

APPENDICES

NOTES ON RON'S INTERVIEW

Ron and I had had no professional or personal contact prior to my contacting him by telephone to arrange the interview. When I arrived to see Ron, he took me through the building and introduced me to staff and whanau who were there. We shared a cup of tea and some cake before beginning the interview.

Ron took the opportunity to gently interview me before I had the chance to interview him. He then introduced himself through his iwi affiliations and background.

The interview with Ron was open and emotional at times. Ron made it clear that he had not articulated the basis of his philosophy, theory and practice of counselling as a whole before. He was clearly exploring and developing his own understandings, of himself and his practice of counselling, as we talked.

I was interested in what Ron did in his counselling practice and why he did what he did. Ron told me this and frequently also went a step further, attempting to explain what he did and why he did it in terms of accepted Western theories and practices. That is, he drew parallels between his own practice as a Maori counsellor, and established Western practices. It may have been that Ron felt a need to justify his own theory and practice by linking it with recognised and published Western theory and practice of counselling. It may also have been that Ron was formulating his own bicultural models of counselling theory and practice. Alternatively, Ron may have been better able to articulate Western theory in a cogent and coherent way, while he was still exploring the Maori basis of his practice,

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and often did not have a Maori 'framework' within which to clearly articulate and justify this.

RON'S STORY

In this section, some of the influences on Ron's life and work up to the present are outlined.

Ron belongs to the Muaupoko iwi. At the time of writing, Ron is 42 years old and lives in a rented two-bedroom home, which he shares with his uncle and "a young fella. . . who needs somewhere to stay." Ron works with Yvonne in the Levin Alcohol and Drug (A & D) Centre. Ron was born in Wellington, but was raised in Levin, living with his Pakeha mother and Muaupoko father throughout his childhood and teenage years.

Brought up in the Catholic faith as one of eight children, Ron is also the eldest of the family's five sons. He regards the work his parents did raising their family with respect, a respect which is generalised to the work of parents.

R: I look at my parents. I mean, they ran a brilliant house, and we never wanted. And, I mean, I can remember when Dad was earning 16 pound a week, and he had eight kids. And he had to clothe them, feed them educate them, pay off the house. On 16 pound a week, and they did it. . . To me the heroes of our society are the mums and dads.

Purpose

" . . . this was the start of the understanding of purpose. . ."

As a teenager in the 1960s, Ron was involved in the drug culture of

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the time. His experiences during this phase of his life led him on a long and eventful, although not always pleasant, journey in the physical and spiritual sense. The journey eventually led Ron back to his home country and town, and to the Christian faith.

R: I was. . . basically right into the hippy thing, and it was sex and drugs and rock and roll. And, umm, I travelled all over Asia and Australia and, umm, America and places. And at the end of that, in, umm, 1976, I found myself destitute on a beach in Northern Queensland, by Townsville. And so I went along to the local Sallys. . . the Salvation Army, to beg a feed and shelter. And a condition of getting a feed and shelter was that you had to do the drug and alcohol programme. And of course, it's actually quite a common strategy among the people on the street, to actually go through these programmes so that you can get a feed and a place to stay. And so all you do is you go along and you say "Hallelujah" and "Isn't it wonderful" and then you go away and get pissed [drunk] and then you come back the next night. And it's a survival mechanism and I acknowledge that and I think, "Good on ya; if that's how you survive then that's how you've gotta survive."

And then when I came back to New Zealand I did feel right from the beginning that this was the start of the understanding of purpose for me. That God had some purpose in it. And I knew that I was, that there was a large element of being blessed by virtue of the fact that the Sallys were there; to give me shelter and food and purpose, and like something to do with my hands all day, and, and of

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course being Salvation Army, a lot of, umm, scriptural stuff; and the AA [Alcoholics Anonymous] programme is a spiritual programme. So it started stirring the spiritual within me.

“... we are... the living face of our father...”

Ron identifies a number of explicit happenings which led him to where he is working now. His own history with drugs and the hippy lifesyle provided a form of experiential training and understanding of the substance abuse area, his growing strength in Christianity also led him to feel, “the calling to do the work” However, it was the death of his father which gave Ron the impetus and motivation to ‘settle down’ and to take his role, as his father’s son and as the eldest male in that line, seriously.

R: When I came back to New Zealand, I felt the calling to do the work. And I thought, “Well if I’m going to do it, I’d better go and get some training.” So I wrote to NSAD [National Society for Alcohol and Drugs], and at that time the Chief Executive and the, ahh, the Director, was a real character fella. . . and he said, “Oh look, Ron, forget all that bloody intellectual crap. Come down here and I’ll give you a job.” So there I was sort of, a week or two later, sitting in an office, ahh, counselling drug addicts. Ah, and about three months later I was actually running the methadone clinic in the Wellington area.

See what happened is, umm. . . See my father died in 1986; up till that time I was footloose and fancy free, and I was a teenager in the 60s so I was basically getting to be an older hippy by that time. And

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that was really very much where I was at. Umm, and I tended to be wandering and all that. Umm, and when Dad died, well obviously I'm his eldest son and that. I actually found it extremely difficult after living a fancy free life and no commitments and that sort of thing; and it's probably been the very best thing that's ever happened to me because it's quietened me down.

I: So you sort of had that responsibility of upholding the mana of your whanau after your father died?

R: Yes, of course. Yeah.

I: Did you sort of, did you feel that yourself? Or were you told that? Or... [interruption].

R: No, well my family, well my family, we're a family of real strong nuts; and no one can tell us anything, and unless we're actually committed from ourselves inside ourselves. Anyone can tell us anything and we'll just go and do exactly what we want to. Because it was something that came, it was something that I didn't actually seek; it just, like welled up inside me. It was important to do. I knew that I had to take Dad's place. Or me and my other brothers. I've got four brothers, so he had five sons and we are now the face of our father, the living face of our father. And it's really important for us to do that, I feel. This is what I was meant to do. There was something inside that connected me to my people which I had to express.

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Ron feels that the nature of his past, and who he is, has led him to where he is presently working. The area covered by the Levin Alcohol and Drug Centre includes Ron's own tribal boundaries, so he is working on his turangawaewae, amongst his own people. In a sense, he is also now able to carry the responsibilities of wearing the mantle of leadership left to him by his father. Ron also sees his work at the centre as clearly connected to the 'quest for meaning', which he feels characterised the hippie portion of his life. Christianity too has led Ron to where he is now. In effect, a number of different past experiences and present and future responsibilities have led to Ron's placement in his present position. The spiritual intentionality of the path that he is on gives Ron a strong conviction in his work.

R: It was even quite strange when I came in here. The job that was advertised, it was for a A and D worker [Alcohol and Drug worker] and so, aahh, I came down here. Umm, 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, umm, there was something inside me that connected me to my people which I had to express.

I: Like "this is what I was meant to do?"

R: Yeah, no doubt. Absolutely no doubt at all. Yeah and that's been a hippie experience for me too, because you know that's really what the whole hippie experience was about, you know, looking for, you know, "What is God? What is the universe? Who are we? Why are we here?". I mean, that was the buzz about being with those kinds of

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people was because that was the whole ambience, I mean that was the whole thing about why we were there. I mean we were really quite hedonistic and irresponsible but at the same time everyone had that question in their hearts. And this was the answer that came to me and I know that I've settled and become really quite rock solid. I know people like my boss, umm, you know he reckons I'm the hardest nut he's ever met. And it's kind of that steely insideness that says, "No, I am who I am, and you have to deal with that. Any problems you've got to do with that is your problem. I know who I am and what I've got to do; so you know your problems are your problems you deal with that; don't come and try and lay it on me because that's the way I am." That's what I was put here for, I believe that's what God put me here for. Ae.

I: So that's a really strong spiritual base underlying what you're doing and why you're doing it?

R: Oh yes, yes without a doubt yes. And that's the same for all of us here.

Christianity

"... there was no major clashes between the two systems..."

Christianity is a major force in Ron's life and in his work. Ron does not see his Christian spiritual expression as clashing with his Maori spiritual beliefs.

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R: I have to say that I'm Christian and strongly influenced. And I don't see that as clashing at all with Maori. Umm, to me the reason that Christianity was so readily accepted by our old people was that there was no major clashes between the two systems. The expression of it unfortunately has been very bad for us. The actual spirituality as expressed in the scriptures, umm, I believe sat very well with the Maori understanding of the spiritual values. It's been the application and the way that, umm, the Europeans. . . I mean. . . Christianity is not actually a European religion, it's a middle-Eastern, an Arab, ahhh, a Semitic religion, not a, not a, not a European one at all. Ahh, but they kind of grabbed it and called it their own and imposed all their own cultural values and biases on it and so we have these things like the, umm, Protestant Work Ethic, you know. Well I don't know whether all the Arabs would agree with that, but, umm, they think it fits in so then they come over and impose it on us. This (indicating the Centre) is a church. . . it is a spiritual body of people.

While Ron did not see his personal spiritual beliefs, in particular those based in Maori spirituality, as clashing with Christianity, this view was not shared by the established churches he had been involved in. Ron experienced condemnation from the churches for these aspects of his spirituality. Ron now lives his faith in a personal way, outside any church system. This experience perhaps contributes to Ron's flexibility regarding the nature of spiritual belief and expression. While Christianity remains central in his own life, he is accepting of other spiritual beliefs. Workers at Te

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Arahina Or, share a range of spiritual beliefs. In Ron's view, it is the sharing, living and expression of spirituality that makes a 'real church'. He finds this at Te Arahina Ora, his workplace.

R: I'm anti-church I might say. . . when I talked to the friggin people down there [at the local church] they all started casting out friggin demons and praying for me and laying on hands. . . So, so. . . umm, I couldn't live in the church system. And we see, actually what we do here [Te Arahina Ora] as being, this is a church. . . it's a spiritual body of people; and this I believe is the real church. I'm not a member of them [churches] any more. Because, for the reason that my needs were not. . . I was not able to express my spirituality in them.

“. . . the spirit is purposeful. . .”

As previously outlined, purposefulness, or intentionality, is an important part of Ron's understanding of the nature of God, the spirit, and his own place in God's spiritual plan. This is the way that Ron understands meaning in terms of his own life, and this is an understanding that he encourages in his clients also. The spirituality of clients, therefore, is a significant dimension for Ron, and his attitudes towards spiritual beliefs that differ from his own are a lot more flexible and open than the churches he was associated with.

R: I like to acknowledge a person's own spiritual understandings. I think the spirit is purposeful, and God is

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purposeful in these things, and it's like the scriptures say, "These tests aren't sent to destroy us, they're actually to make us strong."

As part of his spiritual expression, Ron follows a self-set program of prayer and meditation. This prepares him for the day ahead and the work he is about to do.

R: I do a lot of meditation and prayer as part of my, um, the way I live. I do basically an hour or a couple of hours in the morning, because I think that's really important for me; it establishes my polarity. So that when I come in here I'm sort of pointing in the right direction if you know what I mean?

Identity

A major aspect of Ron's conception of himself centres around his identity as a spiritual being, and a Christian. A feature of his journey into self-awareness and self-acceptance involved coming to terms with himself as a whole person, including the good and the bad, the light and the dark elements co-existing within.

R: My life as a druggie was pretty bloody filthy and awful, you know? It was a typical bloody user's life. And it was, I mean, sex and drugs and rock and roll, I mean that's really all it was. It was animal, cruel, um. And so I was acutely aware of that I, um, I know now that that was my shadow,

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my dark side; and I don't have to work in it. It's still a part of me and I've had to learn to embrace it and accept it as being as much a part of me as my light side.

Accepting his dark side, his shadow, along with his light side has been a major issue for Ron. He has had an ongoing battle with this facet in himself; manifested in the difficulty he has sometimes had in seeing himself as a valuable and worthwhile person. The conflict he had with the charismatic church movement reinforced aspects of Ron's own negative self-perceptions. However, it was his faith in God, the infallibility of God's purpose, and himself as a creation of God, that enabled him to recover from his negative encounters with the church.

R: One of the things I've struck myself has been my own identity, and in terms of my own worth. And, umm, of course with the charismatic church experience, it just totally reinforced my utter worthlessness, my fundamental flawedness, ah, without an acknowledgement of the perfection of God's creation; and that's where they, they sort of go off the track a bit. That God has a perfect purpose, even if it's flawed in it's, um, in it's ah, genesis and development.

When Ron speaks of identity, he speaks in terms of connectedness, of context. His sense of himself is very tied into connection.

R: You know, one of the good things about, ummm, coming

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into your own identity is, all of what other people call your hang-ups and your negative things, they're no longer issues, because that's, because they are part of the path that God put me on to grow me into what he wants me to be. They have context. When the Pakehas stripped the trees off the land they stripped the historical continuity. Because the tree. . . you could go to the tree where your father talked to his father, talked to his father, talked to his father, talked to his father. . . , way back through the years, and so there was a physical. . . something I can see with my eyes and touch and feel. . . that connected me with that man seven, eight, nine, ten generations ago. So it brought into reality the fact that I am actually part of a whole. Not some sort of accidental, "Mum forgot her pill."

An important aspect of Ron's sense of self lies in his place as Muaupoko, and in particular, as his father's son. When Ron began working at Te Arahina Ora, he experienced something of an 'awakening' of his Maori identity. The process he went through was painful for him and for others around him. As Ron describes it, the experience appears to have been felt in terms of 'connectedness', a 'welling up' of feeling. Ron describes experiencing an initial resistance, and then, finding it futile to resist, a giving in to the imperative inside him. Learning to express his new sense of himself in a way that did not entail conflict with himself or others, was itself a process that took some time.

R: When I came in here I actually found, umm, there was

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something inside me that connected me to my people which I had to express. And, in fact, I went through quite a lot of struggles and pain and a fair amount of conflict with others in the building as well as. . . that was like I couldn't control it in a sense, it just welled up and I couldn't deny it. And the harder I denied it, the more ratty. . . and I was hard to be with and argumentative, and the whole lot; until I actually acknowledged it and started to express it. And first of all I expressed it very aggressively and in a way that caused conflict, and it's as I've come to feel more comfortable with it, basically I suppose I've matured into it more, umm, I've become more able to. . . Probably as my identity has become more secure, it's less important to. . . I don't necessarily need to slap you down and tramp on you for me to feel secure.

Maori language was not spoken in Ron's parents' home. The children were encouraged to adopt Pakeha ways, and to master Western skills. While Ron did not have the opportunity to learn to speak Maori, he has noticed that his speech patterns in English, are similar to the style of spoken Maori. Ron links his own tendency for metaphorical speech to an 'innate' factor, it is something inborn and natural to him.

R: . . . the language spoken in the home in childhood was all, um, English. My father had come through that school where the only way to go was to get the Pakeha knowledge and the piece of paper and to speak English and to succeed in the Pakeha world. And that was his, ah, upbringing, ah,

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his conditioning.

I have no fluency in Te Reo, I have a bit of vocab. but I've got no understanding of the structure of it. Umm, although I believe in a lot of ways I speak, like my speech patterns in English are actually quite Maori. . . innately. Because I do tend towards the metaphorical, the allegorical rather than the, ah, the, whichever side of the brain is mechanical and linear, um, I'm more on the other side of the, umm, the cosmic, and the metaphor and the allegory in my own speaking. That's how I like to speak.

Ron very much wants to learn more Maori language and is beginning lessons. He sees learning te reo Maori as an important step towards gaining a deep understanding of Maori concepts; and he has seen the transformation of Maori people who have had the opportunity to learn their own language. Ron notes that he has a tendency to 'look up to' people who can speak the language. Perhaps this is because of his perception that their conceptions and understanding of themselves, others and the world around them may, in Maori terms, be more sophisticated, deeper, or clearer than his own.

R: We've just now, ah, and we're really just sort of jacking up the time of day, have got a Maori elder in who's going to do te reo with us. Ahh, and this is a man who has actually worked very successfully with clients in jail. And he's used a transformation through language process. Umm, by teaching them the language and then developing the

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concepts that that language expresses, he's actually initiated the process of transformation in the, in the, ah, prisoners. And it's something brilliant. It's something brilliant.

I probably tend to put people who have the language and an understanding of the culture and Maori concepts, umm, up ahead of me. Ahh, because that's what I, ahh, that's where I want to get to myself in time.

The idea of 'innateness', of an inborn natural tendency or ability, comes through again when Ron speaks of his feelings about tikanga Maori and matauranga Maori. Ron distinguishes between explicit, factual-type knowledge in these areas, and implicit, felt or intuitive knowledge.

R: I feel very comfortable with them [tikanga Maori, Maori traditional and customary ways of doing things based on Maori philosophy and understandings], my discomfort is with my lack of knowledge. Ae. And I'm uncomfortable in that, umm, I may inadvertently offend or, umm, do something which may not be healthy, umm, because I'm ignorant. That's my discomfort. But in terms of what the values that are expressed, umm, the culture, the spirituality. . . they fit like a well-worn shoe. They're an old boot on my foot, literally. Umm, well I work a lot on, umm, it's sort of like in me. I mean totally on the intuitive level. I think intuitively I have a lot of that [matauranga Maori]. I don't consciously have a lot of it.

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Ron feels his identity as a member of the Muaupoko tribe strongly. However he is also aware that tribal pride and identity have too often led to divisiveness at the expense of Maori people as a whole. So, while he is Muaupoko and proud of it, this will not stand in the way of his commitment to the wider iwi, that is, te iwi Maori.

In the following extract, Ron talks about Te Arahina Ora, and the significance of tribal identity, as well as Maori identity for the whanau there. The power of tribal and Maori identity as a motivating force in Ron's life and work is also apparent in this extract.

R: . . . all of the staff here are Maori. And so it, aah, and probably one of the good things about that is that we've got a good tribal mix as well. We've got Raukawa, Muaupoko and Ngati Raukawa are the two major tribal entities in this area and, uum, one of my co-workers is Ngati Raukawa and I'm Muaupoko and we get along fine. And it is that commitment to the people, not to the tribe in that sense, although we're actually very strongly tribal at the same time. It's kind of a funny thing because I can be totally and utterly Muaupoko in that setting because it's as we allow each other the freedom to be who we are, because then we get into the areas of commonality rather than the areas of conflict. And that's, that's been the strength of it. I mean Yvonne's here because she cares about her people, I'm here because I care about my people. I care about hers and she cares about mine. So it's really a choice thing for us. If we wanted to make tribal differences an issue then we could. But if we want to make the people our mission then we can

just leave things as it is. I mean there are conflicts between our tribal groups as it is and there's often, ahh... Yvonne's involved in things which might sometimes, ahh, which work to the disadvantage of my people. But that isn't the important thing. More important than all of that is that our people are missing out on quality services. And well, you know, we can argue about this paddock belongs to you fellas and that paddock belongs to us fellas when our people are well. Not now.

So, yes unless some of us decide, "Yes. Look this is stupid, this is actually what's killing us as well," and act on that, we will just allow that to continue as well.

Cross-cultural Conflict.

Several experiences that Ron has had with Pakeha management and staff while working at Te Arahina Ora have engendered in him feelings of frustration and anger towards Pakeha individuals and systems.

R: Over this last year, we saved 15 percent in terms of saving from our budget, over, nearly \$15,000 out of our total budget. Umm, and they were purposeful strategies, that we had saved the money because we had plans for using it. What happened was that the accountant in the head office looked at us accumulating the money, and ripped us out, and pushed the money into other areas which hadn't budgeted well. So I won't even get complimented on how

well we've done, in fact now, because of that, ahh, I've come in under budget. Which is really a very artificial manipulation of the budget. Ahh, so now they're actually sort of. . . ahh, they reinforce their own ideas about the place. That I can't manage money because now I'm four grand over budget. No, I'm not over budget! In terms of the financial plan that I set out at the beginning of the year, I've come in 15 percent under budget. But that won't show in the end of year results. It will look as though we've been profligate; and we haven't.

The same thing happened in terms of. . . ah, we had a Pakeha receptionist here until just a week ago. Ah, and I was not allowed to supervise her work. Every time I asked her to do something, she'd perform; write letters to the Union, ring my boss. And my boss put me right out of the picture, so we spent a whole year of total conflict between the team and our receptionist. And the regional manager was the master of ceremonies.

I was not allowed to be the manager and work in a, ahhh, boss relationship with a, a Pakeha woman.

Personal growth/Professional development

“ . . . our growing edges are on the fringe.”

Ron refers frequently to the theme of learning and personal growth. He often conceptualises aspects of the learning and

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growing process in terms of a journey. However, he also used an analogy of the 'growing edges on the fringe.'

Ron's training for his present job has included the experiential side previously noted, and some earlier experience working with drug and alcohol addicted persons. However, some of Ron's learning has proceeded from the books he has read and his own personal interpretation and integration of the ideas within them. Ron considers himself to be a thinking, as well as a feeling person, and his own interests tend towards philosophical quandaries such as understanding the nature of himself, others, God and the universe.

Despite having had no formal training in counselling theory and practice, Ron has knowledge of a variety of counselling theories and techniques which he has explored through reading, and which he has critically evaluated in terms of their compatibility or incompatibility with his own views and understandings. Ron sees both experiential and formal theoretical training as important, and "a marriage of the two" as "probably the optimum." Although he plans to undertake a professional counselling course in the near future, with the aim of getting the 'bit of paper' and he sees the advantage of having "hooks to hang things on", Ron is generally critical of Western educational methods.

R: As I say I'm untrained and I, ahh. . . I believe the term is eclectic. I, basically, what interests me and I have tended towards more the, umm, the understandings of how we all are, and you know the world and the universe and all that, rather than the history of the Battle of Waterloo or

something, which would basically make me sick. I get tired thinking about it, let alone reading the bloody thing. And, umm, it tends to be sort of 'fringey', my reading. Because our growing edges are on the fringe. By definition they're on the fringe. . . See, I believe this is one of the problems with the Western education system. My understanding of the word education is based on the word 'educer', which means to draw out; the Western model of education is about stuffing in, filling up with content instead of understanding process. Umm, and that's really where we lack, because our children don't develop critical thinking capacity, they don't develop their inner skills, because they're universal skills. If I know how to think critically and analyse, and, and, and draw things together, then I can go and look up any subject and learn it with ease. Whereas, if you stuff my head full of content, you haven't actually taught me the how to of learning, you've taught me the what of learning.

Well one of my favourite books is "Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Riding," and what he actually talks about, what he talks about is the absurdity of empiricism and, because at the end of the day you actually have to prove that what you're observing is reality and you actually can't. So all your empirical data actually only rests on your assumptions and can never be anything more. So their [I think Ron is referring here to Western systems and Pakeha thinking within these] tendency to want empirical data as proof that what they're saying is true, in fact is based on an absurdity.

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Working in the field which he is in has not been plain sailing for Ron. He has lived through a lot of personal soul-searching, pain and grief at times. However, his commitment to the kaupapa, and to the people that he works with is such that, in his good moments, his trials merely make him more determined. The nature of the work that he has been doing, the conviction that he brings to this work (which entails total involvement on his part), and a relative lack of supervisory and spiritual support and guidance, have contributed to Ron experiencing two 'breakdowns'. Ron interprets these experiences, in the context of his beliefs regarding spirituality and the "purposefulness of the spirit."

R: Since I've started out in this work I've had two nervous breakdowns. And that, that's had a lot to do with not knowing what I was doing, and working myself to death, and plus of course you're working in a hall of mirrors when you work with other people. And so I was constantly confronting my neurotic self; and didn't know how to handle it. I had no-one to talk to about it. So in the end the old mind said, "Oh, well look we'll take a break for a few weeks."

I: When you say 'nervous breakdowns' what do you actually mean?

R: Well, I don't, I don't know. I just call them nervous breakdowns. Well I ended up in the psych unit at Wellington Hospital, and they medicated me with anti-depressants and I don't know what they all were. And what

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had actually happened, like the feeling inside was that I'd lost contact with everything, and I was panicking. I couldn't understand, and I was full of pain and grief and everything. And it was like, ahh, it was like I just gave up. Ahh, because I couldn't, you know, I couldn't bloody cope. And it was also a lack of people around me to help me in that part. Ahh, and of course the other side of it is that part is connected with the dark side of the spirituality. . . . So I think that's, yeah, no, that is where it's true; that this is a spiritual battle, and so I lost a couple of times. The good thing about losing is that then you start to get a bit smarter about it and think, "Well, stuff it, I'm not going to lose. I might just get a little bit smarter and find a way of not doing that again." Because I think the spirit is purposeful, and God is purposeful in these things, and it's like the scriptures say, "These tests aren't sent to destroy us, they're actually to make us strong."

Working in the field of substance abuse, with the connotations that has for him, as well as in his own personal development, Ron has felt the need for the support, guidance and teaching from an elder. That he has not had that is also an issue for Ron in terms of personal validation.

R: I know sometimes I feel the real need for having been taught by an elder, and I haven't been. And there's probably some that would say, "Oh he's talking shit". Well, if I'm talking shit, then I am; but that's my experience. For whatever it's worth.

Ron's Model of Counselling

In this section Ron describes his model of counselling theory and practice.

Spirituality

“Currents in the flow of the wairua. . .”

Ron sees spirituality as the core of his understanding of what counselling is about. For him this means that Christianity informs all aspects of his counselling practice.

R: My model of the counsel is the Holy Spirit, and that's one of his names. The, uhh, the Paraclete. And the Greek word 'paraclete' actually means, ahh, 'the one who,' 'someone who walks alongside you,' ahh, and that's what I believe is the essence of good counselling, it's someone. . . I'm not bigger than you so I come over the top of you with all my grand knowledge and understanding or overpower you through that. I'm not in the front pulling you along and I'm not in the back kicking you up the backside. I'm walking alongside of you. And that to me is the most important principle of counselling, as opposed to psychotherapy or family therapy or whatever all those therapy things are. This is what I call counselling, the counsellor, the advocate, the one who walks alongside, the one who is there to talk to, to, you know. When we both fall on our face we pick

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ourselves up and walk along a bit more and encourage. . . so to me, counselling is about the encouraging, the awhi, the looking for the good. The looking for what God's doing in your life and helping you to understand, to develop context.

The spiritual is an element, not only in Ron's perceptions of counselling, but also in his perceptions of his clients, and of the aims of the counselling endeavour. Ron sees clients' spiritual journey as central to the counselling context and process. Thus it is important for counsellors to be able to assess the place their clients are at, and by implication, it is necessary for the counsellor to have walked the path on their own journey as well. Ron finds that the assessment of this aspect of the client is necessarily an intuitive exercise.

R: Basically I like to look for, ahh, development of the person. So I sort of look at people who I think are just starting, sort of a bit along and got confused, or are quite a way along and got confused, or whatever. And, ahh, although I'm using a sort of linear description, I actually see it as being much more a question of place. Oh I'm in a different place than you, and you can't be in my place, and I can't be in yours. And that's, it gets away from the up and downness. But I do try to seek, to look at, is this person at the beginning stages of their understandings, or their journey, or are they...?

I: What sort of understanding or journey in particular are you

looking for?

R: It's the beginning of the spiritual understanding, umm, because from that flows all the other understandings. And it's quite often. . . Ahh, I think that's quite interesting because, people may express, umm, out loud to you, you know, umm, this spirituality nonsense, and often, ahh, I think just through experience and seeing it often, umm, you see them, you can see them actually struggling with the beginnings of the spiritual thing. So that's. . . ah it's an intuitive thing. I get a gut feeling about it. Ahh, and I think, ahh, working intuitively, ahh, I think that it really, it is important to understand that it is intuition. And so we can't go developing strategies or diagnoses based on that. And it becomes a kind of a. . . something I'll watch as we. . . as our relationship develops, rather than go, "Oh yes and thus x, y, and z." I think it's important when we work intuitively that we recognise that, because I think it is a limitation of the intuition.

A further aspect of Ron's emphasis on the spiritual in counselling, is illustrated in the following quote, where he refers to himself, the counsellor, as a 'vessel'. This quote was made in the context of Ron explaining the circumstances of a counselling encounter which he found personally moving and professionally rewarding. However, this encounter led him to seriously question himself in terms of his own capabilities and his spiritual position. This counselling experience challenged Ron emotionally and spiritually. It extended his conception of what he was capable of, as he had

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previously relied on more cognitive approaches. He was 'freaked out' with the intensity and implications of this encounter, while at the same time finding it highly gratifying.

R: . . . that is a model of how I would like us to be in a sense. That we can, ah, go to the depths, soar to the heights, and be in all the places in between in a totally human way with each other. Because I think that's the power that changes people. One of the problems which I, that I have I discovered actually after I had. . . well after I had experienced it emotionally, and I find this is quite common in the way I, the way I work, is that often the intellectual, the conscious understanding stuff comes sometime after the event. . .

I thought that I was basically quite good at getting the, um, the issues defined, and developing a relationship with a person. Umm, but if they needed to do that kind of depth work, um, they probably would have to go to someone who understood all those things better. And so I did that to myself as well as, um, you know, 'You can't really go there.' And what freaked me, um, because I didn't know where we [Ron and his client] were going, and I didn't even know the way out, I just continued with it and it's, we sort of, we just did whatever was appropriate at the time, and what felt right and was right at the time, and came out the other side. So that was quite good, for me to actually learn that, because I'd actually, um, again it was always focusing on the weakness of the vessel, instead of the power that's channelled through it. Yes.

In some circumstances, Ron also sees a spiritual dimension in the work he does in substance abuse. He uses Christian imagery to illustrate his perceptions of the spiritual aspects of drug and alcohol problems.

R: . . . that part [drug abuse] is connected with the dark side of the spirituality and there's a lot of the occult, and suicide and everything. I, I personally see things like the heavy metal music and all of that kind of jarring jangly (makes a jarring jangly kind of noise) kind of stuff, you know and it's all in, I mean really when you deal with these people all of their images are of Satan and, ahh, knives and lightening bolts and. . . you know, there's never, umm, cherubs and cherry trees. So I think that's, yeah, no, that is where it's true; that this is a spiritual battle. . .

Seamlessness

Ron draws aspects of his counselling model from his understanding of traditional Maori life. For Ron, counselling is an activity that should be 'seamless' from the rest of life, it should be seen as part and parcel of individual and community living. It should be an activity out in the community, rather than shut away behind closed doors in a clinic or office. Also, it should be holistic - concerned with the whole person, rather than reductionistic and concerned with "bits" of the person.

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R: . . . counselling I believe is actually also. . . you see I believe that the Maori community was what I use the term seamless. There was no difference between the church and the garden and the fishing and the birth and the death and the building, the marae and the going to war. They were all just currents in the flow of the wairua. There was no other. . . Something wasn't just out there as different, it was all a part of a great whole. And that's what, I believe that's one of the things, the, this is what dis-in-tegration actually is, is when we lose the integration of that wholeness and start splitting it off into family, social, psychological, emotional, spiritual, like as if, you know, as if we're a car with a carburetor and parts. And the Western model of dealing with people tends to be fairly mechanical and reductionist. And it's sort of like, well if I tune up your carburetor and put a bit more air in your tyre, you're going to run well, without attending to the whole of me, and seeing where my imbalances are and my needs are, and my developmental needs are, ahh, and where I need to be encouraged and where I need to be more disciplined and, uhh, and more mature in my outlook and that. And that's why, it's come to me. And that's why I say going around and having a korero and that over the kitchen table, ahhh, I can do a lot of really effective counselling in that situation which has absolutely nothing to do with the classic Western counselling type, ahh, model. You know, task assignment and la-de-da-da-da, and behavioural change and perceptual change and all that.

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Ron's theme of 'seamlessness' is carried on in a sense, in the way he equates wholeness with wellness, his antipathy to approaches which he sees as 'splitting' the person into parts, or even splitting the person from their context. Ron's ideal counselling encounter is based on a dialogical model, where counsellor and clients share as equals, and both benefit from each other. Although Ron sees some Western techniques as compatible with his perspective, he also finds a model within Maoritanga.

R: You see I'm really heavily, I'm quite heavily influenced by Karl Rogers. And it's where your technique is so refined it becomes no technique at all in a sense. It's a person to person meeting. And it's that as one person validates the other person, that's what leads us both into wholeness and wellness. And I believe our old people are just brilliant at doing that. And that's the. . . I believe that these are the values that we can bring to this sick world; as Maoris. This is the unique gift that we've got to give to our society. And while our Pakehas are hung up on Jung and Freud and Adler and Gottenglangill and all the rest of it, that's where they'll stay.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Tino Rangatiratanga, which Ron translates as sovereignty, is a primary component of his conceptualisation of himself and others. Ron applies this term to individuals, to the organisation in which he works, and to Maori people as a whole. Thus Maori people are

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sovereign, with the sovereign right to make decisions, to exert power and authority for themselves. Te Arahina Ora, while it exists at present under the auspices of the Area Health Board [this was the organisational structure through which in-patient and out-patient services were provided within different regions], has its own sovereignty in Ron's eyes; and each person is sovereign, with power and authority over themselves.

R: . . . in here we have a very strong commitment to tino rangatiratanga. . . we act on that rather than the instructions from the Area Health Board. It's caused a lot of conflict, but at the same time it's what's been. . . it's what's kept us sane.

I: When you talk about tino rangatiratanga; what do you mean? Do you see that as being, like we have authority over our own?

R: We're sovereign; I'm sovereign. I'm a sovereign person. We are a sovereign organisation, and we exercise our own sovereignty. And that's been a major. . . we still, we still have to confront issues along the way because it, it does come down sometimes to basically, well, at the end of this session I might not have my job. Ahhh, but I feel that unless we are prepared to actually make that commitment to rangatiratanga, then the Pakeha gets away with everything else. And it's only as we exercise the rangatiratanga that belongs to us; otherwise rangatiratanga stays out there as a concept. . . a head thing rather than as a actual living experience.

This concept of personal and collective sovereignty, tino rangatiratanga, provides the basis of Ron's code of ethics.

R: I won't counsel people because they've been forced to do it. I recently had a case of a sexually abused 14 year old boy, who, everyone else wanted him to undertake counselling, umm, and it was, ahh, the way it was handled was shockingly rude and abusive of the boy, because they sent me to his school. Ahh, it was jacked up to go to his school, I'd never met him before and they expected him to start counselling about sexual abuse. I basically just said "Hello, I am who I am and, and you know I've just come to meet you," and I explained my understanding of the situation, and he told me he did not want to do it. And I, um, you know, I won't work in that kind of situation because I believe that's only a further abuse of the sovereignty of that client. Although, I also, um, I don't know if this is consistent, but I don't have any conflict with using, ummm, leverage either. Like with, for instance, with, we run a probation program here. And so that's coercion from the courts to come in here. I believe it's to do with the approach, because I, we won't impose on them. We do an education program, but it's a more, an exploration of the issues and your understanding of it type of thing, and so it's not intrusive on the client. Ahh, but I don't have any difficulty with the idea, ah, of people from the courts being in a sense levered into this. And I think it's a good thing. In that it's exposure to this system, and a

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meeting of this kind of people by way of greeting.

Tapu

Another concept, related to the tino rangatiratanga/sovereignty dimension is the concept of te tapu o te mahunga; that is, in Maori tradition the head is seen as sacred. Ron sees intrusiveness into the personal mind and thoughts of people as a violation of their tapu, and tantamount to profanity. This principle is another foundation stone of Ron's code of ethics.

R: . . . you know the old Maori thing of the tapuness, the sacredness of the mind. It's not up to me to go in there and start fishing around in it and, umm, making decisions about your mind, because it is sacred to you. So let's talk about how your mind is working. . . not, umm, not just give you some clinical view because that will change the way you feel. Which is crap, real crap. Umm, I think it's just, it's actually criminal.

Conflict and Commonality

Some of the areas in which Ron perceives conflict and commonality between his model and some Western developed models of counselling have been identified. In this section, some further areas of conflict and commonality, as perceived by Ron, are identified.

“I believe the healer's inside.”

Ron tends to evaluate counselling models in terms of their 'fit' with his primary ethical principles of tino rangatiratanga and te tapu o te mahunga. Lack of respect for the sovereignty of an individual or group and intrusiveness into the privacy of their minds are unacceptable to him. Consequently, confrontational techniques, including those featuring a high number of questions do not find favour with him. Rather, Ron prefers to adopt an educative or exploratory approach which may challenge, but does not impose.

R: . . .some of the therapies I think, they've tended towards the, quite intrusive. Like in this field a few years ago there was the, the. . . it was universally accepted all over the world everyone used the. . . what was it called, the 'Minnesota Model'. Which was basically super confrontational, smash 'em to bits and then hope between the two of you, you can put some semblance of the person back together again, and somehow or other they'd trot on and develop from there. And it's still very much, it's still a very strong influence, it's probably more subtly underground or you know not in the consciousness now. But there's still a tendency in this service to look at confrontation as being a very necessary thing. Whereas I like Mason's [Ron is referring here to well known Maori psychiatrist Mason Durie] idea, "Look sit down, feel comfortable, you know, have a rest if necessary, just go home and have a sleep until you feel all right and then we'll just sit down and have a bit of a korero about what's going on." And it's. . . it's really more of an educative approach.

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It's more like helping you to understand what you know; because I believe the healer's inside anyway. So it's not for me anyway, and you see that takes it away [from a confrontational approach].

Ron sees Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP) as compatible with his model of counselling because he perceives the NLP approach as unintrusive. Ron's description of NLP identifies this approach as de-pathologising also.

R: I've gained a lot of understanding from learning NLP. Ahh, and it's about the how things happen, 'how are you being sick?', rather than defining your sickness and prescribing a cure. Look at how you are living and how you are ending up with this outcome, which is called a drug problem, a bad heart a, ahh, whatever, and how you can change your process to change your outcomes. And that I believe is much less intrusive into the person. . .

Meditation is another technique that Ron enjoys. In the following extract he uses the word taniwha as a metaphor for deep or buried emotional or psychological issues.

R: . . . he [Ron's colleague] uses meditation as a tool, for stirring the deep taniwhas as well; and I've found that to be very effective with, um, with clients. If the client can receive that kind of thing, I think it's probably one of the most gentle, and, um, you know, it's a self thing for the

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client. If we, when we can be still inside ourselves, then the taniwhas do tend to stir. Um, and I think it's a way of . . . it's a lovely way of working.

The concept of 'detachment' or professional distance is one that Ron does not subscribe to. Ron considers that 'joining' clients in their emotional space is a valuable thing to do. He provides an example of the role of kuia at a tangihanga, where the wailing and tears of the old women stimulate and facilitate the expression of grief by others. It may be inferred from this example that Ron considers it appropriate to express his emotional reactions to clients' stories, and in doing so, to model healthy emotional expression.

R: The detachment thing is. . . to me it sort of, doesn't sit properly. I don't know how it ever developed and I'm not interested in it. I feel like, um, I think that it's one of the things in our [Maori] way of working. I mean it's like the kuias' at a tangi, eh. They draw the tears out of you, because that's a, that's a really important thing to do. And so to do that you really need to get into your own, umm, ability to grieve, and go into that place, so that you can be in the same place together. And then you can walk out of that place together as well. And so I have got no problem with having a bawl, or having a cry, or having a laugh, or whatever thing, you know, that's fine.

Perceptions of clients

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One of the consequences of perceiving clients as sovereign and tapu beings, is that they are automatically viewed with respect. Finding things to respect in clients implies a strength based, as opposed to a problem saturated, perspective and approach. Ron illustrates this perspective as he describes clients at the methadone clinic he used to work in.

R: . . . the people there were all using their strength in exactly the wrong areas, but often hugely strong and often very, very sensitive and very, very spiritual people who hadn't found the right expression of that thing yet.

Ron perceives his relationships with clients as providing mutual benefit. He values clients' experiences and recognises that he is as likely to learn from them, as they are from him.

R: And I very much see, ahh, it helps if we can see, our clients as our teachers as well. And so a 13-year-old glue-sniffer, I think, may well have something important to teach me.

Accountability

In Ron's model of counselling he considers himself accountable to the individual client, but also to the whanau of that client, and in particular to the client's kaumatua. By going to a client's kaumatua, Ron considers that he is returning the power given him

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by his client and their whanau member, to the whanau. This is an area in which he acknowledges a possible conflict with popular Western counselling conceptions of confidentiality and accountability.

R: I am accountable to the community, to the Maori community, to the clients, to their families, to my people. Ahh, and this has been a major problem with the Pakeha system, because I don't see myself as accountable to my manager as such. Ahh, the only accountability that I have to him is that I'm moral, I'm ethical, umm, I'm, umm, you know, that the place is run in an orderly fashion and the books are kept. But in terms of my counselling work, I'm accountable out there [to the community].

I: What if, what happens if you've got a client and, um, that their interests might be in conflict with the community at large or their family?

R: Well I believe, um, I believe again that this is where a Western value has been imposed on our values, is that, uhh, like, say if I discover child abuse as part of the, umm, process. I'd have no qualms about taking that out to the elders, ahh, and talking with the elders if necessary. . . And that is, ahh, that is, I believe that is the correct way to act. It has come to me, that is how I feel.

I: So you're accountable to your client, but if it comes to a conflict then your primary accountability would be to the

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community?

R: To the community and the families particularly. I mean I wouldn't go out to just anyone in the community. If it was that person then I would go to their particular elders, family elders. And I, and then of course I would be in submission to them. So I'm not taking the power entirely out of the client's hand, but I'm giving it back to the whanau. And, um, so, as soon as I discuss the matter with the elders; they then are in charge and I become their servant sort of thing.

Biculturalism

Ron considers his model of counselling to be bicultural in the sense that mutual respect between Maori and Pakeha for each others' views is seen as vital. For instance:

R: . . . neither one has to surrender to the other, just allow them to express themselves.

Ron has repeatedly experienced what he perceives as arrogance from individual Pakeha and representatives of the Pakeha system. He sees Western attempts to impose Western ways onto Maori, and himself in particular, as detrimental to his ability to function as a Maori worker, and to Maori organisations in general. Consequently, he tends to be distrustful of Western approaches and motives.

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R: You know I think there's a strong element of arrogance about the Western/European approach.

I: Is it arrogance or is it ignorance?

R: Yeah, it's the arrogance that arises from ignorance. And I mean, uh, they are the people that actually think that they can define reality. As if, and I mean as if it needs to be in a sense. Umm, you know, they are seeking to define absolutes of everything; and I, I don't know whether God in his plan actually meant for man to know all of the absolutes. Umm otherwise we stop; umm, you know, we stop living in the faith, the spiritual, as everything becomes explicable.

I: So, trying to get to a position that God is in?

R: Yes. Basically trying to negate the role of God in creation I think. Yes. And I think it's a particularly Western, European heresy, if you like. . . I detect a strong element of fear in the Pakeha system. Ummm, you know they [Pakeha] fear that if they let us [Maori] go, we just might bloody succeed, and that will really show it up. And you know that would really show up the hypocrisy, the lack [this may be referring to what Ron perceives as a lack of depth, particularly in terms of spiritual development in Pakeha systems and structures and/or, he may be referring to a]... that they've imposed on us over this time.

I: And that's why there's so much of this setting us up to fail?

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R: Mmm, and controlling us. And . . . see like, it's a classic way they deal with Maori people, they devolve responsibility without devolving the authority. And so I've got a budget that I'm responsible for, but I've got absolutely no authority over it. . . I mean that's the edge I find when you're dealing with Pakeha institutions. You're taking a chance that they won't be plain, just straight out destructive and dishonest with you.

The approach that Ron and his colleagues have decided to take regarding the provision of services to Pakeha as well as Maori clients, is to continue to offer services within their own model of counselling, with Maoritanga as a vital ingredient. Thus, the service may be described as 'bicultural', or even 'multicultural' in that it is open to Maori, Pakeha and others. However the service, and workers within it, provide a Maori base.

R: . . . We were discussing this very issue about what do we do about the Pakeha clients in the community. And our basic stance is, ahm, we're not going to compromise being Maori in an effort to placate the fears and the prejudices of the Pakeha community, and as long as we continue to do that we're actually just letting that thing [fear and prejudice] be there and the sooner we just actually get out there and be successful, professional competent Maori counsellors the better. Or they [Pakeha] will have every reason to believe that we're a bunch of wallies.

Te Arahina Ora

In this subsection, theoretical aspects of Ron's "model" will be explained in terms of the specific area of substance abuse, and as it applies to Te Arahina Ora, the Drug and Alcohol Centre at which Ron is based.

Ron's Theory on the Aetiology of Maori Drug and Alcohol Abuse

Key concepts in Ron's theory as to why Maori abuse alcohol and drugs include, connection, disconnection and alienation, separation from turangawaewae, whanau factors and generational dis-continuity. These may be related back to earlier comments regarding the nature of identity.

R: I believe it's an important understanding, a Maori understanding of why our people are so into the grog and drugs. You know I don't know whether anyone else would say. . . they might say, "Oh God, he's fantasising," but for me this rings very true based on my experience. See, as I see it the Maori has been alienated from his land and from his culture and his spiritual values. And in, in a Maori way, Papatuanuku is where we put our feet and unless we have turangawaewae we can't stand. And so I've actually got no connection with the nurturing element of my life if I'm not connected to Papatuanuku. I've got no nurture. No nest. No food. And my, and this is my own personal, very personal understanding, is that the drug experience is very

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similar. It's not on Earth and it's not in heaven, it's kind of that floating in space. Ae, it's a nowhere type of experience and I believe that's where. . . and it's, and the more I see it the more I believe it's true: that in a lot of ways why Maori perceive the drug experience, the oblivion experience, the closed off and floating, neither here nor there, is because that's actually an expression of their spiritual experience, their living experience.

I: That's a very interesting theory. . . I haven't heard it put like that before.

R: Well that's the Ron thesis on Maori drug use. Ae. And 'cause, I also had, I had a vision about planting kauri trees which was to me, it was like God was saying, "Get out of this reactive, I mean like, this year's funding round, kind of approach to, umm, working to help people, and get more into planting the kauri tree." It might take 300 years to mature, but then that is the mokopuna's mokopunas. They, and then that's who we work for, and they will be the ones who will mill the kauri tree and will gain the benefits from it. Now in our generation, we can start doing that. And I believe it's a very simple, low cost, low tech, easy to implement Maori health program. Simply put the whenua back in the ground. . . I think that will develop that sense of connectedness. And I believe that was one of the things, like when the Pakehas stripped the trees off the land they stripped the historical continuity because the tree; you could go to the tree where your father talked to his father, talked to his father, talked to his father, talked to his father.

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. ., way back through the years; and so there was a physical. . . something I can see with my eyes and touch and feel that connected me with that man seven, eight, nine, ten generations ago. So it brought into reality the fact that I am actually part of a whole. Not some sort of accidental, "Mum forgot her pill."

Ron sees alcohol and drug work as a 'way in', rather than an end in itself; a 'way in' to the Pakeha system, to provide services; and a 'way in' to working with wounded and suffering individuals for whom drug or alcohol problems form a part of their reality, perhaps a part symptomatic of other features of their existence.

R: The beauty of the A and D is that it gives us a focus which allows us to enter the Pakeha system. Ah, we don't have to be bound by that in ourselves; or our approach. And I mean, the reality of it is that when you're working in A and D, you're dealing with all the rest of it as well. Because people are people. They haven't got a little part of them called A and D.

Whanau Roles and the Role of Whanau

The staff of Te Arahina Ora are involved in some work within the justice system. Through this avenue they work with prisoners in the local prison and people on probation. In many cases the individuals who come into contact with Ron and other staff at the centre through the justice system, are young and Maori. Maori, particularly Maori youth, are extensively over-represented in

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terms of criminal convictions and incarceration as prisoners. The blame for the high rates of criminal convictions and imprisonment amongst Maori youth has sometimes been laid at the feet of Maori parents. Maori parents and parenting styles have often been classified according to a deficit model. Thus, Maori parents may be viewed by some as uninformed, uninterested, uncaring and/or irresponsible in their child-raising, and subsequently blamed, castigated and sometimes punished accordingly. Ron, however, has a different theory:

R: One of the classic features of Maori families is the over-caring. The picking up after the kids all the time and the beating themselves up because they, they've failed as parents. You know the old thing of if you put one parent who's real hard, the other parent will become softer in proportion to the hardness of the other one? And because our perception of the society is that it's cruel and hard and uncaring, we go overboard. And it's because it's compensatory that it, it becomes negative. And so it's because of that, because they can see the world's been cruel to their children, and indifferent. And so they try and compensate for that, and that's where it goes wrong.

I'm a late developer, it took a long time to start to grow up. If my parents hadn't been there, with the typical Maori family of, "There's always a room. If you can't pay it's all right; when you can." . . . I think it's indulgence more than anything. . . I think that Maori also have a much clearer understanding of a child's need for freedom. And I think that's one of the problems with our. . . with the society, the

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way it's structured. And you see in the old way you were still very much like a child; you were still growing up until you were about 30. You didn't take your responsibilities as a man until about then. . . and I think this is one of the reasons why Polynesians particularly have suffered in this society, where kids are expected to make major life choices at the age of 16. And they're not bloody ready. In my opinion, they're just not ready. . . And I think this is one of the major problems with the justice system, so-called justice system, is that the Pakeha understanding of the kid who goes around and breaks a few windows is that he's a destructive, antisocial little so and so. The Maori understanding is that that is childhood pranks, and what else do you expect from kids? And it's much more important to have him at home than it is to divorce him from his family and, and lock him away and punish him. For being a child?

I: Even if he's 22?

R: Yes I think so. And I think we would do well in our, um, our approach to Maori offending if the, umm, if the family were allowed to go in there and debate the time spent. I, I don't think Maoris don't accept the need for discipline, I think it's quite strong, there's a very strong discipline in the Maori culture. It's how it's applied. And I mean, you see it all the time; our [colonial New Zealand] society won't forgive and they demand punishment rather than restoration to wholeness. . . and it's not a betterness and a worseness, or a goodness and a badness, or a more of this and a less of

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that kind of thing. It's just that this approach [which may perhaps be characterised as a form of restorative justice], is effective.

In the area of drug and alcohol counselling, the families of users, abusers and addicts are often involved in the therapeutic process. Ron is aware of Western understandings of family involvement in this area, of issues pertaining to family dynamics, systems and co-dependency; however, he also sees family involvement on a larger scale. In a way he is synthesising Western and Maori understandings pertaining to family/whanau.

R: Often an outcome in this kind of counselling, because it almost always plays over into the area of relationships, it happens that as the one [client] starts to change his dependence patterns the other, ahh, the relationship, starts getting really upset. And so we have to look at marriage bust-ups and all sorts of things.

I: Do you go much into that sort of thing. . . ?

R: The family. The family. Because it's often the system becomes sick. As the members of the family adjust to the extraordinary behaviour of the addict. They actually become sick as well; because you sell yourself out, forget your morals, give up your own spirituality, your own path, just to deal with this "bloody maniac called a drug addict that I've got living with me." And so they get sick. And that's where you see the patterns through the families. And

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that's another Maori wisdom.

You've got to work towards the next generation's grandchildren, because that's where the change can come. And like the scriptures say, "The sins of the father are handed down to the fourth generation." And you see that literally expressed here all the time. Ahh, in three or four generations the sickness has developed and become more intensified; and until somebody breaks that cycle, each is only going to produce a sicker and sicker and sicker generation. And the Maori understanding was that the development of the personality came through the generations. So greatness started with someone whose children were a little bit great, and whose children were a little bit greater and a little bit greater and a little bit greater. And so that starts, and so whatever we feed into our families, that's what our families end up expressing. As I understand it.

In terms of Te Arahina Ora, Ron has a vision of how he would like to restructure and operate the organisation. His vision has parallels with the operation of healthy whanau and hapu in a marae environment. A key feature of Ron's vision is the concept of interdependence, of different but equal roles for paid and for unpaid workers.

R: Well I would very much like this to be like a, like a marae. That it was a place for people to use and come together and nurture each other and help each other, and you know,

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come and have a tangi if that's what we need, and come and have a kai together, and have a hoohaa [celebration] together, and share life together. If I was running the budget, I would structure my budget quite differently from the way it's structured now. See I would, ah, I believe in that Maori approach that we feed ourselves from the common hob. So if we're living high on the hob today, then we all live high, and if it's bread and butter tomorrow, then it's bread and butter. And I would rather see that money spread out evenly amongst all of us as an acknowledgement of the importance of all of us, and all of us have needs.

I: And so if you had control of the budget, you would bring all your wages so that you all were paid in line with each other? Even at the cost of a cut for yourself?

R: Yeah. . . I believe if we're to develop the whanau way of working, then we either do it on a personal level, or otherwise we're talking shit to our clients. . . It is a moral issue, and it is a issue of spirituality.

I: If you were able to do what you want, ahh, control the purse strings, pay everybody equally; ahh, would decision-making and responsibility then also be shared equally?

R: Well, it already is. I am the team leader, and that is based on the fact that the others want me to be and acknowledge me as such. Umm, if they didn't I couldn't be. Ahh, and they accept my authority as the team leader. . . umm, and I

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think there are different roles but that doesn't put me up above them, it just means that my role is that of leadership; um, the secretary has a particular role, which is called administration.

In Ron's view, it is important for Maori clients to be or to become in touch with their Maoriness - "their identity, their connection." Rather than attempting to teach clients about their identity and the place of connection in that, Ron prefers to achieve this end by providing a model from which clients may learn in an experiential manner. Hence he aims to run Te Arahina Ora as a 'home', a distinctively Maori home.

R: Our centre is set up like a, like a home. And, ahh, that's what we really aimed at, somewhere that you can feel comfortable, sit down, read a magazine, you know. And no-ones going to bail you up in a corner or. . . and quite often those ones that come in, they're "Nah, nah, nah, nah, nah, nah" [that is with negative views of the system and concept of counselling]. As they start to come in here and experience a living expression of being Maori, it hooks them. But we don't actually seek to coerce them into doing it, and I've got. . . well that would be abusive.

As "the living experience of being Maori" informs policy and practice, the open sharing of wairuatanga, prayer, and emotion is a part of life at the centre.

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R: I think that's one of the tremendous things about, umm, the Maori kind of service is that we can quite unselfconsciously, umm, say our prayers and acknowledge all of that without having to feel, "Oh I'm a bit strange," or something. And what we actually find is that as we commit ourselves to that then in it's truest sense the wairua does flow. Ae. Part of our process here is that the comings and goings we have, um, grieving, and, um, people cry and have a tangi about, and express their sorrow at losing each other and the fears that we might never meet again, and because I think that's really, really important. I think that's another area where the general society can learn from the Maori the value of "quality grieving" if you like and how to do it, and the process of grieving. Not the turn up on the day of the funeral, have a cry and go home. And it's the, it's also the celebration of the achievements, and the, the milestones, and the marking of them and all of those things. Yeah. The karakia and the nurturing that has gone on in here, it leaves a spirit in here, you know?

In keeping with the theme of seamlessness in traditional Maori life and conceptions of the self, and in his own counselling theory, Ron's practice within and outside of the centre is aimed at retaining this 'oneness' between centre and community, and between worker (paid and unpaid), and client members of the whanau. Aspects of Ron's practice which stem in part from this philosophy (of seamlessness) have led to some conflict with elements in the umbrella 'Area Health Board' organisation.

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R: I am actually very active in the community; I, umm, I know lots of people and I tend to do a lot of visiting people at home. And that has actually, um, actually it's quite interesting that has actually caused some problems because, um, I've got the use of the vehicle. Like, if one of the koros rings up and he wants some vegies, um. . ., I'll get in the car and go out to one of the roadside stalls and buy him some stuff. And then someone'll see the Area Health Board car out there and me loading it up with vegetables and the next thing I've got a complaint from the boss. . . "What are you doing using the vehicle...?" I've had to go through some huge palaver, in terms of explaining to the Pakeha system that as a Maori health worker I have to respond, and especially to the elderly. . ., uuum, and if I don't I'm actually cutting my potential effectiveness right down, and so. . ., Because it blows their system, it doesn't mean to say that I'm going to. . . I mean I'm not going to sweat about it, the fact that I use the Area Health Board car. I, ah, like I work in the A and D field and, um, I know all the users and all the dealers around the town. Most of them are my cousins, because we are basically all related in the town. And so people write in and say "Oh Ron's car's often seen outside of this dealers place or that user's house," and that sort of thing. But I believe that's really important because, umm..., it's seamless between the community and here, and that's something that I, I feel really strongly about, that people need to feel that it's, that it's okay.

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I: To come in?

R: Yeah, to come in here. And I'm not going to wag my finger at them and put them down or anything. And so a cup of tea round at home is a really good way of planting the seed and developing. . . I can do a lot of good work in that way, I feel.

I: So it's part of your method. . .

R: It's part of my method of working is to maintain strong contacts with families in the community. And that's another important difference that comes across. Because with the, with the Area Health Board system, umm, I've got a letter in my drawer here from my boss instructing me to spend a minimum of my 30 hours, ahhm, I have to spend a minimum of 30 hours in the office [per week]. And I said to him, well you know, "In your eye, mate." Ahhm, 'cause that's another way of. . . it's this old, uum, they set you up to be a Maori service and then they cut your feet off so that you can't actually do it. And by instructing me to spend 30 hours in the office he's basically making sure that I can never be effective with my own community.

Ron's emphasis on te tapu o te mahunga, respect for clients, their sovereignty and their personal tapu/sacredness, leads him to reject counselling approaches which he sees as intrusive, or as placing too much emphasis on the intricacies of clients' minds. Rather than engage in 'head work,' Ron prefers to engage clients in

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"learning by doing." This approach is yet another example of Ron's philosophy of 'seamlessness' and holism. Ron's belief in the intentionality of the spirit, the existence of purpose in everything, is translated into practice in the counselling process through reframing client's experiences with addiction as experiences of growth and learning which they and others can benefit from.

Most of the workers, paid and voluntary, at Te Arahina Ora have had battles with addiction. Ron actively encourages those with the desire, to turn their own negatives into positives. One way of doing this is to become counsellors themselves. The techniques Ron uses, encouraging clients to work at Te Arahina Ora themselves, and to undertake training in counselling, model a traditional Maori learning and teaching style, the 'learning by doing' way. They also entail minimal intrapsychic intrusion.

R: I'm very strongly influenced by Carkhuff. It's like doing therapy or change work through training, and stuff. And this is basically, I mean the thing is. . . don't do therapy on them, train them to become counsellors, hearers and nurturers and they will do the change work themselves. And so for the last two years, we've had a very active strategy of encouraging people. And one of my volunteers actually runs counsellor training programmes. . . and we've now got four who are actually doing, ahh, formal training at CIT [the Central Institute of Technology]; and, ahh, now got a pupil under MACCESS [a work scheme for unemployed Maori] to do a twenty-week intensive, like a total immersion counsellor training programme. And, um, everyone who can be spared is going onto that course.

Promoting wholeness and integration, preventing 'splitting' or disintegration is a part of the process necessary to produce a 'seamless' person, part of a 'seamless' family. Ron uses some simple but, he believes, effective techniques to promote wholeness in clients. His focus is on the here-and-now, and direct causality.

R: I don't do a lot of, you know, "Did your Mother kick your teddy-bear?" stuff. Umm, and it's really, like, "How are you?" And I basically like to just meet the client at the face and work with what we talk about. You know, so I look for patterns of language, umm . . . And I always start with a few simple things. Like one of my ones I really like is watching "buts." People who go, "But this," "But that," I see that as an indication of disintegration or splitness inside. And one of the really simple things we do is just, umm, every time we use "but", we just go into "and". "This and that," not "This but that." Umm and that was a key in my own life; it's not that I'm Maori but I'm also Pakeha, it's that I'm Maori and I'm Pakeha. And then I become integrated rather than split.

Additionally, as drug and alcohol problems are part of a whole picture which includes spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical facets, Ron tries to integrate karakia as an element from the spiritual dimension into sessions with clients. While he considers this dimension of importance for all clients, he tends to be more circumspect in his approach to spiritual matters with Pakeha

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clients. Ron's perception of the lack of attention to, and/or comfort with spirituality in Pakeha society leads him to question the effectiveness of some Pakeha counsellors with Maori clients.

R: Well I mean a lot of Maori people actually feel, umm I always say to them, "Can we have a karakia?". And it's very rarely that anyone goes "No". A lot of them say "oh gee I was really glad that you asked that, cos it made me feel comfortable inside". Ahhh, you know and this is where, this is how Pakeha counsellors are not effective with Maori, because of their own uncomfortableness with their spirituality. Sort of saying to someone, "Oh, umm, do you mind if we' umm. .." and so the whole thing becomes increasingly uncomfortable, rather than increasingly comfortable.

I: And also I suppose there's no point in just saying, "Oh shall we do karakia?". Or doing karakia if it's not coming from their heart?

R: Yes. And Maori people are very perceptive of that kind of thing. . . when I'm, when it's with a non-Maori client, no it doesn't change.

I: You still do karakia and that?

R: Well I always, as soon as I can, I like to, I get to know about their, umm, their spiritual, their spiritual side. Umm, and if they say, "Oh look, well I believe in God but I, you know I don't go to church or anything." I say, "Well look

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let's just have a little prayer." You know, something simple like, "Dear Father in heaven, please help us today to get the things that will help us all. Amen." With the Pakeha clients I don't like to just start off by saying, "Shall we have a prayer first?" Ah, but if it, if the opportunity comes up. . .

As noted earlier, emotional expression in the sense of joining with the client is another manifestation of the way that Ron 'walks alongside' clients and shares as much as possible in the wholeness of their realities.

R: And she was sobbing her heart out and I, I actually ended up, I was sobbing my heart out as well.

Wairuatanga/Intuition

Ron's faith in the spiritual is translated into action in his own approach to counselling in that he does not prepare himself for counselling in an intellectual way. The prayer and meditation he does each morning and the karakia at work, with clients, opens the way for spiritual guidance to come through. Thus, Ron has faith in his actions in counselling because they come through him, not from him.

R: I never prepare in any formal sense for anything that I do like this. The scripture says that when you're there, ahh, the spirit will give you the words. And so what I say, and

what we need to do today will come, through that.

Confidentiality

Ron's sense of accountability to the wider group, the whanau and community as well as to the individual client, has implications for his interpretation of confidentiality issues. It is an area in which he does not like to set hard and fast rules, but his preference is for a type of 'whanau confidentiality'.

R: Well for me, confidentiality in a Maori way is confidential to the whanau. Ah, I believe that's quite appropriate. Um, I also have to say that there are some issues for me in that I'm saying that, okay 60, maybe 70 percent I'll go for confidentiality within the whanau. At the same time, because it's so important to me to respect the individual's own autonomy, umm, yeah I must say I, I have some reservations. And I haven't worked it through to the stage where I can comfortably say definitely this, that, or the other thing. And I can live with that much, um. . . And I believe in myself and, and how I work enough to believe that I will be able to respond appropriately at the time with the client. But my major thing is really that the confidentiality resides within the family itself, not in the individual. You can't lay down rules. You can't say this is the rule, that's sort of how it goes. And that's how it's done. Yeah.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Ron's emphasis on tino rangatiratanga as it pertains to individuals and to whanau is reflected in his practice in a number of ways. As previously noted, Ron does not like counselling models or practices that infringe on the sovereign rights of individuals. A specific way in which Ron's beliefs about the sovereignty of individuals, and of whanau, hapu and iwi, have implications for his practice of counselling in terms of his preference for a comparatively non-directive approach.

The following extract is also relevant to other principles of Ron's model of counselling, including seamless/holism, whanaungatanga, the notion of 'the healer within', and that of following one's personal spiritual path.

R: I talked to you earlier about rangatiratanga, which is sovereignty, and sovereignty is not only as a nation and as an iwi and a hapu, it's as an individual. Because it's only as we are sovereign individuals that we are a sovereign nation. And so anything that is powerfully directive. . . I think there's, there is room for a small element of directiveness in the sense of defining boundaries, umm, and maybe laying some ground rules, like there's no violence, umm, so I'm directive to that degree, but I'm not directive in terms of. . . because if I acknowledge God's role in things and that person's sovereignty, then they direct themselves; and my role, as I say it's like my understanding of the counselling role, is to walk alongside you while you do your things. And then when you don't need me anymore, then you walk

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on. Ae.

My usual opening line is, "What do you need?" Umm, what have I got in my basket that you can put in your basket that will help you? I think it's really important too for the client to be able to define what he wants, or what he needs. And quite often that can be two or three sessions just working out what the client feels that he wants and needs from me. Because that also gives me a chance to work out if I can help, or whether I would be best to refer on to some other person to deal with the issues that the client's got. Like if it is, ahh, whakapapa, then I have to go and get one of the elders. . . Well, we usually go round to their place.

Reframing

Reframing is a technique that Ron appears to use, intentionally or unintentionally, a lot in counselling, as well as in his discourse around understandings of his own experiences. A number of examples of Ron's reframing have been given previously. The following excerpt includes another example of reframing, while simultaneously illustrating the way in which Ron's perceptions of the issue of 'over-caring' in Maori families affect his practice.

R: . . . quite often that can be a major breakthrough, just to get the parents to stop running around after their 22-year-olds, who are quite old enough to go and get a flat and go and bloody survive by themselves. . . It's often teaching them

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how to be caring without being caretakers. So that you don't have to get up at three o'clock in the morning to pick your boy up from the police station. Let him stay there till eight o'clock and pick him up after he's had his breakfast. Don't be at his beck and call. You can still nurture him, and carry the responsibility for him in that sense. . . I mean not his personal responsibility on your shoulders. And it's actually as you can become more healthy about that, that you can actually help him to start to change as well. And so it's then you can actually start to explore issues like what love really is. Are you caring for someone when you give him \$20.00 when you know they're going to use it to buy drugs?

Ron's emphasis on family and generational issues is also reflected in his practice and the way he works with young people with a focus on long term (intergenerational) goals. Ron and his co-worker run a drug and alcohol education program in a Maori secondary school, and also, marae-based programs for Maori youth. The health promotion/sickness prevention work that they do with these young people revolves around 'Ron's thesis on Maori drug and alcohol abuse.' A central feature of this thesis is that the experience of disconnection from land and tupuna is paralleled in 'out of it' drug and alcohol experiences. Thus, a drug and alcohol abuse prevention strategy involves reconnecting with the land through the process of returning the whenua (placenta) to the whenua (land) after the birth of each baby.

R: . . . this is one of our long term health promotions. . . it's a

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generational thing. We're making big efforts to encourage all mothers to, ahhh, connect their, ahh, to put the whenua and the pito [placenta and umbilical cord] in the ground. Because that is the beginning of grounding the child, of connecting it, putting the whenua into the whenua and so you spiritually connect the child to the source of nurturing. I believe that will pay dividends, but it won't pay dividends until the next or maybe the generation after, ae.

You know, on one of the maraes down here we were talking about it and, umm, and it was basically a bunch of young Maori women, and, umm, when we first went there they thought "Oh drug and alcohol," and they all tried to find reasons not to be there and they thought "Oh, well, anyway, I'll just sit here and I won't listen. I'm going to find some way of defying the system imposing this bloody thing called drug and alcohol education." But when we started talking about this, umm, disconnectedness and reconnecting; umm, they're actually now planning an avenue of trees for their babies, for their whenuas. . .

Ron is in the process of making his vision for Te Arahina Ora into a reality. In many respects, the day-to-day running and processes within Te Arahina Ora are already operating along the lines that Ron and his colleagues envisaged. However, Ron would like to see the Te Arahina Ora have more autonomy and, in particular, the freedom to re-structure their budget and accountability procedures. While appreciating the usefulness of processes and procedures in the Pakeha system, Ron intends to put a more

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'Maori' management and accountability structure in place.

R: We are working very actively, we're working towards Christmas as our target when we'll have a contract. We will contract to the Area Health Board to provide alcohol and drug addiction services in this community. This is one of the reasons for bringing *(a consultant)* in. I think we do have to acknowledge that the Pakeha runs the show. And we have to learn his language and his, the way the game is played. And so we do have to do inputs, outputs, key result areas. And it's also helpful to us in a sense. I believe the old people were very good planners and, and had an understanding of all of that stuff. It was just done in an entirely different way, and probably much less formally.

NOTES ON GRACE'S INTERVIEW

Grace and I had a personal relationship that spanned several years. Grace served as an advisor and mentor for me. It is my impression that the context in which we found ourselves, with me interviewing her for research purposes, felt strange for both of us. As a result of the (probably unnecessary) effort that we were making to adopt researcher-research participant and interviewer-interviewee roles, and with the associated adjustment of our boundaries, our conversation was slightly stilted and more formal than usual, and certainly more so than the other interviews. In addition, because of the context of our pre-existing personal relationship, I was probably less at ease, and less concerned with putting Grace at ease, than would normally have been the case.

The interview took place at the school that Grace was working at. The interview spanned an afternoon and included school time as well as a period after school finished. As a result, there were bells ringing periodically and visits from students wanting advice or assistance from Grace during the interview. Grace was based in a 'prefab' with a tin roof. A sub-tropical rainstorm was in progress during the interview, which created an effect similar to rapid and incessant drumming on a large tin can. This meant that much of the interview was conducted in raised voices, and that parts of the tape recording were inaudible and therefore not included in transcripts and subsequent story write up. In retrospect, although the interview was certainly worthwhile, it may have been better to re-schedule a further interview for another time and place.

For Grace, Maori was and is her first language. Although Grace is also fluent in English language, it may be that she would have been most comfortable discussing some of the concepts, ideas and philosophies that were raised in Maori. In fact, she did at times express herself in Maori, with or without translation into English.

Probably as a result of our pre-existing relationship, and my prior knowledge of her situation, neither Grace nor I felt it necessary to elaborate on some issues and

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relationships that were discussed. This may affect the flow of the narrative for readers without this contextual knowledge.

GRACE'S STORY

At the time of interview, Grace, who described herself as "16 going on 60", lived in a moderately large rural New Zealand town, the population of which is predominantly Maori. The town in which Grace has spent most of her adult life is situated within her own, and her husband's, tribal rohe. They are tangata whenua there and related to many of the Maori families living in the area.

Having raised three children of her own, Grace now lives with her husband, daughter, son-in-law, and two of her three grandchildren in the house which has been a family home for many years. The house was built and originally occupied, by Grace's mother and father-in-law.

The small seaside village where Grace was born and grew up, is an hour and a half by car from where she now lives. The village that Grace comes from was once a thriving Maori community and is steeped in the history of her people and their past. After being largely deserted for a number of years, except during the summer holidays or when a formal occasion such as a tangihanga (funeral and mourning ceremony), wedding or birthday is on, several families have returned to live there in recent times. Grace frequently makes the trip back to her papakainga (home village). She stays at her marae, attends hui and tangihanga in the district, visits relatives, and enjoys the abundance of kaimoana and other traditional foods that are there.

Grace is heavily involved with her marae, and with whanau, hapu and iwi activities. She is on several local marae committees and is also a member of the education committee of the Runanga (tribal council) which covers the larger rohe.

After leaving her home to train as a nurse, then marrying and raising her family, Grace worked at a number of jobs. In the 1980s, having worked as a cleaner at a local High School for a number of years, she was offered a position as teacher of Maori language at the school. However, other teaching staff reacted negatively to the prospect of an 'unqualified' person joining their ranks. They threatened to take industrial action if Grace joined the teaching staff. Consequently, Grace did not take up the teaching position. Instead, she applied for a place on the newly instituted Te Atakura teacher training program. Te Atakura was a program designed to increase the number of teachers of Maori language at secondary school level. Trainees were mainly older people fluent in te reo Maori (Maori language) and knowledgeable in tikanga (Maori protocol and traditions). Candidates for the course were required to be nominated and supported by members of the Maori community who attested to their competency in te reo, their knowledge of tikanga, and their suitability as teachers. Accepted candidates were required to attend a one-year teacher training course that qualified them to teach Maori language in secondary schools. Grace's application was supported by her whanau, hapu and iwi, and she was accepted onto this course.

Participation in Te Atakura meant that Grace had to leave her home and family for a year, living in a city several hours drive away from them. On completion of the course, Grace took up a position in a town closer to her home where she taught for a year before moving to another small North Island town and teaching there for two further years. Eventually, Grace was offered a position as head of the Maori Department at the school she had once cleaned at. She accepted the position with mixed feelings and moved back to the family home.

TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE

Formal And Experiential Training

Grace had a small amount of formal counselling training as part of her Atakura training. In addition, to this she attended hui at which counselling was a primary focus. Most of her training, however, has been experiential. It was not until she had had a taste of formal training that Grace recognised the value of the skills and knowledge she had acquired through her life experiences and observations. With time and further experience working in the field of counselling, Grace's confidence and awareness of the value of her own life experience and skills has grown. Grace firmly identifies te reo me nga tikanga Maori as the foundation of her counselling skills.

G: Yeah, it was a frightening job for me at first. Ummm, but I feel more so that for people that do this kind of work, you know, you get the challenge thrown at you; "Where's your experience? What experience do you have in counselling?". Oh, for goodness sake, we've been counselling our kids for years and years and years, you know, Maori people. You don't need to go to university to get that piece of paper to say, 'I am a counsellor' with a title after my name. Ae. All humbug.

I: So your, your training that brought you to the point where you are now, where you do counselling, for want of a better word at the moment, umm, is really your life experience.

G: That's all it is. It's just that I went, when I went away, I recognised that I had that experience. You know, ahhh, they said well, one year training at teachers college and in counselling skills, you have to be trained in counselling skills. Perhaps if I

didn't go away, I wouldn't still, I would not have recognised that I had those skills. They were there all the time.

I: So did you do as part of your Atakura training...was there a counselling part of it?

G: Yes, a very, very small part. Some people are not cut out for that sort of thing. Some people with their heads in the clouds, and everything is 'kei te pai'. But if only they can recognise that their life time experiences, especially Maori people who have been brought up in tikanga Maori, ahhh, ahhh, you know, te reo me ona tikanga [*Maori language and the protocols that are embodied in it*], they've got it all there. It just has not been tapped. But it's been lying there all the time, and you've been counselling your own kids, and your nieces and your nephews, all those years, but it hasn't, hasn't been recognised. And you haven't recognised it yourself.

If you're comfortable with te reo, if you're a fluent speaker, te reo me ona tikanga, everything else falls into place. It makes it, it doesn't make it simpler, but it gives you a broader concept of tikanga Maori.

Te Reo Me Ona Tikanga

As Grace implies above, she views the knowledge of Maori language and right ways of doing things (te reo me ona tikanga) as the framework within which her understanding of counselling is developed and the foundation on which it is based.

Grace believes strongly that being raised in te reo has enabled her to understand and appreciate Maoritanga, and by implication Maori people and the world around her, to a depth and in a way which would not be possible without te reo.

G: Now the main language spoken in the home during my childhood days was naturally te reo Maori. There was nothing else, that was our first language. My present fluency in te reo is about the same. If you're raised in te reo, you know, you've got it for life.

..It means that you have a broader and wider concept of te reo, me ona tikanga, the kawa of people, you can understand other iwi. By other iwi, I mean other tribes. And you can understand, ah, the ah, whakapapa, the genealogy, the, the pu-rakau, everything that, that pertain to Maori. If you're fluent in the language, you can have a better understanding of things Maori.

Learning, particularly about Maori things, is an abiding and passionate part of Grace's life. The areas that Grace is interested in could be seen as historical or theoretical, but for Grace, they are fundamental to her everyday life and vital in her work. Learning, growing in matauranga Maori (Maori wisdom), is thus a major part of on-going training as a counsellor. Having te reo helps this learning process and, consequently, helps develop understandings relevant to counselling, understandings about people, systems, and the environment.

G: Yes, well, I don't think a Maori person can ever stop learning though. You know, there's no end to learning in terms of matauranga Maori. Maori knowledge. I'm still learning. There are heaps and heaps of things that I still need to know. Things

from before my time. So I don't like to go too far back. Ahh, you know, I like to learn about things Maori, I like to learn about tikanga Maori, I'm always interested in other tribes' tikanga. I have a lot of interest in that. Their dialects, their history, their legends; ahh, I like those sorts of things. There's no end to learning, like in the Pakeha system. You never stop learning. But I think if you've got the reo, you feel more comfortable.

Having been raised in te reo me ona tikanga, Grace obviously feels most comfortable in Maori situations and contexts. What makes her feel very uncomfortable, however, are situations where Maori people themselves, through ignorance or disrespect, trample on tikanga. If Grace is aware of breaches of tikanga amongst her own, at her marae for instance, she feels she has the right, even the obligation, to speak up, to correct the offender/s and put right any wrongs committed. If breaches occur in another context, respect for other iwi and their tikanga demands that she say nothing.

G: If there are situations of course, where I feel that Maori tikanga is being trampled on, then I'm not comfortable with it. You know what I mean. Especially if you can't speak out. Ahh, if you're in another iwi. Ahhh, and there are things that you see that aren't right. And more so I think with people that don't understand tikanga Maori, but are Maori. Ahhh, yeah, I've known myself to be uncomfortable then; but not be able to speak out because it's not my marae, it is not my iwi. Ahh, you shut up. And be uncomfortable.

Considering that only a small proportion of the adult Maori population are fluent speakers of te reo, Grace's emphasis on this facet may be

interpreted as exclusive. Grace does not see it in this way, however, she encourages those who wish to learn more.

G: I'm not putting down our people that have not been brought up with te reo and tikanga, and ahh, it's not their fault. Umm, circumstances have not given them the privilege of being brought up like that, and ahh, it's not their fault. I of course admire people that are learning te reo me ona tikanga, I take my hat off to them. Cause, let's face it, they're our, they're our kaitiaki of tikanga Maori for the years to come. you know. They have to take over. So if I can see them educating themselves in tikanga Maori and te reo, good on them.

PERCEPTIONS OF COUNSELLING

Grace works at a girls high school where around 75% of the pupils are Maori. As Head of the Maori Studies Department at the school, Grace is responsible for teaching te reo and tikanga Maori to students. Grace had previously found herself counselling Maori students, while having little non-teaching time set aside for this. As a result, she was working long hours, carrying a teaching load as well as fulfilling a counselling function. Grace made sure that counselling was written into her present job description and that time was allowed for this facet of her work.

Grace does not like the term 'counselling', preferring instead 'pa harakeke', community worker, or 'pa whakaora', community health worker. The phrase Grace uses in the following extract, "whiti kai arahi i nga tamariki", (literally, the illuminator of paths for the children), very aptly describes the way in which she sees her work.

G: I don't like to call it counselling though. Yeah, I like to say that, ah, 'he kai...', 'whiti kai arahi i nga tamariki'. I like to call it, pa harakeke, community worker, or, pa whakaora, community health worker. You know, that sort of thing. There's really no set word for it. But counsellor, no to me that's a Pakeha word. You know, I don't know what other word to use. Kai...? pea, Kaitautoko? I don't know. But counsellor? What are you counselling?

Grace is clear that Te Atakura teachers have a role to play and a great deal to offer when it comes to providing counsel and guidance to Maori children. She regards the age and experience of Atakura teachers and their depth of knowledge of te reo and tikanga as appropriate qualifications for the counselling of Maori youth.

G: It has to be accepted that Maori children and indeed parents are more likely to approach someone of their race for help and guidance in the context of a secondary school. Atakura teachers are mature people who have brought up children in a Maori environment and are in tune with the concerns and problems faced by Maori children at large. They have the skills to deal with the tikanga or customs side of counselling. They are sensitive to cultural factors that affect the guidance of Maori students. They can work within the framework of values such as aroha, manaaki, tapu, mauri, noa, wehi, mana. No-one can be taught these things in any guidance or counselling course unless they are fluent speakers of Maori and are prepared to devote 20 years or more of their life in acquiring the skills that a Te Atakura teacher has naturally. Within the guidance network, the Atakura teacher could be a kaiawhina – helper, kaitautoko – supporter, kaihapai – prop, of Maori children.

TE MAHI O TE PA HARAKEKE / FEATURES OF COUNSELLING PRACTISE

Tikanga Maori

Maoritanga is at the centre of Grace's understandings of the nature and significance of her work as 'he pa harakeke'. She sees the role of pa harakeke as requiring a commitment over and above that of the counselling function within her job description. Grace identifies a strong concern for the future of Maoridom, and for the well-being of Maori children as guardians of that future, as a major motivating force in her work. Thus, Grace sees herself as working for the future wellbeing of her people as a whole as opposed to dealing with a selection of individual students with individual problems. She also clearly believes that all the requisite skills and techniques needed in her line of work may be found within tikanga Maori, and that her approach, from within a tikanga Maori framework, is effective for the girls and young women she works with.

Some of the elements that Grace identifies as being a part of Maoritanga, and as being particularly relevant to her work are wairua Maori, the ability to awahi, and ngakau Maori.

G: I think my Maoritanga more than anything else makes me believe, in dealing with Maori girls, in doing what I do. It's just the mere fact that I'm Maori, the mere fact that I'm comfortable with my reo and my tikanga. You've got to believe in what you're doing. If you're only doing it because you get paid fortnightly, then forget it, it's unfair. You should not be in that job. You have to believe in what you're doing. And when you look out there....

And the other thing that I like to believe is, they're our future, those kids. If we don't pick them up off the street now and point them in the right direction; where am I going to be when I'm a kaumatua and there's no Maori person there to give help to me or to continue what I'm doing? We're lost. I have to do it. And that keeps me going too. I like to think, 'Oh yeah, one day that horrid child out there is going to be up there directing my, our people.'

...All I can say is, if a Maori person wants to take up a counselling job, get the heart. You know, they have to. But at the same time take it on board, ahhh, wairua Maori. Don't take it on board as a means of, ahhh, getting a paycheck at the end of a fortnight. Take it on board because they truly believe in what they're doing; and they believe that it's for their Maori people. And they truly believe that it's ahhh, that it's our future. These are our tamariki now, they're the ones that are going to be looking after us in a while.

Believe in what you do. And use your Maori, tikanga Maori Use it. Because you'll find it'll stand you in good stead every time. The kids respond to it.

I: Even kids that weren't brought up in it will respond to it?

G: You get the odd one or two, you have to get some, that are negative. That don't respond to it at all. Kei te pai....the majority will. They'll respond to it.

And don't be afraid to cry with the kids, have a tangi with them. That's kaupapa Maori, you know. Don't be afraid to touch them, give them some awahi.

And don't be afraid to be hard on them, if you have to be hard on them. Don't think that counselling is all, 'ohh', all sweet, because it isn't. There are times when you yell and scream. There are times when you use their language. I've found that kids respond, ahh, like these kids, they use foul language, so I thought, oh well, if that's the language they understand, then I'll use that language back to them. And they respond. But it's knowing when to use the foul language to them....

You've got to be able to, ahh, evaluate the case at hand, and act. Yet use your wairua Maori.

Ngakau Maori

Ngakau Maori, may be translated as a 'Maori heart'. A central feature of this concept of ngakau Maori is aroha. Thus the person who has a ngakau Maori feels deeply for, on behalf of, and with others. The action which follows from the feeling is characterised by compassion, consideration for the feelings of others, putting other people's needs first, and open emotional expression. The open emotional expression referred to here may take the form of actions as opposed to verbal expression. Crying, embracing, expressing hurt, pain, fun, and anger relate to the ngakau.

Grace's 'ngakau Maori' is expressed in the way that she deliberately rejects the boundaries of working hours, work-place and professional distance. Ngakau Maori to Grace means being on call for girls and

families at all hours of the day and night, being prepared to go to their homes as needed, spend the amount of time she feels is necessary, sharing emotional expression, and linking herself into families – becoming one of the family – through acknowledging and valuing kin relationships.

G: If I'm on duty and roam the grounds, girls will come to me with a problem. And I forget the duty and sit under a tree and eat their lunch, or eat my lunch or something. And they're comfortable there. You know, girls are ready to talk when they're ready to talk, and whether it's outside, inside, ahhh, now, tomorrow, or...if they're ready to open up then, you gotta be ready to listen. Although some of the problems may be trivial to you, but they're not to them. Even if it's just to give them 20 cents to catch the bus home or something like that. Cause if they're home late, Dad'll...they spent their lunch money, they spent their money, no busfare...Dad'll give them a hiding.

The system [Grace is probably referring here to the Western school system] likes to think, well you can spend a quarter of an hour with a girl and...but I said, "No. That's not tikanga Maori. We don't have set times. None o' that." If a girl wants to sit there with you for two hours; you sit there for two hours with her.

So, my work involves going to homes at all hours of the day and night.

I: And that role, that counselling role, is that recognised as part of your job?

G: Yes, it is. It is. It has been written into my job description...Umm, you know, when I first started, I, I thought,

well good, you know, it means time off school. But it doesn't. It doesn't. You know, in actual fact it involves all hours, and sometimes it even goes the weekends. Parents will ring up. You go. You don't have to, but I mean ngakau Maori. If you are, you go.

An aspect of ngakau Maori of particular importance to Grace is the ability to feel what the other person is feeling, and openly share in the expression of this feeling. This feature parallels the tikanga on public occasions of sadness such as tangihanga, where crying together, sharing grief, mingling hupe and tears is part of the process.

In the following extracts, Grace describes sharing grief and sadness with a student, and also the way in which she finds it necessary to maintain this aspect of her ngakau Maori outside of the working context.

G: I said, "Kei te pai; haere mai." ["It's alright; come here"]. And we had a awhiawhi [cuddle], and she had a big cry, and umm, you know. And umm, 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." And, ahhm, I was so sorry for her, I actually cried with the girl. It was sad...So umm, I said, "kei te pai" and we cried over it. And, umm, you know, not only was the wairua Maori coming out of her, it was coming out of me.

Very heavy cases, where I get emotionally involved, I've gone home, and I'll cry to [Grace's husband]. I have to, otherwise I'll go porangi [crazy], if I bottle it up. You know Pakehas can bottle up things, eh; they can bottle it up. Maybe this is where Pakehas are different; their confidence and confidentiality; they keep it inside. Maybe this is why...if I don't let go, I think I will

probably become a hard, hard person; and I don't want to be like that. You know, I want to be able to cry when they cry, and feel, you know, all their emotions.

Grace encourages the girls she works with to recognise their ngakau Maori, to listen to it and what it is telling them.

G: They also have to learn to sit down, and find out what is comfortable for them and what is not. They have to learn, from their heart.

Awahi and Manaakitanga

Grace considers that it is important to awahi her students in the sense of helping them in a gentle and caring manner to reach understandings, to make decisions and to carry them through. Awahi is experienced and expressed by Grace as a manifestation of aroha (in the sense of love and caring). It is another aspect of ngakau Maori.

In addition to the notion of awahi as an expression of love through active and practical helping and caring, Grace considers the action of awhiawhi, the physical expression of love and caring through cuddles and touching, as very important.

In the case example below, Grace takes on the responsibility for caring for a student who has had hard times.

G: We had to physically, mentally heal that girl. Ahh, through the...there was nothing else, we could only awahi her. That was all we could do. Build her self esteem, you know.

Really, there's nothing, there's no Pakeha kaupapa we use other than love; which is awahi. That was all we could do. I umm, changed her option from umm, she wasn't taking Maori. I said to her, "You'll be better off in a Maori class. We have a whanau concept."

So I brought her into my room. She's joined Maori club, she joined Maori language... Umm... And those sorts of things. And I also changed, umm, from her being in another form. I'm her form teacher now. You know, she still needs a lot of tender loving care.

Physical touching...that's part of Maoritanga. Ae [Yes]. Whereas Pakeha counsellors, they find it sort of... 'Kao!' ['No!'] And I'd like to challenge anyone on that one on tikanga Maori. Kids need that, and Maori kids, girls, you have to.

Wairua Maori

Wairuatanga is an important part of Grace's being and her worldview. Grace sees the wairuatanga dimension as an integral part of herself, others and the world we live in. This understanding has a number of implications: first, she considers wairuatanga to be of relevance in personal and interpersonal problems and situations, whether or not the wairua appears as an obvious or primary issue. Second, as a result of her regard for this dimension, Grace undertakes karakia. Karakia may serve a variety of functions, including serving as an avenue through which to seek spiritual guidance and intercession for her clients. Third, because spiritual influences are a factor to be considered in all aspects of her own life, and most particularly when she is dealing with negative

forces or that which is unknown (including when she goes onto other people's turf, such as when working with their daughters and granddaughters, going into their homes), Grace considers that it is vital to have a cloak of spiritual protection so that she may maintain her spiritual strength, and reduce the risk of succumbing to or being overcome by negative spiritual forces.

I: Do you karakia yourself? For yourself?

G: I have to. I have to protect myself. I mean, it'd be a foolish Maori person, that doesn't do that. A stupid stupid person that doesn't protect himself. Epecially where I go in the community.

In terms of the girls she works with, Grace perceives some of the confusion surrounding identity issues in terms of spirituality. Grace believes that the concept of a shared Maori spirituality may account, in part, for her observation that Maori people often, (although not always), prefer to go to other Maori people for help and to talk about deep issues.

G: I mean let's face it. A lot of girls here don't want to be known as Maori, and they're as black as anything. They don't want to be known as Maori.

I: Do you see that as a problem for them, or likely to cause problems later on?

G: I feel sad for them. Mmm, you know, they're missing out on so much. But, ahhh, but again, it, ahh, comes from the home. The influence from home. If I had to go around and try and change every girl, I'd go around the bend. Then you have Maori girls that have been raised in a Pakeha environment, adopted by

Pakeha people, who suddenly discover they want to know their Maoritanga. I've got one such girl now.

I always say, I like to think that about girls that are, ahh, that don't want to identify as Maori now; that in time they'll come...you know, that spiritual side will pull.

I: Do you believe then, if you believe in that idea, do you believe that that's why Maori people respond better to you as a Maori person, and to using Maori ideas, even when they have no background of knowledge in things Maori?

G: Well, I like to think so. I think deeply rooted in them, is their wairua Maori.

A lot of the girls, I mean some of them, don't take Maori. Some of them don't know anything Maori. But strangely enough, if they are deeply upset, the first thing they will say to me is, "Can we have a karakia?" Straight away that spiritual side, that wairua side is pulling them. That may be the only thing they want from you. And they don't want to know anything else Maori; but that's enough. You know that it's there. One day it'll come out.

When she is working with individual girls and families, Grace may use Maori concepts as a way of reframing, or informing. Many of the concepts she draws on incorporate implicit spiritual understandings. The myth referred to in this extract, that of Tane and Hine-Titama, also has spiritual connotations. (The story of Hine-Titama as told by Patricia Grace and illustrated by Robyn Kahukiwa is appended as Appendix 1).

G: Health issues, abuse issues, sexual issues, some of the girls are very promiscuous. I talk to them on the idea of tapu wahine.

To the Maori, the body is very tapu; very, very tapu. It's very hard for young people to understand that sort of thing. You know, parts of you are very tapu. Like your head is very tapu...

I said to her [a young woman student and client of Grace's], "Don't let anybody bash your head about." Not physically, mentally. Physically it's tapu also, it shouldn't be hit. Because physically you know, you could have brain damage or something. But mentally also. To the Maori it's a very, very tapu thing. All the knowledge you have is stored there. So if you're mentally abused, it is filled up with things that are not right. Then your whole concept of Maoritanga, of the whole world, is wrong.

I: So when you, when you're talking to girls to do with sexual abuse, or their families: you use concepts like tapu...

G: Ae. I use tapu, I use noa, ahhh, tika...

Girls also, they're quite clued up, about some matters. We talk about incest, and they go, "Oh but Maori people've been doing that for years". Some girls throw that back at me. "Maori people have been doing this for years. Committing incest. Look at Tane." I've had that one thrown at me, "Look at Tane and Hine-Titama, his own daughter." There are those sorts of things. So really they are right in that, we have been doing it for years. But not in a, umm, in a way where we are breaking laws, the thing is, in a way that is tikanga Maori.

I: Is there a tikanga Maori way for that?

G: Oh yes. Years ago there was. Ae. You know, oh even Pakehas are doing it now anyway. I mean I've known rich families who marry into each other to keep their money together. Now that's for material gain isn't it? Maori people do it, whakamoengia te rangatira o Raukawa ki te rangatira o Ngati Porou [marrying a chiefly member of one tribe to t chiefly member of another], to ahh, to combine the tribes together. Maori people do it, there's a reason behind it. They do it...they don't just do it for material gain. You know, there's always a reason behind it, you know, to do with tikanga.

So if anybody says, "oh well you know, Maoris have been doing it..." I say to them, "Ahhh, but Tane did it, Tane got Hine Titama pregnant, see that was through ignorance. He was the first one to do it, but we learnt from that mistake. Hine Titama went and became Hine-Nui-te-Po. He learnt from that."

So I speak to my kids on that.

At times, problems or situations which Grace comes across in her work may have spiritual roots or effects. At such times, Grace feels able to recognise spiritual dimensions which may be pertinent to the situation, and to assist in the resolution of spiritually based problems.

A 'runanga' is a tribal council or assembly, typically comprised of leaders, elders and learned people of the tribe; in other words, people of particular mana.

- I: You know, talking about that; I was wondering, when you have a Maori girl and her whanau, do any of those sort of things come up? Ahhm, are there times when you think there might be things that might need a tohunga, or need particularly a karakia?
- G: There are times like that. You give them all those options. You say to them.....you don't say to them, 'well you must get a tohunga'. But maybe, "he mate Maori pea?" [" a Maori sickness perhaps?"]you know, "you may need a tohunga [expert in the spiritual dimension], ummm, to do something."
- I: And then you're in a position that you can help to put them in touch with somebody?
- G: Yeah. See, not only do you have a network of Pakeha...ahhm, you know ...you must have, also have a Maori network. The runanga, the runanga, is excellent. Very good.

Marae Kawa

The model that Grace feels describes the way in which she likes to work best is that of the kawa (protocol) of the marae. Grace heard counselling described in terms of the kawa of the marae at a hui she attended and recognised it as an apt description of her own mode of working.

- G: I hit on this bright way that I saw being done, although unwittingly, I had been doing it all along without me knowing. It wasn't until I saw it at a course and I thought... 'yeah, I've been doing it like that all the time.'

I liken it to a marae. Now a marae, the marae situation, there's certain steps you take, alright? The karanga, ahh, then the whakaeke, and then the whaikorero of course, and then the waiata, the hongī, the....and then the kai. I like to liken it to that.

Do you want to hear about it?

I: Yeah.

G: I liken it to, yes, liken it to, in terms of a marae situation. To me, the karanga [the first call of welcome], of course, is the powhiri [invitation of welcome] to the child to come in. You say to the kids, "Right. Haere mai. E noho." ["Come in. Sit down."] So the karanga then, is when you welcome them in. Then the whaikorero [speechmaking which sets out and discusses reasons for the visit and associated issues], the kids do the whaikorero. Then you have your waiata [song], that is the kinaki [the relish or embellishment which adds depth and emphasis to the speeches]. The kinaki. Ko te kinaki i tena wa, that's what I can contribute, further, to them. After all that, the hongī. I don't mean physically hongī; but we're together. From there we go to have a kai. And I think of the possible solutions as selections of songs. And we sit down and we discuss, 'what are we going to do'. Though sometimes in the whakaeke part, in the karanga part, just like on a marae, there is a tangihanga, there is a tangi. And you get kids coming in and actually crying, too. That is all involved in this.

I: So you found that you were actually doing this? You were already doing that, and then you heard it described like that at this course, at this counselling hui, and you recognised it?

G: Mmm. I recognised it straight away. I didn't really put it in terms of a marae kawa though...I didn't give it a title.

Respecting Other Tikanga

Grace believes that different methods, different approaches, standards and criteria are appropriate for different groups. She feels strongly that it is vital for counsellors to be aware of the tikanga of the different groups that they may be working with. As a consequence of her perception of the importance of tikanga, and the importance of respecting differences in tikanga, she believes that it is often preferable for members of particular ethnic groups to work with their own.

Grace's beliefs in this regard may be seen as akin to post-modern social constructionist theory in which the multiplicity and relativity of constructions of truth and reality narratives are acknowledged.

G: We have some, ahh, children from Pacific Islands here. And I've had to deal with Pacific Island kids. Ahh, I have had crash courses in their tikanga. I mean, who am I to fob off my tikanga Maori onto a Samoan? They have their own tikanga, you know. Or a Rarotongan. They have their culture too. Umm, but I find that kids from the Pacific Islands, if I'm uncertain, I always ring a minister up, from their, from their church. And I find he deals with it.

If I don't, I may...I mean I'm very aware that I might tread on their toes or their tikanga. I wish more Pakeha counsellors would do that. You know, they have to be very aware that they may be trampling on Maori tikanga, Maori toes. So I'm always

very aware of that, that our Samoan kids need Samoan tikanga. Tongan kids, they, you know, they have their own tikanga too.

The theme of different tikanga for different groups is a strong one within Grace's philosophy of counselling. As intimated in the previous extract, she has had experiences with Pakeha counsellors and Western systems where she has found their approaches to be incompatible with tikanga Maori.

Recent law changes have made Grace more uncomfortable about talking to and engaging in liaison with agencies which represent the Western system and which have their roots in Western philosophies and ideologies (such as the Children and Young Person Service and Youth Justice institutions). This is particularly so when Maori children and families are involved. Grace feels that the 'Children, Young Persons and their Families Act' maintains the legislative mandate that these Crown agencies have to impose their tikanga over tikanga Maori.

As previously specified, Grace sees a primary feature of tikanga Maori as respect for the mana of others and respect for the rangatiratanga of whanau to resolve their own problems in their own ways. In particular, Grace believes that the rights of young people and whanau to choose solutions and resolutions that are most appropriate for them, have been eroded through this Act. Grace now prefers to deal with Maori families herself or to turn to Maori groups and agencies to deal with problems, such as abuse, involving Maori families.

The term whangai is commonly used to refer to children who have been adopted in a Maori way. A 'Maori adoption' has similarities to the

Western practice of foster care. Children were sometimes raised by people other than their birth parents, usually extended family members, and often older family members such as grandparents. A feature of the institution of whangai is that the child or children involved are usually made fully aware of their whakapapa, and often maintain frequent contact with birth parents and other whanau. The institution of whangai mentioned by Grace involves a shared responsibility for the raising of children amongst adults within the extended whanau.

The whangai concept is consistent with Maori terminology and constructions of the relationships between children and adults of parental age and grandparental age. For instance, in traditional Maori society, children were expected to call all women of their mother's generation whaea (the term may be translated as both mother and aunty) or an equivalent term depending on dialect. Similarly, adults of the grandparents generation were referred to as koro (grandfather), kui (grandmother) or other terms depending on dialect. These terms are still often used in the traditional way, particularly within institutions such as kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Maori. Many young people also use equivalent English language terms in a Maori sense. Thus men and women of one's parents' generation may be referred to as 'uncle' and 'aunty', those of the grandparents generation may be referred to as 'nanny' and 'papa' or by similar terms. Likewise older people may refer to all young people as mokopuna (grandchild), not distinguishing between those who are grandchildren by linear biological descent, or those of the extended whanau, or the metaphorical whanau.

In the early 1980s the then Department of Social Welfare instituted a program known as Matua Whangai. The program was designed to provide culturally appropriate services to young Maori people and families. Part of the function of Matua Whangai workers was and is to arrange placements for Maori children in need of foster care, and to

play a matua or parenting role providing support and advice for young Maori families in need or in distress.

In the following extract, Grace's method of working within a tikanga framework, her respect for the sensitivities, and rights of young women and their whanau, and her role as 'he whiti kai arahi,' are apparent.

G: Well, the new Young Persons Act, that's come in; once upon a time, I could, ahh, I have a network up there, with the Matua Whangai, with the Social Welfare, with the police, with the community worker. I can discuss it with them. If I feel it's too involved for me, I can bring in, I could, if I want to, bring one of those people in; and we'd discuss it with the girl. With the girl's permission of course. I have to let her make that choice. I offer the choices, I say, "well, this one can help you, that one can help you". That's if I can't see any other way after I've dealt with the parents.

I: You would go to the parents first?

G: It's not a nice, it's not a pleasant thing to deal with sexual abuse, when you have to go to the home, and say; "well, ahh, I have reason to believe that so-and-so has been sexually abused."

I: When you do that, do you go on your own?

G: Well, I feel comfortable with a Maori person. Because I get stuff, you know, thrown at me. It's initial anger, that's all it is. Then they calm down. And I'm not about to run out. I'll sit there, and I'll wait. I know what it is, it's just the anger coming out. They're indignant that they're being accused of this that and the other thing. I don't name people, I just say, "I have

reason to believe that so-and-so's been sexually abused. And kei te tika, kei te he ranei, [whether it's true or if it's untrue]" I said, "won't you tell me. And if it's true then maybe we can get help for that". The Pakeha group they have here is called tough love, or the sexual abuse teams, I dunno. I think those, those agencies are for Pakeha people, they work on Pakeha concepts. And if it's Maori ones, well, they can talk on a one to one basis. They could also see their, ahh, their minister.

I've never known a person to come straight out and say "yes, I am. I've been doing it." I've never had a Maori person say that. You know it's true.

And quite often the roles can switch from counselling the child to counselling the parent. You know. You can offer them, you can offer them choices, ahhm....and leave it at that. That's fine, the choices are there for them.

But with the new Act that's come in, I have to be very, very careful now. Because if I, if I find out, I don't talk to them as often. Because they can report it straight to the police, and the police has the right to go straight into the home. Ahhh, Social Welfare now, straight into the home now too. Ahh, you know, and they can do all that, over me, over everyone else.

I: So, because of this Act, you, you would tend to not go there and just handle it yourself if you can.

G: I prefer now to handle it myself, or get a Maori group to handle it. We try and handle it amongst ourselves.

I: Is there a Maori group here that can handle those issues? •

G: Yes. We have our Maori groups. And most Maori groups agree now, that rather than go to the administration.... I mean, let's face it, I've made mistakes; I didn't know that Act, when that Act came in. I got one child into hot water. I went straight to our Youth Aid worker, who went straight to the police, Social Welfare.

I: And that child was taken away?

G: The child. And the father was investigated. I felt terrible about it. But I didn't know the Act had been changed. Since then, I have become very...secretive I s'pose about it. I don't refer as much now. I can go to them [the Children, Young Person and their Families Service] and ask, "If this is happening, what are the rights, what are my rights, or what are your rights?". And they'll say, "Well who is it?" If I know, I won't tell them.

Hoki ki to maunga/Handling things amongst ourselves.

As previously identified, Grace believes that Maori tend to go to Maori, Maori feel most comfortable with other Maori, Maori understand other Maori best, and that working within tikanga Maori is the best method for Maori girls and their families. This leaning towards working with one's own, and allowing others to work with their own, is a feature of Grace's model of counselling.

Working in her own rohe, often with her own extended whanau, Grace is particularly able to relate to girls and their whanau as a whanau member, an aunty, kuia, cousin, rather than as a counsellor or a teacher. She sees the fact that she is Maori and that she can often link herself into

whanau in the area as an advantage she has over her Pakeha colleagues when work with Maori families is involved.

Although Grace had some initial misgivings about returning to work in her own tribal area, she has found that it has been generally positive for her personally, and in terms of her effectiveness.

G: The beauty of me working here, amongst, ahh, back in my own iwi...they're my own. Most of them, are my own relations, and I can talk to them however way I want to talk to them. I can boot their bums, and ring home promptly and tell their parents, "I just booted your child's bum." And they'll say, "Ka pai [good]. Boot them again." And get away with it. I can pull their ears in class, and get away with it. A Pakeha teacher couldn't do that. They'd be up in front of the police for assault.

If I don't know the girl, I still use the old; "Oh, Ko wai to iwi?" ["what is your tribe?" Or literally, "who are your bones?"] I still use that, and work around it. If I don't know her. "Oh yeah, so-and-so your Uncle? Ohh, I know your nanny, your nanny's so-and-so. Oh right."

I don't like to put myself across as a teacher, when I'm with whanau. I like to put myself across as another Maori person. Not as a teacher.

Too often now our counsellors, and we have what they call a visiting teacher who works with the guidance counsellor, too often they've gone to Maori homes and been told where to go. You know, and in, in real strong language, ahh, they've been told to buzz off.

Whakaiti/Patience/Humility

An aspect of tikanga that Grace views as an important quality in her work with individual girls and with families is a willingness to take the time that is needed.

Time-related issues feature in Grace's understanding of her role as 'he pa harakeke' in a number of ways. First, her vision is long-term; she is concerned with helping and healing individual girls and whanau because of their future roles as kaitiaki of Maoritanga, as parents and grandparents of future generations.

Second, Grace works to bring about changes in the system. She knows that the changes she wants will take time, but as her orientation is long-term, this is acceptable.

Third, Grace believes in allowing girls and whanau to take the time they need, whether it be hours, weeks or months.

G: I've dealt with the worst; and the best. Parents are fine, they let off steam, they yell and scream and carry on. Then they calm down afterwards. You can sit there for an hour and they ignore you completely. But I find if I sit long enough...they won't ignore me any more.

But you've gotta have a lot of patience, you've got to, aah, have a thick skin, and you need to be very humble too. Sometimes you have to be humble. Yeah.

Whanaungatanga

As previously noted, Grace considers it an advantage rather than a disadvantage to work with students and whanau who are related to her. She links herself genealogically with whanau as much as she can.

Grace uses a whanau concept in her Maori classes. What this means is that whanau-based concepts, such as aroha, manaaki, awhi, are taught and are expected to be lived in the classroom. Another implication of using the whanau concept in the class room, is that students are expected to uphold the mana of the class, (ie., the whanau), and kaupapa Maori at the school. Where they fail to do this, guilt and shame, not for themselves, but rather at having let the others down, may be employed as a behavioural modification technique.

G: If there's a battle on our hands, [if] I don't know if she's done wrong, or she's done the Maori Department wrong; well, she usually knows there's a battle on her hands. 'Cause, ahhh, I'll launch straight into it. And the kids in my department know what's expected of them; and Lord help them if they step out of line. They know that. And by the time you finish with them, they usually feel so dreadful about it anyway, they're little darlings for the rest of the year. Not only that, guilt trips, 'cause they also feel a lot of the time, they're letting the whole department down.

Grace is in the process of extending the whanau concept she operates within the Maori Department at the school to the parents and whanau of students. She is organising a whanau support group which, she hopes, will involve parents and other family members of pupils more directly in school based issues. Apart from "sharing the load", Grace envisages

the whanau support group as providing guidance, a mandate and support for herself, whilst reducing the likelihood of her "overstepping the line", particularly in terms of "treading on" or offending whanau, and suffering negative consequences as a result.

G: We're in a process now of setting up a whanau support unit, where, where parents will be involved. By next week I'll mail off my letters, ahhh, and get the parents to come in and give us their viewpoints; what do they want. How do they want their kids ahhh...dealt with? Because I'm, at the moment, treading on a fine line, between, you know, between staying on this side of right, and maybe going over on the other, on the other side where parents think, you know, I'm breaching their rights.

I: So, so you want to get a mandate for what to do? And so you'll know that what you do has got their backing and that?

G: Yeah. Yeah. I've had nothing, you know no complaints at the moment from them. But I know, I am treading on that fine line, and the day will come when a parent....I'll get a umm, a backlash.....'who am I? I'm stepping into their territory.' So, hopefully I see this whanau support group as being a group that'll, if there's any raruraru [problems] at school, or out on the street, they will take some of the load off me. You know, so if a child is bunking at 'spacies', they can bring them back to school, or, talk to them. And they can support each other, even.

Accountability

The importance to Grace of consulting with the whanau of her students, of working according to their directions, and of having a mandate and

support from them, may be related to her views on accountability. When accountability issues were first raised, Grace indicated that she considered herself accountable primarily to the child and their whanau. After the issue of personal spiritual protection was raised, however, she amended her priorities to place her primary accountability with herself.

G: I think I'm accountable, the school would like to think I'm accountable to them and the Board of Trustees, but I disagree with them. I think I'm accountable to the child, and to the whanau. That is my client. The child, first and foremost, they come first.

...I think, perhaps number one, the main person... maybe I should change that from the way I see it...I said you're accountable to the kid and the whanau. Maybe I should change that, ahhh, I am accountable to myself. To myself. I mean, what good am I if....? Number one, I'm accountable to myself.

ROLES

Grace sees herself fulfilling a number of roles in her position as Maori teacher and counsellor in the school.

G: You know, you have to be all sorts here....You're not only a counsellor, you're not only a careers advisor, you're not only a community worker, you're not only a policeman, a parent, a nanny, a mother, a father; you're also, you also become a campaigner.

Educator

One of the roles that Grace sees as being of prime importance is that of educator. At times, she is involved in educating students, their whanau, and staff. When Grace talks about 'educating' in this context, she is not referring to tuition, but rather to the building of new frameworks of understanding, the discovery of new paths down which lie alternative interpretations and codes of action.

The principal methods, apparent in the following extracts, that Grace uses in fulfilling her educational roles are:

(1)leading by example

(2)allowing others to make mistakes, suffer the consequences and work things out for themselves

(3)learning by doing

Educating Staff

Grace has endeavored to educate staff members at the school in the systemic factors which impact on Maori students. Although Grace considers key staff members to be very supportive of Maoritanga in the school, she has actively had to encourage her fellow teachers to be aware that their system of education is being imposed on Maori pupils and that the failure of Maori students in the system may have more to do with the inappropriateness of that system than the capabilities of the students.

Thus, when the issue of failing Maori students arises, Grace challenges her fellow staff to look for problems inherent in their customary way of doing things, their system, and their interpretations, rather than assume

that problems are located within the student, her whanau or socio-cultural system.

G: I'm fortunate that here we have a very strong tumuaki [leader or administrator], ahh principal. She's very strong on women's issues, very, very strong. And our DP [deputy principal] of course, she's part Maori. She's very strong on women's issues. And she's very strong on Maori women's issues. But again, she's learning te reo me ona tikanga.

I: But from them you get support?

G: Oh yes. A lot of support from them. We have some negative people over here, I mean, who hasn't, that can never begin to understand what tikanga Maori is all about, in terms of counselling and things. You know; "so-and-so's wagging. She's not doing very well". Well they forget, maybe they're not catering to the child's needs. The kid is catering to their needs, they're not catering to that child's needs. Maybe they need to do a big turnaround and put kids in an environment, a learning environment, where they feel comfortable.

I: So, you have brought up issues like that?

G: Yes.

I: How have you done it? And what's the response?

G: I've just told them straight out.

I: That's individual teachers?

G: No. We have deans' meetings, we have staff meetings, full staff meetings. Where all the kids' names...and sad to say it's always the Maori kids...that are failing. The Maori girls are failing. And ahh, I've thrown that at them to think about, that the system is not catering for our kids.

I: So it's the system's failure, not the girls' failure?

G: It's the system that's failed them.

As one dimension of educating staff about features of the school system that may impact negatively on Maori students, Grace works to increase the understanding of her fellow teachers about the realities of life for Maori students and as members of an oppressed people. An issue which she identifies as a consequence of oppression, (and one which she believes Pakeha teachers too seldom fully appreciate), is the effect of poverty on some students, particularly Maori students. The lack of understanding about poverty-related issues (such as not being able to afford stationery for school), on the part of some staff is seen by Grace as leading to feelings of embarrassment for some Maori students, and thence to "wagging" from school. A consequence of this, from the perspective of some staff, is that these students are assigned negative labels, receive negative reports and are perceived to be 'problems'. Grace feels that a lack of sensitivity, tact and understanding on the part of some teachers towards poverty-related issues results in a redefinition of a socio-political problem in terms of pathology within the child, the family and/or the socio-cultural background of the child. She contrasts this with the situation in her own Maori classes, run along whanau lines, where oppression-related difficulties, such as poverty, are acknowledged openly and addressed through strategies such as explicitly designating

resources within the class as being of shared rather than individual ownership.

G: Sometimes Mum and Dad just can't afford the bus fare to town, to school. Sometimes they haven't got a uniform, Mum and Dad can't afford it. Sometimes they're just too embarrassed because they don't have not even a book and a pen for school. Rather than come and, ahh, be embarrassed, not in a Maori class; but be embarrassed maybe in other subject areas, they just don't come. And you look at those kids, it must be pride that keeps them away. Too proud to ask.

But unfortunately, to the Pakeha teacher, right, you go into class, and then they write on a report, "this child is, is not doing the work. She does only what she has to. She comes ill-prepared. She does not have, not even a pen." But they don't look at the underlying things. They only see black and white. 'Because you don't have a pen and paper, you're disorganised.' They don't look behind it, around it, underneath it, over it. Those are maybe little things, ahhhm, that our Pakeha people need to be educated on.

Breaches of tikanga, usually unintentional, but sometimes amounting, in effect, to personal insult, have sometimes featured in Grace's relations with her Pakeha colleagues. In the following instance, the incident was perceived by Grace as a form of trampling on her mana, which originated from ignorance of tikanga, or the right and appropriate way of doing things.

G: Now and again they go off the track a bit. Ahhh, we had a staff meeting where they were talking about, ahhh, Maori kids; why they are the way they are. And I sat in the staff meeting and, they had 3 speakers, who were all Pakeha. I sat there and I fumed. I was absolutely fuming. And our principal knew. She knew I was wild. It was a slap in the face for me. To sit there. However, she saw me afterwards, and she said, "Maybe..., you would like to contribute. Maybe you would like to contribute something." And I said, "No thanks. You seem to know more about my Maoritanga than what I do. You go for it. I'm not contributing..."

So then I walked out.

You know, they still do things like that. Now and then. They do some dopey, dumb things.

I: So those are, those are ignorant things?

G: Yes. You have to educate them.

Grace sees educating and providing counsel to staff as an important part of her job. She aims to increase understanding and to decrease oppressive practices stemming from ignorance. An attitude of distrust is evident in Grace's perceptions of Pakeha systems and Pakeha people at times. While this attitude may well spring from bitter experience, she acknowledges that she has had occasion to re-evaluate her own assumptions about her Pakeha co-workers.

G: There, there are a few things I would like to change in the school system. Ahhm, they still do things without consulting the Maori people; they still do it. Ahhmm, that's annoying.

Ummm, they still decide how many kids, how many hours I should teach in Maori. But we're going to change that. But, I mean, we can't jump into it. It takes time, eh.

There's a lot of things I'd like to change. Yeah, there is. But it is not so.....I'm probably luckier than most schools, in that I've a, an understanding principal, who's very good. Ahhhh, I have a lot of negative teachers out there who thinks it's all bullshit anyway, this Maori business, you know. But kei te pai, they're entitled to their views. But, on the whole, we have a supportive staff.

You know, you're counselling staff here. And for instance, one of the teachers, and one I thought was a bit...uppity. He said, he pulled me up and he said, "Can you get me a tohunga to do my place?" And I said, "What! What for?" You know, I mean it's, as much to say, "You?!" You know, your judgment can actually be wrong sometimes. And he said, it's just that he's had his house burnt, and a child killed, te mea, te mea, te mea [and so on]. And he said, "I think, I don't know the Maori name," he said, "I think a tohunga needs to come." And...it opened my eyes; and I've...I've...maybe I've been too judgmental on a lot of staff.

Educating Students

Grace considers that the attitudes of staff within the school towards kaupapa Maori are mixed. She is still regularly faced with situations which she finds insulting or demeaning to kaupapa Maori or tikanga Maori. Sometimes Grace is able to use these situations to educate the Maori girls and young women about respect for tikanga Maori, their Maoritanga and thus themselves.

In the following extract, Grace describes the types of requests that she deals with regarding questions of tikanga Maori within the school. In this instance the question is, who should be honoured with a powhiri (that is, a traditional Maori ceremony of welcome)?

Grace's resistance to providing a formal welcome for visitors automatically represents a resistance to the cheapening and commercialisation of Maoritanga, as well as to the provision of serious and highly spiritual Maori services for those who may not understand and respect them.

G: Sending me AFS [American Field Scholar] students. "Oh, they want to come and learn a bit of Maori."

Or you have teachers that'll say to you, "Oh, the Japanese students are coming. Can we put on a powhiri?" Or, "poe-he-re' for them?" And I say, "No way. No! We're not Maori that can be dialled and go out there and play Maoris. Kao [No]." If they want a powhiri and everything else that goes with it. If they want to go to [name of a local marae] powhiri and a big kai. \$20,000 please. They'll get their powhiri. No.

I: So who do you do powhiri for? You're in charge of that, and you make those decisions?

G: Ae. I make the decisions.

I: So you'd do it for, if it's kaupapa Maori, Maori visitors, that sort of thing?

G: Yeah. I won't do it for AFS students, I won't do it for Japanese.

I: Do you reckon that your stance on that is actually teaching the kids, your kids something too? Like to do with self-respect, respecting their culture and not being a dial-a-powhiri?

G: Yes. Yes. The kids, the seniors have now learnt, ahhhh, they use their discretion. If they think they're being used, they won't do it. Sometimes I'll say, "Maybe we should powhiri this group." And they'll say, "No." And I respect them for that. Because after all, who taught them that? It was me, so I have to respect their viewpoint.

As previously discussed, Grace draws on Maori concepts, history and mythology to explore new avenues of understanding for her students.

A basic function of Grace's role as 'he whiti kai arahi i nga tamariki' is to provide them with information and options, then stand back while they make their own choices. She tries to adhere to this method of working whether the issue is one of career options and future directions, or dealing with an abusive relationship.

In this extract, Grace also identifies areas of conflict or disagreement which she perceives as arising in her relationship with Pakeha counselling staff.

G: My, my work in schools is to, ahh, deal with girls that are at risk. I mean some bunking school to, umm, child abuse, to sniffing glue to thieving. You name it, I do it. But then, I mean, its not all negative. I also deal with girls that are doing wonderful things. What you do is you give them encouragement. And also take them from step A, which is maybe doing very well in school, to having a wider or a longer vision about what they intend to do,

not next year, not the year after, maybe in 3 or 4 years time. And you give them all these options.

I: So that's career advice and that.

G: Yes. But as I said, you don't deal with children on negative, sad, dreadful things; you also deal with them on positive things. To further their knowledge, to further their education. So, it started off with just the counselling, dealing with kids at risk. But now its broadened out, to dealing with kids that want jobs. We have a career advisor over here, but I find our Maori kids are running more to Maori people.

I: So they just come to you?

G: They come to me. I'll give them advice and then fire them back to them. Or I'll go over to the careers advisor and get those papers back. It's also a clash of, umm, of people involved in these types of jobs. They probably feel threatened, like the Pakeha guidance counsellor feels threatened if a Maori person takes over most of her work, and indeed a, umm, careers advisor feels threatened because, you're taking over her job. But if only they would understand that a Maori child feels more comfortable with a Maori person, a Maori teacher.

Ah, so you know, our kids feel more comfortable dealing with a Maori person, than with a Pakeha person. The Pakeha counselling work is too structured: "Right, you start here. What is the problem?" And you tell the problem. To the Pakeha, as I've seen it, they seem to, umm, maybe not all counsellors, but what I've seen, they seem to say, "Well you know, in today's society...ahh, in our experience, you have to do this to get to that

level.” They seem to give the, ummm, the ummm, oh...he aha te kupu, [what is the word]Cath? Oh, not to solve it. They seem to give the cure, instead of letting the kids work it out for themselves. Or working alongside the kids, me penei, me pera [like this and like that].

But, as I said, I deal with kids who are at risk. Sexually abused kids, alcohol abuse, drug abuse, all those sorts of kids.

In the following extract, Grace describes a case in which a young Maori student confided that her father had been physically and sexually abusing her brutally for some years. With the consent of the girl involved, a community worker was called in. When the community worker arrived there was an initial conflict between her perception that the first priority was to remove the child from the situation, and Grace's perception that the right of the girl to choose her own strategies for dealing with the situation were paramount. Grace saw her own role as providing support, and presenting and clarifying options.

This extract also provides some insight into the process Grace uses with the girls and young women she sees. One aspect of the process in this case is that Grace considered that the right of the girl concerned to make her own choices was more important than the probability that she would be physically beaten for her choice. The avoidance of suffering was not the primary issue for Grace in this case. It is unclear whether the suffering that the girl endured was seen by Grace as an important part of her healing process in itself or whether other factors are of relevance to her stance.

G: She said, “Can you organise me to a community worker? But I want you to be there.”

I said, "Yep. Kei te pai."

One thing about community workers here, you ring them, they're here straight away. Unfortunately, it wasn't the Maori one. When she arrived I said to her, "Where's the other community worker?" She said, "She's away."

I said, "What do you think? Are you prepared to tell her what you told me?"

She said, "Yeah, we've gone this far."

The last 10 years of her life, oh, I suppose, until she was older she was beaten. And she had never told anyone.

So she told the community worker about it. And she [the community worker] said, "Well really, your Dad should be put away." That was the first thing she said.

I said, "Oh kao [no]. You just wait. You handle it the Maori way. You give her choices. What does she want to do?"

She [the young woman] said, "I don't know. If I do that I won't have a Dad. They'll put him away."

"After beating you first. Ahh, the thing is, ko korero koe, [you say]. Do you want to be removed from that environment? Ok, is there anywhere you can go?"

She said, "Yes."

I said, "Supportive?"

She said "Yes."

I said, "Well, the biggest thing you have to do; you have to be very brave, and tell your Dad what you've told me. Do you want me to come with you?"

She said "No."

So, the community worker, like me, gave her choices, what were her rights. What she can and what she can't do. Ahhh, protection and all that.

And, umm, we had worked this out over a 6-week period. It took a long, long time to...you couldn't rush the girl. You know, after 14 years, she had to take step by step along the way.

And she did. She faced her father. She got horribly beaten up for it...ended up in hospital. Horribly beaten.

And still then, she didn't charge him. But the point was, she'd told her father what she intended to do. So she didn't want to press charges, she was moving away from him. And we did that. We got her away, from her Dad. I took her to her matua whangai [foster parents] that she's with now, who are lovely people. And they also had a non-molestation order taken out. It's a Pakeha kaupapa [a Western tool], but the main thing was protecting the child. And we did that.

Now having done that, I didn't want to press her anymore about pressing charges against her Dad. I mean, what's done is done.

The thing was now, forget that, take care of her. We had to go through the, umm, the healing process with her.

Educating Whanau

Another aspect of Grace's educational role involves work with the whanau of students. Grace may present her own views, based in her knowledge of tikanga, to whanau. These provide another option for them, a perspective which they may or may not choose to take, a path which they might or might not choose to follow.

At times Grace finds herself taking an educational role in respect of whanau members, (e.g., 'nannies'/kuia) who have traditional ideas that may be impacting negatively on their mokopuna, and which Grace seeks to challenge or modify. In this facet of her educator role, Grace acts as a mediator between traditional and modern Maori perspectives, interpreting and reinterpreting tikanga as it pertains to the situations of individual students and their whanau.

The following dialogue forms part of a discussion about the use of concepts drawn from tikanga Maori in counselling. The perspective Grace describes herself as putting across to some "nannies", or kuia, draws on a Maori concept, that of mana wahine, which has become particularly relevant in modern society. Contemporary conceptualisations of mana wahine may be seen as a form of feminist philosophy from a Maori perspective. However, mana wahine is, in many ways, quite different from some Western understandings of feminism. The emphasis in the concept of mana wahine is on the power (including spiritual power) strengths, capabilities, roles, rights and obligations of women, rather than on notions of equality with men per se. Notions of pride and respect for oneself as a woman, for the roles Maori

women have traditionally taken, and for contemporary expressions of the generative power of Maori Woman are integral to the concept of 'mana wahine'.

I: What about when you're working with girls and their families that were brought up strong in te reo and tikanga Maori. Do you use those concepts?

G: Yes.

I: But for ones that aren't, can you still use those concepts? Do they still relate to them?

G: You can use them. I use those concepts also, but there are also Maori families who have not been brought up like that, who refuse that knowledge. Kei te pai. That's fine. I give them my viewpoint; it's something for them. It's another road for them to take, and to look back on and think, 'oh, maybe we should go that path.' The people that accept that sort of path the most though, you find, are the people that have been brought up with te reo me ona tikanga [Maori language and protocols]. They can understand it. Whether they can put it across or not, with their child, their mokopuna, is another thing.

Then you get also the people who are from the Victorian age. The Maori people who are nannies, who can't see that, ahhh, the world is moving now. They refuse to. They say, "No, black is black and white is white. That's it." You know, ah, "You do not have a baby before you get married." That sort of nanny; you get nannies like that.

"If you're pregnant, you must get married!" But that sort of concept don't work any more. Ahhh, you know, those sorts of things. "You don't sleep around".

"School is for learning, learning the Pakeha things." They forget also that school is for education, so that they can, we can, walk alongside the Pakeha, even, or better than them, or fight them if you have to.

Or, ahhh, "girls gotta learn you stand in the background while you men do the fighting." That sort of person.

"Girls are only made to have babies and then the husband does the work, he does all the talking, he makes all the decisions."

You've got to educate them on that sort of thing.

I: Are those Maori, umm, ideas? Or are they from Victorian England?

G: Kaore [No]. Some of them are Maori ideas, but you've got to try and get them out of that frame of mind now that women are standing strong. You have to re-educate women like that. That girls have their rights too.

Advocate

Advocacy is another activity that Grace is involved in with her work. At times she acts as an advocate for girls with their families. The preceding extract, in which she describes her role in educating some whanau about the rights of modern Maori women, may be interpreted in this light. At

6c Grace's Story

other times she acts as an advocate for girls and their whanau in their dealings with the school system.

The following narrative illustrates how Grace advocates for her Maori students and whanau. In this example, Grace takes on the role of educating members of the school hierarchy on tikanga Maori, the correct Maori way to handle things, as well as educating students and whanau about their rights and options in the Pakeha system. The technique she uses involves forcing the school to deal with Maori children and their whanau on Maori terms.

From a Maori perspective, Grace may be seen as providing tautoko.

G: Two girls were caught openly giving smokes to another one. So because they were on school property...it's immediate expulsion. Immediate expulsion. However, I stepped in, I said, "Kao. You must consult first with the Maori community." I didn't know whether that was written in the charter or not. But I bluffed my way through that. No way. Do not expel them. They were both seniors. You know, they were over 16.

I: So did they?

G: No. I won my case.

I: Who did they consult with?

G: Umm, you see, in suspensions and expulsions, if it's a Maori girl, they have to see me first. They have to see me first. They have to consult with me. And they say to me, "oh we are allowed to expel so-and-so, or suspend, because she did such and such. Can

you be here and explain to her her rights?" And ahh, 9 times out of 10, with suspensions, I've had to agree with them. Because a suspension's only a 3-day thing anyway. It gives the girl time out. Ahh, it gives the school time out. Umm, so they have to consult me. If it's a Maori girl, they can't suspend without consulting me first.

I: And you talk to them and their parents about their rights?

G: So that they know exactly what their rights are. And after the 3-day suspension, ahh, our charter says the parent has to bring the girl back, and I am there with them. I stay with them and so that I can hear exactly what's being told to them. And if there are things that are not right, the parents don't understand, they have the right to ask me, and I explain to them what is expected of that girl. You know, because after 3 suspensions, it's an expulsion.

But with the expulsion case, ahh, sure it's written in it's immediate expulsion; but, ahh, I intervened there. I said "Kao." As I said, I bluffed my way through that. I said, "Kaore, the community must be consulted first."

So I rung straight to our kaumatua, and he said, "Hold it!" So he came and we battled and that. And so we compromised. They said, "What about a month away from school". And we said, "No. Not good enough." Because the law states that when you're absent for 21 days, you're automatically off the roll anyway, and that was how I saw it. That's how I, I saw it...that they were scheming at after 21 days, they wouldn't be here anyway; they're off the roll. No. A fortnight. And so we compromised. And then that fortnight I had to go and take each girl back home. One girl was living with her nanny, which was really sad. Upset over

that. But the other one, the father got, ahhh, got very aggressive about it.

And after that, well we, umm...I had to try and get a...a résumé of the girl, all the good points. Because they had to come up before the board. And those cases, ahhhm, you become a sort of a lawyer for them. You speak on their behalf.

And what I did was though, rather than go by myself...ummm, both girls, I asked that their whanau come with them, if they like that their minister come with them, if they like that their kaumatua come with them, even if their iwi wanted to come with them. Come. Ummm, because the school said, "Well, you know, only 3 or 4 people would be better, we don't want the room cluttered." I said, "No way. Kao. If we choose," I said, "if we have to go to (*a local marae*), fine. If this room is too small for them, if they want to bring 2 busloads, fine. It's their right."

I: So that's forcing the school to handle these Maori children on Maori terms so they're not disadvantaged.

G: Yes. We had to. So consequently, we moved it...we actually went into the hall. We had to. They all came to speak on behalf of this particular girl. Her iwi, her whanau, her minister...anybody, everybody.

Sadly, the one from our iwi...only him and his wife. Just his wife and him to tautoko his daughter...so I felt for her. So I found I was fighting more for her...ahhh, you know, I was fighting for her not only as a teacher, as a Maori, but also as someone who came from her tribe; and as a kaumatua, too; oh, as all sorts. She was so alone, this girl. And, umm, they got away with it.

Political Lobbyist/Change Agent

At this school with a role of 75% Maori students, there were no Maori members on the Board of Trustees. The Board of Trustees is responsible for determining policy and planning within the school, setting priorities, selecting teachers, and the allocation of resources within the school, among other functions. Grace was aware of the lack of representation of Maori, the lack of a voice for Maori concerns, and the perceived remoteness of this powerful body responsible for governing the school, from the Maori community. She felt that it was important to do something about the situation. The role that Grace took when Board of Trustee elections drew near may be described as that of a political lobbyist, as well as an educator, informing Maori whanau of ways and means of increasing their voice and power within the school system.

G: You know we had a Board of Trustees hui, umm ... elections have just finished a few months ago. I've quietly got behind and campaigned for Maori people on the Board. I quietly got into, ahh, once having got nominations...we had 5 Maori people, I bullied them into, you know, into going for the election. And I, you know our Maori people sometimes, they don't know how to fight. I quietly, I spoke to Maori people about block voting.

...And I wasn't getting through to the parents. And I thought, if I can't get to the parents, I'll get to the kids...through the kids, to the parents. If I can't educate the parents, I'll educate the kids.

And what I did was, every Maori class I had, I'd draw the plan up. You know, like how the election papers? The names over there, the little boxes where you tick. There were 5, I think it

was. And I said to the kids, "Now this is what you do. You go and you tell Mum or Dad or Nanny or Grandma what you do. Forget these Pakehas, just tick these 5 names. Never mind about the other 6. Tell them. Don't tell them that I said, just tell them. Just say to them, 'right, Nanny, you only have to tick 5. You don't have to tick the others.' 'Cause it stipulates you tick, what's it, 8? Out of 13 or 14 nominations, I think you could vote for 8. And out of that 13 or 14, 5 were Maori. And I said to the kids, "Forget the others, just tick...." and I told them exactly who to tick for, who were Maori. Now I did it that way, through the kids.

Ah, unfortunately we only got 2 on, not the 5. But it's better than nothing.

NOTES ON PAT'S INTERVIEW.

I interviewed Pat in his office at his new workplace. Although we had had little personal contact prior to the interview taking place, we had a pre-existing relationship through my friendship with two of his siblings and through the earlier friendship and collegiality of our fathers (in their young days particularly).

When I initially contacted Pat by telephone to discuss the possibility of interviewing him for this research, he consented immediately and suggested that we do it there and then. I had previously arranged an interview with another participant for that morning, so arranged to interview Pat in the afternoon. This meant that I embarked on Pat's interview almost immediately after completing the previous four hour interview. As a result I may have been less focused than would otherwise have been the case.

I found Pat's interview probably the most difficult of the five. There may have been two reasons for this; first that I had some trouble adjusting from the fast pace of speech and high verballity of the previous participant, to Pat's own slower and less verbally expressive pace. This may have manifested itself as 'impatience' or 'aggression' in my interviewing style. Second, Pat tended to utilise a lot of non-verbal communication in the form of looks, facial expressions and body language. These did not translate well to audio-tape, and resulted in me asking further questions in order to encourage Pat to verbalise more. The effect of this was that I began to feel that my interviewing was intrusive. Pat and I discussed this after the interview and I apologised for any sense that he may have had that my questions had become intrusive or disrespectful. In hindsight, it may have been more productive to have conducted the interview over two sessions, with the second session perhaps preceded by a meal.

PAT'S STORY

At the time of interview, Pat Tapiata was 34 years old, married with one child and with another on the way. He is the eldest of seven children. On his mother's side his tribe is Te Arawa, and he is a member of Ngati Pikiao and Tuhourangi hapu. On his father's side Pat is Ngati Porou from Te Whanau o Iri te Kura. When this interview took place Pat had been living in Palmerston North and working with psychiatric patients both in the community and in an institution for about three years. The title of Pat's position is 'Maori Liaison Officer for Community Mental Health Services'. Prior to taking up this position Pat worked at Manawaroa Centre for Psychological Medicine, a division of the Palmerston North Public Hospital which provided both inpatient and outpatient assessment and treatment for acute and chronic psychiatric patients.

TE RITO: THE WHANAU PATH

Pat's parents were both fluent speakers of Maori and were both primary school teachers. During his pre-teen years the family moved around the country as his parents taught at a number of predominantly Maori schools. The main language in the class and at home was English, but Pat absorbed some Maori language from his environment.

P: I know what my baby talks about at kohanga reo. I think I know enough to just carry on a basic conversation, everyday conversation. Umm, I understand it a lot better than I can korero it.

In terms of development through the whanau life cycle, Pat sees his generation, and more specifically himself and his siblings, at a stage of

transition. As the older generation pass on, the younger generation are becoming more aware of gaps in their own knowledge and experience. The older generation provided direct links for the whanau back into hapu and iwi. With the recent deaths of his grandfather and his father, Pat, together with his siblings, recognised the need to learn about, maintain and strengthen their own links as a whanau to their hapu and iwi. They are seeking to ensure the future security of themselves and their children through knowing their own place within the wider whanau, hapu and iwi. This knowledge will help to prevent their own whanau from becoming isolated and disconnected. The wananga the family are holding are a part of the preparation process for Pat and his brothers and sisters, as the older generation pass on and their roles and responsibilities pass to them.

P: As a whanau, ours is pretty staunch I suppose. But the next unit above a whanau is the hapu's and the iwi's. And, um, we don't know nuts about those eh. And um, this weekend we're having a wananga at ah, back at Rotorua, and we're gonna find out about all of the stuff that we ever wanted to know but were too scared to ask. That's for our Tapiata whanau, you know; and our links back to Te Arawa. Um, our koro just died a couple of weeks ago, and we found out there was heaps we didn't know about where we fitted in with our iwi in Rotorua. So then the idea of this wananga came up, and ah that's happening this weekend.

Um, and for all of these other kaupapa Maori activities, hui and tangi and hura kohatu [unveilings] and all of those sorts of things, Mum or Dad used to take care of all of those sorts of things, and we'd just like show up at a certain time and everything else was taken care of. But now there's nobody to do that for us. So we have to start finding out for ourselves.

Pat is very aware of the roles he will be expected to take on within the whanau, the hapu and the iwi. He accepts his obligations in terms of Te Arawa traditions, albeit perhaps with some trepidation. At the same time however, he is happy to enjoy his status as rangatahi (a young person) for as long as he is able and to use this time to prepare for his future adult role. Pat is clear that his future is with Te Arawa and that he needs to return to his tribal area there to learn, to find his place in this community, and perhaps to face certain tests.

I: Like before you said you just had to show up and everything was done, and now?

P: Ahh, its not too bad. Because, I s'pose we're all still rangatahi. Umm, the onus is not on us yet to, ah, to perform; although there are still obligations and that. Umm, so for us it's still follow the leader, and I suppose that's one of the beauties of being rangatahi still. Um, but it's certainly brought home that we need to start taking note of how things happen, and all of those sorts of things, eh. Um, a few times I've been put on the spot, umm, by having to get up and mihi, or korero about whatever; but it hasn't been too bad. I managed to do what I was supposed to do and come out alive. So it isn't a problem so far.

. . . Um, there's heaps I don't know. But in five or seven years time, me and my wife and our family hope to move back home, back to Rotorua, and find out about such things. Umm to get back in with these people ah. But I'm certainly not in a hurry, and I reckon I've got about ten years left. . . Well anytime from about ten years on I won't, ah there won't be any choice in the matter, and I'll find myself having to do these roles.

I: Are you the oldest in your family?

P: Ae, ae. And that's the other thing too. And especially in ah, in Te Arawa, I don't know about the other rohe, but there's a lot of, a lot of emphasis put on the oldest. . . ah you know the matamua and the roles and obligations of such, ah, such people. Umm, so anywhere in the next 15 years I'll have to sort of face up to it, eh.

THE CAREER PATH

Pat's career path has taken a number of twists and turns. He did not train to work in the mental health field and, indeed, did not steer himself there. Rather his journey has had him following the course that seemed right at the time. His entry into the mental health field was a result of being approached by a kaumatua to work at Manawaroa.

I: How did you come to be doing this work? Formal training, have you had any?

P: Nah, none as such.

I: So what sort of informal sort of training and background have you had?

P: Right. After I left school - worked for a drain layer, gas pipes and things. There about a year. Freezing works - year and a bit. Army-1976-1982, went to Singapore for a couple of years. Back in freezing works for couple a years; and then I got married, and my wife sent me to university, '84, '85, '86, studying computer science and Japanese. Christmas '86, my wife and I were in London, we stayed there for two years, working holiday, and

came back in Christmas 1988. Jan. or Feb. 1989, got a job at a community organisation, at the 'Drop In Centre'. And a lot of the people that came to that centre were ex- or current psychiatric patients. Umm, a year later, um, Uncle Turoa, who was social worker at Manawaroa, he finished working there and his position became vacant. Because I was sort of working in that area, ah, he approached me and so did his boss, to ah, see if I'd take over his position. Ah, so that's how I got into the hospital system. Ah, January '89 I think. Worked at Manawaroa for about two years, and then, as I was saying, got into Community Mental Health in the last nine or 10 months. So that's how I got into the service.

Since beginning work in the mental health system, Pat has found it necessary to make some choices and decisions which have impacted on how he fits or does not fit within the system. It is apparent that there are a number of differences in the way that Pat views and performs his professional role, and the way that his immediate superior and co-workers understand his role.

Pat's position while at Manawaroa and later at the rehabilitation unit, was that of a social worker. Part of his role in these positions involved counselling, although Pat makes it clear that he does not like the term. Rather, Pat prefers to frame his position in terms of working with turoro (a Maori term for 'patients').

Both Manawaroa and the Community Mental Health Unit work within the framework of a medical model. In order to be eligible to enter the system and receive 'treatment' people must receive a DSM (IV) diagnosis. Pat notes that he 'doesn't know' the 'jargon' associated with psychiatric assessment, diagnosis and treatment. It is perhaps a feature of Pat's beliefs regarding the problems these people were facing and his

attitudes to them that he has effectively chosen not to earn or adopt the jargon associated with psychiatric assessment, diagnosis and treatment.

From this extract and others, it would appear that, in working with turoro, Pat incorporates a 'depathologising' process. Pat indicates that he believes that many turoro have accepted pathological definitions of themselves, have hidden behind these definitions, and have become in some way dependent on the 'system'.

Although Pat is charged with gathering certain types of information from or about turoro, and with providing for certain of their welfare needs, the initial process that he undertakes with turoro is one of 'whakawhanaungatanga', that is getting to know turoro through making links and connections between whanau systems.

- I: Umm, can you just describe your work to me and where you, where do you think counselling fits in?
- P: Right. Up until two weeks ago, I was a social worker employed by the Mental Health Service, of the Area Health Board. Before that time I was working at Manawaroa for about two years or so; and then for about the last eight or nine months I was working in a community service in our rehab. unit. Um, and as a social worker person, I didn't have any formal qualifications umm, but they still hired me in that position eh. Um, there were times there where I s'pose it was sort of counselling stuff from a social worker's point of view; umm, of course all of the administration stuff, social welfare stuff.
- I: Umm, what do you mean there by administration stuff and social welfare stuff? What sort of people were you dealing with and what were your actions um, work with them?

P: Um, Manawaroa. The people that went to Manawaroa were acute, people in acute, and I don't know the jargon, that needed care there and then. So while they're in hospital, that there were any things that they needed sorting out, um, like their benefits or they needed help with other things, umm, well we'd do that. Um, accommodation, trying to get the patients back on side with their families; or trying to get their um, families back on side with their families.

I: Did that involve talking to them and talking to their families?

P: Yes, sometimes. Ahh, I s'pose that was sort of counselling, but I don't like to use that word.

I: What's the word that you like to use?

P: Umm: I don't know what you call it; but what happened in there was; I find out the sort of information that I needed to find out, but that came after umm, all of the formalities and such were completed. The formalities being: ah, "Where you are from? Oh, I know somebody from there." And I suppose it was a sort of a whakawhanaungatanga, um sort of korero.

I remember one time I was supposed to be doing a ah, social history on somebody, and I put aside three-quarters of an hour to do it. Um, I met this turoro, and he started talking, about two hours later, we found out we had a lot more in common than what we thought. And after those two hours, we still hadn't done the assessment so we had to make another appointment. And when he came back it only took five minutes to do this, find out this information that I wanted. Um, but that first talk that we had for a couple of hours was a good one eh. And that's what I reckon it

was all about. What counselling was all about. Ah, all of these assessments, whether they're social or medical or whatever, ah, I s'pose that's the system's way of ah, that's the system's protocol.

I: Did it clash with your protocol? With the way that you like to do things?

P: Ah, no. Ah, in that position there, as social worker, there was enough scope in there for me to fulfil my needs, and also the needs of the system eh. Like coming up with these assessments eh, or coming up with information that that they wanted. And then also to satisfy my need to um, to get across to the turoro that, um that 'I'm here for you Bro'.'

I: So that, um the information that you needed to get for the system, was that mainly concrete information?

P: Yeah.

I: And then you did also your other work the way you wanted to, which might not go down on paper?

P: Yeah that's right.

I: Did you have to do written assessments?

P: Yep. And that was I suppose one of the system's requirements; that all of these contacts and that are documented. Ah, and they're documented in the right way. 'Kei te pai' doesn't work, and that's from the system's point of view. Um, and that system's got its own jargon, ah maybe if I did a social work, or did social work papers, ah, I'd be comfortable with that jargon, but I suppose, just being a 'Joe Blow' off the street, um that jargon

meant as much to me as what it did to these turoro that we're working with.

Pat's process included exploration of the kin networks of turoro. By exploring these networks, Pat was able to identify potential support people for turoro within their own whanau and within the Maori community.

Pat's ambivalent attitude to the philosophy and ideology of the system he was working within is further demonstrated in his 'sussing out' turoro without recourse or reference to the clinical files. In taking this approach, Pat was able to formulate his own perceptions of turoro. He found that these were often at odds with the views expressed in the files.

- I: So what did you do when you were writing these reports, if you weren't into the jargon? Did you use Maori concepts at all?
- P: Um, well the clinical notes was all as close as I could get to clinical jargon, but maybe in my own notes, I'd use Maori terms.
- I: Did they fit together? Like when you were writing your clinical notes, did it mean basically the same as what your own notes or your own way of thinking about it did? Or was there stuff that didn't quite fit together?
- P: On the clinical side of it, the areas that you're looking at are, what is important from a clinical point of view eh. But on my own sort of notes, say, um I write whatever the turoro's name was, where they're from, ah what's their whakapapa and make little notes 'oh yeah, I know Aunty so-and-so from there'. Umm, but the things that are important from, ah I don't know from a Maori point of view, but from my point of view, those were the important things eh. So somebody from Wanganui, or even Levin, um, I'd think of

maybe who were the networks, who were the people that I knew down there that might be a support to such people, to these turoro. Where the clinical side didn't take any notice of that, eh. You know the sorts of information that they wanted to know, eh. They didn't recognise...

I: What was the actual sort of information that they did want to know? The clinical side?

P: Ah, well it was biological stuff, you know, name, address, next of kin, date of birth, sex...

I: So you didn't have to do diagnostic type stuff, like say this person presents as, or looks severely depressed?

P: Well I didn't. I don't know if I was s'posed to or not, but I didn't, eh.

I: Did you think about those sort of issues. Like when you were talking to people and that, did you think 'Oh this person might have this or that troubling them', or anything?

P: No I didn't eh. So, somebody'd come in and we'd then have an interview about, it might be about any particular topic; um and I'd have their file, and I used to leave the file closed, and start from scratch. Um, rather than be, um, be swayed by what's in those files eh.

I: Oh, yeah. But in your mind, did you think about what was important for those people, what was going on for them? Rather than the actual clinical diagnoses?

P: Oh yeah, yeah. All the time eh, all the time. Mind you though, what I perceived, most of the time didn't match up with whatever these um...

I: Files said?

P: Yeah.

Pat's attempts to incorporate his views into the institution's assessments of turoro largely met with frustration. He found Pakeha clinical staff were particularly resistant to his views and perspectives.

P: At that time, working in Manawaroa particularly; ahh because the staff there are so entrenched in the system, ahh, it was like banging your heads against a brick wall eh. You know. So even offering suggestions, making recommendations, didn't go down too easy with umm, some of the staff up there. A lot of the psychiatrists, especially the Indian ones, the Pakistani ones, they were all right. But I found the, that the majority of the ahh, umm, New Zealand Pakeha staff very, umm, very, ahh, conservative, umm, in their thinking; and whatever the book said, that's what you'd go by.

I: Whatever the Pakeha book said? Or the American book? P:
Yeah. Whatever the book said. Actually I got, yeah, I got really hoha [frustrated and fed up].

I: Yeah. I know [the previous Maori social worker] had a hard time.

P: Oh yeah. Well I took over his job eh. Forever banging heads. Man never mind the sort of support that I didn't get up there. Yeah, crazy.

Pat is clear that the non-Western health professionals at Manawaroa exhibited a greater level of awareness and respect for the perspective that he as a Maori person might have to offer, than did Pakeha psychologists and psychiatrists.

I: When you were at Manawaroa, did you consult with psychiatrists or psychologists about that; about what you saw as their needs?

P: Ahh, some of them. The Indian ones.

I: And in those cases did you go to them or did they come to you?

P: Uhm, sometimes. Sometimes they'd say, "Pat, we think something else is going on here. What do you reckon?"

I: And when you said what you reckoned...?

P: And when you said what you reckoned they'd go, "Oh yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. Oh we'll check that out." Like those doctors were good eh, 'cause they'd come up with options too, and then explore them all. So like they've got about two or three and I'd offer another one.

Pat saw both Maori and non-Maori turoro. In line with psychiatric admission data which records high psychiatric admission rates for young Maori men, the turoro Pat worked with were mainly young, Maori and male. Contact with Maori turoro was made through several channels. For instance, Pat noticed that Maori turoro at Manawaroa tended to gravitate towards him as another Maori and he arranged to be notified of any Maori coming in for assessment. His role in the assessment

process appears to have been one of support, translation and information-giving for both turoro and their families.

I: Who do you mainly work with?

P: Mixture. But most of the Maori turoro that come there, I get to see.

I: They get referred to you or they come?

P: No they come. You see them sizing up all the staff there, you know the nursing staff, and then they see a Maori face, and it sort of goes like, "Ding, ding"; bee line eh. And the coloureds.

. . . Um, most of the clients that I had up until two weeks ago were, Maori, Pakeha. Mainly men. Um, and most of them are between 20 and 33 or something. When I first started there, most of them were under 20. About six of them; they were still at school or just finished school.

P: . . . after that first six months, and all of the sort of outside networks that I had, um, people were actually coming to see me through the back door eh. And I found that through that process, through that referral system, a lot of them were coming in the back door. You know, I'd get a phone call, "Oh um, kia ora Pat. I'm so and so, a friend of so and so, who's a friend of so and so." And anyway, I must of ended up with about 10 or 15 people that came that way.

I: You know how you talked about sitting in on the assessments of Maori patients? How did you know that there were Maori people being admitted, that were having assessments? Did they tell you?

P: Well I had this sort of arrangement with the reception staff, "Any Maori people come in that door, you give me a call." Um, sometimes a doctor or someone would send for me; "Oh, we've got a Maori person coming in, would you mind sitting in?". I had it covered most ways, for any people coming in to Manawaroa. . . . on most occasions I try to get in on one of those, when, when the people first got assessed. So they come to Manawaroa, then they'll be assessed by the doctor, by the psychiatrist. Um, and then I will sit in on that.

I: Oh, you were able to do that?

P: Well, I, I did anyway. If I was s'posed to or not was ahh. . . . I made a point of being there whenever I could eh.

I: And so you could contribute there?

P: Yeah. And you know for a lot of these blimmin' assessments, I feel uncomfortable in there eh. No wonder the bloody turoro feel uncomfortable. If even the staff feel uncomfortable in there. So a lot of those assessments, umm, the doctor would do what he had to do. Um, we stop half way through; kick out the doctor, and then we just stay there with the turoro and the whanau, if the whanau is there. And just try and explain to them or get over to them, what doc's trying to do. Um, but you know the environment - not conducive to help. . . .

For Pat, turoro, past and present, and the Maori community were a vital resource. He listened to and noted their assessments of friends, whanau and each other. Also, the networks that Pat had in the community meant that the community had easy access to him outside of working hours and the institutional environment. It also meant that the boundaries of Pat's

professional and personal life were permeable that is, there was no clear delineation between work and out-of-work contexts.

P: Um, like Friday night, work's finished; shoot down the pub and have a beer. Now, because of the sort of rapport that I had with the clients; whether they were my own or whatever, a lot of them used to just have a beer down the pub eh. And they used to be my sort of, um, you know, my finger on the pulse. And you know, we'd be there having a beer, and ah, "Oh Pat. So and so's not very well. Actually, she looks pretty bad eh." So all of these fellas used to keep me informed about how all of my clients and other people were eh. Fantastic. Just like the flea-market. But like that, how they'd come in the back door eh. I'd be down the pub, "Oh Pat, my brother's cousin, ah, I think he's flipping out. What do you reckon we should do?". That used to happen. It still does now.

Community networks and the support that Pat describes as being available through these networks includes a treatment aspect. When Pat, turoro or whanau suspect a spiritual affliction, such as mate Maori, is a feature of the presenting problem, Pat draws on appropriate people from the Maori community to treat/deal with the affliction.

I: Did they [turoro and their whanau] ever, or did you ever think that things like mate Maori were an issue?

P: For some of them.

I: And what happened, what happened in those cases?

P: Ahm, I'd get somebody else, 'cause I didn't know about such, you know, I don't know about such things. Although; in ah some of

the, some of the occasions when people come in and say, "Oh, I had a dream about something," you know and they'd lead it. And just from that, ah. . . an idea would occur to me "Oh, now this sounds like something." So I'd go and get someone.

I: Someone from outside Manawaroa?

P: Yep. I even get these those local Maori ministers.

I: So is it sometimes the staff who come to you and think that there's something like that?

P: Oh, maybe one out of ten.

Pat describes his process in a situation where it was clear that the turoro was troubled by, or believed her situation was a consequence of, a wrong that she had done. The phrase, "Noku te he" means, "Mine is the wrong" or "I have done wrong." This phrase may refer to a breach of spiritual laws and implies an element of punishment or affliction of the guilty party as a consequence of wrongdoing.

P: Like one of them [turoro], she come in and she was saying something like, "Noku te he." Umm and I had a little think about it, and oh geez, I wonder what it is. And started talking about things. And she did something back on the marae that she shouldn't of done. And it came out like that eh, just from her saying that, "Noku te he." She knew, she knew something, that she'd done something, umm, and then I just helped, helped find out what it was. And then she went out of my hands. Oh somebody come and picked her up, somebody from home. So it all depends. These people bring it out themselves if they know it.

Pat worked at reducing the barriers between himself as a staff member, and turoro and their whanau. He was aware of the distrust and dislike felt by many Maori and turoro for the 'system' and its representatives. For Pat it was important to be accepted by turoro and Maori and perceived as trustworthy. According to Pat it appears that to be trustworthy means to be separate from the system, or at least minimally integrated. Accountability consequently becomes a balancing act, although Pat's primary accountability was clearly to turoro over his employers. Lines of accountability were slightly less clear however when it came to the whanau.

P: I've found that a lot were anti-system, whatever system it was, the health system, or social welfare, or the justice system or whatever. And being a 'John Brown' is it? Working for the system, one of those sold out? Oh yeah, Uncle Tom.

I: So who are you accountable to in your work? Who do you consider yourself accountable to?

P: To the turoro first. Oh now I had this all figured out. To the turoro and then to the system. And now I fitted in there somewhere. Me. I fitted in there somewhere. In social work, when I was on the ground, I was officially accountable to that clinical file. So I'd get the information that they wanted, "The client's okay, still on medication, address. . ." and that's what would go on that clinical file.

I: If the client told you something the system would want to know but requested confidentiality from the system what would you do?

P: More than likely that's what I'd do eh. That's what I did.

I: Keep it out of the files?

P: Yeah. But you know if it was. . . like one of the sorts of criteria on that, whether to tell somebody else, was safety eh. And that was one of the things that always crossed my mind first. And one time I blew it. Oh, at a marae, I was at a marae somewhere, and after the whaikorero went round to hariru and all that. And one of the people says, "Oh how's my cousin who's up there at Manawaroa?" and that. And I went, "Oh, she's fine." And then I thought, 'Oh geez am I supposed to be talking about this?'. And I blew it a couple of times like that. Where those two concepts didn't fit together eh, that confidentiality and then that mihimihi part.

I: And then also there's that thing about whanaungatanga, eh. The rights of the whanau.

P: Oh yeah there is eh. And I think someone at the hospital wrote a paper on confidentiality. 'What is confidentiality from a Maori perspective?'. But it still doesn't help.

I: What did she say? Does it fit with you?

P: Yeah the um basic idea about the whanaungatanga thing was right. But it still didn't give any guidelines about. . .

I: What did she actually say about whanau and confidentiality? Did she say that the whanau's right to know overrides patient confidentiality?

P: Ah, no, no. It comes back to the turoro eh. It's the turoro's choice. If the turoro wants this to happen, then it will happen. But then again that safety one comes into it eh. If the kids are at home by themselves, then maybe you have to bring some of the other whanau into it.

Although Pat was effectively invited by the koroua (his 'uncle') and his present boss to take on the position at Manawaroa, his professional relationship with his boss and with other workers has not been without problems. Conflict, misunderstanding and communication difficulties are themes that run through his experience at Manawaroa. Much of this conflict appears to relate to differences between Pat's perceptions of turoro and those he sees other staff as holding, differing understandings of the nature of Pat's role and appropriate ways of fulfilling that role, and differing conventions regarding appropriate methods of communication and conflict resolution.

In the following extract Pat's frustration and difficulties as a result of these differing understandings are evident. His respect for, as well as frustration on behalf of, turoro, are also apparent.

P: I actually think that social work boss that I had back then was crazy, to ah offer me the job. Um, they didn't know any of my background, any of how did I think about issues. And it didn't take us long to start banging heads about what was important and what was not. . .

I: Can you give me examples of how you banged heads and what over and that?

P: Um, I was getting supervision from this social worker, this senior social worker, and he used to bring issues up to me about, "I've

heard people around the unit saying this and saying that about you Pat." Um, and I'd say, "So? That's their problem, it ain't my problem. If they've got anything to say to me, then they can come and say it to me." And then he'd turn around and say to me "Well they won't do it Pat. They don't do things like that here." And umm, I'd have to think, "Well what's the problem then?", "Oh no, I just thought I'd let you know." Which seemed to me to be a blimmin' load of rubbish, eh. If anything trying to get under my skin; but. . .

I: What were the sort of things that they were saying?

P: Um, "Pat, you spend too much time in the pool room and lounge." Actually, "You spend too much time in their company, in the patients and that eh." "I think you need to spend more time in the office."

I: Actually that same sort of issue has come up for every Maori counsellor I've talked to so far, from their boss.

P: Yeah. Crazy, eh! So, you know, even then, what's important to my boss, or what was important to him at that time was that the appearance is right, that you appeared to be doing what they thought you should be doing. Mmm... If they can't see you; then that means you must be working. You're not s'posed to hold such a high profile in a place that's about serious work.

I: So did you see that, like playing pool with the patients and that, did you see that as actually a part of your job?

P: Yeah. Yeah, course.

I: Why? In what way exactly?

P: Ummm. I s'pose by spending time in an environment that, oh I don't s'pose it was comfortable, but more comfortable to them; spending time with them in what was their most comfortable environment, ahhh, I s'pose you get a better idea of you know, where they're at; what's going on in their lives. A lot of these people are professional, ah, professional mauiui [sick people]. You know, they've been in the system for so long; and they know all of the answers that the doctors and the nurses want to hear, and you know, these turoro, they just manipulate the system. . . there's more crooks in there than. . . but you know, they're not dumb. But the system treats them like that eh. You know they don't give them credence or recognition; oh they don't even treat them like people.

PAT'S PROCESS AND PHILOSOPHY

Spirituality is frequently referred to by Maori writers as something that is primary, that is always there and that is a part of the being of everyone and everything. Maori spiritual practices are embodied and externalised in karakia and practices aimed at ensuring that temporal activity is in harmony with spiritual direction.

In the following extract, Pat touches on a number of issues. The reader may or may not impute a spiritual dimension to some of the terms, metaphors and imagery used in this extract and others.

Pat makes reference to a "them and us" mentality on the part of turoro and a concomitant distrust of staff. He perceives a need to gain the trust of turoro by joining with them and allowing them to "suss him out." Pat

has respect for turoro and for the perceptive powers of Maori and turoro.

Pat also talks about the importance of environment, his definition of environment including both physical elements. . . "concrete and mortar. . . with a door that's got an engaged sign on it" and non-physical elements "atmosphere. . . the sort of whakaaro around the place."

I: When you were, you know like in the pool room, what were you doing positive for the. . . what was the positive effect for them? And for you?

P: Oh, I used to enjoy playing pool and all that sort of stuff. But then at the same time, so did the turoro enjoy the opportunity to I s'pose, talk candidly, although sometimes some would still be a bit reserved about, ahh, what they're saying to staff. But after a while people got easier, ahh, got the gist of where you're coming from. Ah, and just like Maori people, these turoro who were there; very perceptive eh. And they know as soon as you walk in the door whether you're all shit, or whether you're actually interested in them. Ah, very, very perceptive. I don't know whether I had a sort of affinity with them, the turoro, the people that I worked with; but you know there's body language and all of that sort of stuff; old news to these turoro, and old news to Maori people, old news eh.

I: So if they'd talk candidly to you in the pool room and that. What would you do with that information that they were sharing?

P: Umm, sometimes, if something was really bugging them, I'd say "Oh we're gonna do something about this." And we'd go somewhere by ourselves, or maybe back to the office, and figure out what we could do about it; and um, all the different options

we got. And we used to have these, umm, depending on who the people were, we used to go to play golf, you know, play golf and talk about such things over golf, or go and watch the rugby, umm any thing that was an alternative to those. . . concrete and mortar eh. Anything that was a change to the buildings around them, the atmosphere and environment, eh.

I: So that was part of your counselling method?

P: Yeah. The environment, yeah. I'm just starting to think about it now and it's all starting to fall into place. That environment there; not conducive to um, to getting to know people. With a door that's got an engaged sign on it. And even all the, the sort of whakaaro around the place.

Pat's view of turoro, includes a notion of 'heightened awareness'. He sees their apparent 'mental illness' as a time of opportunity and openness. For Pat the diagnostic categories through which turoro are classified are irrelevant, even destructive.

Contextuality is also a feature of Pat's conceptualisation of what constitutes 'mental illness'. Pat speaks of reactions to stress; he has also referred to some turoro as 'mucking around', 'being crooks' etc. This view may itself indicate a notion of those turoro so defined as taking 'time out' from the context of 'reality' and responsibility.

I: Is it more likely to come out when they're in that state, that situation, do you reckon?

P: Yeah. Because their sort of awarenesses have become sort of heightened by the state they're in, it opens up a lot more doors inside eh.

Um, and these things come out. Whereas, when we're here and now like this, and we've got all of our inhibitions and that still around us, we ain't gonna say such things. And then where they are there, it's sort of a higher sort of awareness. And um, just ripe for plucking, or you know ripe for things to come out, before they come back down.

I: So you see when they're like that that they're more open about their reality?

P: Yeah. Their reality is their reality eh. You know whether it's schizophrenic stuff, or neurotic stuff, or psychotic stuff. Their reality is their reality. Some of it is relevant, some of it is you know they're just acting up eh.

I: Do you believe in things like schizophrenic and neurotic and psychotic; do you believe in those sort of labels?

P: Nah.

I: So how do you see it? When people come in that are labelled as schizophrenic or neurotic or psychotic, how do you see those things?

P: Um, well the majority of it the bottom line of it is stress eh; and the sort of mechanisms that they have for coping with such stress. I reckon for most of those people they don't have the sorts of mechanisms, and they will go overboard; um, and it all goes out one way instead of like how we might approach it. And, and all of those labels are system labels.

When they come, ah, when these people come to me; ahm, I s'pose I sort of get the idea of um, here we go again. Boy this is going to be hard, now what can we do about it. To me those labels are irrelevant eh. And the question is more like, 'what can we do?'

Although Pat does not describe himself as fluent in te reo Maori, he finds it easier to express and dialogue about some things in Maori than in English. When Pat uses the word 'whakaaro' in the following extract, he is talking about ways of thinking, seeing and understanding.

P: . . . Um, when I was up in Manawaroa, some of the people that were in there were, I s'pose, off their trees, and they'd be um just talking eh. I think about half a dozen of my clients would talk about things, all in Maori. In the lounge or the TV room or where ever, where ever we felt like talking about such things. Umm, some of them, some of them were just um, were being crooks eh. They knew that nobody else in there knew what they were talking about and they were just jabbering on a whole lot of rubbish. And then as soon as I'd front up, and start to korero to them, they'd switch off, and say, "Oh."

So some of them were just mucking around. But for some of them, Maori was their first language. And it's a whole lot easier to talk in Maori than what it is to talk in English; about oh, just some of these whakaaro and things. Cuts out a whole lot of the sort of syntax.

Pat's professional practice is guided by his personal value base. His professional development and practice extends from the integration of his lived experience with whanau and marae based learning.

Pat identifies wairuatanga as a central value, and karakia as a practice extending from this value. The karakia Pat says are frequent and informal.

Pat also identifies family messages or a creed which he says guide him in his work. The basic principles of this creed seem to be caring for others (manaakitanga) and service for the benefit of others (aroha).

P: Um, I suppose the guidelines that I use are just from my own experiences, life experiences. Uuum, some from people that I've talked with, umm, and all of these sorts of umm ahh, you know when you think you've got it all sussed and you've just got your world into place? Umm, these ideas and beliefs and all of these things. And then you go to a hui, and you find out new ideas, and it jumbles the whole lot up again. From all of those sorts of things, you know, from those shared ideas and reshuffling of those things that I thought were, were ah. . .

I: So, so you talk about values, values that you've just got, that. .

P: Inherited. That I've maybe learnt and amended. Umm, I think the values that I got from Mum and Dad are the basis of it all eh.

I: And then, what are those main sort of values? That are deep inside you, that you draw on in your work?

P: Ahhm, I s'pose wairuatanga, or God. I know that God is there and I know that God is where we all come from. I don't know if I'm religious. . . or I, I don't go to church. But I say a lot of karakias whether it's on my bike riding to work every day, or grace, karakia before we go to bed, go to sleep. Uhm, and that's why we're here. About my family and my wife.

Mmmm, I haven't had to think about this before.

Umm, there's something like "do unto others as you would have them do unto you." So, "You're just as important to me as I am important to me." Sometimes to the detriment of myself. Oh, I know, "Whatever you do, as long as it's for somebody else and not for yourself," then, ah, it's all right eh.

I: Are these the sayings that you grew up with?

P: Yeah, yeah. And I've found it's worked eh. Um, yeah, it's worked wonderfully. Up at Manawaroa I do things, oh I do my job, and then ah, the patients would go away, and then show up a couple of weeks later with this and that and lunch and kai. And all of these sorts of things, they just come back eh. So ah, yeah that was a good one to work by, it still is. I s'pose those are, those are the main ones. And they've worked well eh. I think I live by different ones, but I work by those rules.

I: Umm, when you talked about, wairuatanga, umm, that's important to you, like you karakia for your whanau, and that.

P: And whatever else comes along.

I: Do you karakia for the people that you work with, or with them?

P: Yep. Sometimes we use a karakia together. Other times maybe I'll slip it in somewhere along the line, or even before. But generally, at the end of the day, just say one big one for, to take in everything and tomorrow. Ahm, but normally, I'm pretty generous with those karakias.

6d Pat's Story

I: When you karakia with clients, is it Maori and Pakeha clients?

P: Mainly Maori.

A definite aim of Pat's approach is to keep Maori out of the system as much as possible. He likes to focus on pushing turoro to take responsibility for themselves and their actions, to be active. Much of Pat's work involves activity, doing things with turoro and promoting and fostering their involvement in independent activities which are extraneous to their role as psychiatric patients.

P: You can give them jobs to do, make them work. And like being hooked into the system, the system treats them like patients, and sort of forgoes all the rights that they ever had. And for some of them, you know they're glad to be in an environment like that, all the decisions are made for them and they just do what they're supposed to do. But that idea of making them work, or you know, making them take responsibility for the stuff they want.

Pat's distrust and dislike of that which he sees as 'pathologising' and 'dependency inducing' aspects of the system he works within are clear in the previous extract and in the following one.

Pat believes his practice is guided by a type of 'inbred knowing', which may be related, in Pat's conception of it, to observational and experiential learning. He has had some conflict with his supervising social worker about the differences in their approaches. Pat appears to operate by making a large time and energy investment in particular turoro, working with them, strengthening them, setting them on the track

to leave their status as turoro behind, saving them from the system.

In the latter part of this extract, Pat speaks of an implication of his view of himself as a helper. The implication is that he does not have the right to probe, to be intrusive, to make turoro uncomfortable. Once again, he trusts his feelings to decide what is and is not appropriate, rather than holding to an external set of criteria of appropriateness.

The term 'baldheads' used by Pat is a colloquialism for Pakeha. Paddy and Whetu, referred to in the extract, are Pat's brother and sister-in-law.

P: When they get brought on the ward, I do this first part eh.
Just let them get to know me, maybe take them around the place, around the unit. Umm, some of them I've taken a bit different, eh. Depending on the situation, I'll go to them. Or in other situations, I'll wait for them to come to me.

I: Why?

P: I don't know. But somewhere in that process of meeting them, and saying hello to them, something just ain't right. It just feels umm, not right. And then I just let them know, "My office is down there, if you want to get in touch with me, you can do it like this." Maybe, it's the person's. . . maybe they're still feeling angry or whatever about coming to such a place, and they've got steam and heat to burn off. But 98 percent of the time, we come back together again, whether it's by their choice, or whether we feel it's all right and I go to them.

I: I s'pose if you're spending more time in the pool room, it's more likely that you'll get to talk to them.

P: That's one of the other issues that my boss brought up to me. "You spend too much time with so and so." Um, and it came out that. Like I spent three months solid with this guy, and when they leave, they leave. Actually he brought that up to me a few times eh. That I was spending too much time with particular clients. I think after a year he came up to me. And I says, "No, no, no, no. I spent three months with that guy, four months with that girl, three months with another guy. And all of those people have been discharged from our service and they haven't been back in, in a year. Now as far as I'm concerned, I'm doing a good job. Those people aren't coming back in. And they seem to be, carrying on their life from where they left it. Now to me, I'm doing my job. But I notice from your stand, you see this guy, you see those three guys, once a week for half an hour each; and you've been here for five years; for the past five years, once a week for half an hour. Tell me, who's doing their job? You're keeping them in. You're keeping them hooked in." Um, and then he went off on a tangent.

I: Why did you select those particular people as needing that extra from you? Were they Maori?

P: Yes. Now these ones that I spent the time with, they were young, eh. Oh, these were the ones that were all just out of school, and yeah, they weren't into the system. Cause once they're hooked in, they're hooked in, eh. And I think this is what happened to these people that my boss was seeing. These three guys they were all young ones, maybe early 20's; and they were all hooked in, they were there to stay. Um, so I s'pose I didn't want this to happen to these young ones, to get stuck in such a system with people, um, with staff that were blimmin' baldheads eh. I s'pose I had a different sort of understanding about what it is to help people. I s'pose from a Maori point of view, and whanau, and all. . . that we have and on the maraes and that; the understanding of helping

people is sort of a hands on way of life; so we don't need any theories or things like that to tell us how to look after people, it's sort of inbred. Oh you see other people doing it.

Umm, I remember when, before we had our baby, we were going to ante-natal classes. And me and my wife and Paddy and Whetu, we were all in the same ante-natal class, and they brought in a new baby into one of these classes. And they were passing this baby around, and all of the other pairs, and they were all going, "Oh, oh, isn't it cute." And it come to us. And we're going, "What's so cute about this?" And handed it on. "It's a baby." And all of the others in our group and that were all clucky and all of that sort of stuff. And we, my wife's a Pakeha, but she's had a lot of nieces and nephews, just like we've had a lot of nieces and nephews and cousins and kids around us all the time. So you know, that was nothing new. Whereas for these others, it was "Oh, oh, careful you don't do this and careful you don't do that," and that sort of shone up the sort of difference between our groups at the ante-natal class. I mean, "Shit, this is only a baby," and the sort of things that go on in the hospital system. But you know those basic sort of ideas about, how to hold a baby, how to look after somebody. You don't need to put on any airs to look after somebody, and you know to do it properly. You don't need to dress up in collar and tie to do that. We know all about that stuff. That was like falling off a log eh. Just picking up on the clues, "Oh, oh, I better leave that area alone", or "I'd better, yeah, I'll push it again, and have another go."

I: What sort of things would make you think, 'I'd better leave that area alone'?

P: Person switching off. Or you know sometimes when you talk to people and you can see a sort of, a curtain close. Yeah like that.

Or maybe, people get fidgety in their seat and that. Then just leave it.

I: In psychological theory sometimes they might think that when a person gets uncomfortable it means that they're near something important, and so they'll probe more and deeper. You don't do that?

P: No. I guess I just turn a lot of it around on me. And when I feel uncomfortable. . .

I: Is that sort of respect?

P: I s'pose so. It's something I haven't really thought about, or you know from that point of view. It's something you just know; there's some things you just don't do.

Pat describes his preferred way of working with turoro in terms of a partnership model. A partnership between himself, turoro and whanau. The purpose of the partnership is to share resources, and ideas, to work together to find out what the problem is and what can be done to rectify it.

P: Yeah. How can I help you to help you? Sometimes uhhm; what people perceive to be the need and what is the actual need, sometimes that needs a bit of straightening out sometimes. I really like working with whanau eh. Umm, I think in short burst, not long bursts eh. In a burst that takes as much as two cups of tea, some lunch, and a smoke, or a couple of smokes. Yeah, I think it takes about an hour, all o' that. Something to chew on eh. Rather than just sitting, sitting here talking on and on...that's the way I'd rather see it, eh. As a sort of partnership. You know, like, 'How can we figure this out?'

I don't know whether it's on purpose or not, but you know how you keep a track of how you're going, ummm, what are the sort of flags or what are the sort of ideas that sort of jolt, that you sort of throw in the middle. More I s'pose, leading questions. I don't know where that comes from.

Pat sees turoro, their problems and their contexts from an holistic perspective. During the interview, I was continuously trying to 'pin him down', to encourage him to separate out components of what he was talking about and to put labels on them.

The models that Pat refers to in this extract include a model of health which has been popularised by Maori psychiatrist and academic, Professor Mason Durie. The model identifies four cornerstones of health and well-being for Maori, these are; te taha wairua/the spiritual side, te taha tinana/the physical side; te taha hinengaro/the thinking and feeling side and te taha whanau/the family side. According to this model, if these four sides of people are adequately provided for, people will be healthy. If one or more of these sides is weak or not adequately cared for, people will be unhealthy in some way.

The following stories, told by Pat, sum up his experiences at Manawaroa and illustrate the abusive nature of the environment as he experienced it, and as he perceived other Maori as experiencing it. The stories also illustrate the effectiveness of Pat's ability to communicate whakaaro without resorting to compartmentalisation.

I: So do you see a lot of the problems that clients have, as having a wairua component, or having something to do with wairua in it?

6d Pat's Story

P: Mmm, you know of Mason Durie's, ah, those four corner stones?

I: Yes.

P: I think because they all tie in so well, that is why we, why I don't sort of um, make differences or see any differences in, in people who come to see me, eh. You know, I don't sort of compartmentalise um health how these Western medical people do.

I: So you don't go, oh this is a taha wairua problem, and this is a taha whanau sort of angle, and all that? You just sort of do it.

P: I just take it all eh.

I: And that's prob'ly why it's quite hard to talk about it all eh. Whereas I'm trying to get down to that nitty gritty, compartments, and that's what I'm asking you to do.

P: I sat in with one of our other social workers doing assessment; this fella walked in the door and he was miserable ah. I just looked at him. And she asked this fella, "And how are you today?" Ridiculous question eh! And just looking at him, oh shoot. Ka aroha bro.

. . . And um, one of the other people that sort of ended up at Manawaroa, he come as a friend of somebody else. Ahh, the friend got seen to, and then all of a sudden, he was just, "Oh, what about you." And he got seen to also. And he just went to help this other guy eh. And this fella says, "Fuck off. I'm not goin' with you fellas. I just come in with that fella." And they went to take him, and he started whoofing them. And I'm walking past and I saw all of this going on inside there. And I went up and

said, "Hey, what are you fellas doing? Cut it out!" And the staff backed off, 'cause this fella's giving them a hiding eh. And I said, "Hey Bro, what's the matter?" "Oh these fellas wanna do something to me", "What are you doing up here?", "Oh, just visiting, I come up with that other fella" "What the hell. . . ?"

Pat's perception of 'the system' as dangerous for and violent towards Maori is also illustrated in his second story.

P: This fella, tried to commit suicide. And it was over a girlfriend of his, ex-girlfriend. And umm, he was sort of, what is it, blackmailing?

I: Emotional blackmail?

P: Yeah, sort of thing eh. And he tried to do himself in a couple of times. And she come back. And that was all right. And then she'd leave and he'd do the same. Finally did the same up here and ended up in hospital. Um, young Maori guy. And um, come out of hospital, and he came over to Manawaroa. I'd been to visit him in hospital and he was out of it eh. I dunno, "Who the fuck are you?", "Oh kia ora, oh I just work over there. And somebody told me I gotta come and see you." "Fuck off." And then oh a couple of days later he was fine, and I did see him again. And um, well pretty cool reception eh. Um, and I was just leaving and his family were out the door, all having a smoke out in the stairwell. And um, oh I was just talking to them, and they sort of filled me in on what was going on. Um, and the guy stayed in the unit, and we just sort of saw each other in passing. Ah, and for about a week or so, I didn't see him at all. And then he come and approached me and we just talked about what was going on, why did this happen, um "What ya want to go and do a stupid thing like that for?". Umm, and then we sort of put it into a context, um, like

“You've tried this three times already and it hasn't worked. So maybe that's because it wasn't s'posed to happen.” And I sort of went like; “Now I bet, if you went and got your pills, took a overdose, go and hide out under those trees out there. All you'd have to do is just lie under those trees over there and nobody can see you. Umm, take a whole lot of pills, go and lie under that tree, go under that bush. Nobody will see you, and then you can just kick the bucket then.” “Oh, but they'll see me walking across.” “Go at night time. It's easy. Nobody will see you. And then you can get under there and do yourself away.” “Oh yeah, yeah, yeah.” “But with all the luck that you've been having trying to do yourself away, that gardener probably left his rake and he'll go and find his rake and find you at the same time.” And then we both cracked up laughing. And then; “Yeah, maybe you're right. So then what can we do?”. Umm, I don't remember what we figured out to do. But he left a coupla weeks later. And um, he come to a sort of understanding with himself that the ex-girlfriend is all right, I'm all right. Umm, maybe we should have a rest and sort of have a go at something else. Um, that was about two and a half years ago. Oh before that girlfriend, he was already married and had a kid up in Auckland. And he left that one to go down south for her. Um, and so that his relationship with his wife had finished eh. And that was one of the things that he was running away from. And then being rejected by this other one. Oh and the rest, he was just packing a sad. You know.

PAT'S VISION

Recent years have seen major reforms and restructuring in Government funded health services. Pat is keen to see changes in the way the system

provides services to Maori. At the time of the interview, Pat had just moved into a job as Maori liaison officer with the Community Health Service. He and other Maori employees in the service have joined forces to provide support for each other and to develop ideas and proposals regarding developments in future health services for Maori.

P: Um, in our community mental health service all up there are six Maori employees. Our manager, two cooks, two nurses and myself. So out of a community mental health service that has, ah, maybe 100 employees tops, six of those are Maori. Ah, this particular, this 'Maori Liaison' job is part of the 'Manager Community Mental Health', part of his advisory office. And I get shared around all of the eight teams. These other Maori people in our service, most of them work together in our rehab. (rehabilitation) facility. The two cooks, and two nurses, all work at the same place. Our manager, well I suppose we work at the same place.

Ah, one of the things we're trying to re-implement is our whanau support group, within our service eh. And we're going to try to get these other workers from the other part of the mental health service. There's two or three Maori workers at Manawaroa, we want to see if we, how we can get them to come in our group. We used to meet as a whanau group before these structural changes started happening; but as soon as they started everything was up in the air, nobody knew what was going on and they stopped.

We just put in a proposal, I just put it in to get typed up today, about starting up a bicultural programme at our rehab. facility down there. Umm, and that went into our manager, umm, it should go through, but umm, yeah.

- *When Pat first began working at Manawaroa he attempted to bring about some changes designed to make the environment and program there more beneficial for Maori turoro.*

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These attempts were unsuccessful, but within the team of Maori workers in the service, a new and wider vision is developing. With the benefit of his previous experience, Pat is under no illusions about the motivation for any changes from the system's point of view. He believes they are interested solely in the financial benefits of any Maori initiatives. Pat's own motivation does not appear as straight-forward. He is interested in developing the proposal and handing it to the most appropriate people to manage. He is clear that Rangitane, as the local tribe, have a right to give input, and even have control over what goes on in their rohe, including the proposed program. In recognising this and providing for Rangitane kawa in any initiative, he is respecting the mana of the iwi tangata whenua.

P: . . . Ah, I put it to some of the O.T. (occupational therapy) staff before that, um, about the programmes that they provided. Was there any cultural input into their, the programmes they provided? "Oh no, we can't have that."

I: What sort of cultural input were you thinking about?

P: Oh, you know, ah; did they have any, like did they provide anything that made these other cultures of people, and these Maori even, anything that was centred into their needs.

I: Do you mean things like, kete making and bone carving, that would reinforce their sense of identity as well?

P: Yeah. But, "Oh we can't have that."

I: Did they say that in those words?

P: Yeah. "We can't have that." And this was when I first started there and was just looking around the place. Bad eh! And back then, I wanted to see about getting a student to have a look at Maori cultural input into such, into O.T. (occupational therapy) practice up there. And my boss for whatever reason says, and I had that proposal all written up too, but ah,

"Nah..". And at the moment we're making moves to try and rectify this whole, um, this whole issue. Not only about counselling, but treatment too, assessment, treatment. Ah, by this bicultural programme. Based on Whare Marie in Porirua. The kaupapa is Maori, have local iwi in behind them, kawa Ngati Toa. Waiata, whaikorero, whakapapa in their programme. And clinical stuff alongside.

I: How would you run your bicultural programme here?

P: Well the idea would be the same. The kawa and that would be of here, Rangitane. 'Cause, we need their support for it. But um, oh, it should be all right eh. Even if Rangitane want to do it themselves, we'll help eh. Or even if we say, "Hey we've got an idea here. If you want to pick it up and go for it, we'll help you." Yeah so I think that's how we're going to address it, by getting a bicultural programme up and running. Where the kaupapa is Maori, and anybody else that would like to join it can take part, can participate.

I: What would be the advantages of that programme for you and for the clients?

P: From the clients' point of view, at the moment there are no other options for treatment in our area. You know, it's either Manawaroa, Lake Alice or Te Awhina.

I: Why is it important for there to be Maori approaches, specifically Maori?

P: Hasn't there always been? Ah, there never. . . Maori ways of doing things have never been given opportunity in this political climate, this financial climate. But you know, with these health reforms and that everybody's looking at the dollars, and suddenly realising that, "Hey there are Maori people out there, if we can provide a service that is, will ah, that's more sensitive, more appropriate to their needs, then maybe they'll come." But

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it's sort of by default eh. And it's all driven by these reforms which is driven by their blimmin' pocket.

Pat is passionate about the need for culturally appropriate services to be available for Maori. In the following dialogue, his perspectives on how and why a bicultural program, developed by and for Maori, is necessary are further illuminated.

I: What is it about a specifically Maori sort of programme for treatment that will make it better for Maori, what are the important things, why do they need it, why is the Western thing not meeting their needs?

P: Why is the Western style institutions not meeting their needs? Oh, I s'pose the, if the patient inside the institutions is Maori, they can't meet their needs. But as a Maori worker in the institutions, they can't even meet my needs eh. But the opportunity is there now for us to provide the service to meet our needs, in a way that we'd like them to be met.

I: How would they be met, what are the important things?

P: Like I was saying, the kaupapa will be Maori eh. So how it runs, the things that will dictate the direction and all of that sort of stuff will be Maori. Ahh, whoever the people are that will run it, will be Maori. But just because the kaupapa is Maori is why, it will just meet those needs that just ain't being met.

I: So from that, are you saying that for Maori clients, mental health clients, part of their need for getting well is to have their Maori identity?

P: To have that, ae. To be re-linked. You know, to have the opportunity to be that, re-linked, to grasp all of these things that are, ah, really important. You know, the opportunity will be there.

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I: Okay. What will that do for them? Why is it so important for them?

P: Um, I know what it is, but I'm just trying to think of the words. . .

I: Are there any Maori words that can explain why their Maoriness is so important for their health, and mental health? What are the underlying things?

P: It's all of the things. But you know, I s'pose it's just to give the opportunity back to the people just to be Maori, eh. In a Maori environment.

. . . Yeah, I s'pose they'll get the opportunity for Maori to feel good about being Maori. And if it does get off the ground, I wouldn't be surprised if the other parts of the service, the mental health service, if Maori people don't go there, if they just go to this service.

NOTES ON RON'S INTERVIEW

Ron and I had had no professional or personal contact prior to my contacting him by telephone to arrange the interview. When I arrived to see Ron, he took me through the building and introduced me to staff and whanau who were there. We shared a cup of tea and some cake before beginning the interview.

Ron took the opportunity to gently interview me before I had the chance to interview him. He then introduced himself through his iwi affiliations and background.

The interview with Ron was open and emotional at times. Ron made it clear that he had not articulated the basis of his philosophy, theory and practice of counselling as a whole before. He was clearly exploring and developing his own understandings, of himself and his practice of counselling, as we talked.

I was interested in what Ron did in his counselling practice and why he did what he did. Ron told me this and frequently also went a step further, attempting to explain what he did and why he did it in terms of accepted Western theories and practices. That is, he drew parallels between his own practice as a Maori counsellor, and established Western practices. It may have been that Ron felt a need to justify his own theory and practice by linking it with recognised and published Western theory and practice of counselling. It may also have been that Ron was formulating his own bicultural models of counselling theory and practice. Alternatively, Ron may have been better able to articulate Western theory in a cogent and coherent way, while he was still exploring the Maori basis of his practice,

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and often did not have a Maori 'framework' within which to clearly articulate and justify this.

RON'S STORY

In this section, some of the influences on Ron's life and work up to the present are outlined.

Ron belongs to the Muaupoko iwi. At the time of writing, Ron is 42 years old and lives in a rented two-bedroom home, which he shares with his uncle and "a young fella. . . who needs somewhere to stay." Ron works with Yvonne in the Levin Alcohol and Drug (A & D) Centre. Ron was born in Wellington, but was raised in Levin, living with his Pakeha mother and Muaupoko father throughout his childhood and teenage years.

Brought up in the Catholic faith as one of eight children, Ron is also the eldest of the family's five sons. He regards the work his parents did raising their family with respect, a respect which is generalised to the work of parents.

R: I look at my parents. I mean, they ran a brilliant house, and we never wanted. And, I mean, I can remember when Dad was earning 16 pound a week, and he had eight kids. And he had to clothe them, feed them educate them, pay off the house. On 16 pound a week, and they did it. . . To me the heroes of our society are the mums and dads.

Although not included in the transcript of the taped interview, Ron initially introduced himself as a member of his hapu and iwi. In so doing he was locating his identity within his whakapapa. He was also establishing a relationship between himself as a member of Muaupoko, and my self as

a member of Te Atiawa. The two iwi share some common history. Thus, although I had not met Ron before, there was an awareness of a link and relationship between our peoples that extended beyond our own experience of each other.

Although Ron is not a father himself, he has a whangai 'nephew'. Ron acknowledges the role his parents played in relation to his own well-being and that of his siblings. He pays his respects to the matua generation, noting the important role they play in relation to younger generations. This is akin to the process in whaikorero of acknowledging and paying respects to those who have gone before. In addition, in more general terms, this introductory statement of Ron's may be seen as an acknowledgement of the centrality of the role of matua in the nurture and survival of future generations. Thus, the whakapapa, whangai and matua aspects of the whanaungatanga dimension form the introduction to Ron's story of himself.

Purpose

“ . . . this was the start of the understanding of purpose. . . ”

As a teenager in the 1960s, Ron was involved in the drug culture of the time. His experiences during this phase of his life led him on a long and eventful, although not always pleasant, journey in the physical and spiritual sense. The journey eventually led Ron back to his home country and town, and to the Christian faith.

R: I was . . . basically right into the hippy thing, and it was sex

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and drugs and rock and roll. And, umm, I travelled all over Asia and Australia and, umm, America and places. And at the end of that, in, umm, 1976, I found myself destitute on a beach in Northern Queensland, by Townsville. And so I went along to the local Sallys. . . the Salvation Army, to beg a feed and shelter. And a condition of getting a feed and shelter was that you had to do the drug and alcohol programme. And of course, it's actually quite a common strategy among the people on the street, to actually go through these programmes so that you can get a feed and a place to stay. And so all you do is you go along and you say "Hallelujah" and "Isn't it wonderful" and then you go away and get pissed [drunk] and then you come back the next night. And it's a survival mechanism and I acknowledge that and I think, "Good on ya; if that's how you survive then that's how you've gotta survive."

And then when I came back to New Zealand I did feel right from the beginning that this was the start of the understanding of purpose for me. That God had some purpose in it. And I knew that I was, that there was a large element of being blessed by virtue of the fact that the Sallys were there; to give me shelter and food and purpose, and like something to do with my hands all day, and, and of course being Salvation Army, a lot of, umm, scriptural stuff; and the AA [Alcoholics Anonymous] programme is a spiritual programme. So it started stirring the spiritual within me.

During his time as rangatahi, Ron spent some time

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travelling, exploring the world and getting into mischief. He left his family, turangawaewae and country, engaging in the 'hippy thing' at a place far removed from his whanau, hapu and iwi context. In this way, any effects on his whanau, hapu and iwi were minimised. It may be fair to say that the 'hippy thing' is centred on the self: self-fulfillment, self-satisfaction, and responsibility only to one's self. Ron would probably have had difficulty engaging in this self-as-central hippie culture in his home town and country, where he would inevitably be identified by others in relation to his place within whanau, hapu and iwi. It would have been difficult for Ron to sustain an exploration of individual self identity in a context where identification by others is based on one's membership of and connection with the group; whanau, hapu, iwi. In the eyes of others in the Maori community, including Ron's own whanau, it is likely that responsibility for and the consequences of Ron's actions would also be borne by his whanau.

Ron's attempts at 'independence' may be characterised as unsuccessful. He became dependent on alcohol and drugs while overseas.

The Salvation Army acted, in a way, as a whanau for Ron. However, in their actions, in 'awhi'ing' Ron, providing aroha, manaakitanga, and sustenance for his wairuatanga, they re-awakened his connections with fundamental dimensions of himself, including the whanauangatanga, tinana, wairuatanga and mana dimensions. In providing the things they did, the Salvation Army and perhaps the Alcoholics

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Anonymous organisation, put Ron in a position where he had to whakautu (give back, reciprocate or compensate in some way), or risk a severe diminution in mana. Ron sought to avoid having to deal with his responsibilities in regard to the mana of his whanau by leaving his whanau, hapu and iwi context. However, in connecting with the Salvation Army, Ron found himself in a position of relationship with a metaphorical whanau and with the spiritual dimension. As individual mana is intertwined with whanau and wairua, Ron's responsibility extended well beyond himself. In his attempts to disconnect, therefore, Ron inadvertently found himself in a position of re-connection.

It may be that once Ron's wairuatanga and mana dimensions were being provided with sustenance, his mauri was open to reconnection with the mauri of his own whakapapa and his turangawaewae as an aspect of that.

Ron associates the beginning of his understanding of purpose, with his experiences with the Salvation Army, the stirring of the spiritual within him, and his return to New Zealand, his turangawaewae. Ron's initial re-connections, thus led to further connections in the mana, whanaungatanga and wairuatanga dimensions. The poutama and whaiiao aspects of the hinengaro dimension are also apparent in Ron's reference to the beginning of his understanding of purpose.

Ron expresses his wairuatanga in terms of a Christian god. His perspective on God, however, is not primarily in terms of

a support for him, but as the source of purpose. This may be related to a conception of the wairua as a river which takes us to where we are meant to go. Our purpose is defined by the wairua.

In terms of Te Wheke then, this portion of Ron's narrative may be understood as a description of his attempts to escape a communal identity, to individuate, and his subsequent linking back into the wairuatanga, tinana, whanaungatanga, mana and hinengaro dimensions.

“... we are... the living face of our father...”

Ron identifies a number of explicit happenings which led him to where he is working now. His own history with drugs and the hippy lifestyle provided a form of experiential training and understanding of the substance abuse area, his growing strength in Christianity also led him to feel, “the calling to do the work” However, it was the death of his father which gave Ron the impetus and motivation to ‘settle down’ and to take his role, as his father’s son and as the eldest male in that line, seriously.

R: When I came back to New Zealand, I felt the calling to do the work. And I thought, “Well if I’m going to do it, I’d better go and get some training.” So I wrote to NSAD [National Society for Alcohol and Drugs], and at that time the Chief Executive and the, ahh, the Director, was a real character fella. . . and he said, “Oh look, Ron, forget all that bloody intellectual crap. Come down here and I’ll give you a job.” So there I was sort of, a week or two later, sitting in an office, ahh, counselling drug addicts. Ah, and about three months

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later I was actually running the methadone clinic in the Wellington area.

See what happened is, umm. . . See my father died in 1986; up till that time I was footloose and fancy free, and I was a teenager in the 60s so I was basically getting to be an older hippy by that time. And that was really very much where I was at. Umm, and I tended to be wandering and all that. Umm, and when Dad died, well obviously I'm his eldest son and that. I actually found it extremely difficult after living a fancy free life and no commitments and that sort of thing; and it's probably been the very best thing that's ever happened to me because it's quietened me down.

I: So you sort of had that responsibility of upholding the mana of your whanau after your father died?

R: Yes, of course. Yeah.

I: Did you sort of, did you feel that yourself? Or were you told that? Or. . . [interruption].

R: No, well my family, well my family, we're a family of real strong nuts; and no one can tell us anything, and unless we're actually committed from ourselves inside ourselves. Anyone can tell us anything and we'll just go and do exactly what we want to. Because it was something that came, it was something that I didn't actually seek; it just, like welled up inside me. It was important to do. I knew that I had to take Dad's place. Or me and my other brothers. I've got four brothers, so he had five sons and we are now the face of our father, the living face of our father. And it's really important for

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us to do that, I feel. This is what I was meant to do. There was something inside that connected me to my people which I had to express.

Ron explains his entry into the field of drug and alcohol counselling, and his change in lifestyle in terms of several dimensions of Te Wheke.

Ron's reference to a calling, and his conviction that "this is what I was meant to do," is an expression of the wairuatanga dimension. Ron is indicating that he was chosen to do the work he is doing, rather than actively making an individual choice to enter into the field. He does not go into detail, but it is likely that a *tohu* or series of *tohu* led to him being called along this particular path. Certainly, his description of his entry into the field, the speed and ease with which he entered the field, may be considered a *tohu*; a sign that he was on the right path. In entering the drug and alcohol field, Ron is also connecting his 'misspent youth' with the purpose of his life. In other words, he is connecting the path he followed in his youth with that he is following in the present and future. This provides a continuous pathway which originates in the flow of the wairua, thus Ron is honouring the purposeful direction within the flow of the wairua.

The second part of this narrative pertains to the whanaungatanga dimension. Ron enjoyed an extended youth as an 'aging hippy', until the death of his father elevated him from *rangatahi* to *matua* status. As *matamua*, responsibility for the mana of the whanau, and upholding the mana of his father, was particularly likely to fall on Ron. Ron's appreciation of this is indicated in his statement, "...when Dad died, well obviously I'm his eldest son and that...".

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Ron's reference to himself and his brothers as the living face of their father may be related to the concepts associated with mokopuna, and to the notion of kanohi ora (the living face, refers to the representation or embodiment of another, particularly a tupuna, by his/her living descendants).

On the death of his father, responsibility for upholding the mana of the whanau, and of his father, fell primarily to Ron, although Ron appears to see this responsibility as best shared between himself and his brothers. The death of his father led to an increase in the force of Ron's mauri. His wairuatanga and tinana dimensions were bound together more strongly. This was experienced by Ron through his whatumanawa ("committed from inside ourselves", "welling up") and hinengaro ("it was important", "I knew").

In his statement that "There was something inside that connected me to my people which I had to express. . ." Ron is referring to the connecting power of whakapapa and its expression in whanau, hapu and iwitanga.

Ron feels that the nature of his past, and who he is, has led him to where he is presently working. The area covered by the Levin Alcohol and Drug Centre includes Ron's own tribal boundaries, so he is working on his turangawaewae, amongst his own people. In a sense, he is also now able to carry the responsibilities of wearing the mantle of leadership left to him by his father. Ron also sees his work at the centre as clearly connected to the 'quest for meaning', which he feels characterised the hippie portion of his life. Christianity too has led Ron to where he is now. In effect, a

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number of different past experiences and present and future responsibilities have led to Ron's placement in his present position. The spiritual intentionality of the path that he is on gives Ron a strong conviction in his work.

R: It was even quite strange when I came in here. The job that was advertised, it was for a A and D worker [Alcohol and Drug worker] and so, aahh, I came down here. Umm, 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, umm, there was something inside me that connected me to my people which I had to express.

I: Like "this is what I was meant to do?"

R: Yeah, no doubt. Absolutely no doubt at all. Yeah and that's been a hippie experience for me too, because you know that's really what the whole hippie experience was about, you know, looking for, you know, "What is God? What is the universe? Who are we? Why are we here?". I mean, that was the buzz about being with those kinds of people was because that was the whole ambience, I mean that was the whole thing about why we were there. I mean we were really quite hedonistic and irresponsible but at the same time everyone had that question in their hearts. And this was the answer that came to me and I know that I've settled and become really quite rock solid. I know people like my boss, umm, you know he reckons I'm the hardest nut he's ever met. And it's kind of that steely insidiness that says, "No, I am who I am, and you have to deal with

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that. Any problems you've got to do with that is your problem. I know who I am and what I've got to do; so you know your problems are your problems you deal with that; don't come and try and lay it on me because that's the way I am." That's what I was put here for, I believe that's what God put me here for. Ae.

I: So that's a really strong spiritual base underlying what you're doing and why you're doing it?

R: Oh yes, yes without a doubt yes. And that's the same for all of us here.

Once again, Ron sees the wairuatanga dimension and Christianity as aspects of this, as laying down the path he is meant to follow. The tohu he describes, in the sense of getting the job over other applicants, despite a lack of formal training and qualifications, and his subjective experience of connection with the people, provide Ron with the assurance that he is on the right path.

The flow of the wairua has led to a number of connections for Ron. His search for himself and the meaning and purpose of life has led him, through the wairua, back to his connection to whenua and whanau. His work in the alcohol and drug field connects his past, present and future. His past experience with drugs and alcohol provides sustenance for his hinengaro in respect of his current work. He knows what drug and alcohol abuse is about. He has a substantial pool of mohiotanga and matauranga in this area.

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Ron's location, living and working within his rohe, connects him directly to his turangawaewae, marae, whanau, hapu and iwi. He lives and works as mana whenua, which is likely to provide him with added force and strength. Through his position, on his turangawaewae and amongst his own whanau, hapu and iwi, Ron has the added advantage of being able to work within the framework of whanaungatanga. It is through these connections that Ron has found himself. He has found his place within the whakapapa ("I know who I am"), and within the flow of the wairuatanga ("and what I've got to do", "that's what I was put here for").

As a result of these connections, Ron is feeling secure in his mana Atua (he is doing what is required of him in the wairua dimension and is thus under the protection of and empowered by God or the gods), mana tupuna (he is wearing the mantle of his father, connecting with the kanohi ora/living faces of his tupuna and performing a role left to him by them, thus he feels their guidance and protection), mana whenua (he is living and working within the ancestral lands of Muaupoko), mana whanau (he has taken up his role as matamua and is living and working for whanau rather than self, thus he has the support and strength of the whanau with him), and mana tangata (the tohu he has received provide him with assurance that he is doing the work that he is meant to be doing).

Ron's experience of his mana as being strong and secure

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may contribute to his boss's perception of Ron as "the hardest nut he's ever met".

Christianity

"... there was no major clashes between the two systems. . ."

Christianity is a major force in Ron's life and in his work. Ron does not see his Christian spiritual expression as clashing with his Maori spiritual beliefs.

R: I have to say that I'm Christian and strongly influenced. And I don't see that as clashing at all with Maori. Umm, to me the reason that Christianity was so readily accepted by our old people was that there was no major clashes between the two systems. The expression of it unfortunately has been very bad for us. The actual spirituality as expressed in the scriptures, umm, I believe sat very well with the Maori understanding of the spiritual values. It's been the application and the way that, umm, the Europeans. . . I mean. . . Christianity is not actually a European religion, it's a middle-Eastern, an Arab, ahhh, a Semitic religion, not a, not a, not a European one at all. Ahh, but they kind of grabbed it and called it their own and imposed all their own cultural values and biases on it and so we have these things like the, umm, Protestant Work Ethic, you know. Well I don't know whether all the Arabs would agree with that, but, umm, they think it fits in so then they come over and impose it on us. This (indicating the Centre) is a church. . .

it is a spiritual body of people.

Ron does not see his adoption of Christianity as synonymous with a rejection of traditional Maori spirituality. Rather, he sees Maori and Christian understandings of spiritual systems as compatible and complementary. In explaining the connection as he sees it, Ron places Christianity within the context of its whakapapa. Christianity originates in the Middle East, not in Europe. There is a perception that Maori connection with the peoples of the Middle East is certainly closer than with the peoples of Europe. Indeed, there has been a belief in some Maori religious movements that the Maori people are the descendants of the lost tribe of Israel. Thus the whakapapa of Maori spirituality and that of Christianity is seen by some as deeply connected and related.

Ron's perception is that 'European' (Western) peoples 'grabbed' this Middle Eastern spiritual structure and 'imposed their own values and beliefs on it'. Ron is describing the appropriation, modification and translation of a body of knowledge and spirituality from one cultural context into another. In effect, Ron is describing a colonisation process. He is not comfortable with the process, or the content of 'Europeanised' Christianity.

Ron's statement; "This is a church. . . it's a spiritual body of people", indicates that Ron views his workplace and the relationships between the workers there in spiritual terms. In terms of Te Wheke, this illustrates an aspect of the

wairuatanga dimension. Ron conceives of his earlier life experiences and in particular battles with drug and alcohol addiction, his calling to the field of alcohol and drug counselling work, and the context and process of his current work, as part of the wairuatanga dimension.

While Ron did not see his personal spiritual beliefs, in particular those based in Maori spirituality, as clashing with Christianity, this view was not shared by the established churches he had been involved in. Ron experienced condemnation from the churches for these aspects of his spirituality. Ron now lives his faith in a personal way, outside any church system. This experience perhaps contributes to Ron's flexibility regarding the nature of spiritual belief and expression. While Christianity remains central in his own life, he is accepting of other spiritual beliefs. Workers at Te Arahina Or, share a range of spiritual beliefs. In Ron's view, it is the sharing, living and expression of spirituality that makes a 'real church'. He finds this at Te Arahina Ora, his workplace.

R: I'm anti-church I might say. . . when I talked to the friggin people down there [at the local church] they all started casting out friggin demons and praying for me and laying on hands. . . So, so. . . umm, I couldn't live in the church system. And we see, actually what we do here [Te Arahina Ora] as being, this is a church. . . it's a spiritual body of people; and this I believe is the real church. I'm not a member of them [churches] any more. Because, for the reason that my needs were not. . . I was not able to express my spirituality in them.

The construction of church within a Western (European) paradigm, has centred on a particular way of building, interpreting and organising the body of spiritual practices, beliefs and relationships between these which is known as Christianity. Ron has found that these constructions do not meet his needs, nor do they allow for the full expression of his wairuatanga.

The understanding of 'church' as 'a spiritual body of people', the co-existence of different beliefs, the rangatiratanga accorded these and the location of the 'church' in a simple house which provides for work, play, eating and discussion is reminiscent of the way differences are accommodated in a marae setting. In particular, marae are often the sites for a range of spiritual expressions. Catholic, Anglican, Ratana, and traditional Maori participation in a single service or function, is not uncommon. Just as rangatiratanga is accorded to diverse iwi narratives, so is rangatiratanga accorded to diverse wairua narratives within these. This allows for the co-existence of a range of beliefs and expressions of these on the marae and surrounds. The marae serves as home, with facilities for eating and drinking, discussion and serious work, as well as play and worship. Ron appears to see his workplace, Te Arahina Ora, as similar in these respects, to a marae.

“... the spirit is purposeful ...”

As previously outlined, purposefulness, or intentionality, is an

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important part of Ron's understanding of the nature of God, the spirit, and his own place in God's spiritual plan. This is the way that Ron understands meaning in terms of his own life, and this is an understanding that he encourages in his clients also. The spirituality of clients, therefore, is a significant dimension for Ron, and his attitudes towards spiritual beliefs that differ from his own are a lot more flexible and open than the churches he was associated with.

R: I like to acknowledge a person's own spiritual understandings. I think the spirit is purposeful, and God is purposeful in these things, and it's like the scriptures say, "These tests aren't sent to destroy us, they're actually to make us strong."

The poutama model, and the narrative on which it is based concerning Tane's ascent to the twelfth heaven through the passing of tests and the overcoming of obstacles provide a template for this aspect of Ron's narrative.

As part of his spiritual expression, Ron follows a self-set program of prayer and meditation. This prepares him for the day ahead and the work he is about to do.

R: I do a lot of meditation and prayer as part of my, um, the way I live. I do basically an hour or a couple of hours in the morning, because I think that's really important for me; it establishes my polarity. So that when I come in here I'm sort of pointing in the right direction if you know what I mean?

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Ron uses English words and metaphor to describe his regime, but the practices he follows describe the acts of tapae and tohi. He is effecting the dedication and consecration rites daily, thus allowing for the continuing sustenance of the mana and wairuatanga dimensions through a reaffirmation of the tapu and mana of god or the gods. If one is dedicated to a god or gods, one comes under their protection, but the contract is also about fulfilling the roles and tasks designated by the god or gods. As a part of this contractual relationship, Ron is shown the way (nga tohu), and his part of the contract is to follow the path forged for him.

Polarity is a word applicable to the relationship between tapu and noa, the temporal and spiritual.

Identity

A major aspect of Ron's conception of himself centres around his identity as a spiritual being, and a Christian. A feature of his journey into self-awareness and self-acceptance involved coming to terms with himself as a whole person, including the good and the bad, the light and the dark elements co-existing within.

R: My life as a druggie was pretty bloody filthy and awful, you know? It was a typical bloody user's life. And it was, I mean, sex and drugs and rock and roll, I mean that's really all it was. It was animal, cruel, um. And so I was acutely aware of that I, um, I know now that that was my shadow,

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my dark side; and I don't have to work in it. It's still a part of me and I've had to learn to embrace it and accept it as being as much a part of me as my light side.

Ron is using the animal metaphor in a sense perhaps more aligned with a Western than a Maori view; as a being without soul or conscience. In his experience of disconnection from the whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, mauri, mana ake, ha koro ma a kui ma, whatumanawa dimensions of himself, Ron now sees himself as having existed without the capacity for those aspects of these dimensions that would differentiate him from a being without soul, conscience or meaningful connection. Thus, in disconnecting from whanau, Ron found himself losing aspects of the whanaungatanga dimension such as aroha and awhina. He also lost aspects of the whatumanawa dimension such as the ability to feel for others, experience compassion and make meaningful emotional connections with himself and others. Ron characterises the absence of these things in terms of the capacity to be cruel. He also characterises his dark side in terms of the animal metaphor, without soul (wairuatanga), conscience (hinengaro) and probably without the capacity for meaningful relationships (whanaungatanga).

An alternative translation of wairua is 'shadow'. Wairuatanga has a dark side and a light side. While Maori did not traditionally differentiate between good and bad in the sense of Christian morality, the force of the dark side could be seen as destructive to temporal life.

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Accepting his dark side, his shadow, along with his light side has been a major issue for Ron. He has had an ongoing battle with this facet in himself; manifested in the difficulty he has sometimes had in seeing himself as a valuable and worthwhile person. The conflict he had with the charismatic church movement reinforced aspects of Ron's own negative self-perceptions. However, it was his faith in God, the infallibility of God's purpose, and himself as a creation of God, that enabled him to recover from his negative encounters with the church.

R: One of the things I've struck myself has been my own identity, and in terms of my own worth. And, umm, of course with the charismatic church experience, it just totally reinforced my utter worthlessness, my fundamental flawedness, ah, without an acknowledgement of the perfection of God's creation; and that's where they, they sort of go off the track a bit. That God has a perfect purpose, even if it's flawed in it's, um, in it's ah, genesis and development.

Judaeo-Christian moral discourse locates the notion of sin within the individual. Children are born with sin and require christening or baptism in order to cleanse them of sin; people are characterised as inherently sinful.

Maori discourse pertaining to the nature of tapu and noa, does not carry the same implications of good and bad. Children are born imbued with the tapu and the mauri of the gods. The iriiri rite, whilst incorporating apparent similarities in process terms to the Christian christening and baptism

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rites (the uhi or sprinkling of water, the rumaki or dipping into water and the dedication to a god or gods), has a fundamental difference. English language renderings of the removal of tapu tend to focus on the notion of cleansing; people and things are described as being 'cleansed of tapu'. This description carries with it an inference that tapu may be equated with something unclean. This in turn may be equated with the Christian notion of sin. In fact, the birth of a child is tapu in Maori terms, because he or she is imbued with the tapu lo Matua Kore. In order to make his/her passage into the temporal world manageable, he or she must be placed under the patronage (tapu) of deities directly connected to and responsible for the temporal world. Therefore the iriiri rite is literally 'to place upon, to endow', and functions to imbue the child with the authority of certain deities. According to Marsden, "In this way, the child was incorporated into those gods to whom he (sic) had been dedicated" (Marsden, M. in King, M. 1992:125).

Here lies, perhaps, a source of Ron's confusion. There is a conflict between fundamental Western Christian conceptions of self as sinful and worthless without God; and Maori conceptions of the self as from and of the gods; and, like the gods, as flawed.

When Ron speaks of identity, he speaks in terms of connectedness, of context. His sense of himself is very tied into connection.

R: You know, one of the good things about, ummm, coming into your own identity is, all of what other people call your

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hang-ups and your negative things, they're no longer issues, because that's, because they are part of the path that God put me on to grow me into what he wants me to be. They have context. When the Pakehas stripped the trees off the land they stripped the historical continuity. Because the tree. . . you could go to the tree where your father talked to his father, talked to his father, talked to his father, talked to his father. . . , way back through the years, and so there was a physical. . . something I can see with my eyes and touch and feel. . . that connected me with that man seven, eight, nine, ten generations ago. So it brought into reality the fact that I am actually part of a whole. Not some sort of accidental, "Mum forgot her pill."

Ron is more sure of his position in regard to the wairuatanga dimension in this narrative, he has stepped out from the Western Judaeo-Christian discursive frame and into a wairua Maori framework. This is emphasised in the second part of this extract, where Ron clearly locates his wairuatanga in relation to te Ao Turoa, and particularly the domain of Tane-Mahuta, to mana whenuatanga, the mauri of the whenua, tupuna and elements of te Ao Turoa, and of his own whakapapa.

The first part of the narrative contains a metaphorical link between Ron and the trees he subsequently relates to; Ron's god will "grow me into what he wants me to be". In using this metaphor, Ron may be seen to be linking himself in a whakapapa sense, through his roots, to the domain of Tane Mahuta and to Papatuanuku.

An important aspect of Ron's sense of self lies in his place as Muaupoko, and in particular, as his father's son. When Ron began working at Te Arahina Ora, he experienced something of an 'awakening' of his Maori identity. The process he went through was painful for him and for others around him. As Ron describes it, the experience appears to have been felt in terms of 'connectedness', a 'welling up' of feeling. Ron describes experiencing an initial resistance, and then, finding it futile to resist, a giving in to the imperative inside him. Learning to express his new sense of himself in a way that did not entail conflict with himself or others, was itself a process that took some time.

R: When I came in here I actually found, umm, there was something inside me that connected me to my people which I had to express. And, in fact, I went through quite a lot of struggles and pain and a fair amount of conflict with others in the building as well as. . . that was like I couldn't control it in a sense, it just welled up and I couldn't deny it. And the harder I denied it, the more ratty. . . and I was hard to be with and argumentative, and the whole lot; until I actually acknowledged it and started to express it. And first of all I expressed it very aggressively and in a way that caused conflict, and it's as I've come to feel more comfortable with it, basically I suppose I've matured into it more, umm, I've become more able to. . . Probably as my identity has become more secure, it's less important to. . . I don't necessarily need to slap you down and tramp on you for me to feel secure.

The dimensions at work here are likely to be mana ake, wairuatanga, whanaungatanga and whatumanawa. Ron's description in terms of 'it just welled up' may relate to a depth and passion of feeling that comes from the whatumanawa. The trigger for this may have been wairua-based and stemming particularly from his engagement with his whakapapa and, through this, his position as matamua with a new role of protecting the mana of his father and the whanau. An aspect of this role is the maintenance of mana whenuatanga. Within his work environment, Ron is surrounded by workmates of Ngati Raukawa. While Muaupoko claim mana whenua status in the area, some of Ngati Raukawa identify Muaupoko as a defeated people, whose mana whenua status has been extinguished through conquest by Ngati Raukawa. Ron may have carried the depth of feeling that had been awakened in him, and his need, in mana terms, for utu (that is a way to re-balance the relationship through the pursuit of an equitable mana equation) into the work environment. He was likely to be experiencing a degree of whakamaa in relation to his Ngati Raukawa colleagues. Ron's initial efforts to re-balance his mana in terms of these relationships were focused on the performance of a form of muru. He would take from them that which he felt had been taken from him. In this respect, he would seek to re-balance the relationship through attempting to deprive his Ngati Raukawa colleagues of aspects of their mana. So he engaged in a process of takahitanga (trampling on the mana of others).

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However, there was a problem in this method. Te Arahina Ora operated as a metaphorical whanau. Therefore, in seeking to diminish aspects of the mana of others within the whanau, Ron could not avoid a negative impact on his own mana. When Ron began to acknowledge and express his feelings the way was open for the negotiation and construction of a whanau storyline that would enable a balance in terms of mana relationships to be established. The negotiated storyline may well have involved the allocation to Ron of a senior role within the metaphorical whanau, the separation of mana whenua issues from the work environment and an acknowledgement of the principles of rangatiratanga. Other members of the whanau would then have been able to play their part in the resolution of the whakamaa that Ron was experiencing.

Maori language was not spoken in Ron's parents' home. The children were encouraged to adopt Pakeha ways, and to master Western skills. While Ron did not have the opportunity to learn to speak Maori, he has noticed that his speech patterns in English, are similar to the style of spoken Maori. Ron links his own tendency for metaphorical speech to an 'innate' factor, it is something inborn and natural to him.

R: . . . the language spoken in the home in childhood was all, um, English. My father had come through that school where the only way to go was to get the Pakeha knowledge and the piece of paper and to speak English and to succeed in the Pakeha world. And that was his, ah, upbringing, ah,

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his conditioning.

I have no fluency in Te Reo, I have a bit of vocab. but I've got no understanding of the structure of it. Umm, although I believe in a lot of ways I speak, like my speech patterns in English are actually quite Maori. . . innately. Because I do tend towards the metaphorical, the allegorical rather than the, ah, the, whichever side of the brain is mechanical and linear, um, I'm more on the other side of the, umm, the cosmic, and the metaphor and the allegory in my own speaking. That's how I like to speak.

Despite the loss that Ron's father's beliefs about the primary importance of Pakeha knowledge and English language represented for Ron, he acknowledges the context within which this position was taken by his father. Thus he locates his loss of te reo in his father's 'upbringing' and 'conditioning', that is, in colonisation and oppression. In this way Ron is looking at the whakapapa leading to his loss of access to te reo Maori, and avoiding attaching any blame or condemnation for this to his father.

Ron's comments in reference to his speech patterns in English may reflect his experience of expressing whakaaro Maori (Maori ways of thinking and perceiving) in the English language. His reference to the 'innate' nature of his ways of thinking and expression, may, in turn, reflect his belief that ways of seeing, thinking and expressing come through whakapapa from the wairuatanga dimension. It may also reflect an aspect of ha a koro ma a kui ma dimension.

Ron very much wants to learn more Maori language and is beginning lessons. He sees learning te reo Maori as an important step towards gaining a deep understanding of Maori concepts; and he has seen the transformation of Maori people who have had the opportunity to learn their own language. Ron notes that he has a tendency to 'look up to' people who can speak the language. Perhaps this is because of his perception that their conceptions and understanding of themselves, others and the world around them may, in Maori terms, be more sophisticated, deeper, or clearer than his own.

R: We've just now, ah, and we're really just sort of jacking up the time of day, have got a Maori elder in who's going to do te reo with us. Ahh, and this is a man who has actually worked very successfully with clients in jail. And he's used a transformation through language process. Umm, by teaching them the language and then developing the concepts that that language expresses, he's actually initiated the process of transformation in the, in the, ah, prisoners. And it's something brilliant. It's something brilliant.

I probably tend to put people who have the language and an understanding of the culture and Maori concepts, umm, up ahead of me. Ahh, because that's what I, ahh, that's where I want to get to myself in time.

This narrative serves to underline the extent of the loss experienced in relation to not having te reo Maori. Ron associates te reo with a transformation of being and

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understanding; that is, within the wairuatanga and hinengaro dimensions. His acknowledgement that he tends to put people who have te reo and an understanding of the culture (tikanga Maori) 'up ahead of me' is an indication that Ron is likely to experience some degree of whakamaa in relation to these people.

The idea of 'innateness', of an inborn natural tendency or ability, comes through again when Ron speaks of his feelings about tikanga Maori and matauranga Maori. Ron distinguishes between explicit, factual-type knowledge in these areas, and implicit, felt or intuitive knowledge.

R: I feel very comfortable with them [*tikanga Maori, Maori traditional and customary ways of doing things based on Maori philosophy and understandings*], my discomfort is with my lack of knowledge. Ae. And I'm uncomfortable in that, umm, I may inadvertently offend or, umm, do something which may not be healthy, umm, because I'm ignorant. That's my discomfort. But in terms of what the values that are expressed, umm, the culture, the spirituality. . . they fit like a well-worn shoe. They're an old boot on my foot, literally. Umm, well I work a lot on, umm, it's sort of like in me. I mean totally on the intuitive level. I think intuitively I have a lot of that [*matauranga Maori*]. I don't consciously have a lot of it.

Ron is speaking here about ha a koro ma a kui ma and hinengaro. Although he does not possess a lot of cognitive knowledge concerning tikanga Maori, his experience of and

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comfort with it is in him. This is because he is part of the ongoing breath of life of his tupuna. Ron's lack of cognitive knowledge or language structures within which to 'fit' that which he 'knows', however, once again places him at a disadvantage, and thus has implications in terms of mana and possible whakamaa.

The intuitive level at which Ron works and his experience of matauranga Maori relate directly to aspects of the hinengaro. It is significant that these aspects are identified by Ron as distinct from conscious and cognitive aspects.

Ron feels his identity as a member of the Muaupoko tribe strongly. However he is also aware that tribal pride and identity have too often led to divisiveness at the expense of Maori people as a whole. So, while he is Muaupoko and proud of it, this will not stand in the way of his commitment to the wider iwi, that is, te iwi Maori.

In the following extract, Ron talks about Te Arahina Ora, and the significance of tribal identity, as well as Maori identity for the whanau there. The power of tribal and Maori identity as a motivating force in Ron's life and work is also apparent in this extract.

R: . . . all of the staff here are Maori. And so it, aah, and probably one of the good things about that is that we've got a good tribal mix as well. We've got Raukawa, Muaupoko and Ngati Raukawa are the two major tribal entities in this area and, uum, one of my co-workers is Ngati Raukawa and

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I'm Muaupoko and we get along fine. And it is that commitment to the people, not to the tribe in that sense, although we're actually very strongly tribal at the same time. It's kind of a funny thing because I can be totally and utterly Muaupoko in that setting because it's as we allow each other the freedom to be who we are, because then we get into the areas of commonality rather than the areas of conflict. And that's, that's been the strength of it. I mean Yvonne's here because she cares about her people, I'm here because I care about my people. I care about hers and she cares about mine. So it's really a choice thing for us. If we wanted to make tribal differences an issue then we could. But if we want to make the people our mission then we can just leave things as it is. I mean there are conflicts between our tribal groups as it is and there's often, ahh... Yvonne's involved in things which might sometimes, ahh, which work to the disadvantage of my people. But that isn't the important thing. More important than all of that is that our people are missing out on quality services. And well, you know, we can argue about this paddock belongs to you fellas and that paddock belongs to us fellas when our people are well. Not now.

So, yes unless some of us decide, "Yes. Look this is stupid, this is actually what's killing us as well," and act on that, we will just allow that to continue as well.

This is the negotiated narrative that has emerged out of Ron's earlier storyline pertaining to the conflict he felt and acted out in his early days working at Te Arahina Ora.

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Although Ron does not specifically frame it as such, this narrative features the negotiation and construction of a new metaphorical whanau, hapu and iwi narrative. Thus, the members of Te Arahina Ora define themselves as a metaphorical whanau with the primary role of this whanau being manaaki nga iwi or caring for all the people. This narrative incorporates the notion of 'te iwi Maori' in addition to a more traditional whanau, hapu, iwi narrative: "it is that commitment to the people, not the tribe in that sense; although we're still very strongly tribal at the same time."

This storyline, one predicated on 'te iwi Maori', provides an illustration of the flexible and ultimately relational nature of whanau, hapu and iwi structures. The metaphorical whanau is the staff and clients of Te Arahina Ora. The metaphorical hapu would probably be Maori alcohol and drug or social service workers. Staff of Te Arahina Ora define themselves as te iwi Maori in relation to their position as tangata whenua in Aotearoa/New Zealand and as outside of te iwi Pakeha. The practice of rangatiratanga, by acknowledging and respecting differences but joining together in a common battle for the survival of the iwi, is illustrated in this narrative.

Alongside this is a commitment to protecting the rangatiratanga of traditional whanau, hapu and iwi structures. Ron states that, within the workplace, "we allow each other the freedom to be who we are, because then we get into areas of commonality, not conflict."

Although the two positions (te iwi Maori and whanau, hapu-

based) have the potential to create conflict, and they involve some deliberate separation of personal and professional aspects of self, it may be that the shared kaupapa of caring and providing services for te iwi Maori has provided a cause larger than individual or tribal kaupapa. However, tribal divisions and the push towards the maintenance of mana runs deep. Ron is still struggling with this.

Cross-cultural Conflict.

Several experiences that Ron has had with Pakeha management and staff while working at Te Arahina Ora have engendered in him feelings of frustration and anger towards Pakeha individuals and systems.

R: Over this last year, we saved 15 percent in terms of saving from our budget, over, nearly \$15,000 out of our total budget. Umm, and they were purposeful strategies, that we had saved the money because we had plans for using it. What happened was that the accountant in the head office looked at us accumulating the money, and ripped us out, and pushed the money into other areas which hadn't budgeted well. So I won't even get complimented on how well we've done, in fact now, because of that, ahh, I've come in under budget. Which is really a very artificial manipulation of the budget. Ahh, so now they're actually sort of. . . ahh, they reinforce their own ideas about the place. That I can't manage money because now I'm four grand over budget. No, I'm not over budget! In terms of

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the financial plan that I set out at the beginning of the year, I've come in 15 percent under budget. But that won't show in the end of year results. It will look as though we've been profligate; and we haven't.

The same thing happened in terms of. . . ah, we had a Pakeha receptionist here until just a week ago. Ah, and I was not allowed to supervise her work. Every time I asked her to do something, she'd perform; write letters to the Union, ring my boss. And my boss put me right out of the picture, so we spent a whole year of total conflict between the team and our receptionist. And the regional manager was the master of ceremonies.

I was not allowed to be the manager and work in a, ahhh, boss relationship with a, a Pakeha woman.

Racism is a theme of Ron's narrative here, and alongside run the themes of anger, hurt and whakamaa. Ron feels at a disadvantage in relation to the Pakeha system and individuals within that. He is expressing himself using the rational language of the hinengaro dimension, but the issues are affecting him within the whatumanawa and mana ake dimensions.

Ha a koro ma a kui ma also features strongly in this narrative. First, because the anger that Ron feels is likely to relate to well over a century of injustices and assaults on the mana of his tupuna as well as himself; and second, because the issue is also a matter of tikanga the principles of which

have been laid down by the tupuna. As Ron and his colleagues have defined themselves as a whanau, they have also located their processes within tikanga Maori. A feature of tikanga as it pertains to whanau and hapu is that of the rangatiratanga of whanau and hapu. For outsiders to interfere in the affairs of other whanau and hapu, and in particular in their right to self-management and autonomy, is contrary to tikanga, in particular as it pertains to the principle of rangatiratanga. In both the stories told here by Ron, representatives within the Pakeha system have, in these terms, interfered with the rangatiratanga of te whanau o Te Arahina Ora, and in so doing, they have directly trampled on Ron's mana as manager and rangatira of the whanau. This may well appear doubly unfair to Ron, as he considers that he has performed well in meeting his obligation to the Pakeha whanau, who are their neighbours and partner. To add insult to injury, the regional manager, as rangatira of the Pakeha hapu, has actively participated in undermining the mana of Te Whanau O Te Arahina Ora and of Ron as rangatira of that whanau.

Personal growth/Professional development

“... our growing edges are on the fringe.”

Ron refers frequently to the theme of learning and personal growth. He often conceptualises aspects of the learning and growing process in terms of a journey. However, he also used an analogy of the 'growing edges on the fringe.'

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Ron's training for his present job has included the experiential side previously noted, and some earlier experience working with drug and alcohol addicted persons. However, some of Ron's learning has proceeded from the books he has read and his own personal interpretation and integration of the ideas within them. Ron considers himself to be a thinking, as well as a feeling person, and his own interests tend towards philosophical quandaries such as understanding the nature of himself, others, God and the universe.

Despite having had no formal training in counselling theory and practice, Ron has knowledge of a variety of counselling theories and techniques which he has explored through reading, and which he has critically evaluated in terms of their compatibility or incompatibility with his own views and understandings. Ron sees both experiential and formal theoretical training as important, and "a marriage of the two" as "probably the optimum." Although he plans to undertake a professional counselling course in the near future, with the aim of getting the 'bit of paper' and he sees the advantage of having "hooks to hang things on", Ron is generally critical of Western educational methods.

R: As I say I'm untrained and I, ahh. . . I believe the term is eclectic. I, basically, what interests me and I have tended towards more the, umm, the understandings of how we all are, and you know the world and the universe and all that, rather than the history of the Battle of Waterloo or something, which would basically make me sick. I get tired thinking about it, let alone reading the bloody thing.

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And, umm, it tends to be sort of 'fringey', my reading. Because our growing edges are on the fringe. By definition they're on the fringe. . . See, I believe this is one of the problems with the Western education system. My understanding of the word education is based on the word 'educate', which means to draw out; the Western model of education is about stuffing in, filling up with context instead of understanding process. Umm, and that's really where we lack, because our children don't develop critical thinking capacity, they don't develop their inner skills, because they're universal skills. If I know how to think critically and analyse, and, and, and draw things together, then I can go and look up any subject and learn it with ease. Whereas, if you stuff my head full of content, you haven't actually taught me the how to of learning, you've taught me the what of learning.

Well one of my favourite books is "Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Riding," and what he actually talks about, what he talks about is the absurdity of empiricism and, because at the end of the day you actually have to prove that what you're observing is reality and you actually can't. So all your empirical data actually only rests on your assumptions and can never be anything more. So their [I think Ron is referring here to Western systems and Pakeha thinking within these] tendency to want empirical data as proof that what they're saying is true, in fact is based on an absurdity.

Ron is using the whakaaro aspect of the hinengaro to develop an argument within a Western cognitivist discourse

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for the validation of his whakaaro Maori. He is attempting to develop an argument in support of his experience of learning, hinengaro and whakaaro. For instance, Ron's analogy of "growing edges on the fringe" utilises a plant metaphor in respect of growth and development. This is consistent with Maori conceptions of growth and development, where a plant, and particularly the koru, is a primary metaphor for growth and development. However, the power of this metaphor within Western ways of thinking is unclear. Ron's reference to the 'fringe' may also be an indication of his rejection of or rejection from that which is 'mainstream' in Western thinking. Ron conceives of his role as manager of Te Arahina Ora, as one on the fringe. In effect, Ron's role is located at the interface between the Western institution and system of which Te Arahina Ora is a part, and the metaphorical and literal whanau, hapu and iwi of which Te Arahina Ora is also a part.

Ron is not comfortable with a system or method of education which is about "stuffing (information) in". Perhaps because this is a method which assumes a firmly bounded, self-contained individual as the learning subject. Ron prefers a conceptualisation and process of education which is based on 'drawing out', possibly because this model is founded in connection and relationship, and assumes a permeable boundary between self and other.

Ron believes that education should enable people to "think critically and analyse and. . . draw things together". However, this prescription for learning may be an explosive

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recipe. Western models of learning and understanding tend to be based on critical analysis through pulling apart. Knowledge is gained through the dissection and differentiation of the parts that make up a whole. Maori models of learning and understanding tend to operate through 'drawing things together'. Thus Western models tend to delineate, differentiate and take apart, and Maori models tend to be based on identifying commonalities, linking and drawing together. This may be a further aspect of Ron's position on the fringe of two distinct discursive frames.

In seeking to express and validate his whakaaro (which may be identified as whakaaro Maori) within Western discursive frames, Ron is destined to be 'on the fringe', because his way of thinking and being does not fit neatly within Western conceptions of healthy selfhood. However, at the same time he is partially marginalised in terms of locating his selfhood within Maori discursive frames, because of a lack of cognitive knowledge of how to express, describe and validate his self within Maori discursive frameworks.

Working in the field which he is in has not been plain sailing for Ron. He has lived through a lot of personal soul-searching, pain and grief at times. However, his commitment to the kaupapa, and to the people that he works with is such that, in his good moments, his trials merely make him more determined. The nature of the work that he has been doing, the conviction that he brings to this work (which entails total involvement on his part), and a relative

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lack of supervisory and spiritual support and guidance, have contributed to Ron experiencing two 'breakdowns'. Ron interprets these experiences, in the context of his beliefs regarding spirituality and the "purposefulness of the spirit."

R: Since I've started out in this work I've had two nervous breakdowns. And that, that's had a lot to do with not knowing what I was doing, and working myself to death, and plus of course you're working in a hall of mirrors when you work with other people. And so I was constantly confronting my neurotic self; and didn't know how to handle it. I had no-one to talk to about it. So in the end the old mind said, "Oh, well look we'll take a break for a few weeks."

I: When you say 'nervous breakdowns' what do you actually mean?

R: Well, I don't, I don't know. I just call them nervous breakdowns. Well I ended up in the psych unit at Wellington Hospital, and they medicated me with anti-depressants and I don't know what they all were. And what had actually happened, like the feeling inside was that I'd lost contact with everything, and I was panicking. I couldn't understand, and I was full of pain and grief and everything. And it was like, ahh, it was like I just gave up. Ahh, because I couldn't, you know, I couldn't bloody cope. And it was also a lack of people around me to help me in that part. Ahh, and of course the other side of it is that part is connected with the dark side of the spirituality. . . So I

think that's, yeah, no, that is where it's true; that this is a spiritual battle, and so I lost a couple of times. The good thing about losing is that then you start to get a bit smarter about it and think, "Well, stuff it, I'm not going to lose. I might just get a little bit smarter and find a way of not doing that again." Because I think the spirit is purposeful, and God is purposeful in these things, and it's like the scriptures say, "These tests aren't sent to destroy us, they're actually to make us strong."

Ron's experiences may be read within a Western discursive framework, in which case his story becomes one of psychiatric illness, depression and possibly spiritual unrest. Alternatively, his experiences may be considered within a Maori discursive framework. In the narrative above, Ron touches on both, but is unable to construct a coherent explanatory narrative within either framework.

Although he did not fully understand his reactions, Ron (as previously discussed) has had difficulty responding effectively to threats to his mana. Having lived away so long, returning only after the death of his father – who might have provided some form of guidance and protection for him – it may be that Ron found himself in a position of leadership and authority that he had not been adequately prepared for. Had events followed an ideal course, Ron would have maintained close contact with his whanau, hapu and iwi, and would have been guided over many years to learn and develop the tools he would need to uphold the mana of the whanau and maintain his own safety. In the actual course of

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events, however, Ron was in a position of responsibility in several respects, without having received adequate support or preparation for this. Ron was not well equipped in terms of the tools he needed to construct a safe place and the weaponry he needed to defend it, within either a Western or a Maori framework. He did not have the formal education and training in Western models of mental health and in management that would have helped him develop a strong position within the Western system. Nor was Ron well equipped with what he needed to gain and maintain a safe position within Maori systems as framed through Maori discourse. He became whakamaa. In doing so he became vulnerable to a variety of negative influences.

Ron describes the feelings associated with his experience as pain, grief, panic and disconnection ("lost contact"). These feelings are understandable given the following conditions that Ron effectively faced in his position within Te Arahina Ora.

First, although Ron may have been led to the work he is doing in a spiritual sense, he was not selected for or mentored into the work by his own people. In searching for a means to express his spirituality, Ron encountered difficulties and uncertainty. His conscious avenue of spiritual expression was focused on Churches and, as such was not necessarily firmly tied to his whakapapa and whanau. Although Ron has whakapapa connections with his area of work and residence, because of his extended absence and consequent lack of opportunity to participate in and

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contribute to whanau, hapu and iwi affairs, these were not reinforced with connections in the temporal realm of whanaungatanga and whanau support. However, Ron did not come to the job alone, inevitably he carried with him the mana and history of his tupuna.

When Maori encounter Maori, they encounter the different dimensions that make up the Maori self. When Maori interact with Maori, they interact from and through these dimensions. When Ron returned to Horowhenua and began working at Te Arahina Ora, he did so as the living face of his tupuna.

Returning to his turangawaewae and entering the workplace, Ron unwittingly encountered a battle field within the wairuatanga dimension. The battle was the rekindled war between Ngati Raukawa and Muaupoko over Horowhenua lands. It is a highly charged situation, often working at a level beneath that of the surface text. Ron was aware of conflicting currents in the flow of the wairua, however, he did not have the knowledge within the hinengaro dimension to protect himself adequately.

In this situation, perhaps Ron found himself out of his depth, aware of a range of issues beneath the surface, but without the tools to expose and deal with them. This experience, a loss of mana and the feeling of powerlessness associated with this is a reason for deep-seated feelings of pain and grief.

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Feelings of panic may sometimes be associated with damage to the mauri. Metaphorically finding himself alone on the Muaupoko side of the battlefield and without adequate weaponry in terms of knowledge, Ron's mauri took fright. This left Ron 'disconnected' in terms of maintaining the bond between wairua and tinana. In this state, the force of the mauri is tremulous and the experience is likely to be one of general disconnection.

Pain, grief and panic are manifested within the whatumanawa dimension. While in themselves they are not negative, a lack of understanding of or ability to productively express them gave them a potentially destructive power.

In working with people, Ron was also put in a position of comparing himself with them, sometimes unfavourably. He was evaluating and assessing his mana in relation to them. "Working in a hall of mirrors", Ron was constantly confronting his disconnected self.

Thus, Ron's experience of having lost contact, of disconnection, may have been quite accurate. And feelings of fear, grief and panic may be considered normal reactions to this situation.

Working in the field of substance abuse, with the connotations that has for him, as well as in his own personal development, Ron has felt the need for the support, guidance and teaching from an elder. That he has not had that is also an issue for Ron in terms of

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personal validation.

R: I know sometimes I feel the real need for having been taught by an elder, and I haven't been. And there's probably some that would say, "Oh he's talking shit". Well, if I'm talking shit, then I am; but that's my experience. For whatever it's worth.

Ron's experience here is probably related to that described in the previous extract, and relates to a lack of meaningful and long term preparation for his role as the senior male adult in his whanau. It is an experience of being exposed and vulnerable. The outer leaf of the flax bush has been stripped away, leaving Ron exposed to the elements before he is ready.

Ron's Model of Counselling

In this section Ron describes his model of counselling theory and practice.

Spirituality

"Currents in the flow of the wairua. . ."

Ron sees spirituality as the core of his understanding of what counselling is about. For him this means that Christianity informs all aspects of his counselling practice.

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R: My model of the counsel is the Holy Spirit, and that's one of his names. The, uhh, the Paraclete. And the Greek word 'paraclete' actually means, ahh, 'the one who,' 'someone who walks alongside you,' ahh, and that's what I believe is the essence of good counselling, it's someone. . . I'm not bigger than you so I come over the top of you with all my grand knowledge and understanding or overpower you through that. I'm not in the front pulling you along and I'm not in the back kicking you up the backside. I'm walking alongside of you. And that to me is the most important principle of counselling, as opposed to psychotherapy or family therapy or whatever all those therapy things are. This is what I call counselling, the counsellor, the advocate, the one who walks alongside, the one who is there to talk to, to, you know. When we both fall on our face we pick ourselves up and walk along a bit more and encourage. . . so to me, counselling is about the encouraging, the awahi, the looking for the good. The looking for what God's doing in your life and helping you to understand, to develop context.

What Ron is describing here is the whanaungatanga dimension and the tautoko, awahi, kia manawanui and tuakana-teina aspects of this. He is talking about counselling as shared experience and support.

The client's process is to find their place in the flow of the wairua ("looking for what God's doing in your life") and to get a clear view of where they are in relation to this (to understand, to develop context). Once again, Ron is talking

about connection. His model of counselling is based on helping clients to move from a position as individuals with individual issues, to a position of connection with the different dimensions of themselves.

The spiritual is an element, not only in Ron's perceptions of counselling, but also in his perceptions of his clients, and of the aims of the counselling endeavour. Ron sees clients' spiritual journey as central to the counselling context and process. Thus it is important for counsellors to be able to assess the place their clients are at, and by implication, it is necessary for the counsellor to have walked the path on their own journey as well. Ron finds that the assessment of this aspect of the client is necessarily an intuitive exercise.

R: Basically I like to look for, ahh, development of the person. So I sort of look at people who I think are just starting, sort of a bit along and got confused, or are quite a way along and got confused, or whatever. And, ahh, although I'm using a sort of linear description, I actually see it as being much more a question of place. Oh I'm in a different place than you, and you can't be in my place, and I can't be in yours. And that's, it gets away from the up and downness. But I do try to seek, to look at, is this person at the beginning stages of their understandings, or their journey, or are they... ?

I: What sort of understanding or journey in particular are you looking for?

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R: It's the beginning of the spiritual understanding, umm, because from that flows all the other understandings. And it's quite often. . . Ahh, I think that's quite interesting because, people may express, umm, out loud to you, you know, umm, this spirituality nonsense, and often, ahh, I think just through experience and seeing it often, umm, you see them, you can see them actually struggling with the beginnings of the spiritual thing. So that's. . . ah it's an intuitive thing. I get a gut feeling about it. Ahh, and I think, ahh, working intuitively, ahh, I think that it really, it is important to understand that it is intuition. And so we can't go developing strategies or diagnoses based on that. And it becomes a kind of a . . . something I'll watch as we . . . as our relationship develops, rather than go, "Oh yes and thus x, y, and z." I think it's important when we work intuitively that we recognise that, because I think it is a limitation of the intuition.

Ron begins this narrative speaking of location; he seeks to locate the place in the journey that clients are on. When asked what journey he is talking about, Ron is clear that it is the spiritual journey. Thus, the primary theme in his assessment of clients is their location within the wairuatanga dimension.

Ron begins acknowledging the primacy of the intuition aspect of the hinengaro dimension in assessing aspects of the wairuatanga dimension, although he also ties intuition into the wairuatanga dimension.

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Ron concludes this narrative with a confusing statement which appears to discount the validity of intuition by subjecting it to the vagaries of empiricism. The statement, "and so we can't go developing strategies or diagnoses based on that", coupled with his earlier statements acknowledging the central role that 'intuition' plays in his conceptualisation of the counselling process, tends to indicate that Ron is 'jumping rope' between conflicting Western and Maori discursive frames. Although he begins by asserting his process quite clearly, Ron then questions it by subjecting it to a Western analysis within which the wairuatanga dimension and aspects thereof have difficulty attaining coherence.

A further aspect of Ron's emphasis on the spiritual in counselling, is illustrated in the following quote, where he refers to himself, the counsellor, as a 'vessel'. This quote was made in the context of Ron explaining the circumstances of a counselling encounter which he found personally moving and professionally rewarding. However, this encounter led him to seriously question himself in terms of his own capabilities and his spiritual position. This counselling experience challenged Ron emotionally and spiritually. It extended his conception of what he was capable of, as he had previously relied on more cognitive approaches. He was 'freaked out' with the intensity and implications of this encounter, while at the same time finding it highly gratifying.

R: . . . that is a model of how I would like us to be in a sense.
That we can, ah, go to the depths, soar to the heights, and

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be in all the places in between in a totally human way with each other. Because I think that's the power that changes people. One of the problems which I, that I have I discovered actually after I had. . . well after I had experienced it emotionally, and I find this is quite common in the way I, the way I work, is that often the intellectual, the conscious understanding stuff comes sometime after the event. . .

I thought that I was basically quite good at getting the, um, the issues defined, and developing a relationship with a person. Umm, but if they needed to do that kind of depth work, um, they probably would have to go to someone who understood all those things better. And so I did that to myself as well as, um, you know, 'You can't really go there.' And what freaked me, um, because I didn't know where we [Ron and his client] were going, and I didn't even know the way out, I just continued with it and it's, we sort of, we just did whatever was appropriate at the time, and what felt right and was right at the time, and came out the other side. So that was quite good, for me to actually learn that, because I'd actually, um, again it was always focusing on the weakness of the vessel, instead of the power that's channelled through it. Yes.

The first paragraph in this narrative refers to the power of whatumanawa, and the transformative nature of connections within this dimension.

Whatumanawa can also infer a loss of cognitive control.

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That is, the whatumanawa dimension may operate with, but is not under the control of, the hinengaro.

Control is a major theme within Western discursive frames. In particular, the mind seeks to master the emotions. Mastery is sought through understanding. Thus, the Western mind seeks to make emotion stand under it. The Western mind seeks control of the emotions and the universe through a process of disconnecting and partitioning pieces of the whole. The whole is unencompassable, uncontrollable and uncontainable by the mind, but discrete and disconnected pieces are manageable; they are able to be encompassed, controlled and contained by the mind.

Ron is speaking within a Western discursive frame when he seeks intellectual understanding of the whatumanawa (and other) dimensions, when he defines the advent of intellectual and conscious understanding after the event as problematic, and when he assumes that understanding is a necessary pre-requisite for work within the whatumanawa dimension.

The final statement in this narrative indicates that Ron has moved into a Maori discursive frame as he abandons the notion of personal and cognitive control.

In some circumstances, Ron also sees a spiritual dimension in the work he does in substance abuse. He uses Christian imagery to illustrate his perceptions of the spiritual aspects of drug and

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alcohol problems.

R: . . . that part [drug abuse] is connected with the dark side of the spirituality and there's a lot of the occult, and suicide and everything. I, I personally see things like the heavy metal music and all of that kind of jarring jangly (makes a jarring jangly kind of noise) kind of stuff, you know and it's all in, I mean really when you deal with these people all of their images are of Satan and, ahh, knives and lightening bolts and. . . you know, there's never, umm, cherubs and cherry trees. So I think that's, yeah, no, that is where it's true; that this is a spiritual battle. . .

Ron's use of imagery illustrates the connection between te ao turoa, the environment, and the wairuatanga. What we expose our body to has implications in terms of the wairuatanga dimension, and the reverse is also true.

Seamlessness

Ron draws aspects of his counselling model from his understanding of traditional Maori life. For Ron, counselling is an activity that should be 'seamless' from the rest of life, it should be seen as part and parcel of individual and community living. It should be an activity out in the community, rather than shut away behind closed doors in a clinic or office. Also, it should be holistic - concerned with the whole person, rather than reductionistic and concerned with "bits" of the person.

R: . . . counselling I believe is actually also. . . you see I believe that the Maori community was what I use the term seamless. There was no difference between the church and the garden and the fishing and the birth and the death and the building, the marae and the going to war. They were all just currents in the flow of the wairua. There was no other. . . Something wasn't just out there as different, it was all a part of a great whole. And that's what, I believe that's one of the things, the, this is what dis-in-tegration actually is, is when we lose the integration of that wholeness and start splitting it off into family, social, psychological, emotional, spiritual, like as if, you know, as if we're a car with a carburetor and parts. And the Western model of dealing with people tends to be fairly mechanical and reductionist. And it's sort of like, well if I tune up your carburetor and put a bit more air in your tyre, you're going to run well, without attending to the whole of me, and seeing where my imbalances are and my needs are, and my developmental needs are, ahh, and where I need to be encouraged and where I need to be more disciplined and, uhh, and more mature in my outlook and that. And that's why, it's come to me. And that's why I say going around and having a korero and that over the kitchen table, ahhh, I can do a lot of really effective counselling in that situation which has absolutely nothing to do with the classic Western counselling type, ahh, model. You know, task assignment and la-de-da-da-da, and behavioural change and perceptual change and all that.

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Ron is speaking of an holistic approach with specific reference to the wairuatanga, whanaungatanga and hinengaro dimensions. However all is subsumed within the wairuatanga dimension; "They were all just currents in the flow of the wairua."

In explaining his perceptions, Ron appears to utilise a Western discursive frame and metaphors drawn from that. When he states, however, "and that's why, it's come to me" it is clear that he is not in the self-as-central, self-as-originator-of-action role, but in the self as receptacle role.

Ron's linking of the wairuatanga dimension within all aspects of life, environments, activities and events indicates that he sees counselling as a process within the wairuatanga dimension. As the wairua is present everywhere (although not always in a positive sense), effective counselling can take place anywhere that the wairua, or the mauri, is right. This may well mean that an environment other than Te Arahina Ora counselling rooms is the most appropriate venue. The site at which counselling takes place may be one most appropriate and comfortable for clients. This may mean in clients' own surroundings. One implication of this is that counselling does not necessarily take place in a context in which the hinengaro only is engaged. Counselling may also take place in conjunction with other activities. This removes the process from an intensive and exclusive focus on the hinengaro dimension.

Ron's theme of 'seamlessness' is carried on in a sense, in the way

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he equates wholeness with wellness, his antipathy to approaches which he sees as 'splitting' the person into parts, or even splitting the person from their context. Ron's ideal counselling encounter is based on a dialogical model, where counsellor and clients share as equals, and both benefit from each other. Although Ron sees some Western techniques as compatible with his perspective, he also finds a model within Maoritanga.

R: You see I'm really heavily, I'm quite heavily influenced by Karl Rogers. And it's where your technique is so refined it becomes no technique at all in a sense. It's a person to person meeting. And it's that as one person validates the other person, that's what leads us both into wholeness and wellness. And I believe our old people are just brilliant at doing that. And that's the. . . I believe that these are the values that we can bring to this sick world; as Maoris. This is the unique gift that we've got to give to our society. And while our Pakehas are hung up on Jung and Freud and Adler and Gottenglangill and all the rest of it, that's where they'll stay.

Ron is describing the essential principles of the process of whakawhitiwhiti korero, the object of which is illumination and understanding. The method of whakawhitiwhiti korero operates across dimensions but originates within ha a koro ma a kui ma. It is a taonga tuku iho.

Tino Rangatiranga

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Tino Rangatiratanga, which Ron translates as sovereignty, is a primary component of his conceptualisation of himself and others. Ron applies this term to individuals, to the organisation in which he works, and to Maori people as a whole. Thus Maori people are sovereign, with the sovereign right to make decisions, to exert power and authority for themselves. Te Arahina Ora, while it exists at present under the auspices of the Area Health Board [this was the organisational structure through which in-patient and out-patient services were provided within different regions], has its own sovereignty in Ron's eyes; and each person is sovereign, with power and authority over themselves.

R: . . . in here we have a very strong commitment to tino rangatiratanga. . . we act on that rather than the instructions from the Area Health Board. It's caused a lot of conflict, but at the same time it's what's been. . . it's what's kept us sane.

I: When you talk about tino rangatiratanga; what do you mean? Do you see that as being, like we have authority over our own?

R: We're sovereign; I'm sovereign. I'm a sovereign person. We are a sovereign organisation, and we exercise our own sovereignty. And that's been a major. . . we still, we still have to confront issues along the way because it, it does come down sometimes to basically, well, at the end of this session I might not have my job. Ahhh, but I feel that unless we are prepared to actually make that commitment to rangatiratanga, then the Pakeha gets away with

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everything else. And it's only as we exercise the rangatiratanga that belongs to us; otherwise rangatiratanga stays out there as a concept. . . a head thing rather than as an actual living experience.

In effect, Ron is speaking of rangatiratanga as a form of independent practice. He identifies this as an area in which conflict sometimes arises between Te Arahina Ora staff and their 'governing body' the Area Health Board. Ron's commitment to the idea and practice of rangatiratanga is consistent with the position that he and other staff of Te Arahina Ora have taken in their understanding of the structure and relationships of their organisation in terms of metaphorical whanau, hapu and iwi. In this context, rangatiratanga is essential to the health, well-being and integrity of the organisation and those who work within it. The ideal and practice of tino rangatiratanga is designed to maintain and enhance the mana of particular groups, without impinging on the mana of other groups or organisations. Thus, rangatiratanga may be practised in multiple sites. It implies a sense of independence and authority rather than a sense of power over (others).

This concept of personal and collective sovereignty, tino rangatiratanga, provides the basis of Ron's code of ethics.

R: I won't counsel people because they've been forced to do it. I recently had a case of a sexually abused 14 year old boy, who, everyone else wanted him to undertake

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counselling, umm, and it was, ahh, the way it was handled was shockingly rude and abusive of the boy, because they sent me to his school. Ahh, it was jacked up to go to his school, I'd never met him before and they expected him to start counselling about sexual abuse. I basically just said "Hello, I am who I am and, and you know I've just come to meet you," and I explained my understanding of the situation, and he told me he did not want to do it. And I, um, you know, I won't work in that kind of situation because I believe that's only a further abuse of the sovereignty of that client. Although, I also, um, I don't know if this is consistent, but I don't have any conflict with using, ummm, leverage either. Like with, for instance, with, we run a probation program here. And so that's coercion from the courts to come in here. I believe it's to do with the approach, because I, we won't impose on them. We do an education program, but it's a more, an exploration of the issues and your understanding of it type of thing, and so it's not intrusive on the client. Ahh, but I don't have any difficulty with the idea, ah, of people from the courts being in a sense levered into this. And I think it's a good thing. In that it's exposure to this system, and a meeting of this kind of people by way of greeting.

Ron is not prepared to intrude into the tapu area of the hinengaro, unless certain conditions are met. He will not seek to find out about, explore or expose that which is hidden, unless the clients wish to expose this and the other intertwined dimensions of themselves. If these conditions are met, a sacred covenant is, in effect, established, as the

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wairuatanga and whanaungatanga dimensions are unavoidably involved as well as the physical beings of Ron and potential clients.

Ron's model of counselling supports the mana ake and rangatiratanga of clients. In the case of rangatahi in particular, the inter-relationship between the mana of the person and the mana of the whanau should be borne in mind.

Tapu

Another concept, related to the tino rangatiratanga/sovereignty dimension is the concept of te tapu o te mahunga; that is, in Maori tradition the head is seen as sacred. Ron sees intrusiveness into the personal mind and thoughts of people as a violation of their tapu, and tantamount to profanity. This principle is another foundation stone of Ron's code of ethics.

R: . . . you know the old Maori thing of the tapuness, the sacredness of the mind. It's not up to me to go in there and start fishing around in it and, umm, making decisions about your mind, because it is sacred to you. So let's talk about how your mind is working. . . not, umm, not just give you some clinical view because that will change the way you feel. Which is crap, real crap. Umm, I think it's just, it's actually criminal.

It is clear that Ron feels strongly about the sacredness of the mind and about people's right to privacy in this regard. This

is not surprising as, within a Maori discursive frame, it is highly offensive to invade the tapu of the hinengaro. Clinical approaches which utilise intensive questioning techniques to 'lay bare' and analyse the workings of the mind may be seen as particularly offensive. Breaching tapu can also be dangerous, with those who do so likely to be subject to consequences from the wairuatanga dimension.

Conflict and Commonality

Some of the areas in which Ron perceives conflict and commonality between his model and some Western developed models of counselling have been identified. In this section, some further areas of conflict and commonality, as perceived by Ron, are identified.

“I believe the healer's inside.”

Ron tends to evaluate counselling models in terms of their 'fit' with his primary ethical principles of tino rangatiratanga and te tapu o te mahunga. Lack of respect for the sovereignty of an individual or group and intrusiveness into the privacy of their minds are unacceptable to him. Consequently, confrontational techniques, including those featuring a high number of questions do not find favour with him. Rather, Ron prefers to adopt an educative or exploratory approach which may challenge, but does not impose.

R: . . .some of the therapies I think, they've tended towards the, quite intrusive. Like in this field a few years ago there was the, the. . . it was universally accepted all over the

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world everyone used the. . . what was it called, the 'Minnesota Model'. Which was basically super confrontational, smash 'em to bits and then hope between the two of you, you can put some semblance of the person back together again, and somehow or other they'd trot on and develop from there. And it's still very much, it's still a very strong influence, it's probably more subtly underground or you know not in the consciousness now. But there's still a tendency in this service to look at confrontation as being a very necessary thing. Whereas I like Mason's [Ron is referring here to well known Maori psychiatrist Mason Durie] idea, "Look sit down, feel comfortable, you know, have a rest if necessary, just go home and have a sleep until you feel all right and then we'll just sit down and have a bit of a korero about what's going on." And it's. . . it's really more of an educative approach. It's more like helping you to understand what you know; because I believe the healer's inside anyway. So it's not for me anyway, and you see that takes it away [from a confrontational approach].

The role of the counsellor in Ron's model is to facilitate (and as earlier stated, accompany) clients in their process, to assist them to connect with what they already know in a way that is coherent for them. The counsellor should awhi and care for the whole person, and not expect or demand that they provide disclosure of self to/for the counsellor.

Ron is speaking here of awhi, tautoko, ako and mana. He is also referring to the concept of 'ma te wa', that is when the

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time is right. The rangatiratanga or sovereignty principle dictates that the appropriate time for 'counselling' to occur is when the client is ready.

An holistic approach provides for attention to all dimensions of clients. Ron's example, drawn from the work of Mason Durie, provides an illustration of attention to the physical needs (in terms of the tinana dimension) of clients, as well as to the whatumanawa dimension (in that permission is given to take time to settle the whatumanawa, if necessary).

Ron sees Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP) as compatible with his model of counselling because he perceives the NLP approach as unintrusive. Ron's description of NLP identifies this approach as de-pathologising also.

R: I've gained a lot of understanding from learning NLP. Ahh, and it's about the how things happen, 'how are you being sick?', rather than defining your sickness and prescribing a cure. Look at how you are living and how you are ending up with this outcome, which is called a drug problem, a bad heart a, ahh, whatever, and how you can change your process to change your outcomes. And that I believe is much less intrusive into the person. . .

NLP as Ron understands it is about processes and places within systems, rather than intrusion into the hinengaro. Thus it does not impinge on the mana and the tapu of the person.

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Meditation is another technique that Ron enjoys. In the following extract he uses the word taniwha as a metaphor for deep or buried emotional or psychological issues.

R: . . . he [Ron's colleague] uses meditation as a tool, for stirring the deep taniwhas as well; and I've found that to be very effective with, um, with clients. If the client can receive that kind of thing, I think it's probably one of the most gentle, and, um, you know, it's a self thing for the client. If we, when we can be still inside ourselves, then the taniwhas do tend to stir. Um, and I think it's a way of. . . it's a lovely way of working.

Taniwha live within the currents of the wairua. The imagery that Ron uses creates a picture of aiming to generate tranquil waters that will allow the taniwha to rise up from their hiding places beneath the surface. The therapeutic value of this may be understood in terms of the whatumanawa dimension. Sustenance is provided for this dimension, through the full experience and expression of deep-seated feelings and emotion. Words, in the form of direct descriptions of feelings – that is 'speaking about' – can reduce sustenance for the whatumanawa dimension. This can occur through the translation and subsequent transformation of emotion and emotional expression within the whatumanawa dimension to the cognitive/intellectual language of the hinengaro.

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The concept of 'detachment' or professional distance is one that Ron does not subscribe to. Ron considers that 'joining' clients in their emotional space is a valuable thing to do. He provides an example of the role of kuia at a tangihanga, where the wailing and tears of the old women stimulate and facilitate the expression of grief by others. It may be inferred from this example that Ron considers it appropriate to express his emotional reactions to clients' stories, and in doing so, to model healthy emotional expression.

R: The detachment thing is. . . to me it sort of, doesn't sit properly. I don't know how it ever developed and I'm not interested in it. I feel like, um, I think that it's one of the things in our [Maori] way of working. I mean it's like the kuias' at a tangi, eh. They draw the tears out of you, because that's a, that's a really important thing to do. And so to do that you really need to get into your own, umm, ability to grieve, and go into that place, so that you can be in the same place together. And then you can walk out of that place together as well. And so I have got no problem with having a bawl, or having a cry, or having a laugh, or whatever thing, you know, that's fine.

As connection is the basis of Ron's model of counselling, it is not surprising that the notion of detachment does not fit well. Ron is speaking here of connection and communication within the whatumanawa dimension.

The kuia role that Ron is speaking about is one of penetrating from the depths of their whatumanawa to the

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whatumanawa of others through the keening and wailing, tears and karanga, in full expression of grief. However, as Ron notes, joy and laughter, as well as grief and tears are aspects of this dimension.

Ron's position is consistent with the notion of an holistic view of self and other and of the relationship between the two. In other words, Ron is advocating meeting, connecting and communicating across the different dimensions of self including, in this example, that of whatumanawa.

Perceptions of clients

One of the consequences of perceiving clients as sovereign and tapu beings, is that they are automatically viewed with respect. Finding things to respect in clients implies a strength based, as opposed to a problem saturated, perspective and approach. Ron illustrates this perspective as he describes clients at the methadone clinic he used to work in.

R: . . . the people there were all using their strength in exactly the wrong areas, but often hugely strong and often very, very sensitive and very, very spiritual people who hadn't found the right expression of that thing yet.

This is an illustration of a philosophy akin to the narrative therapeutic approach wherein "the client is not the problem, the problem is the problem." Separation of the problem from

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the person allows Ron to avoid pathologising the person and recognise and value the strengths and qualities they possess.

The way that Ron describes clients of the methadone clinic parallels a form of karanga-powhiri where visitors are greeted with the words, "haere mai te ihi, haere mai te wehi, haere mai te tapu" (Welcome the psychic force, draw near the awesome force, welcome here the sacred ones i.e. those who are of the gods). Thus the mana, tapu, ihi and wehi, the strengths and particular gifts of people are acknowledged as primary at the outset.

Ron perceives his relationships with clients as providing mutual benefit. He values clients' experiences and recognises that he is as likely to learn from them, as they are from him.

R: And I very much see, ahh, it helps if we can see, our clients as our teachers as well. And so a 13-year-old glue-sniffer, I think, may well have something important to teach me.

Ron is referring here to counsellor and client as kaiako, that is, having the roles of both learner and teacher. Perhaps also present as an underlying assumption in this statement is the notion of intentionality; that every encounter has a purpose.

Accountability

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In Ron's model of counselling he considers himself accountable to the individual client, but also to the whanau of that client, and in particular to the client's kaumatua. By going to a client's kaumatua, Ron considers that he is returning the power given him by his client and their whanau member, to the whanau. This is an area in which he acknowledges a possible conflict with popular Western counselling conceptions of confidentiality and accountability.

R: I am accountable to the community, to the Maori community, to the clients, to their families, to my people. Ahh, and this has been a major problem with the Pakeha system, because I don't see myself as accountable to my manager as such. Ahh, the only accountability that I have to him is that I'm moral, I'm ethical, umm, I'm, umm, you know, that the place is run in an orderly fashion and the books are kept. But in terms of my counselling work, I'm accountable out there [to the community].

I: What if, what happens if you've got a client and, um, that their interests might be in conflict with the community at large or their family?

R: Well I believe, um, I believe again that this is where a Western value has been imposed on our values, is that, uhh, like, say if I discover child abuse as part of the, umm, process. I'd have no qualms about taking that out to the elders, ahh, and talking with the elders if necessary. . . And that is, ahh, that is, I believe that is the correct way to act.

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It has come to me, that is how I feel.

I: So you're accountable to your client, but if it comes to a conflict then your primary accountability would be to the community?

R: To the community and the families particularly. I mean I wouldn't go out to just anyone in the community. If it was that person then I would go to their particular elders, family elders. And I, and then of course I would be in submission to them. So I'm not taking the power entirely out of the client's hand, but I'm giving it back to the whanau. And, um, so, as soon as I discuss the matter with the elders; they then are in charge and I become their servant sort of thing.

Ron is speaking of a process that has "come to" him through the ha a koro ma a kui ma dimension, intertwined with other dimensions.

Just as Ron and his colleagues have defined Te Arahina Ora in whanau terms, and in so doing have an expectation that their mana whanau and rangatiratanga will be respected, so it is with clients. In terms of his counselling and community work, Ron is accountable to the client and to their whanau, hapu and iwi, and to his own whanau, hapu and iwi, as it is their mana that he represents.

Clients who come to Ron come as part of whanau, hapu and iwi. In respecting their mana, Ron must acknowledge the mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau. The connection

between the mana of the individual and the mana of the whanau is to be protected and sustained, as this enhances the mana and well-being of all, including the client. Kaumatua carry the primary responsibility for protecting the mana of the whanau, and often have a detailed knowledge of the nature of the whanau and its history. For these reasons, and because it is the responsibility of kaumatua to care for, guide and protect younger members of the whanau, Ron may go to them and work under their direction and guidance, particularly in situations where the mana of the whanau may be being put at risk by a member.

Biculturalism

Ron considers his model of counselling to be bicultural in the sense that mutual respect between Maori and Pakeha for each others' views is seen as vital. For instance:

R: . . . neither one has to surrender to the other, just allow them to express themselves.

This is a tenet of rangatiratanga. Ron's model of biculturalism is based on the principle of rangatiratanga. In this case, that means that each group has a sovereign authority and autonomy for their own affairs, and neither group has the authority to interfere in the affairs of another.

Ron has repeatedly experienced what he perceives as arrogance from individual Pakeha and representatives of the Pakeha system.

He sees Western attempts to impose Western ways onto Maori, and himself in particular, as detrimental to his ability to function as a Maori worker, and to Maori organisations in general. Consequently, he tends to be distrustful of Western approaches and motives.

R: You know I think there's a strong element of arrogance about the Western/European approach.

I: Is it arrogance or is it ignorance?

R: Yeah, it's the arrogance that arises from ignorance. And I mean, uh, they are the people that actually think that they can define reality. As if, and I mean as if it needs to be in a sense. Umm, you know, they are seeking to define absolutes of everything; and I, I don't know whether God in his plan actually meant for man to know all of the absolutes. Umm otherwise we stop; umm, you know, we stop living in the faith, the spiritual, as everything becomes explicable.

I: So, trying to get to a position that God is in?

R: Yes. Basically trying to negate the role of God in creation I think. Yes. And I think it's a particularly Western, European heresy, if you like. . . I detect a strong element of fear in the Pakeha system. Ummm, you know they [Pakeha] fear that if they let us [Maori] go, we just might bloody succeed, and that will really show it up. And you know that would really show up the hypocrisy, the lack

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[this may be referring to what Ron perceives as a lack of depth, particularly in terms of spiritual development in Pakeha systems and structures and/or, he may be referring to a]... that they've imposed on us over this time.

I: And that's why there's so much of this setting us up to fail?

R: Mmm, and controlling us. And. . . see like, it's a classic way they deal with Maori people, they devolve responsibility without devolving the authority. And so I've got a budget that I'm responsible for, but I've got absolutely no authority over it. . . I mean that's the edge I find when you're dealing with Pakeha institutions. You're taking a chance that they won't be plain, just straight out destructive and dishonest with you.

This is a hinengaro expression of hinengaro and whatumanawa pain, anger and frustration. Ron is describing his experience of Western institutions, and the individuals within them, as undermining of his own mana and rangatiratanga, and that of Maori systems and structures generally. Mana and rangatiratanga are undermined when Maori realities are invalidated, redefined or rejected, such as that widely practised in the imposition of Western definitions and realities onto us. Rangatiratanga is also undermined when Maori organisations, systems and structures are not recognised as having their own authority and credibility.

Ron expresses concern at the privileging of cognitivism within Western discourse. He is frustrated and angry at

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what he perceives as Western attempts to control and/or negate aspects of the wairuatanga dimension by reducing these to a form that will fit within a Western model of cognitive rationality. This practice has the effect of minimising aspects of the wairuatanga dimension that Ron holds as central in his work and in his being. It is notable that, although Ron refers to God (presumably a Christian God), his later comments indicate that he is referring to Maori systems and spirituality.

Ron is describing aspects of his experience of colonisation and oppression.

The approach that Ron and his colleagues have decided to take regarding the provision of services to Pakeha as well as Maori clients, is to continue to offer services within their own model of counselling, with Maoritanga as a vital ingredient. Thus, the service may be described as 'bicultural', or even 'multicultural' in that it is open to Maori, Pakeha and others. However the service, and workers within it, provide a Maori base.

R: . . . We were discussing this very issue about what do we do about the Pakeha clients in the community. And our basic stance is, ahhm, we're not going to compromise being Maori in an effort to placate the fears and the prejudices of the Pakeha community, and as long as we continue to do that we're actually just letting that thing [fear and prejudice] be there and the sooner we just actually get out there and be successful, professional competent Maori

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counsellors the better. Or they [Pakeha] will have every reason to believe that we're a bunch of wallies.

This is another aspect of rangatiratanga and mana Maori. Ron is advocating providing a distinctively Maori service open to Maori and non-Maori. The challenge here is to break down Pakeha fear of and prejudice against Maori systems and ways of counselling by providing counselling services, as defined by Maori, competently and effectively. In identifying this as a non-placatory response, Ron perhaps indicates that he anticipates conflict and/or an increased intensity of fear and prejudice. A potential problem with the approach that Ron advocates concerns the definition of a "successful, professional, competent Maori counsellor." Maori and Pakeha definitions of these attributes may differ.

Te Arahina Ora

In this subsection, theoretical aspects of Ron's "model" will be explained in terms of the specific area of substance abuse, and as it applies to Te Arahina Ora, the Drug and Alcohol Centre at which Ron is based.

Ron's Theory on the Aetiology of Maori Drug and Alcohol Abuse

Key concepts in Ron's theory as to why Maori abuse alcohol and drugs include, connection, disconnection and alienation, separation from turangawaewae, whanau factors and generational dis-continuity. These may be related back to earlier comments regarding the nature of identity.

R: I believe it's an important understanding, a Maori understanding of why our people are so into the grog and drugs. You know I don't know whether anyone else would say. . . they might say, "Oh God, he's fantasising," but for me this rings very true based on my experience. See, as I see it the Maori has been alienated from his land and from his culture and his spiritual values. And in, in a Maori way, Papatuanuku is where we put our feet and unless we have turangawaewae we can't stand. And so I've actually got no connection with the nurturing element of my life if I'm not connected to Papatuanuku. I've got no nurture. No nest. No food. And my, and this is my own personal, very personal understanding, is that the drug experience is very similar. It's not on Earth and it's not in heaven, it's kind of that floating in space. Ae, it's a nowhere type of experience and I believe that's where. . . and it's, and the more I see it the more I believe it's true: that in a lot of ways why Maori perceive the drug experience, the oblivion experience, the closed off and floating, neither here nor there, is because that's actually an expression of their spiritual experience, their living experience.

I: That's a very interesting theory. . . I haven't heard it put like that before.

R: Well that's the Ron thesis on Maori drug use. Ae. And 'cause, I also had, I had a vision about planting kauri trees which was to me, it was like God was saying, "Get out of

this reactive, I mean like, this year's funding round, kind of approach to, umm, working to help people, and get more into planting the kauri tree." It might take 300 years to mature, but then that is the mokopuna's mokopunas. They, and then that's who we work for, and they will be the ones who will mill the kauri tree and will gain the benefits from it. Now in our generation, we can start doing that. And I believe it's a very simple, low cost, low tech, easy to implement Maori health program. Simply put the whenua back in the ground. . . I think that will develop that sense of connectedness. And I believe that was one of the things, like when the Pakehas stripped the trees off the land they stripped the historical continuity because the tree; you could go to the tree where your father talked to his father, talked to his father, talked to his father, . . . way back through the years; and so there was a physical. . . something I can see with my eyes and touch and feel that connected me with that man seven, eight, nine, ten generations ago. So it brought into reality the fact that I am actually part of a whole. Not some sort of accidental, "Mum forgot her pill."

This is an example of the implications of a Maori model of self based on connection and intertwined dimensions. The application of Ron's theory of identity and counselling, leads to definitions of causation, prevention and cure which attain coherence within the discourse from which they are generated. In other words, these models have meaning in relation to the meaning webs in which they are located, and whose strands have been used in their construction.

Ron is advocating te whenua ki te whenua as a model of drug and alcohol abuse prevention. It is based on a process of connecting Maori back to the whenua which provides sustenance. It is a way of providing sustenance for turangawaewae, whakapapa, wairuatanga, mana ake and mana whenua aspects of self.

Ron sees alcohol and drug work as a 'way in', rather than an end in itself; a 'way in' to the Pakeha system, to provide services; and a 'way in' to working with wounded and suffering individuals for whom drug or alcohol problems form a part of their reality, perhaps a part symptomatic of other features of their existence.

R: The beauty of the A and D is that it gives us a focus which allows us to enter the Pakeha system. Ah, we don't have to be bound by that in ourselves; or our approach. And I mean, the reality of it is that when you're working in A and D, you're dealing with all the rest of it as well. Because people are people. They haven't got a little part of them called A and D.

Ron does not accept the validity of approaches to counselling which are based on Western definitions of the 'problem' clients have. In terms of his views on the aetiology, treatment and prevention of drug and alcohol abuse, disconnection (and in particular disconnection from Papatuanuku and the sources of sustenance that flow from her) is the base problem. Thus distinctions (in diagnosis,

presumed aetiology and treatment) in the Western system between alcohol and drug abuse and addiction, as distinct from other psychiatric illness, and as distinct from diabetes and other types of physical ill-health, are of limited meaning and utility when viewed from a position within Maori discursive frames. At best they are descriptions of symptoms as framed within Western discursive constructions of self, health and illness.

However, as the colonial system operates according to its own constructions of healthy and unhealthy selfhood, and controls the allocation of resources in line with these constructions, Ron and other Maori health workers are forced to operate within this structure.

Whanau Roles and the Role of Whanau

The staff of Te Arahina Ora are involved in some work within the justice system. Through this avenue they work with prisoners in the local prison and people on probation. In many cases the individuals who come into contact with Ron and other staff at the centre through the justice system, are young and Maori. Maori, particularly Maori youth, are extensively over-represented in terms of criminal convictions and incarceration as prisoners. The blame for the high rates of criminal convictions and imprisonment amongst Maori youth has sometimes been laid at the feet of Maori parents. Maori parents and parenting styles have often been classified according to a deficit model. Thus, Maori parents may be viewed by some as uninformed, uninterested, uncaring and/or

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irresponsible in their child-raising, and subsequently blamed, castigated and sometimes punished accordingly. Ron, however, has a different theory:

R: One of the classic features of Maori families is the over-caring. The picking up after the kids all the time and the beating themselves up because they, they've failed as parents. You know the old thing of if you put one parent who's real hard, the other parent will become softer in proportion to the hardness of the other one? And because our perception of the society is that it's cruel and hard and uncaring, we go overboard. And it's because it's compensatory that it, it becomes negative. And so it's because of that, because they can see the world's been cruel to their children, and indifferent. And so they try and compensate for that, and that's where it goes wrong.

I'm a late developer, it took a long time to start to grow up. If my parents hadn't been there, with the typical Maori family of, "There's always a room. If you can't pay it's all right; when you can." . . . I think it's indulgence more than anything. . . I think that Maori also have a much clearer understanding of a child's need for freedom. And I think that's one of the problems with our. . . with the society, the way it's structured. And you see in the old way you were still very much like a child; you were still growing up until you were about 30. You didn't take your responsibilities as a man until about then. . . and I think this is one of the reasons why Polynesians particularly have suffered in this society, where kids are expected to make major life choices

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at the age of 16. And they're not bloody ready. In my opinion, they're just not ready. . . And I think this is one of the major problems with the justice system, so-called justice system, is that the Pakeha understanding of the kid who goes around and breaks a few windows is that he's a destructive, antisocial little so and so. The Maori understanding is that that is childhood pranks, and what else do you expect from kids? And it's much more important to have him at home than it is to divorce him from his family and, and lock him away and punish him. For being a child?

I: Even if he's 22?

R: Yes I think so. And I think we would do well in our, um, our approach to Maori offending if the, umm, if the family were allowed to go in there and debate the time spent. I, I don't think Maoris don't accept the need for discipline, I think it's quite strong, there's a very strong discipline in the Maori culture. It's how it's applied. And I mean, you see it all the time; our [colonial New Zealand] society won't forgive and they demand punishment rather than restoration to wholeness. . . and it's not a betterness and a worseness, or a goodness and a badness, or a more of this and a less of that kind of thing. It's just that this approach [which may perhaps be characterised as a form of restorative justice], is effective.

In telling his story of the place of Maori parents and whanau in Maori offending, Ron draws out his understandings of the

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dimensions of whanaungatanga, and the aspects of whanau roles and relationships, including the roles of tamariki and rangatahi, potiki and matua, and the features of aroha, awhina and tautoko associated with these.

Other aspects of contemporary Maori whanau experience that may be significant and consistent with Ron's whakaaro, although not explicitly referred to here, concern the nuclearisation of Maori whanau (a feature coinciding with the urbanisation process), the large and increasing number of whanau headed by sole parents who are usually women, and the feminisation of poverty. These features of contemporary Maori whanau may serve to exacerbate the experience within Maori whanau of being at a disadvantage in modern New Zealand society and subsequent protectiveness towards their children. For instance, the high and increasing number of Maori whanau headed by sole parents are usually headed by women and are usually at the bottom of the socio-economic scale. Thus, large numbers of Maori tamariki and rangatahi are being raised by women alone without the shared roles and responsibilities that may be possible with a partner and/or extended family base. In a consumer society, with increasing rates of unemployment and poverty, it is clear that these whanau are in a position of considerable disadvantage and limited opportunity.

The nuclearisation of Maori whanau has meant that the role of grandparents and other senior family members in raising and teaching children and youth has, in some cases, been lost. Parents, numbers of whom may themselves have been

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raised with parents and grandparents performing separate and complementary roles, may now be attempting to combine parent and grandparent roles with few opportunities for this style of parenting.

Ron also looks at the wider whanaungatanga dimension, conceptualising the relationship between Maori society and Western society in whanau terms ("if you put one parent who's real hard, the other parent will become softer in proportion to the hardness of the other one") and finding it dysfunctional.

Ron sees Western approaches to social control and offending as unforgiving and punitive. He advocates a return to a tikanga-based approach. In such an approach, whanau are a part of the process. The actions of the offender are defined in terms of the effect on whanau (his/her own and that of the victim/s), the offender's whanau are there to support the offender, participate in the process, perhaps take some responsibility for defining appropriate consequences for the offender of his/her actions, and assist in the restoration of the offender. Actions are discussed in terms of nga mea tika me nga mea he. The focus is on the restoration of mana, for victim/s, offenders, and whanau. Processes relating to utu, such as muru, may be employed to this end.

In the area of drug and alcohol counselling, the families of users, abusers and addicts are often involved in the therapeutic process.

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Ron is aware of Western understandings of family involvement in this area, of issues pertaining to family dynamics, systems and co-dependency; however, he also sees family involvement on a larger scale. In a way he is synthesising Western and Maori understandings pertaining to family/whanau.

R: Often an outcome in this kind of counselling, because it almost always plays over into the area of relationships, it happens that as the one [client] starts to change his dependence patterns the other, ahh, the relationship, starts getting really upset. And so we have to look at marriage bust-ups and all sorts of things.

I: Do you go much into that sort of thing. . . ?

R: The family. The family. Because it's often the system becomes sick. As the members of the family adjust to the extraordinary behaviour of the addict. They actually become sick as well; because you sell yourself out, forget your morals, give up your own spirituality, your own path, just to deal with this "bloody maniac called a drug addict that I've got living with me." And so they get sick. And that's where you see the patterns through the families. And that's another Maori wisdom.

You've got to work towards the next generation's grandchildren, because that's where the change can come. And like the scriptures say, "The sins of the father are handed down to the fourth generation." And you see that literally expressed here all the time. Ahh, in three or four

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generations the sickness has developed and become more intensified; and until somebody breaks that cycle, each is only going to produce a sicker and sicker and sicker generation. And the Maori understanding was that the development of the personality came through the generations. So greatness started with someone whose children were a little bit great, and whose children were a little bit greater and a little bit greater and a little bit greater. And so that starts, and so whatever we feed into our families, that's what our families end up expressing. As I understand it.

This is a narrative which features the themes of whakapapa, whanaungatanga and ha a koro ma a kui ma.

In terms of Te Arahina Ora, Ron has a vision of how he would like to restructure and operate the organisation. His vision has parallels with the operation of healthy whanau and hapu in a marae environment. A key feature of Ron's vision is the concept of interdependence, of different but equal roles for paid and for unpaid workers.

R: Well I would very much like this to be like a, like a marae. That it was a place for people to use and come together and nurture each other and help each other, and you know, come and have a tangi if that's what we need, and come and have a kai together, and have a hoojaa [celebration] together, and share life together. If I was running the budget, I would structure my budget quite differently from the way it's structured now. See I would, ah, I believe in

that Maori approach that we feed ourselves from the common hob. So if we're living high on the hob today, then we all live high, and if it's bread and butter tomorrow, then it's bread and butter. And I would rather see that money spread out evenly amongst all of us as an acknowledgement of the importance of all of us, and all of us have needs.

I: And so if you had control of the budget, you would bring all your wages so that you all were paid in line with each other? Even at the cost of a cut for yourself?

R: Yeah. . . I believe if we're to develop the whanau way of working, then we either do it on a personal level, or otherwise we're talking shit to our clients. . . It is a moral issue, and it is a issue of spirituality.

I: If you were able to do what you want, ahh, control the purse strings, pay everybody equally; ahh, would decision-making and responsibility then also be shared equally?

R: Well, it already is. I am the team leader, and that is based on the fact that the others want me to be and acknowledge me as such. Umm, if they didn't I couldn't be. Ahh, and they accept my authority as the team leader. . . umm, and I think there are different roles but that doesn't put me up above them, it just means that my role is that of leadership; um, the secretary has a particular role, which is called administration.

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Ron is speaking of the whanaungatanga and ha a koro ma a kui ma dimensions. Marae and whanau processes are part of ha a koro ma a kui ma, the principles have come from the ancestors, are tried and true and handed down through the generations.

Ron also associates these dimensions with tikanga ("a moral issue") and wairuatanga ("a issue of spirituality"). On the marae setting, the contributions of all those who contribute to the operation of hui is acknowledged, the role of those at the back, working in the kitchen or cleaning the toilets is publicly acknowledged as equal in importance to the role of the main speakers, singers, and front-people. In following this principle, Ron is suggesting a structure and way of viewing roles and contributions within the organisation based on tikanga.

The appreciation and acknowledgement of the equal importance of all the different roles is also an aspect of wairuatanga, as it acknowledges the value of all places within the flow of the wairua. It is also upholding the mana of the different roles and those who perform them, and of recognising the status of those roles as under the patronage of aspects of the wairua dimension.

In Ron's view, it is important for Maori clients to be or to become in touch with their Maoriness - "their identity, their connection." Rather than attempting to teach clients about their identity and the place of connection in that, Ron prefers to achieve this end by

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providing a model from which clients may learn in an experiential manner. Hence he aims to run Te Arahina Ora as a 'home', a distinctively Maori home.

R: Our centre is set up like a, like a home. And, ahh, that's what we really aimed at, somewhere that you can feel comfortable, sit down, read a magazine, you know. And no-ones going to bail you up in a corner or. . . and quite often those ones that come in, they're "Nah, nah, nah, nah, nah, nah" [that is with negative views of the system and concept of counselling]. As they start to come in here and experience a living expression of being Maori, it hooks them. But we don't actually seek to coerce them into doing it, and I've got. . . well that would be abusive.

For a visitor to one's marae to say they feel 'at home' is considered one of the highest compliments as it means that the home people have succeeded in providing what is needed to make people feel comfortable and content. This implies that the clearing of any negative spiritual forces, the establishment of a positive wairua and mauri and the process of manaakitanga have been successful.

As in Maori models of learning, the context (including a strong and positive mauri) and the opportunity to learn by absorption within a whanau context, without being forced or coerced, is provided.

As "the living experience of being Maori" informs policy and practice, the open sharing of wairuatanga, prayer, and emotion is

a part of life at the centre.

R: I think that's one of the tremendous things about, umm, the Maori kind of service is that we can quite unselfconsciously, umm, say our prayers and acknowledge all of that without having to feel, "Oh I'm a bit strange," or something. And what we actually find is that as we commit ourselves to that then in it's truest sense the wairua does flow. Ae. Part of our process here is that the comings and goings we have, um, grieving, and, um, people cry and have a tangi about, and express their sorrow at losing each other and the fears that we might never meet again, and because I think that's really, really important. I think that's another area where the general society can learn from the Maori the value of "quality grieving" if you like and how to do it, and the process of grieving. Not the turn up on the day of the funeral, have a cry and go home. And it's the, it's also the celebration of the achievements, and the, the milestones, and the marking of them and all of those things. Yeah. The karakia and the nurturing that has gone on in here, it leaves a spirit in here, you know?

Ron is talking here of further aspects which may be related back to the tikanga and ha a koro ma a kui ma which are definitive of marae process. The whanau of Te Arahina Ora are modelling whanaungatanga practices, and working to ensure that the mauri is strong and the wairua is flowing unobstructed through their house. The whatumanawa is provided with sustenance through freedom of expression of grief and sorrow through tears and joy through celebration.

In keeping with the theme of seamlessness in traditional Maori life and conceptions of the self, and in his own counselling theory, Ron's practice within and outside of the centre is aimed at retaining this 'oneness' between centre and community, and between worker (paid and unpaid), and client members of the whanau. Aspects of Ron's practice which stem in part from this philosophy (of seamlessness) have led to some conflict with elements in the umbrella 'Area Health Board' organisation.

R: I am actually very active in the community; I, umm, I know lots of people and I tend to do a lot of visiting people at home. And that has actually, um, actually it's quite interesting that has actually caused some problems because, um, I've got the use of the vehicle. Like, if one of the koros rings up and he wants some vegies, um. . ., I'll get in the car and go out to one of the roadside stalls and buy him some stuff. And then someone'll see the Area Health Board car out there and me loading it up with vegetables and the next thing I've got a complaint from the boss. . . "What are you doing using the vehicle...?" I've had to go through some huge palaver, in terms of explaining to the Pakeha system that as a Maori health worker I have to respond, and especially to the elderly. . ., uuum, and if I don't I'm actually cutting my potential effectiveness right down, and so. . ., Because it blows their system, it doesn't mean to say that I'm going to. . . I mean I'm not going to sweat about it, the fact that I use the Area Health Board car.

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I, ah, like I work in the A and D field and, um, I know all the users and all the dealers around the town. Most of them are my cousins, because we are basically all related in the town. And so people write in and say "Oh Ron's car's often seen outside of this dealers place or that user's house," and that sort of thing. But I believe that's really important because, umm..., it's seamless between the community and here, and that's something that I, I feel really strongly about, that people need to feel that it's, that it's okay.

I: To come in?

R: Yeah, to come in here. And I'm not going to wag my finger at them and put them down or anything. And so a cup of tea round at home is a really good way of planting the seed and developing. . . I can do a lot of good work in that way, I feel.

I: So it's part of your method. . .

R: It's part of my method of working is to maintain strong contacts with families in the community. And that's another important difference that comes across. Because with the, with the Area Health Board system, umm, I've got a letter in my drawer here from my boss instructing me to spend a minimum of my 30 hours, ahhm, I have to spend a minimum of 30 hours in the office [per week]. And I said to him, well you know, "In your eye, mate." Ahhm, 'cause that's another way of. . . it's this old, uum, they set you up

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to be a Maori service and then they cut your feet off so that you can't actually do it. And by instructing me to spend 30 hours in the office he's basically making sure that I can never be effective with my own community.

The principle of seamlessness, an aspect of an holistic approach, is reflected in the elimination of 'workplace', 'community' boundaries, and practised in the merging of work within and outside of the office and office hours. This seamlessness is related to the identity and operation of Te Arahina Ora according to a whanau model. According to this model of operation, those who come in to the centre also become part of the whanau. As on the marae, once the mihimihi and whakawhanaungatanga processes have taken place, the individual or group join as part of the whanau. According to this model, also, the local Maori community constitutes one of the metaphorical hapu to which Centre staff belong. Thus the metaphorical whanau of Te Arahina Ora are also part of the metaphorical hapu of the local Maori community. In addition, of course, most of the paid and voluntary staff, including Ron, are members of local whakapapa based whanau and hapu.

Because Ron and his colleagues identify as whanau and hapu, their relationships within and outside of the centre are defined by their own roles and those of others within this context.

The story Ron tells of his mission to get vegetables for the koroua is an illustration of whanau operation and particularly

of the principle epitomised in the whakatauki: 'Na to rourou, Na taku rou rou, kia ora ai te iwi: With your foodbasket and my foodbasket, the people will be fed.' Ron contributes to meet the needs of the koroua and the koroua contributes to meet the needs of Ron and the whanau in the work context. Kaumatua, such as this koroua, also have a specific role to play as part of the whanau, and as guide, director and provider of counsel for the whanau. This function is not widely recognised within Western systems and institutions.

Ron's account of his visits to the homes of whanau members who are also involved in the drug scene is another illustration of aspects of the whanau way of working and of Ron's perceptions of clients in relation to this. In visiting these people, Ron is engaging in whakawhanaungatanga and in whakamahana. He is affirming and keeping warm the whanau links. As Ron and other Maori work most comfortably from a position of connection, rather than disconnection, such as within a whanau model, this is a proactive approach to counselling.

As part of the whanau of Te Arahina Ora, Ron is also practising another aspect of whanaungatanga, and that is 'kanohi kitea'. His face, as representative of the metaphorical whanau of Te Arahina Ora, is seen by and connects with others in the community.

Finally, Ron's actions in visiting and spending time with his whanau in the drug scene, provide an indication to them that he does not define them in terms of their involvement in

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drugs, that their relationship as whanau, through all dimensions of their being, is primary.

When I was with Ron at Te Arahina Ora, I witnessed an example of whanaungatanga and aspects of this over lunch. The seamlessness in this case was between the dimensions of work time and leisure time; counsellors and clients; clients and whanau; young and old.

Lunch at Te Arahina Ora is a shared affair. On the day that I was there, the two workers, two clients-cum-volunteer office workers, a kuia, her son (who is another client-cum-volunteer worker), a young couple who were clients, their children, and I, shared lunch and conversation in the 'lounge' of the centre. All but one of the people present were of Maori descent. The conversation centred around identity issues, questions as to 'why the elders didn't teach us te reo,' and personal feelings to do with loss of te reo. Ron and his co-worker steered the conversation around the group, ensuring that everyone had opportunities to contribute, and that no-one monopolised the conversation. The two counsellors contributed in the same manner as everyone else, presenting themselves as 'learners' rather than 'experts'. The environment was 'safe', non-judgemental. Humour was a major feature in this discussion of a most serious and sad topic. This experience provided another example of the seamlessness of whanaungatanga as it pertains to counselling contexts, processes, counsellees and counsellors.

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Some of the lessons that I identified in this session included: respect for elders and for each other, acceptance of differences, a history of the oppression of Maori language, and the legacy of that. These lessons relate to mana tupuna, mana whanau and rangatiratanga aspects of mana ake, whanaungatanga, ha a kui ma a koro ma dimensions of Te Wheke.

The comment that initiated the conversation was along the lines of the following: "I feel disappointed and angry with my elders for not teaching me (te reo Maori)." Through a process of whakawhitiwhitikorero, a mana-enhancing group reframe was created. A negotiated narrative was produced within which the position of the elders could be appreciated; their fight to survive themselves and as a people, their struggle to raise their families, for survival in a Pakeha-dominated society could be seen, not only as understandable, but as worthy of respect. Through this process, individuals who had felt let down, betrayed, and angry towards and disrespectful of their own elders, while respecting the intensity of their own feelings of loss and pain were able to develop respect for their elders in relation to their decisions, along side this. Thus, through developing a framework of mana and respect for their own kaumatua, the context was provided for them to appreciate their own mana and respect for themselves within the context of their whanau. Finally, through re-negotiating and re-creating their whanau narratives, mana whanau and mana tupuna is enhanced for all.

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Ron's emphasis on te tapu o te mahunga, respect for clients, their sovereignty and their personal tapu/sacredness, leads him to reject counselling approaches which he sees as intrusive, or as placing too much emphasis on the intricacies of clients' minds. Rather than engage in 'head work,' Ron prefers to engage clients in "learning by doing." This approach is yet another example of Ron's philosophy of 'seamlessness' and holism. Ron's belief in the intentionality of the spirit, the existence of purpose in everything, is translated into practice in the counselling process through reframing client's experiences with addiction as experiences of growth and learning which they and others can benefit from.

Most of the workers, paid and voluntary, at Te Arahina Ora have had battles with addiction. Ron actively encourages those with the desire, to turn their own negatives into positives. One way of doing this is to become counsellors themselves. The techniques Ron uses, encouraging clients to work at Te Arahina Ora themselves, and to undertake training in counselling, model a traditional Maori learning and teaching style, the 'learning by doing' way. They also entail minimal intrapsychic intrusion.

R: I'm very strongly influenced by Carkhuff. It's like doing therapy or change work through training, and stuff. And this is basically, I mean the thing is. . . don't do therapy on them, train them to become counsellors, hearers and nurturers and they will do the change work themselves. And so for the last two years, we've had a very active strategy of encouraging people. And one of my volunteers actually runs counsellor training programmes. . . and we've

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now got four who are actually doing, ahh, formal training at CIT [the Central Institute of Technology]; and, ahh, now got a pupil under MACESS [a work scheme for unemployed Maori] to do a twenty-week intensive, like a total immersion counsellor training programme. And, um, everyone who can be spared is going onto that course.

This is a description of the poutama model and also contains elements of whanau- and marae-based models, where people take on a succession of different roles within the system over time. Learning also tends to be done as a group rather than individually.

Promoting wholeness and integration, preventing 'splitting' or disintegration is a part of the process necessary to produce a 'seamless' person, part of a 'seamless' family. Ron uses some simple but, he believes, effective techniques to promote wholeness in clients. His focus is on the here-and-now, and direct causality.

R: I don't do a lot of, you know, "Did your Mother kick your teddy-bear?" stuff. Umm, and it's really, like, "How are you?" And I basically like to just meet the client at the face and work with what we talk about. You know, so I look for patterns of language, umm . . . And I always start with a few simple things. Like one of my ones I really like is watching "buts." People who go, "But this," "But that," I see that as an indication of disintegration or splitness inside. And one of the really simple things we do is just, umm, every time we use "but", we just go into

“and”. “This and that,” not “This but that.” Umm and that was a key in my own life; it's not that I'm Maori but I'm also Pakeha, it's that I'm Maori and I'm Pakeha. And then I become integrated rather than split.

This is a method utilising the symbolic power of language, it is based in the hinengaro dimension.

Additionally, as drug and alcohol problems are part of a whole picture which includes spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical facets, Ron tries to integrate karakia as an element from the spiritual dimension into sessions with clients. While he considers this dimension of importance for all clients, he tends to be more circumspect in his approach to spiritual matters with Pakeha clients. Ron's perception of the lack of attention to, and/or comfort with spirituality in Pakeha society leads him to question the effectiveness of some Pakeha counsellors with Maori clients.

R: Well I mean a lot of Maori people actually feel, umm I always say to them, “Can we have a karakia?”. And it's very rarely that anyone goes “No”. A lot of them say “oh gee I was really glad that you asked that, cos it made me feel comfortable inside”. Ahhh, you know and this is where, this is how Pakeha counsellors are not effective with Maori, because of their own uncomfortableness with their spirituality. Sort of saying to someone, “Oh, umm, do you mind if we' umm. ..” and so the whole thing becomes increasingly uncomfortable, rather than increasingly comfortable.

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I: And also I suppose there's no point in just saying, "Oh shall we do karakia?". Or doing karakia if it's not coming from their heart?

R: Yes. And Maori people are very perceptive of that kind of thing. . . when I'm, when it's with a non-Maori client, no it doesn't change.

I: You still do karakia and that?

R: Well I always, as soon as I can, I like to, I get to know about their, umm, their spiritual, their spiritual side. Umm, and if they say, "Oh look, well I believe in God but I, you know I don't go to church or anything." I say, "Well look let's just have a little prayer." You know, something simple like, "Dear Father in heaven, please help us today to get the things that will help us all. Amen." With the Pakeha clients I don't like to just start off by saying, "Shall we have a prayer first?" Ah, but if it, if the opportunity comes up. . .

This narrative raises the issue of the role of karakia and the wairuatanga in the counselling process for Maori and non-Maori. It would appear that, although Ron sees the wairuatanga dimension, and karakia as a part of that, as integral in his own life and work, he is most likely overtly and routinely to include the wairuatanga dimension when working with Maori clients.

Ron's statement in regard to Maori perceptiveness, "Maori

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people are very perceptive of that sort of thing" (whether karakia is 'coming from the heart') probably refers to the whatumanawa dimension.

As noted earlier, emotional expression in the sense of joining with the client is another manifestation of the way that Ron 'walks alongside' clients and shares as much as possible in the wholeness of their realities.

R: And she was sobbing her heart out and I, I actually ended up, I was sobbing my heart out as well.

Rather than stay in the hinengaro, and talk about it. Ron joined with his client in the whatumanawa dimension.

Wairuatanga/Intuition

Ron's faith in the spiritual is translated into action in his own approach to counselling in that he does not prepare himself for counselling in an intellectual way. The prayer and meditation he does each morning and the karakia at work, with clients, opens the way for spiritual guidance to come through. Thus, Ron has faith in his actions in counselling because they come through him, not from him.

R: I never prepare in any formal sense for anything that I do like this. The scripture says that when you're there, ahh, the spirit will give you the words. And so what I say, and

what we need to do today will come, through that.

This reflects the primary role of wairuatanga in Ron's counselling process.

Confidentiality

Ron's sense of accountability to the wider group, the whanau and community as well as to the individual client, has implications for his interpretation of confidentiality issues. It is an area in which he does not like to set hard and fast rules, but his preference is for a type of 'whanau confidentiality'.

R: Well for me, confidentiality in a Maori way is confidential to the whanau. Ah, I believe that's quite appropriate. Um, I also have to say that there are some issues for me in that I'm saying that, okay 60, maybe 70 percent I'll go for confidentiality within the whanau. At the same time, because it's so important to me to respect the individual's own autonomy, umm, yeah I must say I, I have some reservations. And I haven't worked it through to the stage where I can comfortably say definitely this, that, or the other thing. And I can live with that much, um. . . And I believe in myself and, and how I work enough to believe that I will be able to respond appropriately at the time with the client. But my major thing is really that the confidentiality resides within the family itself, not in the individual. You can't lay down rules. You can't say this is the rule, that's sort of how it goes. And that's how it's

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done. Yeah.

Ron's position on whanau as opposed to individual confidentiality reflects his perception of individuals as part of whanau and vice versa. The flexibility that Ron allows within this position perhaps illustrates a principle of tikanga, that situations need to be assessed and responded to in terms of all their unique features and implications.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Ron's emphasis on tino rangatiratanga as it pertains to individuals and to whanau is reflected in his practice in a number of ways. As previously noted, Ron does not like counselling models or practices that infringe on the sovereign rights of individuals. A specific way in which Ron's beliefs about the sovereignty of individuals, and of whanau, hapu and iwi, have implications for his practice of counselling in terms of his preference for a comparatively non-directive approach.

The following extract is also relevant to other principles of Ron's model of counselling, including seamless/holism, whanaungatanga, the notion of 'the healer within', and that of following one's personal spiritual path.

R: I talked to you earlier about rangatiratanga, which is sovereignty, and sovereignty is not only as a nation and as an iwi and a hapu, it's as an individual. Because it's only as we are sovereign individuals that we are a sovereign nation.

And so anything that is powerfully directive. . . I think there's, there is room for a small element of directiveness in the sense of defining boundaries, umm, and maybe laying some ground rules, like there's no violence, umm, so I'm directive to that degree, but I'm not directive in terms of. . . because if I acknowledge God's role in things and that person's sovereignty, then they direct themselves; and my role, as I say it's like my understanding of the counselling role, is to walk alongside you while you do your things. And then when you don't need me anymore, then you walk on. Ae.

My usual opening line is, "What do you need?" Umm, what have I got in my basket that you can put in your basket that will help you? I think it's really important too for the client to be able to define what he wants, or what he needs. And quite often that can be two or three sessions just working out what the client feels that he wants and needs from me. Because that also gives me a chance to work out if I can help, or whether I would be best to refer on to some other person to deal with the issues that the client's got. Like if it is, ahh, whakapapa, then I have to go and get one of the elders. . . Well, we usually go round to their place.

In Ron's view "God's role in things" and "that person's sovereignty" are connected. Ron has maintained throughout his narrative that things 'come to him' from the wairuatanga dimension, through God. He also views others as directed from the wairuatanga dimension. Ron is reluctant to 're-

direct' any direction that clients may have, as this is likely to be an expression of their direction in terms of the flow of the wairua. Thus, as Ron sees the wairuatanga as primary, respecting and maintaining the rangatiratanga of clients in respect of their spiritual direction (which he sees as guiding the temporal direction) becomes paramount.

Ron's use of the 'basket' analogy parallels the well-known whakatauki 'na tou rourou, na taku rourou, ka ora ai te iwi.' This means, 'with your (food)basket and my (food)basket, the people will be well.' In other words, it is through sharing resources that we survive and are well.

In this extract too, Ron identifies his role as one of supporting clients to identify what it is that they need, and then assisting them to meet this need. Ron does not necessarily attempt to address the needs himself. He highlights his role in identifying and linking clients in to appropriate people to address particular needs for them.

Reframing

Reframing is a technique that Ron appears to use, intentionally or unintentionally, a lot in counselling, as well as in his discourse around understandings of his own experiences. A number of examples of Ron's reframing have been given previously. The following excerpt includes another example of reframing, while simultaneously illustrating the way in which Ron's perceptions of the issue of 'over-caring' in Maori families affect his practice.

R: . . . quite often that can be a major breakthrough, just to get the parents to stop running around after their 22-year-olds, who are quite old enough to go and get a flat and go and bloody survive by themselves. . . It's often teaching them how to be caring without being caretakers. So that you don't have to get up at three o'clock in the morning to pick your boy up from the police station. Let him stay there till eight o'clock and pick him up after he's had his breakfast. Don't be at his beck and call. You can still nurture him, and carry the responsibility for him in that sense. . . I mean not his personal responsibility on your shoulders. And it's actually as you can become more healthy about that, that you can actually help him to start to change as well. And so it's then you can actually start to explore issues like what love really is. Are you caring for someone when you give him \$20.00 when you know they're going to use it to buy drugs?

This aspect of Ron's narrative pertains to the negotiation of meaning in respect of certain aspects of whanaungatanga, including aroha, awhina, manaakitanga and conceptions of the role of matua/pakeke in relation to tamariki/rangatahi. It may appear that Ron is encouraging the separation and individuation of parents and children/young people. In a manner of speaking, this may be what Ron is doing. However, the motivation for this is the well-being of the whanau, including the young person.

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Ron's emphasis on family and generational issues is also reflected in his practice and the way he works with young people with a focus on long term (intergenerational) goals. Ron and his co-worker run a drug and alcohol education program in a Maori secondary school, and also, marae-based programs for Maori youth. The health promotion/sickness prevention work that they do with these young people revolves around 'Ron's thesis on Maori drug and alcohol abuse.' A central feature of this thesis is that the experience of disconnection from land and tupuna is paralleled in 'out of it' drug and alcohol experiences. Thus, a drug and alcohol abuse prevention strategy involves reconnecting with the land through the process of returning the whenua (placenta) to the whenua (land) after the birth of each baby.

R: . . . this is one of our long term health promotions. . . it's a generational thing. We're making big efforts to encourage all mothers to, ahhh, connect their, ahh, to put the whenua and the pito [placenta and umbilical cord] in the ground. Because that is the beginning of grounding the child, of connecting it, putting the whenua into the whenua and so you spiritually connect the child to the source of nurturing. I believe that will pay dividends, but it won't pay dividends until the next or maybe the generation after, ae.

You know, on one of the maraes down here we were talking about it and, umm, and it was basically a bunch of young Maori women, and, umm, when we first went there they thought "Oh drug and alcohol," and they all tried to find reasons not to be there and they thought "Oh, well, anyway, I'll just sit here and I won't listen. I'm going to

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find some way of defying the system imposing this bloody thing called drug and alcohol education.” But when we started talking about this, umm, disconnectedness and reconnecting; umm, they're actually now planning an avenue of trees for their babies, for their whenuas. . .

This intervention is based within several dimensions. It is within the wairuatanga dimension because it relates to the whakapapa aspect of our relationship with Papatuanuku and thus the source of our spirituality. It relates to the mana wahine, mana whenua and turangawaewae aspects of mana ake as it provides a basis for these. It relates to the whanaungatanga dimension as it pertains to the care and protection of tamariki and mokopuna, and the notion of whanau health as extending through the generations. It relates to the hinengaro dimension as it introduces maramatanga, illumination or a new way of seeing and thinking about things. It relates to tikanga and ha a koro ma a kui ma, as this is the source of the practice of returning the whenua to the whenua.

Ron is in the process of making his vision for Te Arahina Ora into a reality. In many respects, the day-to-day running and processes within Te Arahina Ora are already operating along the lines that Ron and his colleagues envisaged. However, Ron would like to see the Te Arahina Ora have more autonomy and, in particular, the freedom to re-structure their budget and accountability procedures. While appreciating the usefulness of processes and procedures in the Pakeha system, Ron intends to put a more

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'Maori' management and accountability structure in place.

R: We are working very actively, we're working towards Christmas as our target when we'll have a contract. We will contract to the Area Health Board to provide alcohol and drug addiction services in this community. This is one of the reasons for bringing (*a consultant*) in. I think we do have to acknowledge that the Pakeha runs the show. And we have to learn his language and his, the way the game is played. And so we do have to do inputs, outputs, key result areas. And it's also helpful to us in a sense. I believe the old people were very good planners and, and had an understanding of all of that stuff. It was just done in an entirely different way, and probably much less formally.

Ron is developing a strategy for maintaining and enhancing the mana and rangatiratanga of Te Arahina Ora. His intention is to use the tools of the Pakeha in so far as they serve the kaupapa of Te Arahina Ora, whanau, clients and community.

NOTES ON GRACE'S INTERVIEW

Grace and I had a personal relationship that spanned several years. Grace served as an advisor and mentor for me. It is my impression that the context in which we found ourselves, with me interviewing her for research purposes, felt strange for both of us. As a result of the (probably unnecessary) effort that we were making to adopt researcher-research participant and interviewer-interviewee roles, and associated with this to adjust our boundaries, our conversation was slightly stilted and more formal than usual, and than most of the other interviews. In addition, because of the context of our pre-existing personal relationship, I was probably less at ease, and less concerned with putting Grace at ease, than would normally have been the case.

The interview took place at the school that Grace was working at. The interview spanned an afternoon and included school time as well as a period after school finished. As a result, there were bells ringing periodically and visits from students wanting advice or assistance from Grace during the interview. Grace was based in a 'prefab' with a tin roof. A sub-tropical rainstorm was in progress during the interview, which created an effect similar to rapid and incessant drumming on a large tin can. This meant that much of the interview was conducted in raised voices, and that parts of the tape recording were inaudible and therefore not included in transcripts and subsequent story write up. In retrospect, although the interview was certainly worthwhile, it may have been better to re-schedule a further interview for another time and place.

For Grace, Maori was and is her first language. Although Grace is also fluent in English language, it may be that she would have been most comfortable discussing some of the concepts, ideas and philosophies that were raised in Maori. In fact, she did at times express herself in Maori, with or without translation into English.

Probably as a result of our pre-existing relationship, and my prior knowledge of her situation, neither Grace nor I felt it necessary to elaborate on some issues and relationships that were discussed. This may affect the flow of the narrative for readers without this contextual knowledge.

GRACE'S STORY

At the time of interview, Grace, who described herself as "16 going on 60", lived in a moderately large rural New Zealand town, the population of which is predominantly Maori. The town in which Grace has spent most of her adult life is situated within her own, and her husband's, tribal rohe. They are tangata whenua there and related to many of the Maori families living in the area.

Having raised three children of her own, Grace now lives with her husband, daughter, son-in-law, and two of her three grandchildren in the house which has been a family home for many years. The house was built and originally occupied, by Grace's mother and father-in-law.

The small seaside village where Grace was born and grew up, is an hour and a half by car from where she now lives. The village that Grace comes from was once a thriving Maori community and is steeped in the history of her people and their past. After being largely deserted for a number of years, except during the summer holidays or when a formal occasion such as a tangihanga (funeral and mourning ceremony), wedding or birthday is on, several families have returned to live there in recent times. Grace frequently makes the trip back to her papakainga (home village). She stays at her marae, attends hui and tangihanga in the district, visits relatives, and enjoys the abundance of kaimoana and other traditional foods that are there.

Grace is heavily involved with her marae, and with whanau, hapu and iwi activities. She is on several local marae committees and is also a member of the education committee of the Runanga (tribal council) which covers the larger rohe.

After leaving her home to train as a nurse, then marrying and raising her family, Grace worked at a number of jobs. In the 1980s, having worked as a cleaner at a local High School for a number of years, she was offered a position as teacher of Maori language at the school. However, other teaching staff reacted negatively to the prospect of an 'unqualified' person joining their ranks. They threatened to take industrial action if Grace joined the teaching staff. Consequently, Grace did not take up the teaching position. Instead, she applied for a place on the newly

instituted Te Atakura teacher training program. Te Atakura was a program designed to increase the number of teachers of Maori language at secondary school level. Trainees were mainly older people fluent in te reo Maori (Maori language) and knowledgeable in tikanga (Maori protocol and traditions). Candidates for the course were required to be nominated and supported by members of the Maori community who attested to their competency in te reo, their knowledge of tikanga, and their suitability as teachers. Accepted candidates were required to attend a one-year teacher training course that qualified them to teach Maori language in secondary schools. Grace's application was supported by her whanau, hapu and iwi, and she was accepted onto this course.

Participation in Te Atakura meant that Grace had to leave her home and family for a year, living in a city several hours drive away from them. On completion of the course, Grace took up a position in a town closer to her home where she taught for a year before moving to another small North Island town and teaching there for two further years. Eventually, Grace was offered a position as head of the Maori Department at the school she had once cleaned at. She accepted the position with mixed feelings and moved back to the family home.

TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE

Formal And Experiential Training

Grace had a small amount of formal counselling training as part of her Atakura training. In addition, to this she attended some hui at which counselling was a primary focus. Most of her training, however, has been experiential. It was not until she had had a taste of formal training that Grace recognised the value of the skills and knowledge she had acquired through her life experiences and observations. With time and further experience working in the field of counselling, Grace's confidence and awareness of the value of her own life experience and skills has grown. Grace firmly identifies te reo me nga tikanga Maori as the foundation of her counselling skills.

G: Yeah, it was a frightening job for me at first. Ummm, but I feel more so that for people that do this kind of work, you know, you

get the challenge thrown at you; "Where's your experience? What experience do you have in counselling?" Oh, for goodness sake, we've been counselling our kids for years and years and years, you know, Maori people. You don't need to go to university to get that piece of paper to say, 'I am a counsellor' with a title after my name. Ae. All humbug.

I: So your, your training that brought you to the point where you are now, where you do counselling, for want of a better word at the moment, umm, is really your life experience.

G: That's all it is. It's just that I went, when I went away, I recognised that I had that experience. You know, ahhh, they said well, one year training at teachers college and in counselling skills, you have to be trained in counselling skills. Perhaps if I didn't go away, I wouldn't still, I would not have recognised that I had those skills. They were there all the time.

I: So did you do as part of your Atakura training...was there a counselling part of it?

G: Yes, a very, very small part. Some people are not cut out for that sort of thing. Some people with their heads in the clouds, and everything is 'kei te pai'. But if only they can recognise that their life time experiences, especially Maori people who have been brought up in tikanga Maori, ahhh, ahhh, you know, te reo me ona tikanga [*Maori language and the protocols that are embodied in it*], they've got it all there. It just has not been tapped. But it's been lying there all the time, and you've been counselling your own kids, and your nieces and your nephews, all those years, but it hasn't, hasn't been recognised. And you haven't recognised it yourself.

If you're comfortable with te reo, if you're a fluent speaker, te reo me ona tikanga, everything else falls into place. It makes it, it doesn't make it simpler, but it gives you a broader concept of tikanga Maori.

Grace's use of the phrase "te reo me ona tikanga" indicates that she places te reo (Maori language) as primary. Tikanga is located as belonging to or embodied within te reo.

Grace rejects the characterisation of counselling as a professional activity, one which requires formal, academic study and training. Rather, she locates counselling training and practice primarily within whanau roles and relationships. She also associates counselling with tikanga, and relates tikanga to te reo. Both te reo me ona tikanga are aspects of the wairuatanga, ha a koro ma a kui ma, mauri and mana dimensions. Tikanga also relates specifically to the whanaungatanga dimension, to whanau roles and relationships.

In Grace's view, te reo comes first, carried within te reo is the understanding of tikanga which is the basis of Grace's model of counselling. For Grace, the practice and enactment of tikanga, in a variety of areas of life and work, including counselling practice, is located within whanau. 'Counselling' occurs within and is a function of whanau roles and relationships, including those associated with matuatanga [parenthood]. One's role within the whanau is developed according to one's specific attributes and abilities. Thus the status of matua [parent] alone does not equip one to 'counsel', but matua status together with te reo me ona tikanga, and possessing attributes recognised by others, does. It is likely that Grace's counselling of nieces and nephews is a result of a recognition by others of Grace's abilities in this area. This recognition is a result of her role and behaviour within the whanau, rather than formal training or academic qualification.

Te Reo Me Ona Tikanga

As Grace implies above, she views the knowledge of Maori language and right ways of doing things (te reo me ona tikanga) as the framework within which her understanding of counselling is developed and the foundation on which it is based.

Grace believes strongly that being raised in te reo has enabled her to understand and appreciate Maoritanga, and by implication Maori people and the world around her, to a depth and in a way which would not be possible without te reo.

G: Now the main language spoken in the home during my childhood days was naturally te reo Maori. There was nothing else, that was our first language. My present fluency in te reo is about the same. If you're raised in te reo, you know, you've got it for life.

...It means that you have a broader and wider concept of te reo, me ona tikanga, the kawa of people, you can understand other iwi. By other iwi, I mean other tribes. And you can understand, ah, the ah, whakapapa, the genealogy, the, the pu-rakau, everything that, that pertain to Maori. If you're fluent in the language, you can have a better understanding of things Maori.

As noted previously, te reo me ona tikanga Maori are aspects of the wairuatanga, ha a koro ma a kui ma, mauri and mana dimensions. In stating that a fluency in Maori language enables a better understanding of "things Maori", Grace by implication refers to a better understanding of Maori people, Maori selfhood. However, "things Maori", including Maori selfhood, are located through whakapapa, pu-rakau [traditional stories, history, mythology] and other things. This indicates that Grace rejects the notion of a separate and distinct concept of self. Grace characterises selfhood as constituted through and of whakapapa, pu-rakau and iwi, which inevitably relate to the dimensions of whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, mana, tinana, ha a koro ma a kui ma, mauri, mana and whatumanawa.

Learning, particularly about Maori things, is an abiding and passionate part of Grace's life. The areas that Grace is interested in could be seen as historical or theoretical, but for Grace, they are fundamental to her everyday life and vital in her work. Learning, growing in matauranga

Maori (Maori wisdom), is thus a major part of on-going training as a counsellor. Having te reo helps this learning process and, consequently, helps develop understandings relevant to counselling, understandings about people, systems, and the environment.

G: Yes, well, I don't think a Maori person can ever stop learning though. You know, there's no end to learning in terms of maturaanga Maori. Maori knowledge. I'm still learning. There are heaps and heaps of things that I still need to know. Things from before my time. So I don't like to go too far back. Ahh, you know, I like to learn about things Maori, I like to learn about tikanga Maori, I'm always interested in other tribes' tikanga. I have a lot of interest in that. Their dialects, their history, their legends; ahh, I like those sorts of things. There's no end to learning, like in the Pakeha system. You never stop learning. But I think if you've got the reo, you feel more comfortable.

Maturaanga Maori, including learning about tikanga, relates to a number of dimensions of Te Wheke. By its very nature, the concept of maturaanga involves the drawing together of different dimensions of learning and understanding. Maturaanga Maori is not limited to the cognitive knowledge aspect of the hinengaro dimension, but includes aspects of the wairuatanga, mauri and whatumanawa dimensions.

Grace's comments about the ongoing nature of learning in terms of maturaanga Maori may be related to the poutama model. As one proceeds up the steps, one is afforded an increasingly comprehensive view on what lies below.

Having been raised in te reo me ona tikanga, Grace obviously feels most comfortable in Maori situations and contexts. What makes her feel very uncomfortable, however, are situations where Maori people themselves, through ignorance or disrespect, trample on tikanga. If Grace is aware of breaches of tikanga amongst her own, at her marae for instance, she feels she has the right, even the obligation, to speak up, to correct the offender/s and put right any wrongs committed. If breaches occur in

another context, respect for other iwi and their tikanga demands that she say nothing.

G: If there are situations of course, where I feel that Maori tikanga is being trampled on, then I'm not comfortable with it. You know what I mean. Especially if you can't speak out. Ahh, if you're in another iwi. Ahhh, and there are things that you see that aren't right. And more so I think with people that don't understand tikanga Maori, but are Maori. Ahhh, yeah, I've known myself to be uncomfortable then; but not be able to speak out because it's not my marae, it is not my iwi. Ahh, you shut up. And be uncomfortable.

Grace speaks of her discomfort in situations where she witnesses "Maori tikanga...being trampled on..." As tikanga relates to all the dimensions of Te Wheke, it is likely that Grace's discomfort is experienced through the hinengaro, whatumanawa and wairuatanga dimensions, and may impact also on other dimensions. However, it is also tikanga which prevents her from acting overtly to correct breaches in situations involving other iwi.

This passage is illustrative of the rangatiratanga aspect of the mana ake, ha a koro ma a kui ma and whanaungatanga dimensions. Grace will not speak out on matters of tikanga when on other marae or within another iwi rohe. Although she has an extensive knowledge of tikanga, and a role as guardian and protector of tikanga on her own marae and amongst her own iwi, Grace does not have this role within or relationship with other iwi. To speak out about the practices of other iwi on other marae, where she is effectively manuhiri, would be to risk insulting and undermining the mana of these people. Such an action might have consequences extending beyond individual hurt or conflict. To act in such a way as to diminish the mana of a group, could seriously damage relationships between Grace as part of whanau, hapu and iwi, and the whanau, hapu and iwi of the other group. It would place the other whanau, hapu and iwi in a position of having to act to regain their mana. This positioning could have a variety of implications and consequences for both parties. For instance, if Grace interfered in the actions of another

iwi, she could be subject to personal attack (verbal and/or physical), precipitate individual or group whakamaa, negatively affect relationships between her iwi and that of the home people, or be a target of kanga or makutu. Certainly she would be seen as whakahihi.

Thus, the rangatiratanga aspect of the mana, whanaungatanga and ha a kui ma a koro ma dimensions is respected. This is indicative also of the principle that, it is who one is (and in particular one's role within and relationship with particular whanau, hapu and iwi) rather than what one knows that is significant in terms of intervention in various areas. Grace would be able to teach or to correct breaches of tikanga within other iwi and on other marae, if (a) she had established a whakapapa connection, which afforded her a place and authority within that system; or (b) she had established a whangai or metaphorical whanau relationship with the iwi at their invitation, and a role within this relationship consistent with teaching and correction; or (c) she established a rationale within the parameters of the tikanga framework which was accepted by the host people and which served to provide her with a role and responsibility consistent with providing direction and correction.

Considering that only a small proportion of the adult Maori population are fluent speakers of te reo, Grace's emphasis on this facet may be interpreted as exclusive. Grace does not see it in this way, however, she encourages those who wish to learn more.

G: I'm not putting down our people that have not been brought up with te reo and tikanga, and ahh, it's not their fault. Umm, circumstances have not given them the privilege of being brought up like that, and ahh, it's not their fault. I of course admire people that are learning te reo me ona tikanga, I take my hat off to them. Cause, let's face it, they're our, they're our kaitiaki of tikanga Maori for the years to come. you know. They have to take over. So if I can see them educating themselves in tikanga Maori and te reo, good on them.

This passage includes aspects of the hinengaro dimension, including a belief that the possession of knowledge implies a responsibility as expressed through kaitiakitanga. One does not possess knowledge for knowledge's sake, rather the possession of knowledge carries with it a responsibility to guard, protect and preserve it. In some circumstances, such as the present one where te reo Maori me ona tikanga is under threat of being extinguished entirely, the kaitiaki role may imply a responsibility to teach others, to contribute to the survival of te reo me nga tikanga.

PERCEPTIONS OF COUNSELLING

Grace works at a girls high school where around 75% of the pupils are Maori. As Head of the Maori Studies Department at the school, Grace is responsible for teaching te reo and tikanga Maori to students. Grace had previously found herself counselling Maori students, while having little non-teaching time set aside for this. As a result, she was working long hours, carrying a teaching load as well as fulfilling a counselling function. Grace made sure that counselling was written into her present job description and that time was allowed for this facet of her work.

Grace does not like the term 'counselling', preferring instead 'pa harakeke', community worker, or 'pa whakaora', community health worker. The phrase Grace uses in the following extract, "whiti kai arahi i nga tamariki", (literally, the illuminator of paths for the children), very aptly describes the way in which she sees her work.

G: I don't like to call it counselling though. Yeah, I like to say that, ah, 'he kai...', 'whiti kai arahi i nga tamariki'. I like to call it, pa harakeke, community worker, or, pa whakaora, community health worker. You know, that sort of thing. There's really no set word for it. But counsellor, no to me that's a Pakeha word. You know, I don't know what other word to use. Kai...? pea, Kaitautoko? I don't know. But counsellor? What are you counselling?

The phrase "whiti kai arahi i nga tamariki" describes a process that is both active and unintrusive. In effect it describes a process

of illuminating paths for the children. Grace's rejection of the term 'counsellor', and her association of this with the fact that the word is "a Pakeha word" may indicate a number of things. In particular, it may indicate a perception that Pakeha words, and the concepts associated with them are inappropriate for or inapplicable to Maori.

Grace cannot identify any one term in the Maori language that is equivalent to that of the English language term 'counsellor'. However, it is notable that the descriptors she uses imply a relationship or association with others (community, children) as opposed to detached position. Her perception that the term 'counsellor' is inadequate because it does not acknowledge the relational aspects of the process is emphasised in her final comments; "But counsellor? What are you counselling?"

Grace is clear that Te Atakura teachers have a role to play and a great deal to offer when it comes to providing counsel and guidance to Maori children. She regards the age and experience of Atakura teachers and their depth of knowledge of te reo and tikanga as appropriate qualifications for the counselling of Maori youth.

G: It has to be accepted that Maori children and indeed parents are more likely to approach someone of their race for help and guidance in the context of a secondary school. Atakura teachers are mature people who have brought up children in a Maori environment and are in tune with the concerns and problems faced by Maori children at large. They have the skills to deal with the tikanga or customs side of counselling. They are sensitive to cultural factors that affect the guidance of Maori students. They can work within the framework of values such as aroha, manaaki, tapu, mauri, noa, wehi, mana. No-one can be taught these things in any guidance or counselling course unless they are fluent speakers of Maori and are prepared to devote 20 years or more of their life in acquiring the skills that a Te Atakura teacher has naturally. Within the guidance network, the Atakura teacher could be a kaiawhina – helper, kaitautoko – supporter, kaihapai – prop, of Maori children.

Grace emphasises the age, stage, status and concomitant roles, relationships and experiences of Atakura teachers as important factors in their qualification to work with Maori tamariki and whanau. Also emphasised by Grace are the skills and knowledge associated with tikanga. The dimensions of mana and mauri, and the aspects of aroha, manaaki, tapu, noa and wehi which relate to these dimensions as well as the whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, ha a kui ma a koro ma and hinengaro dimensions, are identified by Grace as components of a tikanga framework that Maori can work within.

TE MAHI O TE PA HARAKEKE / FEATURES OF COUNSELLING PRACTICE

Tikanga Maori

Maoritanga is at the centre of Grace's understandings of the nature and significance of her work as 'he pa harakeke'. She sees the role of pa harakeke as requiring a commitment over and above that of the counselling function within her job description. Grace identifies a strong concern for the future of Maoridom, and for the well-being of Maori children as guardians of that future, as a major motivating force in her work. Thus, Grace sees herself as working for the future wellbeing of her people as a whole as opposed to dealing with a selection of individual students with individual problems. She also clearly believes that all the requisite skills and techniques needed in her line of work may be found within tikanga Maori, and that her approach, from within a tikanga Maori framework, is effective for the girls and young women she works with.

Some of the elements that Grace identifies as being a part of Maoritanga, and as being particularly relevant to her work are wairua Maori, the ability to awahi, and ngakau Maori.

G: I think my Maoritanga more than anything else makes me believe, in dealing with Maori girls, in doing what I do. It's just

the mere fact that I'm Maori, the mere fact that I'm comfortable with my reo and my tikanga. You've got to believe in what you're doing. If you're only doing it because you get paid fortnightly, then forget it, it's unfair. You should not be in that job. You have to believe in what you're doing. And when you look out there....

And the other thing that I like to believe is, they're our future, those kids. If we don't pick them up off the street now and point them in the right direction; where am I going to be when I'm a kaumatua? And there's no Maori person there to give help to me or to continue what I'm doing. We're lost. I have to do it. And that keeps me going too. I like to think, 'Oh yeah, one day that horrid child out there is going to be up there directing my, our people.'

...All I can say is, if a Maori person wants to take up a counselling job, get the heart. You know, they have to. But at the same time take it on board, ahhh, wairua Maori. Don't take it on board as a means of, ahhh, getting a paycheck at the end of a fortnight. Take it on board because they truly believe in what they're doing; and they believe that it's for their Maori people. And they truly believe that it's ahhh, that it's our future. These are our tamariki now, they're the ones that are going to be looking after us in a while.

Believe in what you do. And use your Maori, tikanga Maori Use it. Because you'll find it'll stand you in good stead every time. The kids respond to it.

I: Even kids that weren't brought up in it will respond to it?

G: You get the odd one or two, you have to get some, that are negative. That don't respond to it at all. Kei te pai....the majority will. They'll respond to it.

And don't be afraid to cry with the kids, have a tangi with them. That's kaupapa Maori, you know. Don't be afraid to touch them, give them some awahi.

And don't be afraid to be hard on them, if you have to be hard on them. Don't think that counselling is all, 'ohh', all sweet, because it isn't. There are times when you yell and scream. There are times when you use their language. I've found that kids respond, ahh, like these kids, they use foul language, so I thought, oh well, if that's the language they understand, then I'll use that language back to them. And they respond. But it's knowing when to use the foul language to them....

You've got to be able to, ahh, evaluate the case at hand, and act. Yet use your wairua Maori.

When Grace speaks of 'Maoritanga', she is referring to the totality of being Maori. Grace's Maoritanga is her Maori selfhood and Maori world.

A commitment to the kaupapa (the kaupapa being service to others for the benefit of the whole) is considered by Grace to be a necessary and primary motivation for counselling practice for Maori. In her view, the boundaries of the mahi extend beyond the job. Also, in Grace's view, individual clients are significant as a part of the whole, and in terms of their potential contribution to the well-being of the whole. Thus, she is working for the well-being of Maori people as a group, focusing on those within her rohe, and her work with individual tamariki and whanau occurs in relation to this context.

Grace also conceptualises her motivation for the work of 'counselling' in terms of whanau structures, roles and relationships. Comments such as: "They're our future, those kids. If we don't pick them up off the street now and point them in the right direction; where am I going to be when I'm a kaumatua?" "These are our tamariki now, they're the ones that are going to be looking after us in a while" bring home several tenets of Grace's model of counselling, and the models of self and other on which her counselling is based. First, Grace's role as counsellor has parallels with matua and pakeke roles within the whanau. As such it is deeply personal, and involves emotional as well as

cognitive aspects. In terms of Te Wheke, the wellbeing of the whanau is dependent on the sustenance provided to all dimensions. In terms of whanaungatanga and whanau roles and relationships, a failure to provide sustenance for tamariki-mokopuna will result in a breakdown of roles and relationships within the whanau. It is the mokopuna who represent the ongoing survival of the whanau, they are the living spring of the life and wairua of the tupuna. Thus, failure to provide sustenance to them is akin to allowing the spring to dry up. It represents the death of the whanau, and thus the death of Maoritanga. Grace is adamant that the urgency and implications of this must be understood and appreciated in all its dimensions. This is what provides the motivation and strength for her work.

Second, in personalising her work in terms of the whanaungatanga dimension, Grace is rejecting any notion of professional distance and clinical boundaries. She is positioning herself in terms of whanaungatanga roles in relation to her clients, and her clients are positioned in terms of whanaungatanga roles in relation to her. As the boundary of Maori selfhood is more extensive than the individual person, encompassing whanau (and hapu and iwi as an extension of this) Grace's characterisation of the counsellor-client relationship in terms of whanaungatanga, emphasises the indivisibility of her own and her client's well-being, as well as the indivisibility of the well-being of the individual and the whanau, and whanau within Maoridom as a whole. So, when Grace speaks of the requirement for Maori counsellors to "believe in what you're doing" she is expressing a belief that this relationship in all its dimensions must be the motivating force in the work of Maori counsellors.

Grace also finds that tamariki generally respond to a tikanga framework and approaches based on this. This is generally true whether or not the young people have 'learnt' Maoritanga in the cognitive sense. An explanation for this lies in dimensions outside of the hinengaro, (including wairuatanga, mana, mauri, whanaungatanga, ha a kui ma a koro ma and whatumanawa) as well as some aspects of hinengaro (including intuition, ihi and wehi).

Finally, in this passage, Grace specifically advocates the incorporation of whatumanawa ("get the heart", tangi, touch and awhi, anger and emotional involvement and expression generally), hinengaro (to analyse and "evaluate the case at hand") and wairua dimensions within 'counselling' processes.

Ngakau Maori

Ngakau Maori, may be translated as a 'Maori heart'. A central feature of this concept of ngakau Maori is aroha. Thus the person who has a ngakau Maori feels deeply for, on behalf of, and with others. The action which follows from the feeling is characterised by compassion, consideration for the feelings of others, putting other people's needs first, and open emotional expression. The open emotional expression referred to here may take the form of actions as opposed to verbal expression. Crying, embracing, expressing hurt, pain, fun, and anger relate to the ngakau.

Grace's 'ngakau Maori' is expressed in the way that she deliberately rejects the boundaries of working hours, work-place and professional distance. Ngakau Maori to Grace means being on call for girls and families at all hours of the day and night, being prepared to go to their homes as needed, spend the amount of time she feels is necessary, sharing emotional expression, and linking herself into families – becoming one of the family – through acknowledging and valuing kin relationships.

G: If I'm on duty and roam the grounds, girls will come to me with a problem. And I forget the duty and sit under a tree and eat their lunch, or eat my lunch or something. And they're comfortable there. You know, girls are ready to talk when they're ready to talk, and whether it's outside, inside, ahhh, now, tomorrow, or...if they're ready to open up then, you gotta be ready to listen. Although some of the problems may be trivial to you, but they're not to them. Even if it's just to give them 20 cents to catch the bus home or something like that. Cause if they're home late,

Dad'll...they spent their lunch money, they spent their money, no busfare... Dad'll give them a hiding.

The system [Grace is probably referring here to the Western school system] likes to think, well you can spend a quarter of an hour with a girl and...but I said, "No. That's not tikanga Maori. We don't have set times. None o' that." If a girl wants to sit there with you for two hours; you sit there for two hours with her.

So, my work involves going to homes at all hours of the day and night.

I: And that role, that counselling role, is that recognised as part of your job?

G: Yes, it is. It is. It has been written into my job description...Umm, you know, when I first started, I, I thought, well good, you know, it means time off school. But it doesn't. It doesn't. You know, in actual fact it involves all hours, and sometimes it even goes the weekends. Parents will ring up. You go. You don't have to, but I mean ngakau Maori. If you are, you go.

In advocating ngakau Maori as a component of tikanga Maori counselling, Grace is reinforcing her earlier position of personalising or connecting within a framework of whanau relationships. She is also advocating a conception of time based on the principle of 'ma te wa', that is on readiness and events as they occur in the flow of the wairua, rather than clocks and timetables. Grace aims to take herself to where she is needed, and to the environment where her clients are most comfortable. In some cases this is outside or in whanau homes. These decisions on Grace's part stem from her location of herself and tamariki and whanau within whanau relationships, and her commitment to practise according to tikanga.

The mauri of a particular place may be significant for Grace in the choice of 'counselling' venue. For example, sitting outside,

leaning against a tree, one is in contact with the mauri of Papatuanuku and Tane Mahuta. Inside people's homes there is a mauri, and this mauri is different from the mauri of classrooms within the school.

In the situation Grace describes, where she will give money to help a girl avoid "a hiding", it is conceivable that Grace could have reported or confronted the father of the family for abusive behaviour. That she chose not to do so is indicative of her respect for the mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau. However, it does not mean that she is condoning this behaviour or doing nothing about it. In order to avoid trampling on the mana or undermining the rangatiratanga of whanau, it is important that Grace is able to position herself within or in relation to the whanau system. An inappropriate confrontation will result in Grace being excluded from participation in the whanau system. The whanau may 'close ranks', or become fragmented if Grace should choose to take divisive action. Either consequence would have negative implications for the girl involved and the mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau of which she is a part.

Aroha, ngakau Maori, awhina, mauri, mana and rangatiratanga are thus the aspects of the whanaungatanga dimension that are evident within this passage. All are practised within the bounds of tikanga.

An aspect of ngakau Maori of particular importance to Grace is the ability to feel what the other person is feeling, and openly share in the expression of this feeling. This feature parallels the tikanga on public occasions of sadness such as tangihanga, where crying together, sharing grief, mingling hupe and tears is part of the process.

In the following extracts, Grace describes sharing grief and sadness with a student, and also the way in which she finds it necessary to maintain this aspect of her ngakau Maori outside of the working context.

G: I said, "Kei te pai; haere mai." ["It's alright; come here"]. And we had a awhiawhi [cuddle], and she had a big cry, and umm,

you know. And umm, 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." And, ahm, I was so sorry for her, I actually cried with the girl. It was sad...So umm, I said, "kei te pai" and we cried over it. And, umm, you know, not only was the wairua Maori coming out of her, it was coming out of me.

Very heavy cases, where I get emotionally involved, I've gone home, and I'll cry to [Grace's husband]. I have to, otherwise I'll go porangi [crazy], if I bottle it up. You know Pakehas can bottle up things, eh; they can bottle it up. Maybe this is where Pakehas are different; their confidence and confidentiality; they keep it inside. Maybe this is why...if I don't let go, I think I will probably become a hard, hard person; and I don't want to be like that. You know, I want to be able to cry when they cry, and feel, you know, all their emotions.

In this extract, Grace describes work through connection within the whatumanawa and wairuatanga dimensions. She does not want to develop hard and rigid boundaries which would block sustenance to and expression of her whatumanawa. Grace consciously collapses the boundaries between herself and clients, so that they can feel as one together.

Grace encourages the girls she works with to recognise their ngakau Maori, to listen to it and what it is telling them.

G: They also have to learn to sit down, and find out what is comfortable for them and what is not. They have to learn, from their heart.

Grace thus encourages the girls she works with to get in touch with, recognise and whakamana or value and uphold their whatumanawa. In so doing, she is assisting them to sustain their whatumanawa.

One aspect of this is to recognise their own discomfort. One form of discomfort is a sense of whakamaa, which can stem from a

variety of situations. Thus in encouraging, and perhaps teaching, girls to recognise when they may be experiencing whakamaa, and why, Grace is providing an avenue for them to monitor and avoid denigrating their mana.

Awahi and Manaakitanga

Grace considers that it is important to awahi her students in the sense of helping them in a gentle and caring manner to reach understandings, to make decisions and to carry them through. Awahi is experienced and expressed by Grace as a manifestation of aroha (in the sense of love and caring). It is another aspect of ngakau Maori.

In addition to the notion of awahi as an expression of love through active and practical helping and caring, Grace considers the action of awhiawhi, the physical expression of love and caring through cuddles and touching, as very important.

In the case example below, Grace takes on the responsibility for caring for a student who has had hard times.

G: We had to physically, mentally heal that girl. Ahh, through the...there was nothing else, we could only awhi her. That was all we could do. Build her self esteem, you know.

Really, there's nothing, there's no Pakeha kaupapa we use other than love; which is awahi. That was all we could do. I umm, changed her option from umm, she wasn't taking Maori. I said to her, "You'll be better off in a Maori class. We have a whanau concept."

So I brought her into my room. She's joined Maori club, she joined Maori language... Umm... And those sorts of things. And I also changed, umm, from her being in another form. I'm her form teacher now. You know, she still needs a lot of tender loving care.

Physical touching...that's part of Maoritanga. Ae [Yes]. Whereas Pakeha counsellors, they find it sort of... 'Kao!' ['No!'] And I'd like to challenge anyone on that one on tikanga Maori. Kids need that, and Maori kids, girls, you have to.

Awhi and awhiawhi may be seen as expressions of aroha, an aspect of the whatumanawa and whanaungatanga dimensions.

Grace characterises the healing in Western terms, as occurring in the physical and mental dimensions. However, in terms of Te Wheke, what she describes is the provision of sustenance to the mana, whanaungatanga, mauri, whatumanawa, ha a kui ma a koro ma and wairuatanga dimensions. Awhi is also a means of alleviating whakamaa.

Grace adopted a matua role in relation to the girl by directing her into the Maori class. In bringing the girl into the Maori class, and through encouraging her participation in Maori club and Maori language learning, Grace provided sustenance to a number of dimensions. In entering the Maori class, the girl also entered a metaphorical whanau, with access and exposure to the various aspects of whanaungatanga there-in. Within this context, it would be possible for her to develop roles and relationships through which to promote a positive sense of identity.

Participation in Maori club and learning te reo Maori would provide sustenance for the ha a kui ma a koro ma, wairuatanga, mauri, whanaungatanga, whatumanawa, tinana and mana dimensions of the girl involved.

Wairua Maori

Wairuatanga is an important part of Grace's being and her worldview. Grace sees the wairuatanga dimension as an integral part of herself, others and the world we live in. This understanding has a number of implications: first, she considers wairuatanga to be of relevance in personal and interpersonal problems and situations, whether or not the

wairua appears as an obvious or primary issue. Second, as a result of her regard for this dimension, Grace undertakes karakia. Karakia may serve a variety of functions, including serving as an avenue through which to seek spiritual guidance and intercession for her clients. Third, because spiritual influences are a factor to be considered in all aspects of her own life, and most particularly when she is dealing with negative forces or that which is unknown (including when she goes onto other people's turf, such as when working with their daughters and granddaughters, going into their homes), Grace considers that it is vital to have a cloak of spiritual protection so that she may maintain her spiritual strength, and reduce the risk of succumbing to or being overcome by negative spiritual forces.

I: Do you karakia yourself? For yourself?

G: I have to. I have to protect myself. I mean, it'd be a foolish Maori person, that doesn't do that. A stupid stupid person that doesn't protect himself. Epecially where I go in the community.

Karakia may be used to intercede in the flow of the wairua. This may involve seeking spiritual intercession within the temporal realm and in particular seeking the provision of spiritual strength and protection to individuals, groups and kaupapa.

In working with people, and in a capacity which touches on aspects (both positive and negative) of all the dimensions of people and groups, Grace considers it necessary to use karakia for herself in order to gain spiritual protection. This indicates an awareness of the influence of the wairuatanga dimension and the possibility of negative spiritual forces influencing her in the areas in which she works. It may also indicate an awareness of the power of individuals amongst whom she works to generate negative forces in the form of kanga or makutu; the beak of Te Wheke.

In terms of the girls she works with, Grace perceives some of the confusion surrounding identity issues in terms of spirituality. Grace believes that the concept of a shared Maori spirituality may account, in

part, for her observation that Maori people often, (although not always), prefer to go to other Maori people for help and to talk about deep issues.

G: I mean let's face it. A lot of girls here don't want to be known as Maori, and they're as black as anything. They don't want to be known as Maori.

I: Do you see that as a problem for them, or likely to cause problems later on?

G: I feel sad for them. Mmm, you know, they're missing out on so much. But, ahhh, but again, it, ahh, comes from the home. The influence from home. If I had to go around and try and change every girl, I'd go around the bend. Then you have Maori girls that have been raised in a Pakeha environment, adopted by Pakeha people, who suddenly discover they want to know their Maoritanga. I've got one such girl now.

I always say, I like to think that about girls that are, ahh, that don't want to identify as Maori now; that in time they'll come...you know, that spiritual side will pull.

I: Do you believe then, if you believe in that idea, do you believe that that's why Maori people respond better to you as a Maori person, and to using Maori ideas, even when they have no background of knowledge in things Maori?

G: Well, I like to think so. I think deeply rooted in them, is their wairua Maori.

A lot of the girls, I mean some of them, don't take Maori. Some of them don't know anything Maori. But strangely enough, if they are deeply upset, the first thing they will say to me is, "Can we have a karakia?" Straight away that spiritual side, that wairua side is pulling them. That may be the only thing they want from you. And they don't want to know anything else Maori; but that's enough. You know that it's there. One day it'll come out.

Grace's comments in regard to those who "don't want to be known as Maori", could be related to models of racial/cultural identity development. However, within the framework of Te Wheke, a lack of pride in one's Maori identity is likely to reflect a lack of sustenance within the mana ake dimension, and consequently a level of whakamaa. If there is a lack of sustenance to the mana Maori aspect of the mana ake dimension, other aspects such as mana wahine, mana tupuna and mana Atua will be affected.

As the wairuatanga and mana ake dimensions are intimately and inseparably intertwined, it is not surprising that Grace relates the 'pull', the need to gain sustenance for their mana Maori, to the wairua. It is through the wairua that mana seeks to be sustained. Another implication of Grace's observations in regard to the dimensions of wairuatanga and mana ake, is that the need for sustenance is not dependent on learning. The 'wairua Maori' that Grace speaks of, is experienced as an innate need, rather than a want or desire born of cognitive knowledge of a missing dimension.

As is common if one has been starved of sustenance for a period of time, initial ingestion typically entails small, easily digestible, portions. To add to this from my own observation, after the initial limited ingestion, a voracious appetite for sustenance for the wairuatanga dimension may develop, with those who had been deprived of sustenance for this dimension sometimes becoming less than selective in their choice of sustenance. Thus, Maori who have experienced some deprivation in terms of sustenance for the wairuatanga dimension, may seek any form of spiritual or pseudo-spiritual sustenance they can find. They may eventually find some 'spiritual foods' more satisfying for their 'wairua Maori' than others.

When she is working with individual girls and families, Grace may use Maori concepts as a way of reframing, or informing. Many of the concepts she draws on incorporate implicit spiritual understandings. The myth referred to in this extract, that of Tane and Hine-Titama, also

has spiritual connotations. (The story of Hine-Titama as told by Patricia Grace and illustrated by Robyn Kahukiwa is appended as Appendix 1).

G: Health issues, abuse issues, sexual issues, some of the girls are very promiscuous. I talk to them on the idea of tapu wahine.

To the Maori, the body is very tapu; very, very tapu. It's very hard for young people to understand that sort of thing. You know, parts of you are very tapu. Like your head is very tapu...

I said to her [a young woman student and client of Grace's], "Don't let anybody bash your head about." Not physically, mentally. Physically it's tapu also, it shouldn't be hit. Because physically you know, you could have brain damage or something. But mentally also. To the Maori it's a very, very tapu thing. All the knowledge you have is stored there. So if you're mentally abused, it is filled up with things that are not right. Then your whole concept of Maoritanga, of the whole world, is wrong.

I: So when you, when you're talking to girls to do with sexual abuse, or their families: you use concepts like tapu...

G: Ae. I use tapu, I use noa, ahhh, tika...

Girls also, they're quite clued up, about some matters. We talk about incest, and they go, "Oh but Maori people've been doing that for years". Some girls throw that back at me. "Maori people have been doing this for years. Committing incest. Look at Tane." I've had that one thrown at me, "Look at Tane and Hine-Titama, his own daughter." There are those sorts of things. So really they are right in that, we have been doing it for years. But not in a, umm, in a way where we are breaking laws, the thing is, in a way that is tikanga Maori.

I: Is there a tikanga Maori way for that?

G: Oh yes. Years ago there was. Ae. You know, oh even Pakehas are doing it now anyway. I mean I've known rich families who

marry into each other to keep their money together. Now that's for material gain isn't it? Maori people do it, whakamoengia te rangatira o Raukawa ki te rangatira o Ngati Porou [marrying a chiefly member of one tribe to the chiefly member of another], to ahh, to combine the tribes together. Maori people do it, there's a reason behind it. They do it...they don't just do it for material gain. You know, there's always a reason behind it, you know, to do with tikanga.

So if anybody says, "oh well you know, Maoris have been doing it..." I say to them, "Ahhh, but Tane did it, Tane got Hine Titama pregnant, see that was through ignorance. He was the first one to do it, but we learnt from that mistake. Hine Titama went and became Hine-Nui-te-Po. He learnt from that."

So I speak to my kids on that.

Grace speaks of the concept of tapu as an aspect of the wairuatanga, mana, tinana and hinengaro dimensions. For instance:

- Protection of te tapu o te wahine (that is the tapu of women or the female element), refers in part to te tapu o te whare tangata (that is the tapu of the womb as symbolic of the function of women in carrying and nurturing new life), which relates also to maintenance of mana wahine (that is, the spiritually endowed prestige and authority of women).
- Te tapu o te tinana, me te tino tapu o te mahunga, (that is, bodily tapu and the intensified tapu associated with the head) relates to waiora in terms of physical and mental health and well-being
- The hinengaro dimension is hidden and protected much of the time because of its role as a holder of knowledge, which is tapu in itself.

- The need to protect the hinengaro is further emphasised in Grace's observation that "if you're mentally abused, it is filled up with things that are not right. Then your whole concept of Maoritanga, of the whole world, is wrong." Thus, Grace associates mental abuse as filling the mind "with things that are not right." In other words, mental abuse involves filling the mind with nga mea he (things that are wrong), rather than nga mea tika (things that are true, correct and just). This in turn mitigates against living one's life according to the principles of tikanga Maori.

- Key elements of Grace's definition of 'mental abuse' include intrusion into that which is tapu (in particular the head, and by implication the mind and hinengaro), and the imposition of that which is not tika, in other words, that which is contrary to tikanga.

Grace's observations may well relate to a general Maori suspicion that Western psychology, and counselling as an offshoot of this is, at least potentially, damaging for Maori, as psychology and counselling are based on a tikanga Pakeha which is often in conflict with tikanga Maori.

In the preceding narrative, Grace discusses the ha a koro ma a kui ma, whanaungatanga and wairuatanga (through the aspect of whakapapa and nga Atua) dimensions. She employs the purakau relating to Tane and Hine-Titama, to illustrate the multi-dimensional nature of Maoritanga and tikanga Maori in the processing of issues relating to tika and he. In Grace's construction of tika and he in relation to incest, that which is tika and that which is he are constructed, defined and assessed within a framework of tikanga. Within a tikanga-based discursive frame, the delineation between tika and he, as that between tapu and noa, is not unequivocal, nor is it mutually exclusive. Thus, as an item may be tapu in one context and noa in another, so an action may be tika in one context and he in another. It is the context, and in particular the relational aspects and effects of the action that ultimately distinguish that which is tika from that which is he. Of central importance in distinguishing nga mea tika from nga mea he is whether the action contributes to the common good,

whether it has the effect of enhancing mana or whether it has an opposite and detrimental effect. Thus, strategic marriages, whether between iwi, or within whanau, which were designed to enhance, strengthen and protect the mana of the group may be acceptable within a tikanga framework.

The story of Tane and Hine-Titama provides an illustration of ways of constructing meaning around within a tikanga framework. First, Tane's action in taking his daughter, Hine-Titama, as his wife was achieved without the benefit of open and honest discussion. There was no agreement that such an action was in the common good. Thus the element of whakawhitiwhiti korero was absent. Second, as a result of Tane's actions, he lost Hine-Titama. Their children suffered through the loss of their mother. Hine Titama lost her regard for her father and husband and she lost daily contact with her children. Thus, there was a painful and detrimental effect on the whanau. Third, Tane's mana suffered in relation to Hine-Titama. Tane was left with the acknowledgment of 'noku te he'; (the wrong-doing was his) and responsibility for the effects on his whanau. Fourth, in traveling to the underworld and becoming Hine-Nui-Te-Po, Hine-Titama became the most powerful of beings, the guardian of the underworld. In this capacity, her mana is inescapable and unconquerable. This is further emphasised in the pu-rakau relating to Maui, who met his death between her thighs as he attempted to enter her vagina without her knowledge or consent. No-one can escape her presence and her power. Fifth, while Hine-Titama suffered pain and grief, as a result of the discovery of her father's actions and his deceit, and also as a result of the separation from her own children, the separation was of short duration in the scheme of things. It was her decision to leave them in the earthly care of their father, and her place to instruct him as to his responsibility for the care of their daughters. As Hine-Nui-Te-Po, she was able to welcome them to the underworld and keep them with her always. Sixth, the name of Tane is forever associated with his wrong and the lesson it holds for his descendants, as well as his positive contributions. Seventh, neither Hine-Nui-te-Po nor Tane are portrayed exclusively as hero or heroine, or villain and victim. Thus, Tane is a 'hero' as defined by the positive contributions he

made towards the wellbeing of his descendants, but his treatment of Hine-Titama had the effect of depriving him of his mana. Similarly, while Hine-Titama may be seen in some respects as a victim, she became the strongest, most feared and frequently acknowledged of female elements, producer and guardian not only of life, but also of death.

At times, problems or situations which Grace comes across in her work may have spiritual roots or effects. At such times, Grace feels able to recognise spiritual dimensions which may be pertinent to the situation, and to assist in the resolution of spiritually based problems.

A 'runanga' is a tribal council or assembly, typically comprised of leaders, elders and learned people of the tribe; in other words, people of particular mana.

I: You know, talking about that; I was wondering, when you have a Maori girl and her whanau, do any of those sort of things come up? Ahhm, are there times when you think there might be things that might need a tohunga, or need particularly a karakia?

G: There are times like that. You give them all those options. You say to them.....you don't say to them, 'well you must get a tohunga'. But maybe, "he mate Maori pea?" [" a Maori sickness perhaps?"]you know, "you may need a tohunga [expert in the spiritual dimension], ummm, to do something."

I: And then you're in a position that you can help to put them in touch with somebody?

G: Yeah. See, not only do you have a network of Pakeha...ahhm, you know ...you must have, also have a Maori network. The runanga, the runanga, is excellent. Very good.

References in this narrative are to the dimension of wairuatanga, and to the mate Maori and tohunga aspects of this. Grace would probably look for signs indicating that there is a mate Maori or similar aspect of the wairuatanga dimension to be addressed.

The whanaungatanga dimension is also highlighted in Grace's reference to the necessity of having a "Maori network". Thus, as a Maori "counsellor", her connections with and into Maori networks and relational systems, as well as Pakeha ones, are important.

Marae Kawa

The model that Grace feels describes the way in which she likes to work best is that of the kawa of the marae. Grace heard counselling described in terms of the kawa of the marae at a hui she attended and recognised it as an apt description of her own mode of working.

G: I hit on this bright way that I saw being done, although unwittingly, I had been doing it all along without me knowing. It wasn't until I saw it at a course and I thought... 'yeah, I've been doing it like that all the time.'

I liken it to a marae. Now a marae, the marae situation, there's certain steps you take, alright? The karanga, ahh, then the whakaeke, and then the whaikorero of course, and then the waiata, the hongī, the....and then the kai. I like to liken it to that.

Do you want to hear about it?

I: Yeah.

G: I liken it to, yes, liken it to, in terms of a marae situation. To me, the karanga [the first call of welcome], of course, is the powhiri [invitation of welcome] to the child to come in. You say to the kids, "Right. Haere mai. E noho." ["Come in. Sit down."] So the karanga then, is when you welcome them in. Then the whaikorero [speechmaking which sets out and discusses reasons for the visit and associated issues], the kids do the whaikorero. Then you have your waiata [song], that is the kinaki [the relish or embellishment which adds depth and emphasis to the speeches]. The kinaki. Ko te kinaki i tena wa,

that's what I can contribute, further, to them. After all that, the hongī. I don't mean physically hongī; but we're together. From there we go to have a kai. And I think of the possible solutions as selections of songs. And we sit down and we discuss, 'what are we going to do'. Though sometimes in the whakaeke part, in the karanga part, just like on a marae, there is a tangihanga, there is a tangi. And you get kids coming in and actually crying, too. That is all involved in this.

I: So you found that you were actually doing this? You were already doing that, and then you heard it described like that at this course, at this counselling hui, and you recognised it?

G: Mmm. I recognised it straight away. I didn't really put it in terms of a marae kawa though...I didn't give it a title.

The kawa of the marae represents a performance of tikanga Maori in a specific context. As previously noted, the kawa of the marae and provides sustenance to all dimensions of Te Wheke.

In the context of the meeting of people on the marae, the karanga may also be known as the powhiri. Its function is to acknowledge and welcome those who have come. Karanga can convey a message from the hinengaro dimension, a depth of emotion from the whatumanawa dimension and can also penetrate into the wairuatanga dimension and call forth the ha a koro ma a kui ma.

Tangi (crying) is a common feature of hui on even happy occasions as those who have gone on are remembered, past grief revisited and current pain acknowledged. This is an illustration of the whatumanawa dimension.

Whaikorero serves to lay down and elucidate the kaupapa of the visit, which may then be explored and developed during the course of a hui.

The kinaki (that is the waiata) symbolises Grace's contribution to the whaikorero which lays out the kaupapa of the visit. It is

provided with the object of whakamana through supporting and adding to the words of the kai-whaikorero (speaker).

In metaphorically equating the range of possible solutions in terms of the selection of songs, Grace is describing a process involving the careful consideration of what is available and accessible, what will whakamana the client and those connected with her (her whanau), what will most effectively reinforce and tautoko the points laid down in the whaikorero and what might add another dimension or point of enlightenment to the take (issue) which has been presented.

The metaphorical hongī represents the mingling of the mauri of participants and the removal of tapu thus opening the way for ongoing and more intimate contact along the lines of the whanaungatanga dimension.

The sharing of kai (food and drink) is a final step cementing both the whakanoa and whakawhanaungatanga processes.

Respecting Other Tikanga

Grace believes that different methods, different approaches, standards and criteria are appropriate for different groups. She feels strongly that it is vital for counsellors to be aware of the tikanga of the different groups that they may be working with. As a consequence of her perception of the importance of tikanga, and the importance of respecting differences in tikanga, she believes that it is often preferable for members of particular ethnic groups to work with their own.

Grace's beliefs in this regard may be seen as akin to post-modern social constructionist theory in which the multiplicity and relativity of constructions of truth and reality narratives are acknowledged.

G: We have some, ahh, children from Pacific Islands here. And I've had to deal with Pacific Island kids. Ahh, I have had crash courses in their tikanga. I mean, who am I to fob off my tikanga Maori onto a Samoan? They have their own tikanga, you know.

Or a Rarotongan. They have their culture too. Umm, but I find that kids from the Pacific Islands, if I'm uncertain, I always ring a minister up, from their, from their church. And I find he deals with it.

If I don't, I may...I mean I'm very aware that I might tread on their toes or their tikanga. I wish more Pakeha counsellors would do that. You know, they have to be very aware that they may be trampling on Maori tikanga, Maori toes. So I'm always very aware of that, that our Samoan kids need Samoan tikanga. Tongan kids, they, you know, they have their own tikanga too.

Tikanga in this context may be thought of as the discursive frame within which right, wrong, appropriate and inappropriate processes, and the meaning systems on which these are based, are constructed, defined and assessed. Grace is acknowledging the rangatiratanga of nga iwi katoa; that is she is recognising the authority of different groups to their own constructions within the framework of their own systems of meaning.

In the preceding narrative, Grace is also acknowledging the whanaungatanga dimension within which the well-being of members the young is contiguous with the well-being of the whanau, hapu and iwi. To work safely with members of particular whanau, hapu and iwi members (including te iwi Pakeha, te iwi o Rarotonga and other groups), one must know the intricacies of the tikanga framework which supports and protects their well being.

Pacific Island communities usually have a strong association with particular church groups. Several of the established Christian denominations have specific Pacific Island churches and groups. In some ways, these churches have become the focal point of community activity and spiritual expression. Ministers within these churches are accorded 'mana' in Maori terms (they have a degree of spiritual authority which is based on service to others and is recognised in the temporal realm), have extensive

community links and perform a variety of roles within the community related to the well-being of the community.

Grace's concern with not "treading on toes", or trampling of the tikanga, of Pacific Island families is rooted in the rangatiratanga aspect of the whanaungatanga, wairuatanga and mana dimensions. It also relates to the ha a kui ma a koro ma dimension. A lack of respect for that which, in Maori narratives, constitutes the rangatiratanga of the whanau, hapu and iwi, would be akin to trampling on the mana of the whanau, hapu and iwi, and would certainly produce a reaction of some description. Within a Maori framework, one reaction could be the production of whakamaa at an individual or group level, another may be the instigation of conflict as the offended group seeks to restore its mana.

The theme of different tikanga for different groups is a strong one within Grace's philosophy of counselling. As intimated in the previous extract, she has had experiences with Pakeha counsellors and Western systems where she has found their approaches to be incompatible with tikanga Maori.

Recent law changes have made Grace more uncomfortable about talking to and engaging in liaison with agencies which represent the Western system and which have their roots in Western philosophies and ideologies (such as the Children and Young Person Service and Youth Justice institutions). This is particularly so when Maori children and families are involved. Grace feels that the 'Children, Young Persons and their Families Act' maintains the legislative mandate that these Crown agencies have to impose their tikanga over tikanga Maori.

As previously specified, Grace sees a primary feature of tikanga Maori as respect for the mana of others and respect for the rangatiratanga of whanau to resolve their own problems in their own ways. In particular, Grace believes that the rights of young people and whanau to choose solutions and resolutions that are most appropriate for them, have been eroded through this Act. Grace now prefers to deal with Maori families

herself or to turn to Maori groups and agencies to deal with problems, such as abuse, involving Maori families.

The term whangai is commonly used to refer to children who have been adopted in a Maori way. A 'Maori adoption' has similarities to the Western practice of foster care. Children were sometimes raised by people other than their birth parents, usually extended family members, and often older family members such as grandparents. A feature of the institution of whangai is that the child or children involved are usually made fully aware of their whakapapa, and often maintain frequent contact with birth parents and other whanau. The institution of whangai mentioned by Grace involves a shared responsibility for the raising of children amongst adults within the extended whanau.

The whangai concept is consistent with Maori terminology and constructions of the relationships between children and adults of parental age and grandparental age. For instance, in traditional Maori society, children were expected to call all women of their mother's generation whaea (the term may be translated as both mother and aunty) or an equivalent term depending on dialect. Similarly, adults of the grandparents generation were referred to as koro (grandfather), kui (grandmother) or other terms depending on dialect. These terms are still often used in the traditional way, particularly within institutions such as kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Maori. Many young people also use equivalent English language terms in a Maori sense. Thus men and women of one's parents' generation may be referred to as 'uncle' and 'aunty', those of the grandparents generation may be referred to as 'nanny' and 'papa' or by similar terms. Likewise older people may refer to all young people as mokopuna (grandchild), not distinguishing between those who are grandchildren by linear biological descent, or those of the extended whanau, or the metaphorical whanau.

In the early 1980s the then Department of Social Welfare instituted a program known as Matua Whangai. The program was designed to provide culturally appropriate services to young Maori people and families. Part of the function of Matua Whangai workers was and is to arrange placements for Maori children in need of foster care, and to play a matua or parenting role providing support and advice for young Maori families in need or in distress.

In the following extract, Grace's method of working within a tikanga framework, her respect for the sensitivities, and rights of young women and their whanau, and her role as 'he whiti kai arahi,' are apparent.

G: Well, the new Young Persons Act, that's come in; once upon a time, I could, ahh, I have a network up there, with the Matua Whangai, with the Social Welfare, with the police, with the community worker. I can discuss it with them. If I feel it's too involved for me, I can bring in, I could, if I want to, bring one of those people in; and we'd discuss it with the girl. With the girl's permission of course. I have to let her make that choice. I offer the choices, I say, "well, this one can help you, that one can help you". That's if I can't see any other way after I've dealt with the parents.

I: You would go to the parents first?

G: It's not a nice, it's not a pleasant thing to deal with sexual abuse, when you have to go to the home, and say; "well, ahh, I have reason to believe that so-and-so has been sexually abused."

I: When you do that, do you go on your own?

G: Well, I feel comfortable with a Maori person. Because I get stuff, you know, thrown at me. It's initial anger, that's all it is. Then they calm down. And I'm not about to run out. I'll sit there, and I'll wait. I know what it is, it's just the anger coming out. They're indignant that they're being accused of this that and the other thing. I don't name people, I just say, "I have reason to believe that so-and-so's been sexually abused. And kei te tika, kei te he ranei, [whether it's true or if it's untrue]" I said, "won't you tell me. And if it's true then maybe we can get help for that" The Pakeha group they have here is called tough love, or the sexual abuse teams, I dunno. I think those, those agencies are for Pakeha people, they work on Pakeha concepts. And if it's Maori ones, well, they can talk on a one to one basis. They could also see their, ahh, their minister.

I've never known a person to come straight out and say "yes, I am. I've been doing it." I've never had a Maori person say that. You know it's true.

And quite often the roles can switch from counselling the child to counselling the parent. You know. You can offer them, you can offer them choices, ahm....and leave it at that. That's fine, the choices are there for them.

But with the new Act that's come in, I have to be very, very careful now. Because if I, if I find out, I don't talk to them as often. Because they can report it straight to the police, and the police has the right to go straight into the home. Ahhh, Social Welfare now, straight into the home now too. Ahh, you know, and they can do all that, over me, over everyone else.

I: So, because of this Act, you, you would tend to not go there and just handle it yourself if you can.

G: I prefer now to handle it myself, or get a Maori group to handle it. We try and handle it amongst ourselves.

I: Is there a Maori group here that can handle those issues?

G: Yes. We have our Maori groups. And most Maori groups agree now, that rather than go to the administration.... I mean, let's face it, I've made mistakes; I didn't know that Act, when that Act came in. I got one child into hot water. I went straight to our Youth Aid worker, who went straight to the police, Social Welfare.

I: And that child was taken away?

G: The child. And the father was investigated. I felt terrible about it. But I didn't know the Act had been changed. Since then, I have become very...secretive I s'pose about it. I don't refer as much now. I can go to them [the Children, Young Person and their Families Service] and ask, "If this is happening, what are

the rights, what are my rights, or what are your rights?”. And they'll say, “Well who is it? If I know, I won't tell them.

Matua whangai was a system established within the (now dis-established) Department of Social Welfare. Matua whangai operated along the principle of Maori foster care and community responsibility for children. The scheme fell down as a result of a lack of adequate resourcing, the confining of 'matua whangai' workers to the lower echelons of the service, in terms of power and access to resources, and a resultant lack of ability to impact on structural and systemic issues or to provide for tamariki Maori at other than a superficial level, as constrained by the decisions of Pakeha superiors within the system. The matua whangai system was grounded within and designed to provide sustenance for the whanaungatanga dimension. In effect, a lack of understanding of and respect for the mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau, on the part of the system it was based in, resulted in it having limited power and effect.

The whanaungatanga dimension is evident in Grace's qualification of her provision of choice to, and seeking of the permission of, her clients as exemplified in the statement “That's if I can't see any other way after I've dealt with the parents.” In other words, the provision of individual choice is a last resort if attempts at a whanau intervention have been unsuccessful.

Grace's approach to whanau is characterised by a kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) approach. This approach is founded in all the dimensions of Te Wheke. In physically bringing herself into contact with the whanau, Grace is also bringing those dimensions of herself identified in Te Wheke to the whanau. She is also enabling a connection between the dimensions of herself and the whanau in all its dimensions. By presenting herself, rather than making contact by letter or telephone, Grace is respecting the mana of the whanau. She is exposing and offering her 'whole self', rather than limiting initial contact to a cognitive and/or verbal (hinengaro) level by initiating contact through a letter or telephone call. In terms of the mana dimension, Grace, in approaching the whanau kanohi-ki-te-kanohi, reduces the power differential and

provides a context within which the connection is within the whanau dimension. In attending at the home, Grace is symbolically separating herself from the 'system'. In going to the home, rather than asking the whanau to come to the school, Grace is further conscious of not placing the whanau at a disadvantage in terms of mana and mauri. Thus, she goes onto their metaphorical turangawaewae, their home, placing herself initially in the role of manuhiri (visitor). Although the nature of the take (issue) she brings with her may well result in the whanau experiencing some degree of whakamaa, Grace works to minimise threats to the mana of the whanau. She aims to preserve the rangatiratanga of the whanau by presenting the take (issue) and offering them the power to respond, to make choices and to deal with it in a way that is appropriate for them. This lessens the likelihood of the whanau being overcome by the debilitating effects of whakamaa.

When Grace goes into the home of the whanau, the initial process is likely to be one of whakawhanaungatanga. In keeping with the kawa of the marae, the next step in Grace's process is the whaikorero, that is, she lays her take (issue) down to the whanau, and allows them to respond. Grace is not phased by the anger which may meet her initially, recognising it as an expression of the whatumanawa. It is not unusual for voices to be raised, anger and pain expressed and strident statements or challenges made in the context of the whakaeke on the marae.

Grace's approach to whanau in the delicate issue of sexual abuse features a focus on the 'take', rather than confrontation or condemnation of individuals. This approach is possible when there is an appreciation of the mana of whakapapa and whanau, and a characterisation of people that is not primarily defined by a victim/villain dichotomy.

Grace's approach to whanau, and her description of a movement from "counselling the child to counselling the parent" may be read as an illustration of the boundaries of the 'client' as inclusive of whanau. The well-being of the 'client' and that of the whanau are intertwined and inextricable.

Grace indicates that she differentiates between concepts that are "for Pakeha people", and those she sees as appropriate for Maori. The Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act has been hailed as an innovative piece of legislation as it is seen as incorporating Maori values and processes. For example, families are considered significant in relation to the welfare of individual children and young people, and 'family group conferences', broadly modeled on the notion of whanau hui, feature in the Act. However, Grace indicates that she finds the Act, or the implementation of provisions within it, unhelpful, even dangerous, in relation to Maori whanau.

As a result of her concerns about the implementation of provisions in the CYP&F Act, Grace is reluctant to involve Western institutions or to become involved in interventions within the Western system, preferring to handle 'abuse issues' relating to Maori whanau herself, or in association with Maori groups. Grace also indicates that her preference to avoid involvement with 'the administration' in relation to 'abuse issues' in Maori whanau, is one generally shared with other Maori groups.

The CYPF Act represents an attempt to incorporate Maori principles and processes into provisions for the welfare of children, young people and families. According to Grace's analysis, however, the legislation has not achieved its aims and intentions in regard to Maori whanau. It is worth examining in some detail the basis on which Grace considers the Act to represent a threat to the well-being of whanau and tamariki Maori. First, it is necessary to appreciate Maori perceptions of the role of the State in relation to the welfare and well-being of Maori whanau. State welfare agencies have a long history of judging Maori parenting and family systems in terms of Western criteria of healthy self-hood and healthy child development. The welfare and well-being of children and young people has traditionally been considered by Western systems as an issue related to, but separate from, the welfare and well-being of whanau. Thus, the 'well-being of the child' is identified as paramount, with little or no acknowledgment of the intertwined and inseparable nature of self

and whanau well-being. It is as a result of the separation of individual from whanau health, welfare and well-being that the characterisation of individuals within whanau as 'victims' and 'offenders', and the practice of removing children from negative whanau environments has flourished. The assumption being that an alternative environment will contribute to the eventual development of children and young people concerned as self-contained, independent and autonomous individuals. Whanau have frequently been adjudged, by State welfare officials and agencies, as providing inadequate or detrimental environments in terms of the welfare and 'appropriate development' of the children and young people within them. The state solution to the 'inadequate and/or detrimental' family environments of Maori children and young people, has been to remove the children and young people from their families and place them instead in the care of the state. The result of this policy has been the fragmentation of whanau, the imposition on many young people and whanau of Western systems and understandings, and the loss by young people taken into state care, of sustenance for the whanaungatanga dimension. In effect, the state has diagnosed whanau as unhealthy, and prescribed, as treatment, the amputation of the whanaungatanga tentacle. However, rather than this treatment promoting a restoration to health for young Maori and the whanau of which they are a part, it has led to huge amounts of ill-health for these young people and whanau. Damage to or the amputation of the whanaungatanga dimension, has consequences, not only in terms of all aspects of this dimension, but also in terms of all the other dimensions of Te Wheke. Thus, loss of the whanaungatanga dimension, or a loss of sustenance to this dimension, inevitably implies, amongst other things, a loss of sustenance to the mana dimension (and corresponding increase in susceptibility to chronic and acute whakamaa and mate Maori), and the wairuatanga, ha a kui ma a koro ma and mauri dimensions. Damage to the hinengaro may result from the imposition of Western whakaaro/systems of thinking, and categorisations based on Western conceptions of self and other.

Grace's description of 'mental abuse' includes the notion of the head, and the mind as "a very, very tapu thing...So if you're mentally abused, it is filled up with things that are not right. Then your whole concept of Maoritanga, of the whole world, is wrong." Thus, the imposition of Western whakaaro represents an interference with the tapu of the hinengaro. It also represents a trampling on the mana and rangatiratanga of whanau, hapu and iwi.

Sustenance to the whatumanawa is also likely to be affected in those taken into the care of the Western state system. Free and formalised expression of the depths of emotion through the whatumanawa dimension, and communication through this dimension, is not a strong feature of Western conceptions of healthy selfhood. As previously discussed, acceptable expression of emotion in Western systems, tends to involve a distancing from emotion, the sublimation of emotion to cognition and an emphasis on verbal description of emotion as a part of this. Indeed, whatumanawa expression may be characterised within Western systems as pathological. For instance, whanau and the tamariki and rangatahi within them, may be characterised as 'hostile', 'chronically angry' and/or exhibiting 'unresolved grief'. Behaviours associated with whakamaa may be interpreted as any of the preceding or as 'depression', 'inappropriate affect', 'disassociation', 'acting out behaviour'. Thus a raft of pathological terms have been developed within Western mental health discourse, to describe expression of the whatumanawa dimension.

While the CYPF Act ostensibly represents a more enlightened and culturally appropriate approach to the issue of the well-being of Maori tamariki, rangatahi and whanau, it may be argued that the changes made in this most recent incarnation of the role of the state in the welfare of children, young people and families, is more apparent than real. First, the title of the Act, 'The Children, Young Persons and their Families Act', provides an indication that 'children and young people' are still considered separate from (although linked to) their families. The positioning of 'children and young people' as paramount over their families, is inconsistent

with the view of children and young people as a part of whanau, and of whanau as constitutive of them. Thus the rangatiratanga of the whanau, is undermined in the very title of the Act.

Both the justice system and the social welfare system have a history of intervention into whanau systems, and of enforced removal of whanau members, particularly young members, often for placement in state institutions. The CYP&F Act represents a joining of forces by these agencies.

The Act provides for intervention by police and CYP&F service workers ("Social Welfare") on suspicion of the existence of an environment detrimental to the well-being of a child or young person. The intervention commonly entails removal of the child/children who are the subject of concern, and sometimes the arrest and incarceration of offenders. Whanau are not provided with choice in the manner of addressing issues of concern, as police and social workers are considered to have the expertise and training to assess, evaluate and prescribe 'treatment'. This is another assault on the rangatiratanga of the whanau.

Family Group conferences are designed to provide the whanau, and sometimes hapu and iwi members, with a chance to participate in the process, to have some say in the direction of 'treatment' for the whanau, and how the well-being of the child/children may best be served. However, police and social workers are included in family group conferences, and it is on their characterisation of whanau as detrimental or abusive, that the conference is founded.

Consideration of the welfare of the child or young person is placed as the paramount consideration, and this is seen as related to but separate from the well-being of the whanau. The 'take' is not defined in terms of the well-being of the whanau, and children and young people within it. Nor is there a recognition of the centrality of the mana of the whanau in maintaining the well-being of individual members. Thus the rangatiratanga of whanau, hapu and iwi to define the situation in their own terms and

according to their own whakaaro, is negated. The 'professionals' assume the role of definers of reality.

The ultimate power to decide on the placement of children and young people, and the future constitution of whanau, stays with representatives of state agents of justice and welfare. While whanau may have a say within family group conferences, ultimate authority over the whanau rests with the Western judiciary. Thus the rangatiratanga of whanau, hapu and iwi is again negated. The process does not challenge Western hegemony, but rather serves to extend colonial oppression and to maintain the oppression of tikanga Maori, whilst encouraging Maori participation in the process.

This explanation may well account for Grace's perception of Western systems associated with the handling of 'abuse issues', in her words "the administration", as unsafe and as requiring her to be "very, very careful" and "secretive".

Grace's observation that Maori, when approached with the 'take' of abuse, never "come straight out and say 'yes, I am. I've been doing it'", may relate also in some measure to a fear of the consequences for the whanau of an admission of wrongdoing. The fear is likely to be compounded in relation to the possible involvement of Western systems because these systems are viewed as unsafe in themselves, and as lacking in restorative qualities. They do not recognise those dimensions fundamental to the well-being of whanau, including mana, rangatiratanga, aroha, awhina and tautoko. An approach to the handling of abuse issues within a tikanga Maori framework, on the other hand, would provide for expression and sustenance in all these dimensions. It is likely to include processes similar to Western conceptions of restorative justice and concept of restitution, although the foundations on which these processes are based may differ.

Hoki ki to maunga/Handling things amongst ourselves.

As previously identified, Grace believes that Maori tend to go to Maori, Maori feel most comfortable with other Maori, Maori understand other Maori best, and that working within tikanga Maori is the best method for Maori girls and their families. This leaning towards working with one's own, and allowing others to work with their own, is a feature of Grace's model of counselling.

Working in her own rohe, often with her own extended whanau, Grace is particularly able to relate to girls and their whanau as a whanau member, an aunty, kuia, cousin, rather than as a counsellor or a teacher. She sees the fact that she is Maori and that she can often link herself into whanau in the area as an advantage she has over her Pakeha colleagues when work with Maori families is involved.

Although Grace had some initial misgivings about returning to work in her own tribal area, she has found that it has been generally positive for her personally, and in terms of her effectiveness.

G: The beauty of me working here, amongst, ahh, back in my own iwi...they're my own. Most of them, are my own relations, and I can talk to them however way I want to talk to them. I can boot their bums, and ring home promptly and tell their parents, "I just booted your child's bum." And they'll say, "Ka pai [good]. Boot them again." And get away with it. I can pull their ears in class, and get away with it. A Pakeha teacher couldn't do that. They'd be up in front of the police for assault.

If I don't know the girl, I still use the old; "Oh, Ko wai to iwi?" ["what is your tribe?" Or literally, "who are your bones?"] I still use that, and work around it. If I don't know her. "Oh yeah, so-and-so your Uncle? Ohh, I know your nanny, your nanny's so-and-so. Oh right."

I don't like to put myself across as a teacher, when I'm with whanau. I like to put myself across as another Maori person. Not as a teacher.

Too often now our counsellors, and we have what they call a visiting teacher who works with the guidance counsellor, too often they've gone to Maori homes and been told where to go. You know, and in, in real strong language, ahh, they've been told to buzz off.

In connecting with, and relating to, girls and their whanau primarily in terms of whanau relationships, Grace utilises the rights, as well as the responsibilities associated with her role within the whanau. She also operates from a position within the rangatiratanga of the whanau. Grace's reference to "booting bums", "pulling ears" and "assault" is likely to be primarily a metaphorical description of the different boundaries associated with her role as senior whanau member, as opposed to teacher and counsellor within the school system.

Grace's practice of connecting with those girls not personally known to her through identifying links with other whanau members, serves several functions. First, by identifying links with other whanau members, Grace is informing the girl concerned that she is known to the whanau. Second, Grace is conveying to the girl a sense that she (Grace), through knowing and linking with the girl's whanau, also knows and has links, extending beyond the school, with her. This meaning is predicated upon the conception of self and whanau as indivisible and of whanau as constitutive of self. Third, the links identified may be extended upon, perhaps through whakapapa, to place Grace and the girl in an explicitly whakapapa-based whanau relationship. This is in addition to the metaphorical whanau relationships Grace encourages within the school setting. This then entails a reciprocal understanding of roles and responsibilities in relation to each other.

Grace's observation of the rejection of attempts by the school's guidance network (with the guidance counsellor and visiting teacher as agents of this network) to enter Maori homes and relate to Maori whanau, is placed immediately following her own statement that "I don't like to put myself across as a teacher, when I'm with whanau. I like to put myself across as another

Maori person. Not as a teacher." This placement indicates that she associates the hostility which representatives of the school guidance network frequently meet when going to Maori homes, as related to their roles within the school system. The Pakeha teacher or counsellor within the school has their position within the school as the primary or only means of connection with whanau. This position establishes them as external to the whanau. In line with Maori perceptions of individuals as constituted of whanau, hapu and iwi, it also places guidance counsellors and visiting teachers as a part of the school whanau, the hapu of the Western educational system and te iwi Pakeha. In this context, teachers and guidance counsellors within the school system are likely to be viewed by many Maori whanau with hostility, they are seen as a members of a colonising group which has been responsible for attacks on mana Maori, and on whanau as the central unit of this.

On the other hand, Grace connects herself with whanau First as part of te iwi Maori, and perhaps also through hapu and whanau. Although Grace sometimes encounters anger and hostility from whanau, particularly in relation to the raising of sensitive 'take', she usually positions herself within the whanau, hapu and iwi system to a degree such that she is a part of the whanau. Thus, it is difficult for whanau to challenge Grace's right to be involved or to exclude her from the process. In terms of tikanga Maori, when Grace establishes her position in relation to the whanau system as a position within the system, she also establishes a network of role, rights and responsibilities within the system, which cannot be denied. Thus, who one is and where one stands in relation to the whanau system, are vital components in providing one with an authority to speak. Who one is and where one stands within or in relation to whanau, hapu and iwi also determines whether the process is perceived as an attack on the mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau, or as a contribution to the maintenance of the mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau.

Whakaiti/Patience/Humility

An aspect of tikanga that Grace views as an important quality in her work with individual girls and with families is a willingness to take the time that is needed.

Time-related issues feature in Grace's understanding of her role as 'he pa harakeke' in a number of ways. First, her vision is long-term; she is concerned with helping and healing individual girls and whanau because of their future roles as kaitiaki of Maoritanga, as parents and grandparents of future generations.

Second, Grace works to bring about changes in the system. She knows that the changes she wants will take time, but as her orientation is long-term, this is acceptable.

Third, Grace believes in allowing girls and whanau to take the time they need, whether it be hours, weeks or months.

G: I've dealt with the worst; and the best. Parents are fine, they let off steam, they yell and scream and carry on. Then they calm down afterwards. You can sit there for an hour and they ignore you completely. But I find if I sit long enough...they won't ignore me any more.

But you've gotta have a lot of patience, you've got to, aah, have a thick skin, and you need to be very humble too. Sometimes you have to be humble. Yeah.

Grace describes expression of the whatumanawa dimension in this context as "letting off steam". She is able to "sit long enough", despite being ignored because, in part, she is on her turangawaewae. She is sure of her right to stand on this turf. Her right to stay is reinforced if she has located herself within the whanau system.

Grace's reference to "long enough" may also be interpreted in light of Maori conceptions of time as demarcated by sequences of processes and events, and of 'the situation below (as) ordered by an ideal determination from above by Io as origin of the cosmic process'. Thus, Grace's sitting and waiting allows the process to

unfold in the sequence as ordered and determined through the wairuatanga dimension.

In emphasising the need to be humble, Grace is speaking of whakaiti, and of the elements of placing self-interest secondary to the preservation of the well-being and mana of the whanau or group. In maintaining an attitude and position of whakaiti, Grace is respecting the mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau, and reducing the severity and effect of whakamaa.

This process also relates to the wairuatanga, mauri and ha a koro ma a kui ma dimensions. Whakaiti is an aspect of wairuatanga, as Grace is, in effect, working within the sequence of processes and events as determined through the wairua. She is defining the wairua as primary, rather than attempting to impose her own time-frame or ordering of events and processes. Whakaiti is an aspect of the ha a koro ma a kui ma dimension as, in adopting a whakaiti approach, Grace is working according to the principles and understandings, the tikanga, established by those who have gone before. One of these being the primacy of the wairua. Whakaiti is an aspect of the mauri dimension as it serves to reinforce the bond between spiritual and temporal process.

Whanaungatanga

As previously noted, Grace considers it an advantage rather than a disadvantage to work with students and whanau who are related to her. She links herself genealogically with whanau as much as she can.

Grace uses a whanau concept in her Maori classes. What this means is that whanau-based concepts, such as aroha, manaaki, awahi, are taught and are expected to be lived in the classroom. Another implication of using the whanau concept in the class room, is that students are expected to uphold the mana of the class, (ie., the whanau), and kaupapa Maori at the school. Where they fail to do this, guilt and shame, not for

themselves, but rather at having let the others down, may be employed as a behavioural modification technique.

G: If there's a battle on our hands, [if] I don't know if she's done wrong, or she's done the Maori Department wrong; well, she usually knows there's a battle on her hands. 'Cause, ahhh, I'll launch straight into it. And the kids in my department know what's expected of them; and Lord help them if they step out of line. They know that. And by the time you finish with them, they usually feel so dreadful about it anyway, they're little darlings for the rest of the year. Not only that, guilt trips, 'cause they also feel a lot of the time, they're letting the whole department down.

The whanaungatanga and mana dimensions are apparent here, and those aspects which place the well-being and mana of the group as primary, and which define individual and group (or whanau) mana and well-being as indivisible are also referred to.

Grace illustrates the constructive role that whakamaa, associated with the commission and acknowledgment of a wrong, can play. If a wrong has been committed, it is interpreted as a 'hara'. That is, it is seen as something which undermines the mana of the group, rather than an individual action which reflects only on the individual wrongdoer. As the mana of the whanau group is lodged particularly in the person of the rangatira, the effects of a wrong are carried particularly by Grace as matua and rangatira. The knowledge that one has damaged the mana of the group and one's rangatira is likely to induce whakamaa. However, the effects of the whakamaa are also shared amongst the group through the acceptance of the situation as a whanau or group issue. In order to rectify the situation, two processes are engaged in, whakatikatika te he (correcting the wrongdoing) and whakamana te ropu (restoring the mana of the group). The wrongdoer is reintegrated into the group, working to restore group mana.

Graces actions in making a strong statement to those who have committed a wrong, is in fact an indication that her mana is not

destroyed. She is not so overcome herself with whakamaa that she withdraws. This is a comfort to those who have done wrong, and indicates that the situation is retrievable.

Knowledge that whakamaa is a consequence of wrongdoing associated with damage to the mana of the group, serves to maintain individual mana. This is because one cannot damage oneself without damaging the group as a whole. Thus the whanaungatanga dimension, as the experience of identity within and constituted through the group, coupled with the mana dimension, including motivation to avoid the experience of whakamaa, serves to promote constructive behaviour that contributes to the well being of the group.

Grace is in the process of extending the whanau concept she operates within the Maori Department at the school to the parents and whanau of students. She is organising a whanau support group which, she hopes, will involve parents and other family members of pupils more directly in school based issues. Apart from "sharing the load", Grace envisages the whanau support group as providing guidance, a mandate and support for herself, whilst reducing the likelihood of her "overstepping the line", particularly in terms of "treading on" or offending whanau, and suffering negative consequences as a result.

G: We're in a process now of setting up a whanau support unit, where, where parents will be involved. By next week I'll mail off my letters, ahhh, and get the parents to come in and give us their viewpoints; what do they want. How do they want their kids ahhh...dealt with? Because I'm, at the moment, treading on a fine line, between, you know, between staying on this side of right, and maybe going over on the other, on the other side where parents think, you know, I'm breaching their rights.

I: So, so you want to get a mandate for what to do? And so you'll know that what you do has got their backing and that?

G: Yeah. Yeah. I've had nothing, you know no complaints at the moment from them. But I know, I am treading on that fine line,

and the day will come when a parent....I'll get a umm, a backlash.....'who am I? I'm stepping into their territory.' So, hopefully I see this whanau support group as being a group that'll, if there's any raruraru [problems] at school, or out on the street, they will take some of the load off me. You know, so if a child is bunking at 'spacies', they can bring them back to school, or, talk to them. And they can support each other, even.

Grace's actions in setting up a whanau support group may be seen as having a number of motivations and ramifications. Grace is seeking to redefine whanau involved in the school system, from a collection of individual whanau connected to the school to a larger metaphorical whanau. This process would extend the metaphorical whanau she has established within the Maori department of the school, beyond the boundaries of the school and out into the community of which whanau are a part. From a tikanga Maori perspective, such a whanau grouping would entail an accountability on the part of the school system to the whanau of which it forms a part.

At present Grace serves as matua and rangatira within the metaphorical whanau of Maori students and staff within the school. As such she carries a large number of tamariki under the mantle of her mana and is largely responsible for their well-being within the school. She also has the responsibility of interfacing with whanau in the community in respect of problems and issues relating to the school. Through the whakawhanaungatanga process she engages in and her consequent positioning of herself as a part of and thereby accountable to whanau, Grace also carries a responsibility to these whanau.

Grace is concerned that she may impinge on the mana and rangatiratanga of individual whanau. Also, as an individual she may not always be able to link into whanau sufficiently to establish a role and working relationships within a whanaungatanga framework. The establishment of a whanau grouping including and encompassing the metaphorical whanau within the school, would establish a system of roles and responsibilities based on whanau structures, a kawa to guide

whanau processes and actions. Thus, traditional systems of shared responsibility for the care of the young, the responsibility of individuals for the well-being of the group, of censure for those who engage in activities diminishing the mana of the whanau group, of *awhi*, *tautoko* and *aroha* for those in need, of the provision of *manaakitanga* for newcomers and other aspects of the *whanaungatanga* dimension could be instituted through the proposed whanau support unit. This would free Grace from a position of sole responsibility for the expression of *whanaungatanga* within and in relation to the school system. It would also provide whanau currently excluded from the system because they lack a constructive role within the system, with a role in the system, and with mana associated with their performance of that role. The regrouping of individual whanau in terms of a larger metaphorical whanau, akin perhaps to a hapu, would also provide Grace and others within the metaphorical whanau with a more powerful position from which to seek to have their viewpoints and concerns addressed by the school. The metaphorical whanau could claim recognition as a grouping to whom the school is accountable, thus reversing the current situation where school students, their whanau and Grace are seen by the school as accountable to it.

Grace is seeking to find out how parents or whanau want their children dealt with. In so doing she is acknowledging and supporting the maintenance of the mana and *rangatiratanga* of the whanau. She is asking the metaphorical whanau to define her role within the metaphorical whanau. Thus, Grace is working to reinforce the mana and *rangatiratanga* of whanau in relation to their children and the school system.

Grace is also seeking to establish, through the extended metaphorical whanau, a *kawa*. The *kawa* would clarify for Grace the roles, responsibilities, accountabilities and processes which whanau expect to take place in regard to their *tamariki*, and her own place in these. The *kawa* would also provide the template against which her performance may be monitored and judged. As a negotiated and collectively established code, one based on shared understandings within a *tikanga* framework, the *kawa*

established by the metaphorical whanau would provide Grace with a code of conduct alternative to that of the dominant culture as expressed within educational and counselling codes. The metaphorical whanau, as the group having ownership of this code, would have the ability to whakamana the kawa, to insist on recognition of its validity and its usage in any evaluation of Grace's performance. Thus, Grace is seeking to establish a process and a medium whereby her performance may be understood, evaluated and censured or supported according to a tikanga framework.

Accountability

The importance to Grace of consulting with the whanau of her students, of working according to their directions, and of having a mandate and support from them, may be related to her views on accountability. When accountability issues were first raised, Grace indicated that she considered herself accountable primarily to the child and their whanau. After the issue of personal spiritual protection was raised, however, she amended her priorities to place her primary accountability with herself.

G: I think I'm accountable, the school would like to think I'm accountable to them and the Board of Trustees, but I disagree with them. I think I'm accountable to the child, and to the whanau. That is my client. The child, first and foremost, they come first.

...I think, perhaps number one, the main person... maybe I should change that from the way I see it... I said you're accountable to the kid and the whanau. Maybe I should change that, ahhh, I am accountable to myself. To myself. I mean, what good am I if....? Number one, I'm accountable to myself.

Grace rejects the idea that she is accountable to the school's Board of Trustees. Rather, she sees her primary accountability as being to herself. It should be borne in mind that Grace's conception of self is unlikely to be one of self-contained

individualism, but rather one which includes the dimensions of Te Wheke.

In identifying herself as also accountable to her client, Grace clearly links together the child and the whanau as clients. However, she subsequently identifies her accountability to the child as primary in terms of accountability to the whanau.

ROLES

Grace sees herself fulfilling a number of roles in her position as Maori teacher and counsellor in the school.

G: You know, you have to be all sorts here....You're not only a counsellor, you're not only a careers advisor, you're not only a community worker, you're not only a policeman, a parent, a nanny, a mother, a father; you're also, you also become a campaigner.

Grace appears to be defining her roles in relation to others and in the context of situations. Thus her roles are relationally and contextually defined rather than professionally delineated. She also identifies her function beyond the context of interpersonal foci, as a campaigner. This may be a metaphor for political activity at a systems level.

Educator

One of the roles that Grace sees as being of prime importance is that of educator. At times, she is involved in educating students, their whanau, and staff. When Grace talks about 'educating' in this context, she is not referring to tuition, but rather to the building of new frameworks of understanding, the discovery of new paths down which lie alternative interpretations and codes of action.

The principal methods, apparent in the following extracts, that Grace uses in fulfilling her educational roles are:

(1)leading by example

(2)allowing others to make mistakes, suffer the consequences and work things out for themselves

(3)learning by doing

Educating Staff

Grace has endeavored to educate staff members at the school in the systemic factors which impact on Maori students. Although Grace considers key staff members to be very supportive of Maoritanga in the school, she has actively had to encourage her fellow teachers to be aware that their system of education is being imposed on Maori pupils and that the failure of Maori students in the system may have more to do with the inappropriateness of that system than the capabilities of the students.

Thus, when the issue of failing Maori students arises, Grace challenges her fellow staff to look for problems inherent in their customary way of doing things, their system, and their interpretations, rather than assume that problems are located within the student, her whanau or socio-cultural system.

G: I'm fortunate that here we have a very strong tumuaki [leader or administrator], ahh principal. She's very strong on women's issues, very, very strong. And our DP [deputy principal] of course, she's part Maori. She's very strong on women's issues. And she's very strong on Maori women's issues. But again, she's learning te reo me ona tikanga.

I: But from them you get support?

G: Oh yes. A lot of support from them. We have some negative people over here, I mean, who hasn't, that can never begin to understand what tikanga Maori is all about, in terms of counselling and things. You know; "so-and-so's wagging. She's not doing very well". Well they forget, maybe they're not

catering to the child's needs. The kid is catering to their needs, they're not catering to that child's needs. Maybe they need to do a big turnaround and put kids in an environment, a learning environment, where they feel comfortable.

I: So, you have brought up issues like that?

G: Yes.

I: How have you done it? And what's the response?

G: I've just told them straight out.

I: That's individual teachers?

G: No. We have deans meetings, we have staff meetings, full staff meetings. Where all the kids' names...and sad to say it's always the Maori kids...that are failing. The Maori girls are failing. And ahh, I've thrown that at them to think about' that the system is not catering for our kids.

I: So it's the systems' failure, not the girls' failure?

G: It's the system that's failed them.

Grace characterises the principal as a tumuaki, or leader. In adopting this characterisation, rather than one of matua or rangatira, Grace is locating the principal outside the metaphorical whanau she sees as existing within the school, and rather as part of the school system.

In the first paragraph of this extract, Grace's comments may also be interpreted as indicative of her perception that the principal and deputy principal, while possessing goodwill towards issues pertaining to women or Maori women, are lacking in mohiotanga and matauranga Maori, they do not understand the tikanga framework. However, Grace perceives some other staff within the school as both ignorant of and negative towards tikanga Maori.

The lack of understanding of tikanga and Maoritanga is seen by Grace as undermining the mana of tamariki Maori at the school. This results in withdrawal or other reactions, likely to be a consequence of whakamaa. Grace herself advocates an approach related to the whanaungatanga dimension. Rather than identifying individual Maori students as problematic, Grace believes the school system needs to look at its responsibility for the withdrawal of Maori students.

Grace's method of approaching this issue is, once again, kanohi-ki-te-kanohi.

As one dimension of educating staff about features of the school system that may impact negatively on Maori students, Grace works to increase the understanding of her fellow teachers about the realities of life for Maori students and as members of an oppressed people. An issue which she identifies as a consequence of oppression, (and one which she believes Pakeha teachers too seldom fully appreciate), is the effect of poverty on some students, particularly Maori students. The lack of understanding about poverty-related issues (such as not being able to afford stationery for school), on the part of some staff is seen by Grace as leading to feelings of embarrassment for some Maori students, and thence to "wagging" from school. A consequence of this, from the perspective of some staff, is that these students are assigned negative labels, receive negative reports and are perceived to be 'problems'. Grace feels that a lack of sensitivity, tact and understanding on the part of some teachers towards poverty-related issues results in a redefinition of a socio-political problem in terms of pathology within the child, the family and/or the socio-cultural background of the child. She contrasts this with the situation in her own Maori classes, run along whanau lines, where oppression-related difficulties, such as poverty, are acknowledged openly and addressed through strategies such as explicitly designating resources within the class as being of shared rather than individual ownership.

G: Sometimes Mum and Dad just can't afford the bus fare to town, to school. Sometimes they haven't got a uniform, Mum and Dad can't afford it. Sometimes they're just too embarrassed because they don't have not even a book and a pen for school. Rather than come and, ahh, be embarrassed, not in a Maori class; but be embarrassed maybe in other subject areas, they just don't come. And you look at those kids, it must be pride that keeps them away. Too proud to ask.

But unfortunately, to the Pakeha teacher, right, you go into class, and then they write on a report, "this child is, is not doing the work. She does only what she has to. She comes ill-prepared. She does not have, not even a pen." But they don't look at the underlying things. They only see black and white. 'Because you don't have a pen and paper, you're disorganised.' They don't look behind it, around it, underneath it, over it. Those are maybe little things, ahhhm, that our Pakeha people need to be educated on.

This extract again illustrates Grace's perception that some staff at the school fail to recognise issues within the 'system', in this case the institution of capitalism which consigns some to 'have' and others to 'have not'. These staff see only the individual in the context of the school system, classify students according to their ability to meet the criteria of success in the school environment, and individualise and personalise problems. In so doing, they precipitate whakamaa in students and increase the probability of their failure within and withdrawal from the school system.

Students, knowing that an acknowledgment that they do not have or cannot afford to buy the items they are required to have for school, may well result in a judgment of their whanau as poor, bad managers of money, irresponsible or uncaring, may protect the mana of their whanau by either withdrawing from the school environment or by presenting their failure to possess the required items as resistance to the authority of the school.

Grace is indirectly dismissive of the narrow field of vision that appears to afflict some of her colleagues, "they don't look behind it, around it, underneath it, over it" a field bounded by the aspects of their hinengaro.

Breaches of tikanga, usually unintentional, but sometimes amounting, in effect, to personal insult, have sometimes featured in Grace's relations with her Pakeha colleagues. In the following instance, the incident was perceived by Grace as a form of trampling on her mana, which originated from ignorance of tikanga, or the right and appropriate way of doing things.

G: Now and again they go off the track a bit. Ahhh, we had a staff meeting where they were talking about, ahhh, Maori kids; why they are the way they are. And I sat in the staff meeting and, they had 3 speakers, who were all Pakeha. I sat there and I fumed. I was absolutely fuming. And our principal knew. She knew I was wild. It was a slap in the face for me. To sit there. However, she saw me afterwards, and she said, "Maybe..., you would like to contribute. Maybe you would like to contribute something." And I said, "No thanks. You seem to know more about my Maoritanga than what I do. You go for it. I'm not contributing..."

So then I walked out.

You know, they still do things like that. Now and then. They do some dopey, dumb things.

I: So those are, those are ignorant things?

G: Yes. You have to educate them.

The situation that Grace describes in this extract is one in which her mana as a Maori woman, head of the Maori Studies Department and Maori counsellor within the school was trampled on. Her rangatiratanga as a Maori person in terms of her right to define and describe Maoritanga as expressed in Maori students at the school was also undermined, as was her contention that the

issue was primarily one stemming from the school system rather than from problems located in Maoritanga. In effect, the Pakeha speakers sought to impose their conceptions of Maoritanga and their portrayals of Maori students in a process illustrative of the ongoing nature of colonisation. To make matters worse, the principal did not intervene to whakamana Grace by putting a stop to the discussion in the early stages. Instead, Grace was placed in a defensive position. The lack of understanding (a hinengaro issue) and the lack of appreciation of or respect for Grace's position (a whatumanawa issue) resulted in Grace responding from her whatumanawa with pukuriri/anger, and withdrawal as an expression of her anger and whakamaa.

Grace sees educating and providing counsel to staff as an important part of her job. She aims to increase understanding and to decrease oppressive practices stemming from ignorance. An attitude of distrust is evident in Grace's perceptions of Pakeha systems and Pakeha people at times. While this attitude may well spring from bitter experience, she acknowledges that she has had occasion to re-evaluate her own assumptions about her Pakeha co-workers.

G: There, there are a few things I would like to change in the school system. Ahhm, they still do things without consulting the Maori people; they still do it. Ahhhm, that's annoying.

Ummm, they still decide how many kids, how many hours I should teach in Maori. But we're going to change that. But, I mean, we can't jump into it. It takes time, eh.

There's a lot of things I'd like to change. Yeah, there is. But it is not so.....I'm probably luckier than most schools, in that I've a, an understanding principal, who's very good. Ahhhh, I have a lot of negative teachers out there who thinks it's all bullshit anyway, this Maori business, you know. But kei te pai, they're entitled to their views. But, on the whole, we have a supportive staff.

You know, you're counselling staff here. And for instance, one of the teachers, and one I thought was a bit...uppity. He said, he

pulled me up and he said, "Can you get me a tohunga to do my place?" And I said, "What! What for?" You know, I mean it's, as much to say, "You?!" You know, your judgment can actually be wrong sometimes. And he said, it's just that he's had his house burnt, and a child killed, te mea, te mea, te mea [and so on]. And he said, "I think, I don't know the Maori name," he said, "I think a tohunga needs to come." And..it opened my eyes; and I've...I've...maybe I've been too judgmental on a lot of staff.

'Consultation' is a term frequently used by Western agents within Western systems, it is a term which implies talking with Maori, but does not imply an actual sharing with or handing over of decision-making power to Maori. It is thus a term considered acceptable within Western systems. In general terms Maori may ask to be consulted about Maori issues. To openly request authority over Maori issues or to claim authority within a Western system on the basis of a position of authority within a Maori framework would be to invite characterisation as a 'radical' and to place oneself in a marginalised position. Grace thus uses language acceptable within the system, "consulting the Maori people". However, her subsequent comment, "they still decide" indicates her preference to relocate decision making authority. In other words, Grace's aim is rangatiratanga for Maori in relation to things Maori. However, in her own words, "we can't jump into it. It takes time, eh." Thus, Grace speaks in terms of consultation and seeks to educate staff, to increase their knowledge and understanding of tikanga Maori, with the aim of eventually achieving rangatiratanga, in this context Maori control and authority over kaupapa Maori.

Grace's stance is also softened, if not modified, by her realisation that the lack of knowledge of tikanga Maori and Maoritanga on the part of some staff, does not necessarily equate with a negativity towards things Maori. The example Grace gives in the preceding narrative is an illustration of an interaction which provided her with a whakamaramatanga or illumination experience, an aspect of the hinengaro dimension which also touches the whatumanawa and wairuatanga dimensions. This example also illustrates the notion of kaiako. Thus, while Grace sees her role as educating other

staff, she acknowledges the concomitant role of learner that this entails.

Educating Students

Grace considers that the attitudes of staff within the school towards kaupapa Maori are mixed. She is still regularly faced with situations which she finds insulting or demeaning to kaupapa Maori or tikanga Maori. Sometimes Grace is able to use these situations to educate the Maori girls and young women about respect for tikanga Maori, their Maoritanga and thus themselves.

In the following extract, Grace describes the types of requests that she deals with regarding questions of tikanga Maori within the school. In this instance the question is, who should be honoured with a powhiri (that is, a traditional Maori ceremony of welcome)?

Grace's resistance to providing a formal welcome for visitors automatically represents a resistance to the cheapening and commercialisation of Maoritanga, as well as to the provision of serious and highly spiritual Maori services for those who may not understand and respect them.

G: Sending me AFS students. "Oh, they want to come and learn a bit of Maori."

Or you have teachers that'll say to you, "Oh, the Japanese students are coming. Can we put on a powhiri?" Or, "'poe-he-re' for them?" And I say, "No way. No! We're not Maori that can be dialled and go out there and play Maoris. Kao [No]." If they want a powhiri and everything else that goes with it. If they want to go to [name of a local marae] powhiri and a big kai. \$20,000 please. They'll get their powhiri. No.

I: So who do you do powhiri for? You're in charge of that, and you make those decisions?

G: Ae. I make the decisions.

- I: So you'd do it for, if it's kaupapa Maori, Maori visitors, that sort of thing?
- G: Yeah. I won't do it for AFS students, I won't do it for Japanese.
- I: Do you reckon that your stance on that is actually teaching the kids, your kids something too? Like to do with self-respect, respecting their culture and not being a dial-a-powhiri?
- G: Yes. Yes. The kids, the seniors have now learnt, ahhhh, they use their discretion. If they think they're being used, they won't do it. Sometimes I'll say, "Maybe we should powhiri this group." And they'll say, "No." And I respect them for that. Because after all, who taught them that? It was me, so I have to respect their viewpoint.

This extract illustrates an area of conflict pertaining to the position of the Maori unit, and students and staff within this unit, in relation to the school. From the perspective of some Pakeha staff within the school, the Maori unit and those within it are positioned within and exist as a part of and in relation to the school. They are thus expected to participate in and contribute to school activities, and are seen as subject to the lines of authority within the school system. From the perspective of the whanau of the unit, however, accountability is assessed in terms of the maintenance and enhancement of mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau and of te iwi Maori of which they are a part.

The powhiri is easily seen, by non-Maori particularly, as a performance, a ritual Maori go through when meeting and greeting visitors. While this may be a feature of powhiri, the meaning, depth and multi-dimensional nature of the powhiri process extends well-beyond repetition of ancient ritual and tradition which is an aspect of the ha a koro ma a kui ma dimension. Consideration of who the whanau wish to greet with a powhiri relates to the position of manuhiri within the mana,

8c Grace's Story

whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, ha a koro ma a kui ma and related dimensions.

The central themes in this extract, from Grace's perspective, are mana and rangatiratanga. The Maori unit is structured as a whanau and defines itself as such. As a whanau system it is incumbent upon members to protect and maintain the mana and rangatiratanga of the whanau. While this does not rule out participation in the activities of the wider school group, nor does it entail a refusal to accede to requests from outside the whanau group for participation in wider school activities, or contributions from the whanau group to these; it does locate the right and authority to make decisions in regard to any participation and contribution, within the whanau. As matua and rangatira of the whanau group within the school, the primary responsibility for this decision lies with Grace. The contribution of senior students to decision-making processes within the whanau group is a function of their position as tuakana within the whanau. Also illustrated in the preceding narrative is the role of rangatira, not simply to make decisions on behalf of the group, but to represent and advocate for the position the group wishes to take, to others.

As previously discussed, Grace draws on Maori concepts, history and mythology to explore new avenues of understanding for her students.

A basic function of Grace's role as 'he whiti kai arahi i nga tamariki' is to provide them with information and options, then stand back while they make their own choices. She tries to adhere to this method of working whether the issue is one of career options and future directions, or dealing with an abusive relationship.

In this extract, Grace also identifies areas of conflict or disagreement which she perceives as arising in her relationship with Pakeha counselling staff.

G: My, my work in schools is to, ahh, deal with girls that are at risk. I mean some bunking school to, umm, child abuse, to sniffing glue to thieving. You name it, I do it. But then, I mean, its not

themselves. Or working alongside the kids, me penei, me pera [like this and like that].

But, as I said, I deal with kids who are at risk. Sexually abused kids, alcohol abuse, drug abuse, all those sorts of kids.

Grace perceives that her focus on negative aspects of children's experience within her work, is balanced somewhat by positive aspects of their experience. Grace's description of the process of career advice may be read as a description of a process modeled along the lines of whanau-based models of learning and role selection. Grace's process begins with recognition of the positive features and talents that students have. She provides whakamanawa or encouragement to girls in respect of these aspects of themselves. Next, she engages in a process of whakawhitiwhiti korero, illuminating the paths that they may follow into the future. The combination of knowledge, in particular seeing the possibilities and pathways into the future (an aspect of the hinengaro dimension) and of encouragement, (whakamanawa) and fostering desire and ambition (aspects of the whatumanawa and hinengaro dimensions) provide motivation.

Grace is critical of Pakeha counselling as 'too structured'. However, her specific criticism appears more centred on the source of the structure, rather than the fact of structure itself. Specifically, Grace appears critical of the provision (and effectively the imposition) of solutions, by counsellors. The provision of knowledge and solutions by the counsellor may preempt the 'flow of the wairua', or the spiritual ordering of processes and events in the temporal realm. This ordering relates to processes of spiritual, as well as physical and cognitive, development and readiness. Grace prefers a process of learning by doing alongside clients, facilitating but not directing development.

In the following extract, Grace describes a case in which a young Maori student confided that her father had been physically and sexually abusing her brutally for some years. With the consent of the girl

involved, a community worker was called in. When the community worker arrived there was an initial conflict between her perception that the first priority was to remove the child from the situation, and Grace's perception that the right of the girl to choose her own strategies for dealing with the situation were paramount. Grace saw her own role as providing support, and presenting and clarifying options.

This extract also provides some insight into the process Grace uses with the girls and young women she sees. One aspect of the process in this case is that Grace considered the right of the girl concerned to make her own choices more important than the probability that she would be physically beaten for her choice. The avoidance of suffering was not the primary issue for Grace in this case. Whether the right of the girl involved in this case to choose her own options and experience her own consequences was the main factor in Grace's stance in this situation. It is unclear whether the suffering that the girl endured was seen by Grace as an important part of her healing process in itself or whether other factors are of relevance to her stance.

G: She said, "Can you organise me to a community worker? But I want you to be there."

I said, "Yep. Kei te pai."

One thing about community workers here, you ring them, they're here straight away. Unfortunately, it wasn't the Maori one. When she arrived I said to her, "Where's the other community worker?" She said, "She's away."

I said, "What do you think? Are you prepared to tell her what you told me?"

She said, "Yeah, we've gone this far."

The last 10 years of her life, oh, I suppose, until she was older she was beaten. And she had never told anyone.

So she told the community worker about it. And she [the community worker] said, "Well really, your Dad should be put away." That was the first thing she said.

I said, "Oh kao [no]. You just wait. You handle it the Maori way. You give her choices. What does she want to do?"

She [the young woman] said, "I don't know. If I do that I won't have a Dad. They'll put him away."

"After beating you first. Ahh, the thing is, ko korero koe, [you say]. Do you want to be removed from that environment? Ok, is there anywhere you can go?"

She said, "Yes."

I said, "Supportive?"

She said "Yes."

I said, "Well, the biggest thing you have to do; you have to be very brave, and tell your Dad what you've told me. Do you want me to come with you?"

She said "No."

So, the community worker, like me, gave her choices, what were her rights. What she can and what she can't do. Ahh, protection and all that.

And, umm, we had worked this out over a 6-week period. It took a long, long time to...you couldn't rush the girl. You know, after 14 years, she had to take step by step along the way.

And she did. She faced her father. She got horribly beaten up for it...ended up in hospital. Horribly beaten.

And still then, she didn't charge him. But the point was, she'd told her father what she intended to do. So she didn't want to

press charges, she was moving away from him. And we did that. We got her away, from her Dad. I took her to her matua whangai [foster parents] that she's with now, who are lovely people. And they also had a non-molestation order taken out. It's a Pakeha kaupapa [a Western tool], but the main thing was protecting the child. And we did that.

Now having done that, I didn't want to press her anymore about pressing charges against her Dad. I mean, what's done is done. The thing was now, forget that, take care of her. We had to go through the, umm, the healing process with her.

This narrative provides a plentiful source of cross-cultural and intracultural debate. However, in this discussion the focus will be on why Grace acted the way she did, and an analysis of factors at work in relation to Te Wheke.

The initial interaction as described by Grace indicates that she is leaving the decision-making to the young woman. Grace is following her lead and providing tautoko, through being present at the request of the young woman. In so doing, Grace is respecting the rangatiratanga of the young woman and acting to whakamana her. As abuse may be defined as actions leading to the diminishment of mana and the denial of rangatiratanga, Grace's actions may be viewed as restorative in nature. Her aim is to enhance mana and support the rangatiratanga of the young woman. This includes respecting the whakaaro of the young woman, and avoiding the imposition of one's own whakaaro. It does not entail a denial of or non-expression of one's own whakaaro.

The scenario relating to the involvement of the community worker illustrates several things. First, Grace associates the arrival of a Pakeha community worker as cause for a reassessment of the wisdom of further disclosure. Second, Grace continues to whakamana the young woman by leaving the choice of action up to her. Third, the response of the Pakeha community worker is challenged by Grace and associated with her operating from a

framework of tikanga Pakeha (that is, a Pakeha way of seeing and doing things). Fourth, Grace upholds the principles of rangatiratanga and tikanga Maori for the young woman and identifies the process of whakamana as a feature of this (by leaving the choice to the young woman). Fifth, Grace implicitly associates the response of the young woman in terms of a fear of losing her father and thus further damage to the whanaungatanga dimension, to the earlier response of the community worker. Sixth, Grace expresses her concern that the young woman may be further beaten, but continues to support her right to reclaim rangatiratanga over her tinana. Seventh, Grace indicated that removal from the environment was one possible option, but the choice was up to the young woman. However, she also ensured that the young woman was able to relocate to a whanau environment, where she would receive sustenance for her whanaungatanga dimension, and aspects such as tautoko, within this. Eighth, Grace offered tautoko, awhi and protection to the young woman, as she faced her father, kanohi-ki-te-kanohi. The offer was declined and Grace respected the right of the young woman to so choose.

The process that Grace subsequently, and, the community worker followed was one of whakawhiti arahi: they illuminated for the young woman the various paths she might follow, but left the responsibility and authority for choosing which path to take, to her.

The young woman in this situation, like Hine-Titama, did not seek utu or demand muru for the wrongs committed against her by her father. She, like Hine-Titama, suffered pain and grief as a result of her decision to leave her father. However, the father of the young woman, like Tane, lost his daughter and with her went much of his mana as the whanau and community came to know of his wrongs. Like Hine-Titama, the young woman sought safety, the restoration of her mana wahine, tapu and rangatiratanga. It is likely that this story, as that of Tane and Hine-Nui-Te-Po, is as yet unfinished.

Educating Whanau

Another aspect of Grace's educational role involves work with the whanau of students. Grace may present her own views, based in her knowledge of tikanga, to whanau. These provide another option for them, a perspective which they may or may not choose to take, a path which they might or might not choose to follow.

At times Grace finds herself taking an educational role in respect of whanau members, (e.g., 'nannies'/kuia) who have traditional ideas that may be impacting negatively on their mokopuna, and which Grace seeks to challenge or modify. In this facet of her educator role, Grace acts as a mediator between traditional and modern Maori perspectives, interpreting and reinterpreting tikanga as it pertains to the situations of individual students and their whanau.

The following dialogue forms part of a discussion about the use of concepts drawn from tikanga Maori in counselling. The perspective Grace describes herself as putting across to some "nannies", or kuia, draws on a Maori concept, that of mana wahine, which has become particularly relevant in modern society. Contemporary conceptualisations of mana wahine may be seen as a form of feminist philosophy from a Maori perspective. However, mana wahine is, in many ways, quite different from some Western understandings of feminism. The emphasis in the concept of mana wahine is on the power (including spiritual power) strengths, capabilities, roles, rights and obligations of women, rather than on notions of equality with men per se. Notions of pride and respect for oneself as a woman, for the roles Maori women have traditionally taken, and for contemporary expressions of the generative power of Maori Woman are integral to the concept of 'mana wahine'.

I: What about when you're working with girls and their families that were brought up strong in te reo and tikanga Maori. Do you use those concepts?

G: Yes.

I: But for ones that aren't, can you still use those concepts? Do they still relate to them?

G: You can use them. I use those concepts also, but there are also Maori families who have not been brought up like that, who refuse that knowledge. Kei te pai. That's fine. I give them my viewpoint; it's something for them. It's another road for them to take, and to look back on and think, 'oh, maybe we should go that path.' The people that accept that sort of path the most though, you find, are the people that have been brought up with te reo me ona tikanga [Maori language and protocols]. They can understand it. Whether they can put it across or not, with their child, their mokopuna, is another thing.

Then you get also the people who are from the Victorian age. The Maori people who are nannies, who can't see that, ahhh, the world is moving now. They refuse to. They say, "No, black is black and white is white. That's it." You know, ah, "You do not have a baby before you get married." That sort of nanny; you get nannies like that.

"If you're pregnant, you must get married!" But that sort of concept don't work any more. Ahhh, you know, those sorts of things. "You don't sleep around".

"School is for learning, learning the Pakeha things." They forget also that school is for education, so that they can, we can, walk alongside the Pakeha, even, or better than them, or fight them if you have to.

Or, ahhh, "girls gotta learn you stand in the background while you men do the fighting." That sort of person.

"Girls are only made to have babies and then the husband does the work, he does all the talking, he makes all the decisions."

You've got to educate them on that sort of thing.

- I: Are those Maori, umm, ideas? Or are they from Victorian England?
- G: Kaore [No]. Some of them are Maori ideas, but you've got to try and get them out of that frame of mind now that women are standing strong. You have to re-educate women like that. That girls have their rights too.

Grace's description of some of the families of her students as "the people from the Victorian age" may be read as a reference to a colonised mentality. Victorian ideas and ideals have sometimes become entrenched, and are defended, as tikanga Maori.

The directive and sometimes authoritarian role of elders within the whanau, and their place as the definers and defenders of the kawa and tikanga of the whanau are illustrated in the dictums quoted by Grace.

Grace sees her role with such elders in the whanau as working for a change of attitudes, a process of whakawhiriwhiri whakaaro associated with the hinengaro dimension. Grace's status as a nanny herself, together with her knowledge of te reo me ona tikanga, makes her wellplaced to negotiate new constructions of kawa, within a tikanga framework. She may for instance draw on notions relating to mana wahine, and on her knowledge of pu-rakau, whakatauaki and the whakapapa of the whanau emphasising those pertaining to growth, change and adaptability. However, her approach will be framed within and bounded by tikanga.

Advocate

Advocacy is another activity that Grace is involved in with her work. At times she acts as an advocate for girls with their families. The preceding extract, in which she describes her role in educating some whanau about the rights of modern Maori women, may be interpreted in this light. At

other times she acts as an advocate for girls and their whanau in their dealings with the school system.

The following narrative illustrates how Grace advocates for her Maori students and whanau. In this example, Grace takes on the role of educating members of the school hierarchy on tikanga Maori, the correct Maori way to handle things, as well as educating students and whanau about their rights and options in the Pakeha system. The technique she uses involves forcing the school to deal with Maori children and their whanau on Maori terms.

From a Maori perspective, Grace may be seen as providing tautoko.

G: Two girls were caught openly giving smokes to another one. So because they were on school property...it's immediate expulsion. Immediate expulsion. However, I stepped in, I said, "Kao. You must consult first with the Maori community." I didn't know whether that was written in the charter or not. But I bluffed my way through that. No way. Do not expel them. They were both seniors. You know, they were over 16.

I: So did they?

G: No. I won my case.

I: Who did they consult with?

G: Umm, you see, in suspensions and expulsions, if it's a Maori girl, they have to see me first. They have to see me first. They have to consult with me. And they say to me, "oh we are allowed to expel so-and-so, or suspend, because she did such and such. Can you be here and explain to her her rights?" And ahh, 9 times out of 10, with suspensions, I've had to agree with them. Because a suspension's only a 3-day thing anyway. It gives the girl time out. Ahh, it gives the school time out. Umm, so they have to consult me. If it's a Maori girl, they can't suspend without consulting me first.

I: And you talk to them and their parents about their rights?

G: So that they know exactly what their rights are. And after the 3-day suspension, ahh, our charter says the parent has to bring the girl back, and I am there with them. I stay with them and so that I can hear exactly what's being told to them. And if there are things that are not right, the parents don't understand, they have the right to ask me, and I explain to them what is expected of that girl. You know, because after 3 suspensions, it's an expulsion.

But with the expulsion case, ahh, sure it's written in it's immediate expulsion; but, ahh, I intervened there. I said "Kao." As I said, I bluffed my way through that. I said, "Kaore, the community must be consulted first."

So I rung straight to our kaumatua, and he said, "Hold it!" So he came and we battled and that. And so we compromised. They said, "What about a month away from school". And we said, "No. Not good enough." Because the law states that when you're absent for 21 days, you're automatically off the roll anyway, and that was how I saw it. That's how I, I saw it...that they were scheming at after 21 days, they wouldn't be here anyway; they're off the roll. No. A fortnight. And so we compromised. And then that fortnight I had to go and take each girl back home. One girl was living with her nanny, which was really sad. Upset over that. But the other one, the father got, ahhh, got very aggressive about it.

And after that, well we, umm...I had to try and get a...a résumé of the girl, all the good points. Because they had to come up before the board. And those cases, ahhhm, you become a sort of a lawyer for them. You speak on their behalf.

And what I did was though, rather than go by myself...ummm, both girls, I asked that their whanau come with them, if they like that their minister come with them, if they like that their kaumatua come with them, even if their iwi wanted to come with them. Come. Ummm, because the school said, "Well, you know, only 3 or 4 people would be better, we don't want the

room cluttered." I said, "No way. Kao. If we choose," I said, "if we have to go to(*a local marae*), fine. If this room is too small for them, if they want to bring 2 busloads, fine. It's their right."

I: So that's forcing the school to handle these Maori children on Maori terms so they're not disadvantaged.

G: Yes. We had to. So consequently, we moved it...we actually went into the hall. We had to. They all came to speak on behalf of this particular girl. Her iwi, her whanau, her minister...anybody, everybody.

Sadly, the one from our iwi...only him and his wife. Just his wife and him to tautoko his daughter...so I felt for her. So I found I was fighting more for her...ahhh, you know, I was fighting for her not only as a teacher, as a Maori, but also as someone who came from her tribe; and as a kaumatua, too; oh, as all sorts. She was so alone, this girl. And, umm, they got away with it.

This narrative again illustrates the centrality to Grace of the mana and rangatiratanga of whanau. Once again she uses the term 'consult' as a lever to gain a place for whanau within the processes of the school.

The process within the school system, whereby Grace must be consulted about the proposed suspension or expulsion of Maori students indicates that there is recognition of the importance of including a Maori voice in the school process. However, once again, the duty to consult does not equate with a handing over of authority or rangatiratanga in terms of control of the process. The danger (one experienced by many Maori who are placed in the position of 'being consulted with') is that, consultation is seen as synonymous with informing the Maori person that is being consulted about what is going to happen, thus involving him or her the process, albeit in a powerless position. The Maori person who has been consulted may then be referred to in the event of any challenge to the process. This is a description of a process of token representation.

Grace uses the requirement that she is consulted about any suspensions or expulsions of Maori students, to empower whanau to the best of her ability. She provides students and whanau with information about their rights in respect of the process, supports them at interviews with the school and translates things which are not clear to the whanau into terms that are meaningful to them. In these respects, Grace is working within the whanaungatanga dimension to provide tautoko and awhina, and within the hinengaro dimension to provide mohiotanga and perhaps matauranga.

In respect of the expulsion case that Grace describes, it is apparent that her actions are based on the concept of the mana of the whanau. Grace draws initially on the mana and authority of the kaumatua to challenge the school's position. She also attempts to ensure that the mana of the young women as a part of whanau, hapu and iwi is appreciated by the school. In advocating the attendance of whanau, hapu and iwi at the school in support of the young women, Grace is symbolically reminding both the school representatives and the young women, of the implications of their actions in terms of whanau, hapu and iwi systems. Thus she is removing the young women from a positioning as individual students, and positioning them within the context of whanau, hapu and iwi.

The process of the whanau 'speaking for' the central protagonist, whether in a process of an acknowledgment of wrongdoing or the receipt of an honour, is a common practice within Maori kawa. It serves to reinforce the conception of the individual as constituted of and through whanau relationships, and also provides a means of dispersing the focus in any one individual, thus providing some protection from the experience of whakamaa and from accusations of whakahihi, as one becomes the central focus of attention. In addition, this process provides for the sharing of expressions of tautoko, aroha and whakamaa by the whanau as they support the young person and acknowledge any wrongdoing.

Grace's narrative describes a victory for rangatiratanga in that the inclusiveness of the Maori process held sway, in this instance, over the exclusiveness of the Western system.

Grace expresses aroha for the young woman and her parents who did not bring whanau, hapu or iwi to tautoko them. While some may see a process such as censure of a student as a private matter and best confined to the student concerned and her parents, Grace could only feel aroha for them and connection with them. Thus she drew specifically on her whatumanawa dimension and employed her position as iwi member and kaumatua within the whanaungatanga dimension to advocate in defence of her whanaunga.

Political Lobbyist/Change Agent

At this school with a role of 75% Maori students, there were no Maori members on the Board of Trustees. The Board of Trustees is responsible for determining policy and planning within the school, setting priorities, selecting teachers, and the allocation of resources within the school, among other functions. Grace was aware of the lack of representation of Maori, the lack of a voice for Maori concerns, and the perceived remoteness of this powerful body responsible for governing the school, from the Maori community. She felt that it was important to do something about the situation. The role that Grace took when Board of Trustee elections drew near may be described as that of a political lobbyist, as well as an educator, informing Maori whanau of ways and means of increasing their voice and power within the school system.

G: You know we had a Board of Trustees hui, umm ... elections have just finished a few months ago. I've quietly got behind and campaigned for Maori people on the Board. I quietly got into, ahh, once having got nominations...we had 5 Maori people, I bullied them into, you know, into going for the election. And I, you know our Maori people sometimes, they don't know how to fight. I quietly, I spoke to Maori people about block voting.

...And I wasn't getting through to the parents. And I thought, if I can't get to the parents, I'll get to the kids...through the kids, to the parents. If I can't educate the parents, I'll educate the kids.

And what I did was, every Maori class I had, I'd draw the plan up. You know, like how the election papers? The names over there, the little boxes where you tick. There were 5, I think it was. And I said to the kids, "Now this is what you do. You go and you tell Mum or Dad or Nanny or Grandma what you do. Forget these Pakehas, just tick these 5 names. Never mind about the other 6. Tell them. Don't tell them that I said, just tell them. Just say to them, 'right, Nanny, you only have to tick 5. You don't have to tick the others.' 'Cause it stipulates you tick, what's it, 8? Out of 13 or 14 nominations, I think you could vote for 8. And out of that 13 or 14, 5 were Maori. And I said to the kids, "Forget the others, just tick...." and I told them exactly who to tick for, who were Maori. Now I did it that way, through the kids.

Ahhm, unfortunately we only got 2 on, not the 5. But it's better than nothing.

The Board of Trustees is the governing body of a school. It is composed of elected community representatives. The introduction of Boards of Trustees, effectively as 'boards of management' for schools, is a comparatively recent phenomenon. It is one that Maori have not generally exhibited a great deal of interest in or knowledge of. In part, this may relate to the high levels of failure amongst Maori within school systems over many generations, and the prevalence of Maori discomfort within school systems. In addition, the process of elections and the workings of democracy are not traditional Maori systems of political expression and representation, and are in conflict in some respects with central tenets of Maori social organisation such as rangatiratanga.

Once again Grace's narrative portrays her work at the level of political systems to attain rangatiratanga and mana for Maori

within the school system. Grace operates here as 'he whiti kai arahi', an illuminator of paths. She works through the hinengaro dimension to expose and provide Maori with mohiotanga in the workings of the political system governing school.

Grace also works through the whanaungatanga dimension in educating the young people and through them both educating and prevailing upon older members of the whanau. (It is not uncommon for Maori to use the exclusive term 'parents' when identifying whanau members other than young people, but in relation to the young people. The term 'parents' when used by Maori in this context, may include aunties, uncles and grandparents.)

The aim of the exercise described by Grace was to whakamana Maori within the school system. Grace hoped that the Maori community would gain an authoritative voice (in other words, some degree of rangatiratanga) in the school system, through the mechanism of gaining a majority for Maori on the Board of Trustees. In effect, Grace aimed to use democracy, a system that is traditionally antagonistic to rangatiratanga, to attain rangatiratanga. Indications are that she was at least partially successful in this innovative scheme.

NOTES ON PAT'S INTERVIEW.

I interviewed Pat in his office at his new workplace. Although we had had little personal contact prior to the interview taking place, we had a pre-existing relationship through my friendship with two of his siblings and through the earlier friendship and collegiality of our fathers (in their young days particularly).

When I initially contacted Pat by telephone to discuss the possibility of interviewing him for this research, he consented immediately and suggested that we do it there and then. I had previously arranged an interview with another participant for that morning, so arranged to interview Pat in the afternoon. This meant that I embarked on Pat's interview almost immediately after completing the previous four hour interview. As a result I may have been less focused than would otherwise have been the case.

I found Pat's interview probably the most difficult of the five. There may have been two reasons for this; first that I had some trouble adjusting from the fast pace of speech and high verblancy of the previous participant, to Pat's own slower and less verbally expressive pace. This may have manifested itself as 'impatience' or 'aggression' in my interviewing style. Second, Pat tended to utilise a lot of non-verbal communication in the form of looks, facial expressions and body language. These did not translate well to audio-tape, and resulted in me asking further questions in order to encourage Pat to verbalise more. The effect of this was that I began to feel that my interviewing was intrusive. Pat and I discussed this after the interview and I apologised for any sense that he may have had that my questions had become intrusive or disrespectful. In hindsight, it may have been more productive to have conducted the interview over two sessions, with the second session perhaps preceded by a meal.

PAT'S STORY

At the time of interview, Pat Tapiata was 34 years old, married with one child and with another on the way. He is the eldest of seven children. On his mother's side his tribe is Te Arawa, and he is a member of Ngati Pikiaro and Tuhourangi hapu. On his father's side Pat is Ngati Porou from Te Whanau o Iri te Kura. When this interview took place Pat had been living in Palmerston North and working with psychiatric patients both in the community and in an institution for about three years. The title of Pat's position is 'Maori Liaison Officer for Community Mental Health Services'. Prior to taking up this position Pat worked at Manawaroa Centre for Psychological Medicine, a division of the Palmerston North Public Hospital which provided both inpatient and outpatient assessment and treatment for acute and chronic psychiatric patients.

TE RITO: THE WHANAU PATH

Pat's parents were both fluent speakers of Maori and were both primary school teachers. During his pre-teen years the family moved around the country as his parents taught at a number of predominantly Maori schools. The main language in the class and at home was English, but Pat absorbed some Maori language from his environment.

P: I know what my baby talks about at kohanga reo. I think I know enough to just carry on a basic conversation, everyday conversation. Umm, I understand it a lot better than I can korero it.

In terms of development through the whanau life cycle, Pat sees his generation, and more specifically himself and his siblings, at a stage of transition. As the older generation pass on, the younger generation are

becoming more aware of gaps in their own knowledge and experience. The older generation provided direct links for the whanau back into hapu and iwi. With the recent deaths of his grandfather and his father, Pat, together with his siblings, recognised the need to learn about, maintain and strengthen their own links as a whanau to their hapu and iwi. They are seeking to ensure the future security of themselves and their children through knowing their own place within the wider whanau, hapu and iwi. This knowledge will help to prevent their own whanau from becoming isolated and disconnected. The wananga the family are holding are a part of the preparation process for Pat and his brothers and sisters, as the older generation pass on and their roles and responsibilities pass to them.

P: As a whanau, ours is pretty staunch I suppose. But the next unit above a whanau is the hapu's and the iwi's. And, um, we don't know nuts about those eh. And um, this weekend we're having a wananga at ah, back at Rotorua, and we're gonna find out about all of the stuff that we ever wanted to know but were too scared to ask. That's for our Tapiata whanau, you know; and our links back to Te Arawa. Um, our koro just died a couple of weeks ago, and we found out there was heaps we didn't know about where we fitted in with our iwi in Rotorua. So then the idea of this wananga came up, and ah that's happening this weekend.

Um, and for all of these other kaupapa Maori activities, hui and tangi and hura kohatu [unveilings] and all of those sorts of things, Mum or Dad used to take care of all of those sorts of things, and we'd just like show up at a certain time and everything else was taken care of. But now there's nobody to do that for us. So we have to start finding out for ourselves.

Metaphorically speaking, the protective 'outer leaves' of the harakeke (flax bush) have begun to fall away leaving the younger inner leaves exposed to the elements. As the matamua (oldest

child), Pat has a particular responsibility to take on certain roles within the whanau and the wider hapu, iwi and Maori community. He and his siblings now have the responsibility to protect the younger generations in the whanau. In order to do so, they must learn what they need to know in order to provide this shelter and nurture. In terms of the elements of the hapu, iwi, Maori and marae context, this means being able to represent the whanau in a creditable way and protect themselves and other whanau members from threats to their mana as a whanau.

As part of te ha akoro ma a kui ma, Pat and his siblings also have a role to maintain the mana that has been established through the work of those generations that have passed away.

Pat and his siblings are aware that there is a danger that the links between their whanau and their hapu and iwi on their Te Arawa side will be weakened if they do not provide sustenance for this aspect of their whanaungatanga dimension. They are planning to do so by returning to their rohe and learning where they fit within the whanau, hapu and iwi structures. If this aspect of their whanaungatanga dimension is not sustained, it will impact on the mana of the whanau. Pat's father and grandfather had been upholding the mana of the whanau through representing the whanau in whanau, hapu and iwi related matters. As previously noted, this role may now fall primarily to Pat, certainly in terms of the formal representation of the whanau in traditional contexts.

The above extract thus contains elements from within the ha a koro ma a kui ma, whanaungatanga, hinengaro and mana ake dimensions.

Pat is very aware of the roles he will be expected to take on within the whanau, the hapu and the iwi. He accepts his obligations in terms of Te

Arawa traditions, albeit perhaps with some trepidation. At the same time however, he is happy to enjoy his status as rangatahi (a young person) for as long as he is able and to use this time to prepare for his future adult role. Pat is clear that his future is with Te Arawa and that he needs to return to his tribal area there to learn, to find his place in this community, and perhaps to face certain tests.

I: Like before you said you just had to show up and everything was done, and now?

P: Ahh, its not too bad. Because, I s'pose we're all still rangatahi. Umm, the onus is not on us yet to, ah, to perform; although there are still obligations and that. Umm, so for us it's still follow the leader, and I suppose that's one of the beauties of being rangatahi still. Um, but it's certainly brought home that we need to start taking note of how things happen, and all of those sorts of things, eh. Um, a few times I've been put on the spot, umm, by having to get up and mihi, or korero about whatever; but it hasn't been too bad. I managed to do what I was supposed to do and come out alive. So it isn't a problem so far.

. . . Um, there's heaps I don't know. But in five or seven years time, me and my wife and our family hope to move back home, back to Rotorua, and find out about such things. Umm to get back in with these people ah. But I'm certainly not in a hurry, and I reckon I've got about ten years left. . . Well anytime from about ten years on I won't, ah there won't be any choice in the matter, and I'll find myself having to do these roles.

I: Are you the oldest in your family?

P: Ae, ae. And that's the other thing too. And especially in ah, in Te Arawa, I don't know about the other rohe, but there's a lot of, a lot of emphasis put on the oldest. . . ah you know the matamua

and the roles and obligations of such, ah, such people. Umm, so anywhere in the next 15 years I'll have to sort of face up to it, eh.

There are still elders in the extended whanau and hapu who can carry the role and functions associated with whanau representation and leadership.

The whanaungatanga dimension, and specifically the whanau role aspect associated with place in the whanau, and the ha koro ma a kui ma dimension, specifically the nature of Te Arawa tikanga and ritenga, underpin Pat's reference to his position as matamua within a Te Arawa whanau.

Pat accepts and will prepare for the role he is to play as part of the developmental cycle of the whanau. At present, the 'obligations' he speaks of will be primarily in terms of 'kanohi kitea', working at the back of the marae, observing process and protocol at the front of the marae and offering mihi when required.

Pat's reference to having 'come out alive', is only partly metaphorical. If he, as matamua, was to fail dismally in his performance of the role expected of him, it would have negative implications for his mana and that of his whanau. A major loss or diminishment in mana could lead to serious consequences, including illness or death. Similarly, if Pat was put in a position for which he was not prepared, he may inadvertently breach a tapu or cause offence. Committing such a hara could cause utu to be sought from the spiritual realm. In addition such an action could cause serious offence in the realm of the living and could result in Pat being afflicted by a mate Maori. Either eventuality could result in illness or death. Similarly, Pat's comment that there will, in the future, be 'no choice in the matter' is another reference to the importance of maintaining the mana of the whanau (including tupuna and whakapapa aspects), and to the

responsibilities he faces in his role as matamua. To some, it may seem that Pat does have a choice, he may choose to step aside from this role. However, the choice, in effect, is to take up the role, or to condemn himself and his whanau to a loss of mana and thereby loss of substance, mauri and metaphorical death.

Thus, within this narrative, Pat has presented aspects of his whanaungatanga, ha a koro ma a kui ma, mana and wairuatanga dimensions. Present by implication also is the mauri dimension. If Pat's mauri is strong, that is, if the tinana and wairuatanga aspects of Pat and his whanau are well bound together, he will be more receptive to the flow of the wairua, and in a position to act in accordance with guidance from this realm.

THE CAREER PATH

Pat's career path has taken a number of twists and turns. He did not train to work in the mental health field and, indeed, did not steer himself there. Rather his journey has had him following the course that seemed right at the time. His entry into the mental health field was a result of being approached by a kaumatua to work at Manawaroa.

I: How did you come to be doing this work? Formal training, have you had any?

P: Nah, none as such.

I: So what sort of informal sort of training and background have you had?

P: Right. After I left school - worked for a drain layer, gas pipes and things. There about a year. Freezing works - year and a bit. Army-1976-1982, went to Singapore for a couple of years. Back

in freezing works for couple a years; and then I got married, and my wife sent me to university, '84, '85, '86, studying computer science and Japanese. Christmas '86, my wife and I were in London, we stayed there for two years, working holiday, and came back in Christmas 1988. Jan. or Feb. 1989, got a job at a community organisation, at the 'Drop In Centre'. And a lot of the people that came to that centre were ex- or current psychiatric patients. Umm, a year later, um, Uncle Turoa, who was social worker at Manawaroa, he finished working there and his position became vacant. Because I was sort of working in that area, ah, he approached me and so did his boss, to ah, see if I'd take over his position. Ah, so that's how I got into the hospital system. Ah, January '89 I think. Worked at Manawaroa for about two years, and then, as I was saying, got into Community Mental Health in the last nine or 10 months. So that's how I got into the service.

Pat did not actively pursue a career in mental health services. He was chosen for his position at Manawaroa by a senior member of the whanau, who had previously held the position. Pat refers to this man as his uncle. He is using the term 'uncle' in the Maori sense, the person concerned is a senior male in the extended whanau, of Pat's parents' generation. In effect, Pat was selected by his uncle to be his successor in this work. This is an example of the whanaungatanga dimension, and particularly the role of senior whanau members in observing the qualities and capacities of younger members, and guiding them in the direction seen as appropriate for them. Pat would have little choice but to take the direction provided by his uncle. The alternative may well have involved a perception that Pat was trampling on his uncle's mana by refusing his invitation to take up the position and contradicting this senior man's choice of career path for him. If he had declined to apply for and take up the position and contradicting this senior man's choice of career path for him. If he had declined to apply for and take up the position, Pat may well have been seen as

refusing to contribute to the well-being of the whanau and the Maori community.

Pat's narrative in relation to his career path, particularly when it comes to his entry into the mental health and counselling arena may appear rather passive to some. It is notable that there is little use of the word 'I', and few references to an active 'I' in Pat's story of his career path. For instance, Pat does not state that 'I studied (so-an-so) because I wanted to...'. Rather, his narrative is more a recitation of events and processes than an account of active decision making and personal motivations. Certainly, Pat minimises any active role he may have played in his story of how he came to be working in the mental health and counselling arena. This may indicate that he sees himself as following a path that has been set down for him, as opposed, for instance, to forging his own path. Such a stance may be located in the wairuatanga, whanaungatanga and ha a koro ma a kui ma dimensions.

Since beginning work in the mental health system, Pat has found it necessary to make some choices and decisions which have impacted on how he fits or does not fit within the system. It is apparent that there are a number of differences in the way that Pat views and performs his professional role, and the way that his immediate superior and co-workers understand his role.

Pat's position while at Manawaroa and later at the rehabilitation unit, was that of a social worker. Part of his role in these positions involved counselling, although Pat makes it clear that he does not like the term. Rather, Pat prefers to frame his position in terms of working with turoro (a Maori term for 'patients').

Both Manawaroa and the Community Mental Health Unit work within the framework of a medical model. In order to be eligible to enter the system and receive 'treatment' people must receive a DSM (IV) diagnosis. Pat notes that he 'doesn't know' the 'jargon' associated with psychiatric assessment, diagnosis and treatment. It is perhaps a feature of Pat's beliefs regarding the problems these people were facing and his attitudes to them that he has effectively chosen not to earn or adopt the jargon associated with psychiatric assessment, diagnosis and treatment.

From this extract and others, it would appear that, in working with turoro, Pat incorporates a 'depathologising' process. Pat indicates that he believes that many turoro have accepted pathological definitions of themselves, have hidden behind these definitions, and have become in some way dependent on the 'system'.

Although Pat is charged with gathering certain types of information from or about turoro, and with providing for certain of their welfare needs, the initial process that he undertakes with turoro is one of 'whakawhanaungatanga', that is getting to know turoro through making links and connections between whanau systems.

I: Umm, can you just describe your work to me and where you, where do you think counselling fits in?

P: Right. Up until two weeks ago, I was a social worker employed by the Mental Health Service, of the Area Health Board. Before that time I was working at Manawaroa for about two years or so; and then for about the last eight or nine months I was working in a community service in our rehab. unit. Um, and as a social worker person, I didn't have any formal qualifications umm, but they still hired me in that position eh. Um, there were times there where I s'pose it was sort of counselling stuff from a social

worker's point of view; umm, of course all of the administration stuff, social welfare stuff.

I: Umm, what do you mean there by administration stuff and social welfare stuff? What sort of people were you dealing with and what were your actions um, work with them?

P: Um, Manawaroa. The people that went to Manawaroa were acute, people in acute, and I don't know the jargon, that needed care there and then. So while they're in hospital, that there were any things that they needed sorting out, um, like their benefits or they needed help with other things, umm, well we'd do that. Um, accommodation, trying to get the patients back on side with their families; or trying to get their um, families back on side with their families.

I: Did that involve talking to them and talking to their families?

P: Yes, sometimes. Ahh, I s'pose that was sort of counselling, but I don't like to use that word.

I: What's the word that you like to use?

P: Umm: I don't know what you call it; but what happened in there was; I find out the sort of information that I needed to find out, but that came after umm, all of the formalities and such were completed. The formalities being: ah, "Where you are from? Oh, I know somebody from there." And I suppose it was a sort of a whakawhanaungatanga, um sort of korero.

I remember one time I was supposed to be doing a ah, social history on somebody, and I put aside three-quarters of an hour to do it. Um, I met this turoro, and he started talking, about two hours later, we found out we had a lot more in common than what

we thought. And after those two hours, we still hadn't done the assessment so we had to make another appointment. And when he came back it only took five minutes to do this, find out this information that I wanted. Um, but that first talk that we had for a couple of hours was a good one eh. And that's what I reckon it was all about. What counselling was all about. Ah, all of these assessments, whether they're social or medical or whatever, ah, I s'pose that's the system's way of ah, that's the system's protocol.

I: Did it clash with your protocol? With the way that you like to do things?

P: Ah, no. Ah, in that position there, as social worker, there was enough scope in there for me to fulfil my needs, and also the needs of the system eh. Like coming up with these assessments eh, or coming up with information that that they wanted. And then also to satisfy my need to um, to get across to the turoro that, um that 'I'm here for you Bro!'

I: So that, um the information that you needed to get for the system, was that mainly concrete information?

P: Yeah.

I: And then you did also your other work the way you wanted to, which might not go down on paper?

P: Yeah that's right.

I: Did you have to do written assessments?

P: Yep. And that was I suppose one of the system's requirements; that all of these contacts and that are documented. Ah, and they're documented in the right way. 'Kei te pai' doesn't work,

and that's from the system's point of view. Um, and that system's got its own jargon, ah maybe if I did a social work, or did social work papers, ah, I'd be comfortable with that jargon, but I suppose, just being a 'Joe Blow' off the street, um that jargon meant as much to me as what it did to these turoro that we're working with.

From Pat's description of his process when working with turoro it appears that whakawhanaungatanga, ko te mea nui ko te tangata, and tautoko are features of his counselling practice.

Pat's description of the 'formalities' that he completed prior to beginning the 'formal' institutional process, may be described in terms of a whakawhanaungatanga process. As 'tangata whenua' within the institution, he was getting to know who these manuhiri were in Maori terms. Pat describes exploring 'who turoro are' through finding out where they come from, the land and people of the land they are a part of. In so doing, Pat is exploring their whanau, hapu and iwi (whanaungatanga) dimensions of self. Through this process also, Pat is likely to be able to make links with turoro based on common whakapapa, history and/or connection with whanau, hapu and iwi members. In this way it is possible for Pat to establish a relationship with turoro which extends beyond their individual selves and their current situations, and into whanau, hapu, iwi and community networks and history of which they are a part. The whakawhanaungatanga process that Pat undertakes with turoro thus enables him to 'know' them at a level beyond their current status as turoro within the institution.

Another facet of whakawhanaungatanga is the mutuality of the process. Pat would also be introducing himself in terms of whanau, hapu, iwi and community. In so doing he is re-locating himself in relation to turoro, from a position as a staff member

within the institution, to one embedded in Maori relational structures outside of the institution.

At times the whakawhanaungatanga process would undoubtedly lead to a relationship between Pat and the turoro being identified. In such cases, Pat and the turoro may have been able to locate their relationship in terms of kaumatua-mokopuna, tuakana-teina, matua-rangatahi or such-like. In cases where there was no readily apparent whakapapa relationship, the process may entail the establishment of metaphorical whanau relationships. Pat's use of the phrase, "I'm here for you bro" provides a further indication of the whanaungatanga dimension at work, and in particular the tautoko aspect of this.

Pat's dislike of the term 'counselling' may well be related to the fact that a whanaungatanga relationship had been established with turoro, and this tended to supersede the counsellor-client/hospital staff member-hospital patient relationship. However, another perspective on why Pat dislikes the term 'counselling' and feels most comfortable with manaaki and whanaungatanga processes, is that the term 'counselling' implies intrusion into the hinengaro. In particular, it may carry clinical connotations which imply an intrusion from one in a position of comparative power onto one in a position of vulnerability.

Pat's example of the five minute social history that became two hours without a social history provides a further example of whakamana and whanaungatanga. In putting the needs of the whanau relationship that had been established ahead of the requirements of the institution, including time allocation expectations, Pat was conveying the message that the turoro, their whakapapa and whanau, and their relationship with Pat, had at least as much mana as the institution.

In terms of the mana Maori aspect of the mana ake dimension, and in giving the whakawhanaungatanga process priority, Pat is effectively communicating his belief in the mana of nga tikanga Maori and ha a kui ma a koro ma.

There are several references in Pat's narrative which indicate that he tends to separate himself from the institution and the system of which it is a part, choosing to align with turoro to a greater extent. For instance, Pat refers to 'the system' several times. This indicates a process of objectification but, more importantly, in the context of 'the system' as representative and agent of colonisation processes and powers, it indicates a separation of self from the Pakeha system. A further example of this is contained in Pat's final statements within this portion of his narrative. Pat states that: "...that was, I suppose, one of the system's requirements"; "...and that's from the system's point of view"; "...and that system's got it's own jargon...just being a 'Joe Blow' off the street, um that jargon meant as much to me as it did to these turoro that we're working with". Pat chooses not to adopt 'the jargon'. In effect, he chooses to reject some of the perspectives and requirements of 'the system'.

Pat's process includes a lot of 'equalising' statements: "we found out we had a lot more in common that we thought"; "I'm here for you bro"; "just being a 'Joe Blow' off the street". It may well be that Pat was working to maintain a balance in mana relationships. In so doing, he was providing sustenance for the mana of those he worked with and cared for.

Pat's process included exploration of the kin networks of turoro. By exploring these networks, Pat was able to identify potential support

people for turoro within their own whanau and within the Maori community.

Pat's ambivalent attitude to the philosophy and ideology of the system he was working within is further demonstrated in his 'sussing out' turoro without recourse or reference to the clinical files. In taking this approach, Pat was able to formulate his own perceptions of turoro. He found that these were often at odds with the views expressed in the files.

I: So what did you do when you were writing these reports, if you weren't into the jargon? Did you use Maori concepts at all?

P: Um, well the clinical notes was all as close as I could get to clinical jargon, but maybe in my own notes, I'd use Maori terms.

I: Did they fit together? Like when you were writing your clinical notes, did it mean basically the same as what your own notes or your own way of thinking about it did? Or was there stuff that didn't quite fit together?

P: On the clinical side of it, the areas that you're looking at are, what is important from a clinical point of view eh. But on my own sort of notes, say, um I write whatever the turoro's name was, where they're from, ah what's their whakapapa and make little notes 'oh yeah, I know Aunty so-and-so from there'. Umm, but the things that are important from, ah I don't know from a Maori point of view, but from my point of view, those were the important things eh. So somebody from Wanganui, or even Levin, um, I'd think of maybe who were the networks, who were the people that I knew down there that might be a support to such people, to these turoro. Where the clinical side didn't take any notice of that, eh. You know the sorts of information that they wanted to know, eh. They didn't recognise...

- I: What was the actual sort of information that they did want to know? The clinical side?
- P: Ah, well it was biological stuff, you know, name, address, next of kin, date of birth, sex...
- I: So you didn't have to do diagnostic type stuff, like say this person presents as, or looks severely depressed?
- P: Well I didn't. I don't know if I was s'posed to or not, but I didn't, eh.
- I: Did you think about those sort of issues. Like when you were talking to people and that, did you think 'Oh this person might have this or that troubling them', or anything?
- P: No I didn't eh. So, somebody'd come in and we'd then have an interview about, it might be about any particular topic, um and I'd have their file, and I used to leave the file closed, and start from scratch. Um, rather than be, um, be swayed by what's in those files eh.
- I: Oh, yeah. But in your mind, did you think about what was important for those people, what was going on for them? Rather than the actual clinical diagnoses?
- P: Oh yeah, yeah. All the time eh, all the time. Mind you though, what I perceived, most of the time didn't match up with whatever these um...
- I: Files said?

P: Yeah.

Pat is classifying and identifying clients in terms of whakapapa, where they come from, that is their turangawaewae. From this starting point he is able to make links between the individual turoro and the whanau networks which may be available to them. In addition, he may be identifying potential consultants through whom he might himself access further information about turoro and whanau. Through this process, Pat is focusing from the beginning on reintegration of turoro into whanau and community.

Pat's resistance to adopting the medical model, the 'DSM' diagnostic system in use at the institution, is again apparent in his decision not to look at turoro files, whether or not he was 'supposed to'. In addition, Pat's interview techniques appear to be more in the nature of conversations than clinical assessments; he appears to avoid a specific focus on the institutionally identified problem. These practices amount to a commitment to the tino rangatiratanga of Maori perspectives, and of individual turoro, in respect of their authority to decide and define the nature of important issues and problems. Pat's actions may also reflect his respect for the tapu associated with the hinengaro, and a consequent reluctance to enter uninvited into this area.

Probably as a result of his approach to turoro, assessment and diagnosis, and to what was important and what was not, Pat's perceptions of what the situation was for the client "most of the time didn't match up" with the clinical conclusions contained in the files.

Pat's attempts to incorporate his views into the institution's assessments of turoro largely met with frustration. He found Pakeha clinical staff were particularly resistant to his views and perspectives.

P: At that time, working in Manawaroa particularly; ahh because the staff there are so entrenched in the system, ahh, it was like banging your heads against a brick wall eh. You know. So even offering suggestions, making recommendations, didn't go down too easy with umm, some of the staff up there. A lot of the psychiatrists, especially the Indian ones, the Pakistani ones, they were all right. But I found the, that the majority of the ahh, umm, New Zealand Pakeha staff very, umm, very, ahh, conservative, umm, in their thinking; and whatever the book said, that's what you'd go by.

I: Whatever the Pakeha book said? Or the American book?

P: Yeah. Whatever the book said. Actually I got, yeah, I got really hoha [frustrated and fed up].

I: Yeah. I know [the previous Maori social worker] had a hard time.

P: Oh yeah. Well I took over his job eh. Forever banging heads. Man never mind the sort of support that I didn't get up there. Yeah, crazy.

Pat felt alienated from the clinical system and Pakeha clinicians in particular at Manawaroa. He did not feel that his views or perspectives were accepted by or acceptable to Pakeha staff. Pat described a dynamic in which his perspectives as a Maori worker were not accorded equal mana as the Western clinical perspectives. Similarly Pat's systems of understanding as a Maori worker, were not accorded a rangatiratanga within the institutional system.

Pat noticed more openness from Indian and Pakistani psychiatrists than Pakeha New Zealand staff. The resistance to alternative, and perhaps specifically Maori, perspectives that Pat

perceived as entrenched in Pakeha staff, may stem from racism and ethnocentrism in the system and in individuals within it. It is indicative of a resistance to any notion of the rangatiratanga of Maori models or ways of thinking, seeing and doing.

Pat is clear that the non-Western health professionals at Manawaroa exhibited a greater level of awareness and respect for the perspective that he as a Maori person might have to offer, than did Pakeha psychologists and psychiatrists.

I: When you were at Manawaroa, did you consult with psychiatrists or psychologists about that, about what you saw as their needs?

P: Ahh, some of them. The Indian ones.

I: And in those cases did you go to them or did they come to you?

P: Uhm, sometimes. Sometimes they'd say, "Pat, we think something else is going on here. What do you reckon?"

I: And when you said what you reckoned...?

P: And when you said what you reckoned they'd go, "Oh yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. Oh we'll check that out." Like those doctors were good eh, 'cause they'd come up with options too, and then explore them all. So like they've got about two or three and I'd offer another one.

Indian psychiatrists may have been more open to the perspectives that Pat was able to present because their own culturally constructed conceptions of self may have been more akin to Maori models of self than to Western constructions. They may therefore have had more awareness of cultural differences

and, perhaps, access to more than one perspective themselves. Because of this, there may have been an awareness that DSM-defined clinical models represented one particular framework. As people of colour and with a history of British colonisation, they may also have had less of an ideological commitment to maintaining the dominance of Western clinical models, and the hegemonic discourse associated with it.

The underlying issues here relate to the hinengaro and mana dimensions. The whakaaro (ways of thinking, models of reality) aspect of New Zealand Pakeha staff was more removed from Pat's whakaaro than was that of Indian workers at Manawaroa. The whakaaro of New Zealand Pakeha staff may also have been framed within colonial constructions more than that of the Indian psychiatrists.

Pat saw both Maori and non-Maori turoro. In line with psychiatric admission data which records high psychiatric admission rates for young Maori men, the turoro Pat worked with were mainly young, Maori and male. Contact with Maori turoro was made through several channels. For instance, Pat noticed that Maori turoro at Manawaroa tended to gravitate towards him as another Maori and he arranged to be notified of any Maori coming in for assessment. His role in the assessment process appears to have been one of support, translation and information-giving for both turoro and their families.

I: Who do you mainly work with?

P: Mixture. But most of the Maori turoro that come there, I get to see.

I: They get referred to you or they come?

P: No they come. You see them sizing up all the staff there, you know the nursing staff, and then they see a Maori face, and it sort of goes like, "Ding, ding"; bee line eh. And the coloureds.

. . . Um, most of the clients that I had up until two weeks ago were, Maori, Pakeha. Mainly men. Um, and most of them are between 20 and 33 or something. When I first started there, most of them were under 20. About six of them; they were still at school or just finished school.

P: . . . after that first six months, and all of the sort of outside networks that I had, um, people were actually coming to see me through the back door eh. And I found that through that process, through that referral system, a lot of them were coming in the back door. You know, I'd get a phone call, "Oh um, kia ora Pat. I'm so and so, a friend of so and so, who's a friend of so and so." And anyway, I must of ended up with about 10 or 15 people that came that way.

I: You know how you talked about sitting in on the assessments of Maori patients? How did you know that there were Maori people being admitted, that were having assessments? Did they tell you?

P: Well I had this sort of arrangement with the reception staff; "Any Maori people come in that door, you give me a call." Um, sometimes a doctor or someone would send for me; "Oh, we've got a Maori person coming in, would you mind sitting in?". I had it covered most ways, for any people coming in to Manawaroa. . . on most occasions I try to get in on one of those, when, when the people first got assessed. So they come to Manawaroa, then they'll be assessed by the doctor, by the psychiatrist. Um, and then I will sit in on that.

I: Oh, you were able to do that?

P: Well, I, I did anyway. If I was s'posed to or not was ahh. . . I made a point of being there whenever I could eh.

I: And so you could contribute there?

P: Yeah. And you know for a lot of these blimmin' assessments, I feel uncomfortable in there eh. No wonder the bloody turoro feel uncomfortable. If even the staff feel uncomfortable in there. So a lot of those assessments, umm, the doctor would do what he had to do. Um, we stop half way through, kick out the doctor, and then we just stay there with the turoro and the whanau, if the whanau is there. And just try and explain to them or get over to them, what doc's trying to do. Um, but you know the environment - not conducive to help. . .

Pat's efforts to be present when people and families first arrived may have served a number of functions. Firstly, Pat's presence may have provided an element of manaakitanga. Merely by being there, being a Maori presence in the room, Pat was providing tautoko for turoro and whanau. Being there to meet and to greet, to awhi, taking the time to talk and to explain, to make the environment as comfortable as possible, are all elements of manaakitanga. As 'tangata whenua' within the institution, it was appropriate that Pat be there, as kanohi kitea to welcome them in. This is a sign of respect, and a means of providing some sustenance for the mana ake dimension of turoro and their whanau.

There may also have been an element of protection of the rights of turoro and their whanau. Pat describes a process of virtual translation for turoro and whanau, "trying to get across to them what doc's trying to do." As the vast majority of Maori generally,

and a larger proportion of those in the age groups primarily receiving treatment at institutions such as Manawaroa, do not speak Maori, having English as a first or only language, and Pat himself is not a fluent speaker of Maori, the translation process is likely to have involved the translation of meanings from English into a more readily understood form of English. If the environment was not receptive to Pat's interpretation of the situation of *turoro* and *whanau*, he would still have gained information and a perspective on *turoro* and *whanau* which he may have been able to work with at a later time. This is the *hinengaro* dimension.

Pat's reference to feeling uncomfortable may encompass aspects of the *wairuatanga*, *mauri*, *mana ake*, *ha a koro ma a kui ma*, *hinengaro* and/or *whatumanawa* dimensions. Certainly a feeling of discomfort is associated with breaches of *tikanga*, that is the *ha a kui ma a koro ma* dimension, with intrusion into the *hinengaro*, with a lack of appropriate *manaakitanga* and acknowledgement of the *mana* of individuals and *whanau*, with a lack of consideration for the *tapu* aspects of people, with troubled, disconnected or unconsecrated *mauri*, large amounts of pain and grief and conflicting currents in the *wairuatanga* dimension. Similarly, Pat's reference to the environment as 'not conducive to help', may well refer to *hinengaro*, *wairua* and *mauri* dimensions.

For Pat, turoro, past and present, and the Maori community were a vital resource. He listened to and noted their assessments of friends, whanau and each other. Also, the networks that Pat had in the community meant that the community had easy access to him outside of working hours and the institutional environment. It also meant that the boundaries of Pat's professional and personal life were permeable that is, there was no clear delineation between work and out-of-work contexts.

P: Um, like Friday night, work's finished; shoot down the pub and have a beer. Now, because of the sort of rapport that I had with the clients; whether they were my own or whatever, a lot of them used to just have a beer down the pub eh. And they used to be my sort of, um, you know, my finger on the pulse. And you know, we'd be there having a beer, and ah, "Oh Pat. So and so's not very well. Actually, she looks pretty bad eh." So all of these fellas used to keep me informed about how all of my clients and other people were eh. Fantastic. Just like the flea-market. But like that, how they'd come in the back door eh. I'd be down the pub, "Oh Pat, my brother's cousin, ah, I think he's flipping out. What do you reckon we should do?". That used to happen. It still does now.

The importance that Pat places on identifying the Maori networks that exist in relation to turoro, and which may provide support for them in their own communities has been noted previously. Pat's own community networks, his position within the Maori community as 'he kanohi kitea'-'a seen face', are also significant. Pat appears to be viewed by at least some in his local Maori community as a link, perhaps a safe link, between themselves, their friends and whanau, and mental health professionals and services. He is frequently approached for advice and receives referrals directly from and for Maori in the community. Pat's description of the process by which he receives referrals is a whanaungatanga based process. Referrers link themselves and/or turoro to Pat through tracing a line of relationship through people. This places Pat in a position of reciprocal obligation associated with the whanau dimension, conferring on referrer, referee and Pat a relationship wider, deeper and with different parameters than that of psychiatric social worker to psychiatric patient and their families.

It is the links into the community and the whanaungatanga networks that provide Pat with information which may enable him to intervene before turoro reach a position in which they may be admitted to an acute service such as Manawaroa, or be committed to a longer stay institution such as the nearby Lake Alice Hospital. These links and networks also provide Pat with a context within which to view and 'know' turoro, outside of their role as psychiatric patients. Pat's status as 'kanohi kitea' provides his credentials and makes him accessible to the Maori community.

Community networks and the support that Pat describes as being available through these networks includes a treatment aspect. When Pat, turoro or whanau suspect a spiritual affliction, such as mate Maori, is a feature of the presenting problem, Pat draws on appropriate people from the Maori community to treat/deal with the affliction.

I: Did they [turoro and their whanau] ever, or did you ever think that things like mate Maori were an issue?

P: For some of them.

I: And what happened, what happened in those cases?

P: Ahm, I'd get somebody else, 'cause I didn't know about such, you know, I don't know about such things. Although; in ah some of the, some of the occasions when people come in and say, "Oh, I had a dream about something," you know and they'd lead it. And just from that, ah. . . an idea would occur to me "Oh, now this sounds like something." So I'd go and get someone.

I: Someone from outside Manawaroa?

P: Yep. I even get these those local Maori ministers.

I: So is it sometimes the staff who come to you and think that there's something like that?

P: Oh, maybe one out of ten.

Pat includes consideration of the wairuatanga dimension in his assessments of turoro. Because of this he is open to the possibility of mate Maori. He seeks out an appropriately skilled person to provide treatment if he suspects mate Maori.

Pat does not find that the wairuatanga dimension, and mate Maori and makutu aspects of this are considered by the vast majority of staff in the institution.

Pat describes his process in a situation where it was clear that the turoro was troubled by, or believed her situation was a consequence of, a wrong that she had done. The phrase, "Noku te he" means, "Mine is the wrong" or "I have done wrong." This phrase may refer to a breach of spiritual laws and implies an element of punishment or affliction of the guilty party as a consequence of wrongdoing.

P: Like one of them [turoro], she come in and she was saying something like, "Noku te he." Umm and I had a little think about it, and oh geez, I wonder what it is. And started talking about things. And she did something back on the marae that she shouldn't of done. And it came out like that eh, just from her saying that, "Noku te he." She knew, she knew something, that she'd done something, umm, and then I just helped, helped find out what it was. And then she went out of my hands. Oh

somebody come and picked her up, somebody from home. So it all depends. These people bring it out themselves if they know it.

The consequence of 'noku te he' is hara. Because the wrong, most likely a breach of tapu had taken place on the marae, probably her own marae, the rectification of the wrong was most appropriately done there, and amongst her own whanau.

Pat worked at reducing the barriers between himself as a staff member, and turoro and their whanau. He was aware of the distrust and dislike felt by many Maori and turoro for the 'system' and its representatives. For Pat it was important to be accepted by turoro and Maori and perceived as trustworthy. According to Pat it appears that to be trustworthy means to be separate from the system, or at least minimally integrated. Accountability consequently becomes a balancing act, although Pat's primary accountability was clearly to turoro over his employers. Lines of accountability were slightly less clear however when it came to the whanau.

P: I've found that a lot were anti-system, whatever system it was, the health system, or social welfare, or the justice system or whatever. And being a 'John Brown' is it? Working for the system, one of those sold out? Oh yeah, Uncle Tom.

I: So who are you accountable to in your work? Who do you consider yourself accountable to?

P: To the turoro first. Oh now I had this all figured out. To the turoro and then to the system. And now I fitted in there somewhere. Me. I fitted in there somewhere. In social work, when I was on the ground, I was officially accountable to that clinical file. So I'd get the information that they wanted, "The client's okay, still on medication, address. . ." and that's what would go on that clinical file.

I: If the client told you something the system would want to know but requested confidentiality from the system what would you do?

P: More than likely that's what I'd do eh. That's what I did.

I: Keep it out of the files?

P: Yeah. But you know if it was. . . like one of the sorts of criteria on that, whether to tell somebody else, was safety eh. And that was one of the things that always crossed my mind first. And one time I blew it. Oh, at a marae, I was at a marae somewhere, and after the whaikorero went round to hariru and all that. And one of the people says, "Oh how's my cousin who's up there at Manawaroa?" and that. And I went, "Oh, she's fine." And then I thought, 'Oh geez am I supposed to be talking about this?'. And I blew it a couple of times like that. Where those two concepts didn't fit together eh, that confidentiality and then that mihimihi part.

I: And then also there's that thing about whanaungatanga, eh. The rights of the whanau.

P: Oh yeah there is eh. And I think someone at the hospital wrote a paper on confidentiality. 'What is confidentiality from a Maori perspective?'. But it still doesn't help.

I: What did she say? Does it fit with you?

P: Yeah the um basic idea about the whanaungatanga thing was right. But it still didn't give any guidelines about. . .

I: What did she actually say about whanau and confidentiality? Did she say that the whanau's right to know overrides patient confidentiality?

P: Ah, no, no. It comes back to the turoro eh. It's the turoro's choice. If the turoro wants this to happen, then it will happen. But then again that safety one comes into it eh. If the kids are at home by themselves, then maybe you have to bring some of the other whanau into it.

Pat clearly perceives an element of distrust if not antagonism on the part of turoro towards the system and its representatives. While Pat is in a position of dual accountability, he is clear that his first priority is accountability to turoro. Although he speaks initially of turoro as individuals, his later comments indicate that accountability to whanau is intertwined with accountability to turoro.

Pat's example of when he 'blew it', (in terms of a 'system' perspective on patient confidentiality) and his observation that the concepts of confidentiality and mihimihi didn't fit together, may be related back to the aspects of whanaungatanga discussed earlier. When the relationship is defined in terms of whanau, the roles, responsibilities and reciprocity associated with whanau relationships tend to take priority. The concept of individual confidentiality within whanau does not appear to sit comfortably with Pat.

Pat's final example, of a situation where children may be endangered, is another case in point. If the turoro does not want whanau involvement, Pat will normally accede to this wish. However, if the safety of tamariki is an issue Pat would tend to go to the whanau, rather than other agencies within the system, because the whanau has rights and responsibilities in regard to

tamariki who belong to the whanau, whether or not an individual member of the whanau, albeit the parent, wants this or not.

Although Pat was effectively invited by the koroua (his 'uncle') and his present boss to take on the position at Manawaroa, his professional relationship with his boss and with other workers has not been without problems. Conflict, misunderstanding and communication difficulties are themes that run through his experience at Manawaroa. Much of this conflict appears to relate to differences between Pat's perceptions of turoro and those he sees other staff as holding, differing understandings of the nature of Pat's role and appropriate ways of fulfilling that role, and differing conventions regarding appropriate methods of communication and conflict resolution.

In the following extract Pat's frustration and difficulties as a result of these differing understandings are evident. His respect for, as well as frustration on behalf of, turoro, are also apparent.

P: I actually think that social work boss that I had back then was crazy, to ah offer me the job. Um, they didn't know any of my background, any of how did I think about issues. And it didn't take us long to start banging heads about what was important and what was not. . .

I: Can you give me examples of how you banged heads and what over and that?

P: Um, I was getting supervision from this social worker, this senior social worker, and he used to bring issues up to me about, "I've heard people around the unit saying this and saying that about you Pat." Um, and I'd say, "So? That's their problem, it ain't my problem. If they've got anything to say to me, then they can come and say it to me." And then he'd turn around and say to me "Well

they won't do it Pat. They don't do things like that here." And umm, I'd have to think, "Well what's the problem then?", "Oh no, I just thought I'd let you know." Which seemed to me to be a blimmin' load of rubbish, eh. If anything trying to get under my skin; but. . .

I: What were the sort of things that they were saying?

P: Um, "Pat, you spend too much time in the pool room and lounge." Actually, "You spend too much time in their company, in the patients and that eh." "I think you need to spend more time in the office."

I: Actually that same sort of issue has come up for every Maori counsellor I've talked to so far, from their boss.

P: Yeah. Crazy, eh! So, you know, even then, what's important to my boss, or what was important to him at that time was that the appearance is right, that you appeared to be doing what they thought you should be doing. Mmm... If they can't see you; then that means you must be working. You're not s'posed to hold such a high profile in a place that's about serious work.

I: So did you see that, like playing pool with the patients and that, did you see that as actually a part of your job?

P: Yeah. Yeah, course.

I: Why? In what way exactly?

P: Ummm. I s'pose by spending time in an environment that, oh I don't s'pose it was comfortable, but more comfortable to them; spending time with them in what was their most comfortable environment, ahhh, I s'pose you get a better idea of you know,

where they're at, what's going on in their lives. A lot of these people are professional, ah, professional mauiui [sick people]. You know, they've been in the system for so long; and they know all of the answers that the doctors and the nurses want to hear, and you know, these turoro, they just manipulate the system. . . there's more crooks in there than. . . but you know, they're not dumb. But the system treats them like that eh. You know they don't give them credence or recognition; oh they don't even treat them like people.

When Pat speaks of 'banging heads' he is referring to conflict arising from the hinengaro dimension, from different whakaaro, different ways of conceptualising, different ways of seeing. It would appear that, in Pat's experience there were no identifiable pathways through which he and his 'boss' could get into each other's heads.

The example that Pat gives of 'banging heads' with the senior social worker who was his supervisor, illustrates several aspects of Pat's perceptions and processes which may be seen to be related to the Te Wheke framework. Pat's desire for people who had a problem with his method of working to speak directly to him, is characteristic of Maori methods of conflict resolution wherein aspects relating to the hinengaro dimension, such as whakawhitiwhiti korero, are primary. In addition to this aspect, there is a preference for 'kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) communication. Kanohi ki te kanohi allows participants to communicate fully in regard to problematic issues. Often the communication that occurs through words is less important than the whakaaro (way of thinking, an aspect of the hinengaro dimension), whatumanawa (as emotional state), body language (the tinana dimension) and mana, mauri or wairua of the person. Pat's supervisors comment that "they don't do things like that around here" is indicative of the view within the 'system' that

issues, as defined by the system, are separate from, and more significant than the people by whom they are defined and those to whom they pertain. Within this framework, the passing on of information, through the spoken or written word, has precedence over the process of construction of the 'information', and the personal and cultural storylines on which they are based. In effect, only one storyline is allowable. From this perspective, Pat's preference for face to face communication with those who are constructing the stories within their discursive frame, is likely to be characterised as 'personalising the issue' or as aggressive and confrontational. In contrast, Pat interprets the failure to accord him the respect of face to face communication with those who have imposed their storylines onto him as 'game-playing' and as assaults on his mana.

From the perspective of the system, and the storytellers and supervisor within this, the issues are likely to be defined as 'boundary issues.' Pat may be seen as spending too much time 'socialising' with patients, he may be seen as being too familiar with patients and as being too open with information about himself. These features may be interpreted as a failure to maintain professional boundaries and possibly as shirking work (playing pool and chatting with patients may not be seen as a part of Pat's work).

From a Western perspective, the issue is likely to be defined as one of professionalism. Within a Western story of appropriate professional behaviour for mental health workers, Pat's behaviours may be seen to be inappropriate. This is because it is likely that a Western story of appropriate professional behaviour contains the following assumptions and themes:

- Pat is failing to maintain professional distance and is in danger of crossing the boundary between personal and professional involvement with patients;

- the professional is clearly different from and separate to the patient;
- work occurs primarily in the office; work with patients should take place in the office, that is within an area that is clearly defined as the territory of the professional;
- work with patients should take place within the office in order to ensure individual privacy and confidentiality;
- the pool room and lounge are designated as patient territory, and therefore are not appropriate places for professional interaction with patients;
- if you are seen as 'one of them', you cannot be professional.

The expectations within the system in regard to professional distance are in direct conflict with Pat's emphasis on whanaungatanga and the whakawhanaungatanga process. The expectation within the system that professional work occurs from a position of professional distance from turoro, conflicts with Pat's method of working from a position 'in connection to' turoro.

It is apparent that, within the 'system' as Pat perceives it there are several areas of conflict:

- professional conduct implies a maintenance of professional power, in part through containing interaction with patients to the territory of the professional, but whanaungatanga and mana imply an emphasis on manaaakitanga and the comfort and empowerment of turoro.
- the emphasis within the system on individual privacy and confidentiality, sits uneasily with whanau based models including whanau rather than individual confidentiality. It is likely that Maori workers and turoro within the institution define and organise themselves at some level as a whanau.

Pat's reference to 'crooks' is likely to pertain to his perception of the unreality and invalidity of the clinical and diagnostic models and what he regards as a choice on the part of turoro in accepting and 'living up to' their labels within these models.

PAT'S PROCESS AND PHILOSOPHY

Spirituality is frequently referred to by Maori writers as something that is primary, that is always there and that is a part of the being of everyone and everything. Maori spiritual practices are embodied and externalised in karakia and practices aimed at ensuring that temporal activity is in harmony with spiritual direction.

In the following extract, Pat touches on a number of issues. The reader may or may not impute a spiritual dimension to some of the terms, metaphors and imagery used in this extract and others.

Pat makes reference to a "them and us" mentality on the part of turoro and a concomitant distrust of staff. He perceives a need to gain the trust of turoro by joining with them and allowing them to "suss him out." Pat has respect for turoro and for the perceptive powers of Maori and turoro.

Pat also talks about the importance of environment, his definition of environment including both physical elements. . . "concrete and mortar. . . with a door that's got an engaged sign on it" and non-physical elements "atmosphere. . . the sort of whakaaro around the place."

I: When you were, you know like in the pool room, what were you doing positive for the. . . what was the positive effect for them? And for you?

P: Oh, I used to enjoy playing pool and all that sort of stuff. But then at the same time, so did the turoro enjoy the opportunity to I s'pose, talk candidly, although sometimes some would still be a bit reserved about, ahh, what they're saying to staff. But after a while people got easier, ahh, got the gist of where you're coming from. Ah, and just like Maori people, these turoro who were there; very perceptive eh. And they know as soon as you walk in the door whether you're all shit, or whether you're actually interested in them. Ah, very, very perceptive. I don't know whether I had a sort of affinity with them, the turoro, the people that I worked with; but you know there's body language and all of that sort of stuff, old news to these turoro, and old news to Maori people, old news eh.

I: So if they'd talk candidly to you in the pool room and that. What would you do with that information that they were sharing?

P: Umm, sometimes, if something was really bugging them, I'd say "Oh we're gonna do something about this." And we'd go somewhere by ourselves, or maybe back to the office, and figure out what we could do about it; and um, all the different options we got. And we used to have these, umm, depending on who the people were, we used to go to play golf, you know, play golf and talk about such things over golf, or go and watch the rugby, umm any thing that was an alternative to those. . . concrete and mortar eh. Anything that was a change to the buildings around them, the atmosphere and environment, eh.

I: So that was part of your counselling method?

P: Yeah. The environment, yeah. I'm just starting to think about it now and it's all starting to fall into place. That environment there; not conducive to um, to getting to know people. With a door

that's got an engaged sign on it. And even all the, the sort of whakaaro around the place.

The environment that Pat is speaking of, may refer to the mauri and wairua dimensions. An enclosed construction of 'bricks and mortar' appears removed from contact with the spiritual essence and force embodied in Papatuanuku, Ranginui, Tawhirimatea, Rongo and Tane-Mahuta, that an outdoors environment or one utilising materials directly from these ancestors would provide. In addition, the binding power of the mauri, that which would hold together the physical and spiritual dimensions of the Manawaroa environment may not be in evidence. Pat sees the Manawaroa environment as dominated by whakaaro Pakeha, Western ways of thinking and attitudes stemming from these, and concomitantly lacking in a cohesive spiritual essence and in whakaaro Maori.

In taking turoro out for a game of golf, or to watch rugby, Pat is removing them from an environment that he sees as "not conducive to getting to know people." He is taking them to an environment and engaging them in activities that are 'normal'. In effect a normalising and de-pathologising strategy.

In engaging turoro in outdoor activities, Pat is exposing them to an environment that they are a part of, one in which their tupuna Atua are incorporated in the process. He is bringing them into contact with mana and mauri aspects of the wairuatanga dimension.

In choosing an environment in which a variety of senses and activities are stimulated, Pat also reduces the negative effects, relating particularly to whakamaa, of the intense and exclusive focus on their hinengaro which is central to the psychiatric institutional environment. By removing turoro from the clinical environment, Pat is removing them from a position as an object of

scrutiny. Thus, in adopting a method of counselling which occurs within the context of other activities and foci of attention, Pat is preventing turoro from being 'singled out' for intense scrutiny. In so doing, he is protecting their mana and minimising the likelihood of whakamaa ensuing.

Pat speaks of the perceptiveness of turoro. He refers to "body language and all that sort of stuff." Maori expertise in reading and interpreting body language may be a skill related in part at least to the experience of oppression and the genocidal environment Maori have experienced as a function of colonisation. This is an experience of 150 years duration. In Pat's comment, regarding "body language and all of that sort of stuff", Pat notes that this is "old news to these turoro, and old news to Maori people, old news." Pat may be referring here to a facility developed over the past 150 years, and/or he may be referring to a means of communication older than this; that is through hinengaro, whatumanawa and the matakite aspect of the wairuatanga dimension. Thus, the intuition aspect of hinengaro, the 'seeing heart to seeing heart' aspect of whatumanawa, and the 'seeing eye' (i.e. seeing beyond the physical) feature of matakite, may be what is referred to by Pat as "all of that sort of stuff."

The whanaungatanga connections that Pat fosters with turoro through the process of identifying links, define Pat's relationship with turoro and his therapeutic approach. In particular, Pat's connection with turoro continues in his inclusive definition of the turoro's issues. This is illustrated in Pat's reference to 'we' ("figure out what we could do about it; and um, all the different options we got"). He is working with turoro from a position within the turoro's system. As previously noted, the boundaries of Maori selfhood include the whanau. Pat metaphorically joins turoro within their boundaries of self.

Pat's view of turoro, includes a notion of 'heightened awareness'. He sees their apparent 'mental illness' as a time of opportunity and openness. For Pat the diagnostic categories through which turoro are classified are irrelevant, even destructive.

Contextuality is also a feature of Pat's conceptualisation of what constitutes 'mental illness'. Pat speaks of reactions to stress; he has also referred to some turoro as 'mucking around', 'being crooks' etc. This view may itself indicate a notion of those turoro so defined as taking 'time out' from the context of 'reality' and responsibility.

I: Is it more likely to come out when they're in that state, that situation, do you reckon?

P: Yeah. Because their sort of awarenesses have become sort of heightened by the state they're in, it opens up a lot more doors inside eh.

Um, and these things come out. Whereas, when we're here and now like this, and we've got all of our inhibitions and that still around us, we ain't gonna say such things. And them where they are there, it's sort of a higher sort of awareness. And um, just ripe for plucking, or you know ripe for things to come out, before they come back down.

I: So you see when they're like that that they're more open about their reality?

P: Yeah. Their reality is their reality eh. You know whether it's schizophrenic stuff, or neurotic stuff, or psychotic stuff. Their reality is their reality. Some of it is relevant, some of it is you

know they're just acting up eh.

I: Do you believe in things like schizophrenic and neurotic and psychotic; do you believe in those sort of labels?

P: Nah.

I: So how do you see it? When people come in that are labelled as schizophrenic or neurotic or psychotic, how do you see those things?

P: Um, well the majority of it the bottom line of it is stress eh; and the sort of mechanisms that they have for coping with such stress. I reckon for most of those people they don't have the sorts of mechanisms, and they will go overboard; um, and it all goes out one way instead of like how we might approach it. And, and all of those labels are system labels.

When they come, ah, when these people come to me; ahm, I s'pose I sort of get the idea of um, here we go again. Boy this is going to be hard, now what can we do about it. To me those labels are irrelevant eh. And the question is more like, 'what can we do?'

In defining the 'illnesses' of turoro in terms of 'higher awareness', as 'ripe for the plucking', as indicative of 'it open(ing) up a lot more doors inside' and of 'it all go(ing) out one way', and as relating to 'stress', Pat is utilising images of turoro and their issues that, while not specifically contrary to Western notions of mental illness, do not quite fit within these.

It is difficult to create a coherent picture from Pat's eclectic use of imagery. However the symbolism of his imagery may perhaps be translated thus: the bottom line, that which results in most turoro

becoming identified as 'mentally ill' is stress. That is, it is the impact of outside events and forces which results in their admission to institutions like Manawaroa. Within the model 'Te Wheke', a stressor may be a lack of sustenance for one or more of the dimensions or tentacles. A stressor may also refer to the ingestion of materials which prove poisonous or indigestible to the octopus; an event particularly likely to occur if the organism is starved of appropriate sustenance.

According to Pat's description, a distinguishing feature of those who become identified as *turoro*, is that their stress "all goes out one way." To revert to the image of Te Wheke, the stress is taken in and becomes lodged in one tentacle or aspect of a tentacle, rather than diluted through an even distribution amongst the tentacles, and eventually excreted out of the system. The stress builds up and eventually escapes through the particular tentacle(s) or aspect(s) there-of, much like a boil or weeping sore. If the area is left alone, it may continue to seep, while producing more toxins which results in the maintenance or increase of pressure. Alternatively, the pressure may be relieved as toxins spread throughout the system. If, however, the sore is squeezed at the appropriate time, when it is ripe for the plucking, the toxins may be removed and the head, which produces the toxins, destroyed. Thus, an open wound is exposed. The exposed area is highly sensitive. However, exposure is necessary for the healing process and it is this exposure which allows the wound to be treated directly. If exposed to the appropriate elements, the wound will be able to gain sustenance through its openness, as well as through the system.

Pat upholds the *mana ake* and *rangatiratanga* of *turoro* by acknowledging that "their reality is their reality." He makes no attempt to judge or pathologise this reality. As previously noted also, this is a feature of *tikanga* Maori, designed to maintain

mana, through respect for the multiplicity of whanau, hapu and iwi narratives.

Once again Pat rejects diagnostic categories and Western notions of mental illness by categorising them as "system labels", and therefore, "irrelevant." Although not explicitly stated by Pat, it may be that 'the system', being the colonising and oppressive system, is, in fact, seen by Pat as a noxious substance. Also, once again, Pat identifies and aligns himself with turoro; "here we go again. . . what can we do about it."

Although Pat does not describe himself as fluent in te reo Maori, he finds it easier to express and dialogue about some things in Maori than in English. When Pat uses the word 'whakaaro' in the following extract, he is talking about ways of thinking, seeing and understanding.

P: . . . Um, when I was up in Manawaroa, some of the people that were in there were, I s'pose, off their trees, and they'd be um just talking eh. I think about half a dozen of my clients would talk about things, all in Maori. In the lounge or the TV room or where ever, where ever we felt like talking about such things. Umm, some of them, some of them were just um, were being crooks eh. They knew that nobody else in there knew what they were talking about and they were just jabbering on a whole lot of rubbish. And then as soon as I'd front up, and start to korero to them, they'd switch off, and say, "Oh."

So some of them were just mucking around. But for some of them, Maori was their first language. And it's a whole lot easier to talk in Maori than what it is to talk in English; about oh, just some of these whakaaro and things. Cuts out a whole lot of the sort of

syntax.

Pat uses the term 'crooks' to refer to the behaviour of some turoro who were "jabbering on a whole lot of rubbish". This is likely to be a reference to the incoherent or incorrect use of Maori or pseudo-Maori language. It may be that some turoro who did not speak Maori language, or who were not relatively fluent in the language, were using a Maori-sounding gibberish in an attempt to sustain dimensions such as wairuatanga, mauri, whanaungatanga and ha a kui ma a koro ma. Alternatively, or in addition, the use of a 'Maori-sounding gibberish' may represent a way to distance one-self from the Western system and provide a barrier to intrusion from individuals within it.

Despite not being fluent in te reo Maori himself, Pat states that "it's a whole lot easier to talk in Maori than what it is to talk in English; about oh, just some of these whakaaro and things. Cuts out a whole lot of the sort of syntax." The term 'whakaaro' is commonly translated into English as thoughts. More correctly, 'whakaaro' refers to ways of thinking and understanding; it refers to frameworks of understanding and may be seen as akin to the notion of a discursive framework. The advantage of Maori language for Pat, is that, despite some lack of fluency in the language, it provides a means for the clear and succinct expression of whakaaro Maori, concepts and understandings not readily communicable in the medium of English language.

Pat's professional practice is guided by his personal value base. His professional development and practice extends from the integration of his lived experience with whanau and marae based learning.

Pat identifies wairuatanga as a central value, and karakia as a practice extending from this value. The karakia Pat says are frequent and

informal.

Pat also identifies family messages or a creed which he says guide him in his work. The basic principles of this creed seem to be caring for others (manaakitanga) and service for the benefit of others (aroha).

P: Um, I suppose the guidelines that I use are just from my own experiences, life experiences. Uuum, some from people that I've talked with, umm, and all of these sorts of umm ah, you know when you think you've got it all sussed and you've just got your world into place? Umm, these ideas and beliefs and all of these things. And then you go to a hui, and you find out new ideas, and it jumbles the whole lot up again. From all of those sorts of things, you know, from those shared ideas and reshuffling of those things that I thought were, were ah. . .

I: So, so you talk about values, values that you've just got, that. .

P: Inherited. That I've maybe learnt and amended. Umm, I think the values that I got from Mum and Dad are the basis of it all eh.

I: And then, what are those main sort of values? That are deep inside you, that you draw on in your work?

P: Ahhm, I s'pose wairuatanga, or God. I know that God is there and I know that God is where we all come from. I don't know if I'm religious. . . or I, I don't go to church. But I say a lot of karakias whether it's on my bike riding to work every day, or grace, karakia before we go to bed, go to sleep. Uhm, and that's why we're here. About my family and my wife.

Mmmm, I haven't had to think about this before.

Umm, there's something like "do unto others as you would have

them do unto you.” So, “You're just as important to me as I am important to me.” Sometimes to the detriment of myself. Oh, I know, “Whatever you do, as long as it's for somebody else and not for yourself,” then, ah, it's all right eh.

I: Are these the sayings that you grew up with?

P: Yeah, yeah. And I've found it's worked eh. Um, yeah, it's worked wonderfully. Up at Manawaroa I do things, oh I do my job, and then ah, the patients would go away, and then show up a couple of weeks later with this and that and lunch and kai. And all of these sorts of things, they just come back eh. So ah, yeah that was a good one to work by, it still is. I s'pose those are, those are the main ones. And they've worked well eh. I think I live by different ones, but I work by those rules.

I: Umm, when you talked about, wairuatanga, umm, that's important to you, like you karakia for your whanau, and that.

P: And whatever else comes along.

I: Do you karakia for the people that you work with, or with them?

P: Yep. Sometimes we use a karakia together. Other times maybe I'll slip it in somewhere along the line, or even before. But generally, at the end of the day, just say one big one for, to take in everything and tomorrow. Ahm, but normally, I'm pretty generous with those karakias.

I: When you karakia with clients, is it Maori and Pakeha clients?

- Mainly Maori.

Pat is speaking of whanau, hapu and iwi narratives which have

their origins in ha a koro ma a kui ma. These are narrative which represent negotiated storylines of self, other and the nature of the world, and which both draw from and create coherence within particular discursive frames. Hui processes particularly work from a principle of the juxtaposition and negotiation of storylines to form coherent and cohesive narratives. Hui, by definition, are shared events involving aspects of the hinengaro dimension, such as korero (discussion) and often whakawhitiwhiti korero (discussion leading to enlightenment) and whakawhiriwhiri whakaaro (changing ways of thinking and understanding). The outcome of a successful hui includes a sharing of experience and perspectives, collective production of meanings, and the integration of new or modified meanings into individual, whanau, hapu and iwi narratives. A good hui produces narratives which incorporate all the dimensions of Te Wheke. In the process of a successful hui, there is an intermingling of:

- wairuatanga; as the hui moves with the flow of the wairua, through karakia and ruruku, through inspiration.
- ha a kui ma a koro ma; as kawa, tikanga and tradition is practised and performed, through the use of waiata, ruruku and whakatauki, through the venue and meeting of descendants.
- mauri; as the mauri of participants is drawn on and intermingles with that of others, as the mauri of the venue and environment is felt and added to by attendees at the hui, as te reo Maori is spoken and sung.
- whanaungatanga; in the process of hongiri and hariru, mihimihi and whakawhanaungatanga.

- tinana; in the attention to the provision of food and drink, warmth, the freedom to sleep and wake as required, often the undertaking of physical exercise or activity.
- whatumanawa; in the engagement and expression of love, grief, anger, joy whether through formal and ritualised means.
- mana; through attention from participants to tikanga, the following of correct processes in order to maintain and enhance the mana of the group and individuals within it, through acknowledgement of wrongs, experience of whakamaa and through this the restoration of balance in relationships, through individual and shared contributions.
- hinengaro; through the engagement of the mind, intuition and affect, through kororero, whakawhitiwhiti korero, whakawhiriwhiri korero and consequent gains in maramatanga and matauranga.

Pat identifies wairuatanga as a central value. He is not sure where his spirituality fits in relation to religion, but he does not see himself as primarily religious. The process of karakia before engaging in any significant activity, karakia (grace) before meals and karakia before sleep and at the start of the day is associated with 'traditional' as well as 'post-Christian' Maoritanga.

The use of karakia in a traditional way, that of placing or dedicating oneself and others within the 'flow of the wairua', that is entry to the 'spiritual system', is particularly relevant to Maori in view of our common origins and thus shared spiritual system. This differs from the notion of prayer as, for example, a pleading for intercession. Karakia tend to be engaged within an active and ongoing process, and there is not necessarily an attitude of

supplication associated with the process.

Pat's perception that "God is where we all come from" is consistent with Maori cosmology, in which we descend through Ranginui and Paptuanuku, Tane and Hine-Ahu-One, from Io Matua Kore, than with the notion of a mortal Adam and Eve created by and distinct from an immortal God (or than with a Darwinian perspective). Pat also identifies the wairuatanga dimension as primary, and his conception of this in terms of Maori cosmology, in his comment ". . . and that's why we're here." This may indicate that Pat has a conception of self and others as secondary to, or performing within the 'flow of the wairua'.

Another theme in Pat's narrative of healthy selfhood, is expressed by Pat initially in biblical terms, "do unto others as you would have them do unto you." However Pat amends and extends this to, "you're just as important to me as I am important to me. Sometimes to the detriment of myself" and "whatever you do, as long as it's for somebody else and not for yourself." This 'value' relates to the notion of service to others as primary in the maintenance and enhancement of mana, and hence of the strength and survival of whanau, hapu and iwi. It is also clearly functional within a communal, as opposed to individualistic, social structure which depends on a system of reciprocal service and obligation.

Pat's next comments, "And I've found it's worked. . . it's worked wonderfully", pertains to the formation of ongoing links through the process of reciprocity. The participation of turoro, or ex-turoro, in a reciprocal process with Pat (through providing koha, often in the form of kai) is illustrative of several things. It indicates that, for turoro concerned, there has been a return to healthy functioning, at least in terms of aspects of the whanaungatanga and mana dimensions (and of course related to

these are implications for other dimensions). In bringing a koha, in the form of food or service, to Pat, there is a re-balancing of mana relationships. The ex-turoro are actively engaging in the maintenance and enhancement of their own mana. In addition, they are keeping warm for themselves and their whanau the links made with Pat, and through Pat, with his whanau. Thus, they are playing a significant role within the whanaungatanga dimension; and gaining sustenance for this dimension in the process. In providing for the maintenance and enhancement of their mana, the ex-turoro are, of course, also gaining sustenance for their wairuatanga and mauri dimensions. In engaging directly in reciprocal relationships, they are also living the ha a kui ma a koro ma as expressed in whakatauki such as 'na to rourou, na taku rourou, ka ora ai te iwi' ('with your food-basket/contribution and my food-basket/contribution, we will all survive/be well').

Pat's comment that "I think I live by different (rules), but I work by those rules" is perhaps indicative of the place these rules, as aspects of tikanga, have in Pat's approach to therapy.

A definite aim of Pat's approach is to keep Maori out of the system as much as possible. He likes to focus on pushing turoro to take responsibility for themselves and their actions, to be active. Much of Pat's work involves activity, doing things with turoro and promoting and fostering their involvement in independent activities which are extraneous to their role as psychiatric patients.

P: You can give them jobs to do, make them work. And like being hooked into the system, the system treats them like patients, and sort of forgoes all the rights that they ever had. And for some of them, you know they're glad to be in an environment like that, all the decisions are made for them and they just do what they're supposed to do. But that idea of making them work, or you

know, making them take responsibility for the stuff they want.

Pat appears to view the role that turoro tend to have within the 'system' (the role of patient) as unhelpful, and possibly injurious to them. In attempting to make turoro contribute in some way, such as through work, Pat is once again advocating engagement in a reciprocal processes. This is a means of protecting the mana of turoro and thus their health.

Encouraging turoro to take responsibility is an aspect of rangatiratanga. In effect, Pat is encouraging them to reclaim some of their rangatiratanga.

Work and joint activities are common Maori methods of providing healing and teaching. Maori, particularly the elders, will often teach young people by encouraging them to perform work related tasks, a form of guided experiential learning. It is also common for afflicted or vulnerable young people to be 'taken under the wing' of an older person. In this process, the young person accompanies their 'mentor,' works alongside them and performs tasks under their guidance. These processes serve to promote whanaungatanga, mana and rangatiratanga in that the young people are able to make a contribution.

Pat's distrust and dislike of that which he sees as 'pathologising' and 'dependency inducing' aspects of the system he works within are clear in the previous extract and in the following one.

Pat believes his practice is guided by a type of 'inbred knowing', which may be related, in Pat's conception of it, to observational and experiential learning. He has had some conflict with his supervising social worker about the differences in their approaches. Pat appears to operate by making a large time and energy investment in particular

turoro, working with them, strengthening them, setting them on the track to leave their status as turoro behind, saving them from the system.

In the latter part of this extract, Pat speaks of an implication of his view of himself as a helper. The implication is that he does not have the right to probe, to be intrusive, to make turoro uncomfortable. Once again, he trusts his feelings to decide what is and is not appropriate, rather than holding to an external set of criteria of appropriateness.

The term 'baldheads' used by Pat is a colloquialism for Pakeha. Paddy and Whetu, referred to in the extract, are Pat's brother and sister-in-law.

P: When they get brought on the ward, I do this first part eh.
Just let them get to know me, maybe take them around the place, around the unit. Umm, some of them I've taken a bit different, eh. Depending on the situation, I'll go to them. Or in other situations, I'll wait for them to come to me.

I: Why?

P: I don't know. But somewhere in that process of meeting them, and saying hello to them; something just ain't right. It just feels umm, not right. And then I just let them know, "My office is down there, if you want to get in touch with me, you can do it like this." Maybe, it's the person's. . . maybe they're still feeling angry or whatever about coming to such a place, and they've got steam and heat to burn off. But 98 percent of the time, we come back together again, whether it's by their choice, or whether we feel it's all right and I go to them.

I: I s'pose if you're spending more time in the pool room, it's more likely that you'll get to talk to them.

P: That's one of the other issues that my boss brought up to me. "You spend too much time with so and so." Um, and it came out that. Like I spent three months solid with this guy, and when they leave, they leave. Actually he brought that up to me a few times eh. That I was spending too much time with particular clients. I think after a year he came up to me. And I says, "No, no, no, no. I spent three months with that guy, four months with that girl, three months with another guy. And all of those people have been discharged from our service and they haven't been back in, in a year. Now as far as I'm concerned, I'm doing a good job. Those people aren't coming back in. And they seem to be, carrying on their life from where they left it. Now to me, I'm doing my job. But I notice from your stand, you see this guy, you see those three guys, once a week for half an hour each; and you've been here for five years; for the past five years, once a week for half an hour. Tell me, who's doing their job? You're keeping them in. You're keeping them hooked in." Um, and then he went off on a tangent.

I: Why did you select those particular people as needing that extra from you? Were they Maori?

P: Yes. Now these ones that I spent the time with, they were young, eh. Oh, these were the ones that were all just out of school, and yeah, they weren't into the system. Cause once they're hooked in, they're hooked in, eh. And I think this is what happened to these people that my boss was seeing. These three guys they were all young ones, maybe early 20's; and they were all hooked in, they were there to stay. Um, so I s'pose I didn't want this to happen to these young ones, to get stuck in such a system with people, um, with staff that were blimmin' baldheads eh. I s'pose I had a different sort of understanding about what it is to help people. I s'pose from a Maori point of view, and whanau, and all. . . that we have and on the maraes and that; the understanding of helping people is sort of a hands on way of life; so we don't need any

theories or things like that to tell us how to look after people, it's sort of inbred. Oh you see other people doing it.

Umm, I remember when, before we had our baby, we were going to ante-natal classes. And me and my wife and Paddy and Whetu, we were all in the same ante-natal class, and they brought in a new baby into one of these classes. And they were passing this baby around, and all of the other pairs, and they were all going, "Oh, oh, isn't it cute." And it come to us. And we're going, "What's so cute about this?" And handed it on. "It's a baby." And all of the others in our group and that were all clucky and all of that sort of stuff. And we, my wife's a Pakeha, but she's had a lot of nieces and nephews, just like we've had a lot of nieces and nephews and cousins and kids around us all the time. So you know, that was nothing new. Whereas for these others, it was "Oh, oh, careful you don't do this and careful you don't do that," and that sort of shone up the sort of difference between our groups at the ante-natal class. I mean, "Shit, this is only a baby," and the sort of things that go on in the hospital system. But you know those basic sort of ideas about, how to hold a baby, how to look after somebody. You don't need to put on any airs to look after somebody, and you know to do it properly. You don't need to dress up in collar and tie to do that. We know all about that stuff. That was like falling off a log eh. Just picking up on the clues, "Oh, oh, I better leave that area alone", or "I'd better, yeah, I'll push it again, and have another go."

I: What sort of things would make you think, 'I'd better leave that area alone'?

P: Person switching off. Or you know sometimes when you talk to people and you can see a sort of, a curtain close. Yeah like that. Or maybe, people get fidgety in their seat and that. Then just

leave it.

I: In psychological theory sometimes they might think that when a person gets uncomfortable it means that they're near something important, and so they'll probe more and deeper. You don't do that?

P: No. I guess I just turn a lot of it around on me. And when I feel uncomfortable. . .

I: Is that sort of respect?

P: I s'pose so. It's something I haven't really thought about, or you know from that point of view. It's something you just know; there's some things you just don't do.

Pat greets new turoro, provides opportunities for them to "get to know him", perhaps shows them around the unit, provides for any needs they may have or displays hospitality in some way. The initial process that Pat describes is one of mihimihi (which may also be an a component of whakawhanaungatanga), awhina and manaakitanga.

In situations where "it just feels umm, not right" to engage further than an initial greeting with new turoro, Pat will not attempt to impose his presence on them until they either come to him, or "we feel it's all right and I go to them." This is a recognition of and respect for the rangatiratanga of turoro.

In his approach to new turoro, Pat is careful to respect their wishes. He attempts to avoid any intrusiveness in his approach. Pat's choice of words ". . . something just ain't right. It just feels umm, not right" and ". . . we feel it's all right and I go to them", may indicate processes occurring at the whatumanawa, mauri, hinengaro (ahua aspect) and/or wairuatanga (matakite aspect) dimensions. In times

past, and on formal occasions in the present, the intentions and readiness of newcomers to meet peaceably with the home people might be assessed through the formality of the wero (challenge). In this context, Pat is using other means to assess the readiness of turoro to interact with him.

Pat's attention to mihimihi processes and the provision of manaakitanga also indicate the offering of a reciprocal relationship. In allowing turoro to get to know him, he is inviting them to allow him to get to know them.

Pat is particularly concerned about young turoro, those who have not yet been fully 'hooked in' to 'the system'. Once again, his belief that 'the system' is unhelpful or actively destructive for Maori people is evident. Pat sees his job as preventing them from getting 'hooked in' and, in a sense, as saving them from 'the system'.

Pat's approach to the young Maori that he works particularly hard to 'save from the system', has not been appreciated by his 'boss'. Conflict has arisen over the belief of the (Pakeha) boss that Pat was spending too much time with particular patients, (this is another facet of the 'boundary issues' referred to earlier) and over Pat's belief that his way was more effective (in terms of his goals) than the weekly appointment approach favoured by other staff.

Pat's way of working, spending time with and 'doing things' with turoro is reminiscent of the operation of tohunga. It is not uncommon for tohunga to have people spend time with them, just be with them, for a matter of hours, days, weeks or months, then send them on their way. Although the focus of attention may not be on the 'patient' for most of this time, and there may be little in the way of overt 'treatment' sustenance is being provided for different dimensions such as hinengaro, wairuatanga, mauri, mana and whanaungatanga.

Pat considers his way of working to be 'sort of inbred' and a result of observational learning within the whanau and on the marae. He gives an example of ante-natal classes to illustrate his conception of differences between Maori and Pakeha methods of learning and teaching. In essence the differences evident within Pat's illustration relate to learning by watching and doing versus learning by instruction.

Pat notes that "there are some things that you just don't do." This is likely to be an expression of the tikanga associated with interpersonal relationships, particularly in respect of the provision of manaakitanga and concern for the maintenance of balance in terms of mana relationships that is an essential element of this.

Pat describes his preferred way of working with turoro in terms of a partnership model. A partnership between himself, turoro and whanau. The purpose of the partnership is to share resources, and ideas, to work together to find out what the problem is and what can be done to rectify it.

P: Yeah. How can I help you to help you? Sometimes uhhm; what people perceive to be the need and what is the actual need, sometimes that needs a bit of straightening out sometimes. I really like working with whanau eh. Umm, I think in short burst, not long bursts eh. In a burst that takes as much as two cups of tea, some lunch, and a smoke, or a couple of smokes. Yeah, I think it takes about an hour, all o' that. Something to chew on eh. Rather than just sitting, sitting here talking on and on...that's the way I'd rather see it, eh. As a sort of partnership. You know, like, 'How can we figure this out?'

I don't know whether it's on purpose or not, but you know how you keep a track of how you're going, ummm, what are the sort of flags or what are the sort of ideas that sort of jolt, that you sort of throw in the middle. More I s'pose, leading questions. I don't know where that comes from.

Pat is describing a collaborative partnership based on working towards a common goal. It is likely that practice of the partnership will involve different members of the group (Pat, turoro and whanau) taking on different roles in working towards the goal.

The process that Pat describes is akin to the process that takes place in many hui. That is, thoughts and ideas are contributed into the pool, and people take them in and consider them. The ones that 'jolt', that is those that provoke a reaction from a dimension such as the hinengaro, whatumanawa or wairua, may be revisited and developed.

The technique of posing questions is commonly employed in hui and other Maori communications as a means of raising issues in a non-confrontational manner which allows others room to respond or not respond in a variety of ways.

Pat sees turoro, their problems and their contexts from an holistic perspective. During the interview, I was continuously trying to 'pin him down', to encourage him to separate out components of what he was talking about and to put labels on them.

The models that Pat refers to in this extract include a model of health which has been popularised by Maori psychiatrist and academic, Professor Mason Durie. The model identifies four cornerstones of health and well-being for Maori, these are; te taha wairua/the spiritual side, te taha tinana/the physical side; te taha hinengaro/the thinking and feeling side and te taha whanau/the family side. According to this model, if these four sides of people are adequately provided for, people will be healthy. If one or more of these sides is weak or not adequately cared for, people will be unhealthy in some way.

The following stories, told by Pat, sum up his experiences at Manawaroa and illustrate the abusive nature of the environment as he experienced it, and as he perceived other Maori as experiencing

it. The stories also illustrate the effectiveness of Pat's ability to communicate whakaaro without resorting to compartmentalisation.

I: So do you see a lot of the problems that clients have, as having a wairua component, or having something to do with wairua in it?

P: Mmm, you know of Mason Durie's, ah, those four corner stones?

I: Yes.

P: I think because they all tie in so well, that is why we, why I don't sort of um, make differences or see any differences in, in people who come to see me, eh. You know, I don't sort of compartmentalise um health how these Western medical people do.

I: So you don't go, oh this is a taha wairua problem, and this is a taha whanau sort of angle, and all that? You just sort of do it.

P: I just take it all eh.

I: And that's prob'ly why it's quite hard to talk about it all eh. Whereas I'm trying to get down to that nitty gritty, compartments, and that's what I'm asking you to do.

P: I sat in with one of our other social workers doing assessment; this fella walked in the door and he was miserable ah. I just looked at him. And she asked this fella, "And how are you today?" Ridiculous question eh! And just looking at him, oh shoot. Ka aroha bro.

. . . And um, one of the other people that sort of ended up at Manawaroa, he come as a friend of somebody else. Ahh, the friend

got seen to, and then all of a sudden, he was just, "Oh, what about you." And he got seen to also. And he just went to help this other guy eh. And this fella says, "Fuck off. I'm not goin' with you fellas. I just come in with that fella." And they went to take him, and he started whoofing them. And I'm walking past and I saw all of this going on inside there. And I went up and said, "Hey, what are you fellas doing? Cut it out!" And the staff backed off, 'cause this fella's giving them a hiding eh. And I said, "Hey Bro, what's the matter?" "Oh these fellas wanna do something to me", "What are you doing up here?", "Oh, just visiting, I come up with that other fella" "What the hell. . . ?"

The conflict between my attempts to divide, distinguish and compartmentalise the different dimensions of Te Wheke for the purposes of this study, and Pat's pragmatic observation of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of doing so, emphasises again, the partiality of this research process.

Pat's story of the social worker asking "And how are you today?" is an illustration, not just of the privileging of the cognitive and verbalised over the emotional and non-verbalised, but also of the invalidation by this process of the whatumanawa and hinengaro. The common Western need to validate communication through verbalising it, has the corresponding effect of invalidating non-verbal communication. There is an implied insistence that one should stop feeling and start talking about feelings in order to get well. This is antithetical to Maori conceptions of healthy selfhood and well-being. Certainly, a professional who engages in communication within the whatumanawa dimension may be placing their 'professional boundaries' in question.

Pat's perception of 'the system' as dangerous for and violent towards Maori is

also illustrated in his second story.

P: This fella, tried to commit suicide. And it was over a girlfriend of his, ex-girlfriend. And umm, he was sort of, what is it, blackmailing?

I: Emotional blackmail?

P: Yeah, sort of thing eh. And he tried to do himself in a couple of times. And she come back. And that was all right. And then she'd leave and he'd do the same. Finally did the same up here and ended up in hospital. Um, young Maori guy. And um, come out of hospital, and he came over to Manawaroa. I'd been to visit him in hospital and he was out of it eh. I dunno, "Who the fuck are you?", "Oh kia ora, oh I just work over there. And somebody told me I gotta come and see you." "Fuck off." And then oh a couple of days later he was fine, and I did see him again. And um, well pretty cool reception eh. Um, and I was just leaving and his family were out the door, all having a smoke out in the stairwell. And um, oh I was just talking to them, and they sort of filled me in on what was going on. Um, and the guy stayed in the unit, and we just sort of saw each other in passing. Ah, and for about a week or so, I didn't see him at all. And then he come and approached me and we just talked about what was going on, why did this happen, um "What ya want to go and do a stupid thing like that for?". Umm, and then we sort of put it into a context, um, like "You've tried this three times already and it hasn't worked. So maybe that's because it wasn't s'posed to happen." And I sort of went like; "Now I bet, if you went and got your pills, took a overdose, go and hide out under those trees out there. All you'd have to do is just lie under those trees over there and nobody can see you. Umm, take a whole lot of pills, go and lie under that tree, go under that bush. Nobody will see you, and then you can just kick the bucket then." "Oh, but they'll see me walking across." "Go at night time. It's easy. Nobody will see you. And then you can get under there and do yourself away." "Oh yeah, yeah, yeah." "But with all the luck that you've been having trying to do yourself away, that gardener probably left his rake and he'll go and find his rake and find

you at the same time.” And then we both cracked up laughing. And then; “Yeah, maybe you're right. So then what can we do?”. Umm, I don't remember what we figured out to do. But he left a coupla weeks later. And um, he come to a sort of understanding with himself that the ex-girlfriend is all right, I'm all right. Umm, maybe we should have a rest and sort of have a go at something else. Um, that was about two and a half years ago. Oh before that girlfriend, he was already married and had a kid up in Auckland. And he left that one to go down south for her. Um, and so that his relationship with his wife had finished eh. And that was one of the things that he was running away from. And then being rejected by this other one. Oh and the rest, he was just packing a sad. You know.

The characteristics of Pat's intervention in this case included:

- Te tapu o te mahunga me te hinengaro

Pat demonstrates respect for the tapu of the young man's thoughts and feelings. He does not attempt to enter this area until invited to by the young man.

- Depathologising

Pat rejects clinical descriptions which may be applied to the young man's behaviour. His characterisation of the young man as 'just packing a sad' (and earlier characterisations of turoro as 'crooks,' 'just clowning around' etc.) constitute a rejection of clinical descriptions and categorisations, and the use of an alternative non-pathological discourse.

- Humour

One effect of Pat's use of humour is further depathologisation. Humour tends to normalise the situation as opposed to emphasising and possibly escalating the crisis nature of the situation. Pat exaggerates the young

man's failed suicide attempts and suicidal inclinations to the point of ridiculousness.

- Wairuatanga

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Pat indirectly locates the failure of the young man's suicide attempts within a wairuatanga context. The word Pat uses to convey his meaning, 'luck', is open to a variety of interpretations. Thus, although Pat is not trying to impose a particular spiritual framework, he is conveying the message that a power greater than the young man is telling him he is not meant to die yet, and will probably not allow him to die yet. In English the power may be called 'luck', 'fate' or 'God', in Maori the power is known as wairua.

PAT'S VISION

Recent years have seen major reforms and restructuring in Government funded health services. Pat is keen to see changes in the way the system provides services to Maori. At the time of the interview, Pat had just moved into a job as Maori liaison officer with the Community Health Service. He and other Maori employees in the service have joined forces to provide support for each other and to develop ideas and proposals regarding developments in future health services for Maori.

P: Um, in our community mental health service all up there are six Maori employees. Our manager, two cooks, two nurses and myself. So out of a community mental health service that has, ah, maybe 100 employees tops, six of those are Maori. Ah, this particular, this 'Maori Liaison' job is part of the 'Manager Community Mental Health', part of his advisory office. And I get shared around all of the eight teams. These other Maori people in our service, most of them work together in our rehab. (rehabilitation) facility. The two cooks, and two nurses, all work at the same place. Our manager, well I suppose we work at the same place.

Ah, one of the things we're trying to re-implement is our whanau support group, within our service eh. And we're going to try to get these other workers from the other part of the mental health service. There's two or three Maori workers at Manawaroa, we want to see if we, how we can get them to come in our group. We used to meet as a whanau group before these structural changes started happening; but as soon as they started everything was up in the air, nobody knew what was going on and they stopped.

We just put in a proposal, I just put it in to get typed up today, about starting up a bicultural programme at our rehab. facility down there. Umm, and that went into our manager, umm, it should go through, but umm, yeah.

The introduction of policies favouring deinstitutionalisation, and the provision of community-based mental health services has resulted in structural changes which some see as opening up avenues for the establishment of less clinically oriented mental health services. In addition a recognition by health officials of the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi and of culture generally, has resulted in some increase in Maori appointments to positions of responsibility in the health sector, and some recognition in some quarters of Maori approaches to mental health and illness.

Pat is hopeful that the six Maori employees in the community mental health service will be able to re-institute their whanau support group. Whanau support and a whanau structure appears to be seen by Pat as an important and fundamental element for Maori employees as well as turoro.

Pat has submitted a proposal for a bicultural service. It is perhaps too much to hope for a Maori service. It is also notable that none of the Maori employees have positions of clinical responsibility in regard to turoro.

When Pat first began working at Manawaroa he attempted to bring about some changes designed to make the environment and program there more beneficial for Maori turoro. These attempts were unsuccessful, but within the team of Maori workers in the service, a new and wider vision is developing. With the benefit of his previous experience, Pat is under no illusions about the motivation for any changes from the system's point of view. He believes they are interested solely in the financial benefits of any Maori initiatives. Pat's own motivation does not appear as straight-forward. He is interested in developing the proposal and handing it to the most appropriate people to manage. He is clear that Rangitane, as the local tribe, have a right to give input, and even have control over what goes on in their rohe, including the proposed program. In recognising this and providing for Rangitane kawa in any initiative, he is respecting the mana of the iwi tangata whenua.

P: . . . Ah, I put it to some of the O.T. (occupational therapy) staff before that, um, about the programmes that they provided. Was there any cultural input into their, the programmes they provided? "Oh no, we can't have that."

I: What sort of cultural input were you thinking about?

P: Oh, you know, ah; did they have any, like did they provide anything that made these other cultures of people, and these Maori even, anything that was centred into their needs.

I: Do you mean things like, kete making and bone carving, that would reinforce their sense of identity as well?

P: Yeah. But, "Oh we can't have that."

I: Did they say that in those words?

P: Yeah. "We can't have that." And this was when I first started there and

was just looking around the place. Bad eh! And back then, I wanted to see about getting a student to have a look at Maori cultural input into such, into O.T. (occupational therapy) practice up there. And my boss for whatever reason says, and I had that proposal all written up too, but ah, "Nah..". And at the moment we're making moves to try and rectify this whole, um, this whole issue. Not only about counselling, but treatment too, assessment, treatment. Ah, by this bicultural programme. Based on Whare Marie in Porirua. The kaupapa is Maori, have local iwi in behind them, kawa Ngati Toa. Waiata, whaikorero, whakapapa in their programme. And clinical stuff alongside.

I: How would you run your bicultural programme here?

P: Well the idea would be the same. The kawa and that would be of here, Rangitane. 'Cause, we need their support for it. But um, oh, it should be all right eh. Even if Rangitane want to do it themselves, we'll help eh. Or even if we say, "Hey we've got an idea here. If you want to pick it up and go for it, we'll help you." Yeah so I think that's how we're going to address it; by getting a bicultural programme up and running. Where the kaupapa is Maori, and anybody else that would like to join it can take part, can participate.

I: What would be the advantages of that programme for you and for the clients?

P: From the clients' point of view, at the moment there are no other options for treatment in our area. You know, it's either Manawaroa, Lake Alice or Te Awhina.

I: Why is it important for there to be Maori approaches, specifically Maori?

P: Hasn't there always been? Ah, there never. . . Maori ways of doing things have never been given opportunity in this political climate, this financial climate. But you know, with these health reforms and that everybody's looking at the dollars, and suddenly realising that, "Hey there are Maori people out there, if we can provide a service that is, will ah, that's more sensitive, more appropriate to

their needs, then maybe they'll come." But it's sort of by default eh. And it's all driven by these reforms which is driven by their blimmin' pocket.

Pat begins this account by recounting stories of his experience which illustrate both the extent to which 'the system' has been entrenched within Western cultural perspectives and practices, and the extent to which Maori perspectives and practices have been excluded. This provides a context for the resistance that Pat anticipates a bicultural service will encounter, and his consequent justification for it.

In Pat's vision, a kaupapa Maori service would operate according to tikanga. A feature of a tikanga based approach would be the recognition of iwi mana whenua and their prerogative to determine what role they would wish to take in a kaupapa Maori service, and adoption of their kawa within the service. The iwi mana whenua have a particular relationship with the land and waters within their rohe. They are the ones with specialised knowledge of specific areas, knowledge which may have implications for both the nature of the issues facing clients of the service, and for access to a variety of activities and resources which would provide sustenance for the various dimensions within Te Wheke model of healthy selfhood.

Another feature, as indicated in Pat's previous narratives would involve a whanau-based structure and processes.

Waiata, whaikorero and whakapapa are elements which can provide sustenance for the wairuatanga, ha a koro ma a kui ma, mauri, mana, whanaungatanga, whatumanawa, hinengaro and tinana dimensions.

Pat sees Maori ways of doing things as having been present throughout but not recognised or given an opportunity to be practised within 'the system', including the health system. In other words, the rangatiratanga of tikanga Maori, in relation to health and other areas, has not been respected. There has been concern that Maori are not accessing

Western mental health services voluntarily, most coming involuntarily through the courts. There are two implications of this for Western service providers. Firstly there is the argument that the failure of Maori to attend Western mental health services has led to a tendency for Maori to present in acute states. Maori non-participation in mental health services has been blamed on a lack of 'appropriate' services for Maori. The failure of Maori to access mental health services has also been associated with increased social problems and with a need for increased expenditure on Maori patients. However, despite the fact that Maori proportionately constitute the largest single group of mental health consumers, and the contention that Maori tend to present in 'acute states' leading to a need for compulsory incarceration and/or treatment, research indicates that Maori turoro, in fact occupy an average of half the bed days that non-Maori do. Thus, if the interests of mental health providers in having a plentiful clientele are to be served, it is vital to keep Maori in, and encourage Maori to access, mental health services. From the perspective of the Western system, Pat sees the current political and financial climate as providing an opportunity for Maori to develop services which will appeal to the Western system in terms of accessing Maori clients. From a Maori perspective, Maori services may effectively enable Maori to reclaim some degree of rangatiratanga.

Pat is passionate about the need for culturally appropriate services to be available for Maori. In the following dialogue, his perspectives on how and why a bicultural program, developed by and for Maori, is necessary are further illuminated.

I: What is it about a specifically Maori sort of programme for treatment that will make it better for Maori, what are the important things, why do they need it, why is the Western thing not meeting their needs?

P: Why is the Western style institutions not meeting their needs? Oh, I s'pose the, if the patient inside the institutions is Maori, they can't meet their needs. But as a Maori worker in the institutions, they can't even meet my needs eh. But the opportunity is

there now for us to provide the service to meet our needs, in a way that we'd like them to be met.

I: How would they be met, what are the important things?

P: Like I was saying, the kaupapa will be Maori eh. So how it runs, the things that will dictate the direction and all of that sort of stuff will be Maori. Ahh, whoever the people are that will run it, will be Maori. But just because the kaupapa is Maori is why, it will just meet those needs that just ain't being met.

I: So from that, are you saying that for Maori clients, mental health clients, part of their need for getting well is to have their Maori identity?

P: To have that, ae. To be re-linked. You know, to have the opportunity to be that, re-linked, to grasp all of these things that are, ah, really important. You know, the opportunity will be there.

I: Okay. What will that do for them? Why is it so important for them?

P: Um, I know what it is, but I'm just trying to think of the words. . .

I: Are there any Maori words that can explain why their Maoriness is so important for their health, and mental health? What are the underlying things?

P: It's all of the things. But you know, I s'pose it's just to give the opportunity back to the people just to be Maori, eh. In a Maori environment.

. . . Yeah, I s'pose they'll get the opportunity for Maori to feel good about being Maori. And if it does get off the ground, I wouldn't be surprised if the other parts of the service, the mental health service, if Maori people don't go there, if they just go to this service.

In essence Pat is talking here about mana Maori. While Maori people and services are under the mana of a Pakeha system, the consequence will inevitably be oppression for Maori. Thus, Pakeha systems and the whakaaro

8d Pat's Story

in which they are founded, are by definition, unhealthy for Maori. The only way to provide a healthy service for Maori is through a mana Maori service.

CONSENT FORM.

The study which you are being asked to participate in is concerned with counselling. In particular, I am interested in the way in which Maori counsellors who are working in Western-style systems and organisations see counselling.

WHY IS THIS STUDY BEING DONE?

The study will complete part of my masters degree in psychology. The area of Maori counselling is the topic because I believe it is an area of importance to Maori as a group, to Maori counsellors and to Maori clients. At present a number of Maori counsellors are working in Western style institutions, sometimes in relative isolation from other Maori counsellors. Many are developing their own styles of counselling to fit in with the demands of the system and their own ethos. While there is a lot of information on Western counselling theories, techniques and training for those who wish to train or develop as counsellors within Western models, the same is not true for those who want to use specifically Maori models. A pilot study for a proposed training course for Maori counsellors in the Waikato region found unanimous support for the idea amongst Maori already working as counsellors. They saw a need, for themselves and others, for access to more information, training and support. A first step in the development of this and other initiatives to do with Maori counselling is the gathering of information.

It is hoped that this research will serve two purposes; completion of my thesis, and a useful contribution to the strength of Maori counselling and counsellors through an analysis of where we're at now.

WHAT IS INVOLVED?

If you agree to participate in this study, I will interview you and ask you a number of questions about the work that you do. I will be interested in finding out your views on five main areas to do with your counselling work. These areas are:

1. How you see your role as a counsellor and as a Maori counsellor.
2. How you view your clients.
3. What you do in your practice as a counsellor.
4. Why you do what you do in counselling.
5. How the system you work in affects the counselling experience for you and your clients.

I will also be asking a few factual questions about you and your background.

The study will involve one or two initial interviews which, with your permission, will be taped. Following this you will have the opportunity to read 'your story', (the summary of your views as you expressed them), to suggest changes if there are bits you are unhappy with, and to view the

final product. You may also receive a copy of your story and a summary of the results of the study as a whole if you wish.

The time input from you may be several hours maximum, and will be arranged at your convenience.

YOUR RIGHTS;

If you agree to participate:

- you still have the right to withdraw at any time.
- you have the right to refuse to answer any question.
- your anonymity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym, and the specific organisational branch which you work for will not be named.
- the taped interviews will be confidential to you and the researcher only and will be erased after the transcripts are completed.
- you have the right to view and change any part of 'your story' before the final draft.
- you have the right to ask questions, make suggestions etc. at any time.

If you are prepared to participate in the study please sign below.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Catherine Love

I agree to participate in the study outlined above.

Signature: **Date:**

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Name: (chosen pseudonym.)
2. Age:
3. Gender:
4. Iwi Affiliation/s:
5. Hapu Affiliation/s:
6. Childhood Residence:(who brought you up and where prior to age 13.)
7. Present Residence:(who do you live with now and where.)
8. Main Language spoken in the home in childhood:
9. Present fluency in Te Reo:
What does it mean to be fluent in Te Reo Maori?
Do you understand Te Reo?
10. Involvement in Maori organisations and activities:
(eg. MMWL, Culture groups, Marae committees, Tangihanga, Hui, Family gatherings.)
11. Involvement in other organisations, activities.
(eg. sports, professional organisations, committees.)
12. How would you describe your comfort with Tikanga Maori?(Maori ways/customs/etiquette)/Are you comfortable in Maori situations?(On marae, at tangihanga, around other Maori)
13. How would you describe yourself in terms of Maturanga Maori? (Maori knowledge)

INTERVIEW CHECKLIST.

Perceptions of Counselling

1. Describe your work to me-----Where does counselling fit in?
2. What does the word "counselling" mean to you?
3. What does the word "counsellor" mean to you?

Training, experience, background.

4. How did you come to be doing this work?
(eg. formal training?)

Role Perceptions.

5. How do you see your role as a counsellor? and as a Maori counsellor?
6. Do these differ when you're counselling a Maori client? If so, how?

7. Who are you accountable to in your counselling work?
(eg. yourself,client, organisation,whanau, community.)

Perceptions of Clients.

8. Who are your clients?
(eg. do they come from a distinct group?--Women,men, Maori, Maori women, Maori men, secondary school children, Maori school-children...?)
9. How do your clients come to have you as their counsellor?
(referral processes.)
10. How do you identify Maori clients?
(if applicable.)
11. Do you classify your clients in any way?
(eg.on paper or in your head, by tribe, where from, familiarity with Maori concepts etc.)

Process and Practise.

12. Do you think your approach is different with Maori and non-Maori clients?
- 13.In what way?
- 14.How does Te Reo fit into your work?
(eg. Do you use Te Reo in counselling? How?)
- 15.What is the process you go through when you meet your clients?/What do you do when you first meet your clients?
(eg. whakawhanaungatanga, establishing rapport,establishing credibility/authority, boundaries, goal-setting, ground rules.)
- 16.Is there a particular way in which you prefer to work?
(eg. in groups, individually, with the whanau, in long/short bursts.)
- 17.Do you have a preferred personal style when you're counselling?
(eg. Do you like to be directive or non-directive?;like a friend or a parent/grandparent?)

Theoretical base.

(ie. What are the beliefs, theories, rationale which underpin the practice?)

- 18.Why do you do what you do?...processes described in c.
(eg. You said earlier that you usually ----- with clients; why do you do that? What are your objectives in counselling?)

Structural Issues.