wider tension between 'social egalitarian' and 'social hierarchical' narratives associated with counselling.

Counselling as a liberating individual force or a force of social control.

Related to the previously identified area of tension, there is debate between those who see counselling as legitimately focused on personal growth and the needs of clients, and those who see this focus on individual therapy as acting in the interests of maintaining a status quo that perpetuates social, political and economic inequalities; in effect, helping people adjust to and become compliant with their oppression. This debate is indicative of the palpable tension between those who view counselling as primarily concerned with effecting individual and/or social change, and those who view counselling as primarily performing individual and/or social control functions.

Summary: Part Two

The development of professional counselling in this country has followed a path similar to that of other Western and industrialised nations. The large scale urbanisation of Maori coincided with attempts to move the economy in this country away from a reliance on primary industry (an agricultural base) to a more diversified economy incorporating a variety of secondary industries. By the early 1970s, the vast majority of New Zealanders, Maori and non-Maori, were urbanised, and New Zealand had begun to tap the largely unskilled pool of labour represented by the Pacific Island communities off its shores. Hence numbers of Pacific Islanders were encouraged to migrate to this country to satisfy the labour needs associated with increasing industrialisation. From the early 1970s, the Maori imprisonment and psychiatric hospitalisation rate rose in a pattern parallel to that of their urbanisation. The Pacific

5 Context 2

Island imprisonment and psychiatric institutionalisation rate followed a similar path, some years later.

Since its original inception, the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC) has moved from a focus on vocational guidance to a more generic counselling focus, as reflected in its current name. Sub-specialties relating to areas of development such as childhood and old age, and to specific issues such as substance abuse and grief have developed within this generic counselling framework. By the late 1990s, the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC) had developed (at a national level) training and accreditation criteria associated with a hierarchy of membership types, a code of ethics roughly parallel to the British code and an ethics committee structure with the power to consider complaints pertaining to unethical conduct and to censure or de-register individuals found to be in breach of the code, an association newsletter and a professional refereed journal. The NZAC has also developed training, accreditation and registration criteria for counselling supervisors.

It is clear that the NZAC, through its status as the professional body which represents counselling and counsellors in Aotearoa/New Zealand and through its role in the development of systems of training, accreditation, quality control or assurance, codes of practice, research and publication, is the primary mechanism through which counselling has come to be widely recognised as a profession in this country. The imperative for developing particular professional standards of training and practice is usually related to increased levels of education, specialisation and hence (it is assumed) effectiveness in counselling,²⁶ the safety of counselling practice and the accountability of counselling practitioners.²⁷ These are important and valid arguments. The difficulty in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, as elsewhere, lies in the answers to a series of questions. Key amongst these questions are the following: What is appropriate training? For whom is this appropriate? What are acceptable

²⁶ Research into counselling effectiveness indicates that non-professional counsellors may be equally as effective or more so than professional counsellors. In fact, some research indicates an inverse relationship between professional counselling experience and effectiveness. See Truax & Carkhuff (1967), Ivey & Simek-Downing (1980).

5 Context 2

standards? To whom are these acceptable? What constitutes effective and safe counselling practice and outcomes? For whom are these effective and safe?

The nature of answers to these questions may be expected to vary within and between groups. However, answers to these questions based on a particular perspective (that of British and American models of counselling, professionalism and, ultimately, of self) have been propounded through the NZAC and have become incorporated into structures and institutions. Counsellors are defined as qualified or unqualified according to criteria drawn from one particular framework, and associated models of theory and practice. Those qualifications deemed valid within the privileged framework are then equated with 'professionalism,' with the reverse also occurring, that is those who do not possess the qualifications deemed valid within this framework may be characterised as 'unqualified' and 'unprofessional.' The NZAC, together with other professional bodies, plays a pivotal role in this process, acting as gatekeepers in the arena of professional counselling credibility. Criteria for membership of 'professional organisations' and accreditation or approval criteria (sometimes written into central government regulations) are illustrations of gatekeeping functions and are based on an assumption that the culturally constituted framework of professional counselling as proposed in the training and accreditation criteria of the NZAC, and to some extent, other professional bodies also, represents the (only) correct and valid characterisation of counselling. Membership of the NZAC or aligned professional bodies, is a primary factor affecting the competitiveness of counsellors in the human services market-place and in gaining funding for the provision of counselling services.

Is the discourse of professionalism in counselling, as typified in the NZAC narrative, a hegemonic discourse? If we consider the role of professional counselling discourse in maintaining the dominance of Western conceptualisations of counselling with all the associated implications, and in simultaneously excluding from consideration and effectively silencing other discourses, the answer appears to be yes.

²⁷ As indicated earlier in this chapter, this narrative theme runs alongside another in which 'professionalism' is characterised as increasing the marketability of counselling in a highly competitive social service market environment.

5 Context 2

Finally, the role of professional counselling discourse in maintaining the class-capitalist status quo is apparent in the credential inflation phenomenon, which, operating alongside a hegemonic discourse ensures the continued exclusion of 'other' voices, narratives, models and theories from counselling discourse. The voice of the 'other' is thus denied access to the marketplace of professional counselling in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

3: THE NATURE OF CULTURE-COUNSELLING RELATIONSHIPS

The Aotearoa/New Zealand experience of the introduction and development of psychology and counselling parallels, in many respects, the experiences of other non-Western nations, and particularly, those who have been subject to ongoing colonisation by the West. In other words, the discipline and practice of psychology and counselling has been primarily based on a knowledge base and technologies imported from a Euro-American tradition. This has occurred in the context of a more general exportation of Western knowledge and education.²⁸

Typologies of the Culture and Counselling Relationship: Multicultural Models

As previously noted, multiculturalism has been proclaimed as the 'fourth force' in counselling (Ivey, Ivey & Simek-Morgan, 1996; Pederson, 1990). 'Cross-cultural', 'inter-cultural' and 'diversity' counselling theories, practices and programmes now tend to be subsumed within that which has become known as 'multicultural counselling and therapy' (MCT).²⁹ It is apparent, however, that understandings of the terms 'multicultural', and 'multicultural counselling' are far from uniform. Carter and Qureshi (1995) developed a typology of philosophical assumptions underpinning that which is identified as 'multicultural counselling' and 'multicultural' counselling training. The importance of this typology of approaches to the culture-counselling relationship lies in the implications of these dimensions for the way research, theory and practice is approached and defined. The types of assumptions identified are not seen as necessarily distinct, but as frequently overlapping one with another. However, Carter and Qureshi (1995) see distinctions existing between the types of approaches in relation to several domains of difference. These include:

- whether the conception of culture is concerned with intra-group differences, inter-group differences or both;*
- whether the conception of culture is situated as an ascribed or chosen loci of identity;*

²⁸ See Gergen, Gulerce, Lock and Misra (1996) for further discussion of this process in Indian, Turkish and Aotearoa/New Zealand contexts.

²⁹ This is the term used by Ivey, Ivey and Simek-Morgan (1996).

5 Context 2

- *whether it is possible for individuals to have multiple cultural identities;*
- *whether the conception of culture includes consideration of sociopolitical or power dynamics;*
- *whether culture is understood as a self-contained construct, or whether it is seen to develop dialectically or interactively;*
- *whether a social change theme is viewed as an integral part of multicultural counselling;*
- *whether the focus in multicultural counselling and training is on knowledge about other cultures, or on cultural self-awareness;*
- *whether a distinction is made between culture and race, and if so, the premises on which such a distinction is made.³⁰*

The typology of philosophical assumptions presented below was developed by Carter and Qureshi (1995) in the context of the United States and approaches to multicultural counselling there-in. However, I propose that the typology is also relevant to the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. This proposition stems in part from three points: my own observations and analysis of approaches to issues of culture and counselling in this country over the past decade; this in turn is reinforced by the parallel pattern which the development of counselling in this country has taken in relation to the American experience; and is also paralleled by the preponderance of American models and textbooks used in counsellor education and training in this country. The typology developed by Carter and Qureshi (1995) is outlined here as a significant contextual element in the culture and counselling relationship pertinent to this country.

³⁰ According to Carter and Qureshi (1995), culture may be viewed as learned and therefore fluid and flexible. In some understandings this implies that cultural affiliation and/or identification is able to be learned and unlearned and is a matter, to some degree, of individual choice. The notion of race, however, is associated with permanent attributes, emphasises innateness and contains an assumption that what is inherited is permanent and unalterable. While the concept of biological race may be rejected, a socio-cultural construction of race, which allows for consideration of issues of racism, genocide, oppression and related power dynamics as well as the development of an historically grounded racial-cultural approach is more readily accepted.

The Universal Approach

This approach (also known as an 'etic' approach) to culture assumes that all people are basically the same, differences within groups are greater than those between groups, and differences between people are ultimately individual differences.³¹ Theorists and practitioners fostering these assumptions tend to focus on human similarities and shared human experience. A focus on racial and/or cultural group differences is rejected as leading to stereotyping and reduced recognition of both individual difference and human commonality. Rather, counsellors are encouraged to transcend racial and cultural group differences. Within this approach, cultural sensitivity is advocated, as opposed for example, to a culture specific approach. While multicultural counsellor training associated with this approach involves teaching trainees about 'special populations' in which some differences exist, the ultimate aim, however, is to enable counsellor trainees to overlook and remain unaffected by these differences.

The universal approach minimises attention to sociopolitical, historical and power dynamics between groups and assumes that membership of one group has no more meaning than another. This approach is implicitly associated with traditional psychological and counselling theory and practice.

The Ubiquitous Approach

Assumptions underpinning the ubiquitous approach to multicultural counselling are that all types of human difference may be considered cultural, that cultural difference is equated with socially based identities such as those associated with age or class, that people may belong to multiple cultures and that these are situationally determined, that choice is paramount in regard to cultural identity and that individuals may choose to base their identities primarily on one or more of several social group affiliations. In effect, the key assumption in this approach is that social

³¹ Sue (1980) and Ho (1995) develop arguments equating the universal position with a focus on individual difference.

group affiliations, or domains of difference, within super-ordinate cultures themselves constitute distinct cultures. Thus, for example, it is proposed in a ubiquitous approach that:

all disabled, gay people, or women or men share a culture that results from their reference group affiliation irrespective of their super-ordinate or dominant culture of origin. (Carter & Qureshi, 1995, pp. 246–247).

Counsellors educated in this approach to multicultural training and therapy are encouraged to develop a ‘cultural sensitivity’ that makes them comfortable with difference, respectful of individual choices to adopt or transcend particular cultural ‘affiliations’, able to celebrate differences and knowledgeable about areas of difference. The impetus for this form of cultural sensitivity is to more effectively deliver counselling services to a variety of groups despite domains of difference.

Criticisms of the ubiquitous approach include that it minimises the meaning of the culture concept by identifying all domains of difference as ‘cultural,’ that it provides no space for sociopolitical and inter-group power analyses, that it promotes an ahistorical approach, that it minimises the role and influence of super-ordinate cultures and that, while allowing for some possible modification of process, it does not examine the fundamental premises underpinning the dominant Western models of counselling.

The Traditional (Anthropological) Approach

As indicated above, this approach is identified with traditional anthropology. It is assumed in this approach that culture is equated with country of origin, upbringing, and environment (including language, history, beliefs and values) and is defined by socialisation. Race as a social construct is ignored. The super-ordinate culture is the context in which domains of difference find their expression. It is assumed, for instance, that the experience of being homosexual, poor or female in one super-ordinate cultural context will vary markedly from another. These domains of

5 Context 2

difference constitute differences within the super-ordinate culture rather than being defined as cultures in themselves. Culture provides the possibilities and limitations within which individuals interpret their worlds. Culture circumscribes individual development; thus individuals may seek to reject, but cannot unlearn or escape from, their culture as it defines their world view and possibilities available within this.

Counsellor training in this approach to multicultural counselling involves encouraging counsellors to gain empathy with persons from other cultures, experience the others' cultural environments and learn about and gain insight into the specifics of other cultures. The implicit assumption here is that exposure to cultures and the acquisition of cultural knowledge provides the key to cross-cultural counselling efficacy.

The Traditional approach to multicultural counselling does not typically acknowledge the concept of race (as a social construct), nor does this approach attend to racism or inter-group power dynamics in any depth.

The Race-Based Approach

The primary assumption underpinning this approach is that race is the super-ordinate locus of culture and that cultural groups are identified on the basis of racial categories. This approach assumes that the experience of belonging to a particular racial group supersedes all other experiences, and ultimately determines psychological and social experience. In this approach, (American) sociopolitical history and society are seen as constructed on the basis of racial divisions, with these being crucial determinants in the psycho-social development of individuals in all groups.

Proponents of this approach argue that it is not possible to 'experience' or 'feel' the culture of another group, that 'cultural knowledge' is not enough and may even be used to further entrench ethnocentric or racist beliefs and practices and that cultural self-awareness and knowledge is more salient than learning about 'other' cultures.

5 Context 2

The race-based approach is overtly political, it identifies white people including all white counsellors as benefiting from a racist society and as having a vested interest in maintaining the status quo of racial inequality. The race-based approach recognises intra-group variation in psycho-social and identity development, developing for instance some specifically race-based identity development models (Helms, 1990; 1995).

The Pan-National Approach

This approach has largely developed from the work of non-European writers and practitioners. It assumes that racial group membership determines culture and specifically rejects the utility of a European world-view in the promotion of non-European consciousness and well-being.

Afrocentrism is associated with this approach. Afrocentrism contains several assumptions, including the assumption that in order to be healthy and effective as African counsellors, therapists and psychologists all eurocentric consciousness must be removed. Further, all those of African ancestry are seen to share the same bio-genetic roots, that these roots relate to a shared psycho-social essence and that Western psychology and associated beliefs and practices are antithetical to the development of a positive African self-consciousness, as these practices are based in Eurocentrism. The goal of this type of Pan-National approach is the reclamation of traditional consciousness, psycho-social and spiritual essence, and the provision of counsel within this framework.

Oppression/liberation theory is also associated with the Pan-National approach. This theory focuses on the imposition of European social theory on all non-European peoples. While these theorists³² would concur with Afrocentric writers in regard to the role of an imposed European world view in distorting non-European self-consciousness, they would tend to focus on the effects of oppression and violence implicit in this process, in relation to psycho-social functioning and development.

³² See for example Bulhan (1985).

5 Context 2

This type of Pan-National approach does not seek to regain a pre-existing essence, but rather to expose and specify the roles of race, oppression, colonisation and violence in the creation of a culture of the oppressed and a culture of the oppressor. The goal is liberation of the oppressed from their current position through effecting social change.

Multicultural Approaches in Local and International Contexts

Internationally, multicultural approaches to counselling and in particular to counsellor training and accreditation have been gaining momentum throughout the 1990s and attempts are beginning to be made to adopt a multicultural emphasis in some counsellor training programmes in this country also.³³ However, relationships between Maori and the Crown, Maori and Pakeha and Maori and Tauiwi³⁴ have long been a subject of social and political debate. The debate extends to social service structure and provision and to counselling practice and therapy. There are two primary approaches to the culture and counselling relationship in Aotearoa/New Zealand. These are the multicultural approach and the bicultural approach. Within the multicultural approach, and often associated also with the bicultural approach there are three areas which have received attention in terms of psychological and counselling training and practice. These are cultural sensitivity, cultural safety and cultural competence.

The drive to develop cultural sensitivity, associated with 'universal', 'ubiquitous' and 'traditional (anthropological)' approaches (Carter & Qureshi, 1995), has been a feature of both multicultural and bicultural approaches to psychology and counselling in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. Smith (1989) questions whether developing cultural sensitivity is likely to effect any change in the status quo which privileges Western models, understandings and criteria. She points out that, historically, those who developed the sets of skills associated with cultural sensitivity had as their over-

³³ For instance the Massey University post-graduate counselling courses and Waikato University attention to narrative therapy and narratives as culturally constituted.

riding motivation and intention, to effect fundamental changes in the people and culture concerned. Smith (1989) goes on to question whether the unstated and unacknowledged motivation and intention behind cultural sensitivity training and culturally sensitive practice may still be to effect change in culturally 'different', non-Western 'others':

It is worthwhile pondering the reasons for which many professional groups seek to develop culturally sensitive understandings and skills. Are those reasons driven by an unstated or taken for granted need or desire to change people who will be the target of such sensitivities?

(Smith, 1989, p. 49)

The development of cultural sensitivity has typically been seen as an individual responsibility for practitioners, to be developed, performed and assessed at an individual level. In this way, challenges to the philosophical foundations of psychology and counselling are avoided, and the need for structural change is not addressed. In particular, Smith points out that the key issue is:

not about asking whether individual psychologists are culturally sensitive but more importantly about whether psychology is culturally sensitive.

(Smith, 1989, p. 49)

*The concept of cultural safety is primarily associated with nursing practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Maori nurses developed this concept primarily as an attempt to provide safety for *turoro* (patients) with whom nurses may be working. Although there are many apparent similarities between cultural safety and cultural sensitivity, for instance the assumption that practitioners should learn about other cultural forms such as language and family structures, systems and conventions, cultural safety does differ from cultural sensitivity in that the subjective sense of safety or otherwise is*

³⁴ The term 'tauiwi' refers to those who settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand subsequent to the indigenous Maori people. Unlike the term 'Pakeha', which refers to white-skinned people, 'tauiwi' does not imply any distinction on the basis of phenotype.

5 Context 2

defined by turoro, rather than the domains of sensitivity being defined by practitioners.

The notion of cultural competence represents the most recent and, internationally, the fastest growing area of development in culture and counselling relationships. A tenet of this area of development is reflected in the observation that:

The provision of professional services to persons of culturally diverse backgrounds by persons not competent in understanding and providing professional services to such groups shall be considered unethical.

(Korman, 1974, p. 105)

Despite the recognition a quarter of a century ago of the ethical implications of a lack of cross-cultural competence, moves to define and develop 'cultural competencies' have only gained credence in America in the past decade, and have yet to be seriously addressed in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. The notion of cultural competency is closely tied to that of 'the culturally skilled counsellor.' The notion of the culturally skilled counsellor implies that counsellors gain a group of skills associated with culture, their own and others'. Sue (1995, pp. 632–633) has identified three areas of beliefs and attitudes, knowledge and skills that are associated with dimensions of cultural competency. These are, first, counsellor awareness of their own assumptions, values and biases; second, understanding of the worldview of culturally different clients; and third, developing appropriate intervention strategies and techniques (Sue, Arrendo & McDavis, 1995). Under the banner of cultural competency in counselling, a variety of discrete counselling abilities have been identified and assessment tools developed.³⁵ Calls have been made for the endorsement of the cultural competency approach by professional groups in America, for the adoption of cultural competency into accreditation criteria and counsellor training and education programmes and into bylaws and ethical standards relating to the profession.

³⁵ See for example Sue et al., 1995; Sue, 1995, and Pope-Davis, 1995.

5 Context 2

The development of cultural competencies challenges the dominance of Western models of psychology and counselling by increasing awareness of the limited parameters of these models, and requiring respect for other 'indigenous' helping practices and consultation with indigenous practitioners. However, this approach does not specifically support or advocate the validation of non-Western models of helping, counselling or therapy as being of equal status and utility as Western models. While requiring that counsellors respect other indigenous models of helping (and utilise the cultural knowledge of other peoples), there is no requirement that power differentials between Western professional approaches and indigenous models be addressed at the personal or the structural level. In this respect, the notion of cultural competencies can operate to maintain existing power differentials, supporting the status quo in terms of structural relationships between professional (Western) models of counselling and indigenous (informal and non-professional) models.

Bicultural Approaches to Counselling

Although multiculturalism is a strong theme in the international arena and has gained some credence in Aotearoa/New Zealand, there is also a socio-political argument for developing a bicultural model of relationship in counselling in this country.

Biculturalism (with or without reference to the Treaty of Waitangi³⁶) has been hailed by some as the answer to Maori culture and NZ counselling relationship problems and is widely viewed as both a Treaty principle and a worthy aim. However, once again there are a variety of conceptions of what this means. Generally speaking, biculturalism may be examined and conceptualised at an individual level or at a structural level. That is, there is a position that would identify individuals as being bicultural in the same way that they may be bilingual, and which associates culture with learning and choice. However, an alternative position would hold that being

³⁶ The Treaty of Waitangi is considered to have laid the foundation of the development of a single nation and to provide a template for the relationship between the indigenous and (largely British) settler peoples.

bicultural is not akin to being bilingual (or multilingual), that cultural identity is not a matter of choice, and that one cultural framework will be dominant in constituting the person, regardless of how many languages or cultures people may learn or learn about.³⁷ These positions parallel those identified as underpinning assumptions within the typologies developed by Carter and Qureshi (1995).

There are a number of positions from which a bicultural focus in culture-counselling relationships in Aotearoa may be promoted. Proponents of a bicultural focus in counselling in this country see the provision of bicultural counselling services as primary, because of the relationship proposed in the Treaty of Waitangi and because of the status of Maori as the indigenous people, together with the social, political and numerical dominance of the Western European. Thomas (1993) identified three patterns of development for bicultural services in psychology in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The first of these is the 'add on' pattern in which some training in cultural sensitivity, knowledge and competencies is provided. This pattern does not attempt to modify existing psychological theory and practice, but simply adds another sub-set of knowledge and skills to the existing body of knowledge. Psychology students and practitioners may be taught rudimentary Maori language and history and exposed to Maori culture through a marae visit or visits. Alternatively, or in addition, a Maori staff member may be employed to be consulted on Maori cultural issues, to deal with Maori clients in an ancillary role and to perform Maori rituals such as karakia, waiata or powhiri which provide a Maori 'cloak' for service delivery without changing the nature of the service philosophy and practices. According to Thomas, this is the most common form of biculturalism adopted in the context of psychological services. The second pattern identified by Thomas is the 'partnership' pattern. The most common manifestation of this pattern involves employing Maori staff to provide services for Maori clients. While this may imply the development of complementary services, it is frequently the case that Maori staff are expected to conform to the same sets of criteria for accreditation, training and employment and the same Western professional standards as non-Maori staff. Thus Maori staff may be employed to

³⁷ For an outline of these positions see Paulston-Bratt (1992) and Sarap (1991). Stonequist (1937) also provides an early perspective on these issues and King () provides personal perspectives relating specifically to the Aotearoa/New Zealand context.

deliver culturally appropriate services, but may be constrained from doing so by the parameters of their own training, their status and roles within the organisation being contingent on and defined by this training. The third pattern identified by Thomas (1993) is the 'parallel development' pattern. This involves mainstream organisations and practitioners supporting the establishment of a parallel Maori organisation or group to provide services run by Maori for Maori. While services run by Maori for Maori have been developed in some regions, these are typically under-resourced in comparison with mainstream services. In addition, there is some evidence that 'Maori services' are required to adhere to Eurocentric criteria and models of practice, with staff also being selected according to their competence in Western, rather than Maori models of theory and practice.³⁸

Attempts to present and practice models of counselling theory and practice across the divides of cultural meanings are inevitably problematic. The negotiation of issues of interpretation, meaning-making, power and politics are a minefield of potential misunderstanding and offense. Never the less a number of groups have developed models of training and practice which seek to negotiate these issues in creative ways.

A Treaty Model of Relationship

Aotearoa/New Zealand differs from the international contexts previously discussed in terms of the specifics of the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of the nation. The Treaty of Waitangi (the English language version) and Te Tiriti O Waitangi (the Maori language version) have been seen as providing a template for models of relationship between the Crown or Crown associated agencies and Maori.

³⁸ For instance, the Maori mental health teams established by Crown Health Enterprises (CHEs), are required to diagnose clients according to DSM IV diagnostic categories and treat only those who are diagnosed as having a DSM IV defined condition. As acceptance as 'client' is dependent on a DSM IV diagnosis, the scene is set for staff to view clients in terms of this system of diagnosis and to treat them in accord with this. Staff in these teams are chosen, apart from one or two exceptions per team, according to their training and experience in Western models of mental health and illness, psychiatry and psychology. The exceptions are those who are employed as 'kaumatua' or knowledgeable elders, or tohunga, experts in Maori matters.

5 Context 2

The Treaty is relevant for counsellors to consider in regard to their organisational and personal stance, and future directions in the development of services. The actual words in Article 2 of the Treaty, where Maori are guaranteed “te tino rangatiratanga o...o ratou taonga katoa...” (this may be translated as : “the absolute sovereign authority over ...all their treasures/valued things”) may be read as including reference to Maori people generally (including whanau, tamariki, mokopuna) and their health and mental health.

A range of Treaty breaches (past and present) relating to educational policies and practices may be identified. Legislative requirements recognising one system of law and Government (a British one), of health and mental health, of land and economy may be seen to be in breach of Article 2 of te Tiriti. In particular, recognising the authority of only one party to te Tiriti, that is the Crown, in respect of the aforementioned areas, may be seen as contrary to the guarantee of continued ‘tino rangatiratanga o...o ratou taonga katoa.’³⁹ Treaty breaches represent a long history (and one extending to the present) of assimilationist, militant ethnocentric, racist and genocidal legislation and policies.

Treaty Provisions

1. Article 2: Provisions

Article 2 of te Tiriti (Maori version) provides for the continued tino rangatiratanga⁴⁰ of Maori (or more specifically the rangatira and hapu⁴¹) over all their taonga.⁴² People may be regarded as taonga, and tamariki and whanau⁴³ particularly may be seen as having the value and status of taonga. Anything which interferes with Maori authority in areas affecting Maori people may be interpreted as in breach of Article 2 of te Tiriti. I argue that the imposition of Western models of health and well-being, and practices stemming from these (such as DSM and ICD diagnoses, psychological assessment and treatments, and counselling and therapy based in Western conceptions

³⁹ That is the ‘absolute sovereign authority over all their precious things.’

⁴⁰ Translated here as ‘absolute sovereign authority.’

⁴¹ Translated here as ‘chiefs and sub-tribes.’

⁴² Translated here as ‘treasured or precious things.’

5 Context 2

of self), onto Maori, together with the exclusion of Maori domains of knowledge, meaning and understanding, and systems based in these, is in breach of Article 2 of te Tiriti.

Legislation, policies and practices which remove or undermine the right of Maori (rangatira and hapu) to the exercise of (absolute and sovereign) power and authority in regards to Maori (particularly tamariki and whanau) may be seen as in breach of the provisions of Article 2 of te Tiriti. In particular, the imposition of Western models, values, assumptions and law, and the concomitant exclusion of, or relative lack of weight given to, Maori models, values, assumptions and law it is argued here, constitute a breach of Article 2 of Te Tiriti.

In terms of the mental health and family law arenas, and psychological and counselling interventions in these arenas, legislation which provides for the compulsory psychological assessment and/or treatment of tamariki and whanau, and that in which attendance at (Western defined) counselling sessions⁴⁴ is required, may be interpreted as in breach of Article 2 of te Tiriti. Legislation having provisions which, it is argued here, are in breach of Article 2 of te Tiriti include the Guardianship Act (1968), the Children, Young Persons and their Families (CYP&F) Act (1989), the Adoption Act (1955) and the Mental Health Act (1992).

In addition, there are policies and practices which effectively undermine the rangatiratanga of Maori. The CYP&F Act (1989) may be used to provide for the compulsory psychological assessment interventions with tamariki. It also contains a coercive element as regards the psychological assessment of whanau. That is, if whanau do not accede to a psychological assessment as recommended by the Court, they may be seen by the Court as resistant, non-compliant, irresponsible or otherwise characterised in a negative fashion. In the CYP&F Act, there is also provision for the appointment of 'lay advocates' on cultural grounds. The appointment of lay advocates, however, is at the discretion of judges. Although the Act has been in force

⁴³ Translated here as 'children and families.'

⁴⁴ For instance, the Family Court may require parties to attend counselling sessions where counsellors are defined and employed according to Western models of counselling, training and accreditation.

5 Context 2

since 1989, there have been no lay advocates appointed on cultural grounds in some regions, despite the high numbers of Maori tamariki and whanau appearing before the Courts in proceedings brought under this Act. In at least one region, applications for lay advocates on cultural grounds have been defined as 'unnecessary' and rejected.⁴⁵

In similar vein, provision within the 1989 CYP&F Act for the development of Iwi Social Services,⁴⁶ has seen the first pilot iwi social service receive limited approval in 1997, the culmination of increasing pressure brought to bear on the service for its failure to do so up to that point.⁴⁷

Concerns have been expressed by Maori concerning policy development in the area of Iwi Social Services and within the CYP&F service generally. Bradley noted that:

By 1992 DSW was receiving considerable criticism from iwi for its lack of progress in determining standards for IA⁴⁸ (Mason 1992). Evidence mounted to show that Maori were gaining less information from businesses within DSW; that Maori organisations were monitored more harshly; that they were given fewer resources to cover a larger target group; and that they were discriminated against by care and protection co-ordinators who were failing to include or were actively excluding whanau members from Family Group Conferences (Denny 1992). (Bradley, 1995a, pp. 30-31).

Though the Act had provided a legislative mandate and provided for resources to be allocated toward the establishment of iwi social services services, departmental staff prejudice and discrimination had not changed greatly from a decade previously.⁴⁹ Of particular concern have been assumptions by CYP&F staff that they may assume the

⁴⁵ Judge Ingles and Aroha Baker, personal communications (1997).

⁴⁶ That is, tribally based social services provided by Maori for Maori.

⁴⁷ The devolution of services also implies the devolution of resources, this may have some bearing on the inadequate implementation of Sections 396 and 397 of the CYP&F Act.

⁴⁸ IA here refers to Iwi Authorities. This article was written before amendments to the Act which resulted in a renaming and redefinition of 'Iwi Authority Social Services' (IA's), to 'iwi social services'.

⁴⁹ See Rangihau (1986), Bradley (1995a, 1995b) for comment supporting this conclusion.

5 Context 2

authority to define who should be recognised as an Iwi Authority (IA) and the form and accountability processes that structures and services should adopt, and that mainstream social service providers have the ability to provide for the needs of Maori and non-Maori children and families, while Maori service providers may only provide for Maori.

In the broad area of family law, the place of whanau in proceedings and the weight accorded whanau views and tikanga perspectives have been variable and ultimately dependent on the discretion of judges and sometimes others located within Western systems. The CYP&F service, in the Values Statement of its *Brief to the Minister of Social Welfare* (1993), has acknowledged that “The services provided for Maori in relation to children and young persons and their families must be consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi.”

Trapski’s Family Law (1/8/1996 A–25) also notes that:

Article 2 of the Treaty guarantees tino rangatiratanga (autonomy) to Maori. This is not compatible with the statutory responsibility that is vested in the NZCYP Service by the CYP&F Act 1989.

In a review of a range of policies and Acts relating to family law in New Zealand, Metge and Durie-Hall (1992) similarly concluded that the basic assumptions underpinning most family law and policy in Aotearoa/New Zealand were in conflict with Maori understandings and practices regarding family/whanau. The effect of these assumptions is that Maori social forms and practices are ignored and, in making no accommodation for these forms and practices can be seen as constituting an “attack” (Metge & Durie-Hall, 1992, p.50) on Maori beliefs, forms and practices regarding family/whanau.

2. Article 3: Provisions

5 Context 2

Article 3 of te Tiriti guarantees to Maori the rights and privileges of British citizens. One of these, as interpreted by the Ministry of Health, is the right to equality of access to appropriate health care. It may be argued that equality of access to appropriate mental health care for Maori does not currently exist because of the dominance of Western mental health services, and the dearth of services rooted in Maori frameworks.

Legislative and policy requirements that tie funding for counselling providers to membership of professional organisations (typically the NZ Psychological Society, the NZ College of Clinical Psychologists, the NZ Association of Counsellors, and the NZ Association of Psychotherapists) maintain an inequality of access for Maori to culturally appropriate services. Similarly, employers seeking counsellors with professional qualifications frequently do not recognise tikanga Maori (or Maori models) as a valid basis for counsellor training. For example, membership criteria for the NZ Association of Counsellors emphasises and privileges Western models of counselling training, accreditation, theory and practice, whilst largely ignoring the existence and validity of Maori models.

Treaty Principles

The concept of 'Treaty Principles', widely accepted by the Crown and some sectors of society, is not universally accepted by Maori.⁵⁰ From one perspective the concept of Treaty principles assists the process of applying the Treaty in contemporary situations, from another, the principles are seen as a means of avoiding, minimising and reinterpreting the provisions of te Tiriti itself.

A variety of principles have been identified by various organisations and institutions.⁵¹ Of concern is the limited agreement as to what constitutes 'Treaty Principles' and that the various principles identified are open to a variety of interpretations. Partnership,

⁵⁰ See, for instance, Jackson (1992).

⁵¹ For instance, the Waitangi Tribunal, Treasury and the Royal Commission on Social Policy have all developed their own lists of 'Treaty principles'. Other groups and organisations have similarly developed formal or informal understandings of the nature and implications of 'Treaty principles'.

5 Context 2

for example, may take many forms, not all of them equitable. Partnership models range from an emphasis on the duty to inform or to consult (not infrequently after decisions have been made), to a requirement for equality and power-sharing. The latter model, in my observation, is rarely found.

In summary, it appears that, despite a range of rhetoric around the Treaty/te Tiriti and associated concepts such as partnership and protection, most existing models of relationship are not consistent with the provisions of te Tiriti, and many are also lacking in clear adherence to particular Treaty principles. It is worthwhile considering what a Treaty model of relationship in counselling contexts might look like.

The first consideration is who the parties or partners in such a relationship might be. Te Tiriti is between the Crown and rangatira and hapu (often referred to in contemporary narratives as Maori). Many Crown agencies and individual organisations now acknowledge some obligation in terms of te Tiriti and/or the Treaty provisions and/or principles. Some agencies outside the auspices of the Crown have also adopted the Treaty or te Tiriti within their constitutions. In addition, individuals may choose to adhere to a model of relationship based on Treaty or Tiriti provisions or principles.

Counsellors within organisations which may be defined as Crown associated groups, including those who receive funding from and maintain accountability to Crown agencies, may be regarded as party to the requirements of Te Tiriti. It may be argued that all Maori who share a common line of descent to that of Maori rangatira who were signatories to te Tiriti and the people they represented at the time of signing, are also party to te Tiriti.

In determining or developing models of practice consistent with te Tiriti, the wording of relevant clauses within mission statements, constitutions, charters or particular codes is of significance. Of particular relevance are the questions of whether there is reference to the provisions and/or the principles of te Tiriti or the Treaty; and what the

meaning of statements commonly used in association with Treaty clauses, such as 'have regard to', 'respect', or 'abide by', are.

Treaty models generally will be concerned that appropriate Maori authority over all issues pertaining to Maori as individuals, as whanau, hapu and iwi, and as a people, are afforded validity. This may apply to Maori staff, in terms of definitions of training, practice models and accountability, as well as to options available to Maori clients as concerns models of counselling theory and practice.

There are two broad approaches which may be taken with reference to the above, both of which fall within the typologies identified by Thomas (1993) as associated with bicultural approaches. One approach may be defined as 'culture-specific'. In this approach, Maori counsellors operate according to Maori models of healthy selfhood and counselling, while non-Maori operate according to their own models. The Lower Hutt Family Centre⁵² subscribes to this model, as does Relationship Services (formerly Marriage Guidance) and its parallel but autonomous Maori arm, Te Korowai Aroha. The other approach attempts to incorporate Maori epistemology within models of counselling theory and practice for all staff. This may be done either through integrating with or adding-on Maori perspectives to existing models, or through specific training in Maori epistemology and models, providing a set of (formal or informal) cultural competencies.

An Indigenous Position

A number of Maori writers and specialists in the mental health field have highlighted fundamental differences between Maori conceptions of self, other and the nature of the world, and Western assumptions concerning the same which underpin Western models of mental health and illness, psychology and counselling and which have been highlighted earlier in this chapter.⁵³ Lawson-Te Aho (1993) confirms the essence of the arguments contained in this chapter, that Western models of psychology and

⁵² See Waldegrave, 1990.

⁵³ See for instance, Awatere (1982), Durie (1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1995a), Hirini (1997), Jackson (1989), Lawson-Te Aho (1993, 1996), Stanley (1993), Taurere (1994).

5 Context 2

counselling, rooted in a particular Western epistemology and conception of self, are different from and do not sit comfortably with Maori epistemology and conceptions of self. With Western notions of mental normality and abnormality as the standard, Maori are inevitably positioned as abnormal. The imposition of one model (a Western one) onto the indigenous people of this land may be seen as culturally inappropriate and insensitive at best and genocidal at worst.

Some counsellors, therapists and theorists have been developing new models and methods (or it may be argued, seeking to have long established models recognised) in order to address problems related to the imposition of culturally bound Western models of mental health, counselling and therapy onto indigenous peoples.⁵⁴ The Lower Hutt Family Centre (previously referred to in respect of Treaty models of relationship) has adopted a post modern perspective from which to challenge the indiscriminate use of traditional psychological and counselling theory and practice. Their post modern position incorporates a stance which characterises the social sciences and that which is generated from a traditional social science framework (including psychology, counselling and related mental health paradigms) as constituting a particular Western construction of reality, or cultural description and thus representative of a Western worldview.

The practice of the Family Centre may be defined as bicultural and multicultural. Its practice is multi-cultural because validity and autonomy are accorded Maori, Pakeha and Samoan models of practice based on particular conceptions of culturally constituted models of self and other. Thus, Maori counsellors work according to Maori values and narratives, and accountability is to Maori colleagues and community. The same principles apply for the Samoan and Pakeha workers. In this way the cultural sections operate according to their indigenous models of counselling and lines of accountability. The Family Centre may also be characterised as bicultural in that the status of the indigenous Maori section of the Centre is explicitly recognised

⁵⁴ An example of this may be found in 'The Family Centre' in Lower Hutt, where Maori, Samoan and Pakeha counsellors operate according to their own models of counselling. The Central Institute of Technology, based in Wellington, and Waikato Polytechnic in Hamilton have also developed counselling training programmes specific to Maori-counselling paradigms.

5 Context 2

and identified as primary, with Maori values and protocol afforded as much or more space in the rituals and practices of the Centre as the other 'tauiwi' sections, and Maori as Treaty partners accorded the right of veto over all decisions affecting, or potentially affecting, them. In addition, this model of practice explicitly defines counselling and mental health approaches in cultural, social, political and power terms, and addresses these issues in counselling and therapeutic practice.

Te Whiuwhiu o te Hau Maori counsellor training course is run from Waikato Polytechnic and offers a certificate in 'Maori Counselling' which is recognised by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. In addition, Te Korowai Aroha, which is the Maori division of 'Relationship Services' (formerly 'Marriage Guidance'), has elected to become an autonomous although affiliated body, and has devised and taught its own counsellor training programmes that operate outside the mainstream qualification structures.

Summary: Part Three

Professional counselling discourse, theory and practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand has followed the path of counselling in America. Professional counselling now sits uneasily between two discourses, characterised here as altruistic discourse and marketplace discourse. The professionalisation of counselling is associated with a move towards the location of counselling as a specialist activity, and away from recognition of community based models of counselling. In the process, specialist, recognised and 'valid' models of counselling and therapy based on Western models of healthy selfhood, illness and abnormality have become dominant. Concurrently, indigenous, and in this context Maori, models have been marginalised and invalidated.

In an effort to increase the suitability, effectiveness and marketability of psychological counselling and therapy, 'multicultural' approaches to counselling have become current. However, the term 'multicultural' encompasses a range of philosophical

5 Context 2

assumptions and approaches, most of which entail a core knowledge base grounded in Western culture, with learning about exotic 'others' additional to this core base. The notion of multicultural counselling competencies, and checklists associated with these are gaining particular credence. Notions of cultural sensitivity and self-awareness also feature prominently in multicultural approaches.

In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, while the notion of multicultural counselling is still prominent, there is an additional impetus to develop structures and processes which are bicultural and consistent with the provisions and principles of the Treaty of Waitangi or Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The range of philosophical assumptions associated with multicultural counselling are reflected in the range of assumptions and approaches associated with bicultural approaches. Maori experience of bicultural and multicultural emphases in other arenas, has perhaps contributed to a degree of cynicism in relation to the motivations behind and expectations of current multicultural and bicultural emphases in counselling training programmes and systems.

In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, there is some movement towards developing indigenous models of counselling. The nature and form of such models has not yet been comprehensively analysed. However, if Western models of counselling and therapy, and associated codes of ethics, professionalism and practice remain dominant, there is surely a potential for conflict between indigenous approaches and the dominant, mainstream ones.

STORIES: A FIRST READING

Introduction

Five Maori counsellors were interviewed and five stories developed as a result. Four stories are included in full in this thesis (one participant did not feel comfortable about her story being included in full, although she consented to elements from her story being used to contribute to the understandings that were being sought in this research). Three of the participants were personally unknown to me before I undertook this research (although there was a pre-existing relationship through family members), whilst with two others there was a pre-existing personal relationship. In general, I found the interviews with those that were not known to me to be most elucidating, possibly because there was less assumption that shared understandings existed and thus more impetus to verbally elaborate.

The first reading of the stories contains minimal interpretation. The commentary and interpretation is derived from discursive frame two, that is an ENGLISH-Maori framework. Within this framework, Maori concepts are framed within Western understandings.

This first reading of the stories represents the standard way that Maori narratives are read in the context of popular and academic narratives. Some illumination of Maori concepts is provided in the form of footnotes; however, these concepts are discussed separately in the following chapter.

Pauses in the narratives are signified with three dots (...) between words.

At times participants would speak on a theme and then, after a diversion, return to this theme. Where this has occurred, passages relating to a

6a Yvonne's Story

particular theme have been organised together in the story. This provides a clearer sense of continuity and coherence within the themes. Where a passage of speech has been placed under a particular theme or commentary together with another passage, the break between passages is also signified by three dots (...) at the beginning of the passage.

Where particular passages of speech appeared to pertain to more than one theme, they have been included under these themes. Thus, in some stories, passages of speech are repeated in the context of two different themes.

In the interests of brevity only one 'first reading' of participants' stories is included in the body of this thesis. The remaining 'first readings' are appended.

Chapter 6a: NOTES ON YVONNE'S INTERVIEW

My interview with Yvonne took place over one meeting which spanned almost four hours. This was followed up later with my delivering her a copy of 'her story' and inviting comments and revisions. Yvonne and I had not met before the interview.

I arrived at Yvonne's workplace with some bread and fruit juice as koha¹ and was invited to share lunch with Yvonne, other staff and members of the extended whanau² of the Alcohol and Drug centre. Lunch was a shared affair with food provided by myself, staff and some of the whanau who were there.

Yvonne's initial conversation with me involved clarifying who I belonged to in terms of iwi and whanau connections. Despite our different iwi connections and lack of previous personal contact, Yvonne was able to establish that a relationship between us existed through iwi connections and marriage. I was related to her grandchildren.

Conversation over lunch resembled a very relaxed family therapy session. One of the extended whanau present (a client of the centre) commented on her resentment towards her elders for failing to teach her Maori language. Yvonne acknowledged the young woman's pain, and invited others present to share their stories, before discussing her own experiences. Each person (staff and others alike) contributed their own stories, discussing their experiences of loss of Maori language and loss of access to domains of knowledge associated with this. The conversation

¹ A koha is a gift or offering.

² The extended whanau (family) of the centre included past and current clients and some of their family members.

6a Yvonne's Story

was at times serious and at times humorous. By the end of this conversation a consensus had been established that:

- the loss of language and traditional knowledge was a sad and painful thing;
- the elders who chose not to pass on their knowledge did so in the context of the times and their experience of being Maori in those times;
- the experience of being Maori in those times was highly negative and Maori were widely believed to be a dying race;
- in encouraging their young people to abandon Maori ways, the old people were trying to help them survive in a modern world;
- in many cases the old people consciously rejected what was most valuable to them in order to give the younger members a better chance of survival;
- it may be incorrect to assume that the current elders are choosing not to pass on knowledge as they may not have, or be confident in, the knowledge themselves;
- the process described above has occurred over several generations, hence many of the current older generation cannot pass on knowledge because it was not passed to them by their elders;
- there are several avenues that are open to people to learn Maori language and tikanga, other than through our own immediate elders.

Through this conversation, the young woman who had expressed her resentment, and others in the room, found themselves in a position where it was difficult to maintain feelings of anger, resentment and blame towards their elders for their loss of Maori language and knowledge. Feelings of aroha instead were identified. Alternative avenues for learning about Maori language and domains of knowledge were identified, thus empowering the young woman and others present to reclaim the knowledge they had been denied.

6a Yvonne's Story

I realised that Yvonne had facilitated a therapeutic conversation which preserved the mana³ of the whanau and hence contributed to the well-being of the young woman and others within the room, whilst simultaneously empowering them to pursue avenues for their own health and development.

³ Mana is a multi-dimensional concept which incorporates notions such as prestige, standing and strength. The mana of individuals is inseparable from the mana of the whanau (family).

YVONNE'S STORY

Y: Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Tararua te maunga
Ko Ohau te awa
Ko Tu Korehe toku tupuna
Ko Yvonne Wehipeihana-Wilson taku ingoa.

Yvonne is married with three grown children, one mokopuna, and a second mokopuna on the way. She has been working in the field of drug and alcohol abuse and addiction since 1986. Here she talks about the circumstances of her birth, her childhood and upbringing.

Childhood and Upbringing

Y: I was um, born in 43 . . . 1943, 6th of February⁴ 1943 I was born, and it was the Second World War. And at that stage Maori had a choice, they did not have to go over to the war. Because of Princess Te Puea?⁵

So obviously with the permission of my grandparents, my father didn't go away, didn't go overseas with the Maori Battalion. And he. . . he had an affair with a married Pakeha woman. Her husband happened to be overseas, and when I was born he came home to his parents, Granny and Grandpa, and told them.

And he told them that he'd got this girl in trouble and she'd just had a baby,

⁴ It is worth noting that the date of Yvonne's birth is the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, a significant day for Maori and non-Maori alike.

⁵ Yvonne's intonation indicated she was questioning whether I was aware of Princess Te Puea and her wish that Maori men associated with the Kingitanga movement not fight in this war. I indicated non-verbally to Yvonne that I understood.

6a Yvonne's Story

and she was going to adopt me out, for her reasons. . . she had her reasons.

And apparently my grandmother, and she was in her 60s when she took me, hopped on a bus and tore off up to Wanganui and brought me home. And I was two. . . three, two or three days old and Granny took me and brought me home.

And I was whangai'ed⁶ by my grandparents. And I remember as a kid, it was quite, quite unreal, as I got older and look back; Granny and Grandpa were my parents, there's no doubt in my mind that they were my parents, but as I got older. . . it seemed quite funny at school, every one had a mum and dad and I had a granny and grandpa. And of course, you know as a kid.
..

And then, um, I guess I was brought up as my father's sister in a way. But he was away from here. He lived away, and he eventually got married. So I had half-brothers and -sisters.

But as I look back, um, I was meant to go to my grandmother's younger sister, because my family thought that she was too old, in her sixties having brought nine children up herself, she was too old to take on a baby. And that was to be. But then my grandmother's sister died. So I stayed with my grandmother and [grand]father.

Although raised by her elderly grandparents, Yvonne was not isolated as a child. She grew up as part of a whanau of adults and children and experienced the closeness and conflicts associated with family living.

Y: And as I look back. . . One of the other sons, his marriage had

⁶Whangai'ed is a term describing Maori 'adoption' or 'foster care.'

6a Yvonne's Story

parted, and she had two of the other kids there, my two first cousins, who were older than me. We were first cousins, but we actually grew up like sister and brother. And I guess, everyone says that I was the spoilt one. I remember going everywhere with Grandma. And my cousin and I, who are sisters, you know; as we've grown up, we've dealt with those issues, because she got them out to me, that, um, I was a spoilt bitch and all this, and all o' that, and all the trouble I got them in. And yeah, I bet I did.

Despite the potentially difficult and traumatic circumstances of her birth and earliest days, Yvonne remembers her growing up years as being very happy ones. She recognises that she was 'spoilt' by her grandparents.

Y: But we had a fabulous time, a fabulous childhood. We always had, um. . . if my kids, if I can give my kids a quarter of what Grandma and Grandpa gave me, then I believe I've been a good mother. Yeah, laughter's a word that comes through; and spoilt, everyone reckons I was spoilt. We didn't seem to have a lot of money, but we always had everything else. We were warm, we had clothes, we had fun. But. . . No, we had a fabulous, fabulous childhood. Smoked Granny's cigarettes; smoked dock leaves, and you name it. . . and dried tea.

Yvonne's grandparents valued Western education. They wanted her to continue her schooling longer than she wanted herself. This precipitated some conflict, and her father was called in to take a disciplinary role. His approach was resented by Yvonne, particularly as it was different from the more gentle approach of her grandparents. Yvonne's success in implementing her decision to leave school perhaps illustrates her grandparents' regard for her autonomy, as much as it does her own wilfulness.

6a Yvonne's Story

Y: I remember one incident when I was about 15, 'cause I wasn't dumb; I was just lazy. I wanted to leave college, all my mates were leaving college, and getting work, and of course we didn't have a lot of money. And I remember my father coming up; and I was going to leave school and that was that. I was 16, I was leaving school. And then, um, Granny and Grandpa...as a kid you don't think of all those things, but when I got to become adult and look back on all these things, I knew what they'd done. Because I wasn't listening to them, and they said well, you know, okay, they really had to persuade me, spoilt little brat. They brought my father up. And he tried to sit me down to say, um, um, you know, "You're not leaving school!" and all this. And I remember swearing like hell at him and saying, "Who the hell are you?" And it's the first hiding I ever got in my life. And it was a real whack around the legs, boy. And my pride was hurt more than anything. The outcome of that was that I did leave school. I was pretty spoilt and I got my way.

As a child, Yvonne was taken around the country by her grandparents. She went to many marae, attending hui and tangi. Reflecting on these and other childhood experiences shared with her grandparents and cousins, she is aware that many of her present values, attitudes, and interests stem from these early years. Appreciation of concepts such as 'te tapu o te tupapaku'⁷, and the reality of death, for example, appear to have been instilled in Yvonne from a very young age.

Y: But as I've grown up, like I tend. . . I seem to go around New Zealand a lot, and I always get the feeling that I've been somewhere, that I've been there before. And I, I believe that has happened as a child, not as an adult. I went everywhere!

A tupapaku is a corpse.

6a Yvonne's Story

I remember one time, 'cause in those days when there was a tangi, they used to move in buses; you know from Raukawa down here, they'd go up to Tauranga, or where ever. And I remember this particular time, we went on this Otaki bus and we got picked up some hour in the middle of the night. And there was two of my other cousins there. And I remember playing in the back of this Otaki bus. We got up to Tauranga, to go across to Matakana Island. . . before our eyes they bring the coffin out from the back of the bus. I'll never forget that, eh. And us three kids, we just went [indrawn breath and horrified look]. All of us were under seven. And Gran said it was okay, it was all fine. Well we didn't know it was there.

But, um yeah, I went everywhere. And I know, I know today that I have a lot of their values. I'd forgotten for a few years, I really did.

While Yvonne grew up with her Maori-speaking grandparents and was heavily involved in the life of the Maori community, she was not taught to speak Maori, but English. She also became adept at interpreting her grandparents' non-verbal signals.

Y: I remember growing up, because, you know, because I came to a stage in my life where I really was hungry for the reo⁸. I, I ended up angry with Granny and Grandpa because they were fluent. . . their first language was Maori, both of them. And, in their wisdom, and I choose these words carefully, in their wisdom I believe that they. . . it was better for us, their mokopuna, to learn the Pakeha. And I, I really believe that.

When our whanau. . . When our people from there came down Granny and Grandpa used to korero Maori to us, eh, and we knew what she was doing. Didn't realise that perhaps they were whakama to let their own people know

⁸ Yvonne is referring here to Maori language.

6a Yvonne's Story

that they were tutoring their mokopuna in the Pakeha way. So we played the game. We all went "Wha?" "What did you say Granny?" And you know the eye language. We were brought up with eye language, eh. If looks could kill.

Despite wanting their moko to learn the Pakeha ways and succeed in that arena, and while choosing English as the primary language of the home for her and her cousins, Yvonne's grandparents lived Maoritanga on the marae, in their community, and in their home. Yvonne remembers aspects of this as it effected her health and carries the interest with her today. The use of rongoa, Maori medicine incorporated with the spiritual aspect of karakia, is an area of which Yvonne is still a keen student. She also sometimes uses rongoa in her work with people today.

Y: And one area that I'm really interested in is, um, the rongoa⁹. You know the rongoa?

And I remember as a kid never going to the doctor. Never, ever going to the doctor. If we were sick, I can remember Grandpa always doing us with water, and a taewa, you know a potato, and a karakia. And the, ah, sores and pakiharis¹⁰, they always put these kopakopa¹¹ on our legs. I never went to a doctor.

Although Yvonne herself had rebelled against her grandparent's wishes at times (such as the wish that she continue her schooling), she later upheld many of their beliefs and attitudes (such as those concerning the value of spiritual/religious, and Western/school education, and those concerning the

⁹ 'Rongoa' is traditional Maori methods of healing incorporating the use of natural vegetation for medicinal purposes.

¹⁰ 'Pakiharis' are sores, as in impetigo.

¹¹ 'Kopakopa' a type of plant which can be used to draw out poison or pus from sores and abscesses.

6a Yvonne's Story

role of pakeke¹² in relation to rangatahi), in the upbringing of her own children.

Y: "You don't leave school until you've got U.E.;¹³ whether you're 17 or 27, you don't leave school until you've got U.E. And you don't have a 21st if you're hapu¹⁴, married or whatever, you've got a girl in trouble." Those were two main rules, and we stuck by that.

I remember people saying to us "Oh", you know, "You shouldn't do that, you shouldn't do that, you shouldn't make your kids go to boarding school".

We both believed that at 12 years old or 13 years old, we knew what was best for our son: to go to Hato Paora. I just about weakened. But I think, 'How can a child of 12 or whatever know what's better for them?'

. . . They¹⁵ don't go to church every Sunday, but Bunny and I believed in giving them the basic ground. And as they become adults, and they are adults now, then they make their own choices. But if you don't give them anything to compare it with, or ground them, well how the heck would they know? And that's something really strong.

The theme of continuity between the values and beliefs inculcated in Yvonne by her tupuna (grandparents) and her own values and beliefs in relation to her children and grandchildren is illustrated in the following extract.

Y: But our mokopuna, our first mokopuna, my grandmother's name was Ani Oriwia, and when our eldest girl gave birth to her first one on Granny's birthday, because they'd asked me before to name the baby, and I

¹² 'Pakeke' refers to adults, or the older people.

¹³ U.E. (University Entrance) refers to a now defunct national standard reached through examination or accreditation, which allows those who hold it entry to university

¹⁴ As used here, 'hapu' refers to pregnancy.

¹⁵ By 'They', Yvonne is referring here to her children.

6a Yvonne's Story

said "If it's a girl I will." When she was born on the same day as Granny, well, hey, not a problem; that baby's name was Ani Oriwia Jessica. But. . . they had it Jessica Ani Oriwia. And I knew Granny, the presence of my Grandmother, my Grandmother was very strong when baby was born. And I said to her, "No, it's to be Ani Oriwia Jessica; or else you do not have that name." Because I felt very strongly they weren't to put Granny's name after Jessica. And they accepted it. But I felt very strongly about that, and I would've taken that name back. Mmmmm, it's just values I guess we all get from our people.

Learning and Growing

The theme of learning and growing forms a major part of Yvonne's views and understandings in a number of ways.

Childhood experiences as learning and preparation for the future

Yvonne acknowledges the influence of her childhood experiences, and particularly the values upheld by her grandparents, as the basis of many of her own present day views and values. These views and values are relevant to many aspects of her life. They permeate her attitudes to herself; her roles as a family member, a woman, a member of her marae committee, whanau, hapu, and iwi, the Maori community, and as a counsellor.

Speaking of her role in the workplace, and as a counsellor, Yvonne makes direct links back to the lessons she learnt in childhood.

Y: And the role I always seemed to be playing was the peacemaker, the pacifier. And I know why now. Because. . . my, I married into

Muaupoko, and also my grandfather had a deep respect, and never. . . he was humble in his way, and taught me, "You never tread onto the mana of others." You know, you have no right to tread onto them, onto the mana of anyone else. And I've, umm, I've brought that into my counselling; umm, and anyway, that if I'm dealing with a young person, I do not have the right to tread on the mana of that child's family, eh. . . Particularly the elders. But I, no. . . I do not have the right to tread on the mana of the elders. Like work with their mokopuna, work with their sons, without some consultation with them.

Internalisation of values: Incorporation of values into living and working

The notion of respect; respect for the mana of others, respect for elders and particularly (as illustrated in Yvonne's previous narrative), traditional Maori values, also defines Yvonne's expectations of others. Yvonne's adherence to notions such as the value of whakaiti, (as opposed to whakahihi,)¹⁶ te tika me te he,¹⁷ and the responsibilities of one to another, of elders to those younger, of being part of a whanau, are illustrated in the following excerpt.

Y: A while back I noticed that the, um, the younger ones had this attitude towards my generation and the generation above me, because we don't have the reo. And a few of us noticed their, umm, I suppose disrespect, for want of a better word, in relationship. . .

I: Because they had the opportunity to learn?

¹⁶ 'Whakaiti' may be translated as 'humility, and 'Whakahihi' as 'arrogance' or 'concern for self.'

¹⁷ 'Tika' may be translated as 'right, correct' and 'he' as 'wrong' or 'incorrect.'

Y: They had the reo, yeah. So we sat them down, umm, and says, "Well hey, you know, the structure on that marae, the tangihanga, how we all need each other; the paepae, the people who clean the toilets, the people who cook the kai, the people who set the tables. That structure on a tangihanga, it all works if, we all need each other." But I did notice that their attitude, because they did have the reo, was whakahihi. Ae. Particularly to my generation and the generation above; so we thought "No, better nip this one in the bud." So we sat down and talked, and we said, "Well you might have the reo, and we mightn't have the reo." Particularly the generation above me, they understand, they mightn't have the reo, but gee. . . And they have so many fascinating stories, and they're full of knowledge. Now our kids, I believe, were missing this point. And we're fortunate to have these elders with us, longer than our tamariki at the moment. And they mightn't have the reo, but they certainly have the kawa, and those values, eh.

Training and Education

Yvonne has served a lengthy apprenticeship, sitting on her marae committee, and consequently learning about her marae and rohe, the people and personalities as well as the way the structures and organisational systems, fit together. This apprenticeship prepared Yvonne to take on an active role as a member of the Raukawa District Maori Council, a Raukawa Trust and te Runanga o Raukawa, amongst other things. It also prepared her to assist whanaunga from the younger generation in their apprenticeships. Yvonne has been a member of her marae committee since age 18.

I: You were 18?

Y: Yes. Only because, the vision of our elders. There were three of us, two of our young guys and myself. And they actually said, "You are going to be on our marae committee."

'Cause we, gee, we must a listened in those days. So the three of us went along and I was 18. And what we found was, 'cause we know their future plan for us was to listen and to learn. And what we did learn was that, every time we opened our mouth, 'cause we were young and innovative ideas we reckoned, we actually, every time we said something, they'd just, like patronise us, eh? It was like, "Oh yeah let them talk but we won't listen." So we learnt. I guess that was part of their lesson for us, to sit there and learn. . .

And so, two of the guys fell away. Said, "I'm not going to go there, because it doesn't matter what you say, it's just a load of time." And I stayed there for some reason, I stayed there and I must of thought about it. And I went through all the different roles, and this was for ten years, stayed there, and didn't say a word. But I must admit I actually learnt a lot.

And then I. . . It took me years to get into my head; because I wasn't listening properly 'cause I was really hoha and had to be there, it took me years to understand the difference between the Raukawa trustees and the Raukawa District Council, and the role of the Marae Committee, the trustees and all of those. I mean it must have taken about 15 or 20 years, because I wasn't listening properly.

But the funny thing is that I went. But anyway, to cut a long story

short, I'm still there. See I went through all the different roles. . . I guess there was a reason for it all.

I: It led you into these other things?

Y: Mmmmm. And it's time now for me to let go. . .

Part of the learning that Yvonne experienced as a marae committee member is concerned with attitudes to learning, how to learn, as well as roles and responsibilities, with the importance of maintaining the strength and mana of her marae and the whanau associated with it. That is, the training she undertook in this arena incorporates specific values, feelings, beliefs, and relationships, as well as a knowledge base. The attitudinal, emotional, and spiritual aspects implicit in her training on the marae may also illuminate the meaning of Yvonne's earlier reference to "not listening properly."

Y: . . . I believe it's time now to let go, or to nurture someone else, and learn from what those elders did for us young ones. See I'm trying to practise what they taught me.

And we made a change last election, is that now our executive is a young executive. But there's still some of us older ones there, on the committee; and what we're noticing is that we empower our young ones to a certain degree, and yet still, you know, keep them through that learning process. But I personally think that's a good step. Because they will make mistakes, you know like we all do, and like we're all going to, and I really believe that the young ones are going to bring the younger ones back still.

But I, I love the marae, eh. I've always, you know, it's my whole

being. Trying to get our young. . . because I found my place there. Trying to get others to find their place there, I believe is our role, as older people.

Some years after beginning work in the drug and alcohol field, Yvonne began a course in addiction studies. It was a two year part-time course run through the Central Institute of Technology. Upon completion of the course, Yvonne emerged with a nationally recognised qualification in counselling in the addiction area. Although she successfully completed the course, it was not without heart-searching and conflict. Yvonne and the other Maori woman on the course found elements in the course that challenged them to recognise, question, and stand up for certain of the beliefs and values they shared as Maori women. A sense of responsibility owed to the Maori community and a faith in the purpose of their presence together on the course were important factors in their eventual completion of it.

Y: Hinekura and I, according to everyone, were the first two Maori women who actually got through this course. And, I feel really good about that. . . Umm. We believe we played a little part in making some changes, a little part, with a lot of support from people back home. Now in this addiction studies course they have a Maori perspective; as well as they have the Pakeha perspective. . . all of us played our little part in this happening today. So we feel really good about that.

I don't believe I would have stayed there, if I didn't have that other Maori woman with me. We seemed to give each other support by just looking at each other. At times across the room, we'd know how each other felt, and we were able to say to the lady who was taking the course "You can't assess us, ah, when we do our Maori

case load." And we'd do our case studies, about Maori people. And we let her know in no uncertain terms she could not assess us. . . . But I still say, if I hadn't had that other Maori woman with me, um, I don't know if I would have actually stuck it out. I could of said, "Ah no' stuff it; a load of rubbish." But it was something really special, and we did learn.

I: What was, ahh, what was your Pakeha tutor's reaction when you said "You can't assess us?"

Y: Ummm, I thought when we first said it; umm, I thought she was a little hurt. Ummm, yeah, I do, I believe she was a little hurt, when I said it. She couldn't understand at times where we were coming from. She, umm, we were saying things and she would always come back at us, to us it seemed, um, "Your way's wrong, this is the right way." Umm, so it was our way of, retaliating I guess, and feeling really strong about it because we evaluated ourselves, and said, "Now are we doing this for the right reasons?" You know, "Why are we here?"

I: But still it's an important point that you were making, eh, for future as well as for you guys.

Y: Ae. Ae, we were always guided by that. For some reason we thought we were just there, um a piloting something. And we always, um, there's one thing Hinekura and I had together was that, we believed that we were like pathfinders or pathmakers, and that we knew that we were the only two Maori who had, or were getting near to completing this course. Because we were told, so many had started and always fallen out along the wayside. And there had to be

a reason for that. So we always had this, "No, whatever we do, it's going to be for our people."

One thing that happened when we were down there at CIT. We were there as Maori women and we actually made a few changes. Because we were lucky enough, ahh, like, umm, like starting the day with karakia, and ending the day with karakia. But we didn't put it all on them. We actually said, "This is important to us, and, um, did the group mind if we start with karakia?" And if they did, than that's okay 'cause we'd have our own karakia separately.

But we were privileged. . . there were a lot of wairua people in the, ah, spiritual people within the group. And they all really liked that.

One guy, umm, didn't. And he voiced his, his. . . He didn't want to do that. So then, um, it was for him to think about, umm, 'cause we applied a democratic rule there. And then, um, and he actually came round, and then he found out that he made that statement 'cause he'd never done it, and it was something new for him to do. Umm, and he actually quite enjoyed it and participated, in the end. So we felt really good about it.

Despite the struggle and conflict that she sometimes experienced during her training course, Yvonne considers it to have been valuable, not only for what was taught, and the changes she and her colleague were able to help bring about, but for the way in which it made her assess and clarify her own preferences.

Y: I enjoyed the Pakeha training, don't get me wrong, I did enjoy it. 'Cause what it did for me, as a Maori woman, was. . . like for

example, psychodrama. I had no idea what psychodrama is really. So when you go into this workshop, "Oh, is that what psychodrama is?" And the same with provocative therapy. You know, I could assume I knew. But once, sitting in there, "Ah!"

And every time, honestly, every time, I could relate it in a Maori way; without that, without that title. Umm, yeah; and it's, it's, it's, when I think of psychodrama and that, that course we were on, and it was chair work, and in relationship to umm, you know we might, you might, someone might have passed on, and you didn't have a chance to say something to that someone, and it was this chair work.

And I thought, "Oh hell. Out of my bloody legs. Oh, what a lot of shit!" But thank God for that Pakeha guy who was taking it. Because he was reading all this in my body language. Because I wouldn't look. Because the most natural thing for me to do is to go down to the urupa,¹⁸ or go and sit in the wharenuī,¹⁹ and talk to all those fellas, and, and, and I do do that; and some amazing things happen down at the urupa. And so I thought, "Mmm yeah, yeah, rubbish," you know. But what I've learnt, is to think, "Well okay if that chair work meets the needs of people, then we need to learn it." We need to learn it, eh. Particularly in that one, psychodrama, 'cause I don't, I think it's a lot of bullshit. I'd sooner do it our way. I don't choose to get onto that area, but will bring on someone, around me, who likes working in that area.

I: So you've got the choices though.

Y: Yeah, yes. So I do believe, I'm all for encouraging our younger

¹⁸ An urupa is a cemetery.

¹⁹ A wharenuī is a meeting house, in this case, as is usual, it is an ancestral meeting house in that it is named after an ancestor, constructed as a symbolic representation of an ancestor and contains many symbolic and photographic

people and our older people, you're never too old eh. . . And encouraging them, our people, our Maori people to grab at all the trainings that are out there. Because they'll only take what they want from them, to fit in with them the person. And it's given me a real insight eh, to learn the Pakeha way.

We had relaxation and all those different techniques, which I, which I personally enjoyed. And I, I mean I do my own meditation my way. And that's in a place where I want it to happen. Umm, um, I don't know if I'd be able to handle it in a classroom. Especially sitting on a chair. I'd, I'd like to be sitting on the ground, linked up with the ground. But. . . I prefer the way, and I'm more comfortable in how Rose Pere does it. Like, um, call on the energies of the universe. . .

Whaiao (Transition; Enlightenment)

Whaiao (literally the pursuit of day, the time when night becomes day) is a state of transition, such as that which occurs when people pass from a state of ignorance to one of enlightenment or understanding. Yvonne's story provides a number of illustrations of whaiao, in the sense of an ongoing learning process; and experiences of moving towards illumination or enlightenment.

There is a spiritual aspect implicit in the concept of whaiao in learning. Interestingly, two of the experiences described by Yvonne occur in connection with marae. The first was on the occasion of her graduation

representations of ancestors.

from the addiction studies course. The graduation ceremony was held at her own marae with a large contingent of family and friends present.

Y: And I remember sitting in that meeting house and I was looking around at all the photos in our whare tupuna; and. . . I knew then that, umm, there was a role for us Maori women to play, in relationship to our mokopuna. I still haven't got it clear but um, I truly believe that. So that's something that's tapped up to where I'm at now.

The concept of whaiao may also be identified in connection with the healing that Yvonne believes may come to clients as a result of learning about themselves and their heritage. The learning that leads to healing involves a growth of emotional and spiritual understanding as well as intellectual knowledge.

In this instance, Yvonne is talking about prison inmates learning te reo Maori. Yvonne was one of a group who accompanied two inmates back to their marae. This activity was seen as part of a learning, and healing, process.

Y: And, um, we went down to one of his other maraes, where they come on their male line, eh. We went down with an elder, and I was really privileged to be asked to be a part of it, 'cause I'm not immediate family. And these two guys, they laid down on the grass, marae atea, in front of the wharenuui. And you could see that awe over them. To me that's real healing; those are the heavy processes that, um, come from te reo.

The reference to awe may refer to strong emotional and spiritual feelings

evoked as part of the healing process, and to the notion of 'levels of learning', as in travelling to a depth of understanding hitherto unknown.

At another time, a spiritual aspect of whaiao may be seen to be an explicit element in the therapeutic context. In the following extract, Yvonne describes an experience she shared with a client and his family when visiting their home for the first time.

Y: We were sitting in the front room, and I mean one was right over here [pointing] and one was right over there [pointing], and the husband and wife were certainly the furthestest apart.

And I asked if we could have a karakia. I asked them if we could. And when they said yes, I said, "Well would anyone in the room like to say it?" You know, giving it back to them, trying to do it right; to which they said no, and they, um, and then the man asked me if I would. And I said, oh, yeah, I'll try.

And it was really, it was like the wairua, um, heaps of people were there with us, you know the unseen people. So I started off, you know, 'cause I'm learning, in the Lord's Prayer. And then; I know they weren't my words, but they were being given to me by someone wiser than me. And the words, after we finished the prayer, just came out. Ahh, it was like talking to the tupuna, all of our tupuna to be here and lay there healing hands through the power of, the higher power. I don't even know what I said. I know they were along those lines. And it just happened that we all for some reason, 'cause we were standing when we started the karakia with their permission; and we all ended up in the middle of the room, with our arms around

each other having a tangitangi,²⁰ eh, the whole lot of us. And it was, the husband and wife came from opposite corners of the room across, and the kids all came in. And I don't know how I got there. . . . but we were all in the middle of the room. And, and to describe wairua, to describe the presence of others, and it was like "WOW" from each and every one of us. . .

Learning

Yvonne reveals some of her own experiences with learning and attitudes towards learning. Her experiences as a member of the marae committee, for example, illustrate a particular method of learning. For instance, ". . . to listen and to learn." These affect not only the way she prefers to learn, but also the way in which she facilitates learning, growth and development in her clients.

Yvonne is presently doing a course at Te Wananga o Raukawa, a Maori centre for advanced learning, or university. As a part of this course, she is encouraged to work in a way which she finds comfortable.

Y: We found out that we worked better the Maori way - which could be interpreted as cheating. We found out, and Eru Pomare [her tutor] put us onto this way. . . . that we function better when we work together. And like, Kahukura and I would do this part, say Ken and John would do this part, and we'd bring it back, so we could share with the whanau that way. So we got a picture of the whole. . . . I don't see it as cheating, I see it as a real learning way. . .

²⁰ 'Tangitangi' here refers to 'weeping.'

Wairuatanga (Spirituality)

Wairuatanga, the spiritual dimension, is an important part of Yvonne's approach to life, in the personal, as well as in the work arena. An example of the influence of wairuatanga in her personal life is apparent in several of Yvonne's earlier narratives.

The significance of wairuatanga in Yvonne's life is reflected, too, in her counselling work. The way she sees, understands, and operates is heavily influenced by her place and direction in the flow of the wairua.

Y: I operate by gut feeling, umm, I seem to get thought patterns, and I know it's from people who are wiser. And when I'm having a session with someone, I always like to have karakia, just to myself, you know for a coupl'a minutes. Asking for guidance. I find, and I know this is probably in my mind, but if I don't, if I forget, too busy, I tend to muck up. I feel that, eh. I feel good about that, too, that I, that I remember to do those things. And those, those are the values that, thank God, I got from Granny and Grandpa.

When I know I've got an appointment and I'm meeting with people, I will actually put myself in a . . . ummm, I'll have a look over there and up there, and actually ask for guidance. And that's not doubting my own ability. Some people might interpret it like that. . . And I always ask for guidance. Sometimes I forget, and you betcha I muck up.

I make no apologies, and I find the majority of people who I've worked with in the last seven years are open to spirituality, to

religion, to Christianity, and how they interpret it.

So I believe that in each and every one of us there's a spiritual, we all have this spiritual need. . . to get that spark alit again, because it's in each and every one of us, but might've just dimmed down a bit.

While Yvonne's own spiritual beliefs make it important for her to prepare herself spiritually for her work with clients, she also generally shares or introduces spirituality into her sessions with clients in some way. While her personal views on spirituality are strong, her understandings in this area, particularly with regard to the nature of other people's spiritual expression, are flexible. Her own spiritual expression, for example, differs from that of her co-worker, but Yvonne sees the fundamental element as faith in a spiritual belief, regardless of its particular expression.

Y: Ron and I, for instance, have different but similar spiritual values. But they're very similar, it's just that when we talk about them, Ron quotes the Bible a lot, and God a lot. I am comfortable in acknowledging a higher being, in our tupuna on the other side. Yet we both know what each other talks about.

Umm, when we talk about kaitiaki in a session or I do bring it up at certain times, but I'm always aware of how it would affect the person that's there. And I don't believe I help anyone without bringing up my own values. I'm always very careful not to put them onto the other person. And I've found in the last five years, that the majority of people that come in here, that are hurting, that are reaching out for help; they are quite open. They interpret it. I remember this young Maori guy he says, "Oh, I can't see God. I don't bloody believe in God". He says, "What I can see though is I

can see trees, and I can see lakes, and I can see the mountains and that. . . and I can see the sea. So I'm happy in believing in that." And I says, "Hey that's fine." And we always seem to come to a compromise thing.

It's that, as long as we have faith; it doesn't matter if we interpret it differently. I find it's very very much a part of me the person, me the way I work with people.

I don't come on too strong about religion or spirituality, but I acknowledge that I myself am a spiritual person, with the person, whoever I'm working with. And I've never found anyone who mocks that.

As previously mentioned, one of the ways in which Yvonne acknowledges her own spirituality and opens the way for Maori clients to do the same, is by suggesting a karakia at the beginning and end of counselling sessions.

I: Does that mean then, do you always ask if you can begin and end with a karakia?

Y: Particularly with Maori only. With Maori only. I have not done that on a one-to-one with a Pakeha. But with a Maori I always ask, if it's appropriate to start. And and not always they want it. And that's okay. So I always ask too at the end if we can end with just a thank you to whoever. And more often than not, in fact ninety-nine times out of a hundred, I find the Maori person does; and I also find that they bow their heads. Why I don't do that with Pakeha? I'm not too sure. I'm not too sure. . .

Another example of the way in which Yvonne's wairuatanga influences her practice as a counsellor may be seen in her interpretation of particular behaviours and circumstances and her consequent responses to them. In the following extracts, for example, Yvonne interprets, and accepts others interpretations, of 'unacceptable', 'acting out' behaviours in terms of spiritual affliction, specifically makutu and mate Maori²¹. As a consequence of her acceptance of the reality of these conditions, Yvonne sees her own role in promoting wellness as one of contacting the appropriate people with the appropriate knowledge and skills. Yvonne thus becomes a 'link person.' Her relevant skills in these circumstances include knowing who to contact, and how to approach them.

Y: Do you believe that the sins of the fathers at times catch up with the ..? I guess, why I, the reason I asked that is because, I have come up against that quite often. And the beauty of being in a little area where we are, because we know the elders and the families to go to. And that is a beauty of being I suppose in our own papakainga,²² in a way, eh.

I: Oh, so you can go when there might be things that have historical sort of roots in some way, you can go and try and resolve them and work them out in some way through the kaumatua²³ as well?

Y: Ae. They always, always. . . yeah in fact that's what I mean. I'm always very well aware of that. I believe that at times, and it's

²¹ Makutu involves the placing of a form of curse on an individual or group. It is a spiritual process and may be instituted for a variety of wrong-doings or out of resentment or jealousy. It may be seen as a cause of Mate Maori. Mate Maori is commonly termed 'Maori sickness'. It encompasses a variety of manifestations including apparently physical, mental and emotional illnesses, however these are believed to have spiritual origins. Mate Maori can affect individuals and can also be carried down in families for generations

²² 'Papakainga' may be translated as 'home ground.'

²³ Kaumatua are elders.

happened just with my own nephew, in relation to him getting angry, him drinking on our marae, and him, who's married to a girl from one of our other maraes, belting her, as well as actually belting an elder on our marae. I believe there is something on my nephew. And yes we've delved into that. With the help of elders, always with the help of elders, always learning. And see, there are things there, going back to his father. And there are a few other things. And these are the areas that, I believe, Maori counsellors need to be aware of, and respectful of, that's what I'm saying, eh. And I guess it's important to have this network out in the community. And in different areas, eh. And I believe we're all working in those ways.

We had a, a guy in Linton²⁴ come back to us. But it was one of the inmates who actually rung me. And the words from some of the personnel within the prison were, that he was "acting out." And those are typical terms within, ah, counselling areas. But one of the Maori um, wardens within the prison knew it was something else, so he allowed this prisoner, because he was from our rohe, to ring me. And when I listened to what he had to say, asking for guidance from me, the name came into my head of who to tap into to help this young guy, in prison, eh. So I picked up an elder, and I guess I'm giving you an insight into the ways I work with our Maori people. . . I picked up an elder from Levin, and we went over to see this koroua.²⁵ It was amazing, you know. Because they knew the history of the whanau. And it went right back to his grandmother, where there were some incidents. And then we left it there, because the elder in the Foxton area. . . we'd done our bit, eh.

Umm, I guess at times, when I share this with my Pakeha

²⁴ Yvonne is referring here to Linton prison, a low to medium security prison in the Manawatu region.

colleagues; they couldn't understand why I didn't follow through on it. There was no more need for me, a Maori woman counsellor, to follow through. Because it was in the appropriate place. And that koroua in Foxton, and his wife, said, "We know where to go." And so, that was it.

Another aspect which may have its basis in wairuatanga, and which came through from Yvonne's korero was an attitude which could be described as pre-deterministic.

Y: We're all here for some reason, you and me and everyone; and there is a path we're meant to take. I strongly believe that.

This way of conceptualising allows room for positive reframing of behaviours and situations which might otherwise be seen in a purely negative light (for example, as purposeless mistakes and wasted years). The way in which this particular view influences Yvonne's attitudes to a specific area may be seen in the following extract, where Yvonne speaks of the role she sees tupuna as having in guiding their living descendants onto their right paths at the appropriate time. Also revealed in this extract are attitudes towards stages of life development and developmental tasks.

Y: I think this term, this Maori term, ah "We're rangatahi till we're 30," and we can korekore²⁶ around and muck around, they give you that time, eh. Then when you get that time; okay enough's enough, grow up. . . Yeah you know at 30, and under 30, well, kei te pai,²⁷ and maybe under 40, but at some stage in our lives. . . I interpret it this way; that our tupuna go, "Okay, had enough, now's the time to get

²⁵ A koroua is a male elder

²⁶ 'Korekore' may be translated as 'mucking around,' in other words, not doing anything particularly useful.

²⁷ 'Kei te pai' in this sense means, 'that's okay.'

back on track.” Sometimes there's a bit of fuss. And I believe it's our tupuna on the other side saying “Okay, enough mucking around, there's a role for you to play, and da-da-da-da-da-da.”

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is another theme which permeates Yvonne's life and work. This theme is vitally important to Yvonne at the personal level and is also, she believes, of vital importance to others.

The theme of whanaungatanga as conceptualised by Yvonne includes iwi, hapu and whanau relationships (those based on genealogical ties), as well as a broader and more flexible concept of whanau, a shifting social (as opposed to biological) concept of whanau. This second conceptualisation of a social, as opposed to biological whanau, is analogous to that described by Metge as, “metaphorical whanau” (Metge, 1995).

Subsumed under the broad heading of whanaungatanga are a number of related sub-themes. These include whakapapa, mana, and identity; knowing your roots.

Whakapapa and Mana

Yvonne provides a personal insight into the way that she sees whakapapa, and knowledge of whakapapa, as being an important component of the mana of individuals. In the following extract, Yvonne's reference to 'sides' refers to whakapapa lines, whanau, hapu, and iwi links.

Y: But I look at our kids, and I always believe that they have more

6a Yvonne's Story

mana than us, because I know who I am, and then my husband, he knows who he is now. But our kids have a bit of both of us. And I like to look at it like that; and hell those kids are fabulous. And now our mokopuna. . . she can come to my side or my husband's side, and our mokopuna now can tap into Te Atiawa, because our daughter married into Te Atiawa.²⁸

Yvonne also interprets whanaungatanga at times in the relative whakapapa sense. Firstly, she sees Maori people as her whanaunga, particularly in relation to non-Maori. However, an interpretation that Yvonne has come to accept more recently is that all living and non-living things are whanau.

Y: I acknowledge Rose Pere here. . . She taught me a lot. When the word whanaunga was brought up, I naturally looked at us as Maori. But when I listened to her, she opened it up to us, to all people. . . Rose Pere opened up whanaunga to all mankind, and then she took it that step further, which was learning for me, you know; ah, birds are whanau. Then she took it out further to the trees, to the mountains, and to the seas and the rivers and all of that.

Identity

Yvonne sees identity, and particularly 'knowing your roots' as a vital component of well-being for Maori people. She believes that the desire to know ones 'roots', in terms of who one is in a whakapapa sense, is part of being Maori.

²⁸ Te Atiawa is a tribe originating in Taranaki.

Y: I guess because I strongly believe, until we know who we are and where our turangawaewae²⁹ is, we are lost. I really believe, it's something strong in me and I guess I see it out there; some of the guys in prison, and some of the women that I come across, they feel real whakamaa.³⁰ And when I've talked to them and asked them who their parents are, they don't know. So, I believe they really want to know, but um, they don't know how to go about doing it, some not all of them, or they don't know how to reach out to elders to ask. And it's, you know, I, I really believe that we're lost until we know where our pito³¹ is, you know our turangawaewae is.

I believe that in all of us who have Maori descent, you know, who are descended from a Maori, at some stage in our life it's going to, there's going to be a hunger in us to know.

Identity through whakapapa is significant to Yvonne when she meets clients. For Yvonne, an important part of getting to know the client involves finding out who they are in terms of their whakapapa. This allows her to have a better idea of where to go and who to contact in order to get the most appropriate support and resources for her client.

The phrase Yvonne uses in the following excerpt "tap into different areas" refers to making connections between people's family names, where they're from (where their turangawaewae is) and their tribal, ancestral and family relationships. As previously noted, by being aware of these connections, Yvonne can not only attempt to connect herself with individual clients, but

²⁹ Turangawaewae is literally 'a place to stand'. It refers to one's home ground, the place where one has ancestral rights, responsibilities and relationships.

³⁰ 'Whakamaa' may be translated as 'ashamed,' 'embarrassed,' 'at a disadvantage.' It is related to a perceived loss of mana, and thus has implications in relation to this.

³¹ The pito is the umbilical cord. Along with the placenta (whenua), the pito is traditionally buried shortly after birth in a piece of land of significance to the baby and whanau. This connects the child to the land and gives him/her turangawaewae. In modern times, some Maori have discontinued this practice.

can also have a better idea of who in the community it would be most appropriate to go to for further support and help if necessary; who are the right resource people, who has connections with, and even who has responsibility for, particular clients.

Y: When, when I first meet a person; and I'm, I'm assuming you're the same, it's always um, "Oh who are you? Who's your whanau?" Or, "What's your tribe?" I've always been brought up to listen when people talk; particularly their pepeha, when they get up and do a mihi.

And the names are important. . . I've got a long way to go in that, but I'm learning different names, "Oh," they tap into different areas. And it's always important, I feel, to listen to who they are. . . To me there's more resources available if I'm working with Maori.³²

Whanau Involvement In Counselling

One reason for Yvonne's interest in the whakapapa and whanau links of her clients is that she has a strong preference for involving clients' whanau in her counselling. She sees lack of knowledge of whakapapa, and lack of whanaungatanga as an issue for many Maori clients; so she sees building up knowledge of whakapapa, and strengthening whanau ties as part of the solution. However, another reason for Yvonne's preference for involving whanau stems from her belief that counselling a client, most particularly a young Maori client, without involving the whanau, is tantamount to

³² The "resources" that Yvonne refers to here probably relate to whakapapa and whanau, hapu, iwi, marae and whenua links. They may also relate to the dimensions that Yvonne is able to access with Maori clients.

degrading the whanau, and particularly the kaumatua.

Y: One thing I have learnt, though, is it's really hard being a Maori counsellor. . . I've learnt that Maori counsellors do not have the right to tread on the mana of the family. Particularly the elders. But I, no, I do not have that right to tread on the mana of the elders. Like, work with their mokopuna, work with their sons, without some consultation with them.

I: Right, so if you're going to work with them, will you always contact their whanau? Or try and contact their kaumatua?

Y: Ae. That's the only way I can work. . . always to work in this area, it's important to get the, the client, I hate that word, is to get the client's, for lack of a better word, permission to be able to work with the whanau. 'Cos that's the only way I can work. That's the only way I wanna work is a more healthier way of saying it. So I guess that's what I mean by saying, I don't believe you've got a right to tread on the mana.

I: So will you just. . . umm, say if you've got a prisoner from Taupo,³³ okay. Will you contact their family in some way?

Y: Definitely. Definitely.

I: And if they can't come down. . . Oh, will you ask them to come down and be a part of the sessions?

Y: Definitely. But I would first check it out with the person, eh. . . I

³³ Taupo is an area in the central North Island of New Zealand.

would first check it out with the person. And use every bit of skill I have to get him around to actually asking for that. Um, I would, I never go to the parents without checking it out with the individual first. But I use every bit of skill I have to actually get them to agree. And then I, at times when they don't, I have to be honest with them and say, well hey, this is me; this is important to me, and this is the best way I work. And some of them accept that and some don't.

I find when I'm working with our Maori people, I do, do play that role as, umm, listening, umm, but always utilising the family. And I guess that's always, and always with the aim of bringing the families together.

Whakawhanaungatanga with clients can sometimes mean a redefinition of roles. When Yvonne has family links with a client or clients, her rights and her responsibilities as a family member, and as a counsellor, can be difficult to reconcile. Where this happens, whanau roles and responsibilities generally take precedence.

Living in a small town, and in a semi-rural area for most of her life, having clients who are also whanau is not an uncommon occurrence for Yvonne. In the following example, she talks about a situation in which she was approached by a young woman, her niece, for help.³⁴ The woman was suffering physical abuse at the hands of her partner; the abuse was associated with alcohol. Yvonne was approached, not only as an aunt, but also as a counsellor who specialised in the area of alcohol abuse and addiction.

A number of whanau-related issues may be identified in this story. Apart

³⁴ Note: the terms niece and mokopuna in this extract are used in the Maori sense; the young woman is not Yvonne's sibling's daughter and the children are not her grandchildren according to Pakeha terminology.

from the previously mentioned involvement of client's whanau and the potential for role clashes, Yvonne also includes her own whanau in interventions. She has her niece and mokopuna staying with her, she is emotionally involved and openly acknowledges it. For Yvonne, the boundaries between professional and personal are fluid.

The notion of balance and partnership, a woman and a man, an older and a younger, is another whanaungatanga-related dimension which Yvonne mentioned several times during the interview, and which she utilises as a healing model.

As an aunty, as a nanny to the children, and as an older person, Yvonne in this instance was able, perhaps obliged, to use a force and directiveness, which might not have been appropriate for a younger or unrelated counsellor.

Y: So, he got at her one time, and she came by me and my husband. And we said to her, "Right, you lay charges. This behaviour's unacceptable and it can't go on." And she chose not to. And chose to go away from us. And so she went back into the relationship, which didn't change. So she came back again to us.

So what I did, I felt quite helpless. And the whole situation was getting nowhere. . . So we co-ordinated. And I actually played an active role in co-ordinating, um, his whanau and our whanau together, and bringing them together.

And something that I'll never forget is that, what happened was, the elder from his marae, stood up, and had a karakia, and I had elders from my marae, too. And we started with karakia, and then as the

mihi went on, they apologised to our marae, to our people, for what their mokopuna was doing to our girl.

That night from that hui, when that happened, his own whanau agreed to awhi³⁵ the man, eh, awhi the young man. Where this other side agreed to awhi our niece. Because they wanted to stay together.

I was saying that the behaviour was completely unacceptable. And I did make the stand, see I'm losing my role here as a counsellor, as an aunty, and said, "I will take those children out of this, because they're my mokopuna." And I was supported by the elders in that statement. So when I looked at that, I played a very. . . once I had co-ordinated it, got it all together, my role changed. I became the aunty, and the elders to me became the counsellors, in a way.

And one of the interventions, in relationship to where they are now, is that, is that. . . Oh wait, wait, wait. We went to golf, ah, these are the types of things that we put into programs too, eh, and this was my husband's idea, because when you play golf, and you're meeting once a week, the four of us. Two women, two men, so it's a balance there, two young, two elder ones, playing golf; and my husband's reasons was that when you're playing golf, when I'm teeing off, the others have to pay me that respect of no laughing, no carrying on, so that I can have my shot. And that happened right through. Well, it was learning for me in that area, but it was also a lot of learning for our young ones. And we found out after a while that it brought in that bit of respect. So it's, I mean, it's a real, using a Pakeha strategy in a way, but sport, recreation. We found out that the man was respecting the woman when she teed off. And that was part of our

³⁵ To-awhi is to help and care for.

intervention. But it was a lot more; we got involved with the maraes. So what happened from that big hui with, ah, all the elders, came down into couple sessions, couple counselling.

I found it quite difficult, and maybe that's an area that, umm, when it comes to your immediate family, you have to be quite competent or else you really have to be quite honest and step out of it.

Whanau Roles

Some reference has already been made to Yvonne's role, as an older woman whanau member, and 'aunty' to the young woman in the previous extract. By virtue of this role, Yvonne took a particular approach; she was directive, initially. However, once kaumatua were involved Yvonne's role changed, "the kaumatua became the counsellors. . ."

Yvonne likes to involve client's whanau in counselling, however the nature of this involvement, the role of the whanau and the role Yvonne plays, vary.

Y: I usually co-ordinate hui. And more often than not, if there's clashes there, and it's always checking it out with the family, or the person, the client; and the role I play in this has to be at their direction.

I: At the client's direction?

Y: At the client's direction, in consultation with the whanau. And if he doesn't want to consult with his whanau, then I have to go to both parties, you know, consult with both parties; so that I'm clear on the role they want me to play, if any.

Whanaungatanga at Work

Yvonne refers to the people involved at the centre, her co-workers, paid and voluntary, as well as some clients and ex-clients, as whanau. As in all whanau, she sees different members as having different roles to play.

Speaking of a client-cum-whanau-member:

Y: One of our whanau, or more than one actually, has a, he's like a consultant to us. I utilise his skills a lot. And there's a place for him within our organisation, but that's for him to find out where he fits into it, eh.

Yvonne is keen to help her work whanau grow. Whanau values such as manaaki and awahi³⁶, are part of policy and practice at the centre. People are encouraged to drop in, to stay, to eat, and to share.

Y: Because we were Maori in the centre at that time. . . more Maori people came around. And there was one of our Maori workers out there in the community, doing heaps of work with the rangatahi, and had no base. So we said, "Nau mai, haere mai," eh. You know, there's room in this place here.

And I guess it's a Maori way of working if someone comes in for the first time, we spend the first time having a cuppa tea and a kai, and "Who are you?" You know, and "Who are your mum and dad?"

³⁶ Manaaki and awahi may be characterised as meaning to provide hospitality, help and support.

And I call that the whakamahana process.³⁷

And that whakamahana process, I guess the Pakeha term for that is building a rapport; it's the same isn't it? Well I think it is. The warming process. I tend to, and particularly with Maori, and who they are, you know, like a pepeha; who they are, instead of just Cathy or Yvonne. But who they are.

Holism

The theme of holism arose in Yvonne's korero in a number of ways. Yvonne stressed the need for faith and acceptance as opposed to analysis and dissection. This is illustrated with an example from the domain of Tanemahuta, God of forests and uncultivated foods.

Y: It's a fear that a lot of us have, particularly the koroua that comes in, is in relationship to our native trees. Now I mean kawakawa. And kawakawa to our teachings have a lot of different cures. Basically, my teachings are it purifies blood. Plus about 18 or 19 other things that kawakawa does and different ways it's used. And I believe a lot of us as Maori, and even to our Pakeha people, because it's for everyone, it's not just for Maori; if we have the faith that it will help us, then it will help us. We don't need to analyse it and one of the fears is that, you know our, we seem to have to analyse what's in it. . . So, you know, there's that, that fear, that they're going to analyse the kawakawa leaves.

³⁷ 'Whakamahana' may be translated as 'warming' or 'to make warm.'

6a Yvonne's Story

One aspect within this theme of holism is the ability to accept different, sometimes contradictory, realities as valid. As such, there is not a need to find a single truth or to identify which account may be more true than another. To do so would mean labelling one way as right, correct, or more true and another as wrong, incorrect or less true.

Y: . . . as long as we have faith; it doesn't matter if we interpret it differently. One of our women wondered now, "What did our women use for sanitary pads?" And we were told one story. . . And I thought "Oh, yeah, kei te pai." But this other story that was, that I was told, I guess it's more comfortable for me; I'm not doubting the other one. . . and I thought "Wow." So that's what our women did, some of our women. So, sure, I'm not discounting the other way either, when someone told me that, then that must have happened.

Another aspect which may be seen as indicative of an holistic approach is illustrated by Yvonne's emphasis on balance, both within the counselling process, and as a core ingredient of healing.

Y: See that's a whanau, umm, like couple counselling. So it's a balance, Ron and I, and this man and his wife. . . And I had no qualms in sharing what my aim was, to her as well as to him, and actually bringing them together in that balance area.

Holism is a strong underlying theme in Yvonne's understanding of drug and alcohol addiction. Yvonne tends to go outside the individual psyche of clients when conceptualising aetiology and appropriate therapies pertaining to the 'problem'. She sees the 'problem' as indicative of aspects of family and community, as well as individual, well-being. Her focus is on areas such as loss of identity and whanau functioning. So activities aimed at

bringing clients together with their whanau, helping them find their 'roots' by linking them back to their own marae, hapu and iwi, tending to their wairuatanga, encouraging them to learn te reo, kawa and tikanga, form a vital part of Yvonne's approach to the treatment of substance abuse and addiction.

In addition, Yvonne's attention to the spiritual and physical, as well as psychological dimensions within individual clients further illustrates an holistic perspective.

In the following extract, Yvonne outlines her views on the aetiology of alcohol and drug abuse by Maori, and provides an insight into how these views affect the way she works with alcohol and drug abusers.

Y: We're talking alcohol and drugs. But you see, I only see alcohol and drugs as part of the whole. I believe that we are really unwell in our own country. And it's, you know, I, I really believe that we're lost unless we know where our pito is, you know, our turangawaewae is. . . In the prisons, in relationship to our Maori men. . . I never talked alcohol and drugs, I did everything in my power to meet the needs of the guys in there. If they wanted their whanau to be in touch, I tended to pick up that role. And one of the guys fed back to me, something that made me feel really good is that, um, is that I've actually helped him to communicate with a female. . . Just listening to the guys in there, and the very basic things they're saying; about the guy in the pub, he doesn't want to be in that scene anymore. He's got something else to fill his life. . .

I: So you're seeing the drug and alcohol problems that the prisoners might have had, or have, as, um, being a result of something

missing? Is that right?

Y: Ae.³⁸ Ae, definitely!

I: And that something, is. . . that's why learning the language and. . .

Y: Ae. Who they are.

I: Whanaungatanga, building up that, that can be curative, because that fills that hole that alcohol has been?

Y: I, I do. Because I've seen the attitudes between whanau, whanau; and why do whanau back out here, and how, um, we out here in the community, you know, our runangas, and our people on our maraes of high ranking, we have a role to play...

Nga rongoa o nga rakau;³⁹ I've got a lot of learning in that area. And when the body, through the abuse of alcohol. And one particular Maori man comes to mind. My own age. He started drinking when he was 12. When he came to see me he was 45. He'd been drinking all his life, eh. And he, he, he was very receptive to the rongoa, eh, like kawakawa; and my belief is and our teaching is that kawakawa has heaps of potential for healing. But it's. . . one of the main functions is that it purifies the blood. And he felt really good when he gave up drinking, and he did drink kawakawa. And he's, he's fine now, today. And I haven't forgotten, eh.

³⁸ 'Ae' may be translated as 'yes'. However, it may be used as an indicator of understanding or support as well as assent.

³⁹ 'Nga rongoa o nga rakau' refers to the healing and health giving properties and methods of use of native

Maori/Pakeha Issues

The issue of Maori/Pakeha differences has been implicit or explicit within Yvonne's narratives. Much of the case description and discussion Yvonne has raised to this point, however, pertains specifically to her work with Maori clients. Whether there are differences in the approach that she takes with Maori as opposed to non-Maori clients was a question that Yvonne had some difficulty coming to grips with. Her initial perception was that she did not.

Apirana Ngata, referred to near the end of the following extract, was a highly respected Maori leader and member of Parliament during the first half of this century. There is a saying, well-known to Maori, which he wrote in the autograph book of a young Maori girl. Ngata wrote words of guidance to prepare this girl for her future in a changing world. His words have now been adopted as sound advice by many Maori and they have, in fact, achieved the status of whakatauki⁴⁰, perhaps the only words this century to do so (Karetu and Reed, 1984, pp. 59-73).

The saying is perhaps representative of Ngata's views of the direction Maori should follow in personal and community development. It may also be described as a Maori prescription for health in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand. The words of the whakatauki are usually interpreted as advocating the adoption of Western skills and techniques, such as literacy skills, educational qualifications, and medical practices, which facilitate survival, health and prosperity in a modern world (where, for Maori, traditional resources and ways are often inaccessible or

vegetation.

⁴⁰ Whakatauki are well-known sayings, often quoted in formal speechmaking, which have come to embody core cultural values.

insufficient). However, Ngata's words also contain a reminder to hold on to, to value and to express one's Maoritanga; and an injunction to carry one's spirituality as uppermost or primary in all aspects of life.

Sir Apirana Ngata's whakatauki:

*E tipu e rea
i nga ra o to ao
ko to ringa ki nga rakau o te Pakeha
hei ora mo to tinana
ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tupuna
hei tikitiki mo to mahunga
a, ko to wairua ki te Atua,
nana nei nga mea katoa*

*Grow up tender shoot
in the days of your world
put your hand to the tools of the Pakeha
for your physical well-being
keep your heart with the treasures of your ancestors
as a plume for your head
and your spirit with the Lord
for all things belong with him.*

Y: I believe our Maori people have different needs to our Pakeha people, and yet they're all similar. People are people, and people have needs; it doesn't matter what colour they are, eh. I actually believe I work the same with both Pakeha and Maori, or with Maori and others, let me put it that way.

- I: So you see your role as the same, to help meet their needs, but do you use different. . ?
- Y: Techniques? Oh yes. Or... now why am I having trouble thinking about this, because I want to say yes, and then I'm thinking about it, and I guess I would say no. To me there's more resources available if I'm working with Maori. What am I saying here? What am I saying here. . ? Okay. In the first instance, I love working with our people. If I'm to be totally honest, I would sooner work with our Maori people. At the same time, I do work with a lot of Pakeha people who are really beautiful people, who hurt the same as our Maori people. Do I work different? Do I?
- I: Do you whakawhanaungatanga with Pakeha people? Do you consciously make links?
- Y: I believe I do. Yeah, I do believe I do. And I guess that is because I've been around this area so long, and I know the majority of their elders. That's again the beauty of being in a small place. Umm, yes I do. And I guess that's because of me. Me, the person in this area, but. . .
- I: I guess you can be a Maori counsellor, and work in a Maori way, and that way might be good for Maori and Pakeha.
- Y: Yeah, I think that's what I'm having difficulty in sort of, trying to, ah, get something. . . Actually this is good for me because now I'm really thinking. Um. . . I actually believe Maori people trained. . . I mean, I can put on that Maori hat because I'm a Maori woman, and because my mother's a Pakeha woman; I believe, I actually believe

that we, that Maori people, um, we can be skilled in both areas. So, therefore, maybe Apirana Ngata was right, eh? My grandparents, they never taught me the reo, but they certainly gave me the marae life, so their, I believe in their wisdom, was that we could learn the Pakeha ways, so we could walk side by side with them into the future. And just as I'm thinking about that I'm trying to look at me, the person that I am, I have a bit of that, and I have a bit of that. The main question here is: do I apply different techniques when I'm working with Maori as opposed to anyone, others. I guess I have to say no.

When we went through specific cases and examples, Yvonne concluded that, while her view of her role as counsellor does not change significantly whether she is working with Maori or non-Maori clients, the appropriateness, the fit, of different techniques and micro-skills sometimes varied.

I: What about, with a young Pakeha couple, would you bring in their parents, their family?

Y: With their permission. With their permission, I would certainly try and encourage that as one of the options. I find it, umm, it doesn't work as easily, for whatever reasons, 'cause there are many reasons, as it does for Maori. And maybe that's because. . . I'm not too sure.

Yvonne went on to say that while she likes to prepare herself spiritually, through karakia, before meeting with all clients, she tended to use karakia in sessions with Maori only.

I: What about spiritually? Like, do you work, do you look at spiritual

things in your counselling and work on a spiritual level in counselling? And do you... do or don't do that with Maori and non-Maori clients?

Y: Ae. Ae.

I: Does that mean then, do you ask if you can begin and end with a karakia?

Y: Particularly with Maori only. With Maori only. I have not done that on a one-to-one with a Pakeha. But with a Maori I always ask, if it's appropriate to start. And, and not always they want it. And that's okay. So, I always ask, too, at the end if we can end with just a thank you to whoever. And more often than not, in fact 99 times out of a 100, I find the Maori person does, and I also find that they bow their heads. Why I don't do that with Pakeha? I'm not too sure. I'm not too sure. I've gotta be honest with you here. It's no good trying to bullshit you here. But I don't. I, I, I don't.

As an example of the techniques that she saw as most appropriate and effective for Maori, Yvonne described the work she is involved with 'lighting the spark' of Maoritanga within Maori prison inmates. In light of her understanding of such problems as symptomatic of 'rootlessness', Yvonne sees this as an effective treatment technique for drug and alcohol problems. Yvonne also spoke about the case of a Maori prison inmate who had a problem with violence, and whom she had come to know as part of her involvement with prison visiting and the teaching of te reo and tikanga Maori.

Y: We go into the prisons. . . and I've seen these guys' esteem; and two

of them have been in and out of prison, for the last 20 years they've been like it. And you know that they're never coming back. In fact when they come out of there they're going to play important roles out here.

An interesting talk by one of these guys was, was, within prison, he's meant to be doing anger management because he has been known to be an angry young man, he was 39. So he went along to anger management, from the Pakeha way of doing it, in the prisons, eh. And it didn't meet his needs. In fact he said, "Ahh, this is just a load of rubbish." And what he was saying to me was that, he gets that, in te reo. Um, the koro talks to him about whare tangata,⁴¹ as women; ah, he talks about Papatuanuku. So what the koroua's doing to him, is opening up this other perspective of, ahh, 'cause a lot of his violence has been towards his lady, his respect for the woman. He's actually saying he's getting anger management within te reo classes, but in a different way. So you know, those are the two different, techniques, I guess. . . So different techniques for our people, or different healing processes.

While Yvonne recognised a number of differences between appropriate Maori and Pakeha approaches, understandings and techniques, she did not always see these differences as incompatible with each other. Her comment regarding particular therapeutic approaches and techniques which she experienced as part of her addiction studies course indicates this:

Y: And every time, honestly, every time, I could relate to it in a Maori way, without that, without that title.

⁴¹ The term 'whare tangata' can be used to refer to women. In particular, it refers to the womb, and describes the role of women as the 'house of people'.

One area which Yvonne perceived as highlighting Maori/Pakeha differences concerned aspects of emotional involvement and expression by her in counselling situations. Both Yvonne and her Maori colleague had had some conflict with their Pakeha manager over the question of emotional expression, specifically crying, in counselling sessions. Yvonne saw this as indicative of a clash between what she understood as 'the Pakeha clinical way' of practising counselling, and the way in which she and her colleague approached counselling. This conflict perhaps precipitated some confusion, or re-assessment for Yvonne. It is not clear whether Yvonne's apparent uncertainty is indicative of doubt over her stance on the matter, or merely a difficulty in verbalising her stance.

Conflict between the broad-based, holistic approach that characterise Yvonne's understanding of the origins and functions of drug and alcohol abuse, and the narrower or more focused understanding of her Pakeha senior manager, is also apparent in this extract.

Y: And I do tangi⁴². . . And if I do get red-eyed when I'm with someone, and yet I've been told in the, in the clinical way that's not, that's not acceptable. . . Certain people that are saying, "This is the way you work only." Like when I go into prison, "This is the way you work only. You're clinical. You talk alcohol and drugs." Bullshit! Those guys know more about drugs than you and me put together. And, umm, we [Yvonne and her Maori colleague] had been told, both told in this instance, that, "You don't show emotions." It's from, actually it's from one of our Pakeha higher up in the hierarchy, and he's saying, "This is the way to do it." And actually to me he's saying, "Your way's wrong, and this is the only way." And that's the problem I have with working with the clinical.

⁴² In this context, to tangi is to cry.

Umm, I accept that we have to do stat.s [statistics], and I accept that numbers are important, and, and that's fine. But when it comes to that actual, "Don't show your emotions," well, then maybe I shouldn't be in this work. That's the one area that I really don't go along with. I guess the next step is to really check it out with the people that we work with, if that does happen; which I haven't done. You know, it could upset someone if I, I tangi with them. I don't know, I haven't checked it out. I need to. Actually thank you for this mental note. 'Cause we're there for the people's needs, eh? I actually believe counsellors can be pretty powerful people, and really stuff-up people's lives, eh? I, I really believe that. So we have to be very. . . sort of, having an empathy sort of, justifies to me, you know. If I want to tangi with the person. . . oh. . .

The conflicts that Yvonne and her co-workers have experienced, which Yvonne sees as directly related to working under the auspices of a Pakeha organisation and being held accountable to a Pakeha manager, have encouraged them to seek autonomy. Extensive restructuring within the Aotearoa/New Zealand health system, and the contracting out of health services, have provided an opportunity for their agency to achieve more independence from the present organisational management structures, in day to day operations. Yvonne and her co-worker plan to submit a tender to the Area Health Board⁴³ to provide alcohol and drug treatment services for the region. Towards this end, they hired the services of a consultant to help them in developing a business plan that fitted their own values and visions.

Yvonne's experience on her marae committee and other Maori committees and groups has given her a clear view of structural issues within Maori

⁴³ An Area Health Board was the Crown entity responsible for funding and administering all public health services in a particular region. Area Health Boards have since been disestablished and replaced with Regional Health Authorities.

organisations. Her experiences with the Area Health Board have provided another view. Although Yvonne is excited and optimistic about the opportunities the new contracting options represent, she also has some misgivings.

Y: I'm sure you know what's going on in the health system. I mean it's going to be all business. The heart one side and the. . . we're at the stage now, in our work, where there's the heart side and there's the head side. It's for the future, eh, and you're aware of that aren't you?

I: The contracting and all this?

Y: Oh, right. But we're, we're feeling good about it, that; hey, defining our own roles and what part we play in it, and acknowledging, oh well, I acknowledge, I have not got a business head. I have not that business head in that area that's going to be needed for the future. We actually got in a consultant ourselves; and we paid him ourselves. To actually, to go right back. Not, not saying that those last years of development haven't been worthwhile; and we actually went right back and came up with a mission statement. We got him in ourselves, because we were at that stage where we, we felt let's build this solid base. You know it's like building your kingdom safely, so it'll rise and grow. So we went right back and looked at, evaluated where we'd come from. And we came up with a mission statement. Always focusing on the needs of the client, eh. And, then we had our values and visions, and we went through the whole process, and then coming up with a few result areas we need to look at, and our inputs and outputs, and it was real learning. And the frightening thing for me now, right now is that, always being people-

orientated and hands on, yeah, it's just like I have to develop in this business world; which is dog eat dog, um, oh God. You know I, I, that's the frightening part for me; and yet at the same time, we believe we can build up to be this professional service meeting needs of people out there. And we'll need to bring others on.

I: Do you think it could end up being at the expense of the people focus, to a degree?

Y: God, I hope not. But, well...

I: It's a fear?

Y: Oh, yes, it is actually. And a fear I have I guess, is that my, me myself, as a person. . . I'm on a lot of committees from our marae, a lot of situating committees, and I'm a delegate from our marae. When I've forgotten and thought I'm a better. . . could be a power to myself, I get away from the other side. Because I actually believe and walk the talk that when you're a delegate, onto these other committees for our people; you're actually their ears and their eyes, and your role is to go there and listen, bring back to the people, and get their decision, and then come back. I see us moving in our runanga and our district councils, and our vestries and that, forgetting those things at times. Maybe I'm naive, maybe I'm naive, but I still believe nothing will work in Maoridom unless it's from the people, people first, it's all for the people. And I see us, I don't know. . . I don't understand politics at that high level. I see all these people nominate their candidates, they put them into government, and what I see, from where I sit, people sit up there and they forget the people who put them there. Yeah, I see it happening within our

own runangas and that. But anyway. . . the one structure that works, look at that structure of our tangihanga. I've always said this, where we all need each other: the person who sits on the paepae, and the kuia on the paepae, the person who cleans the toilets, the person who cooks the kai, the person who sets the tables. That whole thing operates, and meets its goals and objectives and all that, because everyone plays their role, eh? Everyone knows their role and they play their role. And the whole thing goes off fine. And it's, you know when I look at its structure, I personally hate the structure of the General Manager here, and the Assistant General Manager, who in turn have assistant managers, it's like God, mini-God, mini-mini-gods. Um, the only structure to me that'll work within Maoridom. . .

Ahh, um, picture this tree that's cut down. This big tree that's cut down. And on the trunk they have all these lines, life-lines of the tree. And right in the core is the heart. Put a structure in place and put all the people into that heart, because to me the people are the heart. And that's how we sort it around, you know our pakeke, kaumatua, or different portfolios all around. I don't believe, in Maoridom, the structure, how it is with the General Manager up there, and assistants will work. I really don't. I keep saying to myself, "Maybe you're naïve", but no, no. He aha te mea nui? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata, eh.⁴⁴ Ae.

⁴⁴ This whakatauaki may be translated as 'What is the greatest (most important) thing? It is people, people, people'.

CONTEXT 3: MAORI MODELS OF SELF

Conceptions of 'Self' Underpin Models of Counselling

What we assume a self is by and large predicts our assumptions about how a self relates to others, takes control, develops, 'ought to' behave, think and feel, and 'goes wrong'. Thus, culturally determined assumptions about the self are beneath all Western cultural, clinical concepts and understandings of normalcy, psychopathology, and psychotherapy (Landrine, 1992, p. 402).

Introduction

As outlined previously, it is apparent that models of counselling are predicated on particular conceptions of self. That is, the way we understand ourselves, others and the world we live in constitutes the base for models of counselling and understandings of mental health and ill-health. Western models of mental health, and categorisations and professions constructed around these, have been linked with a particular conception of self which has been characterised as 'referential' (Landrine, 1992) and as 'self-contained individualism' (Sampson, 1993a).¹

Dominant narratives around the nature of the culture concept characterise culture as a product of social learning, and tend to conceive of contemporary Maori culture in relation to the nature and degree of learning relating to traditional models. Themes such as acculturation then feature in these stories of culturally constituted Maori selves. Within these narratives, Maori become more acculturated and less Maori as they lose traditional knowledges and acquire contemporary, Western knowledges.

This chapter presents 'Maori narratives' those focusing on 'tradition' alongside those with an explicitly contemporary focus. The purpose is to provide a context within which the stories that follow may be framed, and through which the meanings may be made. The narratives contained within this chapter represent some perspectives, and are designed primarily to assist those who do not have access to this context, these meaning webs already. Readers may have their own, alternative narratives through which meanings may be made from the stories which follow.

Maori Models of Self

The route to Maoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach. . . As a person brought up within the culture, who has absorbed the values and attitudes of the Maori, my approach to Maori things is largely subjective...it is important to remember that Maoritanga is a thing of the heart rather than the head. For that reason, analysis is necessary only to make explicit what the Maori understands implicitly in his daily living, feeling, acting and deciding. . . I am concerned then with viewing attitudes from within the culture. To do this the writer must unmask himself for he can only interpret his culture to another in terms of what the institutions, customs, values and mores mean to him. . . For what is Maoritanga? Briefly, it is the . . . view that Maori hold about ultimate reality and meaning.

(Marsden, in King, 1992, p.117)

Jackson (1988) and Marsden (in King, 1992) have discussed the way that misunderstandings about the nature of Maori people and Maoritanga have arisen as a result of an assumption by Western observers, ethnographers and anthropologists that the outward institutions, mechanisms and practices of Maori constituted Maoritanga or Maori culture. For example, the formal welcoming or 'powhiri' of visitors in a marae setting, is a Maori cultural practice which incorporates the performance of various 'cultural forms' including karanga (the call of the women), whaikorero (formal speechmaking), waiata (singing) and hongiri (the pressing of noses in greeting). The ritenga, or mechanisms, procedures and practices associated with powhiri have been taught to numerous students of Maori culture. There has been a presumption that in learning these procedures, one is learning Maori culture. This presumption has resulted in limited examination of the meaning systems and philosophies which provide the framework for the observable institutions, mechanisms and practices. Thus, the tikanga, or philosophical framework and meaning system on which the powhiri process and other cultural forms and practices are based, is left relatively unexamined. Central within Maori meaning systems and philosophies are conceptions of self and other. It is these conceptions that underpin all Maori cultural practices and forms.

¹ These issues are discussed and illustrated in Chapter 3.

whanau (family unit), the hapu (sub-tribe) or the iwi (tribe or people). Individual healthy selfhood is intertwined with and inseparable from the health of the whanau, that of the whanau is, in turn, inseparable from that of the hapu, and so on.

Pere defines healthy Maori selfhood in terms of 'waiora' or total well-being. Traditionally, waiora refers to the seed of life. It is a concept which incorporates the foundations of life and existence and the total well being and development of people (Henare, 1988). Waiora is also the purest form of water, and used in rituals of sanctification, purification and whakanoa.⁸ Thus waiora may be described as, "the source of life, the potential to give life, sustain well being and counteract evil", (Henare, 1988, p. 34)

In Pere's 'Te Wheke' model, the body and head of the octopus represent the whanau, hapu or iwi. Each of the eight tentacles represents a dimension of healthy selfhood, and the numerous suckers on each tentacle represent the many aspects within each dimension. The tentacles of the octopus are overlapping and intertwined to symbolise the intertwined and inseparable nature of the dimensions. The dimensions of the octopus are identified by Pere (1988; 1991) as:

1. wairuatanga
2. mana ake
3. mauri
4. whanaungatanga
5. tinana
6. hinengaro
7. whatumanawa
8. ha a koro ma a kui ma.

The model proposes that sustenance is required for each tentacle/dimension if the organism is to attain waiora. The eyes of the octopus represent the waiora, they reflect the amount of sustenance each tentacle has been able to gain and contribute to the whole.

The octopus as a symbol of healthy Maori selfhood contains a number of implicit features. It is worth noting that the octopus has the ability to squirt black ink to disguise and protect itself. The octopus can survive, but not function at its maximum level, without a tentacle or the use of individual

te oranga o te whanau
(the health of the family)

Rose Rangimarie
Te Pikinga II (Incorp
President.

THE OCTOPUS as a symbol

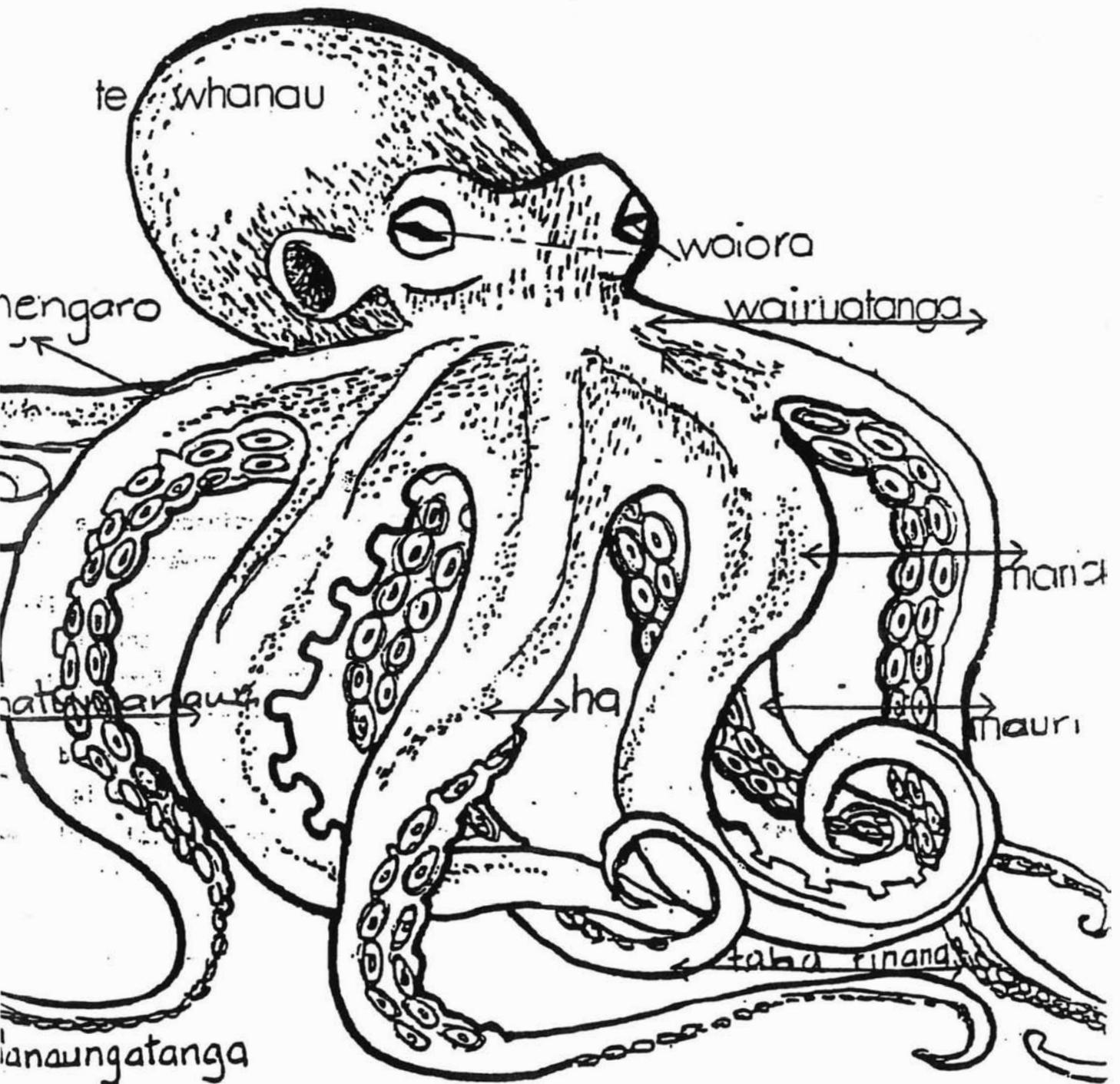


Figure 1

194a

suckers. The octopus is able to move and change form in a fluid manner in its natural environment, but becomes incapacitated when removed from this environment. In addition, the octopus has a sharp beak hidden from view on the underside of its head. The beak can inflict a painful bite. Hence, the octopus as a symbol is not totally benign.

Pere's model along with other models of healthy Maori selfhood, leaves a lot of room for readers to 'fill in the gaps'. As previously noted, the simple translation of terms that have meaning within a particular culturally constituted meaning system cannot convey the intricacies of the webs of meaning within which the terms are embedded. Therefore, I attempt below to elucidate the dimensions symbolised in Te Wheke, and some of the aspects within these dimensions. In doing so, I interweave the narratives of Pere and others with my own story of self. The process of selecting aspects of the various dimensions can result only in the presentation of a partial picture; there will inevitably be more left unsaid than said. Therefore, the probability is that, in drawing out some of the threads which make up the 'webs of meaning' constituting Maori conceptions of self, other and the nature of our world, the web will lose some elements of its pattern and structure.

Dimension 1: Wairuatanga

Concepts

Translated by Pere (1988; 1991) as 'spirituality', wairuatanga literally is the flow of two waters. Wairuatanga may be conceived of as analogous to two streams merging as a flowing river, with associated ebbs, eddies and currents. Self, parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren, descendants, other whanau and groups, the past and the future, our relationship with events and the environment may be conceived of in terms of the flow of the wairua. Te taha wairua or the wairuatanga dimension is considered by Durie (1985a, p. 483) to be the most basic and essential dimension of Maori health.

Olsen (1993) cites Best (1974) in equating the term 'wairua' with shadow. This is the shadow of the person that engages with the spiritual realm and which guides and warns the physical self of impending danger.

Origin of wairua

⁸ The removal of tapu.

Maori narratives of creation begin with Te Korekore. Te Korekore is:

the realm between being and not being...the realm of potential being. This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the womb from which all created things proceed. (Marsden, 1975, in King 1992, pp. 134-5).

In the beginning, Io existed alone in the realm of Te Korekore....Nothing existed before Io for he alone was pre-existent as Io-matua-kore the parentless, as Io-matua the first parent, as Io-mau the precursor, as Io-pukenga the first cause, as Io-taketake the foundation of all things. He held intercourse within himself, between the ihomatua of his active and positive thought, and between the ihomariri of his passive and negative self...His essence flowed forth to fertilise Te Korekore. Then he spoke his command and the essence of the night was increased. He spoke again and...on succeeding commands the iho of the heavens, of light, of the rock foundation and the earth, and of the waters were increased. Thus were the essential foundations of the universe laid.

At that time, only the seed of potential being was established and there was no form or substance for this seed of creation gestated in Te Korekore. Then Io activated himself once more and he recited (tapatapa) the names of the different foundations of things: of the night and of light, of the earth and sky and waters, of the depths and heights, of the expanse of the skies and the borders of the seas. Thus things became differentiated and took form...

Having created the nights and Hawaiiki, Io brought into being the first atua, Rangi-awatea and Papa-tua-nuku, the male and female principles out of which all things derived. Awatea was the atua of space and light, and the first heaven was created by him on the foundations established by Io. It was known as the heaven of Watea (Te Rangi A Watea). But having completed the first heaven, he looked below him and saw the spirit of Papa-tua-nuku (Mother Earth), and descended to cohabit with her. Out of this union sprang their firstborn, Tane and the other atua after him: Tangaroa,

Rongo, Tumatauenga, Haumia-tike-tike, Rua-i-moko, and Tawhirimatea.

...Rangi continued to cling to Papa-tu-a-nuku...By this act, he doomed his offspring to dwell in perpetual darkness. Io...sent the spirit of rebellion to stir the children to revolt...Tane conceived the idea of standing on his hands and Rangi was flung into the skies.

Tane...descended to the borders of Hawaiki Tapu where the sacred winds, the mouth-piece of Io, commissioned him to continue with the tasks of completing the heavens. So the heavens were completed and became known as the great heavens of Tane (Rangi-nui-a-Tane). ...Awatea had been summoned by Io (prior to Tane's commission), deprived of his mana and banished into the night realm. It was the mana from Awatea that was given to Tane...At the same time as Tane received the mana to complete the heavens, Io delegated through Tane various tasks for his brothers. So they became the regents of Io to continue creation in the departments of nature. Thus Tangaroa became the atua of the sea, Rongo the atua of vegetation, Rua-i-moko⁹ divided the land asunder (earthquakes and volcanic activity), Tawhiri took over the meteorological department,¹⁰ and Tu took over the war office.¹¹ Tane reserved two departments for himself on earth, the forest and the birds, and the creation of man. The first human created was Hine-ahu-one (the maid that emerged out of the dust). Tane took clay, moistened it with water, and sculptured the form of a female. He then infused the breath of his nostrils (hongiri) into her and she came alive.

(Marsden, 1975, in King, 1992, pp. 130-132).

Tane and Hine-ahu-one produced a daughter, Hine-titama, the dawn maid. Tane later became the husband of Hine-titama and they produced several children. However, there came a time when Hine-titama wanted to know who she was and where she was from. She asked her husband, and from his reply realised that he was, in fact, her father. Overcome with shame and anger she fled to the realm of the night. There she became Hine-Nui-te-Po, guardian of

⁹ Also known as Ruamoko.

¹⁰ That is the winds and the elements. Tawhiri is more commonly known as Tawhirimatea.

¹¹ That is the arena of war and conflict.

the underworld, where she waits to welcome her children to the world of the spirit.

It is through this shared whakapapa that Maori carry elements of the essence of Io, are inextricably linked into the wider and primeval spiritual system. Our common line of descent, through Ranginui and Papatuanuku, Tane, Hine Ahu One, and Hine-Nui-Te-Po, is from the spiritual essence of the atua.

Te Reo Maori

Pere refers specifically to Maori language as an aspect of wairuatanga, as something emanating from and connected to the spiritual realm. It was through the word, te reo Maori, that Io initiated the creation of the universe and the beginning of whakapapa. The use of te reo Maori, particularly in the form of incantations, maintains a connection with and route into the spiritual system. The wailing and cries associated with death alert those that dwell in the spiritual realm to the impending arrival of newly deceased. Similarly, the sound of the karanga (call of the woman) penetrates into the spiritual realm, invoking currents in the spiritual system to flow through the people and process to which the call pertains.

Maori language reflects the subordination of the temporal to the cosmic spiritual process. In the Maori language, time is demarcated by sequences of processes and events, thus time is a continuous stream with "the situation below ordered by an ideal determination from above by Io as origin of the cosmic process" (Marsden, 1975, in King, 1992, p.136).

Whakapapa

The notion of whakapapa, commonly translated into the English language as genealogy, incorporates another aspect of wairuatanga. Literally defining one in terms of one's relationship with, descent from and return to Papatuanuku (generally rendered into English as 'land' or 'earth mother', but according to Marsden ("rock foundation beyond expanse, the infinite": in King, 1992, p. 135), whakapapa embodies the essence of our relationship with our spiritual mother and others of her offspring. Whakapapa is definitive of our relationship with the mana and tapu of the atua and our tupuna; it is what constitutes us as spiritual beings. It is the foundation of mana wahine and mana tane and it enables us

to establish spiritual, as well as cognitive, emotional and physical connection with others who emanate from her. Durie (1985a) considers land (Papatuanuku) to be of central spiritual significance. Papatuanuku provides:

a symbol of continuity with those who have passed on and respect for land augments one's strength...the health history of Maori people would confirm the central importance of land to health (Durie, 1985a, p.483).

Whakapapa is sometimes defined primarily, even solely, in terms of 'knowledge of' and 'learning about' one's genealogy. Such views relate to the logocentrism and privileging of cognitivism inherent in Western philosophy and epistemology and expressed in the culture concept. Cognitive knowledge and verbal expression of whakapapa, is distinct from whakapapa itself. To know one's whakapapa is to know oneself and others intimately. However, whakapapa is embodied in Maori individuals, whanau, hapu and iwi, whether or not one 'knows' or has 'learnt' it.

Tapu

A mixture of English words have been used in attempts to translate the meaning of tapu. These include sacred, holy and unclean (Marsden, 1992, in King (Ed.), p. 119; Barlow, 1991, p. 128). Williams (1971, p. 385) defines tapu in terms of:

1. Under religious or superstitious restriction; a condition affecting persons, places and things and arising from innumerable causes. Anyone violating tapu contracted a hara, and was certain to be overtaken by calamity.
2. Beyond one's power, inaccessible.
3. Sacred (mod.)
4. Ceremonial restriction, quality or condition of being subject to such restriction.

Jackson (1988) sees tapu as a complex institution having two major facets. First, Jackson considers that tapu was:

the major cohesive force in Maori life because every person was regarded as being tapu, or sacred. Each life was a sacred gift which linked a person to the ancestors and hence the wider tribal network. This link fostered the personal security...of an individual because it established the belief that any harm to him (sic) was also disrespect to that network, which would ultimately be remedied. It also imposed on an individual the obligation to abide by the norms of behaviour established by the ancestors. In this respect, tapu firmly placed a person in an interdependent relationship with his whanau, hapu, and iwi. The behavioural guidelines of the ancestors were monitored by the living relatives, and the wishes of an individual were constantly balanced against the greater mana and concerns of the group.

(Jackson, 1988, p. 41)

Second, Jackson (1988, p. 41; citing Taylor, 1870, p. 163) considers tapu to be, "a religious observance established for political purposes".

Marsden, likewise, sees tapu as having connotations which may be described in English terms as:

religious and legal...A person, place or thing is dedicated to a deity and by that act is set aside or reserved for the sole use of the deity. The person or object is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable, no longer to be put to common use. It is this untouchable quality that is the main element of tapu. In other words, the object is sacred and any profane use is sacrilege, breaking of the law of tapu.

From the purely legal aspect, it suggests a contractual relationship has been made between the individual and his deity, whereby a person dedicates himself or an object to the service of a deity in return for protection against malevolent forces and the power to manipulate his environment to meet needs and demands. The idea of manipulating the environment is based on the Maori view that there are three orders of reality - the physical or natural, the psychic and the spiritual. Whilst the natural realm is normally subject to physical laws, these can be affected, modified and even

changed by the application of the higher laws of the psychic and spiritual.

(Marsden, in King, 1992, pp. 119-120)

Henare (1988) distinguishes between intrinsic tapu and extensions of tapu. He sees intrinsic tapu as: "being-with potentiality for power...tapu expresses that once a person, or thing is, then because of its existence, it has a real potentiality for power" (Henare, 1988, pp. 29-30).

Like Jackson (1988), Marsden (1975, in King, 1992) and others, Henare (1988) notes the very close relationship between mana and tapu, and the fact that all people are tapu, although the degree of tapu, as the degree of mana, varies.

Extensions of tapu to things that are not intrinsically tapu, according to Henare, "often incorporate(s) ideas of restriction and separation. Things are tapu and therefore sacred and sometimes restricted or forbidden, not the reverse" (Henare, 1988, p. 30).

Wai (water) plays a major part both in the consecration or dedication of people or things under the auspices of the atua through tohi rites, and in the cleansing, removal or neutralising (whakanoa) of tapu.

Tapae and Tohi Rites

Tapae is literally to put forward or offer up, tohi is to endue (Marsden, in King, 1992, p. 124). These signify aspects of contractual relationship with the atua by which tapu is established, and persons or objects become imbued with mana. The tohi rite is composed of two distinct but complementary processes which may be described as the dedication and the consecration.

The act of dedication (tapae) consisted of offering up a person, place or thing to the service of the deity, a declaration of the purpose intended and a definition of the future role of the object dedicated. It was henceforth sacred and untouchable, the object was now tapu. It could not be put to profane use...

The act of dedication was followed by an act of consecration - an act of praise extolling the power and virtue of the atua who were

then invoked by name and petitioned to endue the object with mana. The prayers were accompanied by a sacramental act (tohi). Whilst the tohunga might participate in prayers of consecration, the consecration was the prerogative of the atua. It was they who completed the rite, provided man fulfilled the conditions. The dedication was man's part, the consecration the response of the atua. Since the dedication was sacrificial, in the sense that it was offering a person's life or possession to the service of the atua, the sacrifice was accepted and consecrated by the bestowal of mana.

The bestowing of mana on people differed from that on things or places. In the former case, the spirit of the atua fell upon the person and filled or possessed him. The spirit of the atua guided and directed him, subject to his continuing assent. This was a covenant relationship which could be dissolved by either party not fulfilling the terms of the agreement. In the latter case, the atua placed guardian spirits over places or things to watch over the property dedicated to them. These guardian spirits (kaitiaki) manifested themselves by appearing in the form (aria) of animals, birds or other natural objects... (Marsden, in King, M., 1992, p. 120).

Marsden notes elsewhere that the Maori understandings of the sacrament differ from Western Christian understandings. In Western Christendom, a sacrament is 'an outward visible sign of setting forth and pledging an inward spiritual grace'. To the Maori a sacrament is simply, 'the means by which mana (charisma, grace, spiritual power) is transmitted to humans'. (Marsden, in King, 1992, p. 125)

There are a variety of tohi rites in relation to different purposes to be fulfilled; for instance, the iriiri or baptism rites in which a person, usually a child, is dedicated to a particular atua or several atua and consecrated to their service, thereby being placed under the tapu and mana of those atua. Tohi whakahaa or tohi mauri (endowment of mauri [life principle] by infusion [whakahaa] of the breath), te whakapaa (may be used by a father before death to impart the family mana, usually to the eldest son). (Marsden, in King, M., 1992, pp. 125-127)

Whakanoa

While, according to Barlow (1991), nothing can be totally free of all tapu, the condition of extreme tapu, which serves a protective function, also carries with it enormous restriction. The flip side of the sacred condition of tapu, is the condition of noa. Henare (1988) describes 'noa' as normality and (comparative) freedom from tapu.

Noa opposes extensions of tapu, not intrinsic tapu...it is possible to be intrinsically tapu and to be noa concurrently. Noa and tapu may be opposites but not negations, rather complementary opposites with little meaning in isolation. Both tapu and noa encompass positive and negative aspects in themselves. Both men and women have their own intrinsic tapu.

Women are especially powerful in making things and activities noa...This is the mana and the tapu of women, in that they have the ability to free areas, things and people from restrictions imposed by tapu. Women are not noa, as is often thought, but they are agents to whakanoa - to make things noa. This is their tapu and they are tohunga because of their own specific areas of activity (Henare, M., 1988, pp. 30-31).

In order to whakanoa, that is to counteract the effects of tapu by cleansing, neutralising or propitiating the atua, the person or object was withdrawn from their immediate sphere, and a variety of 'pure' rites employed. Depending on the nature of the tapu to be made whakanoa, a number of practices served to negate the tapu. Water, in particular, was, and is, used to cleanse oneself after contact with tapu things. Thus, in contemporary times, there is water provided at the boundary of Maori cemeteries, so that those who enter this tapu domain may cleanse themselves on leaving. Henare (1988) would class this as an 'extension of tapu' domain, that is, an extension of the intrinsic tapu of those that lie there. Similarly, anywhere there is contact with the tapu of the dead, water will be provided to cleanse and neutralise. Where there is no water immediately available, earth that is noa may be used to cleanse.

Cooked food is also used in the process of neutralising tapu. The mauri of the plant or food is released through the cooking process, thereby making the food noa. As the condition of noa, like tapu, can be transmitted by contact, contact

with cooked food neutralises tapu. In cases where an individual is afflicted through a breach of tapu, as a consequence of a direct challenge to the mana of the atua, cold cooked food (in which the mauri has already been released) passed over the head restores the condition of whakanoa.

Women are also able to whakanoa. High-born (rangatira) women are particularly powerful in neutralising tapu. The power of whakanoa is particularly associated with the vulva. Thus, that which passes between the legs and beneath the vulva of a woman, is made noa.

The balance of tapu and noa is complex and underpins many activities and implications of Maori life. Both the power of tapu, and the power to whakanoa are closely associated with mana.

Marsden sees many contemporary Maori practices such as not sitting on pillows, washing clothing separately from food-related linen such as table-cloths and tea-towels, and the avoidance of placing hats on tables or passing food over the head, as precautionary practices associated with the maintenance of mana and tapu. Durie (1994) sees the foundations of tapu as having a very practical base in physical and social health practices. The separation of anything associated with bodily discharges from food, cleansing after contact with people and articles associated with death, forbidding access to dangerous areas of sea, lake, river or land, and to unfinished buildings, all serve to protect physical health. Tapu may also be seen as a means of maintaining social order and balance in relationships between men and women.

Mate Maori and Makutu

The ultimate causes of mate Maori are spiritual, the effects are physical, mental, emotional and spiritual. Mate Maori can occur through two basic channels: attacks by spiritual forces and through human intervention by means of kanga (curse) and makutu (witchcraft).

Mate Maori may be caused through an offence against the spiritual realm. When a particular person, area or object is tapu, or when a rahui is placed on a particular area, activity or thing, the protection and authority of the spiritual realm is invoked. If a person then breaks the tapu or violates the rahui, he/she

affronts the mana of the kaitiaki (spiritual guardians) and of those who have placed the tapu or rahui in association with them.

Urupa (burial grounds) and anything associated with death are particularly tapu. Disrespect for this, the ultimate expression of which is to disturb the remains of those buried there, or failure to whakanoa or cleanse oneself and neutralise tapu appropriately, may mean 'infection' with the tapu of the dead, and may bring forth wrath from the spiritual realm. Mate Maori is the consequence.

Certain taonga (treasures) have mana and tapu. This is consistent with the view of all elements and inanimate objects having mauri (a life force or essence). This is the reason that, people who gain possession of certain taonga, which they should not possess, are likely to be afflicted with mate Maori. In addition, failure to fulfil appropriately the obligations to the atua associated with the dedication of the tapu object to them, that is failure to protect the tapu of such an object, heralds trouble and misfortune.

Mate Maori can affect individuals in a number of ways: physical illness may result, death may ensue, there may be 'psychological illness', personality changes and unpleasant experiences may occur, chronic 'bad luck' may be experienced, accidents and injury (aitua) may afflict the individual and/or family. The effects of mate Maori may be short or long term, affliction may be acute and extreme or chronic and insidious. It can pass through the generations. Mate Maori may relate to an attack on the mauri of the person or family, and a consequent lessening of the cohesion of the physical and spiritual dimensions of the person or family. If the cohesive force of the mauri is extinguished entirely, death results.

Tohunga

The usual understanding of 'tohunga' in English terms is as 'expert' or as 'priest'. These understandings, however, are indicative of the tendency to attribute meaning in relation to Western interpretation of the observable behaviours, while overlooking the epistemological base of the term and the associated behaviours.

The root of tohunga is the word tohu (sign or manifestation). A tohu is a sign sent through the spiritual realm as a manifestation in the natural realm. It is a

means by which the spiritual realm is in communication with those on the natural plane, and has efficacy on this plane. The term tohunga then is more correctly understood as; “a chosen one or appointed one...a person chosen or appointed by the atua to be their representative and the agent by which they manifested their operations in the natural world by signs of power” (Marsden, in King (Ed.) 1992, pp. 128-129).

There are many types of tohunga, a tohunga whakairo, for instance is understood in the English medium as an expert carver, a tohunga ta moko as an expert tattooist. Within Maori webs of meaning, however, a tohunga whakairo is one chosen by the atua to express their power through carving, and a tohunga ta moko is one chosen by the atua to engage in the tapu act of ta moko (tattooing), and whose life is dedicated to this activity. Thus tohunga are channels through which the atua express themselves through particular mediums on the earthly plane.

Death

There are a number of traditions and narratives around death. Presented below are some better known narratives and a summary of key features of Maori beliefs in relation to death.

Hine-titama was the daughter of Tane and Hine-ahu-one. She is known as the first true human, constituting “a fusion of atually and earthly elements”, and “mother of mankind” (Kahukiwa & Grace, 1984, p. 70). Tane took Hine-titama as his wife and together they had several children. When Hine-titama realised that Tane was her father, she left him to care for their children in life, while she travelled to the underworld. There she became known as Hine-nui-te-Po, and there she remains to care for her children and descendants in death.

Maori narratives speak of the period after death as the time when the wairua of the deceased has the opportunity to linger and to farewell people and places of significance before making the journey to Te-rerenga-wairua (the jumping off place) from whence he or she descends, through the sea to the underworld.¹² Once in the underworld, the wairua is reunited with tupuna and loved ones and dwells in the company of those who have passed on to this world.

¹² In some narratives, there is more than one underworld, each with distinct names and characters associated with them. However, all are associated with water.

Maori narratives contain numerous instances of visits back and forth between the world of the dead and the world of the living. However, those of Te Po are more likely to visit the world of the living than vice versa. Taranga, mother of Maui, was said to live in both worlds, and was followed by Maui to the underworld on occasion.

Maui himself, although remembered for his great feats, met his demise as he attempted to cheat death and to attain immortality. Maui's plan was to return by stealth through the birth passage of a slumbering Hine-nui-te-po and eat her heart (Kahukiwa & Grace, 1984). In this way, he would reverse the process of birth and death and consume the mana of Hine-nui-te-Po for himself. However, Hine-nui-te-Po woke up and crushed Maui between her thighs as he began his attempt, and so, in his pursuit of immortality, Maui died.

The tangihanga is sometimes described as a bastion of Maori culture and tradition. In modern times, the deceased is usually taken to a marae to which she or he belongs, or sometimes he or she will spend time on several marae that she or he is connected with. Sometimes, the deceased is kept at home or at a community facility. During the three days (or thereabouts) before burial, friends, family and those who are connected in some way with the deceased have the opportunity to cry over, talk to and touch the deceased, to resolve matters that need to be resolved and to speak words of farewell and remembrance. Tears and wailing at this time should flow freely.

In the past, some Maori did not permit photographs to be taken of themselves because of a belief that, in making a likeness, one's wairua or mauri could be taken or weakened. In modern times, although this belief is not overtly prevalent, it is customary to surround the coffin of the deceased with photographs of family members and tupuna who have passed on. This custom has echoes of recalling the wairua of the tupuna to share in the grieving and care for the dead. It also serves as a reminder of the position of the deceased as a part of a whakapapa and whanau, which includes the living and the dead.

In the past the bones of the deceased were sometimes reclaimed some time after death, and taken around to those that he or she had connection with to be recalled and grieved over again. This also served the function of reinforcing connections between whanau and hapu and allowing the whanau of the deceased to reciprocate some of the generosity shown them at the time of their bereavement. In modern times, the process of kawemate, where those who

attended the tangihanga are visited by the whanau and hapu of the deceased, who are usually carrying a photograph of him or her, may serve a similar function. Sometimes a photograph of the deceased may be presented to hang in the meeting house of particular marae.

The period around death and tangihanga and practices associated with this are surrounded by extreme tapu, as are burial grounds. Water, food and karakia are used to cleanse the living of tapu associated with death and to remove the tapu of places and things associated with the deceased.

There are a number of themes in the narratives featured here that are worth repeating:

- Narratives and traditions around death affirm the existence of spiritual realities. They reinforce the view that the realm of the living (of Papatuanuku, the land) exists alongside the realm of the dead (of Te Po, under the waters) and the realm of the atua (of Ranginui, the sky).
- Journeys, communication and penetration between the three realms does occur.
- Hine-nui-te-po, as the embodiment of women, represents the beginning of life, conception and childbirth and also death. As such, her power is unassailable.
- Water is the medium of life before birth and after death.
- Death does not represent the total end of life. The deceased do not end, other than in a physical sense, but pass over into another realm. They also live on through their descendants and younger relatives.
- Rituals around death reinforce the location of the deceased and whanau members in an interwoven string of connections and relationships between living and dead.

Metge summarises classical and contemporary Maori beliefs in the following way:

physical and spiritual reality...are irrevocably linked in a web of reciprocal relationships in a single cosmic system. Everything that happens in this World of Men is seen as having a spiritual as well as a physical explanation, cosmic, as well as earthly significance.

(Metge, 1976, p. 58)

Christianity

Maori adopted Christianity in large numbers during the 19th Century. This is often attributed to the fact that there were many parallels between traditional Maori spiritual beliefs and practices, and those that existed within the Christian faith. The notion of a single, all-powerful, omnipresent and parentless creator of the universe was an initial point of similarity. The dedication of people to the service of a god through christening and baptism, and the association of the naming process with this act, reflects principles and practices strongly reminiscent of the traditional tohi and iriri rites. The Christian practice of communion, incorporating the symbolic ingestion of the body and blood of Christ has parallels with the traditional practice of kairarawa or cannibalism. Maori practiced ritual cannibalism in the belief that, in consuming certain parts of the body, of those who had great mana particularly, one ingested the life force, psychic and spiritual power, tapu, mana and ihi, thus supplementing one's own resources. (Marsden, in King (Ed.) (1992) p. 127).

In addition to these similarities, however there were a number of disjunctions between the Christianity brought by the missionaries, and traditional Maori spirituality. In traditional Maori spiritual understandings, spirituality and spiritual beings are embodied in the land, seas, waterways, vegetation, sea creatures, birds and animals; that is in the natural environment. So there exists in traditional Maori spirituality a clear connection between atua and the physical environment. These connections are tangible, the spiritual elements in the physical environment can be seen and felt. In addition, Maori genealogies link all Maori people back to 'atua'. This means that genealogies and the people that feature in them are themselves spiritual, or 'of atua'.

The missionary Christian doctrine introduced the notion of a single God, and one which was unseen. The missionary message of free-will and choices, individual responsibility and accountability conflicted with traditional Maori emphases on communal responsibility and accountability, and connection, direction and pre-determination through atua and their embodiments. Missionary attitudes also tended to define traditional Maori spiritual beliefs and practices as evil or satanic.¹³

¹³ See The Family Centre (1997) for a discussion of Christianity in relation to Samoan spiritual beliefs.

A further feature of nineteenth century Western Christianity, was the separation of the physical dimension from the spiritual dimension. This separation has been institutionalised in Aotearoa/New Zealand society through the systems and structures of Western science and medicine claiming authority over issues of physical well being, and Churches claiming authority for spiritual well being.

There has perhaps been an incorrect assumption that in adopting a Christian God, traditional atua and spiritual beliefs are rejected. In many cases, the Christian God is simply added to other aspects within the Maori spiritual realm. However, the satanisation of traditional Maori spirituality has led, in effect, to Maori spirituality largely losing its 'voice'. That is, while Maori spirituality may persist in some form, and Maori spiritual beliefs may be held, they have been rarely spoken about openly and in public forums. In addition, the inability of the majority of Maori to speak the Maori language has perhaps left many with a limited vehicle for the expression of non-Western spiritual beliefs and experiences.

Thus, in summary, for Maori, traditionally "the cultural milieu is rooted both in the temporal world and the transcendent world, this brings a person into intimate relationship with atua and his universe." (Marsden in King, 1992, p. 137).

Spiritual well-being is often considered the most vital dimension of Maori health and well-being, and the dimension most often ignored or overlooked by Western health professionals (Cherrington, 1994; Durie, 1984; 1985a). It is clear that

the Maori does not, and never has accepted the...view of the universe which regards it as a closed system into which nothing can impinge from without. The Maori conceives of it as at least a two-world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual, and the spiritual (which is the higher order) interpenetrates the material, physical world of Te Ao Marama. . . while the Maori thought of the physical sphere as subject to natural laws, these could be affected, modified and even changed by the application of the higher laws of the spiritual order...In some senses...the Maori had a three-world view, of potential being, symbolised by Te Korekore, the world of becoming,

portrayed by Te Po, and the world of being, Te Ao Marama. (Marsden, in King, 1992, p. 134).

The tension between Maori and Western world views and spiritual institutions has continued for two centuries, and has been reflected in the imposition of Western institutions, practices and ideologies. However, it may be that Maori continue to perceive and respond to themselves, each other and their environments, at some level and to some extent in accordance with the tenets of traditional spirituality.

Mana Ake

In or around the year 1920, Herries Beattie conducted a series of interviews with Teone Taare Tikao, a tohunga and authority on South Island Maori lore and tradition. During the course of one interview, Tikao discussed his understandings of the nature of 'the mana of the Maori.' His words are worth repeating here as an illustration of the indescribable and all-consuming nature of mana.

There is a word, a short word in the Maori language, a word of four letters, yet it expresses something which is very hard to put into English. Even the interpreter in the New Zealand Parliament could not translate it into English. When I was in Wellington in 1891 the interpreter asked me to explain it to him, but I did not feel called upon to do so. I was young then, only 41 or 42 years of age, and did not see why I should reveal my learning on the matter...

Mana is only a word but no one can wash it out. In one way I might say it is Atua - whose power no one can stop. The Power of Atua - that is the Pakeha side of mana.

But to the ancient Maori mana was a fire which no one can put out...

From the beginning of the world it goes on - it cannot be rubbed out... Mana is all around the world, and Tawhirimatea, Ruaimoko, Maui and others are in the centre of the circle and get hold of this

mana and direct the elements and make the weather. The Hine family hold the winds by mana. No one can rub it out. Maui is not dead, but Hine-nui-te-Po (atuadess of death) took his mana and it still exists. The atua stand back to back doing the work of the world-good or bad- and doing it by mana, which cannot be put out or overcome...Mana holds from the beginning to the end of the world and it keeps the world going. Personal mana can be overcome and annihilated, but that of the atua cannot. (Tikao, in Tikao and Beattie, 1939; 1990, pp. 95-96)

In reference to the dimension that she calls 'mana ake', Pere (1988; 1991) emphasises the development of a positive identity and appreciation of one's absolute uniqueness. She sees this dimension as incorporating a balance between individual and group identity.

In attempting to translate a sense of the essence of mana into the English language, words such as "authority and control; influence, prestige and power; psychic force; effectual, binding, authoritative, having influence or power; vested with effective authority; be effectual, take effect; be avenged" (Williams, 1971, p. 172); and "prestige, authority, control and status" (Rolleston, 1989) are typically employed. Power in this sense should be thought of in terms of 'empowerment' rather than 'power over'.

Henare (1988) considers mana to be a fundamental tenet of Maori conceptions of self and worldview:

...without an understanding of mana and its related concepts there is no pathway into the Maori world view. In the Maori world, virtually every activity...has a link with the maintenance of and enhancement of mana. It is central to the integrity of the person and the group.

Mana is always closely linked to the power and authority of the spiritual realm. Marsden describes mana in this way:

In the Maori sense, since authority is derived from the gods, mana as authority means 'lawful permission delegated by the gods to their human agent to act on their behalf and in accordance with their revealed will'. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by

the gods, man remains always the agent or channel - never the source of mana. (Marsden, in King, M (Ed.), 1992, pp. 118-119).

There are a number of ways in which mana may be conceived, acquired and maintained.

Mana Atua

Mana Atua is the enduring, indestructible and sacred power of the Atua. According to Barlow (1991, p. 61), mana atua is "...the sacred fire that is without beginning and without end...known as the ahi komau which is given to those who conform to sacred ritual and principles. In modern times the term has taken on various meanings, including the power of the Atua."

We all have potential mana Atua within us and around us through our connection with the Atua. Some, and in some times and situations, have a stronger connection in this aspect than others.

Mana Tupuna

Mana tupuna is mana that one is born with, and relates to whakapapa. It is a consequence of descent from certain tupuna (ancestors) and may be nurtured and sustained or weakened and minimised as a result of marriages and individual or group actions. Mana tupuna is shared to an extent by the members of particular whanau, hapu and iwi, and forms one of the links in the relationships between members of these groups. The actions of any member of a whanau may impact on the shared mana tupuna of the whanau, hapu and iwi. According to Barlow (1991, p. 61), "This is the power and authority handed down through chiefly lineage....those who inherit mana must carry out the various rituals and duties to maintain this power handed down from the ancient ones." Walker, (in Melbourne 1995, p. 26) considers that "a rangatira...was descended from the ancestor after whom the hapu was named and whose whakapapa could be traced back to revered ancestors and ultimately to the atua."

Mana Whenua

Mana whenua relates to the mutual relationship between the people of the land and the land of the people. According to Barlow (1991, pp. 61-62), once again:

This is the power associated with the possession of lands; it is also the power associated with the ability of the land to produce the bounties of nature. When the world was created, the atua implanted this procreative power within the womb of Mother Earth. By the power of mana mauri all things have potential for growth and development towards maturity.

The status of mana whenua carries with it an element of power and authority in relation to the care and use of the land, the benefits of the spiritual power of the land and the control of events and processes on the land.

While all associated with the land had mana whenua, the mana of the people and the land was most particularly held by the rangatira. According to Walker (in Melbourne, 1995, p. 26), the rangatira

held mana whenua - sovereignty over tribal lands - and were channels to receive goods and services for redistribution amongst their hapu...With their land base gone, the chiefs were totally disempowered and, although Maori leaders today are still referred to as rangatira, the fundamental base for their chieftainship has gone. Land is the very basis of Maori, of mana Maori motuhake, of tribal sovereignty. So once the land goes, the mana of the chief goes with it.

The power and authority accorded people in relation to a particular rohe, or area of land, is balanced by the responsibilities and obligations of the people in regard to their rohe and those who stand within it. Barlow (1991, p. 63) divides the word manaaki as mana-a-ki, to more clearly illustrate the relationship between mana and ki or the satisfied or satiated stomach and person. For instance, as mana whenua, whanau, hapu and iwi with the leadership of rangatira, have a responsibility to manaaki their manuhiri. That is they must provide sustenance and hospitality to those who visit as friends within their rohe. This may mean in various circumstances, an obligation to provide food, a place of rest, respect, stimulating conversation and entertainment for visitors to homes, marae or the general area. The resources of Papatuanuku in the rohe are expected to be employed in the process of manaaki manuhiri. Failure to

provide appropriately for visitors, whether through a failure to adequately protect and utilise the resources of Papatuanuku and her offspring, or through neglect of appropriate process upsets the balance of power, and undermines mana whenua status. This then provides an opportunity to disrespect or challenge the status of the iwi mana whenua. In the case of hostile incursions or challenges to the mana whenua status of the iwi, the responsibility of those who claim mana whenua status is to act as kaitiaki (guardians) to protect and defend the land and her resources, for the future generations.

The relationship of people to the land is symbolically affirmed on the birth of a child by the customary practice of burying the whenua (the placenta), as the source of nourishment in the womb and a living entity, within the whenua (land) to which the child belongs. This is the basis of turangawaewae, which ensures that the child has this place to stand as one inextricably linked with this land. On death, the relationship is once again affirmed through the return of the tupapaku (cadaver) to Papatuanuku.

Manuka Henare has commented on the practice by Pakeha medical practitioners of burning the placenta of new born babies. He proposes that Maori would not have done this formerly, and should not accede to this practice as it is "against the mana of that child, it would destroy the child's mauri" (Henare 1988 p.387). While a corpse could be burnt without affecting its mana, because the mauri was already gone, the placenta (whenua) of a child should be buried in the earth (whenua), so that the mana and mauri of the child will be preserved.

The indivisible and mutually dependent relationship between the people and the land is the basis on which Durie (1985c) claims that violence against the land is as destructive to the mana and wairua of the people of that land, the tangata whenua, as it is to the land itself.

Mana Tangata

Mana tangata relates to personal achievement and qualities. Barlow (1991; p.62) describes mana tangata as "the power acquired by an individual according to his or her own ability and effort to develop skills and gain knowledge in particular areas." Mana tangata may be seen as contingent on personal achievement and personal qualities, but is not a function of the

achievements themselves, rather it is a function of how the achievements of the individual contribute to the mana of the group to which he or she belongs. Concomitant with this is a recognition of the mana of the individual in relation to the group. Mana tangata is related to service to and on behalf of one's people. Henare, (1988) considers that "The mana of individuals can only be understood if there is an appreciation of the relationship between that person and te whanau, te hapu and te iwi. Mana is a group enhanced property, it belongs to the group." Thus the work of the individual who regularly provides the particular foods of the area for visitors, of those who smooth the way for positive relations with others through attention to the formalities of marae process, those who contribute to the well-being and mana of tamariki, whanau, hapu and iwi in a variety of ways, contribute to the mana of the group in relation to others, and of themselves within the group. The achievement of power, status and success in a Western sense, for example through academic, political or financial achievements, does not equate with mana tangata. Individual talents and advantages are to be returned for the benefit of one's people, not to do so is injurious to individual mana and also reflects negatively on the mana of the whanau. The mana of individuals and the group is interdependent, and may wax or wane across time and situations according to the actions of those concerned.

"How much mana a person or group has at any given time depends not on any precise or objective measure, but on the subjective assessments of the individuals themselves and of others around them." (Metge, 1976; p.64).

Mana Maori

Mana Maori is a contemporary term used to refer to the mana of Maori groups and people as a whole, as well as to individuals, in respect of their contributions to the maintenance of Maoritanga and Maori well-being. Henare (1988) translates 'mana Maori' as Maori well-being and integrity, and describes this concept as emphasising the wholeness of social relationships and continuity through time and space. Cultural, social, political and economic systems, as well as individual actions can enhance or detract from mana Maori.

Mana Wahine: Mana Tane

The close relationship between mana, tapu and noa may be seen in the balance of mana wahine and mana tane. Both male and female have mana, but the mana carried by women is seen by some as of a different quality to that carried by men. The mana of men is characterised as being positive (not to be confused with good), and that of women characterised as negative (not to be confused with bad). Thus, according to Marsden,

"the mana of a high-born female was regarded as particularly potent in...neutralising tapu. As a consequence, the act of a woman stepping over a man instead of going around him was highly improper and reprehensible since such an action depleted the male of his mana. The customary placement of a representation of the female vulva over the doorway to the whare tupuna, is symbolic of the process of whakanoa in regard to the tapu of individuals. The tapu of the whare and associated tupuna taking precedence. (in King, 1992 p. 123; see also Te Whaiti, 1992 p. 30-32).

Maintenance and Dimunition of Mana

The spiritual origin of mana not only empowers, but also acts as a protection against negative human and spiritual forces and the consequences of these. Thus, there is a strength and protection aspect to mana. If mana is maintained and enhanced, it is a strength for oneself, whanau, hapu and iwi. A loss or serious dimunition in mana "diminishes an individual's capacity for action and hence his (sic) achievements" (Metge, 1986; p.171) and may mean that "the individual has little or no protection against the mana of others" (Metge, 1986; p.171) and of negative spiritual forces.

A loss or dimunition of mana can result from any one of a number of actions or inactions including a violation of tapu; failure to whakautu, whether in respect of a hara or hospitality and generosity, the result being an imbalance of relationships; failure to fulfill kaitiaki obligations, loss of turangawaewae and thus mana whenua status; disconnection from whanau, hapu and iwi; and self rather than group interest. The consequences of damage to the mana of the individual, whanau, hapu, iwi or people include vulnerability to mate Maori, loss of mauri ora, and whakamaa.

Utu

The notion of balance and reciprocity is fundamental to the maintenance of mana. This is illustrated in the significance of utu and associated practices.

Utu is defined by Firth (1959) as the principle of reciprocity; and by Metge (1976) as the principle of reciprocity and of compensation in its widest sense. Henare sees the central thesis of utu as that of "reciprocal responses; obtaining equivalent value for services or gifts, and the righting of injustices for the balancing of social relationships. (Henare, 1988).

In Maori thinking, an individual or group will endeavour to reciprocate anything they receive, whether positive or negative, because of the challenge the act of giving and receiving represents in terms of mana. If an injustice is done, an appropriate exchange or compensation can be arranged which will, in the end, enhance the mana of both parties. The motivation for the principle of utu then, is maintaining mana through balance.

Utu in its compensatory sense, backed by the desire to maintain balance in social relationships and restore mana for collective health and benefit, is a driving force behind persistent Maori efforts to gain justice, or just compensation, in respect of land issues and other perceived injustices which reflect on the rangatiratanga of Maori, whanau, hapu and iwi.

Whakamaa

Whakamaa is translated by Williams (1971) as "shy, ashamed". However, Metge (1986) considers the root meaning of whakamaa to be "conscious of being at a disadvantage" and directly related to a perceived loss of or diminution in mana, and to a consequent defencelessness because of a lack of mana in relation to another or others.

Whakamaa is characterised by various forms of outward expression and inward experiences. It may last minutes, hours, days, months or years, it may be passed from one generation to the next, it can afflict groups as well as individuals and its severity can range from slight and superficial, through deep but curable, to catastrophic and beyond cure.

Whakamaa has been referred to in terms of sickness (te mate whakamaa) (Metge, 1986; p.30). However the verb most commonly used in relation to whakamaa is patu - which means both to strike and to kill (Williams, 1971; p.272). Thus a person is stricken or overcome with whakamaa.

Anthropologist Dame Joan Metge has conducted a comprehensive study of whakamaa in the academic arena. In co-constructing, with Maori informants, a 'typology' of whakamaa, Metge categorises and constructs whakamaa according to her understandings, but uses the words and explanations of Maori as the substance of the construction.

According to Metge (1986), the behavioural patterns associated with whakamaa may be divided into five groups. The first group consists of a behavioural pattern of immobility and unresponsiveness, a pattern involving the negation of normal activity and interaction: not moving or a marked reduction in movement, not fully utilising the senses, such as the senses of sight and hearing, not speaking, slow or no responses. Secondly, one afflicted with whakamaa may cut off visual communication by physically covering or hiding the face. A third group of behaviours associated with whakamaa consists of an array of small scale, repetitive movements which are commonly regarded as indicating unease. "Restless hands, shuffling feet, tapping, twiddling, ear-pulling, scratching, eyes looking from side to side, looking away, eye-rolling, blushing and giggling, stuttering" (Metge, 1986). Fourthly, whakamaa may be manifested in physical flight, running away, hiding one's body as well as one's feelings. The fifth group of behaviours appears opposed to the first group. These patterns, rather than reducing activity, carry it to excess. Thus, "boisterousness, shaking all over, talking flat out, babbling away, laughing inanely, using violent language, frantic activity, even hitting out" (Metge, 1986) may also be behavioural manifestations of whakamaa. However, expression of whakamaa in this manner serve the same purpose as other forms of expression, a withdrawal from communication and interaction with others. Whakamaa behaviour may not fall neatly into one of these groups, but incorporate elements of several.

Metge has also grouped English language descriptions of the feelings associated with whakamaa into a number of categories. The summarising labels used by Metge are feelings of shyness, embarrassment, uncertainty, confusion, lack of self-confidence, inadequacy, incapability (feeling unable to act effectively and to cope, feeling powerless), fear, hurt, humiliation, sense of

destroyed soul, depression, shame. Although none of those who provided Metge with their description of feelings associated with whakamaa mentioned anger, Metge believes that whakamaa may involve anger. She surmises that the anger is usually suppressed and turned inwards, unless the whakamaa person or group is pushed past a certain point, in which case violence may surface.

The English language descriptors of feelings associated with whakamaa will obviously be consistent with and familiar to Pakeha experience. However, a distinguishing feature of whakamaa is that it subsumes so much under a single heading, putting together feelings which speakers of English generally treat as separate and distinct. For example, shyness, shame, embarrassment and fear differ, in Western conceptions, in their causes, in how they are valued and in that they are viewed as qualitatively distinct. The inclusive nature of whakamaa is not due to a poverty of language, but to a particular way of perceiving and ordering human experience. Under all the non-synonymous descriptions of behaviour and feeling, there is a common causal link, a theme centering on mana. Metge, (1986; pp31-32) states that "whakamaa always involves an implicit if not explicit comparison with other people in which the person who is whakamaa comes off second best...whakamaa is bound up with the lack of or loss of mana in relation to others."

Metge, in true western academic tradition, continued the process of classification and categorisation by further dividing the causes of whakamaa into six groups, all of which relate to perceptions of mana in relation to others. The first cause of whakamaa identified by Metge is 'perception of lower status'. Maori become whakamaa when they perceive themselves to be of lower status than particular others. This perception may be in general terms, or in respect of a specific and valued quality such as descent lines, age, knowledge or status. In Metge's (1986) analysis, it is the individual's own perception and measurement of the situation, rather than objective facts, which is the crucial element in determining whether individuals are afflicted with whakamaa.

Whakamaa can result when Maori find themselves in a situation of uncertainty and confusion, when the right course of action, the tikanga, is not clear. Uncertainty and confusion can occur when Maori get caught in the conflict of old and new ways, and between Maori and Pakeha practices and values. Metge considers that when there is such uncertainty, many Maori become

whakamaa and withdraw, physically and/or metaphorically from the precipitating environment or situation (Metge, 1986).

Whakamaa will ensue when a Maori person recognises, or is told, that they have done something wrong; whether the fault concerns a breach of social convention, moral code, law/lore or the individuals own standards. Even when the fault or breach is not known to others, whakamaa can result as the individual has placed him or herself at a moral disadvantage. When outside censure is anticipated, adults and children may confine themselves to their homes or go away temporarily or permanently.

When Maori are insulted, belittled or trampled on, intentionally or unintentionally, directly or indirectly, through a failure to recognise his/her status (or that of those whose mana is intertwined with him/her) or through criticism of him/her or something he/she has done, (or in relation to those whose mana is intertwined with the individual), whakamaa may ensue. The whakamaa is intensified if the charges are just or repeated and if the recipient cannot retaliate. A 'put-down' experience can occur when a Maori individual is placed in a position where he or she cannot respond appropriately. The context in which whakamaa may occur need not be overtly negative. For instance, providing lavish hospitality or over generous gifts which individuals or groups are unable to reciprocate can induce whakamaa (Metge, 1986).

Being singled out, separated from peers and placed in a special category, whether inferior, superior or just different, can cause whakamaa. Praise can produce whakamaa, particularly if the individual thinks the praise is undeserved and is scared of their inadequacy being exposed, or of being thought whakahihi (arrogant).

Whakamaa can also be felt on behalf of others, in particular, on behalf of those with whom the individual is closely linked; and on behalf of those with whom the individual identifies on the basis of common hapu, tribal, gender or ethnic group membership.

Groups can be whakamaa for the same reasons as individuals. In addition, however, mistakes and offences committed by individual members past, living or dead, and a poor performance by the group compared with others, can cause whakamaa. "Iwi and hapu which were defeated in battle over 100 years ago remain whakamaa in relation to the victors to this day. They keep the

memory alive and are continually looking for opportunities to improve their relative standing. Since physical combat is outlawed, they seek to redeem their...mana, by achievements in sport, Maori cultural competitions and the arts and hospitality of the marae." (Metge, 1986; p.59).

Tribes who have lost most of their land in battle, by confiscation and sale, may experience whakamaa in relation to those who have retained theirs. Tribes whose members have lost facility in te reo Maori, and the ability to manaaki manuhiri (these and other things often relating to the loss of a land base) experience whakamaa in relation to others more proficient in these areas. Finally, Maori as a group may experience whakamaa in relation to Pakeha because they feel that Pakeha look down on them and/or because they feel incompetent in Pakeha situations. "There is a general consensus among Maori that the whakamaa experienced in relation to Pakeha and especially in Pakeha dominated settings. . . is particularly deep and damaging." (Metge, 1986; p. 35).

Chronic whakamaa may affect the Maori person living and working with Pakeha in a Pakeha situation laden with Pakeha values and perceptions. However, chronic whakamaa may also be manifested by Maori who have lost touch with their roots.

Those who have lost their land and/or who have no contact with their turangawaewae, marae, whanau, hapu, iwi, those who do not speak te reo Maori, do not know their own traditions, or who find themselves unable to make a contribution to the well-being of the group, are likely to be aware of a mana deficit in relation to others. In this case whakamaa, and/or another consequence of diminished mana may result. This is the situation of many urban Maori in particular, in whom whakamaa can be overwhelming and debilitating, in both Maori and non-Maori contexts.

It is not necessary for a person to know te reo me ona tikanga Maori in order for them to experience whakamaa.

Mauri (life force, principle, ethos)

"The mauri enters and leaves at the veil which separates the human world from the spirit realm." (Barlow, 1991; p. 83)

Everything has mauri; birds, trees, rivers, people - individually and collectively. Barlow (1991: p. 83) describes mauri in the following way:

"A special power possessed by Io which makes it possible for everything to move and live in accordance with the conditions and limits of its existence...the mauri is that power which permits...living things to exist within their own realm and sphere. When a person is born, the atua bind the two parts of body and spirit of his (sic) being together. Only the mauri or power of Io can join them together...When a person dies, the mauri is no longer able to bind those parts together and thereby give life - and the physical and spiritual parts of a persons being are separated."

Marsden considers that, while mauri may be regarded as an elemental energy "derived from the realm of Te Korekore, and out of which the stuff of the universe was created. . . there was a clear distinction between the essence (mauri) of a person or object and the distinct realm of the spirit which stood over the realm of the natural order and was indwelt by spiritual beings. Since the natural order was not a closed system it could be infiltrated and interpenetrated by the higher order of the spirit. In fact the Maori further distinguished between the essence of inanimate and animate objects. Whilst all the created partook of mauri (life force, ethos) by which all things cohere in nature, in human beings, this essence was of a higher order and was called mauriora".

Some would say that the binding force of the mauriora can become weakened allowing a disjunction between the physical and spiritual dimensions of self. In this case the person may be seen as kohiwi or like bare bones or the hollow trunk of a tree; in effect the physical self, the bones may be present, but the spiritual essence or life force is absent. The mauri of a person leaves on death, allowing the spirit to travel to Te Rerenga Wairua and thence to the domain of Hine Nui Te Po. Physical sickness or trauma may result in a weakening of the cohesive power of the mauri, perhaps resulting in death. A loss or diminution in mana, and the protective power and authority this implies, may also contribute to the vulnerability of the cohesive power of the mauri. In these instances a person may experience a disjunction between his/her physical and spiritual being, the spirit may wander, and if it reaches a point of no return, the physical self will follow.

The mauri of elements of the natural world may likewise be weakened through actions affecting their physical being; the pollution of a river, destruction of forests for example. In these cases a rahui may be used to enforce conservation and allow the rejuvenation of physical health and the return of the mauri. Marsden (in King, (Ed.) 1992) describes the 'pure' rites whereby particular rites were employed to propitiate the atua in particular circumstances. "The 'pure rakau' was used to propitiate Tane, atua of the forest before a tree was felled for canoe-making or house-building. A fire was lit under the tree and the first chip together with mauku fern was burnt. The scent, representing the essence of the tree, was offered up to propitiate Tane for the slaying of this forest child of Tane." (Marsden; in King, (Ed.) 1992; p. 123) In this case, the binding force of the mauri is broken by the act of burning and the spiritual essence of the tree set free to return to Tane. Similarly, with the cooking of food. The cooked food, whilst it was steaming hot, "was elevated in the hands and waved to and fro before the atua so that the essence symbolised by the rising steam could return to the atua. They were then petitioned to accept the essence while man consumed the substance." (Marsden; in King, (Ed.) 1992; p. 123).

A mauri may be established for a creation. In this way the substance of the creation is bound in with the spirit. Barlow describes the establishment of a mauri for a house. "When a house is built, the mauri is established as the sacred heart of a building. This mauri is the power obtained through a covenant with the atua to take care of the house and to fulfil the wishes, desires and hopes of the people who will use it". (Barlow, 1991; p.83). The mauri of a building or place is felt as the cohesion between the physical and spiritual essence of the place. The mauri is the force which binds the essence of the atua to the substance of the building, or other creation as the case may be.

Similarly with te reo Maori. Reference to the mauri of the reo is an acknowledgement of that which binds the substance of the words with the realm of the spirit. The mauri of the word is that which enables the penetration of the spiritual realm by the spoken word and the direction of the word by the spirit.

People can gain sustenance from the mauri of other people and things. This is why merely being with an appropriate person or people or at an appropriate place can be healing. It can provide strength and nourishment from the

association of one mauri with another. The land has its own mauri, different rohe (areas associated with the mana whenua of particular hapu and iwi) have their own mauri in association with the people of that rohe.

The mauri of a person may startle, it may become weak or jumpy, as a result of panic or trauma. This provides an opening for negative forces to enter and to further weaken or disrupt the mauri.

Whanaungatanga

Hutia te rito o te harakeke
Kei hea ra te komako e?
Ka ki mai koe, he aha te mea nui?
Ka ki atu au-
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata

Pluck the centre shoot of the flax
And where will the bell-bird be?
You will say, What is the thing of most importance?
And I will reply-
it is people, it is people, it is people.

The centre shoot of the flax is the source of new growth and rejuvenation. It is the life source of the plant, and the plant provides sustenance for the bell-bird. The whanau may be thought of as the centre shoot of Maori society.

The term whanau is relative. Most commonly, it refers to an extended version of the nuclear family. At least three or four generations of descendants from a common ancestor or ancestral union may be included in the whanau unit. Thus, from a shared great-grandparent or set of great-grandparents, the whanau may include several sets of grandparents (the kaumatua), their children (the matua), and all their children (the tamariki-mokopuna). Thus, in English terms, the whanau includes sibling relationships, cousin relationships (of several degrees), parent-child, aunty/uncle-niece/nephew relationships and great-aunt/uncle, grandparent to grandchildren, grand-niece/nephew relationships as well as great-grandparent, great, great-aunt/uncle to great-grandchild, great, great niece/nephew relationships. However, the members of a single hapu may refer to each other as whanau in relation to the members of

other hapu. Similarly, the members of an iwi may refer to each other as whanau in comparison to or in the rohe of other iwi. Maori sometimes refer to each other as a whole as whanau in relation to the wider Pakeha society and context.

The terms parent and grandparent will be used here in the Maori sense, where matua or parent refers to all kin of one's parents generation, and grandparent, kuia, koroua, and kaumatua refers to all kin of ones grandparents generation.

Maori traditionally lived a communal lifestyle where the care and education of children was shared amongst the whanau and hapu.

Whanau provide the centre shoot of hapu and iwi. A number of whanau, descended from a common ancestor, make up a hapu (sub-tribe). The term hapu refers both to sub-tribe and to the condition of pregnancy. Hapu typically number several hundred kin.

A number of hapu, again descended from a further distant eponymous ancestor, make up an iwi (tribe).

Whanau, hapu and iwi are usually identified by the name of the common ancestor from whom they descend; although this is not inevitably the case (Barlow, 1991; p. 21).

Whanau, hapu and iwi represent relatively stable kinship and political units, although they may reconstitute and re-define themselves over time. Thus a whanau which becomes too large or within which internal splits or divisions between themselves and the hapu occur, may leave the hapu to form their own, based on their descent from a common ancestor. Similarly, a hapu who, perhaps through their leader, find themselves at serious odds with the bulk of the iwi, may seek to establish their own status as iwi. In order to achieve such independence, however, the whanau or hapu need to be numerous, strong, and in possession of strong leadership. Kinship links with the original whanau, hapu and iwi are usually retained and remembered. The new body will be seen as the teina or younger offshoot of the original body, not just because of their comparatively recent formation, but also because of the status of their common ancestor as junior to the common ancestor of the . Similarly, iwi may seek to re-form themselves into a single grouping or confederation.

Each whanau is headed by kaumatua and perhaps a rangatira. Each hapu is headed by a rangatira. Iwi may be led by an ariki (paramount chief), or by a group or council of rangatira.

Whanaungatanga is commonly translated as family-ness; its root, the word whanau, is the extended family. Whanaungatanga refers to kinship and social roles and bonds, continuity of the whanau from the past, through whakapapa to the preparation and nurturing of future generations. Links are vitally important and the health and well-being of the individual and the whanau are indivisible.

Rangihau (1992; pp.183-184) describes his perceptions of whanaungatanga in this way:

"kinship is the warmth of being together as a family group: what you can draw from being together and the strength of using all the resources of a family. And a strong feeling of kinship or whanaungatanga reaches out to others in hospitality...Whanaungatanga also means to me that when a person feels lonely, he (sic) will go round and visit some of his kin and it is just as enjoyable for the kin to receive a visit as it is for the person to go."

The whanaungatanga dimension relates to seeing, and defining, oneself as part of a system. This dimension relates also to nuances of appropriate social behaviour, rights and responsibilities, and group dynamics and development.

Aspects of whanaungatanga may be identified through the names associated with particular stages, relationships and roles within the whanau.

Marae Atea and Whare Tupuna

The marae may be seen to be the focal point and centre for Maori learning and spirituality. The central meeting house, or whare tupuna, is the symbolic embodiment of the identity of the whanau, hapu and iwi. Spiritual expression within the bounds of the marae complex ranges from traditional Maori expression, to a variety of church-related expressions. Inter-denominational services (including expressions relating to traditional Maori atua) are common on marae. The important thing is the inclusion of the spiritual system.

The term marae is now commonly used to refer to all the land and buildings associated with a community facility which includes a meeting house. However, in traditional terms, and still current and correct, the marae atea, is the marae proper.

The whare tupuna is also sometimes known as whare whakairo, whare puni, whare hui, or meeting house.

A number of commentators see the marae atea as the domain of Tumatauenga, Atua of War; and the whare tupuna as the domain of Rongo, Atua of peace.¹⁴

In ancient times, the destruction of the meeting house, usually by burning was synonymous with the destruction of the tribe (Walker, 1993). Contemporary Maori responses to the destruction of meeting houses by fire, indicate that the meaning of this destruction is still very close to Maori identity.

Most whanau and hapu are related to at least one marae, although attendance at marae functions varies. Many whanau now live at a great distances from their ancestral marae, some have been unable to return regularly, or at all, for generations. However, urban marae, constructed and organised along similar lines to ancestral marae, attempt to provide for the needs of many of those separated from their ancestral homelands. In these cases, the wharenuī may be named for a far distant eponymous ancestor to whom all may connect, or it may be named in a symbolic representation of the kaupapa of linkage and unity.

Tupuna

The word 'tupuna' literally describes an upstanding, continuous stream of water. The whanau originates in the whakapapa, flowing through the tupuna to the living generations.

Both ancestors, and living grandparents (including whanau elders of the third and fourth generations), who represent the closest link between the living generations and those who have gone before, may be referred to as tupuna.

¹⁴ See Irwin, K. in Du Plessis, R. 1992; pp 1-21 for an exposition of the marae atea and gender roles and functions associated with this institution.

Ancestral tupuna dwell within the spiritual realm. They may return to direct and influence people and events within the temporal realm, particularly in relation to those who form part of the ongoing stream of which they are a part. Sometimes they adopt a natural form, as birds, fish or insects, and act as kaitiaki for the whanau or particular parts of the natural realm. In this way, they may provide for the transmission of information, through tohu, from the spiritual realm to the temporal realm.

Hapu are formed of the offspring of certain tupuna, and are typically named after them. Similarly, iwi relationships consist of the connection of a number of hapu through descent from an eponymous ancestor, from whom the iwi derives its name. Thus, when I identify my hapu as Ngati Te Whiti, I am identifying myself as of Te Whiti O Rongomai, the founding ancestor of the hapu. Similarly as we of Ngati Te Whiti are of Te Atiawa iwi, we identify ourselves as of (descendants of; bones of) our common ancestor, Awanui-A-Rangi.

Crown actions contributing to the alienation of Maori land, the destruction of traditional whanau, hapu and iwi based systems of land tenure, the undermining of the authority of rangatira, the undermining of the authority of whanau, hapu and iwi derived systems of education, child care and protection and the imposition of Western systems of education, adoption, foster care and 'child protection', have contributed in large measure to the current fragmentation of many whanau, hapu and iwi. Tens of thousands of Maori children have been removed from their families and placed in Social Welfare homes or foster care, often with unrelated Pakeha families. The rights and responsibilities of kaumatua and rangatira within the whanau and hapu have been disregarded in Social Welfare, Education and Adoption legislation over the last century. These and other elements in the raft of whanau hostile state interventions have resulted in the disconnection of numbers of Maori from their whanau. Additional numbers of Maori, often in the middle-aged and younger age groups, have been alienated from traditional kin-based whanau systems and methods of social organisation.

The large-scale loss of a land base, urban migration and associated fragmentation of traditional systems based on whanau, hapu and iwi have, however, found parallels in large numbers of pan-tribal groups and organisations. There are now hundreds or thousands of groups of Maori, who come together for everything from educational purposes (kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Maori, Maori units in mainstream schools, secondary school Maori

classes and culture groups, University Maori student associations, Maori in psychology groups) to sporting interests (Rugby and rugby league clubs, netball, softball and touch rugby) to work arenas (Maori Medical Association, Te Whariki Tautoko; Organisation of Maori counsellors etc.) who organise themselves and relate to each other along whanau lines, regardless of whether there are, in fact, kinship links. Where ever Maori have congregated and related to each other whanau relational systems and roles within these have emerged (See Durie, A. in Te Whaiti, P., McCarthy, M. and Durie, A. 1997 pp. 1-24; Metge, 1995).

Thus those associated with a particular kohanga reo will often refer to themselves as a whanau, have at least one kaumatua who fulfils many of the traditional roles of the kaumatua, a number of matua, rangatahi and tamariki-mokopuna. The group inter-relates as a whanau, with the kaupapa in a sense generating the joint interest, endeavour and well-being that ancestral land and the kaupapa of food production and survival traditionally did. Metge refers to these non-kin based whanau systems as metaphorical whanau.

Although some Maori have been separated from close links with ancestral lands, marae, iwi, hapu and whanau, most retain the links to varying degrees.

Kaumatua

According to Williams (1971), the term kaumatua means adult, and old man or woman. In modern usage, kaumatua refers to an older man (koroua) or woman (kuia), those of the senior living generation. However, the alternative meaning of adult given by Williams, is an indication that the full uptake or pinnacle of one's adult role and responsibilities is concurrent with kaumatua status. The term ka - u -matua may be taken to refer to the parents who nourish or provide nourishment.

Barlow (1991) considers the modern meaning of kaumatua to refer to "male tribal leaders who act as spokesmen on the marae, and who are the keepers of the knowledge and traditions of the family, sub-tribe or tribe." Not all would concur with this analysis, particularly in relation to Barlow's limited application of the term to male leaders. In my understanding and observation, older women are also kaumatua, and perform the functions described above, with their speaking role on the marae being in the form of karanga and kinaki.

It has been a feature of post-colonial constructions of gender relationships, that the patriarchal framework of Victorian English colonisers, and in particular those associated with Judaeo-Christian discourse, have led to an emphasis within anthropological and ethnographic studies of traditional Maori society, of the leadership roles of men. In particular, the speaking role of male elders within the domain of the marae atea, has been seen as primary; with the role of women in kai-karanga and waiata, defined as secondary. Thus, the mutual interdependence of the two forms of power, authority and leadership has been overlooked. These colonial constructions have sometimes been adopted and incorporated into contemporary Maori analyses of Maori society, tradition and culture.

Kaumatua traditionally have a special role in the care and education of the young. They are generally considered to have the final word or ultimate authority in decisions affecting the whanau, and their relationship with the mokopuna is primary over parental relationships. (See Waldegrave, Tamasese and Campbell; 1990). It was common practice for first born grandchildren to be raised by the grandparents. In this way, they were given a degree of attention that the 'worker' parents may not have been able to provide, and were also exposed to the deeper levels of Maori tradition and protocol. It is still relatively common for grandparents to whangai first-born grandchildren, either on a full-time or part-time basis.

The role of kaumatua is one of guardianship; of family and marae, and sometimes of specific areas of the natural environment; the sea, forests, lands and rivers. This, along with the wisdom and experience they have accumulated means that they often have a prominent role to play in formalising contractual arrangements between the spiritual and temporal realms (e.g. through the establishment of tapu and rahui, the direction of whakanoa and tohi rites).

In terms of the temporal matters of everyday life and whanau functioning, kaumatua provide the guidance and direction, while the next generation is largely responsible for the 'doing'; of that which is laid down. The health of a whanau is apparent, in large part, by the care and respect accorded kaumatua. Kaumatua carry the mana of the whanau, while rangatira carry the mana of the whanau and hapu.

As the older generation passes on, some of their mauri and mana passes to those who will take their place. That is why a person of the younger generation will not usually take their full adult place until their senior is gone, even though they may have the knowledge, age and experience; however, they also need the mana and the mauri. John Rangihau explains:

"I often speak of the mauri or life force which Maoris give to many different things. We believe that every time you give of yourself you are starting to lose some of the aura, some of the life force, which you have for yourself. In the case of my son, if he starts to get up then he's drawing something from me and eventually I will be left an empty hulk. This is the real reason behind not allowing the young man to speak before the father dies. Because it is possible that he will take some of the mauri which rightly belongs to his father. And immediately you do this you start to take away all sorts of things from the father. Strange as it seems, I've seen it happen: a young man, a very aggressive young man, has carried on doing this in spite of cautions. And you can see the father dwindling in stature. Now the father seems to be hanging around at the back of the marae. He seems to be a person without any purpose: his son is taking the place the father should have" (Rangihau in King, M. (Ed.) 1992:12).

Matua

Matua refers to parents or other relatives of the parents generation. Thus, ones parents brothers, sister and cousins in varying degrees may be referred to as matua.

As with other terms relating to the structure of and role allocation within Maori whanau, the matua role is primarily defined in relation to other roles and stages within the whanau, rather than age. The role is also not exclusive, one may be matua in one context and rangatahi in another. Thus seventeen or thirty-seven year old parents may be matua in relation to their children, but remain rangatahi in relation to their parents and grandparents.

In modern times all kin, and sometimes non-kin, of one's parents generation may be referred to as aunty and uncle.

Rangatahi

Rangatahi is a general term applied to youth. Individuals and groups of people are referred to as rangatahi in relation to the roles and status of the speaker. Thus, a group of children may be referred to as rangatahi by an older person, while a forty-year-old may be rangatahi to those of older generations.

Use of the term rangatahi conveys the fact that those referred to are in the process of learning and exploring the world, and have not yet reached the point of uptake of an adult role. They are expected to make mistakes, and to be learners in relation to their seniors. Provided they do not attempt to usurp or degrade the role of their elders, a degree of tolerance is allowed them to grow into their roles over time.

The rangatahi have an important role to play within whanau, hapu and iwi, as they are seen as the future leaders. The old people watch them carefully from an early age to gauge their particular talents and affinities. Ideally, the kaumatua then attempt to guide them into training for the roles most suited to them. The role of the whanau, and the place of rangatahi within that whanau, has a bearing on the future roles it is hoped the young people will grow into.

Tamariki

Tamariki fall within the rubric of rangatahi. They are the children. However, once again, the term is relative. One will always be the child of one's parents, and will be known as such as long as one's parents are remembered. Thus, the 70-year-old child of a well-known prophet is known as (the prophet's) (oldest) son. This does not detract from, but rather adds to his status, as he is seen as having acquired the mana of his father. His status as (the prophet's) child enhances his kaumatua and rangatira status.

Mokopuna

The moko is the traditional Maori art of tattoo. Moko were visual representations of the flow of the wairua into the temporal realm as represented in the physical body. Moko were engraved into the face, and sometimes other body parts of men and women, they were unique to them and incorporated symbolic representations of their whakapapa and other elements of who they were. The term moko may also be used figuratively to refer to the person.

One's moko was one's sign, to see the sign was to know the person. A puna, as previously noted, is a spring of water. Thus the two concepts of moko (the person) and puna, the spring combine as the representation of mokopuna. Our mokopuna, then, represent the ongoing spring of the people. They are the surface representations of the spring that originates deep within the bowels of Papatuanauku and flows through life until it reaches and becomes one with the sea. Mokopuna are the temporal signs or manifestations of the tupuna.

Once again, in relational terms, mokopuna are the grandchildren. One's own grandchildren, and those of one's siblings and cousins are mokopuna, but the term is often used in relation to all the children of te iwi Maori or various subsets there-of.

The importance of rangatahi, the need for careful preparation of rangatahi by the older generations, and the cycle of life, is illustrated in the well-known saying:

Ka pu te ruha,
ka hao te rangatahi

The old net wears out,
The new net goes fishing

As the old net wears out, the survival of the people becomes dependent on the ability of the new net to perform its role: to catch fish to feed the people. This in turn is dependent on the care and wisdom involved in selecting the materials from which to make the net, the care and precision with which it has been constructed, the timing and location of its eventual placement at sea, and the strength of its tie back to shore, so that it does not become lost to the sea. This saying also refers to the need for change and innovation as new ways and new blood take over from old.

As whanau are the centre shoots of Maori society, so rangatahi, and in particular tamariki-mokopuna, are the centre shoots of the whanau. The kaumatua are the outer leaves, protecting the delicate centre from exposure to the elements too early. The matua stand between the kaumatua and the tamariki, providing further protection for the centre and benefiting also from the protection provided by the kaumatua from the elements outside.

Matamua

The first-born/eldest child within a whanau is known as the matamua. The position of matamua is a special one and carries with it certain expectations concerning the role of the matamua in the receipt of knowledge, in the care of younger children, in the binding together of the whanau and in the representation of the whanau in the wider context, as through speaking rights.

The role and responsibilities of the matamua are recognised from birth, and training begins early. Matamua may be privy to adult discussions, responsibility for performing small tasks may be delegated to them, and specific knowledge may be passed to them from older members of the whanau. Matamua are accorded some responsibility for the care of younger children within the whanau, with the matamua typically having the authority to make decisions as to the appropriate distribution of resources amongst younger siblings, and the appropriate course of action for them to take in a given situation. The expectations of the matamua in childhood form the training ground for the leadership and whanau representative roles he/she will be expected to take throughout life. Younger siblings are similarly trained to look to the matamua for guidance and leadership.

Distinctions are made in some whanau between the first-born son and the first-born daughter. It is usually the responsibility of first-born sons to speak on behalf of the whanau, particularly when male matua are deceased or unavailable, and the responsibility of the first-born daughter to initiate the karanga and waiata when female matua are deceased or unavailable. Younger siblings will rarely speak or karanga in deference to their older siblings.

Not all first-born children are suited, able or willing to take on up-front leadership roles. In this case, younger siblings may perform some of the roles usually reserved for matamua. However, this is typically with the permission of the matamua, and the final deference is to him or her.

For example, one well known leader was a fifth child and fourth son. The eldest living son of his family chose not to take up an upfront leadership role, preferring a background role. Nevertheless, as matamua, he was always accorded the right to speak first and last at formal and informal hui. The

children of the eldest child, in particular the eldest of his offspring, are looked to for the final word when it comes to matters concerning the whanau.

Potiki

Po is the night and the underworld where the spirits of the dead reside, presided over by Hine-Nui-Te-Po. Tiki has a number of interrelated meanings, including the personification of primeval man, representation of ongoing life and fertility, to fetch or bring forth and as a marker of that which is tapu. Thus the term potiki, applied to the youngest child of the whanau signifies the personification of the close relationship between the dark and the light, death and life, the primeval and the progressive.

The story of Maui-Potiki, the youngest child of Taranga, illustrates the unique characteristics associated with youngest children, and those often admired in Maoridom. The story also indicates the flexibility of Maori society, in respect of the primogeniture imperative. In essence, Maui's initial life was inauspicious and precarious. He was born prematurely, and his mother, Taranga, thinking he was dead, wrapped him in her top-knot and cast him into the sea. However, through special care and protection, Maui lived. Maui proved himself determined and inventive, and eventually succeeded in reuniting himself with his mother (who had given him up for dead) and his older brothers (who did not know of his existence). He became the favoured son of his mother, and aroused the jealousy of his older brothers. However, Maui was full of bright and ambitious ideas, cunning, determined, creative, charming, prepared to take risks and make mistakes, and he was mischievous. With these qualities and with the special gifts he had received as a favourite of the atua, Maui-potiki fished up the North Island of New Zealand (Te Ika A Maui), he also left behind his anchor stone, the South Island (Te Wai Pounamu). Maui had many adventures and took many risks, however, most of his adventure resulted in benefits for the people. Eventually he had provided longer days and more hours of sunshine and fire for the people. Maui's adventures ended, however, when he tried to conquer death, and achieve immortality. He had conceived the plan of conquering Hine-Nui-Te-Po by entering her vagina. While she slept, he crept between her legs and attempted to enter her vagina, however a tiwaiwaka saw him, and began laughing. The laughter awoke Hine-Nui-Te-Po, who crushed Maui between her thighs. Thus Maui died, but in doing so perhaps he showed the route to immortality.

Tuakana-Teina

The tuakana is the older sister of a female or the older brother of a male. In recent times the term is sometimes used to refer to an older sibling. Teina is the younger sister of a female or the younger brother of a male. Once again the term is sometimes used now in reference to younger siblings of either gender. As with other roles within the whanau, the condition of tuakana and teina are relational and life-long. Tuakana are often given a role in the care of younger siblings. In this way a strong bond may be formed, and unrealistic expectations of sole parental or adult attention, with a resultant risk of competition and jealousy, avoided. Ideally the tuakana-teina relationship is one in which care and responsibility for the younger child is promoted in the older sibling, and the growth of affection and respect from the younger to the older child is fostered.

In metaphorical whanau, tuakana also have the role of care and awahi for younger or less experienced whanau members. So, in a kapa haka group, for instance, an experienced member may take a new member under his/her wing, and provide extra teaching, friendship and support. In the Kohanga Reo, and school settings, tuakana-teina relationships are promoted and form an important part of the learning and teaching system (see Glynn, Berryman, Bidois, Furlong, Thatcher, Walker & Atvars, 1996; also Tangaere; in Webber, 1996).

Whangai

The term whangai can mean to feed, and to provide foster-care. Thus a foster parent is a matua-whangai, and a foster-child a tamaiti-whangai. The role of matua-whangai is to feed, to provide sustenance for the growth of the child.

As previously noted, it is common for grandparents to rear their mokopuna. However whangai within families through the giving of children to other members of the whanau to raise is also common. In some cases children are given as whangai because the matua whangai are unable to have children or want more children themselves, in some cases the birth parents and family are not in a position to care for the child. Sometimes a child represents a particular whakapapa line, is especially desired because of this, and they may be given to those best able to provide for him/her. Sometimes also, the institution of

whangai is a way of promoting bonds between whanau, with the child later having an important role to play in binding the whanau together.

In the Maori institution of whangai, unlike the Western system of adoption, the tamaiti-whangai is encouraged to know and interact with his/her immediate whanau. Also unlike the Western system, none of the rights and privileges, such as land rights and status, arising from the birth parents are lost, but these are added to with the inclusion of the child in the whangai environment. In effect, the tamaiti whangai is an integral part of both immediate and extended families.

Rangatiratanga

The root of rangatiratanga is rangatira. Rangatira is usually translated into English as chief, but there is concern that Western understandings relating to a chief and chieftainship do not adequately convey, and indeed misrepresent, the essence of the rangatira and rangatiratanga. "The word 'chief', as understood by Europeans leads to false conclusions in reference to the application of that name" (Cook, 1861: 224; cited in Te Whaiti, 1995, p.23). Te Whaiti believes that:

the personal power of a rangatira cannot be understood in isolation from mana which was in itself both handed down from the ancestors and the result of successive and successful human achievement and thus could be increased through such things as the wise administration of the iwi or decreased if the iwi suffered defeat in war, for example. However, the mana of a chief was integrated with the strength of the tribe, (Te Whaiti, 1995, pp.23-24)¹⁵

Those born of a rangatira line were provided with specialist knowledge and training from a young age. The hereditary status of rangatira applied from birth, although this does not imply that any notions of individual ambition or covetousness were fostered. In contrast, the rangatira child was taught that he or she was "just one thread in a patterned weave of relationships" (Jackson, 1988:5). While those of born of a rangatira line would not lose the mana of their genealogical status (mana tupuna, mana atua), their placement in a

¹⁵ See also Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982.

leadership role was dependent on their personal qualities and the decision of the people to follow them (mana tangata, mana atua).

Thus, there were, and are, a number of factors which contribute to the exercise of rangatiratanga on a personal level, and these include; hereditary descent and the maintenance of mana associated with this, the abilities of the individual concerned, the support of the hapu and iwi (Te Whaiti, 1995:24), the use of power and abilities in the interests of their people, wise administration (Pere, 1982:21), and the maintenance of authority in the face of challenges and challengers (Cleave, 1989:56). These factors in the exercise and maintenance of individual rangatiratanga meant that rangatira, in representing the interests of the group and in sustaining the allegiance of the whanau and hapu, meant that "a rangatira was bound to the commands of his or her people more so than the iwi or hapu were bound to follow the decisions of their rangatira" (Te Whaiti, 1995:26). In effect the rangatira, while acting as repository and representative of the mana of the whanau, hapu and iwi, was also the servant of the people. It was in this role that the power of the rangatira really lay. "While Western secular and religious cultures combine to depict authority as imposed from 'the top' as from Atua, Kings and Princes...In Maori society, authority belongs to the people, with chiefs as leaders, not rulers" (Waitangi Tribunal 1987:132). In describing the situation of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, senior Te Atiawa rangatira, the Waitangi Tribunal noted that, as a rangatira, all he had was the peoples, he owned nothing individually for himself (Waitangi Tribunal 1996).

Rangatiratanga is commonly translated as chieftainship, with an emphasis on explicitly political notions, including political authority and power, and the right to self-determination and self-government. Understandings of rangatiratanga which focus solely on the management of political and economic power are based on the interpretations of Pakeha colonisers and reflect Pakeha patriarchy and conceptions of power and politics.

"Pakeha interpretations perpetuate the Victorian view that Maori society was hierarchical, sexist, and elitist. Within the 'top down' interpretation of leadership and rangatiratanga is the assumption that any work that Maori women do which is not concerned with politics and allocating power cannot be mahi rangatira; that children do not possess rangatiratanga and mana because they, like their whaea and kuia, are possessed (sic);...and that whanau is simply family which is of course the woman's domain and therefore

irrelevant to politics, law and power. As if whanau can be isolated from hapu and iwi and the internal decisions which are made." (Te Whaiti; 1995)

In contrast to pervasive Pakeha interpretations of rangatiratanga, Maori interpretations are "founded on principles like mana and respect for other people and their position but not...position in terms of being above other people but their position in terms of what...their role was in the whanau, hapu and iwi...It's respect for people and also for all the elements that allow us to live..."(Andrews, 1992; Oral Communication, in Te Whaiti, 1995; see also Kawharu, I. H. 1983:5; & Jackson, M.; 1992; oral communication in Te Whaiti 1995).

Te Whaiti argues that rangatiratanga is also a way of living and interacting, a process based on a shared philosophy, whakapapa and whanaungatanga. She contends that "whanau responsibility is where the practice of rangatiratanga began and ended. This meant that an individual did not do anything for his/her own gain, but instead thought of the welfare of the group." (Te Whaiti, 1995, p. 44). This position is of course, located in a narrative of self and whanau in which the individual is absorbed in the whanau, just as the whanau is absorbed in the hapu, and the hapu in the iwi.¹⁶

It is the rangatiratanga of the whanau, hapu and iwi that provides the authority for them to construct their own narratives, tell their own stories and develop their own tikanga. It is also the rangatiratanga of the whanau, hapu and iwi which provides the authority to maintain their narratives as truth and negates any assumption of the right to judge, correct, modify or add to whanau, hapu and iwi narratives from a position outside of the whanau, hapu or iwi. This is one reason why whanau, hapu and iwi narratives are closely guarded. They are not for outside discussion and dissemination.

Aroha

Aroha is the force which binds whanau together, and provides the oil which keeps the machinery of whanaungatanga operating smoothly. Translated into English, the word aroha encompasses the three separate English language

¹⁶ See Pere, 1984:24 cited in Te Whaiti, 1995.

concepts of love, sympathy and charity. It is not just a deep feeling of care for and communion with others, but a practical, physical expression of this.

Barlow considers aroha to be "a creative power that emanates from the atua...It is the act of love that adds quality and meaning to life." (1991:8). Pere (R. 1994:26) stated that whanaungatanga:

"deals with the practices that bond and strengthen the kinship ties of a whanau. The commitment of 'aroha' is vital to whanaungatanga and the survival of what the group sees as important. Loyalty, obligation, commitment, an inbuilt support system made the whanau a strong stable unit, within the hapu, and consequently the tribe."

Aroha is the power behind the creation of new life, new hope and new meaning.

Both literal and metaphoric whanau are governed by a web of principles and processes which provide the means for the construction of narratives, within which occurs the telling of stories, provision of support, the resolution of conflict, addressing of contentious personal, political and economic issues and the modification of practices, if not principles, over time and in response to a changing environment. (See Bishop, 1996; in Webber, 1996)

The whanau remains the fundamental unit of Maori society. While traditional residential ties between whanau have been considerably weakened through urbanisation and the large-scale removal of tamariki Maori from their whanau contexts, the whanau structure and patterns of relating have survived and been transplanted into many modern Maori settings.

Taha Tinana

Sustenance is required for the meeting of physical needs and development of the body. Aspects of this dimension include adequate nutrition, shelter, clothing, exercise, experience of physical pleasure and pain etc.

Tapu

There is some tapu attached to the physical self through our relationship with the atua, and with some bodily parts more tapu than others. The head, for

example, is traditionally considered very tapu because it is the crown, the fontanel area, that is considered the spiritual mouth of the body and the place through which the mauri enters and leaves the body (Marsden, in King (Ed.) 1992).

Mirimiri

The art of massage, mirimiri was practiced in particular during pregnancy and in infancy and childhood, to help the bones grow straight and firm.

Rongoa

Refers to the application of natural medicines in both curative and preventative contexts.

Waewae tapu

Literally 'sacred feet', the expression waewae tapu refers to those who have not been to a particular place before, thus they have not undergone the process of the neutralising of any tapu associated with them, in respect of the place they are entering. This is particularly so in relation to the first visit to a marae atea and whare tupuna. The whole powhiri process is designed to neutralise tapu and thereby enable safe relations to take place.

On entry into a particular rohe (domain or area of land under the mana of a certain group) for the first time, one is also 'waewae tapu'. Steps should be taken to ensure that the tapu of ones person does not offend the tapu of the place one is entering. Once a process of whakanoa or propitiation is completed, one may move with relative safety in the area. Once again, the words of Rangihau (in King (Ed.) 1992; p. 187) provide perhaps the most apt description of what this means in the modern world:

"...in the Maori world...you would be aware of the spirit of the land you are going to, and of the mauri or life force of this land. You are aware of this through a number of ways. When I take strangers into Ruatahuna I stop and we get out of the car and I say to them, 'This is an old Maori custom'. These days, what I ask people to do is stand in silence for a little while and pray in their own way. It doesn't matter what sort of person I take into the

area, I do it. There was a young Australian boy who came in from Rotorua and became very sick so they had to rush him back. He had come in with my wife and as soon as he became sick she said, 'Oh that was my fault, I didn't do the right thing by him. And I knew exactly what she meant.'"

Hongi

On meeting and greeting visitors both in the marae context and in other contexts, it is customary to hongi. The hongi is the physical act of pressing noses. Often described as a greeting, the hongi is a connection of the physical and spiritual selves. One aspect of the meaning of the hongi is the symbolism of the atua breathing life into humans; and specifically of Tane breathing life into Hine-Ahu-One. Thus the hongi signifies the life force that comes from the atua. It is a mingling of the essence carried within the breath of the participants, and acknowledgement of a common ultimate source.

Hinengaro

The literal meaning of hinengaro is the hidden lady or female element. The term is commonly understood as referring to the mind, intuition and source of thoughts and emotions. Pere (1988; 1991) associates this dimension with cognitive activities, lighter level emotion and intuition.

The hidden state of the female element refers to its private and unseen nature. It is regarded as intrusive to delve into the mind, thoughts and emotions. To intrude into the hinengaro through direct questioning and to expect one to expose one's private thoughts and feelings is akin to an expectation in western terms that the lady expose her naked form for your examination.

The modesty of thoughts and feelings are therefore typically protected through indirect or metaphorical speech or through non-verbal expression. At the same time, indirect or metaphorical speech serves to convey meaning without assaulting the hinengaro of the recipient.

Maori attitudes to knowledge and learning reflect a positioning of the status of knowledge as sacred and precious, as does the act of learning as something which has long-term implications and is to be taken seriously.

Tapu

Knowledge and learning are strongly associated with tapu. This is particularly true of knowledge and learning about taonga tuku iho, the treasures handed down by the ancestors. Te Uira Manihera tells a story of his position as regards the tapu nature of some forms of learning and knowledge:

"When you are dealing with the knowledge of the past, you have to take it seriously. Otherwise you don't get inspiration or spiritual fertility from that knowledge. And if you ignore the tapu of sacred things, it can lead to sickness or even death.

I remember a boy stood up at a seminar I was at. He said he had in his possession books that had belonged to his ancestors and that had been handed down through his father to him. He didn't know how he should handle them. I stood up and replied to the

speeches and I said to him, 'These books are valuable, they hold your whakapapa and your tapu. If you want to learn from them, take them away from food and clothing that belongs to women, to somewhere surrounded by nature. When there is just you and your books and nature, you can recite and learn all those things. That way you can preserve the tapu that your ancestors have placed on these books. In time, you will find you will be inspired to carry on what they have left for you.'

The handing down of knowledge by old people is a very difficult thing now. They have a look at their own children, perhaps the eldest son. If he is mature enough or interested enough in his Maori, he might become the repository. But a lot of people say no. They would sooner take a knowledge of their own traditions with them than pass them on to the present generation. They believe that if it goes out to another person outside the family, in a short time it will have dissolved, absorbed by all the people who have access to it.

There is also a fear that by giving things out, they could be commercialised. If this happens, they lose their sacredness, their fertility. They just become common. And knowledge that is profane has lost its life, lost its tapu." (Manihera, in King, M. (Ed.) 1992 p. 9)

Thus, an aspect of the hinengaro dimension concerns the tapu nature of some areas of knowledge, and the associated responsibilities of both learner and teacher.

Kaiako

The term kaiako may rendered as teacher and as learner, thus conveying the duality in terms of process and position of learning and teaching. It is acceptable practice in the Maori world for a learner to become teacher and the teacher to become learner. (Tangaere, A. in Webber, B. 1996: 114).

Poutama

7 Context 3

Poutama represent the journey of Tane as he ascended to the twelfth heaven to retrieve the three kete matauranga (baskets of knowledge) for the edification of the people. The poutama design symbolises the steps to reach the twelfth heaven.

Tangaere describes the meaning of poutama to her:

When I look at the . . . poutama it clarifies for me what learning and development is for Maori. For me there are many messages held in that one image or concept. The layered design of steps ascending upwards tells me of Tane's climb to gain knowledge and the challenges he faced during his journey. It reminds me of the many challenges that I face in my learning and development, and that in finding answers for these challenges I am able to grow. It tells me that it is through continuous practice and through continuously working towards becoming more competent, not only in my intellectual pursuits, but also my physical, emotional, social, spiritual and cultural dimensions, that I can hope to ascend those steps...Within te ira tangata a Maori person held many facets or dimensions...The layered steps represent the many dimensions...They tell me that it is important to ensure a balanced development for each.

The poutama tell me that learning is a process which involves a period of time for the task or activity to be understood. This is represented by the steps and plateaus in the poutama...Once this is accomplished, then the learner ascends, like Tane, to the next step. The (many intersecting points in the) poutama depicts the importance of the whanau assisting one another in that learning.

Therefore the poutama can be interpreted from a physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual perspective as well as reminding te iwi Maori of the specialness of knowledge. It reminds us of the responsibility we have in imparting that knowledge. It is a taonga, a gift to us through Tane-nui-a-Rangi.

(Tangaere, in Webber, 1996, p. 111-112)

7 Context 3

The poutama pattern is a frequent feature of the tukutuku (lattice weaving) found in whare-hui. The poutama design also features in many Maori contexts. It provides the principles of learning across the different dimensions (and I emphasise that the term learning, as it is used here extends beyond cognitive or intellectual learning). The poutama principle is an aspect within each of the dimensions of Te Wheke.

Whanau

As previously noted the whanau provides the primary context of learning in the Maori world. The elders of the whanau have a special role in the education of the young, with observational learning, modelling, repetition, and finally doing as key features of the learning process.

Much learning is done without formalised instruction; the mere fact of being there is enough to begin the learning by absorption process.

"... there are certain qualities about you that are recognised by elders. They don't actually teach you. They select you and place you in a situation where you absorb knowledge. When you're asleep on your own, they're singing waiatas or reciting genealogies in the next room. As you're lying in the dark, you absorb everything that's going on. And before you realise what you're doing, you've learned how to recite too, or you've learned the words of a certain song. And this can go on for...years. But you don't realise that they're putting you in that situation to learn..." (Pewhairangi, in King, M (Ed.) 1992, p. 10)

The tuakana/teina concept is derived from two principles: whanaungatanga and ako (learn/teach) It may be seen in practice in the responsibility of tuakana to play a role in the learning and development of their teina. Several studies have affirmed the role of tuakana in facilitating the learning processes of teina. This is true within metaphorical and literal whanau contexts within and outside designated 'educational' arena. (Tangaere, in Webber, B. (Ed.) 1996:p113).

Whakawhitiwhiti Korero

Whakawhitiwhiti korero refers to the process of discussion leading to the creation of enlightenment. Discussion, particularly marae-based discussion, is based on certain principles. On the marae atea, dangerous issues should be sounded out, prior to the coming together and entry into the house. The process is that the kai-whaikorero (formal speakers) conduct themselves in accordance with protocol in order that the wairuatanga is acknowledged and the mauri of the hui put in place and bound in well. Each speaker has a right to speak without interruption providing he conducts himself appropriately. After the formal words of acknowledgement and appeasement, the speaker may raise the issue to be addressed before the hui proper may begin. It is a feature of good oratory that there is liberal use of metaphor, storytelling and passion in order to convey points powerfully without resort to overly direct speech that may offend. Thus the initial speaker, from the host side, may provide reference to the contentious issue, with subsequent speakers contributing to the development of a position from which it is safe to enter the domain of Rongo. In this way, the forceful expression of anger is provided for on the marae atea, as once discussions have moved inside the house, angry feelings may be acknowledged, but care taken in the expression of them, so as not to offend Rongo. The final speakers on each side are usually the most well-versed and experienced. It is their job to tie the discussions up in such a way that the process may move from the domain of Tumatauenga, to that of Rongo.

One important principle of whakawhitiwhiti korero inside the whare is that everyone has a chance to speak uninterrupted. Speaking from the heart is encouraged, with purely 'objective' contributions less effective. As discussion proceeds, a range of perspectives on the position in question are put forward and must be listened to with respect. Perspectives incorporate intellectual/cognitive, emotional, spiritual and systemic dimensions. Once again, stories are told and links made between the situation at hand and similar situations in recent or ancient times, which may provide lessons or illuminations in the present. Gradually, the various strands of discussion are interwoven, until eventually a metaphorical whariki (woven mat) takes shape. Kaumatua and rangatira are primarily responsible for the intricacies of the weaving process. It is through the careful negotiation and construction of shared meanings in relation to the kaupapa of the hui, that a new and shared way of looking at things and proceeding forward, is illuminated.

Whare Wananga

Whare wananga are places of higher learning. In the modern context, the term is often used to refer to tertiary educational settings as well as to concentrated teaching and learning sessions in the marae environment. In the past, specialised knowledge and training in a variety of arenas was provided to selected people through the institution of whare wananga. The laws of tapu and a variety of aspects of the wairua dimension were integral to the process, in addition to physical requirements and hinengaro, or intellectual learning.

Ihi

Barlow (1991) relates the ihi aspect to the notion of vitality and the quality of excellence. He sees ihi as the potential in all things, and as encompassing every part of one's being; the physical, spiritual, mental, emotional, and interactive group facets. Barlow defines ihi as "the power of living things to develop and grow to their full maturity and state of excellence. . . each living thing has a unique degree of excellence and develops within the bounds of its species". (1991: 31) Other commentators (Williams, 1971; Ryan, 1983) describe ihi in terms of psychic or essential force, power and authority, while Marsden defines ihi as the "vital force or personal magnetism which, radiating from a person, elicits in the holder a response of awe and respect." (1992:118). All the above are accurate.

Ihi may be expressed individually or combined with that of a group. An example of an individual manifestation of ihi may be seen in a speaker, singer or performer who is at the pinnacle of excellence, such that he or she has the audience spellbound, enraptured and in awe of the charisma or full force of personality he/she exudes. It should be noted that ihi does not equate with loudness or putting oneself forward, but is rather a manifestation of an inner power and achievement of excellence under the authority of the atua. Ihi in people may be observed in a variety of contexts, from the awe-inspiring performances of sports-people on the sports-field, to the determination and utmost use of all faculties of a child determined to successfully scale a high fence, to the successful performance and completion of a paraplegic girl of a painting using her mouth to hold a paintbrush.

The biannual New Zealand Polynesian Festival of the Performing Arts provides examples of ihi as expressed through the group. Groups selected to perform at the festival have been in training together and preparation for the event for months or years. As the time draws closer preparation becomes increasingly intense. All members of the group are pushed towards their individual peaks of spiritual, mental, physical, emotional and group readiness. In other words, the whatumanawa, wairuatanga, mauri, mana, ha a koro ma a kui ma, tinana, hinengaro and whanaungatanga dimensions have been exercised and provided with sustenance to the point that they are full to bursting point. At their one performance in the festival, the ihi of the group will ideally converge to create an overpowering sense of the ihi and its counterpart response, wehi, in the audience.

Wehi

Wehi may be rendered as fear, awe, respect, being terrified (Barlow, 1991; Williams, 1971; and Ryan, 1983). It is the feeling of awe, respect or fear in the presence of the ihi, of a person or the mana and tapu of the atua. "It is the emotion of fear generated by anxiety or apprehension in case one gives offence to the atua, or a response of awe at a manifestation of divine power" (Marsden, 1992:121).

When the hairs on the back of one's neck stand up, one is struck speechless or left breathless by the excellence or power of the being or performance of another, this is wehi. People, however, respond to the dual aspects of the ihi and the wehi in different ways. Some people are conscious of feeling at a disadvantage, translate this as threat and respond accordingly.

Whatumanawa

This refers to the emotional dimension and the need to experience and express emotions fully. In particular deeply felt emotions such as grief, joy, anger and jealousy need full expression. Sustenance for the whatumanawa is provided in the acceptance and full expression of various emotions.

There are a number of formalised means of expressing emotion. Haka, waiata tangi, karanga, whaikorere, tears, hupe and practices associated with tangihanga, provide for the full expression of a range of emotions.

The separation of feeling and expression of emotion may be viewed as unhealthy. Durie has been critical of the Western tendency to require a 'validation' of whatumanawa expression through its translation into the hinengaro dimension. This is particularly demonstrated in the common expectation in counselling that expression of emotion should involve the cognitive process of 'putting feelings into words', naming one's feelings, and talking about how one feels. Such expectations effectively invalidate expression through the whatumanawa and indicate a logocentric orientation.

Ha a Koro ma a Kui ma

Literally, 'the breath of life from forebears', this dimension also recognises the continuity - and aspects of oneness - between the present individual, whanau and hapu, and those who have gone before. Thus the living generation represent the ongoing breath of tupuna. Aspects of the ongoing breath of life may be traced through whakapapa. The breath of life from forebears continues in our genes, in our inherited talents and predispositions and in our whanau roles and missions which have been passed down, in our kawa and most particularly in our tikanga.

Pere emphasises the heritage aspect of this dimension and knowledge of one's heritage in particular. Sustenance for this dimension may be gained through learning about, experiencing and re-visiting aspects of one's heritage.

The 'ha a koro ma a kui ma' dimension also serves to confirm our existence by virtue of and ongoing connection with those who have gone before.

Summary

In this section, Maori narratives around healthy selfhood, that is, the nature of self, other and wellbeing have been presented. These narratives do not constitute an exhaustive analysis of aspects of Maori epistemology, nor is there any way of knowing how many Maori hold to the beliefs and values expressed here. However, the narratives provide a contextual framework for the second readings of the stories of participants. As such, they may serve to 'flesh out' meanings that may be made from participants' stories.

YVONNE'S STORY

Y: Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Tararua te maunga
Ko Ohau te awa
Ko Tu Korehe toku tupuna o te ra whanui
Ko Yvonne Wehipeihana-Wilson taku ingoa.

In introducing herself through her pepeha, Yvonne locates herself within her whanau, hapu and iwi system. In explicitly bringing forth this positioning of herself in relation to her whakapapa, she locates the narrative to follow within this context also. This reminds me that the person I am interviewing, and the narrative to come, incorporates levels of meaning beyond Yvonne the individual, Yvonne the counsellor and Yvonne the storyteller. Various aspects of the wairuatanga, whanaungatanga, hinengaro, ha a koro ma a kui ma dimensions are brought to the fore. In particular, I am reminded that Yvonne's story is tapu, and that her story carries within it the ha, matauranga, and mana of her tupuna.

Yvonne is married with three grown children, one mokopuna, and a second mokopuna on the way. She has been working in the field of drug and alcohol abuse and addiction since 1986. Here she talks about the circumstances of her birth, her childhood and upbringing.

Childhood and Upbringing

Y: I was, um, born in '43 . . . 1943, 6th of February 1943 I was born, and it was the Second World War. And at that stage Maori had a choice, they did not have to go over to the war. Because of Princess Te Paea?

So obviously with the permission of my grandparents, my father didn't go away, didn't go overseas with the Maori Battalion. And he. . . he had an affair with a married Pakeha woman. Her husband happened to be overseas, and when I was born he came home to his parents, Granny and Grandpa, and told them.

And he told them that he'd got this girl in trouble and she'd just had a baby, and she was going to adopt me out, for her reasons. . . she had her reasons.

And apparently my grandmother, and she was in her 60s when she took me, hopped on a bus and tore off up to Wanganui and brought me home. And I was two. . . three, two or three days old and Granny took me and brought me home.

And I was whangai'ed by my grandparents. And I remember as a kid, it was quite, quite unreal, as I got older and look back, Granny and Grandpa were my parents, there's no doubt in my mind that they were my parents, but as I got older. . . it seemed quite funny at school, every one had a mum and dad and I had a granny and grandpa. And

8a Yvonne's Story

of course, you know as a kid. . .

And then, um, I guess I was brought up as my father's sister in a way. But he was away from here. He lived away, and he eventually got married. So I had -half brothers and -sisters.

But as I look back, um, I was meant to go to my grandmother's younger sister, because my family thought that she was too old, in her sixties having brought nine children up herself, she was too old to take on a baby. And that was to be. But then my grandmother's sister died. So I stayed with my grandmother and [grand]father.

In the above extract, Yvonne expands on her whakapapa and her place in a network of whanau, hapu and iwi relationships.

Her story begins before her birth in the circumstances which led to her conception. These circumstances are determined by her whakapapa, the position she and her whanau have within particular hapu and iwi. In referring to Princess Te Puea, the association of this with her father not going to war, and eventually with her own conception and birth, Yvonne illustrates how her story, her very being, is born from the story of her people, the people of Tainui.

The Tainui people are the people of the Waikato. They have a history of war with the Pakeha, the confiscation of lands by the Crown and they also have their own Kingitanga and a philosophy relating to this that belongs to them. As a result

8a Yvonne's Story

of these factors, an edict was issued by Princess Te Puea of the Tainui royal family that Tainui men were not required to fight in World War II on behalf of the Pakeha. Thus Tainui men of fighting age did not participate in the Second World War.

The value placed on Yvonne as a link in the whakapapa, as a part of the network of whanau, hapu and iwi, and specifically as a mokopuna within the whanau, is illustrated in her grandmother's actions in uplifting her and bringing her back to the whanau. The death of Yvonne's grandmother's sister, with the consequence that Yvonne remained living with her grandmother is a tohu indicative of the correctness of her position in relation to her grandparents within the wairua and whanau systems. In this narrative Yvonne is positioned as matamua (the oldest child of her father) and potiki (the youngest child of her grandparents). She is also teina (as a younger sibling) to her father, and tuakana the oldest sibling to her half-brothers and sisters. Disconnected in a physical sense from her mother, she is mokai (pet, special one) to her grandparents.

Although raised by her elderly grandparents, Yvonne was not isolated as a child. She grew up as part of a whanau of adults and children and experienced the closeness and conflicts associated with family living.

Y: And as I look back. . . One of the other sons, his marriage had parted, and she had two of the other kids there, my two first cousins, who were older than me. We were first cousins, but we actually grew up like sister and brother.

And I guess, everyone says that I was the spoilt one. I remember going everywhere with Grandma. And my cousin and I, who are sisters, you know; as we've grown up, we've dealt with those issues, because she got them out to me, that, um, I was a spoilt bitch and all this, and all o' that, and all the trouble I got them in. And yeah, I bet I did.

Yvonne here is expanding on her position as potiki, as whangai and as mokai within the whanau unit headed by her grandparents. As outlined previously, the position of potiki is embodied in the persona of Maui Potiki, who was also potiki, whangai, and mokai. Maui Potiki was known as a mischief-maker. His siblings were jealous of him and disliked him at times. However he is recognised as a very important character who made invaluable contributions to Maoridom through his adventurousness, creativeness, wilfulness and sense of his own importance - the very qualities that did not always endear him to his siblings. Thus, Yvonne's narrative here has parallels with the seminal stories of Maui.

Despite the potentially difficult and traumatic circumstances of her birth and earliest days, Yvonne remembers her growing up years as being very happy ones. She recognises that she was 'spoilt' by her grandparents.

Y: But we had a fabulous time, a fabulous childhood. We always had um,. . . if my kids, if I can give my kids a quarter of what Grandma and Grandpa gave me, then I believe I've been a good mother. Yeah, laughter's a word that comes through; and spoilt, everyone reckons I was spoilt. We didn't seem to have a lot of money, but we

8a Yvonne's Story

always had everything else. We were warm, we had clothes, we had fun. But. . . No, we had a fabulous, fabulous childhood. Smoked Granny's cigarettes; smoked dock leaves, and you name it. . . and dried tea.

Yvonne here is talking about the sustenance provided for different dimensions of herself in her upbringing. In speaking of herself as "spoilt" she is once again referring to her special place as whangai, mokopuna and potiki. Yvonne's reference to smoking different substances is an acknowledgement of the 'mischief' aspects of being a child (a feature also reminiscent of Maui Potiki), and the indulgence that is often accorded the youngest ones, by elders particularly. She is speaking of the aroha and awhina aspects of the whanaungatanga dimension, and in the references to fun, freedom and laughter, of the whatumanawa dimension. Aspects of the wairuatanga dimension may be intertwined with these. In particular, the word "warm" may convey several meanings including physical warmth, feeling loved and cared for, and being spiritually calm and protected.

Yvonne's grandparents valued Western education. They wanted her to continue her schooling longer than she wanted herself. This precipitated some conflict, and her father was called in to take a disciplinary role. His approach was resented by Yvonne, particularly as it was different from the more gentle approach of her grandparents. Yvonne's success in implementing her decision to leave school perhaps illustrates her grandparents' regard for her autonomy, as much as it does her own wilfulness.

8a Yvonne's Story

Y: I remember one incident when I was about 15, 'cause I wasn't dumb; I was just lazy. I wanted to leave college, all my mates were leaving college, and getting work, and of course we didn't have a lot of money. And I remember my father coming up; and I was going to leave school and that was that. I was 16, I was leaving school. And then, um, Granny and Grandpa ... as a kid you don't think of all those things, but when I got to become adult and look back on all these things, I knew what they'd done. Because I wasn't listening to them, and they said well, you know, okay, they really had to persuade me, spoilt little brat. They brought my father up. And he tried to sit me down to say, um, um, you know, "You're not leaving school!" and all this. And I remember swearing like hell at him and saying, "Who the hell are you?" And it's the first hiding I ever got in my life. And it was a real whack around the legs, boy. And my pride was hurt more than anything. The outcome of that was that I did leave school. I was pretty spoilt and I got my way.

As kaumatua, Yvonne's grandparents' role was to guide and direct, to provide aroha, awhina and maramatanga, and to sow the seeds of matauranga. When Yvonne wanted to stray from the path they believed she should follow, her grandparents hoped that she would recognise the authority of her father, and that his disciplinary role would help to put her back 'on track'. Yvonne's relationship with her father, was that of daughter, but with elements of tuahine (younger sister). Yvonne's father was effectively placed in a dual role in relationship to Yvonne. He confronted Yvonne as a representative of his parents, and as her matua or parent.

8a Yvonne's Story

However, it would appear that the whanau eventually recognised once again the traits of Maui Potiki, of rebellion, disobedience, wilfulness, pushing the limits, and determination to follow his own path, a path that represented both his success and contributions to Maori society, and his downfall.

As a child, Yvonne was taken around the country by her grandparents. She went to many marae, attending hui and tangi. Reflecting on these and other childhood experiences shared with her grandparents and cousins, she is aware that many of her present values, attitudes, and interests stem from these early years. Appreciation of concepts such as 'te tapu o te tupapaku', and the reality of death, for example, appear to have been instilled in Yvonne from a very young age.

Y: But as I've grown up, like I tend. . . I seem to go around New Zealand a lot, and I always get the feeling that I've been somewhere, that I've been there before. And I, I believe that has happened as a child, not as an adult. I went everywhere!

I remember one time, 'cause in those days when there was a tangi, they used to move in buses; you know from Raukawa down here, they'd go up to Tauranga, or wherever. And I remember this particular time, we went on this Otaki bus and we got picked up some hour in the middle of the night. And there was two of my other cousins there. And I remember playing in the back of this Otaki bus. We got up to Tauranga, to go across to Matakana Island. . . before our eyes they bring the coffin out from the back of

8a Yvonne's Story

the bus. I'll never forget that eh. And us three kids, we just went [indrawn breath and horrified look]. All of us were under seven. And Gran said it was okay, it was all fine. Well we didn't know it was there.

But, um yeah, I went everywhere. And I know, I know today that I have a lot of their values. I'd forgotten for a few years, I really did.

Marae are known as the centres of Maori learning, and as the spiritual centres of Maoridom. In taking their mokopuna around with them to various marae, Yvonne's grandparents were educating her and instilling in her connections in the dimensions of wairuatanga, hinengaro, mauri, ha a koro ma a kui ma, whanaungatanga, tinana, whatumanawa and mana; for one cannot enter this Maori centre without engaging all of these dimensions. By ensuring Yvonne's involvement in marae-based hui and tangihanga, her grandparents enabled the connections to be made in the various dimensions before the pressure within the Pakeha world to filter and translate experience through the cognitive aspect became dominant. Thus, while Yvonne may not cognitively remember being at certain places, she recognises a previous connection at the mauri, hinengaro, ha a koro ma a kui ma and wairua levels. Although Yvonne cannot remember all the places she went, she is aware that she is not waewae tapu at these places.

The story Yvonne tells of playing at the back of the bus, and discovering, to her horror, that she and her cousins had been playing around the tupapaku illustrates a number of

dimensions. Yvonne and her cousins were clearly aware of the tapu nature of the tupapaku. The implication is that they would not have been playing at the back of the bus, had they realised that the tupapaku was there. This is an indication of the sustenance in the wairuatanga and hinengaro dimensions that Yvonne and her cousins had already received. The comment that Yvonne makes in reference to herself and her cousins all being aged under seven, places them in the whanau roles of tamariki-mokopuna and, as a group, as potiki. Thus the reassurance of Yvonne's grandmother relates both to the ignorance the children had of the presence of the tupapaku, and, as Yvonne emphasises in her specific reference to their young age, to the children's shared position as tamariki-mokopuna and potiki. This positioning allows for some tolerance of the breaking of rules.

Although Yvonne does not specifically say so, it is highly probable that her grandmother or another member of the whanau, would 'put things to right' by giving the children a wash, or sprinkling them with water, with or without an overt karakia, to cleanse them.

While Yvonne grew up with her Maori-speaking grandparents and was heavily involved in the life of the Maori community, she was not taught to speak Maori, but English. She also became adept at interpreting her grandparents' non-verbal signals.

Y: I remember growing up, because, you know, because I came to a stage in my life where I really was hungry for the reo. I, I ended up angry with Granny and Grandpa because

8a Yvonne's Story

they were fluent. . . their first language was Maori, both of them. And, in their wisdom, and I choose these words carefully, in their wisdom I believe that they. . . it was better for us, their mokopuna, to learn the Pakeha. And I, I really believe that.

When our whanau. . . When our people from there came down Granny and Grandpa used to korero Maori to us, eh, and we knew what she was doing. Didn't realise that perhaps they were whakama to let their own people know that they were tutoring their mokopuna in the Pakeha way. So we played the game. We all went "Wha?" "What did you say Granny?" And you know the eye language. We were brought up with eye language, eh. If looks could kill.

Some of the many dimensions relating to te reo are illustrated in the above extract. Yvonne felt deeply the lack of sustenance she received in terms of te reo. As te reo may be considered an aspect of the wairuatanga, mana, hinengaro, ha a koro ma a kui ma and whatumanawa dimensions, a denial of te reo represents a denial of sustenance for this aspect of these dimensions, and may be expected therefore to have implications within all of these dimensions. Yvonne responded to this lack of sustenance with anger. It should be remembered, however, that anger is partner to grief, as demonstrated frequently at tangihanga. The association of anger with grief is also implied in the characterisation of Tawhirimatea, child of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, as he periodically expresses his grief at the separation of his parents through fierce winds and raging storms.

Yvonne effectively responded to her grandparent's decision to withhold te reo from her, from the hinengaro, whatumanawa and mana dimensions. She recognises that the pain of the decision not to pass on te reo was felt by her grandparents as well as herself. She recognises that the decision was made out of love and caring for their mokopuna, to enable them to better survive in a world that was hostile to te reo Maori and to the dimensions of healthy Maori selfhood and society embedded within it. Thus, from her hinengaro Yvonne has achieved the maramatanga to appreciate and honour the matauranga that led her grandparents to their decision. In doing so she recognises that the decision was aimed at protecting her mana in an English-speaking land. In turn, Yvonne is careful not to trample on the mana of her grandparents. She protects their mana by honouring the storylines within which they lived.

Despite wanting their moko to learn the Pakeha ways and succeed in that arena, and while choosing English as the primary language of the home for her and her cousins, Yvonne's grandparents lived Maoritanga on the marae, in their community, and in their home. Yvonne remembers aspects of this as it effected her health and carries the interest with her today. The use of rongoa, Maori medicine incorporated with the spiritual aspect of karakia, is an area of which Yvonne is still a keen student. She also sometimes uses rongoa in her work with people today.

Y: And one area that I'm really interested in is, um, the rongoa. You know the rongoa?

8a Yvonne's Story

And I remember as a kid never going to the doctor. Never, ever going to the doctor. If we were sick, I can remember Grandpa always doing us with water, and a taewa, you know a potato, and a karakia. And the, ah, sores and pakiharis, they always put these kopakopa on our legs. I never went to a doctor.

The use of water and taewa (a potato; cooked food) that Yvonne refers to with respect to her grandfather's treatment when they were sick indicates that physical ailments were seen, by her grandfather, as incorporating spiritual origins and therefore as being amenable to spiritual treatment. This in turn indicates the primary perception of the person in terms of wairuatanga. The use of native plants and vegetation in healing physical ailments would usually be accompanied by an acknowledgement of the spiritual and physical domains from which they come. This applies both to the gathering and preparation of the plants, and their application to the body.

The methods of treatment for sickness that Yvonne describes illustrate her grandparent's perceptions of Yvonne, sickness, events and the world around them as part of a spiritual system, and of the maramatanga and matauranga passed down through the generations on how to regain balance and health. Thus the dimensions of tinana, wairuatanga, hinengaro, mauri and ha a koro ma a kui ma are implicit within the study and use of rongoa Maori. Yvonne's current interest in rongoa is also framed within these understandings.

8a Yvonne's Story

Although Yvonne herself had rebelled against her grandparent's wishes at times (such as the wish that she continue her schooling), she later upheld many of their beliefs and attitudes (such as those concerning the value of spiritual/religious, and Western/school education, and those concerning the role of pakeke in relation to rangatahi), in the upbringing of her own children.

Y: "You don't leave school until you've got U.E.; whether you're 17 or 27, you don't leave school until you've got U.E.. And you don't have a 21st if you're hapu, married or whatever, you've got a girl in trouble." Those were two main rules, and we stuck by that.

I remember people saying to us "Oh", you know, "You shouldn't do that, you shouldn't do that, you shouldn't make your kids go to boarding school". We both believed that at 12 years old or 13 years old, we knew what was best for our son: to go to Hato Paora. I just about weakened. But I think, 'How can a child of 12 or whatever know what's better for them?'

. . . They [Yvonne's children] don't go to church every Sunday, but Bunny and I believed in giving them the basic ground. And as they become adults, and they are adults now, then they make their own choices. But if you don't give them anything to compare it with, or ground them, well how the heck would they know? And that's something really strong.

The role of pakeke is to direct and guide the rangatahi, to map out the temporal path for the rangatahi to follow.

Rangatahi are not simply individuals, but a part of the whanau system. As such, pakeke need to lead them to a position from which they may take up their roles within whanau, hapu and iwi systems. This pakeke function is based on the premise that rangatahi are not in a position to follow the path, or to choose to stray from the path, unless they have been shown the path in the first place.

In place of traditional markers of coming-of-age and of achievement (such as the tohi rites and ta moko), Yvonne and her husband have set a certain level of achievement to be reached before the right to leave school and the rite of the twenty-first birthday party are earned. While the outward manifestation of the steps have altered, the poutama principle remains.

Although she does not emphasise 'traditional Maori' spiritual institutions, Yvonne and her husband have sought to provide sustenance for their children within the wairuatanga of church institutions. Hato Paora is a Catholic Boarding School for Maori boys. In some ways there are parallels between the traditional wananga as institutions of learning for young Maori males in particular, and the traditions of Hato Paora. The boys are removed from their mothers and other women to learn, the school itself is under the patronage of a Saint (Saint Paul), education takes place within the context of a particular aspect of a spiritual system, whanau models of relating are incorporated into the structure of the school and the education itself includes tutelage in Maori language, kapa haka and tikanga. Therefore, in choosing to send their son to Hato Paora, Yvonne and her

husband have chosen to enable him to receive sustenance in aspects of the dimensions of wairuatanga, whanaungatanga, ha a koro ma a kui ma, hinengaro, tinana and mauri which they may not have been able to provide in the home environment.

The theme of continuity between the values and beliefs inculcated in Yvonne by her tupuna (grandparents) and her own values and beliefs in relation to her children and grandchildren is illustrated in the following extract.

Y: But our mokopuna, our first mokopuna, my grandmother's name was Ani Oriwia, and when our eldest girl gave birth to her first one on Granny's birthday, because they'd asked me before to name the baby, and I said "If it's a girl I will." When she was born on the same day as Granny, well, hey, not a problem; that baby's name was Ani Oriwia Jessica. But. . . they had it Jessica Ani Oriwia. And I knew Granny, the presence of my Grandmother, my Grandmother was very strong when baby was born. And I said to her, "No, it's to be Ani Oriwia Jessica; or else you do not have that name." Because I felt very strongly they weren't to put Granny's name after Jessica. And they accepted it. But I felt very strongly about that, and I would've taken that name back. Mmmmm, it's just values I guess we all get from our people.

The naming of children is an important and sacred task. The task of providing a name is usually given to the child's grandparents or another senior member of the whanau, hapu or iwi. Traditional tohi rites and iriiri associate the

8a Yvonne's Story

naming of a child with his/her place in the spiritual and temporal domains. In the naming and dedication process, *tohu* are sought to direct the process of naming and dedication to particular gods or deities, remembering that "the name signifies an extension of the personality" (Marsden, 1992, p. 125). Through the naming and dedication of the child to certain gods or members of the spiritual realm, the child was traditionally placed under the *tapu* of these gods or beings of the spiritual realm, and thus "removed from the sphere of the profane to the sphere of the sacred" (Marsden, 1992, p. 125).

As a Catholic, Yvonne is likely to want her *mokopuna* dedicated to the service of a single Christian God through a church or *marae*-based Christian christening service. However, Yvonne's narrative indicates that she has recognised the *tohu* of the birthday shared by her first *mokopuna* and her grandmother as significant. Thus, rather than choosing a name herself, Yvonne has followed the direction provided through the *tohu* of a shared birthday. In effect, the name has been given from the spiritual realm, with Yvonne the channel through which it is passed. Yvonne also refers to the (spiritual) presence of her grandmother when the baby was born. This is another *tohu*, and confirmation that the child is under the spiritual mantle and *tapu* of her grandmother. In insisting that the grandmother's name is primary, and in reserving the right to take the name back if this was not done, Yvonne is protecting the *mana* and *tapu* of the name, the *tupuna* associated with it and also her grandchild (because of the possible consequences of trampling on the *mana* and breaching the *tapu* of the *tupuna*

who gifted the name). Thus, the naming of Ani Oriwia Jessica by Yvonne was a process incorporating the dimensions of wairuatanga, mana and whanaungatanga and the aspects of tohu, whakapapa, mana tupuna, mana atua and mana whanau aspects of these.

Learning and Growing

The theme of learning and growing forms a major part of Yvonne's views and understandings in a number of ways.

- 1) Childhood experiences as learning and preparation for the future

Yvonne acknowledges the influence of her childhood experiences, and particularly the values upheld by her grandparents, as the basis of many of her own present day views and values. These views and values are relevant to many aspects of her life. They permeate her attitudes to herself; her roles as a family member, a woman, a member of her marae committee, whanau, hapu, and iwi, the Maori community, and as a counsellor.

Speaking of her role in the workplace, and as a counsellor, Yvonne makes direct links back to the lessons she learnt in childhood.

Y: And the role I always seemed to be playing was the peacemaker, the pacifier. And I know why now. Because. . . my, I married into Muaupoko, and also my grandfather had a deep respect, and never. . . he was humble in his way, and taught me, "You never tread onto the mana of others." You know, you have no right to tread onto them, onto the

8a Yvonne's Story

mana of anyone else. And I've, umm, I've brought that into my counselling; umm, and anyway, that if I'm dealing with a young person, I do not have the right to tread on the mana of that child's family, eh. . . Particularly the elders. But I, no. . . I do not have the right to tread on the mana of the elders. Like work with their mokopuna, work with their sons, without some consultation with them.

Here, Yvonne brings together three key areas: her role from childhood as peacemaker and link-person, and the teachings of her grandfather in relation to this; her relationship with Muaupoko; and her counselling philosophy in relation to the mana of the whanau. In Yvonne's way of viewing herself, others and her place in the world, these areas are connected in a particular way.

Yvonne is of Ngati Raukawa, her husband is of Muaupoko. The ha (breath) of the respective tupuna and the whakapapa of Yvonne and her husband, are united in their children. Ngati Raukawa and Muaupoko have a history dating from pre-European times of warfare and bitter conflict over the mana whenua of parts of the Horowhenua, including the township of Levin. The inter-generational conflict between Ngati Raukawa and Muaupoko is currently being fought on the marae and through the judicial system. Yvonne, her husband, children and colleague are thus the living constituents of a whakapapa that include ongoing conflict. The key factor in both the continuation and resolution of conflict is mana.

The welfare of Yvonne's children, her marriage and working

relationship require that a balance in mana relationships be maintained. If Yvonne were to do anything to cause a diminution in the mana of herself and Ngati Raukawa, or of her husband and Muaupoko, she would inevitably be diminishing the mana of her children and mokopuna. In doing so she would also inevitably be denying her children and grandchildren sustenance for their mana dimensions. This in turn would be exposing them to the possible consequences of a diminishment in mana.

In effect, Yvonne provides a model for resolution of the ongoing conflict between Ngati Raukawa and Muaupoko. Yvonne and her husband, through developing successful partnerships within a whanau model based on the maintenance of mana, are contributing to a peaceful resolution of the Ngati Raukawa-Muaupoko conflicts.

Yvonne's statement to the effect that she now knows why she has had the role of peacemaker from childhood is significant. In linking her early introduction into the role of peacemaker with her marriage into Muaupoko, Yvonne implies that her development in the role of peacemaker and her later marriage into Muaupoko were not accidental. Rather, these roles are one and the same. Yvonne, then, has been on a path of peacemaker, the key feature of which is maintaining a balance in relationships since childhood. This role was meant to train and prepare her for her later role within whanau, hapu and iwi systems: including her marriage into Muaupoko, the production of offspring who symbolise the unification of Ngati Raukawa and Muaupoko, and the development of a model of mana enhancing inter-

8a Yvonne's Story

tribal, inter-hapu and inter-whanau relationships. The path Yvonne has been on is forged by the flow of the wairua.

Yvonne's philosophy of counselling is framed by two fundamental assumptions. First, that an individual is primarily a part of whanau, with young people in particular being subject to the whanau system and the elders as representative of the mana of that whanau. Thus the mana of the individual is indivisible from the mana of their whanau. Second, in recognition of the place of the individual as a part of a whanau system, and in seeking to respect the mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau by consulting with the elders of the whanau, Yvonne is in fact working to maintain and promote the mana of the client. To undermine the mana of the whanau by treating a part of that whanau as an individual entity and concomitantly denying the rangatiratanga of the whanau in relation to its constituent parts, would be to undermine the mana of the individual as a part of that whanau.

In effect, Yvonne is identifying the whanau as the primary unit within Maori society. She is operating according to a model based on the preservation and fostering of mana at a whanau (and whanau as part of hapu and iwi) level. In so doing, she is working to provide sustenance for the mana of the client.

- 2) Internalisation of values - Incorporation of values into living and working

The notion of respect; respect for the mana of others, respect for

elders and particularly (as illustrated in Yvonne's previous narrative), traditional Maori values, also defines Yvonne's expectations of others. Yvonne's adherence to notions such as the value of whakaiti, (as opposed to whakahihi,) te tika me te he, and the responsibilities of one to another, of elders to those younger, of being part of a whanau, are illustrated in the following excerpt.

Y: A while back I noticed that the, um, the younger ones had this attitude towards my generation and the generation above me, because we don't have the reo. And a few of us noticed their, umm, I suppose disrespect, for want of a better word, in relationship. . .

I: Because they had the opportunity to learn?

Y: They had the reo, yeah. So we sat them down, umm, and says, "Well hey, you know, the structure on that marae, the tangihanga, how we all need each other; the paepae, the people who clean the toilets, the people who cook the kai, the people who set the tables. That structure on a tangihanga, it all works if, we all need each other." But I did notice that their attitude, because they did have the reo, was whakahihi. Ae. Particularly to my generation and the generation above; so we thought "No, better nip this one in the bud." So we sat down and talked, and we said, "Well you might have the reo, and we mightn't have the reo." Particularly the generation above me, they understand, they mightn't have the reo, but gee. . . And they have so many fascinating stories, and they're full of knowledge. Now our kids, I believe, were missing this point. And we're fortunate to have these elders with us, longer than our

tamariki at the moment. And they mightn't have the reo, but they certainly have the kawa, and those values, eh.

Te reo Maori has been identified as an aspect of all the dimensions of Te Wheke. However, the inclusion of te reo as an aspect of the dimensions does not necessarily mean that 'having' or 'knowing' te reo Maori provides sustenance to all these dimensions. It is possible to learn te reo as a cognitive exercise, within the hinengaro dimension, without a full appreciation of the other dimensions. In such cases, a tendency to assume that the sign or manifestation is the essence, and to 'cognify', can obstruct understanding of the complex relationships between the dimensions.

The learning of te reo Maori in contemporary society is often associated with Western institutions and qualifications, with a 'generic' form of Maori language through which one dialect is taught (while other hapu and iwi based dialects are ignored and may come to be seen, by implication, as less valid), and a single, universal 'Maoritanga story' thus generated.

Wherever possible, te reo Maori is spoken as the language of formal ceremony and spiritual blessing on the marae. In an area where there is a shortage of Maori language speakers, those who have te reo may fulfil roles at the front of the marae, on the paepae, and in rituals which they would not have fulfilled if there had been sufficient older people who had te reo, or a wealth of kai-whaikorero, tohunga and kai-karanga to choose from.

In the situation described above, Yvonne infers that the young people who had the reo were either asked to fulfil or assumed a right to fulfil roles associated with the speaking of te reo, which were traditionally taken by kaumatua or rangatira. They did not serve the traditional apprenticeship period of fulfilling a variety of roles, working their way from the back to the front of the marae (or alternatively, if their whanau were 'front people', of spending years watching and learning the intricacies of interaction on the marae atea). Therefore the young people had missed out on the depth of learning, understanding of tikanga and knowledge of the complexities of relationships so vital to the successful running of marae, and the maintenance of appropriate mana relationships. Thus, these young people had overlooked the importance of learning, growth and development in the various dimensions and aspects, other than the language and cognitive learning aspects of the hinengaro dimension. In doing so they were privileging a certain form of cognitive knowledge and assuming a hierarchy of status based on this. In terms of the poutama aspects of the hinengaro, whanaungatanga and ha a kui ma a koro ma dimensions, they had leapt from the lower to the upper steps, skipping steps and trampling on others as they went.

In the narrative above, Yvonne indicates that sustenance provided to one aspect of the hinengaro, that is the acquisition of cognitive knowledge of te reo Maori, made some of the rangatahi become whakahihi. That is, they assumed a status and role because of this aspect of their learning that blinded them to the mana of others, of other forms of knowledge, and ways of knowing. As a result, the

8a Yvonne's Story

young people were in danger of te takahitanga i runga i te mana o nga pakeke (trampling on the mana of their elders) and, without realising it, of simultaneously undermining their own mana as part of whanau, hapu and iwi. They threatened to undermine the whanau and hapu system through imposing a Western style hierarchy of individualism and individual achievement over a system of interdependence and complementary roles. Therein lies the importance of whakaiti and the negative value placed on whakahihi.

In providing an overview of the interdependence of different roles, the rangatiratanga of different stories, forms of knowledge and ways of knowing, Yvonne once again works for the maintenance of mana and the strengthening of the whanau, hapu, and iwi unit.

3) Training and Education

Yvonne has served a lengthy apprenticeship, sitting on her marae committee, and consequently learning about her marae and rohe, the people and personalities as well as the way the structures and organisational systems, fit together. This apprenticeship prepared Yvonne to take on an active role as a member of the Raukawa District Maori Council, a Raukawa Tribal Trust and Te Runanga o Raukawa, amongst other things. It also prepared her to assist whanaunga from the younger generation in their apprenticeships. Yvonne has been a member of her marae committee since age 18.

I: You were 18?

8a Yvonne's Story

Y: Yes. Only because, the vision of our elders. There were three of us, two of our young guys and myself. And they actually said, "You are going to be on our marae committee."

'Cause we, gee, we must a listened in those days. So the three of us went along and I was 18. And what we found was, 'cause we know their future plan for us was to listen and to learn. And what we did learn was that, every time we opened our mouth, 'cause we were young and innovative ideas we reckoned, we actually, every time we said something, they'd just, like patronise us, eh. It was like, "Oh yeah let them talk but we won't listen." So we learnt. I guess that was part of their lesson for us, to sit there and learn. . .

And so, two of the guys fell away. Said, "I'm not going to go there, because it doesn't matter what you say, it's just a load of time." And I stayed there for some reason, I stayed there and I must of thought about it. And I went through all the different roles, and this was for ten years, stayed there, and didn't say a word. But I must admit I actually learnt a lot.

And then I. . . It took me years to get into my head; because I wasn't listening properly 'cause I was really hoha and had to be there, it took me years to understand the difference between the Raukawa trustees and the Raukawa District Council, and the role of the Marae Committee, the trustees and all of those. I mean it must have taken about 15 or 20 years, because I wasn't listening properly.

But the funny thing is that I went. But anyway, to cut a long story short, I'm still there. See I went through all the different roles. . . I guess there was a reason for it all.

I: It led you into these other things?

Y: Mmmmm. And I's time now for me to let go. . .

This narrative provides another example of the poutama model. It is also an example of role selection by others, namely the elders, and of Maori models of learning and whanau relationships. The long apprenticeship Yvonne served, the learning through observation, through practical, hands-on activity and the making of mistakes involved in taking on different roles, are consistent with the poutama, whangai, mokai and kaumatua-rangatahi relationship aspects of the hinengaro and whanaungatanga dimensions. Yvonne was allowed to grow into roles and learn the different facets of the running and administration of the marae. At the same time she was getting to know and engaging with the various whanau and building a strong connection and commitment to the marae and the people associated with it. Thus, Yvonne was learning the whakapapa of the marae and the whanau that belonged to it, and extending her roots into her turangawaewae. The relationships between the marae, whanau and hapu associated with it and the various bodies connected to it are inevitably complex. In order to grasp these roles and relationships it is vital to understand the history and evolution of the roles and relationships - hence the significance of

Yvonne's long apprenticeship. In addition, of course, learning and understanding is not viewed as a purely cognitive exercise, but one incorporating all dimensions identified thus far.

Part of the learning that Yvonne experienced as a marae committee member is concerned with attitudes to learning - how to learn-- as well as roles and responsibilities, with the importance of maintaining the strength and mana of her marae., and the whanau associated with it. That is, the training she undertook in this arena, incorporates specific values, feelings, beliefs, and relationships, as well as a knowledge base. The attitudinal, emotional, and spiritual aspects implicit in her training on the marae, may also illuminate the meaning of Yvonne's earlier reference to "not listening properly."

Y: . . . I believe it's time now to let go, or to nurture someone else, and learn from what those elders did for us young ones. See I'm trying to practise what they taught me.

And we made a change last election, is that now our executive is a young executive. But there's still some of us older ones there, on the committee; and what we're noticing is that we empower our young ones to a certain degree, and yet still, you know, keep them through that learning process. But I personally think that's a good step. Because they will make mistakes, you know like we all do, and like we're all going to, and I really believe that the young ones are going to bring the younger ones back still.

But I, I love the marae, eh. I've always, you know, it's my

8a Yvonne's Story

whole being. Trying to get our young. . . because I found my place there. Trying to get others to find their place there, I believe is our role, as older people.

This extract expands on the previous one in terms of the whanaungatanga, ha a koro ma a kui ma, hinengaro, whatumanawa and mana dimensions, and the whangai, mokai, kaumatua-rangatahi relationship, manawanui, whakapapa and turangawaewae aspects of these.

In nurturing the young people, bringing them in and providing roles for them, Yvonne is working to maintain the continuity of the whakapapa of the marae through strengthening whanau connections, and sustaining the binding power of the mauri of the marae through keeping the commitment strong. The relationship between the marae and whanau connected to it is interdependent. The "strength," and in particular the mana and mauri, of the marae are dependent on the input of different whanau and generations within these. For the marae to be 'strong' and whole, different whanau and generations need to fulfil their respective roles. The 'strength' of whanau connected to the marae is also dependent on the strength, wholeness, and successful operation of the marae. The mana of those associated with the marae is dependent on the mana of the marae. The mauri of the marae is dependent, to some degree, on the mauri brought by those who sustain it; and the mauri of those associated with the marae is sustained by the mauri of the marae.

Some years after beginning work in the drug and alcohol field,

Yvonne began a course in addiction studies. It was a two year part-time course run through the Central Institute of Technology. Upon completion of the course, Yvonne emerged with a nationally recognised qualification in counselling in the addiction area. Although she successfully completed the course, it was not without heart-searching and conflict. Yvonne and the other Maori woman on the course, found elements in the course that challenged them to recognise, question, and stand up for certain of the beliefs and values they shared as Maori women. A sense of responsibility back to the Maori community and a faith in the purpose of their presence together on the course were important factors in their eventual completion of it.

Y: Hinekura and I according to everyone, were the first two Maori women who actually got through this course. And, I feel really good about that. . . Umm. We believe we played a little part in making some changes, a little part, with a lot of support from people back home. Now in this addiction studies course they have a Maori perspective; as well as they have the Pakeha perspective. . . all of us played our little part in this happening today. So we feel really good about that.

I don't believe I would have stayed there, if I didn't have that other Maori woman with me. We seemed to give each other support by just looking at each other. At times across the room, we'd know how each other felt, and we were able to say to the lady who was taking the course "You can't assess us, ah, when we do our Maori case load." And we'd do our case studies, about Maori people. And we let her know in no uncertain terms she could not assess us. . . But

I still say, if I hadn't had that other Maori woman with me, um, I don't know if I would have actually stuck it out. I could of said, "Ah no, stuff it; a load of rubbish." But it was something really special, and we did learn.

I: What was, ahh, what was your Pakeha tutor's reaction when you said "You can't assess us?"

Y: Ummm, I thought when we first said it; umm, I thought she was a little hurt. Ummm, yeah, I do, I believe she was a little hurt, when I said it. She couldn't understand at times where we were coming from. She, umm, we were saying things and she would always come back at us, to us it seemed, um, "Your way's wrong, this is the right way." Umm, so it was our way of, retaliating I guess, and feeling really strong about it because we evaluated ourselves, and said, "Now are we doing this for the right reasons?" You know, "Why are we here?"

I: But still it's an important point that you were making, eh, for future as well as for you guys.

Y: Ae. Ae, we were always guided by that. For some reason we thought we were just there, um a piloting something. And we always, um, there's one thing Hinekura and I had together was that, we believed that we were like pathfinders or pathmakers, and that we knew that we were the only two Maori who had, or were getting near to completing this course. Because we were told, so many had started and always fallen out along the wayside. And there had to be a reason for that. So we always had this, "No, whatever we

do, its going to be for our people.”

One thing that happened when we were down there at CIT. We were there as Maori women and we actually made a few changes. Because we were lucky enough, ahh, like, umm, like starting the day with karakia, and ending the day with karakia. But we didn't put it all on them. We actually said, “This is important to us, and, um, did the group mind if we start with karakia?” And if they did, than that's okay 'cause we'd have our own karakia separately.

But we were privileged. . . there were a lot of wairua people in the, ah, spiritual people within the group. And they all really liked that.

One guy, umm, didn't. And he voiced his, his. . . He didn't want to do that. So then, um, it was for him to think about, umm, 'cause we applied a democratic rule there. And then, um, and he actually came round, and then he found out that he made that statement 'cause he'd never done it, and it was something new for him to do. Umm, and he actually quite enjoyed it and participated, in the end. So we felt really good about it.

Yvonne emphasises the importance of whanau support, awhi and tautoko, in relation to the achievement of some changes within the course. She sees the changes which provided for a Maori perspective to be accommodated, if not wholly incorporated, as an outcome of whanau and hapu support, and testimony to the value of working together. While Yvonne and Hinekura were the 'front-people', those in

attendance at the course, the contributions of whanau are acknowledged and honoured. This is an illustration of the whanaungatanga dimension and of the awahi, tautoko, kanohi kitea, and kia manawanui aspects of this.

Yvonne's pleasure at "getting through" the course, is likely to relate to the fact that no Maori had previously succeeded in getting through, although a number had started. The course was seen by Maori as 'inappropriate' or 'unsafe' in terms of the models and processes within it, so most Maori who began the course did not finish. However, there was no Maori course or qualification that was recognised within Western systems; therefore, Maori were often excluded from working with their people within Western institutions in the field of addiction because they were viewed as unqualified or untrained. Yvonne and Hinekura were able to highlight the problems the course presented for Maori, initiated changes designed to make the course safer for Maori, promoted mana Maori and, in effect, cleared a path for others to follow. The principle which guided them in doing this was founded in whanaungatanga, that is, that the role of the individual is to contribute to the good of the group. The enactment of the principle was informed by tikanga, an aspect of the dimension of ha a koro ma a kui ma.

Yvonne's statement that "We seemed to give each other support by just looking at each other. At times across the room we'd know how each other felt. . ." is a description of the whatumanawa dimension, and of communication at this level. This, in turn led to whakamanawanui, a determination and commitment to act on the "sacred power that wells up

from the heart" (Barlow, 1991, p. 67).

Despite the struggle and conflict that she sometimes experienced during her training course, Yvonne considers it to have been valuable, not only for what was taught, and the changes she and her colleague were able to help bring about, but for the way in which it made her assess and clarify her own preferences.

Y: I enjoyed the Pakeha training, don't get me wrong, I did enjoy it. 'Cause what it did for me, as a Maori woman, was. . . like for example, psychodrama. I had no idea what psychodrama is really. So when you go into this workshop, "Oh, is that what psychodrama is?" And the same with provocative therapy. You know, I could assume I knew. But once, sitting in there, "Ah!"

And every time, honestly, every time, I could relate it in a Maori way; without that, without that title. Umm, yeah; and it's, it's, it's, when I think of psychodrama and that, that course we were on, and it was chair work, and in relationship to umm, you know we might, you might, someone might have passed on, and you didn't have a chance to say something to that someone, and it was this chair work. And I thought, "Oh hell. Out of my bloody legs. Oh, what a lot of shit!" But thank God for that Pakeha guy who was taking it. Because he was reading all this in my body language. Because I wouldn't look. Because the most natural thing for me to do is to go down to the urupa, or go and sit in the wharenuī, and talk to all those fellas, and, and, and I do do that; and some amazing things happen down at the urupa. And so I thought, "Mmm

8a Yvonne's Story

yeah, yeah, rubbish," you know. But what I've learnt, is to think, "Well okay if that chair work meets the needs of people, then we need to learn it." We need to learn it, eh. Particularly in that one, psychodrama, 'cause I don't, I think it's a lot of bullshit. I'd sooner do it our way. I don't choose to get onto that area, but will bring on someone, around me, who likes working in that area.

I: So you've got the choices though.

Y: Yeah yes. So I do believe, I'm all for encouraging our younger people and our older people, you're never too old eh. . . And encouraging them, our people, our Maori people to grab at all the trainings that are out there. Because they'll only take what they want from them, to fit in with them the person. And it's given me a real insight eh, to learn the Pakeha way.

We had relaxation and all those different techniques, which I, which I personally enjoyed. And I, I mean I do my own meditation my way. And that's in a place where I want it to happen. Umm, um, I don't know if I'd be able to handle it in a classroom. Especially sitting on a chair. I'd, I'd like to be sitting on the ground, linked up with the ground. But. . . I prefer the way, and I'm more comfortable in how Rose Pere does it. Like um, call on the energies of the universe. .

From the hinengaro dimension, Yvonne can appreciate the knowledge of Western style therapeutic techniques. The course provided her with a framework of comparison, a

maramatanga and whakapapa through which she could position her own philosophy and preferences as Maori in relation to the Western philosophies and practices embodied in psycho-therapeutic and counselling training.

A number of the therapeutic techniques Yvonne learnt about on the course did not suit her. Although she does not provide a detailed analysis of why this is so, it is likely that the whakapapa of these techniques, born as they are from Western philosophy and associated conceptions of self, other and the nature of the world, do not fit comfortably within Yvonne's own framework. For example, the chair work which Yvonne mentions is a technique born of psychodramatic therapy, which itself is a child of Western gestalt theory. Gestalt theory lays claim to holism on the grounds that it incorporates the whole here-and-now experience of the individual; this being defined as body, mind and emotional experience. Psychodrama involves the 'acting out' of internal conflicts, with a director to facilitate the action and direct the actors, and an audience to provide characters and, later, a performance review. Psychodramatic techniques utilise the concepts of protagonist and auxiliary roles. The protagonist is the central character, and the auxiliaries represent aspects of the protagonist's internal experience. Psychodrama then is based on the internal drama of the protagonist and represents an exploration of inner tensions between parts of the self. Chair work involves a splitting off of aspects of the self to produce a dialogue between two or more characterisations (auxiliaries) of the self. Thus, the example provided by Yvonne of a psychodrama utilising the technique

of chair work, where the function is to address unresolved issues relating to the death of someone, would involve an individual and that person's internalised representation of the deceased, engaging in a dialogue, with an onlooking audience.

There are a number of elements of this technique and ^{its} associated theory and philosophy which are likely to cause discomfort when viewed from within a Maori discursive frame. Firstly, the holistic approach is, as previously noted, an individual holism; that is, the boundary of the self defines the boundary of the whole. This is contrary to a view of the individual as defined, constituted and identified through whanau and whakapapa; the boundary of the individual is inclusive of whanau, tupuna, and the natural environment. Secondly, and related to the previous point, the reduction and subjugation of an element of the spiritual realm, particularly a tupuna, to an internalised representation of self, may well be experienced as offensive. Thirdly, the performance of a sacred dialogue in an environment and in front of an audience without an acknowledgement of, or the protection of, the tapu nature of the association between the realm of the living and the realm of the dead may be viewed as both ignorant and dangerous. Fourthly, the exposure of the innermost workings of the hinengaro, is akin to standing an individual up in front of a roomful of people and stripping him/her naked. It is seen as highly intrusive, and likely to induce whakamaa both in the exposed individual, and in those who become spectators to this act.

In relating her rejection of chairwork and psychodrama to her

own preference to talk to those who have passed on at the urupa, or in the wharenuī, Yvonne is illustrating her conception of the process as a genuine relationship between the spiritual and temporal realms. In choosing the urupa or the wharenuī as the appropriate locations for temporally initiated communication with the spiritual realm, Yvonne is acknowledging the tapu nature of such communication. She is placing herself in a situation where the binding power of the mauri, of herself and of these places enables a unification within the flow of the wairua.

Similarly, although Yvonne is not specific about the reasons for her caution about relaxation and meditation techniques, and in particular about the significance of the environment and location within which such techniques should be practised; they inevitably reflect, once again, her conception of self. The technique known as meditation in Western terms may be seen within a Maori framework as opening one of the pathways into the spiritual realm. It is a means of loosening the binding power of the mauri and of engaging more fully with the flow of the wairua. If a number of people are engaged in meditation in a room together, with their mauri and wairua loosened from the ties to the physical self and thereby exposed, these dimensions may connect. This can create an unsafe environment, possibly exposing one to contamination, infiltration of the wairua or even appropriation of one's mauri. This in turn would result in the person becoming kōhiwi. In expressing a preference to be linked up with the ground when doing her own form of 'meditation', therefore, Yvonne is ensuring that she stays firmly linked with Papatuanuku. In this way she is assured that her mauri

and wairua will be connected with the wise and nurturing mauri and wairua (" . . . the energies of the universe") of her tupuna - that which she is a part of - Papatuanuku. Thus Yvonne places herself within the protective confines of the tapu of Papatuanuku.

Yvonne's perception of the inappropriateness of certain therapeutic techniques, and her selection of alternatives that feel right for her, do not stem from a cognitive analysis, but from the intuitive aspect of the hinengaro and the seeing eyes of the heart, that is the whatumanawa.

4) Whaiao

Whaiao (literally the pursuit of day, the time when night becomes day) is a state of transition, such as that which occurs when people pass from a state of ignorance to one of enlightenment or understanding. Yvonne's story provides a number of illustrations of whaiao, in the sense of an ongoing learning process; and experiences of moving towards illumination or enlightenment.

There is a spiritual aspect implicit in the concept of whaiao in learning. Interestingly, two of the experiences described by Yvonne occur in connection with marae. The first was on the occasion of her graduation from the addiction studies course. The graduation ceremony was held at her own marae with a large contingent of family and friends present.

Y: And I remember sitting in that meeting house and I was looking around at all the photos in our whare tupuna; and . . . I knew then that, umm, there was a role for us Maori

8a Yvonne's Story

women to play, in relationship to our mokopuna. I still haven't got it clear but um, I truly believe that. So that's something that's tapped up to where I'm at now.

The expression 'tihei mauri ora ki te whaiao, ki te ao marama' refers to the original progression of the children of Ranginui and Papatuanuku from the world of darkness to the world of light, as the separation of the primeval parents was achieved. However there are many conditions of whaiao. Whaiao can refer to the birth process and the progression of a child from within its mother's womb, to its emergence into the world of light. The whare tupuna represents the womb of an eponymous ancestor, and usually contains within it carved and photographic representations of those tupuna who have sprung from the eponymous ancestor into the world of light and since passed on to reside with Hine-Nui-Te-Po. In entering the whare tupuna, Yvonne enters into a subliminal state where she may more readily be guided by her tupuna.

Yvonne is referring here to an experience of whaiao relating to the interconnection between the wairuatanga, hinengaro and tinana dimensions. She has received a sense of spiritual illumination from within in the whare tupuna, which will be processed through her hinengaro, and enacted through her physical actions in the world outside. The integration of understanding between the dimensions is governed by the poutama aspect.

The concept of whaiao may also be identified in connection with the healing that Yvonne believes may come to clients as a result of

8a Yvonne's Story

learning about themselves and their heritage. The learning that leads to healing involves a growth of emotional and spiritual understanding as well as intellectual knowledge.

In this instance, Yvonne is talking about prison inmates learning te reo Maori. Yvonne was one of a group who accompanied two inmates back to their marae. This activity was seen as part of a learning, and healing, process.

Y: And um, we went down to one of his other maraes, where they come on their male line eh. We went down with an elder, and I was really privileged to be asked to be a part of it, 'cause I'm not immediate family. And these two guys, they laid down on the grass, marae atea, in front of the wharenuī. And you could see that awe over them. To me that's real healing; those are the heavy processes that um, come from te reo.

In visiting their own marae and turangawaewae, the inmates experience the ihi and wehi of the marae, tupuna, and whenua through the mauri associated with these. In lying down on the ground and in the province of the marae atea, the men are connecting themselves with the mauri of Papatuanuku, to more fully absorb sustenance from the wairua of their turangawaewae. They are also placing themselves under the tapu of the marae and displaying submission and peace in the domain of Tumatauenga. Through this they receive sustenance in terms of mana whenuatanga, mana tupuna and mana whanau aspects of the mana dimension. They are also receiving sustenance for the mauri, wairuatanga, hinengaro, ha a koro ma a kui

ma and whanaungatanga dimensions.

The reference to awe may refer to strong emotional and spiritual feelings evoked as part of the healing process, and to the notion of 'levels of learning', as in travelling to a depth of understanding hitherto unknown.

At another time, a spiritual aspect of whaiao may be seen to be an explicit element in the therapeutic context. In the following extract, Yvonne describes an experience she shared with a client and his family when visiting their home for the first time.

Y: We were sitting in the front room, and I mean one was right over here [pointing] and one was right over there [pointing], and the husband and wife were certainly the furthestest apart.

And I asked if we could have a karakia. I asked them if we could. And when they said yes, I said, "Well would anyone in the room like to say it?" You know, giving it back to them, trying to do it right; to which they said no, and they um, and then the man asked me if I would. And I said, oh, yeah, I'll try.

And it was really, it was like the wairua, um, heaps of people were there with us, you know the unseen people. So I started off, you know, 'cause I'm learning, in the Lord's Prayer. And then; I know they weren't my words, but they were being given to me by someone wiser than me. And the words, after we finished the prayer just came out. Ahh, it was like talking to the tupuna, all of our tupuna to be here

8a Yvonne's Story

and lay there healing hands through the power of, the higher power. I don't even know what I said. I know they were along those lines. And it just happened that we all for some reason, 'cause we were standing when we started the karakia with their permission; and we all ended up in the middle of the room, with our arms around each other having a tangitangi eh, the whole lot of us. And it was; the husband and wife came from opposite corners of the room across, and the kids all came in. And I don't know how I got there. . . but we were all in the middle of the room. And, and to describe wairua, to describe the presence of others, and it was like "WOW" from each and every one of us. . .

The wairuatanga dimension is clearly central within this narrative. In this story, Yvonne's karakia opened a floodgate into the spiritual realm. She and the family then became carried away in the flow of the wairua. As a part of this process, Yvonne became a verbal channel for the ha of the tupuna. The experience also connected with the whatumanawa dimension, tangitangi being an expression of this, and with the mauri dimension, through the experience of the ihi and the wehi aspects.

5) How to learn

Yvonne reveals some of her own experiences with learning and attitudes towards learning. Her experiences as a member of the marae committee for example, illustrate a particular method of learning. For instance, ". . . to listen and to learn." These affect not only the way she prefers to learn, but also the way in which she

facilitates learning, growth and development in her clients.

Yvonne is presently doing a course at Te Wananga o Raukawa, a Maori university. As a part of this course, she is encouraged to work in a way which she finds comfortable.

Y: We found out that we worked better the Maori way - which could be interpreted as cheating. We found out, and Eru Pomare [her tutor] put us onto this way. . . that we function better when we work together. And like, Kahukura and I would do this part; say Ken and John would do this part, and we'd bring it back, so we could share with the whanau that way. So we got a picture of the whole. . . I don't see it as cheating, I see it as a real learning way. . .

Yvonne and her colleagues are using a whanau-based model of learning. Features of this model are reflected in the whanaungatanga dimension. These features include co-operative learning based on awhina, tautoko, the principle of tatau tatau. Also included is an interdependence of the parts within the metaphorical whanau unit; the assignment of roles (usually based on the perceived strengths and talents of the individuals forming the whanau unit); and the strength of the whole being dependent on the sum of individual contributions.

Wairuatanga

Wairuatanga, the spiritual dimension, is an important part of Yvonne's approach to life, in the personal, as well as in the work arena. An example of the influence of wairuatanga in her personal

life is apparent in several of Yvonne's earlier narratives.

The significance of wairuatanga in Yvonne's life is reflected too in her counselling work. The way she sees, understands, and operates are heavily influenced by her place and direction in the flow of the wairua.

Y: I operate by gut feeling, umm, I seem to get thought patterns, and I know it's from people who are wiser. And when I'm having a session with someone, I always like to have karakia, just to myself, you know for a coupl'a minutes. Asking for guidance. I find, and I know this is probably in my mind, but if I don't, if I forget, too busy, I tend to muck up. I feel that eh. I feel good about that too, that I, that I remember to do those things. And those, those are the values that, thank God, I got from Granny and Grandpa.

When I know I've got an appointment and I'm meeting with people, I will actually put myself in a . . . ummm, I'll have a look over there and up there, and actually ask for guidance. And that's not doubting my own ability. Some people might interpret it like that. . . And I always ask for guidance; sometimes I forget, and you betcha I muck up.

I make no apologies, and I find the majority of people who I've worked with in the last seven years are open to spirituality, to religion, to Christianity, and how they interpret it.

So I believe that in each and every one of us there's a

8a Yvonne's Story

spiritual, we all have this spiritual need. . . to get that spark alit again, because it's in each and every one of us, but might've just dimmed down a bit.

In opening this section of the narrative, Yvonne speaks of the intertwining of the whatumanawa, hinengaro, ha a koro ma a kui ma and wairuatanga dimensions. The "gut feeling" which Yvonne sees herself as operating from is her whatumanawa. Yvonne's statement that "I seem to get thought patterns, and I know it's from people who are wiser" refers to the intervention of the tupuna in the cognitive aspect of her hinengaro. This in turn, represents the intertwining of the hinengaro and wairuatanga dimensions.

Yvonne perceives connecting with the flow of the wairua in order to receive guidance from the spiritual realm, as an aspect of her role as a counsellor. It is from this realm that successful work is likely to come. Yvonne does not rely on herself as an individual, or on her cognitive knowledge, in her counselling work. In asking for guidance from the spiritual realm, she is seeking to integrate the spiritual and temporal realms, and to facilitate the application of cognitive and temporal knowledge within the flow of the wairua.

Yvonne then seeks to integrate and facilitate temporal and spiritual processes within her role as counsellor. She seeks to incorporate karakia into the counselling process with clients. In doing this, Yvonne is inviting clients also to overtly participate in the flow of the wairua. In effect, Yvonne is seeking to bind their joint temporal and spiritual processes, a process of strengthening the mauri.

Yvonne's closing comments ". . . we all have this spiritual need. . . to get that spark alit again, because it's in each and every one of us, but might've just dimmed down a bit" refer to the power of the manawa ora; that which provides the elemental energy and capacity for growth and which is additional to the binding and life-giving power of the mauri. The spark Yvonne refers to, then is the spark of the ahi komau or sacred and inextinguishable fire of Io Matua Kore which is the manawa ora.

In acknowledging her grandparents as the immediate source of her attention to the wairuatanga dimension, Yvonne is acknowledging that her process and model of counselling is rooted within the ha a koro ma a kui ma dimension.

While Yvonne's own spiritual beliefs make it important for her to prepare herself spiritually for her work with clients, she also generally shares or introduces spirituality into her sessions with clients in some way. While her personal views on spirituality are strong; her understandings in this area, particularly with regard to the nature of other people's spiritual expression, are flexible. Her own spiritual expression for example, differs from that of her co-worker, but Yvonne sees the fundamental element as faith in a spiritual belief, regardless of its particular expression.

Y: Ron and I, for instance, have different but similar spiritual values. But they're very similar, it's just that when we talk about them, Ron quotes the Bible a lot, and God a lot. I am comfortable in acknowledging a higher being, in our tupuna on the other side. Yet we both know what each

8a Yvonne's Story

other talks about.

Umm, when we talk about kaitiaki in a session or I do bring it up at certain times, but I'm always aware of how it would affect the person that's there. And I don't believe I help anyone without bringing up my own values. I'm always very careful not to put them onto the other person. And I've found in the last five years, that the majority of people that come in here, that are hurting, that are reaching out for help; they are quite open. They interpret it. I remember this young Maori guy he says, "Oh, I can't see God. I don't bloody believe in God". He says, "What I can see though is I can see trees, and I can see lakes, and I can see the mountains and that. . . and I can see the sea. So I'm happy in believing in that." And I says, "Hey that's fine." And we always seem to come to a compromise thing.

It's that, as long as we have faith; it doesn't matter if we interpret it differently. I find it's very very much a part of me the person, me the way I work with people.

I don't come on too strong about religion or spirituality, but I acknowledge that I myself am a spiritual person, with the person, whoever I'm working with. And I've never found anyone who mocks that.

Yvonne has an encompassing view of wairuatanga. Her view of the spiritual system includes tupuna, 'a higher being' - which may include Io Matua Kore or a Christian god, kaitiaki, mauri and Atua associated with elements of the natural environment. This is, of course, consistent with

traditional Maori perspectives on wairuatanga.

As previously mentioned, one of the ways in which Yvonne acknowledges her own spirituality and opens the way for Maori clients to do the same, is by suggesting a karakia at the beginning and end of counselling sessions.

I: Does that mean then, do you always ask if you can begin and end with a karakia?

Y: Particularly with Maori only. With Maori only. I have not done that on a one-to-one with a Pakeha. But with a Maori I always ask, if it's appropriate to start. And and not always they want it. And that's okay. So I always ask too at the end if we can end with just a thank you to whoever. And more often than not, in fact ninety-nine times out of a hundred, I find the Maori person does; and I also find that they bow their heads. Why I don't do that with Pakeha? I'm not too sure. I'm not too sure. . .

Because an individual is seen as a piece of a deeply layered and continuous whakapapa, a temporal expression within a spiritual system and an embodiment of the ongoing ha of their tupuna, it becomes impossible to meet and address that person without acknowledging their own particular mauri, whakapapa, whanau and wairuatanga of which they are a part, and the part that the counsellor and counselling process may play in the flow of the wairua. Because, in whakapapa terms, Maori have a common spiritual origin, we are part of a shared spiritual system. While we may occupy different places within that system we will also have points of

connection within it.

When we link into the spiritual system through karakia, we enter into the flow of the wairua. When it is time to step out of that particular current, it is important to stem the flow whilst leaving the way open to link in again in the future. The role of karakia at the beginning and end of any activity, including counselling, is to divert the flow to the people and processes at issue and thus enable participation in and from the spiritual realm, and then to "re-divert the flow back to the main stream.

Another example of the way in which Yvonne's wairuatanga influences her practice as a counsellor may be seen in her interpretation of particular behaviours and circumstances and her consequent responses to them. In the following extracts, for example, Yvonne interprets, and accepts others interpretations, of 'unacceptable', 'acting out' behaviours in terms of spiritual affliction, specifically makutu and mate Maori (which can affect individuals and be carried down in families for generations). As a consequence of her acceptance of the reality of these conditions, Yvonne sees her own role in promoting wellness as one of contacting the appropriate people with the appropriate knowledge and skills. Yvonne thus becomes a 'link person.' Her relevant skills in these circumstances include knowing who to contact, and how to approach them.

Y: Do you believe that the sins of the fathers at times catch up with the. . ? I guess, why I, the reason I asked that is because, I have come up against that quite often. And the beauty of being in a little area where we are, because we

know the elders and the families to go to. And that is a beauty of being I suppose in our own papakainga, in a way eh.

I: Oh, so you can go when there might be things that have historical sort of roots in some way, you can go and try and resolve them and work them out in some way through the kaumatua as well?

Y: Ae. They always, always. . . yeah in fact that's what I mean. I'm always very well aware of that. I believe that at times, and it's happened just with my own nephew, in relation to him getting angry, him drinking on our marae, and him, who's married to a girl from one of our other maraes, belting her, as well as actually belting an elder on our marae. I believe there is something on my nephew. And yes we've delved into that. With the help of elders, always with the help of elders, always learning. And see there are things there, going back to his father. And there are a few other things. And these are the areas that, I believe, Maori counsellors need to be aware of, and respectful of, that's what I'm saying, eh. And I guess it's important to have this network out in the community. And in different areas, eh. And I believe we're all working in those ways.

We had a, a guy in Linton [Linton Prison] come back to us. But it was one of the inmates who actually rung me. And the words from some of the personnel within the prison were, that he was "acting out." And those are typical terms within, ah, counselling areas. But one of the Maori um,

8a Yvonne's Story

wardens within the prison knew it was something else, so he allowed this prisoner, because he was from our rohe, to ring me. And when I listened to what he had to say, asking for guidance from me, the name came into my head of who to tap into to help this young guy, in prison, eh. So I picked up an elder, and I guess I'm giving you an insight into the ways I work with our Maori people. . . I picked up an elder from Levin, and we went over to see this koroua. It was amazing, you know. Because they knew the history of the whanau. And it went right back to his grandmother, where there were some incidents. And then we left it there, because the elder in the Foxton area. . . we'd done our bit, eh.

Umm, I guess at times, when I share this with my Pakeha colleagues; they couldn't understand why I didn't follow through on it. There was no more need for me, a Maori woman counsellor, to follow through. Because it was in the appropriate place. And that koroua in Foxton, and his wife, said, "We know where to go." And so, that was it.

Yvonne begins this narrative with a question. Her question is designed to check out my position in regard to the relationship between the whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, mana, tinana and ha a koro ma a kui ma dimensions. Yvonne leaves her question open to interpretation, and my reply is also left open to interpretation. The interaction is framed by the lack of safety Maori have in speaking openly about the way the world is for us.

It is possible to interpret Yvonne's comments regarding the

“sins of the fathers” and her subsequent description of the “acting out” behaviour of her nephew within a number of Western cause-and-effect frameworks. From a cognitive-behavioural perspective, the modelling of the father (perhaps as violent, abusive, drinking heavily, and/or ignorant of tikanga and the kawa of the marae) and/or the modelling of relationships within the family, has led to the son learning inappropriate behaviours, being ignorant of tikanga and kawa, and therefore breaking the tapu of the marae (by drinking on the marae, and behaving violently to an elder on the marae) drinking heavily, and being violent to his partner (another breach of tikanga, as, in attacking his partner, he is undermining the mana of his whanau as well as her whanau, with implications for the relationship between the whanau associated with the two marae). From this perspective, the young man may be identified as having failed to learn appropriate boundaries and the appropriate management of anger. Within this framework, therapy may involve an exploration of his belief system relating to boundaries and relationships, a re-education process, treatment for substance abuse, anger management and assertiveness training. Whichever Western perspective on aetiology and subsequent therapeutic intervention is employed, the focus is likely to be on the young man's cognitions and behaviour and the modification of these through psychological interventions of some type.

However, Yvonne's use of the word 'sins' in her initial question, coupled with her non-verbal communication, indicate that she is speaking in 'MAORI-English' about issues outside of the framework of Western discourse. Her

later comment that something is 'on' her nephew, confirms my interpretation that Yvonne's question relates to my position in regard to beliefs in and knowledge of mate Maori.

Yvonne's question then, relates to mate Maori as an aspect of the wairuatanga, whanaungatanga, mana, tinana and ha a koro ma a kui ma dimensions. Mate Maori is an aspect of the wairuatanga dimension because its origins are in the spiritual realm. It is an aspect of whanaungatanga because its effects are not limited to an individual, but may be passed down through the generations, or may affect a whanau group at a particular time. This, in turn, is because an individual is not individually differentiated from his/her whanau, including tupuna; the boundaries between self and whanau are permeable. Mate Maori is an aspect of the mana ake dimension because it is a consequence of a loss or diminution in mana, and results in a maintenance of that vulnerable state until the cause is addressed. It is an aspect of the physical dimension because it affects physical behaviour and health.

Yvonne's reference to the "beauty of being in our own papakainga" and of knowing the elders and the families to go to, is another reference to the whanaungatanga dimension of mate Maori. In particular, because the dimensions of the problem extend beyond the individual, there is a need to access whakapapa knowledge in identifying aetiology. Because the problem is seen as having historical whanau and spiritual origins, interventions should take place within the whanau and spiritual systems, as this is where the problem is located.

8a Yvonne's Story

Thus Yvonne sees her role as linking the young man in with those in a position to access and address the identified problem. This means linking the appropriate elders from the client's wider whanau and hapu network, with him.

The second story told by Yvonne provides another illustration of differing Maori and Western interpretations of the same behaviour, and of the implications in terms of appropriate 'treatment' arising from the different frameworks of understanding. Once again Yvonne sees her role as one of 'link person'; connecting the client back to the whanau and wairuatanga system of which he is a part. She is removing the identified problem from an individual Western behavioural and psychological focus, to a whanau and wairuatanga system focus.

Yvonne turns to the kaumatua in this instance, and as in the previous one, because of their senior status and because they represent the layer closest to the spiritual realm. Thus she takes her kaumatua as a representative of the herself and her whanau, to visit the kaumatua of the man in question. Yvonne has taken the issue pertaining to the young man to the level of the kaumatua. The kaumatua then relate to each other and the issue at hand at their level. In part, this assumes a mutual recognition that addressing issues pertaining to Yvonne's client, as a junior member of the whanau, is the prerogative and responsibility of his own kaumatua. Because the client and the identified issues are not seen in individual terms, individual confidentiality is not seen as a primary imperative, and may be viewed as

unethical.

Another aspect which may have its basis in wairuatanga, and which came through from Yvonne's korero was an attitude which could be described as pre-deterministic.

Y: We're all here for some reason, you and me and everyone; and there is a path we're meant to take. I strongly believe that.

This is a clear reference to the wairuatanga dimension. It implies the place of wairuatanga as primary and the role of people as finding and following the path forged for us through the flow of the wairua.

This way of conceptualising allows room for positive reframing of behaviours and situations which might otherwise be seen in a purely negative light (for example, as purposeless mistakes and wasted years). The way in which this particular view influences Yvonne's attitudes to a specific area may be seen in the following extract, where Yvonne speaks of the role she sees tupuna as having in guiding their living descendants onto their right paths at the appropriate time. Also revealed in this extract are attitudes towards stages of life development and developmental tasks.

Y: I think this term, this Maori term, ah "We're rangatahi till we're 30," and we can korekore around and muck around, they give you that time eh. Then when you get that time; okay enough's enough, grow up. . . Yeah you know at 30, and under 30, well, kei te pai, and maybe under 40, but at some stage in our lives. . . I interpret it this way; that our

8a Yvonne's Story

tupuna go, "Okay, had enough, now's the time to get back on track." Sometimes there's a bit of fuss. And I believe it's our tupuna on the other side saying "Okay, enough mucking around, there's a role for you to play, and da-da-da-da-da-da."

Once again, Yvonne reinforces the primacy of the wairuatanga dimension in forging the path for individuals to follow, and the role of tupuna in directing and guiding those in the temporal realm along their path, the ultimate destination of which is the spiritual realm. This represents mana tupuna and whakapapa aspects of wairuatanga, and reinforces the indivisibility of the spiritual and temporal realms, the living and the dead.

The whanaungatanga dimension is implicit here also. Tupuna have an important role to play in regard to their descendants. The role the living are to play is within the whanau system (including tupuna), as well as within wider systems within which the individual is representative of the whanau.

The longevity of rangatahi status relates to the identification of individuals according to role and function, rather than age. It relates also to the layers of whanaungatanga and to Maori marking of time by events and occurrences rather than days, weeks or years. If there are older whanau members able to perform certain roles and functions within whanau, hapu and iwi systems, the younger generations will have a prolonged youth. However when the time comes for them to take up, or to begin serious training for, the role they are meant to

adopt they will be directed through an event or series of events to take up that role. Sometimes this is reinforced with a directive from the whanau. Roles may be on the marae and in traditional contexts, or they may be within the whanau, hapu or iwi. The basic premise is that everyone has something to contribute, and a responsibility to use what they have to contribute to the well-being of the whanau, hapu and iwi. Thus, graduation from rangatahi to pakeke status implies an increased responsibility to contribute one's energies and skills to the well-being of the wider group, and also to take a role in and responsibility for the training of rangatahi.

The mana dimension is implied in that the actions of the individual when it is time for him/her to take up his/her role have implications in terms of mana tangata and mana whanau. Mana whanau is dependent on individuals taking up their roles within the whanau and contributing to the whole. Mana tangata is one's performance of the role for the benefit of all. Hence, the individual does not carry such a heavy responsibility while they are still identified as rangatahi.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is another theme which permeates Yvonne's life and work. This theme is vitally important to Yvonne at the personal level and is also, she believes, of vital importance to others.

8a Yvonne's Story

The theme of whanaungatanga as conceptualised by Yvonne includes iwi, hapu and whanau relationships (those based on genealogical ties), as well as a broader and more flexible concept of whanau, a shifting social (as opposed to biological) concept of whanau. This second conceptualisation of a social, as opposed to biological whanau, is analogous to that described by Metge as, "metaphorical whanau" (Metge, 1995).

Subsumed under the broad heading of whanaungatanga are a number of related sub-themes. These include whakapapa, mana, and identity - knowing your roots.

1) Whakapapa and Mana

Yvonne provides a personal insight into the way that she sees whakapapa, and knowledge of whakapapa, as being an important component of the mana of individuals. In the following extract, Yvonne's reference to 'sides' refers to whakapapa lines, whanau, hapu, and iwi links.

Y: But I look at our kids, and I always believe that they have more mana than us, because I know who I am, and then my husband, he knows who he is now. But our kids have a bit of both of us. And I like to look at it like that; and hell those kids are fabulous. And now our mokopuna. . . she can come to my side or my husband's side, and our mokopuna now can tap into Te Atiawa, because our daughter married into Te Atiawa.

Yvonne identifies herself, her husband, her children and her mokopuna in terms of the whakapapa aspect of the

whanaungatanga, wairuatanga and mana dimensions. They 'know who they are' by knowing where they come from. In whanaungatanga terms, their whakapapa provides them with networks into whanau, hapu and iwi systems. Within the wairuatanga dimension, their whakapapa connects them into the lands and marae associated with the wider whanau, hapu and iwi. The mana of members of the whanau is, in part, a function of their whakapapa, it is their whakapapa which both binds them together and makes them unique.

Yvonne also interprets whanaungatanga at times in the relative whakapapa sense. Firstly, she sees Maori people as her whanaunga, particularly in relation to non-Maori. However an interpretation that Yvonne has come to accept more recently is that all living and non-living things are whanau.

Y: I acknowledge Rose Pere here. . . She taught me a lot. When the word whanaunga was brought up, I naturally looked at us as Maori. But when I listened to her, she opened it up to us; to all people. . . Rose Pere opened up whanaunga to all mankind, and then she took it that step further, which was learning for me, you know; ah birds are whanau. Then she took it out further to the trees, to the mountains, and to the seas and the rivers and all of that.

This interpretation is based on whakapapa and traditional cosmology. Maori people are descendants of Ranginui, the Sky Father and Papatuanuku, the Earth Mother. From these two came a number of children, including Tane-Mahuta, god of the forests and forest dwelling creatures, Tangaroa, god of the seas and sea creatures, Tawhirimatea, god of the

winds and the elements, and their mokopuna Hine-Titama, an ancestor of human-kind. Through this whakapapa, Maori are related to all animate and inanimate things. This view of the world may be seen also in relation to the concept of 'mauri'. As all things have mauri there is nothing truly inanimate.

2) Identity

Yvonne sees identity, and particularly 'knowing your roots' as a vital component of well-being for Maori people. She believes that the desire to know ones 'roots', in terms of who one is in a whakapapa sense, is part of being Maori.

Y: I guess because I strongly believe, until we know who we are and where our turangawaewae is, we are lost. I really believe, it's something strong in me and I guess I see it out there; some of the guys in prison, and some of the women that I come across, they feel real whakamaa. And when I've talked to them and asked them who their parents are, they don't know. So, I believe they really want to know, but um, they don't know how to go about doing it, some not all of them, or they don't know how to reach out to elders to ask. And it's, you know, I, I really believe that we're lost until we know where our pito is, you know our turangawaewae is.

I believe that in all of us who have Maori descent, you know, who are descended from a Maori, at some stage in

8a Yvonne's Story

our life its going to, there's going to be a hunger in us to know.

Once again Yvonne places whakapapa as the defining element of identity. While she tends to emphasise here the cognitive knowledge of one's whakapapa, the significance of whakapapa does not reside in the cognitive knowledge of genealogy itself, but in the access it can provide the various dimensions of Te Wheke, that is of self, and to sustenance for these. Thus whakapapa is the source of mana tupuna, mana whanau and mana whenua. Thus the consequence of not knowing one's whakapapa, and a concomitant lack of sustenance for the above aspects of the mana dimension, is whakamaa.

Yvonne's linking of 'who one is' with turangawaewae, is an illustration of the relationship between whakapapa, wairuatanga and whenua. The significance of turangawaewae to identity lies in the spiritual connection between a specific part of Papatuanuku and oneself. Yvonne reinforces this connection between our physical selves and the piece of land to which we belong with her specific reference to the pito. The pito is the umbilical cord, which is customarily buried along with the whenua (placenta or afterbirth) within the whenua (land) to which one belongs. This establishes a permanent physical and spiritual connection between the individual and the land.

Where this practice has not occurred, there may be a sense of disconnection from turangawaewae. It may be argued that one has no turangawaewae. In this sense,

turangawaewae is not merely 'a place to stand,' but a place of connection, where one's body and feet are directly connected to the whenua. However it may also be argued that our turangawaewae is our pito as this is the central avenue of sustenance for us. If an individual has not had his/her pito and whenua returned to a particular part of Papatuanuku, he or she may still claim turangawaewae through those she or he is descended from.

Yvonne's final comments relating to a 'hunger to know' (our origins and hence ourselves) illustrate the consequences of a lack of sustenance for the dimensions of Te Wheke relating to the whakapapa aspect. Her inclusion of all who are of Maori descent refers to her perception that the essence of being Maori is not percentage of blood or knowledge of Maoritanga, but the mauri that is implanted within us at conception, and the wairuatanga dimension, including whakapapa, that is thus bound into our physical being.

Identity through whakapapa is significant to Yvonne when she meets clients. For Yvonne, an important part of getting to know the client involves finding out who they are in terms of their whakapapa. This allows her to have a better idea of where to go and who to contact in order to get the most appropriate support and resources for her client.

The phrase Yvonne uses in the following excerpt, "tap into different areas," refers to making connections between people's family names, where they're from (where their turangawaewae is) and tribal and family relationships. As previously noted, by being

aware of these connections, Yvonne can not only attempt to connect herself with individual clients, but can also have a better idea of who in the community it would be most appropriate to go to for further support and help if necessary; who are the right resource people, who has connections with, and even who has responsibility for particular clients.

Y: When, when I first meet a person; and I'm, I'm assuming you're the same, it's always um, "Oh who are you? Who's your whanau?" Or, "What's your tribe?" I've always been brought up to listen to when people talk; particularly their pepeha, when they get up and do a mihi.

And the names are important. . . I've got a long way to go in that, but I'm learning different names, "Oh," they tap into different areas. And it's always important, I feel, to listen to who they are. . . To me there's more resources available if I'm working with Maori.

Whakapapa tells Yvonne who a person is, and establishes an immediate context for the relationship between herself and the client. In this respect, the primary relationship is not between client and counsellor, but between whakapapa lines.

Whakapapa also establishes connections between Yvonne and clients. The connections may be close, they may exist in the same stream of the wairuatanga; or they may be more distant and complex. The relationship may be positive, or there may be an historical relationship which indicates that caution is required. The central point is that there is likely to

be some sort of pre-established whakapapa relationship prior to the physical, kanohi-ki-te-kanohi, connection between Yvonne and her client.

As previously noted, knowledge of whakapapa, and where various family names feature within the layers and networks of the whakapapa, provides a map of where the sources of sustenance for the dimensions of this person, Yvonne's client, may be found.

3) Whanau Involvement In Counselling

One reason for Yvonne's interest in the whakapapa and whanau links of her clients is that she has a strong preference for involving clients' whanau in her counselling. She sees lack of knowledge of whakapapa, and lack of whanaungatanga as an issue for many Maori clients; so she sees building up knowledge of whakapapa, and strengthening whanau ties as part of the solution. However, another reason for Yvonne's preference for involving whanau stems from her belief that counselling a client, most particularly a young Maori client, without involving the whanau, is tantamount to degrading the whanau, and particularly the kaumatua.

Y: One thing I have learnt though is it's really hard being a Maori counsellor. . . I've learnt that Maori counsellors do not have the right to tread on the mana of the family. Particularly the elders. But I, no, I do not have that right to tread on the mana of the elders. Like, work with their mokopuna, work with their sons, without some consultation with them.

8a Yvonne's Story

I: Right, so if you're going to work with them, will you always contact their whanau? Or try and contact their kaumatua?

Y: Ae. That's the only way I can work. . . always to work in this area, it's important to get the, the client, I hate that word, is to get the client's, for lack of a better word, permission to be able to work with the whanau. 'Cause that's the only way I can work. That's the only way I wanna work is a more healthier way of saying it. So I guess that's what I mean by saying, I don't believe you've got a right to tread on the mana.

I: So will you just. . . umm say if you've got a prisoner from Taupo, okay. Will you contact their family in some way?

Y: Definitely. Definitely.

I: And if they can't come down. . . Oh, will you ask them to come down and be a part of the sessions?

Y: Definitely. But I would first check it out with the person, eh. . . I would first check it out with the person. And use every bit of skill I have to get him around to actually asking for that. Um, I would, I never go to the parents without checking it out with the individual first. But I use every bit of skill I have to actually get them to agree. And then I, at times when they don't, I have to be honest with them and say, well hey, this is me; this is important to me, and this is the best way I work. And some of them accept that and some don't.

I find when I'm working with our Maori people, I do, do play that role as, umm listening, umm, but always utilising the family. And I guess that's always, and always with the aim of bringing the families together.

Yvonne has difficulty with the term 'clients' because she sees her relationship as being with tapu elements of whakapapa, whanau, hapu and iwi.

A consequence of seeing the smallest viable unit as the whanau, and therefore individuals as existing through and within their whanau, is that it becomes impossible to separate the individual client from his/her whanau context. In effect, the individual client exists in relation to others in his/her whanau. Clients may be rangatahi, and thus under the auspices of the kaumatua, they are the younger living faces of their elders. To work with the junior face without the involvement and permission of the senior head is, as Yvonne notes, tantamount to trampling on the mana of the senior head. Because the mana of the whanau, including young clients, is indivisible from the mana vested in senior members, to do so would be injurious to the mana of the whanau and, in particular, to the mana and therefore well-being of 'clients'.

In choosing to consult with, involve or hand over direction to the whanau, Yvonne is sustaining the mana whanau and mana tupuna aspects of the mana ake dimension, as well as aspects of the whanaungatanga dimension, of her clients.

8a Yvonne's Story

Yvonne respects the mana tangata, unique individuality, rangatiratanga aspect and hinengaro dimension of clients by asking their permission to consult with whanau. In addition, Yvonne helps them to appreciate the significance of these aspects and dimensions. She does this through the whakaaro, maramatanga, mohiotanga and perhaps matauranga aspects of the hinengaro. In effect, Yvonne encourages clients to think about, understand, acknowledge and know the relationships between self and whanau and whanau-hapu rangatiratanga.

The final statement made by Yvonne provides a further perspective on her strong preference to work with the whanau of identified clients. The whanau can represent an important source of sustenance for the client, and thus facilitate healing. Concomitantly, disconnection from whanau may feature in the aetiology of substance abuse and related problems. Another side to this is that the problems of identified clients may be a manifestation of whanau ill health. Working with the whanau, to restore well being at a whanau level, may be integral to the well being of individual identified clients. Once again, Yvonne defines her role in terms of connections, perhaps including bringing together, restoring balance and peace-making within whanau.

Whakawhanaungatanga with clients can sometimes mean a redefinition of roles. When Yvonne has family links with a client or clients, her rights and her responsibilities as a family member, and as a counsellor, can be difficult to reconcile. Where this happens, whanau roles and responsibilities generally take precedence.

Living in a small town, and in a semi-rural area for most of her life; having clients who are also whanau is not an uncommon occurrence. In the following example, Yvonne talks about a situation in which she was approached by a young woman, her niece, for help. The woman was suffering physical abuse at the hands of her partner; the abuse was associated with alcohol. Yvonne was approached, not only as an aunt, but also as a counsellor who specialised in the area of alcohol abuse and addiction.

A number of whanau related issues may be identified in this story. Apart from the previously mentioned involvement of client's whanau and the potential for role clashes; Yvonne also includes her own whanau in interventions; she has her niece and mokopuna staying with her, she is emotionally involved and openly acknowledges it. The boundaries between professional and personal for Yvonne are fluid.

The notion of balance and partnership, a woman and a man, an older and a younger, is another whanaungatanga-related dimension which Yvonne mentioned several times during the interview, and which she utilises as a healing model..

As an aunty, as a nanny to the children, and as an older person, Yvonne in this instance was able, perhaps obliged, to use a force and directiveness, which might not have been appropriate for a younger or unrelated counsellor.

Y: So, he got at her one time, and she came by me and my husband. And we said to her, "Right, you lay charges.

This behaviour's unacceptable and it can't go on." And she chose not to. And chose to go away from us. And so she went back into the relationship, which didn't change. So she came back again to us.

So what I did, I felt quite helpless. And the whole situation was getting nowhere. . . So we co-ordinated. And I actually played an active role in co-ordinating, um his whanau and our whanau together, and bringing them together.

And something that I'll never forget is that; what happened was, the elder from his marae, stood up, and had a karakia, and I had elders from my marae too. And we started with karakia, and then as the mihi went on, they apologised to our marae, to our people, for what their mokopuna was doing to our girl.

That night from that hui, when that happened, his own whanau agreed to awhi the man eh, awhi the young man. Where this other side agreed to awhi our niece. Because they wanted to stay together.

I was saying that the behaviour was completely unacceptable. And I did make the stand, see I'm losing my role here as a counsellor, as an aunty; and said, "I will take those children out of this, because they're my mokopuna." And I was supported by the elders in that statement. So when I looked at that, I played a very. . . once I had co-ordinated it, got it all together, my role changed. I became the aunty, and the elders to me became the counsellors in a

way.

And one of the interventions, in relationship to where they are now, is that, is that. . . Oh wait, wait, wait. We went to golf, ah these are the types of things that we put into programs too eh, and this was my husband's idea, because when you play golf, and you're meeting once a week, the four of us. Two women, two men, so it's a balance there, two young, two elder ones, playing golf; and my husband's reasons was that when you're playing golf, when I'm teeing off, the others have to pay me that respect of no laughing, no carrying on, so that I can have my shot. And that happened right through. Well it was learning for me in that area, but it was also a lot of learning for our young ones. And we found out after a while that it brought in that bit of respect. So it's I mean it's a real, using a Pakeha strategy in a way, but sport, recreation. We found out that the man was respecting the woman when she teed off. And that was part of our intervention. But it was a lot more; we got involved with the maraes. So what happened from that big hui with ah, all the elders, came down into couple sessions, couple counselling.

I found it quite difficult, and maybe that's an area that umm, when it comes to your immediate family, you have to be quite competent or else you really have to be quite honest and step out of it.

This story illustrates aspects of the whanaungatanga dimension. The issue was identified as a whanau, rather than an individual, couple, or nuclear family issue. The

young parents involved, and their children were seen as constituent elements within the whanau and whakapapa context.

Although Yvonne does not say so, her reference to the 'elder from his marae', implies that people were identified in terms of their relationship to this marae or that marae, rather than as discrete individuals. The process Yvonne describes is certainly a typical marae-based process. The probable location of the hui is within a whare-tupuna. This, along with the initiation, and no doubt closure, of the process with karakia, placed proceedings within the tapu of the house, and enabled the binding power of the mauri within the house to facilitate the inclusion of elements of the spiritual realm with the physical presence of the whanau, and the physical act of discussion.

As a senior member of the whanau in relation to the mother of the children, and as a nanny to the children involved in this situation, Yvonne had a primary responsibility for the mokopuna, and a primary right to act according to her perception of their welfare. Parental rights and responsibilities are secondary to the primary responsibility of senior whanau members to protect the whakapapa and the place of mokopuna within this.

In this situation, both whanau involved saw the young people as elements within whanau, rather than as discrete individuals. Thus, they accepted responsibility for and a role in the resolution of the problem. In apologising to the "marae, to the people", the young man's family sought to

make peace within the spiritual and temporal realms. Their acknowledgement of wrongdoing may be enough to rebalance mana relations. In this case it appears that the acknowledgement of wrong-doing, acceptance of responsibility for this, apology and commitment to future action in the form of awahi was enough for the young woman's whanau. However, the offended family would be within their rights to seek utu, perhaps in the form of muru of the young man and/or whanau, if the actions of the whanau were not considered sufficient to compensate for the wrong done and to establish an equitable position in terms of mana whanau and mana tupuna. In addition, the young man is placed in a position of having to accept the implications of his behaviour on the mana of his whanau. Thus, the violence has been removed from the domain of individual action, and placed in the context of whanau relationships. Any repetition by the young man of his violent behaviour is redefined as detrimental to his own mana and that of his whanau, and as having long-term implications for his relationship with his own whanau.

Yvonne's comments, to the effect that her role as aunty and nanny to the children superseded her role as counsellor, is an illustration of her models of 'counselling', 'self' and 'other'. It has been Yvonne's consistent position that the self is whanau-constituted and her relationships with clients are defined by whanau and whakapapa connections. Within this model, Yvonne's actions in connecting into and being part of the whanau process are appropriate. To disconnect, create distance and seek objectivity, that is, to attempt to keep her professional counsellor self separate from the process,

would be to negate her basic philosophy.

Yvonne's own perception of the role that whanau have to play in the ownership, guidance, direction and resolution of their young people's affairs is thus illustrated in this story. Also apparent is the relativity of whanau roles and relationships. Yvonne is aunt and nanny respectively, to the young woman and her children; however she is still rangatahi or pakeke to the kaumatua. Thus her role in relation to the young woman may be directive, while her role in relation to the kaumatua is to seek direction. She is able to express her beliefs and opinions directly, but does not adopt a directive or guiding role with the elders. The young parents and their children are the responsibility of the elders of the whanau, so the process is handed to them. In doing this, the counselling and leadership roles of kaumatua in relation to rangatahi are reinforced, or in some cases, revived. Thus the aspects of whanau roles and relationships that are involved in this process are kaumatua, pakeke, rangatahi, tamariki-mokopuna as well as tupuna, whakapapa and mana whanau.

Finally, the form of intervention that Yvonne describes herself and her husband as providing (golf) incorporates elements of the Maori models of learning identified within the hinengaro dimension, but also intertwined with other dimensions. In particular the importance of modelling, learning by doing, the integration of tinana (action, physical activity), hinengaro (cognitive and observational processes), whatumanawa (fun, drama, involvement and respect) and the notion of balance feature in this intervention. These are

8a Yvonne's Story

combined with dimensions from the earlier hui to form a therapeutic framework.

4) Whanau Roles

Some reference has already been made to Yvonne's role, as an older woman whanau member, and 'aunty' to the young woman in the previous extract. By virtue of this role, Yvonne took a particular approach; she was directive initially. However, once kaumatua were involved Yvonne's role changed, "the kaumatua became the counsellors. . ."

While Yvonne likes to involve client's whanau in counselling, the nature of this involvement, the role of the whanau and the role Yvonne plays varies.

Y: I usually co-ordinate hui. And more often than not, if there's clashes there, and it's always checking it out with the family, or the person, the client; and the role I play in this has to be at their direction.

I: At the client's direction?

Y: At the client's direction, in consultation with the whanau. And if he doesn't want to consult with his whanau, then I have to go to both parties, you know, consult with both parties; so that I'm clear on the role they want me to play, if any.

The issue of client confidentiality is re-defined when the whanau is the client. Yvonne's use of hui as a therapeutic

8a Yvonne's Story

tool, and her definition of her role as that of link-person and co-ordinator emphasises her rejection of an individual focus in her work.

Where a client and whanau are unwilling or unable to physically work together, Yvonne does not consider herself absolved of her responsibility to the whanau, nor does she redefine the client as an individual. She simply acts as the link between client and whanau, co-ordinating her role and the focus of her counselling between them. Thus she would be focusing on accessing, or assisting the client to obtain sustenance for dimensions other than whanaungatanga. However, as whanaungatanga is intertwined with the other dimensions, aspects of whanaungatanga will inevitably be present within the counselling process. These in turn may provide a route into more direct work with client and whanau, and move towards the ultimate aim of bringing them together, to strengthen the client by providing sustenance for this dimension.

5) *Whanaungatanga at Work*

Yvonne refers to the people involved at the centre, her co-workers, paid and voluntary, as well as some clients and ex-clients, as whanau. As in all whanau, she sees different members as having different roles to play.

Speaking of a client-come-whanau-member:

Y: One of our whanau, or more than one actually, has a, he's like a consultant to us. I utilise his skills a lot. And there's

a place for him within our organisation, but that's for him to find out where he fits into it, eh.

The whanaungatanga dimension provides a model for the structure and conceptualisation of Yvonne's work environment. As in all whanau systems, different members play different roles and these roles change and develop over time. However all members have a contribution to make to the well-being of the whole. In addition, and in line with aspects of whanaungatanga dimension previously discussed, relationships may extend beyond terms and parameters of the client-counselling relationship. In line with aspects of the hinengaro dimension, the notion of kaiako (teacher as learner and learner as teacher) is apparent.

Yvonne is keen to help her work whanau grow. Whanau values such as manaaki and awhi, are part of policy and practice at the centre. People are encouraged to drop in, to stay, to eat, and to share.

Y: Because we were Maori in the centre at that time. . . more Maori people came around. And there was one of our Maori workers out there in the community, doing heaps of work with the rangatahi, and had no base. So we said, "Nau mai, haere mai," eh. You know, there's room in this place here.

And I guess it's a Maori way of working if someone comes in for the first time, we spend the first time having a cuppa tea and a kai, and "Who are you?" You know, and "Who are your mum and dad?" And I call that the whakamahana

process.

And that whakamahana process, I guess the Pakeha term for that is building a rapport; it's the same isn't it? Well I think it is. The warming process. I tend to, and particularly with Maori, and who they are, you know, like a pepeha; who they are, instead of just Cathy or Yvonne. But who they are.

Yvonne likens that which she refers to as the whakamahana process to the Western concept of building rapport. However, her description of events, the mihi, revelation, (through pepeha or other means) of whakapapa, words of welcome and manaakitanga in the form of sharing food and drink is reminiscent of the powhiri process.

There are some important differences between the Western concept of rapport building and that of the powhiri. These relate, in part, to the inclusion of the whanaungatanga dimension and wairuatanga dimension and the removal of tapu through hongis or kisses and kai (food).

Holism

The theme of holism arose in Yvonne's korero in a number of ways. Yvonne stressed the need for faith and acceptance as opposed to analysis and dissection. This is illustrated with an example from the domain of Tanemahuta, God of forests and uncultivated foods.

Y: It's a fear that a lot of us have, particularly the koroua that

8a Yvonne's Story

comes in, is in relationship to our native trees. Now I mean kawakawa. And kawakawa to our teachings have a lot of different cures. Basically, my teachings are it purifies blood. Plus about 18 or 19 other things that kawakawa does and different ways it's used. And I believe a lot of us as Maori, and even to our Pakeha people, because it's for everyone, it's not just for Maori; if we have the faith that it will help us, then it will help us. We don't need to analyse it and one of the fears is that, you know our, we seem to have to analyse what's in it. . . So, you know, there's that, that fear, that they're going to analyse the kawakawa leaves.

Kawakawa is a native plant, and staple of rongoa Maori. Yvonne is expressing a fear, common to many Maori that if our ways and beliefs are exposed to Pakeha eyes, they will be subjected to Western forms of evaluation and analysis. As Western processes do not incorporate the wairuatanga, whatumanawa and ha a koro ma a kui ma dimensions, their analysis will be confined to limited physical and cognitive aspects. Thus the holistic and integrated essence of Maoritanga, and rongoa Maori will be invisible, or alternatively appropriated and transformed.

One aspect within this theme of holism is the ability to accept different, sometimes contradictory, realities as valid. As such, there is not a need to find a single truth or to identify which account may be more true than another. To do so would mean labelling one way as right, correct, or more true and another as wrong, incorrect or less true.

Y: . . . as long as we have faith; it doesn't matter if we interpret

8a Yvonne's Story

it differently. One of our women wondered now, "What did our women use for sanitary pads?" And we were told one story. . . And I thought "Oh, yeah, kei te pai." But this other story that was, that I was told, I guess it's more comfortable for me; I'm not doubting the other one. . . and I thought "Wow." So that's what our women did, some of our women. So sure I'm not discounting the other way either, when someone told me that, then that must have happened.

Maori are long-time post-positivists. The many different stories which form the basis of Maori histories and whakapapa are kept well protected, shared mainly within the whanau, hapu, and iwi to which they belong. It is recognised that other whanau, hapu and iwi may well have different stories. However, we guard our truths and do not comment on others, in order to protect the mana of the stories and storytellers. Our truth is our truth, their truth is their truth; it is not for one group to tell another any form of 'correct story'. This is the way that the mana and rangatiratanga of groups and peoples is respected and protected.

Another aspect which may be seen as indicative of an holistic approach is illustrated by Yvonne's emphasis on balance, both within the counselling process, and as a core ingredient of healing.

Y: See that's a whanau, umm, like couple counselling. So it's a balance, Ron and I, and this man and his wife. . . And I had no qualms in sharing what my aim was, to her as well as to him, and actually bringing them together in that balance area.

Yvonne is concerned to model the notion of man and woman together making a whole that is more than the sum of its parts. This is a tenet of the whanaungatanga dimension. It also relates to the mana wahine and mana tane aspects of the mana ake dimension.

Holism is a strong underlying theme in Yvonne's understanding of drug and alcohol addiction. Yvonne tends to go outside of the individual psyche of clients when conceptualising aetiology and appropriate therapies pertaining to the 'problem'. She sees the 'problem' as indicative of aspects of family and community, as well as individual, well-being. Her focus is on areas such as loss of identity and whanau functioning. So activities aimed at bringing clients together with their whanau, helping them find their 'roots' by linking them back to their own marae, hapu and iwi, tending to their wairuatanga, encouraging them to learn te reo, kawa and tikanga, form a vital part of Yvonne's approach to the treatment of substance abuse and addiction.

In addition, Yvonne's attention to the spiritual and physical, as well as psychological dimensions within individual clients further illustrates an holistic perspective.

In the following extract, Yvonne outlines her views on the aetiology of alcohol and drug abuse by Maori, and provides an insight into how these views effect the way she works with alcohol and drug abusers.

Y: We're talking alcohol and drugs. But you see, I only see alcohol and drugs as part of the whole. I believe that we

8a Yvonne's Story

are really unwell in our own country. And it's, you know, I, I really believe that we're lost unless we know where our pito is, you know, our turangawaewae is. . . In the prisons, in relationship to our Maori men. . . I never talked alcohol and drugs, I did everything in my power to meet the needs of the guys in there. If they wanted their whanau to be in touch, I tended to pick up that role. And one of the guys fed back to me, something that made me feel really good is that, um, is that I've actually helped him to communicate with a female. . . Just listening to the guys in there, and the very basic things they're saying; about the guy in the pub, he doesn't want to be in that scene anymore. He's got something else to fill his life. . .

I: So you're seeing the drug and alcohol problems that the prisoners might have had, or have, as um, being a result of something missing? Is that right?

Y: Ae. Ae, definitely!

I: And that something, is. . . that's why learning the language and. . .

Y: Ae. Who they are.

I: Whanaungatanga, building up that; that can be curative, because that fills that hole that alcohol has been?

Y: I, I do. Because I've seen the attitudes between whanau, whanau; and why do whanau back out here, and how um, we out here in the community, you know, our runangas,

8a Yvonne's Story

and our people on our maraes of high ranking; we have a role to play...

Nga rongoa o nga rakau; I've got a lot of learning in that area. And when the body, through the abuse of alcohol. And one particular Maori man comes to mind. My own age. He started drinking when he was 12. When he came to see me he was 45. He'd been drinking all his life, eh. And he, he, he was very receptive to the rongoa, eh, like kawakawa; and my belief is and our teaching is that kawakawa has heaps of potential for healing. But it's. . . one of the main functions is that it purifies the blood. And he felt really good when he gave up drinking, and he did drink kawakawa. And he's, he's fine now, today. And I haven't forgotten, eh.

In this narrative, Yvonne refers to the collective ill-health of Maori people and associates this with disruption in terms of our relationship with the land ("we are really unwell in our own country. And it's, you know, I, I really believe that we're lost unless we know where our pito is"). In particular, in referring to the pito and to turangawaewae, Yvonne is speaking of the connections between Maori and Papatuanuku which are aspects of the wairuatanga, whanaungatanga, mana, ha a koro ma a kui ma, hinengaro, mauri and tinana dimensions.

Yvonne also sees alcohol and drug abuse as symptomatic of a larger issue. The primary cause of alcohol and drug abuse amongst Maori, in Yvonne's view, is a lack of sustenance provided for the dimensions of Te Wheke. The result of a

lack of good nourishment for these dimensions is that people, in their quest for sustenance, seek to quench their thirst with waipiro.

Yvonne identifies knowing 'who they are' as a key issue for her clients. If Te Wheke is seen as a Maori model of selfhood, then 'knowing who one is' means knowing all the dimensions of Te Wheke. The onus for knowing oneself is not conceptualised by Yvonne as an individual and inner process. Rather, she sees extended whanau, hapu, iwi and people and groups of mana in the Maori community as having a responsibility to provide sustenance and a place for her clients, that they may come to know who they are. In other words, Yvonne sees 'knowing oneself' in terms of relationships with others. This requires the participation of others, as clients come to know who they are in relation to others. The key aspects that Yvonne sees herself and others utilising in this regard may be summarised in terms of awahi, tautoko and whakawhanaungatanga.

Maori/Pakeha Issues

The issue of Maori/Pakeha differences has been implicit or explicit within the Yvonne's narratives. Much of the case description and discussion Yvonne has raised to this point, however, pertains specifically to her work with Maori clients. Whether there are differences in the approach that she takes with Maori as opposed to non-Maori clients was a question that Yvonne had some difficulty coming to grips with. Her initial perception was that she did not.

Apirana Ngata, referred to near the end of the following extract, was a highly respected Maori leader and member of Parliament during the first half of this century. There is a saying, well-known to Maori, which he wrote in the autograph book of a young Maori girl. Ngata wrote words of guidance to prepare this girl for her future in a changing world. His words have now been adopted as sound advice by many Maori. Ngata's words have, in fact achieved, the status of whakatauki, perhaps the only words this century to do so (Karetu, 1984, p. 59-73).

The saying is perhaps representative of Ngata's views as to the direction that Maori should follow in terms of personal and community development. It may also be described as a Maori prescription for health in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand. The words of the whakatauki are usually interpreted as advocating the adoption of Western skills and techniques, such as literacy skills, educational qualifications, and medical practices, which facilitate survival, health and prosperity in a modern world (where, for Maori, traditional resources and ways are often inaccessible or insufficient). However Ngata's words also contain a reminder to hold on to, to value and express one's Maoritanga; and an injunction to carry one's spirituality as uppermost or primary in all aspects of life.

Sir Apirana Ngata's whakatauki:

*E tipu e rea
i nga ra o to ao
ko to ringa ki nga rakau o te Pakeha
hei ora mo to tinana*

8a Yvonne's Story

*ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tupuna
hei tikitiki mo to mahunga
a, ko to wairua ki te Atua,
nana nei nga mea katoa*

*Grow up tender shoot
in the days of your world
put your hand to the tools of the Pakeha
for your physical well-being
keep your heart with the treasures of your ancestors
as a plume for your head
and your spirit with the Lord
for all things belong with him.*

Y: I believe our Maori people have different needs to our Pakeha people, and yet they're all similar. People are people, and people have needs; it doesn't matter what colour they are, eh. I actually believe I work the same with both Pakeha and Maori, or with Maori and others, let me put it that way.

I: So you see your role as the same, to help meet their needs; but do you use different. . ?

Y: Techniques? Oh yes. Or... now why am I having trouble thinking about this, because I want to say yes, and then I'm thinking about it, and I guess I would say no. To me there's more resources available if I'm working with Maori. What am I saying here? What am I saying here. . ? Okay. In the first instance, I love working with our people. If I'm to be totally honest, I would sooner work with our Maori people.

At the same time, I do work with a lot of Pakeha people who are really beautiful people, who hurt the same as our Maori people. Do I work different? Do I?

I: Do you whakawhanaungatanga with Pakeha people? Do you consciously make links?

Y: I believe I do. Yeah, I do believe I do. And I guess that is because I've been around this area so long, and I know the majority of their elders. That's again the beauty of being in a small place. Umm, yes I do. And I guess that's because of me. Me the person in this area, but. . .

I: I guess you can be a Maori counsellor, and work in a Maori way, and that way might be good for Maori and Pakeha.

Y: Yeah, I think that's what I'm having difficulty in sort of, trying to, ah, get something. . . Actually this is good for me because now I'm really thinking. Um. . . I actually believe Maori people trained. . . I mean, I can put on that Maori hat because I'm a Maori woman, and because my mother's a Pakeha woman; I believe, I actually believe that we, that Maori people um, we can be skilled in both areas. So therefore maybe Apirana Ngata was right eh. My grandparents, they never taught me the reo, but they certainly gave me the marae life, so their, I believe in their wisdom, was that we could learn the Pakeha ways, so we could walk side by side with them into the future. And just as I'm thinking about that I'm trying to look at me, the person that I am, I have a bit of that, and I have a bit of that. The main question here is; do I apply different

techniques when I'm working with Maori as opposed to anyone, others. I guess I have to say no.

Yvonne struggled with the question of whether she worked with Maori and Pakeha in the same way. In working through the issues that this question raised for her, Yvonne draws on her whakapapa as linking her to both Maori and Pakeha systems and society, ("I can put on that Maori hat because I'm a Maori woman, and because my mother's a Pakeha woman..."). Through her whakapapa, Yvonne can link to Pakeha as well as Maori systems. In addition, she is knowledgeable about and competent in Pakeha social and meaning systems, which she attributes in part to the insistence of her grandparents that she learn Pakeha language and ways.

It appears that Yvonne is working in a Maori way, utilising Maori concepts, with both Maori and Pakeha clients. This is, of course, to be expected as she identifies and defines her self in a way that is consistent with the dimensions of Te Wheke model of self. Yvonne's comment to the effect that more resources are available when she works with Maori ("To me there's more resources available if I'm working with Maori") may refer to several scenarios. When she works with clients, Yvonne brings her self into the relationship; in this context Yvonne's self may be viewed in terms of the dimensions of Te Wheke. When meeting with Maori clients, Yvonne engages with similarly constructed selves. The contact that they have, and the relationship that develops between them, involves the eight dimensions of self and aspects within these, that are reflected in the model Te

8a Yvonne's Story

Wheke. With Pakeha clients, Yvonne will still bring to the counselling relationship these dimensions of her self. However contact with the dimensions of Western constructed selves may not be as accessible to her, and communication between these dimensions may be difficult. In addition, while Yvonne considers that she has access to some of the family networks of Pakeha clients, the nature and meaning of these networks may differ from those within Maori whanau, hapu and iwi systems. Similarly, access to and making meaning within Pakeha spiritual systems, cognitive systems and communities may differ in significant respects from those associated with the wairuatanga, hinengaro and whanaungatanga dimensions of Maori clients.

When we went through specific cases and examples, Yvonne concluded that, while her view of her role as counsellor does not change significantly whether she is working with Maori or non-Maori clients, the appropriateness, the fit, of different techniques and micro-skills sometimes varied.

I: What about, with a young Pakeha couple, would you bring in their parents, their family?

Y: With their permission. With their permission, I would certainly try and encourage that as one of the options. I find it umm, it doesn't work as easily, for whatever reasons, 'cause there are many reasons, as it does for Maori. And maybe that's because. . . I'm not too sure.

This narrative reinforces the previous analysis. Yvonne tries

8a Yvonne's Story

to link into the whanaungatanga dimension with Pakeha clients, but finds this dimension less accessible than with Maori clients.

Yvonne went on to say that while she likes to prepare herself spiritually, through karakia, prior to meeting with all clients; she tended to use karakia in sessions with Maori only.

I: What about spiritually? Like do you work, do you look at spiritual things in your counselling and work on a spiritual level in counselling? And do you... do or don't do that with Maori and non-Maori clients?

Y: Ae. Ae.

I: Does that mean then, do you ask if you can begin and end with a karakia?

Y: Particularly with Maori only. With Maori only. I have not done that on a one-to-one with a Pakeha. But with a Maori I always ask, if it's appropriate to start. And, and not always they want it. And that's okay. So I always ask too at the end if we can end with just a thank you to whoever. And more often than not, in fact 99 times out of a 100, I find the Maori person does; and I also find that they bow their heads. Why I don't do that with Pakeha? I'm not too sure. I'm not too sure. I've gotta be honest with you here. It's no good trying to bullshit you here. But I don't. I, I, I don't.

The significance of karakia at the beginning and end of a session is that it calls 'the flow of the wairua' into the process and places the participants and the process as subject to 'the flow of the wairua'. It may also encompass a request for spiritual guidance and effectively invite spiritual beings and forces into the room and the lives of participants. Once the people and the process have been placed under the mantle of nga Atua, whether they be God, gods or tupuna, the people and process carries the tapu of these spiritual entities. At the conclusion of a session that has had this form of tapu placed on it, it is important to remove the tapu, that is to whakanoa, participants. This is the significance of karakia at the end, as well as the beginning, of sessions. In effect the concluding karakia serves to make people noa and 'stem the flow' so that it does not become too all-encompassing or intense.

Once again, this narrative expands on the differences that Yvonne perceives in relation to her work with Maori and Pakeha clients. In terms of Te Wheke, Maori may be seen as part of a particular spiritual system through their whakapapa which links them back to nga Atua Maori and Papatuanuku. While Pakeha may also have their own spirituality they are, according to Te Wheke model, part of a different spiritual system or sub-system. Christian prayer may, in some instances, be seen as a uniting force in Maori and Pakeha spirituality. However, it may also be argued that the Christian God and his progeny serve as metaphors for the traditional Maori conception of Io Matua Kore. Alternatively, it may be argued that the Christian God has been adopted into the whanau of nga Atua Maori. In neither

8a Yvonne's Story

case has a Christian God replaced or supplanted traditional Maori spirituality.

Yvonne indicates that Maori people usually want karakia and usually bow their heads during karakia; "I find the Maori person does; and I also find that they bow their heads." Although Yvonne does not expand on this, it may be that the significance of the bowing of heads may be perceived by Yvonne in terms of an active participation in the karakia and spiritual system, and/or an indication of submission to the spiritual system; that is placing the spiritual system as primary.

As an example of the techniques that she saw as most appropriate and effective for Maori, Yvonne described the work she is involved with 'lighting the spark' of Maoritanga within Maori prison inmates. In light of her understanding of such problems as symptomatic of 'rootlessness'. She sees this as an effective treatment technique for drug and alcohol problems. Yvonne also spoke about the case of a Maori prison inmate who had a problem with violence, and whom she had come to know as part of her involvement with prison visiting and the teaching of te reo and tikanga Maori.

Y: We go into the prisons. . . and I've seen these guy's esteem; and two of them have been in and out of prison; for the last 20 years they've been like it. And you know that they're never coming back. In fact when they come out of there they're going to play important roles out here.

8a Yvonne's Story

An interesting talk by one of these guys was, was, within prison, he's meant to be doing anger management because he has been known to be an angry young man; he was 39. So he went along to anger management, from the Pakeha way of doing it, in the prisons eh. And it didn't meet his needs. In fact he said, "Ahh, this is just a load of rubbish." And what he was saying to me was that, he gets that, in te reo. Um, the koro talks to him about whare tangata, as women; ah, he talks about Papatuanuku. So what the koroua's doing to him, is opening up this other perspective of, ahh, 'cause a lot of his violence has been towards his lady, his respect for the woman. He's actually saying he's getting anger management within te reo classes, but in a different way. So you know, those are the two different techniques, I guess. . . So different techniques for our people, or different healing processes.

Yvonne's reference to the "young man; he was 39" illustrates her perception of him within the whanaungatanga dimension. A 39 year old would probably not be referred to as a young man within a Western context. However, in terms of the whanaungatanga dimension, Yvonne is matua and he is rangatahi in relation to her. As matua, she looks at him, not only or primarily in terms of his individual needs, but also in terms of the roles he can play within whanau, hapu and iwi, and the contribution he can make to the well-being of the whole that he is a part of. Yvonne sees identifying the roles that these men can play and linking them to their place within whanau, hapu and iwi systems as an aspect of her role as matua. Taking responsibility for their behaviour, and for not ending up back in prison, then becomes not simply an

8a Yvonne's Story

issue of their own well-being, but of their responsibilities to whanau, hapu and iwi. They have a responsibility to play a role within the institutions of whanau, hapu and iwi and this responsibility cannot be fulfilled if they are in prison. The benefits are reciprocal, however; whanau, hapu and iwi can provide support and sustenance for a number of dimensions, and thus contribute to the well-being of these men.

Te reo Maori has been identified as an aspect of the wairuatanga, ha a koro ma a kui ma, mana, hinengaro and mauri dimensions; in learning te reo, the young man that Yvonne speaks of is gaining sustenance for these dimensions.

By referring to the 'whare tangata' Yvonne implies that the young man is coming to know the mana and tapu of women. The term 'whare tangata' encompasses the notion of the womb as the house of people. Women's role in carrying children and giving life to them is seen as tapu and a key tenet in the notion of mana wahine. An implication of this view is that, in assaulting women, the man is, in effect assaulting the sacred temple of life, endangering future children and in particular, interfering with a tapu vessel of whakapapa.

While Yvonne recognised a number of differences between appropriate Maori and Pakeha approaches, understandings and techniques, she did not always see these differences as incompatible with each other. Her comment regarding particular therapeutic approaches and techniques which she experienced as

part of her addiction studies course indicates this:

Y: And every time, honestly, every time, I could relate to it in a Maori way; without that, without that title.

One area which Yvonne perceived as highlighting Maori/Pakeha differences concerned aspects of emotional involvement and expression by her in counselling situations. Both Yvonne and her Maori co-worker had had some conflict with their Pakeha manager over the question of emotional expression, specifically crying, in counselling sessions. Yvonne saw this as indicative of a clash between what she understood as 'the Pakeha clinical way' of practising counselling, and the way in which she and her colleague approached counselling. This conflict perhaps precipitated some confusion, or re-assessment for Yvonne. It is not clear whether Yvonne's apparent uncertainty is indicative of doubt over her stance on the matter, or merely a difficulty in verbalising her stance.

Conflict between the broad based, holistic approach that characterise Yvonne's understanding of the origins and functions of drug and alcohol abuse; and the narrower or more focused understanding of her Pakeha senior manager, is also apparent in this extract.

Y: And I do tangi. . . And if I do get red-eyed when I'm with someone, and yet I've been told in the, in the clinical way that's not, that's not acceptable. . . Certain people that are saying, "This is the way you work only." Like when I go into prison, "This is the way you work only. You're clinical. You talk alcohol and drugs." Bullshit! Those

guys know more about drugs than you and me put together. And umm, we [Yvonne and her Maori colleague] had been told; both told in this instance that, "You don't show emotions." It's from, actually it's from one of our Pakeha higher up in the hierarchy; and he's saying, "This is the way to do it." And actually to me he's saying, "Your way's wrong, and this is the only way." And that's the problem I have with working with the clinical. Umm, I accept that we have to do stat.'s [statistics], and I accept that numbers are important, and, and that's fine. But when it comes to that actual, "Don't show your emotions," well then maybe I shouldn't be in this work. That's the one area that I really don't go along with. I guess the next step is to really check it out with the people that we work with, if that does happen; which I haven't done. You know, it could upset someone if I, I tangi with them. I don't know, I haven't checked it out. I need to. Actually thank you for this mental note. 'Cause we're there for the people's needs eh. I actually believe counsellors can be pretty powerful people, and really stuff-up people's lives, eh. I, I really believe that. So we have to be very. . . sort of, having an empathy sort of, justifies to me, you know. If I want to tangi with the person. . . oh. . .

In the context of Maori meetings and interaction crying is considered an appropriate form of emotional expression. It is usual for tears to be exchanged at powhiri, in remembrance of past losses and grief, and also at some hui. Indeed, the tangihanga is considered by many to be the bastion of Maori tradition. The tangihanga is the period of mourning for the dead and features copious tears, wailing

and lamenting, along with laughter, learning and storytelling.

The word that is most often associated with grief and tears in Maori metaphor is hupe, or that which flows from the nose when one is weeping. Hupe in particular and roimata (tears) are powerful metaphors for grief, loss and crying within Maori cultural forms. Hupe and roimata appear as key metaphors in Maori oratory, waiata (in particular in formal laments), 'art forms' - including those which provide the stories which fill wharenuī - and moko (tattoo).

In many circumstances, not to cry is an indication of a lack of development of the wairua, hinengaro, whatumanawa and sometimes whanaungatanga dimensions. If Yvonne is meeting and interacting with the different dimensions of her clients through the different dimensions of her self, then it is normal and healthy that emotional expression, and tears as an acceptable form of that, will be shared with clients. This is particularly true when a whanau relationship (whether metaphorical or whakapapa based) has been established. In these circumstances, the primary experience is one of oneness. For example, as one whanau we (collectively) form one whole; as one iwi (tribe or bones), we collectively form one body. The outcome of these conceptions of self in relationship may be expressed in the phrase 'your pain is my pain.' While pain is used here, this phrase can be equally true in relation to joy, children, mana, shame and so on.

The Pakeha manager that Yvonne refers to appears to be taking the position usually associated with Western models of self and of counselling ethics. That is, he appears to

8a Yvonne's Story

assume that it is necessary for clear boundaries to be maintained between the self and experience of the counsellor and the self and experience of clients. The concept of empathy, popular within Western models of counselling, implies "the power of identifying oneself mentally with (and so fully comprehending) a person or object of contemplation" (Allen [Ed.] 1991). Thus the notion of empathy may be seen to be primarily cognitive in nature. The image of a 'person or object of contemplation', implies a perspective 'from without,' that is separate from the object of contemplation.

In an address to the New Zealand Association of Counsellors conference, Maori psychiatrist Mason Durie described a situation where a client was sitting in a counsellor's room crying. Durie proposed that the likely response of most counsellors in this situation would be to ask clients how they were feeling and invite them to put words to their feelings, that is, to talk about it (Durie, 1989). In terms of Te Wheke, this type of response would represent a failure to relate within the whatumanawa dimension, a dismissal of that dimension and a reversion to the hinengaro dimension. The need to 'put words to' that which is being communicated through the whatumanawa, in effect, represents a failure of the counsellor to hear, communicate with and provide sustenance to the whatumanawa of the client.

The conflicts that Yvonne and her co-workers have experienced, which Yvonne sees as directly related to working under the

8a Yvonne's Story

auspices of a Pakeha organisation and being held accountable to a Pakeha manger, have encouraged them to seek autonomy. Extensive restructuring within the Aotearoa/New Zealand health system, and the contracting out of health services, have provided an opportunity for their agency to achieve more independence from the present organisational management structures, in day to day operations. Yvonne and her co-worker plan to submit a tender to the Area Health Board to provide alcohol and drug treatment services for the region. Towards this end, they hired the services of a consultant to assist them in developing a business plan that fitted in with their own values and visions.

Yvonne's experience on her marae committee and other Maori committees and groups has given her a clear view of structural issues within Maori organisations; her experiences with the Area Health Board have provided another view. Although Yvonne is excited and optimistic about the opportunities the new contracting options represent, she also has some misgivings.

Y: I'm sure you know what's going on in the health system. I mean it's going to be all business. The heart one side and the. . . we're at the stage now, in our work, where there's the heart side and there's the head side. Its for the future eh, and you're aware of that aren't you?

I: The contracting and all this?

Y: Oh, right. But we're, we're feeling good about it, that; hey, defining our own roles and what part we play in it, and acknowledging, oh well I acknowledge, I have not got a business head. I have not that business head in that area

8a Yvonne's Story

that's going to be needed for the future. We actually got in a consultant ourselves; and we paid him ourselves. To actually, to go right back. Not, not saying that those last years of development haven't been worthwhile; and we actually went right back and came up with a mission statement. We got him in ourselves, because we were at that stage where we, we felt let's build this solid base. You know it's like building your kingdom safely, so it'll rise and grow. So we went right back and looked at, evaluated where we'd come from. And we came up with a mission statement. Always focusing on the needs of the client, eh. And, then we had our values and visions, and we went through the whole process, and then coming up with a few result areas we need to look at, and our inputs and outputs, and it was real learning. And the frightening thing for me now, right now is that, always being people orientated and hands on, yeah, it's just like I have to develop in this business world; which is dog eat dog, um oh God. You know I, I, that's the frightening part for me; and yet at the same time, we believe we can build up to be this professional service meeting needs of people out there. And we'll need to bring others on.

I: Do you think it could end up being at the expense of the people focus, to a degree?

Y: God I hope not. But, well...

I: It's a fear?

Y: Oh, yes it is actually. And a fear I have I guess, is that my,

me myself, as a person. . . I'm on a lot of committees from our marae, a lot of situating committees, and I'm a delegate from our marae. When I've forgotten and thought I'm a better. . . could be a power to myself, I get away from the other side. Because I actually believe and walk the talk that when you're a delegate, onto these other committees for our people; you're actually their ears and their eyes, and your role is to go there and listen, bring back to the people, and get their decision, and then come back. I see us moving in our runanga and our district councils, and our vestries and that, forgetting those things at times. Maybe I'm naive, maybe I'm naive, but I still believe nothing will work in Maoridom unless it's from the people, people first, it's all for the people. And I see us, I don't know. . . I don't understand politics at that high level. I see all these people nominate their candidates, they put them into government, and what I see, from where I sit, people sit up there and they forget the people who put them there. Yeah, I see it happening within our own runangas and that. But anyway. . . the one structure that works, look at that structure of our tangihanga. I've always said this, where we all need each other; the person who sits on the paepae, and the kuia on the paepae, the person who cleans the toilets, the person who cooks the kai, the person who sets the tables. That whole thing operates, and meets it's goals and objectives and all that, because everyone plays their role eh. Everyone knows their role and they play their role. And the whole thing goes off fine. And it's, you know when I look at it's structure, I personally hate the structure of the General Manager here, and the Assistant General Manager, who in turn have assistant managers, it's like God, mini-

God, mini-mini-gods. Um, the only structure to me that'll work within Maoridom. . . Ahh, um picture this tree that's cut down. This big tree that's cut down. And on the trunk they have all these lines, life-lines of the tree. And right in the core is the heart. Put a structure in place and put all the people into that heart, because to me the people are the heart. And that's how we sort it around, you know our pakeke, kaumatua, or different portfolios all around. I don't believe, in Maoridom, the structure, how it is with the General Manager up there, and assistants will work. I really don't. I keep saying to myself, "Maybe you're naïve", but no, no. He aha te mea nui? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata, eh. Ae.

SUMMARY

In this section, I identify and highlight some of the points that seem to me to be particularly salient to the subject matter of this thesis. In so doing I acknowledge that other readers of these narratives may identify additional points.

Characteristics of participants in this study in many ways parallel the profile of the Maori population as a whole in terms of background and knowledge of te reo me ona tikanga. For instance, all but one of the participants in this study did not speak or understand te reo Maori to any degree of fluency. In this regard, participants in this study, having been raised in a predominantly English speaking environment, educated through a Western school system and having attained more fluency in English language and Western systems than in those that could be described as traditionally Maori, might be described, in common with the bulk of the Maori population, as highly acculturated. However features of the narratives contributed by participants in this study indicate that the processes of enculturation and acculturation may not be as closely tied to cognitive/intellectual knowledge and to language as might be assumed.

There are three broad areas that will be summarised here, being; cultural selves, knowledge and identity; features of the models of counselling developed by Maori counsellors in this study; areas of conflict for Maori counsellors working in Western style organisations.

Cultural selves, knowledge and identity

Some of the issues that arose during the process of interviewing and analysing participants' narratives, and in the content of the narratives themselves, concerned issues broader than (although certainly relevant to) the subject of counselling. The following list identifies some of the issues around the nature of identity, the nature of the culture concept, the transmission of 'cultural knowledge', and the role of language and cognitive/intellectual learning in this regard.

9 Summary

Participants in this study tended to hold world views that were consistent with the characteristics of ensembled individualism (Sampson, 1993) and indexical selfhood (Landrine, 1992).

Features of the world views of participants that were consistent with the characteristics of ensembled individualism and indexical selfhood included;

1. A view of individual selfhood as indivisible from the whanau (and hapu and iwi) unit, including temporal and spiritual constituents of these.

The boundaries of selfhood were drawn around the whanau (and hapu and iwi) unit, ancestors and the natural and supernatural world. This is reflected, for instance, in Yvonne's reluctance to work with an individual, particularly a young person, without the permission or involvement of the whanau, and in her story of working with a family in a room that was 'full' (of spiritual others). Pat's comments to the suicidal young man to the effect that he must not be meant to succeed in his suicide attempts no matter how hard he tried, also indicate a belief system in which spiritual forces or beings are considered to control events for and around individuals. Ron's account of his journey to take up his present position contains similar implications, as does Pat's account of the young woman who acknowledged 'naku te he' and the alcohol and drug abuse prevention programme that had a focus on encouraging young Maori to return the whenua (placenta) to the whenua (Papatuanuku-mother earth).

2. Self, identity and roles are seen as synonymous.

Once again, Yvonne's reluctance to work with young people without the permission or involvement of the whanau, may be seen as reflecting a perception that their selves and identities are synonymous with their roles as rangatahi within the whanau. Similarly, Yvonne's reluctance to involve herself in working with other whanau systems, and particularly with younger whanau members, without the permission of elders or other whanau members, may indicate that she perceives her self and identity as defined by her membership of her own whanau, and thus as excluding her from assuming a right to participate in the affairs of other whanau without permission. In Yvonne's story also, her role negotiation as counsellor and whanau member, the

9 Summary

inseparability of herself from her roles as a whanau member, and others from their roles within the whanau, are graphically illustrated in her account of her niece who was experiencing violence, and the whanau hui held to address these issues.

3. Self is not a separate entity which is able to be reflected on in isolation and self-description is based on the context of situations and relationships.

All participants illustrated this aspect of their conceptions of self when they prefaced their introductions of themselves to me with information about their whanau, hapu and iwi identities. Participants' narratives, particularly in regard to their descriptions of their career paths, also illustrate this conception of self, in their emphasis on situations and relationships, including relationships with the spiritual dimension, as opposed to personal agency.

Participants in this study appeared to maintain distinctly Maori conceptions of self, other and the world around them whether or not they were able to speak Maori language or were versed in Maori language and traditions.

The apparent ability of participants in this study to construct and maintain Maori identities, discourses, meanings and conceptions of themselves and others, while possessing little or no fluency in Maori language and limited formal cognitive/intellectual knowledge of Maori traditions, raises a number of questions in regard to Western theories of the process and mediums of construction of the self.

In particular, the utility and explanatory power of the Whorfian hypothesis is called into question in relation to some elements of the participants' narratives in this study. This hypothesis, which posits that constructions of self, other and the nature of the world are predicated on, defined and bounded by language (that is we may have knowledge only of that which we have words to know through) does not fit comfortably with elements of the narratives contained in this study.

In addition, the culture concept and the related constructs of enculturation and acculturation are predicated on the assumption that a degree of cognitive/intellectual

9 Summary

learning and knowledge is associated with the acquisition of culture, and a lack of such learning and knowledge is associated with acculturation. Within some of the narratives, there was an emphasis placed on certain aspects consistent with a Maori world view, and dimensions of Te Wheke as a part of that, which figured in participants' narratives despite a lack of cognitive/intellectual learning about, knowledge of, or words to describe these aspects. For example, Ron describes a series of events leading to his appointment as an alcohol and drug counsellor which signify an intentionality of purpose and web of relationships associated with the wairuatanga, whakapapa and whanaungatanga dimensions. The following portion of Ron's narrative describes an aspect of his experience of gaining the job he held at the time. A fairly lengthy narrative describing the course of his life to the point of gaining this job preceded the following piece. Thus, this extract represents Ron's summary and explanation of how he came to be working as an alcohol and drug counsellor, although the sub-text of the preceding narrative provides the flesh of this story and emphasises a spiritual intentionality as responsible for his arrival in his current job.

“It was even quite strange when I came in here. The job that was advertised, it was for an A and D worker and so ahhh, I came down here. Ummm it could have been that the job went to anyone, a Chinaman, a Dutchman, or anyone. But I got the job. And when I came in here I actually found ummm there was something inside me that connected me to my people which I had to express ... That's what I was put here for.”

Also called into question by the nature of the sub-text, and by various aspects of participants' narratives (those that emphasise a knowing without words), is the centrality of logocentrism within Maori discursive frames. It may be that modern Maori discourse features a form of non-logocentric communication which may in itself have developed in response to both the loss of te reo Maori and the dangers associated with the open expression of Maori identity and wairuatanga in colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Participants' narratives indicated that they tended to conceive of themselves, others and the world around them in ways that were consistent with the dimensions of Pere's 'Te Wheke' model.

Although participants did not necessarily use the terms associated with 'Te Wheke', the meanings conveyed in their narratives, and particularly in the sub-textual content of the narratives, indicated that the dimensions of whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, mana ake, hinengaro, whatumanawa, tinana, ha a koro ma a kui ma and mauri, and aspects thereof were present in their understandings of themselves, of others and of the nature of the counselling endeavour.

The tendency to conceive of themselves, others, and the world around them in ways consistent with the dimensions of 'Te Wheke' appeared to exist regardless of the level of fluency in te reo Maori and/or the levels of knowledge of 'traditional Maoritanga' that participants possessed.

Those participants who did not possess the traditional 'markers' of Maoritanga, could be described as highly assimilated or acculturated. However, the fundamental tenets of Maori identity, in particular as proposed by Pere, appeared to be present, and strongly so, despite a relative lack of cognitive/intellectual knowledge of these dimensions in terms of Maori language and philosophy. These participants tended to express these aspects of their identity less than fluently and sometimes also supplemented these with analogies drawn from Western paradigms. For those who had more command of te reo Maori there was perhaps a greater confidence of expression, and a greater economy of expression also (in that there appeared to be less need to supplement or justify the expression of their beliefs and practice philosophies with examples and analogies drawn from Western paradigms).

Participants' use of English language made use of a variety of sub-textual cultural codes through which Maori meanings could be made.

9 Summary

As previously noted, participants in this study tended to communicate on at least two levels; that of the spoken English text and that which has been referred to here as a sub-textual cultural code.

The use of sub-textual cultural codes to convey Maori meanings through English language narratives may be related to a lack of access to Maori language through which to convey meanings. This inability to access te reo Maori (in the sense of Maori language and 'voice') is a direct consequence of genocidal policies designed to obliterate Maori languages, meanings and identities.

The conceptions of self, other and the natural world held by participants were based primarily on whakapapa and wairuatanga.

The narratives of all participants in this study feature an emphasis on that which may be best described as whakapapa and wairuatanga. As previously noted, whakapapa may be seen as a central aspect of wairuatanga (as well as other dimensions of 'Te Wheke'). In fact the relationship between whakapapa and wairuatanga is interdependent to the extent that wairuatanga may also be seen as an aspect of whakapapa. Whakapapa is also the central binding force in the whanaungatanga dimension. An implication of the interdependent relationship between whakapapa and whanaungatanga is that conceptions of self, other and the world, as constructed within Maori discursive frames, appear as the embodiment of whakapapa and wairuatanga. Thus, one's characteristics, past, present and future are based on and defined by one's place in the whakapapa and wairuatanga. This place is independent of language, of cognitive/intellectual learning and knowledge, and of personal behaviour. Ways of seeing and doing things may be acquired independently of language and cognitive/intellectual knowledge because these are part of the ha a kui ma a koro ma; that is they are as much a part of us as our breath is the continuation of the breath of our ancestors.

9 Summary

Personal agency was considered less influential in participants coming to be practising as professional counsellors, than the agency of others.

Participants tended to describe their arrival into their positions as counsellors as initiated by others, either elders or through spiritual forces, rather than themselves. Thus, their career paths into counselling were characterised by a process of preparation and selection by others, which they followed, rather than a personal choice and forging of career path.

Features of the models of counselling developed by Maori counsellors.

Central to any model of counselling are assumptions about the nature of self, other and the world. Set out below are some of the assumptions which appeared to underpin the narratives of the Maori counsellors who participated in this study. The assumptions are organised according to the dimensions of Te Wheke and some of the implications of these assumptions for counselling practice are also identified. It is perhaps worth noting here that, just as the dimensions of 'Te Wheke' are intertwined and overlapping, so too are the underpinning assumptions and practice principles identified here.

Wairuatanga

The spiritual is indivisible from the temporal.

- Counsellors and clients are part of a spiritual system that influences the course of their lives, what happens to them and which paths forward are open to them.
- No client enters a counselling encounter alone, they inevitably carry with them the spiritual essence and presence of their tupuna.
- The wairuatanga dimension is always significant in the presentation of clients. This is true whether or not clients are aware of it and whether or not counsellors acknowledge it.
- The wairuatanga dimension was also significant in the presentation of counsellors who participated in this study. Participants indicated that they had an obligation to attend to the health and well-being of their wairua. Protection and guidance was sought from the wairua dimension and appeared akin to a professional and ethical imperative.
- Participants in this study tended to acknowledge the power and presence of the spiritual realm through the use of karakia. Karakia were sometimes used to explicitly engage the wairuatanga dimension in the counselling process. At other

9 Summary

times, karakia were used to provide guidance and protection to counsellors and/or clients.

Spirituality is a part of all people and processes; the role of the counsellor is to recognise spiritual problems when they arise and to respond appropriately.

- Participants in this study did not consider themselves to be experts in addressing spiritual issues. They tended to be open to and aware of the spiritual dimensions of clients' beings and experiences, and they also tended to maintain an awareness of the spiritual realm as a possible source of problems that their clients faced, and as a resource for resolution and healing.
- Participants tended not to see themselves as 'spiritual healers', rather, they tended to see their role as that of 'link person.' Thus, although they tended to some degree to spiritual dimensions in the counselling process, these participants tended to link clients into appropriate people and places in order that they could access ongoing spiritual sustenance and/or interventions.
- Identifying appropriate people to contact and places to take clients was related to the whanau, hapu and iwi (that is whakapapa) connections that clients had.

Whanaungatanga

The identity of the individual is indivisible from that of the whanau

- Participants in this study tended to maintain an awareness of their own and clients positions in relation to whanau, hapu and iwi relationships.
- A first and important step in getting to know clients, was learning about the whanau, hapu and iwi that they are a part of. This was done by identifying the relationships between clients and other whanau members, living and dead.

9 Summary

- Having a good knowledge of Maori whanau, hapu, iwi and communities assisted participants to get to know clients and to identify avenues of support and sustenance for clients.
- Not knowing one's whanau or choosing not to participate in whanau activities was not seen as excluding one from membership of the whanau nor was it seen as separating one's being and identity from that of the whanau.
- In effect, the smallest unit with which participants in this study worked was the whanau. Although whanau may or may not have been physically present during the counselling sessions, the individual was conceived of by participants as existing within the context of their whanau. Sometimes the counsellor's role was primarily one of linking clients with whanau and handing responsibility for the process to whanau. In this case the counsellor became both resource for and servant of the whanau.

A fundamental basis of whanaungatanga is whakapapa; the mana of the whanau and the mana of individuals within the whanau is inseparable.

- Whakapapa as a feature of whanau relationships implies a spiritual component in individuals and whanau and a specific place within Maori spiritual systems.
- One's whakapapa has implications for where one is situated in the present.
- Individuals within whanau and the whanau group as a whole carry a certain amount of mana as a consequence of their whakapapa. This implies that the mana of the individual and the mana of the whanau are intertwined to the extent that they are inseparable. Mana and tapu are also intertwined, implying a need for caution. This in turn may mean that, in working with clients, counsellors need to be aware that they are touching on the mana and tapu of the whanau. For participants in this study, this sometimes necessitated seeking permission from the whanau to work with one of their members and an imperative that counsellors seek to provide themselves with a degree of spiritual protection when working with clients.
- As a consequence of whakapapa and whanau relationships, individuals may also carry the consequences of any hara, kanga, makutu or mate which affect the whanau. That is, problems or issues confronting clients may have their origins in

9 Summary

the historical or contemporaneous actions of or reactions to other whanau members. This implies that in assisting clients to identify and address these issues, counsellors may need to focus on and act at the level of whanau, whakapapa and wairuatanga.

The whakawhanaungatanga process is an integral part of establishing the relationship between counsellor and client, and the process of whakawhanaungatanga simultaneously adds a dimension beyond the counsellor-client relationship.

- The initial process of identifying the whanau, hapu and iwi links of the client was usually followed by a process of self-disclosure by the counsellor in relation to his/her whanau, hapu and iwi identity.
- Participants tended to make connections with the whanau, hapu and iwi systems of which clients were a part, thus linking themselves into these systems. Hence counsellors became a part of whanau, hapu and iwi networks of clients. At times clients may make these links themselves. Once such links have been identified, the nature of the relationship between counsellor and client tended to move from solely that of counsellor and client to that of whanau, hapu or iwi members. Within the whanau relationship, counsellor and client may formally or informally identify whanau roles in relationship to each other (eg. Tuakana-teina, matua-rangatahi, aunty-niece). Whether or not they had been acknowledged or performed previously, whanau roles and relationships identified by participants and clients, preceded and extended beyond the counsellor-client relationship. Whanau relationships may thus become the primary helping relationship.
- Where tenuous or no whakapapa-based whanau, hapu and iwi relationships are identified in the initial whakawhanaungatanga process, there may be a process of 'metaphorical whakawhanaungatanga'. This may be seen as akin to that of whangai, whereby there is a relationship along the lines of fostering (matua whangai). Kaumatua, matua, rangatahi and mokopuna may be brought into the metaphorical whanau. The implications are similar to those outlined above, in that the whanau relationship tends to be redefined beyond that of the counsellor-

9 Summary

client relationship. Thus, the counsellor may take on a role as matua or aunty, tuakana or teina in relation to clients, kaumatua who assist the counsellor in their work may act as kaumatua for clients and others may adopt other whanau roles with the parents or children of clients becoming a part of the metaphorical whanau also.

- Where clients are considered indivisible from their whanau contexts, issues are raised about whether counsellor-client confidentiality extends to the whanau.

The whanau and whanau processes provide a model for working relationships and processes.

- Participants tended to structure their relationships in their workplaces along whanau lines, and sometimes conducted work-related business in community or whanau contexts.
- For those participants working with Maori colleagues, the workplace was structured along whanau lines with clients, former clients and whanau members joining in shared meals, work and social times.
- At times, participants used work time and resources in the interests of maintaining reciprocal relationships with whanau, hapu and iwi in the community. In effect, these community relationships provided consultancy and support networks for participants, to be used in their work and in the interests of clients.

Mauri

Karakia and some traditions can serve to strengthen the mauri in people, places and processes and thus bind the wairua to the physical aspects of people, places and processes in a strong and significant way.

- Participants sometimes spoke of experiences where the wairua was felt particularly strongly. In these instances, it may have been the binding effect of the mauri, sometimes fed through karakia, that maintained the strong connection between temporal and spiritual experience.

9 Summary

- The practice of giving the whenua (placenta) to the whenua (Papatuanuku/mother earth) was seen by some participants as providing the new generations with a strong link to their physical and spiritual 'roots'. This practice may be seen as a health promotion process of binding together the physical to the spiritual and thus of strengthening mauri.

All people, things and places have mauri; the mauri of particular places can provide sustenance for the mauri of particular people.

- Sometimes, certain clients were taken to particular places with which they had a whakapapa and therefore spiritual connection. Yvonne, for example, described the experiences of two young men as they lay on Papatuanuku on one of their marae. Such experiences may be seen as providing sustenance for the mauri of these men, and consequently strengthening the bonds between the spiritual and physical aspects of their beings.
- If the mauri in a place is not conducive to counselling within a 'whakaaro Maori' (Maori ways of seeing, thinking and understanding) framework, participants in this study would attempt to find an alternative environment. Pat refers to this when he speaks of the 'bricks and mortar', the buildings around them and the atmosphere and environment generally, as not being conducive to counselling as he understood it.
- Ron, Yvonne, and Grace also paid specific attention to their environments in terms of the mauri and whakaaro that was fostered in their places of work. This was done through the regular use of karakia, attention to items contained in the place (for example, elements of the natural environment and items of spiritual significance were brought in to offices and lounges) and attempts to maintain positive thoughts and conversation. Some participants also spoke of using water, working with earth or saying karakia to cleanse themselves spiritually, particularly when there was a sense that a negative or destructive wairua had entered the place or process.

9 Summary

- Participants spoke of conducting counselling outdoors, in the natural environment. This may be thought of as drawing on the mauri associated with elements in the natural environment.

Mana Ake

- Maintaining and enhancing the mana of clients and whanau was a central concern for participants. Yvonne referred to a guiding principle in her model of practice as being 'kaua e takahi i runga i te mana o te whanau' ('do not trample on the mana of the whanau'). Other participants spoke of or demonstrated practices that involved 'equalising relationships'; in effect acknowledging the mana of clients and whanau as equal to their own. This involved a deliberate avoidance of those trappings of 'professionalism' that would create distance between themselves and clients and in particular those features associated with professionalism that would emphasise or increase the perception of a superior status accorded to the person in the counselling role. This does not imply a denial of counsellor expertise, but rather an approach that emphasises 'joining' with clients or whanau.
- In acknowledging the place of clients as part of whanau, hapu and iwi systems, participants in this study were also acknowledging the mana of clients as part of these systems.
- Efforts to 're-link' clients with marae, whenua, whanau, hapu and iwi similarly serve to enhance mana.

Ha a kui ma a koro ma.

- The emphasis that participants in this study laid on linking clients in with their own whanau, hapu and iwi members, and of finding elders within these systems who knew the whanau narratives associated with particular clients, is an illustration of ha a kui ma a koro ma. Participants recognised that there would be whanau, hapu and iwi specific narratives, which would be known to some, that

9 Summary

may affect the situations and functioning of clients in the present. Those who had an understanding of the historical sources of client issues, may possess the resources to address these issues in the present.

- Grace's actions in moving a young woman client into the 'whanau unit' in her workplace, was in part an action relating to the ha a koro ma a kui ma dimension. Models of whanau structure and functions have been handed down through the generations and may be considered by Grace to be an area of sustenance needed by some clients. In addition, the Maori language, waiata and cultural learning provided sustenance to some in terms of the ha a kui ma a koro ma dimension.
- Establishing the whakapapa of clients was important, in part because the history and heritage of counsellor and client may or may not be conducive to positive working relationships.

Tinana

- Yvonne described the use of rongoa in her life and her work. At times she 'prescribed' rongoa as a means of providing sustenance to the physical dimensions of clients. It is notable, however, that Yvonne's comments illustrate a perception of the indivisibility of rongoa (for the physical dimension) and karakia (for the wairua dimension).
- Mirimiri was another means of providing sustenance for the physical dimension of clients.
- Yvonne, Grace and, on occasion, Pat, also spoke of sharing food and drink (sustenance for the tinana) with clients. Ron provided food and shared food and drink as a part of his process of building and maintaining whanaungatanga.
- Ron spoke of meditation as a 'grounding' exercise for him. Meditation may be thought of as an exercise that involves physical and mental dimensions and effects.
- Awhi, sometimes involving cuddling or physical comfort for clients, as well as crying with clients, were described by some participants. These involve elements

9 Summary

of the tinana dimension in communication and interaction. In the following extract, Grace expresses her views on awhi:

“We had to physically, mentally heal that girl...we could only awhi her...there’s no Pakeha kaupapa other than love; which is awhi. Physical touching...that’s part of Maoritanga. Ae. Whereas Pakeha counsellors, they find it sort of ...Kao! And I’d like to challenge anyone on that one on tikanga Maori.”

- In taking the young couple who were her clients, out to play golf with her and her husband, Yvonne was involving them in a physical activity, while (with her husband) also physically modelling appropriate male-female partnerships and interaction.
- Pat described participating in physical activities with clients (playing pool, walking and watching sport). Doing ‘physical things’ with clients removed the intense focus on the hinengaro that has typically been thought of as the domain of counselling and mental health. Pat was also aware that clients sometimes needed to spend some time observing him physically before they decided whether or not to talk to him. Pat was comfortable with allowing this process to happen.

Hinengaro

- The hinengaro dimension is the focus of Western models of counselling.
- Participants in this study provided sustenance to the hinengaro dimensions of clients through providing some ‘talk therapy’, sometimes education and information. The intended effect of these provisions was to feed the mohiotanga and matauranga aspects of the hinengaro dimension of clients.
- The alcohol and drug prevention programme provided by Ron and Yvonne to young Maori was predicated on changing the thinking of these young people about themselves, and providing an alternative whakaaro (way of thinking, seeing and understanding). Similarly, Pat’s challenge to the suicidal young man, to the effect

9 Summary

that he could not succeed in his attempts to suicide because it was against the flow of the wairua, provided the young man with access to a new 'whakaaro'.

- Learning was important to all participants in this study. The learning that was sought by them sometimes included, but was certainly not confined to, 'book learning' and academic study.

Whatumanawa

- Participants in this study described feeling deeply emotional and sometimes sharing tears with clients. This is, in effect a process of connection through the whatumanawa dimension. Yvonne describes her perception of crying with clients in the following way:

"I said to her, "It's fine to cry. It's also fine for me to cry with you" I said,
"It's good. It's tikanga Maori. We cry together."

- Client expression through the whatumanawa is valid on its own. Any imperative to 'put it into words' may be seen as invalidating the reality of whatumanawa expression, and favouring the hinengaro dimension, at the expense of the whatumanawa. Whatumanawa is also connected to wairua, as Ron and Yvonne pointed out.

**Areas of Conflict for Maori Counsellors Working in Western Style
Organisations**

Participants in this study identified a number of areas in which they came into conflict with others in their places of work as a function of their roles and models of practice as Maori counsellors. The areas of conflict reflect different understandings about boundaries and different views of 'the system' as opposed to the whanau as sources of health and healing. Communication difficulties also became apparent when attempts were made to resolve the conflicts caused by differing conceptions of self, other and the nature of counselling and helping.

'Boundary Issues'

The differing boundaries around the self which are apparent in the various models of Western and indigenous selfhood form a fertile source of conflict. Conflict appeared to centre around disparate notions of appropriate and inappropriate boundaries in relation to counselling roles and relationships, sites, and sources of helping and healing. The areas of conflict apparent in interviews with participants, and which may be characterised as originating from differing perceptions of appropriate and inappropriate boundaries included:

- **fraternising with clients and client groups outside of the workplace, both in work time and outside of work time.**

Ron was criticised by his senior service manager for spending time at the homes of known drug users and dealers. From Ron's perspective, the people concerned were his family. In addition to that, Ron believed that they were less likely to seek assistance from a counsellor sitting in an office, than from someone they knew well, trusted and could meet with (at least initially) in their own surroundings. In effect, Ron was reinforcing whanau relationships as a therapeutic context.

Pat also described fraternising with clients (turoro) and whanau in social contexts both within and outside of the workplace. Pat viewed this as a means of monitoring client

9 Summary

well-being, developing trusting relationships, interacting on a level other than the verbal and cognitive, and gaining referrals. Yvonne and Grace similarly described boundaries that encompassed and utilised professional and whanau roles and relationships. All participants both fraternised with and worked with clients and whanau outside of the workplace and outside of work time on occasions. The links that these participants had with whanau and communities were seen by them as important resources in their work and as a source of their credibility with clients and whanau. From the perspective of those working from Western models of counselling and within Western discourses about the nature of self, other and professionalism, however, these actions appeared to be viewed as indicative of a lack of professionalism involving the breaching of appropriate counsellor-client boundaries and a failure to maintain appropriate professional distance.

• **Using organisational resources to assist members of the Maori community.**

Ron described being censured at work for using the agency car (and possibly agency time and money) to provide transport and sometimes groceries for kaumatua in the community. This was seen by the agency management as an inappropriate use of resources. From the perspective of the agency, the kaumatua concerned was not professionally qualified, not employed by the agency and thus as far as the management was concerned, outside of the bounds of Ron's work. From Ron's perspective, kaumatua provided professional consultancy services, supervision and support for him and his colleagues in their work, and were thus integral to his work. In addition, if Ron did not perceive of himself and his role as an individual working with another individual but, rather as a part of one whanau system linking in with other parts of whanau systems, the boundary between his own role and that of kaumatua as a part of his therapeutic and whanau system, was not applicable. In providing services for the kaumatua in exchange for their expertise and contributions to the work of the agency, Ron was meeting his reciprocal obligations in accordance with the institution of utu.

• **confidentiality issues in the context of whanau relationships.**

9 Summary

Pat described being torn between responding to the requests of the whanau of clients for information, and the individual confidentiality requirements of his workplace. Yvonne and Grace described similar situations. There are likely to be a number of aspects to this area of conflict. First, the perception of individuals as indivisible from whanau would mitigate against keeping information from whanau. Second, the view of the whanau as an important source of healing and a necessary part of healing processes for clients would likely incline Maori counsellors towards providing whanau with information. Third, relationships between Maori counsellors and whanau members may be in the nature of whanau relationships in themselves. There may be power issues and considerations associated with the ongoing nature of these relationships to consider for clients and counsellors. In addition, some participants clearly identified their accountability as being to clients, whanau and the Maori community before the agencies that they were employed by. There was a clear distrust of Western systems amongst all participants.

- **Spending too much time with particular clients.**

In his efforts to prevent young clients from becoming enmeshed in or dependent on the Western institution and system within which he worked, Pat described spending concentrated periods of time with certain 'turoro', and coming into conflict with his senior social worker for this. From the perspective of the senior social worker, Pat may well have appeared to be breaching the boundary of professional, equitable and impartial service by concentrating his efforts on particular clients. However, from Pat's perspective, he was concentrating on providing these young people with the resources that they needed at the time they needed it most, in order to prevent returning to the psychiatric institution. In attempting to cater for the needs of these clients for sustenance in a variety of areas, Pat went beyond the office based 'talk therapy' that was considered the boundary of his working brief within the organisation. In particular, he would engage in activities that were defined by the organisation as 'social' (for example playing pool, walking and watching sport). For Pat, however, the boundaries between that which was 'profession' and 'work' and that which was 'social' and 'not work' were not clear cut. Pat found that participating in activities outside of the office with clients, facilitated

9 Summary

communication and trust. In addition he was able to gain information that would not have been accessible within the parameters of verbal communication alone and within the confines of his office.

• **Taking therapy out of the therapy room.**

Ron, Yvonne, Pat and Grace all described conducting therapy with clients outside, in the natural environment and in sites other than the counselling rooms associated with their places of work. In doing so, they were utilising resources such as mauri, wairua and whanaungatanga that were not readily available in their places of work. This was sometimes a source of conflict with their organisations, within which therapy and counselling was seen as most properly conducted within the confines of the office or counselling room and between self-contained individuals .

Distrust of 'the system' and preferences for whanau, hapu and iwi as sources of help and healing

- **A preference amongst participants to address client issues directly with and within whanau, and to avoid Western professional systems.**

Most Western style organisations employing counsellors have protocols for the reporting of particular types of incidents or situations. These protocols usually have the safety and protection of clients and counsellors as their focus. However, as previously noted, participants in this study did not express faith in Western systems in terms of their ability to safeguard and protect clients within their whanau contexts. Grace described an incident where she had followed Western protocols and regretted doing so. She later ran into conflict with a colleague for attempting to resolve issues within the whanau system rather than go to the 'authorities'. Pat and Yvonne also describe instances where their preferences for a whanau focused solution led them to avoid Western systems. These instances and this preference are likely to stem from the view of clients as indivisible from whanau, and a related tendency to view the whanau, rather than the individual, as the client and hence as the focus of accountability and responsibility. If the whanau is seen as an important component of health and healing, any system which views individuals as separate from their

9 Summary

whanau systems, and health as involving a separation from this system, is likely to be seen as dangerous and damaging.

- **An emphasis on de-pathologisation; working to avoid linking clients into Western ‘helping’ institutions and systems.**

Related to the previous comments, this source of conflict was a function of participants viewing the boundary around clients and whanau, hapu and iwi as the primary boundary. Participants tended to work to prevent Western institutions and systems from becoming or remaining as ‘surrogate whanau’ for their clients. They also tended to conceptually separate clients from their diagnoses or pathologies. Pat very clearly avoided using diagnostic labels based in Western conceptualisations of pathology and mental illness.

Issues of communication and definition

- **‘Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi’ vs ‘appropriate channel’ methods of conflict resolution.**

Pat and Ron described experiencing difficulties in resolving conflicts with staff in their workplaces and around the parameters of their work. From the perspective of the Western style organisations in which they worked, the appropriate method of communicating and resolving problems was through senior management. Complaints or concerns were received by senior management and communicated by them to Pat and Ron respectively, through written memorandums or personal talks. When Ron received a written memorandum about a matter that he considered to be of serious personal and professional moment, he viewed the process of being informed on paper, rather than approached personally, as offensive and disrespectful. When Ron sought to rectify the offensive method of communication, by going to see his senior manager for a respectful ‘kanohi-ki-te-kanohi’ (face-to-face) meeting, his actions were viewed by his manager as aggressive and inappropriate. Conversely, it is probable that the manager concerned considered his actions to be entirely appropriate as he was following established procedure,

9 Summary

minimising intrusiveness and the threat of being seen as intimidating, providing Ron with time to think about a response, and establishing a 'paper trail'. Ron viewed the process as disrespectful and disconnected. He wanted an opportunity to communicate with his manager *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi*. *Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* communication provides an opportunity for interaction within a number of dimensions (for example the *hinengaro*, *whatumanawa*, *tinana*, *wairua* and *mauri* dimensions). In contrast, paper communications preclude the possibility of such interaction.

Pat and Ron experienced being informed of negative comments and observations, that had been made about them by colleagues, through their respective senior managers. Both Pat and Ron found the lack of opportunity to communicate *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi*, with those who had expressed concerns about their work, to be frustrating and distressing. It is likely that through not knowing who had said what about them, their relationships with colleagues became distrustful. From the perspective of the management, maintaining the confidentiality of those who expressed concerns was necessary. From the perspectives of Pat and Ron, however, this precluded any opportunity to address the personal and professional issues *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* and thus to reach a satisfactory resolution.

Both of the previous scenarios could have been resolved satisfactorily, from the perspective of participants, through *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* communication. Dissatisfactions by Pakeha staff with the styles of work of their Maori colleagues could possibly have been put into the cultural context that they arose in, through education of staff and management about Maori models of self, health and healing. As the situation stood at that time, however, it would appear that the agencies concerned operated according to Western conceptions of appropriate practice and did not recognise alternative models arising from different cultural contexts. If a similar conflict had occurred in a Maori style organisation, it is possible that a 'whanau hui' would be called, with *kaumatua* present, to address and attempt to resolve the issues on a group basis.

9 Summary

Sue and Sue (1999) have reviewed research on perceptions of black men in America. This has led them to comment on the tendency for Caucasian people to perceive black men as threatening, intimidating and aggressive and to behave in a defensive manner towards them as a result. This may have been a dynamic operating in Ron and Pat's experiences in their workplaces. In addition, Sue and Sue (1999) have described the tendency of Western professionals to place value on objective (unemotional), rational (based in linear thinking) and verbal communication. Conversely, alternative forms of overtly subjective ('emotional') communication that incorporate high levels of non-verbal expression and that may be predicated on alternative webs of meaning are likely to be interpreted as 'unprofessional', 'irrational' and aggressive. This is another dynamic that may have been operating in the interactions that Pat and Ron described having with their Pakeha senior managers.

- **What is a 'real', 'good enough' counsellor?**

After encountering some counselling training in her Te Atakura course, Grace realised the value of her own learning and experiences in equipping her to counsel others. However Grace, in common with most participants in this study did not have formal qualifications in counselling. This is likely to have contributed to perceptions by some participants, that Pakeha colleagues with formal (Western) counselling training and qualifications did not consider them, or their counselling practice 'real' or 'good enough' because it was not predicated on Western models, understandings and qualifications. Conversely, participants questioned whether training in Western models of psychology and counselling qualified people to claim competence and to practice counselling with Maori people.

Those operating according to Western models of self and of counselling may have viewed some of the practices of participants in this study as unethical and unprofessional. On the other hand, Maori counsellors tended to have similar questions about Pakeha models of practice. Key areas of disputed definition are likely to include; the parameters of confidentiality, the necessity or not of physical touching,

9 Summary

and the acceptability or otherwise of emotional involvement (for instance as expressed through crying together) in counselling.

DISCUSSION

I began this thesis because I could see a picture that was worrying to me. The picture looked something like this:

As a result of ongoing processes of colonisation, dispossession (of our treasured possessions, culture and very identities) and cultural genocide, Maori people were clearly in trouble. We were suffering disproportionately from a pervasive dis-ease in the world which manifests itself, in part, through high rates of mental, spiritual, social ill health, self harm and self annihilation.

Western helping professionals have had little success in stemming the tide of distress and dis-ease which has seen Maori people parading through the revolving doors of the psychiatric institutions, courts, and prisons. Proposed solutions to the apparent ineffectiveness of Western models of helping and healing appear two-fold. One part of the proposed solution is to train more Maori in psychology and counselling; a second part is to train or educate Western professionals in 'Maori culture'.

Solution I

In relation to the first part of the proposed solution, the reasoning is that if there are more Maori working in the mental health professions, mental health services (and specifically psychology and counselling) may be more effectively delivered by them to their cultural cousins. Hence, counselling organisations and tertiary psychology training programmes began to look for Maori to bring into their systems, and to train in mental health and associated disciplines.

My concern is that training Maori to work in Western ways with Maori people will not work. In part this is because it is these very Western ways that have not worked and are not working for Maori. In part also, Maori, by virtue of being Maori often find that they cannot safely and comfortably work in Western ways. Nor can Western institutions

10 Discussion

safely and comfortably accommodate Maori working in Maori ways. Training Maori in Western ways, models and standards does not make our people better, well, and/or whole. It may make us worse. It may, in fact, aggravate Maori dis-ease and produce more dis-ease, this time amongst the helpers and healers.

Solution II

In relation to the second part of the proposed solution, and associated with the first, Maori have been employed within tertiary institutions and mental health services, to indigenise Western theories, practices, processes and structures, to provide cultural sensitivity training and sometimes to teach karakia and waiata to staff or to develop papers or modules on Maori psychology within established degrees or training programmes. Individuals and groups undertook lessons in Maori language and protocols and learned about key cultural differences between Maori and Pakeha. However, the position of Maori people, ways, models, constructions and tikanga, remained that of 'exotic other'. New knowledge was added to the pre-existing knowledge base, but generally speaking, this did not dislodge the existing body of knowledge.

It was inevitable that it would not. Western models of mental health and illness, psychology and counselling are cultural constructions, rooted in complex, culturally constituted webs of meaning. Foundational cultural truths and meanings are not subject to the conscious control of individual minds, despite logocentric assumptions that would have the world and the people in it reduced to sets of word-defined symbols and meanings, and thus subject to alteration through language alone. Fundamental truths and meanings cannot be taken on and off at will. Thus, attempts to exchange white lab coats for brown ones also will not work, because the body wearing the coat remains the same.

Upon examination, assumptions that Pakeha psychologists and counsellors can 'learn' Maori culture, can be seen to be based in an implicit logocentrism. This does not mean that learning about Maori culture is not worthwhile, but it does imply that such learning

10 Discussion

will be peripheral and cannot fully equip the learners to operate from a Maori-centred base.

When I began this thesis, I did not know what I would find. Although there was some commentary on cultural differences between Maori and Pakeha and the possible implications of this in the context of psychological counselling, there was no 'hard data' about how Maori counsellors conceptualised their practice of counselling and the respective roles of counsellor and client within this. There was also confusion about what would constitute 'Maori counselling' or 'Maori-centred counselling'. Participants were not selected for their 'expertise' in Maoritanga or Maori language. One of the five participants was fluent in te reo Maori, the other four were not, and participants came from a variety of iwi and geographical locations. Participants thus reflected the variation in levels of 'cultural knowledge' and range of Maori experiences of colonisation and 'acculturation' that exists amongst Maori today. It could have been that participants presented diverse narratives with few points of similarity. However, although individual stories obviously contained different accounts, many of the meanings conveyed within the narratives were shared. Regardless of the levels of 'traditional Maori cultural knowledge' or 'acculturation', the sub-textual stories of counselling, of self, and other that participants in this study constructed were remarkably similar. I have identified and structured the shared tikanga, and basic principles that provide the sub-text to participants' stories according to Pere's (1988,1991) Te Wheke model.

Participants in this study sometimes found it difficult to articulate what they did and why they did it (that is their theory and practice, or model, of counselling). Most said that they did not have a model or theory of counselling. However, in the process of articulation, and through having to ask themselves why they did what they did and what their work meant to them and to their clients, their implicit models became visible and explicit. Most participants commented that they found the experience enlightening and empowering. They emerged from the interviews with a clearer understanding of the cogency and coherency of their models of practice, and increased confidence in the

10 Discussion

Maori-centred nature of their work. The processes that participants undertook, in a sense paralleled aspects of their own processes with clients, that is the process of decolonisation of mind and spirit and reworking and reclaiming tikanga Maori as a source of healing.

Ways Ahead

This thesis has traversed a wide range of topics, drawing on narratives and world views from a variety of sources. In a sense this exemplifies the dilemma of Maori working within the Western constructed profession of counselling. The experience of working within a profession constructed from one discursive frame, a Western one, whilst operating to the best of one's ability within a Maori framework, is not a comfortable one. This observation has been affirmed in the narratives gifted to us by participants in this study.

It is clear that we need another way. The question then, of course, is which way?

To answer this, we need to explore the issues a bit further. For instance it may be worth asking whether Maori need to look at Western psychology at all? And whether Maori have their own 'psychology' (in which more and more Maori could potentially be trained)?

In answer to the first question, the temptation for me is to say 'no, we do not need to look at Western psychology at all'. It is true that in the realities of the modern world, Maori selves are heavily influenced by, perhaps even constituted through, Western narratives and Western whakapapa. It is not necessarily true, however, that if we are heavily influenced by Western narratives, then this should be the source of our healing, as this, in itself, is sometimes proposed as a source of Maori dis-ease and 'schizophrenia'. It may be that Western psychology and narratives around counselling do have something to offer to us. However, the offerings need to be examined carefully and the price of the offering, that is what may be given up in return, also needs to be borne in mind.

10 Discussion

In answer to the second question, the answer, from my perspective, is that we do not have a 'Maori psychology' (in the sense of the scientific study of human mind and behavior) as such. A fundamental assumption underpinning Western psychology is that the mind can in fact be split from the rest of the self and may be examined, considered and treated separately from the rest of the self. This assumption is incompatible with Maori conceptions of self. Our conceptions of self and other, and associated conceptions of wellbeing and dis-ease must form the basis of our systems of healing and regaining wholeness. The notion of a psychology that is confined to our individual selves and to our minds within our bodies does not 'fit'.

There is, however, another part to this second question, that is; is it possible for us as Maori to develop a 'psychology' and a role as 'counsellors' that will encompass our whole selves and our ways of seeing and understanding? Throughout this thesis I have felt uncomfortable with using the terms 'counsellor' and 'client' to describe what it is that participants in this study do, to describe the people that they work with, and to characterise the relationships between them. Without exception, participants also expressed discomfort with these terms. Most did not, however, have ready an alternative term that encompassed their work and relationships. This lack of a widely recognised and accepted Maori or Pakeha term to describe the work that participants were engaged in may relate to the position that participants were in, in creating new models from old principles. In effect, they were both applying and developing a tikanga to fit into this new context and their new roles within this.

The Maori counsellors who participated in this study were also engaged in re-defining counselling and appropriating Western roles and systems to fit with Maori tikanga. While this was not an easy position to be in, the alternative, to stand outside of the dominant system and develop a separate paradigm, while a worthwhile long term aim, may not have allowed these Maori counsellors access to Maori people who already feature within 'the system' in such large numbers. In reality, Western constructions of psychology and counselling have cornered the market on health and welfare services in

10 Discussion

the international and national arenas. What participants in this study have done is to develop Maori-centred models of counselling, models rooted in ancient tikanga as applicable to the modern world.

The participants in this study have illuminated a pathway that may work for us. In the main, participants have used the structure of Western systems to create avenues for Maori clients to pursue healing and wellbeing. Thus, the alcohol and drug counsellors who have told their stories here-in, used the diagnosis of alcohol and drug disorders to make inroads into healing for their clients. The alcohol and drug abuse that brings clients to their door was not seen as the problem per se, but rather as a symptom of dis-ease. The path to wellness and well being incorporated the eight dimensions of Te Wheke, and the role of these alcohol and drug counsellors was largely one of illuminating for clients the various avenues down which they might find sustenance for these dimensions. Similarly the 'diagnostic and treatment tools' of these counsellors reflected the eight dimensions of their beings. In some respects, the role of these counsellors is that of 'linkers'. Using their own resources within the eight dimensions, they link clients into the dimensions of wairua, whanaungatanga, ha a kui ma a koro ma, hinengaro, mana ake, mauri, tinana and whatumanawa that will facilitate their passage to well being. This does not imply that these counsellors supplied all the resources for nourishing these dimensions themselves, but rather, that they aimed to link clients into the avenues down which they could find the appropriate sustenance for themselves.

These same methods are used by Maori counsellors in schools and psychiatric institutions. When clients are seen for behaviour problems, distress or disruptiveness, or mental illness, the 'diagnosis' or 'presenting problem' is generally viewed as a side issue, a symptom of loss of well being. The presenting problem thus becomes the 'way in' to address the larger issue of holistic well being.

If Maori-centred models of counselling extend well beyond what is encompassed in the term 'counselling' within Western discourse, can they be called models of counselling?

10 Discussion

In answer to this question, I would recall initially the plethora of definitions, and models of counselling, that exist with Western counselling discourse. There is no reason that Maori should not use the term and apply our own meanings and understandings to it. For this to be successful, however, we need to be clear that Maori-centred counselling operates from a position within a Maori worldview and a discursive frame associated with this. As such, Maori-centred counselling and Maori-centred counsellors must be understood on their own terms and in their own contexts.

An additional option, creating our own terms and constructs to describe our indigenous models of healing, is an attractive one. However, the danger of this option is that there is a risk that such models will be marginalised, and in being separated from mainstream services, lose credibility and access to mainstream resources. On the other hand, there are, as participants' stories have illustrated, a number of dangers for Maori-centred counsellors operating within mainstream systems and institutions. Some of these dangers may be ameliorated by generating and maintaining a discursive framework amongst Maori counsellors and communities about Maori-centred models of counselling, and structures built upon this framework. This implies a forum within which such discourse may take place. Te Whariki Tautoko, an Association of Maori Counsellors and Healers may provide one such avenue.

Te Whariki Tautoko aims to provide a forum for regular discussions amongst Maori counsellors and for working through the characteristics of Maori-centred counselling. An important feature of the model that is developing within Te Whariki Tautoko, is that it emphasises the regional nature of Maori counselling practice and accountability. Thus, affiliation to Te Whariki Tautoko does not imply a lack of or a lesser accountability to local communities, and in fact the reverse may be true. In looking at developing Maori-centred codes of ethics and accreditation criteria, Te Whariki Tautoko, has proposed that such codes and criteria be developed by iwi and communities in the various areas. The role of Te Whariki Tautoko, while being in some respects similar to that of Western professional bodies, would be one of co-ordination, facilitation and support for Maori

10 Discussion

counsellors and groups throughout the country. This body does have the potential to provide regional and national voices for Maori-centred counsellors. This could help to relieve the pressure on individuals and groups who are attempting to make their way in the field and are simultaneously 'consulted', in effect asked to 'speak for Maori', in ways that can promote conflict and division amongst Maori counsellors and Maori counselling organisations in the competitive market place environment.

This thesis has illustrated some of the threads that are woven through those discourses that frame Western understandings of the counselling profession, theory and practice. Alongside this have been laid threads which are woven through those discourses that frame Maori understandings of tikanga and Maoritanga. The task of drawing together threads from disparate narratives to create some kind of coherent model is a task that Maori counsellors are constantly engaged in. It is not easy and there are few obvious rewards. I end this thesis with a renewed respect for those who are engaged in this struggle, in their own quiet ways, in communities throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand every day.

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