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Decolonising Mahi: A Kaupapa Māori Theory and practice framework

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KARAKIA

Waia te kawa

Ko te kawa nui

Ko te kawa roa

Ko te kawa a Ara-huta

Te ahunga

Te aponga mai i Hawaiki

Ko Rua-ma-titi

Ko Rua-ma-tata

Ko Tangotango arahu

Ko te Wai-hi

Ko te Wai-roa

Ko te toetoe kei tu taha moana

Ko te harakeke tapu a Māui

Whakamaua kia tina

Whano whanake

Tu mai te toki

Haumie, hui e, taiki e

Na Pei Te Hurinui Jones

ABSTRACT

The thesis is a narration of a process to reclaim theoretical space where everyday acts are once again regarded as mahi and as māori. It is a philosophical decolonial examination of both Western theories and notions of occupation (activities, acts, work, deeds) and Kaupapa Māori praxis of mahi. The aim of this Kaupapa Māori study is to examine the relationship between 'colonisation' and 'occupation' and specifically, how this relationship contributes to both the reproduction of colonialism and decolonisation of everyday life for Māori peoples. This provides a basis for formalising the Māori Occupational Therapy Network's theorising of a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi and practice model.

Kaupapa Māori methodology provided a foundation that privileged tikanga and mātauranga through the study. Wānanga as theory making, writing to understand, publishing to disrupt and building antiracist collectives were the Kaupapa Māori methods utilised. These methods supported a critical examination of the links between occupation and colonisation. Specifically, notions of 'occupation as a series of separations', 'occupations as having', and 'occupational justice' were examined for their utility in reproducing and maintaining colonialism. A taxonomy of human occupations in settler-colonial states captured the observations and is outlined alongside emerging Indigenous and critical occupational therapy and occupational science literature.

This study used a 'thesis with publications pathway' to collaboratively disrupt colonial reckons about occupation and carved new spaces to share how decoloniality is generated and transforms everyday tasks of life. Guidance for antiracist, Tiriti-based praxis is designed into a *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* and a practice framework called *Ngā Mahi a Rehua*.

The study was tasked with noticing, examining and explaining how the 'colonised' struggle is lived and transcended in the minutiae of everyday occupations. In so doing, it also highlighted the links between institutionalised dehumanisation practices within occupational therapy and occupational science, and monocultural theorising of occupation. Despite this, the study also highlighted how an Indigenous way of being, is transformative and necessary. Evidently, despite the chronic, multi-layered, and shape-shifting nature of 'being colonised', mahi is a potent and abundantly accessible site of decoloniality.

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Many have supported this kaupapa either in part or its entirety. Whānau, Indigenous theorists, practitioners and researchers, Tauīwi allies, global friends and colleagues have been at the forefront of my mind throughout this research process in the form of remembered guidance, expertise and desire to do well by them. They include:

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GLOSSARY

The translations provided here are from everyday usage, hapū understandings, pūrākau, personal communications, online and print dictionaries. They make sense in the context of this thesis and their meanings are much broader and deeper than what is rendered here. Where required, macrons have been used rather than double vowels. As well, many Māori words are placed alongside English ones, and while not an ideal nest for Māori words, they are in a way a reflection of current everyday local vernacular.

aka	vine
aroa	love, compassion
awa	river
atua	gods
haka	dance, perform haka
hapū	kinship group, clan, pregnancy
haukāinga	local home community
Hine-Moana	goddess of the ocean
hononga	join, bind, connect
hui	gather, gatherings
inoi	pray, beg
Io	Supreme god, Source energy, centre of growth (of plants)
iwi	confederation of sub-tribes, bones

kaiako	teacher
kaiako matua	head teacher
kaitiaki	guardian, trustee, custodian
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face conversations
karakia	invocation
kare-ā-roto	emotions, inner thoughts
kaumatua	male elder
kaupapa	topic, issue, plan, programme
kawa	protocol
“Kia ora, kia ora”!	an idiomatic expression of happiness
kīwaha	colloquialism
Kōhanga Reo	pre-school run on kaupapa Māori principles
kōrero	speak, conversation, talk
kōwhaiwhai	ornamental painting depicting flow of mauri
kupu	word, utterance, statement
kūpapa	refers to Māori people who supported British army in 19 th century New Zealand land wars
Kura Kaupapa Māori	primary school run on kaupapa Māori principles
mahi	labour, work, doings, employment, make, perform
Mahia	Do it, Make it so
mana	prestige, special life force, authority
manaaki	caring, support, show respect
manaakitanga	hospitality, generosity, care
mana motuhake	autonomy, independence, self-government

mana wahine	mana pertaining to woman
mana whenua	territorial rights, jurisdiction, authority
māori	ordinary, natural
marae	traditional gathering space of a hapū
maramataka	Māori lunar calendar
mātauranga	knowledge, wisdom, understanding, knowing
mātauranga Māori	knowledge and practices from Māori ancestors
Matike Mai Aotearoa	a collective for constitutional transformation based on the Tiriti o Waitangi
maunga	mountain
mauri	life force
‘Me āta wānangahia’	‘Let us carefully consider’
moana	ocean
motu	island, nation
ngahere	forest, bush
Ngaio	Myoporum laetum – a small tree
Ngā Kete o te Wānanga	The Baskets of Knowledge
ngako	essence, substance
noa	unrestricted state, free from conditions
oriori	lullaby
Pākehā	British settlers and their descendants
papakāinga	home base, village
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
pepeha	formulaic expression of hapū identity proverb

pōwhiri	ceremony of welcome
puna	source, spring
pūrākau	ancient stories
Rā-ā-Wairua	day of spiritual rituals and practices
rāhui	a temporary prohibition
rangahau	research
rangatira	leader, chief/chieftainness
rangatiratanga	self-agency, right to exercise authority
‘Rapua te kurahuna’	‘Seek that which is hidden’
Rehua	The Priest god, Sirius
reo	language
riwai	potato
ruruhi	female elder
taiao	Nature, the natural world, environment
Tāne	Progenitor god, god of forests and birds
Tangaroa	god of the ocean and sea creatures
Tangata Tiriti	refers to settlers who arrived by way of te Tiriti
Tangata Whenua	refers to Indigenous Māori collectives
tangihanga	funeral ceremony and customs
tāniko	finger weaving
taonga tuku iho	gifts from ancestors to be handed on
tapu	sacred state or condition
tauirā	learner
Tauīwi	Non-Māori settlers

tautoko	support
Tāwhiri-mātea	god of wind, rain, clouds, snow
Te Ao Mārama	The world of light
Te Kore	The great nothingness, realm of potential being
Te Po	The great darkness; a time of growth
tika	correct, true, just, fair
tikanga	agreed law, correct process
tikanga advisor	usually a Māori elder who provides advice to non-Māori
tino rangatiratanga	self-determining
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	the legal and Māori text of the Treaty of Waitangi
tohu	sign, symbol
tohunga	expert, priest, healer
tukutuku	ornamental woven wall panels
tūpuna	ancestors, grandparents
mahi toi	art
wāhanga	section, part
wahine	woman
wai	water
waiata	song, sing
Waikato	tribal region in the North Island invaded by British military
wairua	spirit, soul
wairuatanga	spirituality

waka	transport vessel, boat, canoe, car
waka jumper	a pejorative phrase that refers to change in loyalty
wānanga	deliberate, meet and discuss, careful consideration
whakairo	carvings
whakamana	value and uplift others
whakamāoritia	make Māori, translate into Māori language
whakapapa	framework of connection based on genealogy
whakarite	prepare, organise, arrange, sequence
whakarongo	sense, intuit, hear, smell, feel
whakataukī	proverb
whakatauākī	quote
whakatikangia	to straighten up, edit, make right
whakawātea	to clear, free, purge
Whakawātea hinengaro	to build critical consciousness
Whakawātea kōrero	to clear conversation that is not aligned to our values
Whakawātea tangata	to create social spaces that include people that manaaki
Whakawātea tinana	to clear harmful situations or engage in finding solutions to situations that impact basic necessities of life
Whakawātea wāhi	to clear and free spaces (physically and spiritually clear)
Whakawātea whatumanawa	to increase awareness of and release the grip of trauma
whakawhanaungatanga	to build and create kinship, relatedness
whānau	family grouping, give birth
whanaunga	relative
whanaungatanga	kinship, relationship

Wharekura	secondary school college run on kaupapa Māori principles
whare tupuna	meeting house of marae
whare wānanga	university, places of higher learning
whāriki	floor covering
Whiro	god of evil, new moon

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“Kia mau tonu ki tēnā, kia mau ki te kawau mārō. Whanake ake! Whanake ake!”

(Stick to that, the straight-flying cormorant!)

Maniapoto, circa 16th century

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Waipa te awa

Ko Kakepuku o Kahurere te maunga

Ko Unu te tangata, Ko Hine-Mārama te wahine

Ko Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga ngā hapū

Ko Ngāti Maniapoto te iwi

Ko Matakaro te whenua

Ko Te Kōpua te marae

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

This thesis with publications is an explication of parts of a wānanga; a wānanga that is lifetimes long and continues past the last sentence. This explication is an expression of Indigenous theorising and agency from a collective of Māori occupational therapists that comprise the Māori Occupational Therapy Network. The PhD provided a means for the Network to formalise our thinking, work out concerns and share and develop expertise. It also allowed us to recentre and privilege mahi, as opposed to occupation, in order to develop a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi and practice model that specifically supports practitioners to facilitate decolonisation of everyday life.

However, like many institutions occupational therapy and occupational science are racist, slow to evolve and have done and continue to do real harm (Davis & Came, 2022) of which some examples are critically examined in the thesis. This PhD supports a burgeoning scholarship within the profession that critically examines Western notions of human occupation that the profession is founded on and continues to reproduce. Colleagues from Black, Indigenous, People of Colour [BIPOC] communities and critical allies agree that human occupation is far too radical an idea to be captured well by a profession that privileges and reproduces only a Western praxis of human occupation. In decolonising human occupation, we necessarily reach beyond the profession to carve out humanising areas for ourselves as expert researchers, practitioners, theorists and contributors to our beloved communities and nations.

This thesis is also a record of our continuing transformation, building of antiracist community and disruption of business as usual in the profession that has occurred during and in response to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and global pandemic. To that end, the PhD has reminded us that we already have the tools for our decolonisation. Such reminders occur through the deliberate privileging and centring of our epistemologies and mātauranga Māori as well as critical examination of how racism is transmitted by way of everyday occupation. Under-theorisation with regards antiracism and career long battle against privilege has ensured that antiracism has been consciously designed into the developing Kaupapa Māori theory and practice model. The study is an attestation too of survival and strength in the face of constant and sometimes overwhelming racism that continues to have real career impact and consequence.

This thesis with publications study is in essence a critical narrative of a decolonising process that centres the reclamation of mahi as taonga from a Western health profession that purports to having expertise in the observation, analysis and prescription of human occupation

for health. Yet, decolonisation is praxis. As such, the research question is *In what ways do everyday occupations maintain and transform colonialism?* The aim of this Kaupapa Māori study is to examine the relationship between ‘colonisation’ and ‘occupation’ and specifically, how this relationship contributes to both the reproduction of colonialism and decolonisation of everyday life for Māori.

Research objectives:

1. Kimihia te mana mai ra ano – explore and analyse mātauranga Māori that relates to the whakapapa of occupation, mahi and tikanga.
2. Āta tirohia te whakarere o te tāmitanga – critically examine Western theories and notions of occupation and explore the philosophical links between colonisation and occupation, and critically examine occupations particular to colonisation to highlight everyday mechanisms that produce and maintain colonialism.
3. Hanga he whare hou hei hiki i te tāmitanga – develop a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi that will contribute to the development of a practice framework of mahi.

Methods utilised were wānanga as theory making, writing to understand, publishing to disrupt and building antiracist collectives. The methods supported a critical examination of the links between occupation and colonisation and how Western notions reproduce and maintain colonialism.

The Chapters

The PhD comprises five phases and 14 chapters. The phases illustrate a characteristic of wānanga, which is movement through phases or stages and in this case, they are *Conscientisation*, to *Developing the means to see*, *Examinations*, *Disruption* and finally *He Pua*.

Conscientisation phase introduces the study and is closely related to Freire's concept of conscientização (1970) which is concerned with critical analysis of theories of oppression, and structures. *Chapter Two* introduces who I am particularly who I am in relation to this study and the realisation that this study needed to critically examine theories and models. Wānanga is explicated as not only the overall process of this study but has been a constant process both formal and informal in my life. I discuss several important impacts and events that occurred during this study including the global pandemic, racist targeting of the Māori OT Network that peaked in 2022, becoming a Tiriti o Waitangi educator, schism and rebuilding the Māori OT Network and joining with global and Indigenous collectives. This phase includes a chapter written for an edited book which is based on my work with under-graduate occupational therapy learners and new graduate mental health and addictions sector professionals (*Chapter Three*):

Emery-Whittington. I. (in press). Decoloniality in practice: preparation and readiness. In M. Curtin, M. Egan, D.C. Da Cruz, R. Galvaan, T. Parnell, Y. Prior & K. Sauv -Schenk (Eds.). *Occupational Therapy and People Experiencing Illness, Injury or Impairment (OTPEIII) 8th Edition*. Elsevier.

Developing the means to see phase concerns the need to sharpen critical examinations skills while privileging respectful methods to research m tauranga in relation to mahi and occupation. This phase therefore explicates w nanga as research methodology and method, outlines the research question, aims and objectives. I describe changes to the research process due to impact of Covid 19, privileging of mahi, and the necessity of developing methods for writing about racism while being a target of racism. Importantly, decoloniality as praxis is highlighted through research processes of writing and reading i.e. 'if I bring reverence to my writing, people will feel it' (*Chapter Four*).

Examinations phase is concerned with the profession's colonial treatment of human occupation. This phase consists of *Chapters Five-Eight*. *Chapter Five* examines occupational therapy and science's colonial treatment of occupation as 'separation', 'having' and (a-historical colonial) justice. I examine occupation as a continuum and utilise speech as occupation specifically how racist speech is racist deed. *Chapter Six* is a literature review and critical examination of the notion of occupational justice as it is treated and taught within the settler-colonial state that is New Zealand. The chapter also centres the critique of occupational justice alongside an Indigenous critical examination of the links between occupation and colonisation. It was important to open up critical examination of the well-resourced and much-loved notion that is occupational justice and engage in the (colonial) need for its popularity. The chapter was published as an article in the *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy* and is the second publication for the PhD:

Emery-Whittington, I. G. (2021). Occupational justice—Colonial business as usual? Indigenous observations from Aotearoa New Zealand. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 88(2), 153-162. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F00084174211005891>

Chapter Seven is where I examine occupations that characterise colonisation using a taxonomy of colonial occupations in settler-colonial spaces. The taxonomy describes and outlines occupations that both maintain and reproduce colonialism as well as occupations that resist and transform it. A brief critical examination of occupational therapy literature regarding theory and antiracist praxis is included. A summary of *Chapter Seven* plus explication of a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis interview tool, is in press (*Chapter Eight*):

Emery-Whittington, I. (in press). Decoloniality in action: A Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis of colonization. In S. Baptiste, & S. Shann (Eds.) *International Handbook of Occupational Therapy*, Taylor and Francis.

Disruption phase was initially not planned for. However, as the study progressed it became clear that racist targeting of myself as an Indigenous woman by persons in my profession, needed to be examined, managed and planned for ending. Consequently, *Disruption* phase is about holding the line and supporting BIPOC colleagues while building antiracist community. Two co-authored publications that highlight Indigenous, BIPOC and ally connections, strategies and collaborations for ourselves as networks of healing and for our respective communities and spaces. *Chapter 10* is also the fourth publication for the study; a co-authored article prepared with Māori occupational therapist and colleague Georgina Davis, that interrogates internalised oppression. The premise is that to end racism, we must know where it is especially when it resides within:

Emery-Whittington, I. & Davis, G. (2023). Rapua te kurahuna: An occupational perspective of internalised oppression. *AlterNative*, 19(4), 762-770.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/11771801231206209>

Chapter 11 is a co-authored chapter with Jaime Leite Jnr (Brazil) and Sheela Ivlev (US) which discusses under-theorisation, fledgling expertise in practice and evaluation of antiracism in occupational therapy. The chapter is the fifth publication of the study which seeks to amplify networks and affinity groups that centre BIPOC knowledge and practices. It outlines a five-step antiracism process that centres collectives and calls for multisite, institution collaborations:

Emery-Whittington, I., Leite Junior, J. & Ivlev, S. (2023). Antiracism as means and ends. In M. Ahmed-Landeryou (Ed.) *Antiracist Occupational Therapy: Unsettling the status quo* (pp. 119-136). Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Further publications that have been written during the course of the PhD and relate to *Disruption* and *Developing a means to see* phases – but are not being submitted as part of the PhD – are listed here:

- Emery-Whittington, I. (in press). Undoing coloniality: an Indigenous occupation-based perspective. In T. Brown, S. Isbel, L. Gustafsson, S. Gutman, D. P. Durette, B. Collins, T. Barlott (Eds.) *Human Occupation: Contemporary Concepts and Lifespan Perspectives*. Routledge.
- Emery-Whittington, I., Draper, L., & Gibson, C. (2023). Connections, disruptions and transformations: Decolonizing qualitative research. In S. Nayar & M. Stanley (Eds.) *Qualitative Research Methodologies for Occupational Science and Therapy* (2nd ed., 30-51). Taylor and Francis.
- Ahmed-Landeryou, M. J., Emery-Whittington, I., Ivlev, S. R., & Elder, R. (2022). Pause, reflect, reframe: Deep discussions on co-creating a decolonial approach for an antiracist framework in occupational therapy. *Occupational Therapy Now*, 25(2), 14-17. https://www.caot.ca/document/7758/OT%20Now_Mar_22.pdf
- Phenix, A., Valavaara, K., & Emery-Whittington, I. (2022). Introduction, In Egan, M., & Restall, G. (2022). *Promoting Occupational Participation: Collaborative, Relationship-Focused Occupational Therapy*. Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists.
- Goza, M., Came, H., & Emery-Whittington, I. (2022). A Critical Tiriti Analysis of the recruitment and performance review processes of public sector chief executives in Aotearoa. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 46(1), 52-55. <https://doi-org/10.1111/1753-6405.13171>
- Ramugondo, E. L., & Emery-Whittington, I. (2021). A Decolonising Approach to Health Promotion. In Kessi, S., Suffla, S., Seedat, M. (Eds.) *Decolonial Enactments in Community Psychology* (pp. 191-211). Springer. https://doi-org/10.1007/978-3-030-75201-9_10
- Stop Institutional Racism & NZ Public Health Association. (2021). Briefing paper on the forthcoming National Action Plan against Racism. STIR & NZ PHA and Auckland University of Technology.

He Pua phase signals the end of the critical examinations of colonialism as expressed in everyday occupation and also takes a rest from the battles and struggles of disruption. He pua refers to a blossom, flower and seed, and in this case, refers to the early theorising for the *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* (Chapter 12) and practice model called *Ngā Mahi a Rehua* – the

tasks of Rehua (Chapter 13). *He Pua* is the phase that privileges mātauranga, pūrākau and Indigenous treatment of mahi. It also places to the side for a moment, the struggle and activism that is part and parcel of being Indigenous in this profession. This phase concludes the PhD and includes a call to complete the planned research wānanga with the Network, grow expertise in decolonial leadership and redirect training attention to the global majority.

A note about the publications and links

As previously mentioned, the five publications embedded in this PhD study support three particular phases *Conscientisation*, *Examination* and *Disruption*. Table 1 highlights where the publications appear in the study.

Table 1

Phases and chapters of the thesis

Phase	Introduction	Conscientisation	Developing the means to see	Examination	Disruption	He Pua
Thesis Chapter	One	Two-Three	Four	Five-Eight	Nine-11	12-14
Publication		Chapter Three		Chapters Six and Eight	Chapters 10 and 11	

As much as the publications are part of the study, they are purposefully written to particular audiences which means that there are times when I write directly to BIPOC colleagues and critical allies. The writing and tone becomes more like a dialogue and conversation which befits a study that centres global south voices and utilises ‘writing to understand, publishing to disrupt’ as method. Therefore, it is useful to note the conversational

style used for Chapters Three and Eight and 11, and that the collaborative use of 'we' when referring to the authors in Chapters 10 and 11.

In keeping with a decolonising approach to research methods, writing is less of a report of a research process and more of a conversation via text fully expecting, building and strengthening relationships. As such, between each research phase rests a poem, and one phase includes a story about tāniko and pepeha. In addition, a karakia or quote which has been placed at the start of a new phase and have been chosen because they support the kaupapa and energy of each particular phase.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the thesis that is an explication of a wānanga that emerged in part from within the Māori Occupational Therapy Network. The research question and objectives are declared as well as a description of how the thesis chapters including publications are presented and sequenced. Importantly, this first chapter sets up the subsequent chapter which describes the socio-cultural-political terrain that the thesis emerges from alongside further explication of who I am in relation to this wānanga at this time. Finally, this chapter carves and makes space for Indigenous reckons: that mahi is a platform for connection and reconnection that is healing, liberating and decolonial.

Karanga karanga ki a Ranginui e tu iho nei
Karanga karanga ki a Papatūānuku e takoto ake nei
Kia rarau ngā tapuwae a tangata
He putanga ariki
He putanga tauira
Kia hora pai te ara kupu matua
Na Tāne, na Rongo, na Rehua
Ka puta ki ngā hau tapu a Tāwhirimatea
Ka puta ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama!

E Rongo, whakairihia!
Turuturu o whiti, whakamaua kia tina, Tina!
Hui e, Taiki e!

CHAPTER TWO: Conscientisation Phase

Introduction

Conscientisation phase outlines background factors that underpin the study and includes a brief discussion about events that subsequently shaped the study. The biggest impact on the study has been the inability to complete the research wānanga with Māori occupational therapists for which ethics approval was gained in August 2021 (NOR 21/49). However, the Covid pandemic forced the closure of my marae as the planned venue and with strict guidelines for gathering, I decided to complete the initial theorising by myself and hold research wānanga post-PhD.

The second major impact on the study has been an increase in racist targeting of the Māori Occupational Therapy Network during 2020 and 2021. For context, I co-founded 'The Network' in 2005 and continue to co-convene regular peer supervisions, workshops and seminars. These are free to attend and during the pandemic The Network expanded from Tāmaki and Waikato based support, to nationwide and international virtual hui. Although, racist targeting is a constant in my career it became increasingly public and defamatory over 18 months during the study. With guidance and support from the supervisory team, The Network, global colleagues and Taiwi allies – and in keeping with the research question – I pivoted the research to include closer examination of how racism is transmitted with regards to racialised targeting of the Network. Through reflexive journaling and conversation, I noticed two constants throughout my life; struggle and wānanga. Similarly, this research is a site of struggle to carve out a space for Indigenous theorising and wānanga, and a wānanga informed by struggle.

The background to this study is structured into the following sections: socio-cultural events and challenges, my background, wānanga as constant, struggle and 'healing while in hell'. The current chapter includes a publication written for the edited book *Occupational Therapy and People Experiencing Illness, Injury or Impairment (OTPEIII) 8th Edition* called 'Decoloniality in practice: preparation and readiness'. I included this piece because it describes my role as educator and the struggle against privilege in occupational therapy and science. The book is aimed at under-graduate and newly graduated occupational therapists and I included stories from teaching over the past three decades. I begin this chapter with a brief description of key socio-cultural events and challenges that occurred during the study period of June 2019 – May 2023.

Socio-cultural events and challenges

June 2019 was only three short months following the Christchurch terror attack on the Al Noor Mosque and Linwood Islamic Centre on March 15. The New Zealand Government moved quickly to ban semi-automatic weapons and the role of social media platforms in the attack (live streaming, sharing and rise in disinformation) was being actively scrutinised. D. Trump was the President of the USA and in December, in Wuhan, China a novel coronavirus was detected. New Zealand like many countries entered lockdown in March 2020 following declaration that the virus constituted a serious worldwide risk. Much of the education sector moved to online platforms but many sectors had to shut down or radically change their work. New Zealand secured vaccinations, tests and protective equipment with relative ease compared to many nations around the world. Public health protections like vaccinations, mask wearing, gathering limits and social distancing were mandated.

Across the motu, hundreds of marae closed or had restricted opening for tangihanga depending on public health guidance and regulations (New Zealand Government, 2022) and many hui were cancelled, delayed, or adapted for online platforms. Waikato University, once revered for its Māori academic leadership, lost most of its pre-eminent Māori scholars including Linda Tuhiwai Smith due to inability to deal with unresolved institutional racism (E-tangata, 2020). An open letter was published by seven non-Māori academics in *The Listener* attacking mātauranga Māori, which attracted national and international condemnation (Dunlop, 2021). Lorde released a mini-album in te reo Māori for Te Wiki o te reo Māori / Māori Language Week 2021 attracting world applause and fierce local debate. Unprecedented, unseemly rhetoric about reo access, classism and effort took place online while waiting lists for te reo Māori programmes grew.

Back in the US, Mr George Floyd was fatally brutalised by four police officers in Minnesota in May 2020 sparking worldwide protests with many uniting in support of the Black Lives Matter movement. Some institutions used – or performatively used – the moment to reckon with their privilege and stance on oppression and equity. Less than a year later, J. Biden was the new president of USA which was followed by a fatal terror attack on Capitol Hill by supporters of D. Trump falsely claiming election fraud (Sardarizadeh & Lussenhop, 2021). In 2022, the US Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade.

My home city Auckland went through a third lockdown starting in August 2021 affecting schools and businesses for several months. At the same time concern grew about the marked increase in disinformation being shared online and amongst religious and ideologically extreme organisations. In February 2022 an occupation in protest of vaccinations and pandemic mandates occurred outside New Zealand parliament and required police intervention to end it. Worldwide, inequities increased while corporations' profits and shares soared (Corlett, 2022; Sultana, 2022). In addition, discourse about climate change moved from 'climate change is upon us' to "adverse impacts from human-caused climate change will continue to intensify" (Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change, 2023, p. 7). Indeed, the 2023 Auckland Anniversary weekend floods and Cyclone Gabrielle in March 2023 demonstrated how fatal, damaging and wholly unprepared the populous and government were in the face of real time climate change.

The Waitangi Tribunal report on stage 1 of the Health Claim WAI 2575 was released in July 2019 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2023) which coupled with a previous sector review, contributed to infrastructure change. With the dis-establishment of the District Health Boards, two new entities were created: Te Aka Whai Ora Māori Health Authority and Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand. It is still unclear how this structural change will impact the health of communities and

health service provision. The local occupational therapy profession responded to the pandemic, health sector changes, as many professions did with reviews of competencies for practice. However, the main institutions made no official response to the mosque attacks in Christchurch, Black Lives Matter, or the public racialised targeting of Māori occupational therapists. Globally, BIPOC collegiality and strengthening of relationships grew across the profession with new affinity groups and alliances between the groups and amongst critical allies. Encouragingly, international colleagues and affinity groups demonstrated genuine care and respect for Māori.

My background

I was born in central Auckland and lived in Grafton and Grey Lynn until primary school. In 1980, our family (my parents and older sister) moved to live at *Homai College for the Blind* in Manurewa, South Auckland. Dad is from Feilding, of Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Maniapoto, and Ngāti Matakore iwi. Mum is from Palmerston North, of Rangitāne, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāi Tūmapuhia-a-Rangi, Rongowhakaata and her father's people were Scottish (Isle of Arran) and English (Cornwall).

Growing up at Homai College as one of the few sighted children I was enculturated into a home/school/rehabilitation environment, and it felt natural to choose occupational therapy as a career. Homai College had playgrounds, tall trees, tennis courts, 33 pianos, an indoor heated pool and bowling alley, gymnasium, bicycles, an orchard, Guide Dogs and friendly staff, a duck pond with bridge and lots of open fields. I wandered safely around the campus and often into the massive kitchen to visit the staff who were mostly Māori and Pasifika women who fed me and let me attempt their word and number puzzles. A lot of jokes, aroha and wisdom were shared over the staff room table with 'the boss' kid'. I missed my Manawatu-based

grandparents and whānau, yet the village life at Homai College campus was something I knew was very special.

Wānanga as constant

At fourteen years old, my sister and I started to accompany Dad to total immersion wānanga reo, run by Te Wānanga o Tuakau ki Waikato. The wānanga were held over eight days and, English was made tapu for the week. Ruruhi and kaumatua of the haukainga supported kaiako school teachers who gave their holiday time teaching across age and experience. I loved the balance of challenge and tautoko and where ‘being Māori’ *just was*. Wānanga to my teenaged self, was about reo revitalisation, tough challenges, hours and hours of practice, early mornings, karakia, new and old waiata with the guidance of a community (whānau whānui) who believed in the kaupapa and fun.

For the past five years I attended monthly wānanga and hui at my marae Te Kōpua to learn hapū based wisdom, knowledges and tikanga. The wānanga is known as Te Whare Kōrero o Te Kōpua and has run for 22 years – Friday evening to Sunday afternoon. As a hapū, Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga strengthen whakapapa connections, share iwi, hapū and whānau stories, mātauranga, theories and strategies of our decoloniality and in so doing can – for a time – block the colonial gaze. Wānanga whānau have supported this research through sharing of tikanga and karakia (for writer’s block!) and role modelling of strength and endurance.

I am 47 years old and have been either a student or an educator for all but five years. I enjoy the chaos of not knowing, the moments of beginning to figure out and the joy of sharing those as an educator. However, at school, with whānau, and throughout my career, I was simultaneously encouraged and mocked for ‘being Māori’ or wanting to strengthen my reo

Māori – as are many Māori – which necessarily causes and feeds a search for truth, balance and peace. This is perhaps where the personal wānanga began for me.

Like many Māori, my experience of mainstream schooling was confusing and often racist except for two senior years spent at Hato Hohepa / St Joseph's Māori Girls' College where being Māori was the taken-for-granted way of being. At 18 years of age, I began undergraduate occupational therapy school. The lack of action by educators to aggressive regular public interrogation of my place on the course, different assessment expectations, and accusations of reverse racism was profoundly shocking. For Māori who qualify and practice in Aotearoa, we must first survive colonial education and various 'professional' workspaces, ill-prepared for the epistemological universe of Te Ao Māori. Consequently, as a new graduate, I began part-time teaching primarily to support taurira Māori through the programme. I still teach as a guest, special, and senior lecturer in undergraduate and post-graduate courses in occupational therapy, mental health and addictions. These roles include meeting and supporting taurira Māori, advising school and curriculum development and Tiriti education.

Struggle

In 2005, Māori occupational therapists and students began to gather regularly. We met at my home, on campus with taurira Māori, in clinics and conference venues. Known initially as the 'Māori OT peer supervision', we began to see the power we had by merely existing and how that posed a challenge to mainstream institutions that assumed they could serve every practitioner's needs. We insist on autonomy and have no ties to colonial institutions, often 'working off the sides of our desks'. We refuse naming and claiming by colleagues outside of our group and turn down requests for support unless the benefits to Māori are clear. We

regularly ponder ‘How is daily life improved by occupational therapy?’, ‘What do we as Māori occupational therapists need to know?’ and ‘How could research be done?’.

Our hui privilege tikanga and witnessing, so are safe spaces where whānau can share goals and challenges. Often stories about racism experienced during training and work are shared. In her book *Right Within*, Minda Harts identifies the workplace as an everyday site of racism that impacts and threatens careers (2021). Māori practitioners experience withholding of opportunity and denial of contribution but continue to desire to centre being Māori despite colonialism. Consequently in 2012, I enrolled in a Kaupapa Māori research paper at the University of Auckland, attended rangahau workshops at Waikato Tainui Endowment College and began sharing literature and learnings with the Network, which evolved from the peer supervision group. We collectively desired to privilege our own epistemologies, theories and models of practice not just because we couldn’t find them within the extant Western notions and theories. Rather, we realised that despite years of ‘occupational justice’, ‘bicultural’ rhetoric and ‘promises to do better’, the profession had not evolved beyond its own coloniality. Our desire to wānanga is also fuelled by our deep belief in our own expressions of healing as opposed to therapy. Indeed, “...it is inconceivable that our vibrant epistemic legacies, which served our ancestors so well, could so abruptly be rendered of no value” (Cooper, 2012, p. 71).

As previously mentioned, initial plans for this study included facilitating research wānanga with peers to co-develop a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi and practice model. I planned to host the community of interest at Te Kōpua Marae, however in June 2020, we like many marae had closed and our own monthly hapū wānanga moved to online platforms. In addition, the racialised targeting from within the profession led to myself and three other Māori occupational therapists seeking legal advice for defamation. Journal reflections at the time showed that I was discussing those matters at every supervision. I was asked by one

supervisor to consider if the continuous “toxic sideshow of racism” was neither coincidental nor a sideshow, but in fact the foreground of my career.

‘Healing while in Hell’

It is an interesting thing to research and write in a scholarly fashion about colonialism and racism while experiencing them in real time. Harts (2021) deployed the phrase ‘Healing while in Hell’. Racism still shocks me and I never want to feel resigned to violence but it does mean I live in a state of hypervigilance. The Network has rebuilt since public racist events by Tauwiwi and Māori occupational therapists in 2021 and 2022 which included being publicly accused of engineering the loss of an elder’s role despite not being part of the group that made the decision. This accusation was repeated several times across email lists of members of the organisation over six months, but had I refuted such allegations with evidence, that would have breached employment regulations. The outcome was a schism amongst Māori occupational therapists of those that accused myself and colleagues of ‘racism against an elder’ and those that believed – and respected employment confidentiality – there was probably more to the story. The accusers attended a Network hui to agree the appointment of new leaders but instead insulted the leaders and refused to uphold established tikanga processes. At subsequent meetings they then stood with the non-Māori majority who unsurprisingly, also did not want to follow the established practice and tikanga of choosing Māori leadership. Without mandate from the Network, they continue to represent ‘all occupational therapists, not just Māori’.

Hence, an essential part of the Network’s rebuild involved strengthening connections across the motu, with Māori practitioners in Australia and international alliances with the Indigenous OT Consortium. In addition, new alliances with DisruptOT, Decolonising OT

curricula group and Black and Minority Ethnic Occupational Therapy UK [BAMEOTUK] affinity groups have grown. I am a supporter to the founder of DisruptOT, which is a global community that runs free seminars, healing circles and facilitated conversations about issues such as decoloniality, racism and ableism. I have also forged supportive relationships with BIPOC colleagues and critical allies in Africa, Australia, India, Philippines, US, Canada, Brazil, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark and Palestine.

During the study I was approached to support a Tauīwi activist-scholar to facilitate Tiriti and antiracism education with a large mental health service provider. I thoroughly enjoyed meeting former colleagues and new ones and agreed to stay when the work increased beyond the mental health directorate. Bringing curricula and pedagogy together supported my theorising for this study. Crucially, the dynamic of working alongside an experienced Pākehā critical ally and observing privilege being disrupted in real time was a vital part of healing from the recent racialised targeting. Interestingly, learner evaluations regularly commented on the co-facilitator dynamic and specifically how we were able to role-model in real time how to be Tiriti partners. Hapū, wānanga, Kaupapa Māori researchers have taught me that integrity to the kaupapa as an educator, is vital to praxis i.e. role modelling humanity so that learners have something to recognise in the kaupapa and especially if the kaupapa is about colonialism and racism.

I acknowledge my privilege in being able to pause clinical practice and take the time needed to notice the everyday colonialisms while theorising and writing about everyday decoloniality. It is a serious undertaking and responsibility. I acknowledge colleagues who know real consequences of embarking on a decolonial process on employment opportunities, career trajectory and reputation. I acknowledge those who choose to disrupt despite this, who

know nothing can change unless they try, and I understand there are those that feel they cannot even try. Memmi (1965) stated that colonial racism is a

mixture of behaviours and reflexes acquired and practiced since very early childhood, established and measured by education, colonial racism is so spontaneously incorporated in even the most trivial acts and words, that it seems to constitute one of the fundamental patterns of colonialist personality. The frequency of its occurrence, its intensity in colonial relationships, would be astounding if we did not know to what extent it helps the colonialist to live and permits his social introduction (p. 70).

The various unexpected impacts on the research sketched above have altered but not hindered the study. It is still an opportunity to make sense of the world from my vantage as a decolonising wahine Māori located within the socio-political-economic context of a settler-colonial state who chose to study and practice occupational therapy. This chapter consists of an outline to the various background factors that converged under the headings wānanga as constant, struggle and 'healing while in Hell'. In addition, the publication (below) highlights some aspects of my praxis as an educator who challenges privilege. As much as I am often asked to teach about a Māori model of health, cultural awareness/sensitivity/competence, colonisation and social justice in relation to the profession, what seems most impactful to students and colleagues is supporting them to become aware of the critical lens they bring. By creating community and collegiality in the classroom, students are able to draw on their connections and make plans to grow critical consciousness and even take action.

The following chapter *Decoloniality in practice: preparation and readiness*, is an example of my work as an educator focused on supporting learners to understand their critical lens and social positioning. Foundational elements such as definitions of racism, analysis of privilege and

power are highlighted along with targeted encouragement to BIPOC learners and colleagues.

The importance of forming antiracist collectives of support are emphasised. This next chapter is

also the first publication of five within this thesis with publications process and is in press.

CHAPTER THREE: Decoloniality in practice – preparation and readiness

Emery-Whittington. I. (in press). Decoloniality in practice: preparation and readiness. In M. Curtin, M. Egan, D.C. Da Cruz, R. Galvaan, T. Parnell, Y. Prior & K. Sauvé-Schenk (Eds.). *Occupational Therapy and People Experiencing Illness, Injury or Impairment (OTPEIII) 8th Edition*. Elsevier

Introduction

This chapter specifically addresses the work of growing critical consciousness within the profession and specifically with occupational therapy students and co-facilitators. Hence, the primary audience of this chapter is occupational therapy and occupational science learners and colleagues. Hence, the tone and phrasing is purposefully conversational, as it is a readiness conversation for decolonial praxis. The purpose of writing in the style of a conversation, is that it can help facilitate both intimate and collaborative preparation for engagement in decolonial praxis. The style is also reflective of the collaborative wānanga process with the Network which remains spirited and desirous of knowledge development and sharing beyond the Network.

This text is written to support serious consideration for decolonial change. However, decoloniality work is no small undertaking as centuries of doing, being, belonging to and becoming agents of coloniality need to be reckoned with. Some careful preparation is called for which requires new skills, experiences, alliances and ways of learning and sharing, researching and practicing occupational therapy and occupational science. Occupational therapy and occupational science have unique and much needed perspectives of coloniality and decoloniality in relation to everyday occupation, but first there is some internal work to do.

Readiness conversations require assessment of the 'current situation', acquisition and practice of new skills and knowledge, while possibly decentring other skills and unlearning. The

reader is encouraged to foreground their own cultural lens and social positioning especially if it is a 'yet to be heard' perspective. Therefore, take care and take note of what feels discomfoting and schedule rest breaks to centre moments of peace before returning to tricky parts. The reader is encouraged to dialogue about what they notice or have come to think further on especially with a trusted person or group. Please refrain from finding comfort or attempting to domesticate decoloniality by making it palatable or bite-sized. In truth, decoloniality is not a chapter, research approach or public statement, but for some, it is the difference between life, opportunities for recovery and death. There are some important assumptions that have shaped this chapter:

1. Occupational therapy and occupational science are raced and classed and have developed in spaces that have favoured white supremacy and coloniality while denying and silencing global knowledges (Emery-Whittington, 2021). There are many knowledges, many ways to know, hold and share knowledge.
2. Not all knowledges are commensurate with what knowledge individuals already hold, and therefore it is not always possible or fruitful to define and compare knowledges. Some knowledges just *are*.
3. The path to knowledge acquisition may be uncomfortable and only attainable through unlearning, grit and humility.
4. Therapy is not necessarily healing, but land back and reparations are.
5. It is assumed that to a greater or lesser extent most people carry racist beliefs due to the raced social, economic and political foundation of modern societies.

This chapter sits with the conundrum that is decoloniality while working for, studying within, practicing within institutions that uphold coloniality. Despite all, this chapter aims to

support the occupational therapists to prepare to make the next personal-political step a decolonial one.

The next section focuses on exploring and examining social positioning then building knowledge by exploring definitions and language of decoloniality. Language and definitions regarding coloniality and racism can help hone a focus on both what coloniality and racism are as well as what they do (Azarmandi, 2022). The conversation continues with an explication of colonial expansion history including the Doctrine of Discovery, privilege and decoloniality. Then, decoloniality tasks for study are explored along with tools to support antiracist practice. The chapter concludes with two sections; the first section is written to BIPOC colleagues as our social positioning means our decolonial tasks and processes differ to critical allies. The second specific section is written to educators and practitioners and addresses the tension of decolonial work in colonial institutions.

What is the shape and nature of your lens?

Prior to beginning a process of examining and growing a critical lens, it is useful to think about who we are in relation to each other and the world around us. Western notions of occupation and health have been constructed from individual or particulate views of the self (Iwama, 2006). However, decolonial work relies on the notion of connectedness and relationship to all other things is the opposite of colonialism where categorisations, splits, silos, reductions and simplifications are created and nurtured (Emery-Whittington, 2021). Socially constructed separations can create division, fear, otherness, uncertainty and so decolonial work takes and makes opportunities to think about connectedness to each other within our shared spaces. Decolonial practices can be small, everyday, habitual as well as impactful, disrupting and collaborative. For myself, a decolonial practice before I write is to take a moment to

connect to my purpose and I might bring to mind a proverb, ancestral teachings or prayers that bring a sense of peace and clarity. Decoloniality is about *how* daily deeds are done as much as *what* is done, and so you are encouraged to think about ways that study and collegiality can reflect this. To this point, this reading will be greatly enhanced through conversation – exploration of ideas, following sparks, sitting with new ideas and seeking clarifications.

When discussing the importance of connectedness and cohesion for decoloniality, this must be developed and facilitated within the learning environment. The following story, describes one method of guiding a focus on connectedness using three questions, that I have used when I meeting learners for the first time in a lecture situation. *“Before setting out from home, who checked the traffic situation perhaps an app or listened for traffic report updates on the radio?”* Usually, a few hands rise in response and I will often remark, “This makes sense because we don’t want to be stuck in traffic”. I suggest to them that “Perhaps there is another way to think about traffic; a social way. For instance, when we are stuck or sitting in traffic, we are not in traffic, we *are* the traffic, one part of the whole that is ‘the traffic jam’”. My second question is *“Where is outer space?”* Again, a few learners may gesture upwards towards the sky. I pose that *“‘Outer Space’ is a relative and imprecise term and from a non-Earth perspective we are presently in outer space”*. My final question is *“Where is Nature?”* By this stage, some students have comprehended the point of the questions although some fingers point outside towards trees, hills or even the sea outside the window. I suggest that “Nature is right here, all around us” gesturing to myself and everyone in the room. “We *are* nature. Even if we follow colonial convention that we are ‘conquerors’ of nature or ‘*the apex predator*’, we are still very much Nature”.

The lens through which the world is experienced is very much shaped by the relationships and connections we are surrounded with and those we choose to foster. Through

intentional consideration of connections, people are able to momentarily deeply consider relationship with each other, their shared home spaces and planet. In so doing, they can reverently re-connect to something greater than their learned individualism; their spirit, purpose and contribution (Emery-Whittington, 2021). The next section builds on considerations of connections by focusing on critical self-awareness via social positionality and land acknowledgement.

Developing a statement of social positionality and land acknowledgements

What we say comes from somewhere and how we view something also comes from somewhere (Hammell, 2020). Social positioning statements allow others to have a sense of who the person is in relation to what is being spoken about. A statement of positionality signals knowledge, capability, and/or experience with respect to a topic which can reduce risk of assumptions about who the person is, what and how much the person knows. Where conversation requires building of trust or taking more care, statements of social positioning can be useful. Demonstrating care by explaining one's view on the terms used assists with building trust and creating spaces for dialogue. This is an area that practitioners often assume unnecessary to explain.

It is a good idea to listen carefully to a range of people introduce themselves and/or state their positionality for example keynote speakers, faculty leaders, even musicians and artists (e.g. Beagan et al., 2023; Hammell, 2021). Drafting sentences, practicing with trusted peers and educators and curating statements to different situations are important steps to building connection to space and situation. Social positioning statements must feel emotionally honest, be humble in delivery and matter of fact. Fostering a strong sense of who you are supports explication of social positioning that feels like a good fit. Questions may help prompt

positionality reflections include: What was your pathway to training? What attracted you? What made you think that this profession was a good fit for you? When you told family, friends, trusted people about wanting to be an occupational therapist or scientist what did they say? How do you sustain this goal – especially when things feel overwhelming – and who sustains it with you?

From an Indigenous vantage, land and waters are vital to existence. Therefore, when entering into new territories and waters, acknowledgement of the people who have cared for and lived in good relation with the space is vital and is considered good manners. Land acknowledgements are becoming part of welcome and connection rituals and ceremonies for many universities in settler-colonial states. Land acknowledgements are highly geographical, context specific rituals, so there are no universal processes to follow. Decolonial praxis includes learning about the expectations and processes of the locality where one studies and practices in, as this is central to being in relation and connected to the space. Stewart-Ambo and Yang (2021) implore deeper reflection and conversation about institutional use of land acknowledgement and agree that thoughtful land acknowledgements in settler-colonial institutions can centre a fuller awareness of Indigenous peoples – their names, desires and futurity. Conversely, land acknowledgements can ring hollow if recited by rote, treated as a performance, or misinterpreted as *the* decolonial task of the meeting, lecture or gathering (Beagan et al., 2023; Stewart-Ambo & Yang, 2021). Key to the authenticity of land acknowledgements is collaborative living relationships where strategy and organisation of multiple decolonial actions including landback, are routine.

Definitions: growing a shared language of decoloniality

Race and racism

The American Anthropological Association's 1998 Statement on Race clarified that the concept of race as a biological concept is disproven (AAA, 1998) and that "Racial myths bear no relationship to the reality of human capabilities or behaviour. Scientists today find that reliance on such folk beliefs about human differences in research has led to countless errors". Physical features do not predetermine human behaviour. Kendi (2019) described race as a "power construct of collected or merged difference that lives socially" (p.35). Whereas racism is a social system that interacts with other social systems and is "based on an ideology of inferiority and superiority, that drives that categorization of people by race/ ethnicity and structures opportunity according to those categorizations, resulting in the inequitable distribution of power, goods and resources in society." (Harris et al., 2012, p. 408-9). Further, racism is a way to deny connection to other humans and Nature thus denying relationship and responsibility to each other.

It is already well established that racism is a social determinant of health (Commission on Social Determinants of Health, 2007; Williams & Mohammed, 2013). Racism can be measured for physiological impacts and psychological distress (e.g. Marsh et al., 2010), social opportunities cost and direct violence, which have causal relationships to poor health and wellbeing (Priest et al., 2013; Williams et al., 2019). Moreover, harm, damage and violence from racism are entirely avoidable (Borell et al., 2009). Researchers have studied racism using a variety of theoretical frameworks to explain ways that racism impacts people's lives. Depending on the depth of analysis required, some researchers use three levels of analysis of

racism, and some use four. The four levels of analysis are: structural racism, institutional racism, interpersonal / personally mediated racism, and internalised racism.

James Nazroo and colleagues (2020) defined 'structural racism' as a societal circulation of "ideas and representations that produce race and ethnic groups as different, but also as threatening and inferior" which are then used to rationalise and justify inequitable resource distribution (Nazroo et al., 2020, p. 265). Kevin Nadal and colleagues (2021) elaborated to include actions and inactions that can be habitual, direct or vicarious, sometimes malicious and violent, cumulative and intersecting. Camara Jones (2000) defined three levels of racism: institutional racism, personally mediated racism / interpersonal racism and internalised racism. Jones used the allegory of a garden, where some flowers are watered and others are not, and that over time such attention becomes expected, proceduralised, institutionalised, "normative, sometimes legalized, and often manifests as inherited disadvantage" (2000, p. 1212).

Personally mediated /interpersonal racism is the level that many automatically think about when discussing racism because it is perhaps at first glance, the most obvious form. Personally mediated / interpersonal racism refers to differential assumptions and actions (intentional and unintentional, verbal and non-verbal) based on (presumed) race. As well, such differential assumptions and actions can be expressed and/or withheld for example "everyday avoidance" i.e. street crossing or purse clutching, poor or no service and police brutality (Jones, 2000, p. 1212-3). Because this level of racism is overt, antiracism efforts can often be overly focused on addressing only this level of racism, yet scholars argue that structural and institutional racism has greater impact on population health (Came, 2014).

Internalised racism is the most devastating kind of racism because it is the least discussed (Pyke, 2010). Yin Paradies (2006) used the concept of two intertwined parts; internalised oppression (self-subordination) and it's opposite, internalised dominance (privilege) to

explicate internalised racism. Both manifestations require “incorporation of racist attitudes, beliefs or ideologies within an actor’s worldview” (Paradies, 2006, p. 151). It is worth noting that what Paradies refers to as ‘internalised oppression’, other authors refer to as ‘internalised racism’. Internalised racism is “acceptance [...] of negative messages about [...] own abilities and intrinsic worth” that can manifest as muted self-expression, changing appearance to appear whiter, fratricide, amongst other expressions (Jones, 2000, p. 1213), self-doubt and feelings of inferiority (Fanon, 1961). Racial distress can be transmitted further amongst a person’s own communities due to racial targeting (Memmi, 1965) with varying levels of awareness of self-hate (David et al, 2019). Hence, internalised oppression can be both a source and consequence of structural, institutional and interpersonal racism (James, 2022).

Occupational therapists and occupational scientists have under-theorised oppression including racism (Johnson & Lavalley, 2021; Pooley & Beagan, 2021). Yet, it is clear that there is an important element to the expression and transmission of oppression including racism i.e. occupation itself (Emery-Whittington & Davis, 2023). That is, racism is transmitted and role modelled via everyday occupations firstly amongst families, then networks and communities (Emery-Whittington, in press). An occupational perspective of racism is proposed: habituated expression of white supremacist ideology transmitted via everyday deeds and activities.

Understanding Coloniality and Decoloniality

To understand the very vital role of racism as occupationally expressed in this day and age, it is important to understand colonisation. Colonisation is the business of dispossessing Indigenous nation states of their territories and assuming a right to control their lives (Jackson, 2018). The European style of colonisation peaked in the final few centuries of the last millennium, but it does not follow that it suddenly ended. Renowned activist and leader

Mereana Pitman explained that several crucial factors contributed to the unprecedented and diabolical success of theft and genocide with impunity globally; the monarchy, the church and the capitalists (personal communication, June 13, 2022). Fifteenth century monarchs gave explorers civil orders and provided means to colonise, while the church gave moral justification (M. Pitman, personal communication, June 13, 2022) through the issuing of papal orders, which have come to be known as the Doctrine of Discovery. Trade, profit, and extraction at all costs, backed up by science, religion, philosophy and race-based policies, set in motion the very situation that has led to the present day: climate change, poverty and conversely, concentrated wealth held by just a few and supported by governments (Paradies, 2020; Smith, 2012).

Colonisation is sometimes thought of as a past event, a structure or phase in history. Instead, colonisation establishes white supremacy, white privilege and racism (Te Kāhui Tika Tangata Human Rights Commission, 2022) so that it endures through time shapeshifting as needed. Hence, coloniality is a term that captures the ongoing, fluid yet hidden character of colonisation (Cooper, 2012). Occupational therapy and later occupational science descend from this thought heritage and praxis and unless theories, frameworks or practice models are explicitly decolonial, it can be assumed that colonialism is built in. Kronenberg (2021) highlighted the occupational therapy profession's perplexing habit of calling for antiracism while actively maintaining racist status quo structures and processes, thus revealing a core element of colonialism: privilege. In the next part of this section, privilege, antiracism and cultural safety are explored and discussed and the reader is encouraged to utilise the reflective questions to deepen analysis.

Privilege – “like running with scissors”

Privilege “refers to systematic and interpersonal advantage that works in concert with systemic discrimination and marginalization to produce population group differentials in access to, among other things, societal goods and services, and exposure to stressors” (Borell et al., 2009, p.31). Using the allegory of an invisible backpack, McIntosh described privilege from initial research observations regarding gender privilege. McIntosh observed that as much as subjects who identified as men could acknowledge that women generally experience disadvantage, they did not think that they were comparatively advantaged (1990). It was as if the ‘backpack of privilege’ was invisible to them. McIntosh extended their focus to consider ethnicity and began to record and list the everyday ways that their skin colour afforded advantage and ease i.e. if they asked to see ‘the manager’ they could be sure to meet someone of their ethnicity who spoke their language.

Privilege ensures that “inter-generational political, economic, social and cultural benefits and advantages [...] accumulate through the appropriation of Indigenous lands, natural resources and wealth” (HRC, 2022, p. 22). Privilege is the part of oppression that gets to slink into the background and over time comes to be so universally accepted that it becomes invisible. In their work to theorise privilege, Moewaka Barnes and colleagues refer to privilege not as ‘the elephant in the room’ but as “the elephant on the sofa” (2014, p. 6). It has been noted that people with privilege can find it difficult to recognise their privilege until they meet people without it (Gerlach, 2015; Nelson, 2007). Certainly, it is much easier for people to recognise those that have more power than themselves, and harder to recognise those who have less. Unrecognised privilege is “like running with scissors” (S. Hantke, personal communication, March 21, 2022) i.e. power in the hands of someone oblivious to its potential

for harm is dangerous. In occupational therapy and science training spaces, privilege shows up in multiple spaces but especially in the setting of curricula – which is essentially a selection of knowledge – and manifests in which knowledge is included and which is excluded, how knowledge is treated, cared for and tested.

Returning to Paradies' (2006) definition of racism, some authors ensure that discussion about various levels of oppression (e.g. racism, sexism, ableism and more) occurs alongside analysis of privilege. However, privilege is much more than the flipside of oppression and marginalisation (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2014), it is fresh fuel for coloniality. That is, for every square mile of land confiscated or taken from Indigenous Māori in New Zealand, a settler or a settler's family, descendants or settler government was – and continues to be – privileged economically, politically and socially. Privilege is a direct challenge to the myth of meritocracy or the idea that success occurs through an individual's effort (Borell et al., 2009) and phrases like 'there would be more women around the board table if they put themselves forward, but they don't' would be seen for the half-truth that they are. The following questions might support reflection on structural, institutional, interpersonal and internalised privilege and are from Moewaka Barnes and colleagues analysis of privilege.

How is your culture treated in stories of national life?... How well does your education system meet the needs of all ethnic groups?... How welcome and 'normal' do you feel in everyday public settings?... How often do you question your sense of identity and self-worth? (2014, p. 7-9).

Decoloniality

Decoloniality is based on contextual understandings of colonisation, coloniality and their impacts and power (Ramugondo, 2018) and is therefore beyond awareness and sensitivity

about 'other' cultures. Decoloniality is about eschewing the status quo that is societal amnesia about colonialism and the many kinds of oppressions it fuels, because it demands critical thinking and attention on privilege and antiracism. The racism that stops equipment being prescribed, visits being offered or delayed, referrals being made and accepted, clinical assessment reports being completed in a timely fashion, support letters being written, welcoming smiles being offered is the same racism that withholds sharing of lecture notes, study group availability and attention in tutorials. It is the same racism that leverages privilege so that statements like "there is no budget for that project", "no policy for that kind of issue" and "yes there's a policy, but it is out of date and the guidelines we follow are ___" occur with impunity. Therefore, decoloniality necessitates wholesale structural change, organisation and strategy which means that any solutions to our current realities devoid of decoloniality, are flawed (Wilkerson, 2020). Decoloniality requires collective, collaborative relationships because actions are aimed at every level of oppression and every occupation (Ramugondo, 2018).

Antiracism

Antiracism requires "naming, reducing, disrupting, preventing, dismantling and eliminating racism. It ... centres around solidarity with those targeted by racism, an analysis of power and a commitment to reflective, transformative practice" (Stop Institutional Racism [STIR] & New Zealand Public Health Association [NZPHA], 2021, p.9). Antiracism includes a range of theories, strategies, practices, actions and methods that contribute to eliminating antiracism which by and large are educational processes leading to action (Came & Griffith, 2018).

Instead, antiracism praxis desires the end to all forms of oppression acknowledging that oppression is not a list of 'states' but a multiaxial, simultaneous, compounding and overlapping

expression of dehumanisation. Certainly, dehumanisation of any kind is unlikely to respect discrete confines and definitions of singular expressions of oppression. In this way, antiracism is intersectional and needs to be understood, analysed and pitched at multiple levels but crucially must include both personal and institutional levels (Came & Griffith, 2018; Hantke et al., 2022). Antiracism can include bespoke design such as antiracism marking rubrics or embedded in national policy for example registration competencies. Good policy guides sound decision making, protects against unfair, unjust, violent harms and provides scaffolding for the times when we are not at our best. From waiting list guidelines to hospital welcome procedures, antiracism policy can guide the usual, typical and expected way of working and learning.

As well, antiracism – and humanity – can be expressed many moments a day e.g., ensuring the person who arrived first in the queue is served first; a person using their privilege to ask a question to power rather than waiting for people from historically excluded communities to do so; not engaging in gossip or stereotyping; not laughing at racist/oppressive jokes; not streaming content where someone is dehumanised. Antiracism can start early in life (Page-Gould, 2010). Adults may think about a time when they explained, or role modelled to children how to respond to a new situation for example when a child notices a person using a knee scooter or someone with a bright hairstyle. Typically, the adult can convey calmness, openness, and a desire to hear and understand. Strengths-based conversation conveys safety, for example “Wow, you’re so lucky to have seen this today” or “These are so helpful for moving around the supermarket”. Where a child seems frightened or unsure of the ‘new’ situation, the adult might offer assurance through humanising the situation i.e., wondering about the person’s favourite fruit. Conversely, judgmental or closed responses such as “They’re not like us”, “Don’t stare” or “I would not employ them”, can fix or cause a state of unnecessary fear

which over time can lead to chronic ill-health (Page-Gould, 2010). In this way, stigma and discrimination diminish opportunities to experience difference as positive, connection enabling and interesting, with overall reduction in capability and human potential for both the target and perpetrator.

As a contrast, when practitioners of antiracism talk about their work there are several observable characteristics to the conversation. For instance, they share the speaking time and space purposefully with historically excluded communities, the phrase “we” is heard more than “I” and there is a drive to precisely describe colonial phenomena. As well misfires, underestimations, and failures are openly reflected on as ways to support each other’s learning. There is also genuine pleasure in sharing time along with a palpable sense of commitment, community, and cohesion. Antiracism agents know where power lies and understand their sphere of influence having figured out the specific levers they can pull (H. Came-Friar, personal communication, September 29, 2022). In essence, they sense the shape of their particular contribution and how it fits within a bigger plan of curating culturally safe spaces. Clever design and strategy are celebrated, emotional maturity stands out, and some practitioners of antiracism seem to radiate an unshakeable belief that things can improve.

Cultural safety

Cultural safety was coined by Māori nurses in the 1980s in response to persistently high morbidity and mortality rates amongst Māori people in comparison to non-Māori people (Jungersen, 2002). Cultural safety requires examination of history, grappling with coloniality and, as a consequence, challenging inequitable power relations. Crucially, cultural safety is not about the health professional increasing awareness and knowledge of other people’s culture; in fact, cultural safety is not centred on the health professional at all. Rather, cultural safety is

centred on *what the person or collective experience* as culturally safe, or unsafe, during engagement with the health professional/service. Hence, self-evaluation of cultural safety by health professionals as practitioners, educators and/or researchers is a nonsense and contrary to the reason and purpose of cultural safety. Services and institutions concerned about how cultural safety is experienced by those they serve, would do well to ensure that communities can respond freely and without backlash to questions about power. As a crucial aspect to antiracist praxis, cultural safety policy must include accountability guidelines for times when practice is unsafe.

Besides policy, another opportunity to embed a culturally safe and anti-oppressive approach is through clinical documentation. MacLachlan and Grenier highlighted the opportunity for occupational therapists to consider that, “Documentation practices can either sustain or resist dynamics of power and hegemony, yet such practices have long been viewed in occupational therapy practice as apolitical everyday doings...” (2022, p. 27). The authors pose a number of reflective questions including:

What assumptions does my documentation make? Do assumptions reinforce any systems of privilege or oppression? What potential harms could result? How would the service-user(s) react if they read my documentation? Have I conveyed humility and compassion in my documentation? (MacLachlan & Grenier, 2022, p. 29).

Encouragingly, occupational therapists are not shying away from grappling with coloniality. For example, resisting theoretical imperialism (Hammell, 2011), developing occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015), advocacy (Ryan et al., 2020), leadership (Gibson, 2020), occupational justice as coloniality (Guajardo Córdoba, 2020; Emery-Whittington, 2021), auditing education content and praxis (Grenier et al., 2020), disobedience

(Turcotte & Holmes, 2021), resisting 'laying low' (Bailliard et al., 2021), epistemological antiracism (Wijekoon & Peter, 2022), trauma informed care and racism (Abou-Arab & Mendonca, 2022), and internalised oppression (Emery-Whittington & Davis, 2023). In addition, Zafran (2021) suggested that practitioners pay attention to developing a language of decoloniality and regularly check and update vocabulary and language. For instance, is the term 'culture' used to mean 'race', is the term 'cultural safety' used to mean 'culture'? When the phrase 'Global North' is used to describe a country's power and access to resources, is it assumed that everyone from that country has the same power and access to resources (Smith & Smith, 2018).

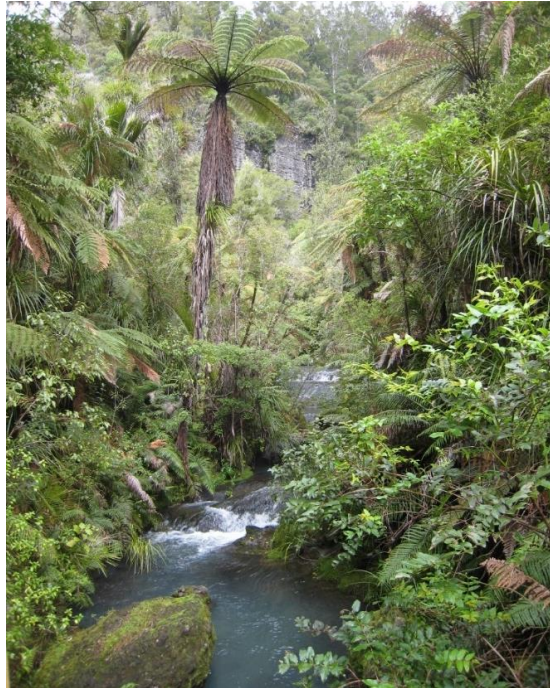
More decolonial approaches: imagination, beliefs and values

Decolonial approaches to learning includes developing decolonial imagination, allowing for uncertainty (Galvaan et al., 2022), failure and mistakes, refusing the hegemony of a 'neutral position' (Hantke et al., 2022), taking opportunities to think and act as collectives and in varied contexts, standing with the least powerful and most harmed, and thinking deeply about how knowledge is treated and encountered. Decolonial learning can be supported by art and imagery because they can provoke deeper awareness of how new experiences and knowledges are encountered. For instance, the image in Figure 1 – taken in Waitākere forest, North Island, New Zealand – brings to mind the moment one encounters a stream or enters a forest. Upon entering a forest, senses are often heightened, and a person might begin to take notice of smells, humidity, sounds, flora and fauna, proximity, and relative distance. For myself, I often do not wish to speak for a time and instead want to allow time for my mind to quieten and my body to acclimatise. Entering a forest space with reverence, humility and preparation is a

useful metaphor for encountering knowledge in a decolonial manner, especially ancient knowledges.

Figure 1

Waitākere Forest, Auckland, New Zealand



To support the development of decolonial imagination and exploration, techniques like thought experiments such as “What if...?” questions can be useful. For example, ‘What if equitable representation of your nation’s population was represented across your cohort?’ and ‘What if all assignments were group based?’ Expanding on the possibilities this last question raise, if all assignments were group based it is possible that occupational therapy and science training would provoke a strong social cohesion focus where every learner’s needs are everyone’s responsibility. As well, an open approach to learning would be necessary as opposed to a super competitive approach. Difficulties and conflict would have to be managed, negotiated, mediated and lead out of. Alternatively, the cohort might increase pressure on

those who struggle, and move to quickly exclude or expel learners that could 'let the team down'. By and large, it could be argued that colonially structured institutions already embrace the second approach by allowing over-representation of individualistic learning approaches for certain demographics, socially excluding and minimising the needs of particular communities (Beagan et al., 2022; Davis & Came, 2022).

A technique from clinical practice that supports decolonial exploration is the Three-Questions Technique utilised in co-existing mental health and substance use field by Graham and colleagues (2004). The technique facilitates and guides an exploration of beliefs held while considering possible alternative perspectives. For instance:

- i. What is the evidence for that (belief)?
- ii. Is it true all of the time?
- iii. Are there times when it isn't true and what does that mean?

The Three-Questions Technique is a way to invite a rethink of what is believed and what a person states is true. In addition, gentle reflection of a given reply or sentiment as a question, can be a safe non-judgmental method that honours connection while allowing possibility of exploring the response further. It is possible to apply this technique to beliefs around colonial history and oppression. As people become cognisant of their beliefs and values it can be a bridge to noticing and recognising how societally held beliefs and notions have been incorporated, which in turn provides a choice to continue or update those beliefs and values. Spending time learning about personal values and beliefs is important for clarifying focus especially when things do not go as planned.

The last four tools for this section include values-card sort, table of decolonial actions, critical reflexivity and building networks all of which can be stimulating, fun and effective when completed as a group. Values card sort activities are a useful foundation for imagining,

theorising and planning decolonial actions and goals both as individuals and collectives. When implemented as a group it can facilitate group cohesion and deep listening with peers. Another method is the use of a simple table of decolonial actions which can support imagination, strategy and organisation. It is often useful to start with the 'Where I am/ where we are' column, then continue to the 'Where I/we want to be' column; and complete the 'Next step/s' column. Setting dates to review the log or table with a supervisor, mentor or peer group and recording reflections can contribute to broader and deeper comprehension of power structures, antiracism and decolonial actions.

Table 2

A plan of decolonial actions

Name/s:

Date:	Where I am /where we are	Next step/s	Where I/we want to be
Equity	Not certain that there is equity in work placement opportunities	Find numbers and monitor	Know for sure that everyone has equitable access
Justice	Aware that reporting of racialised targeting is unsafe	Offer support to peers and listen deeply Strategise with peers	Contribute to policy for safe reporting processes
Antiracism	Feel unprepared for racist targeting of peers	Learn phrases that de-escalate situations Do not excuse or laugh at racist jokes	Feel skilled and practiced at responding to racism in real time

Review Date:

Critical reflexivity is another tool often discussed in occupational therapy and science literature. Critical reflexivity is important but only insofar as it is part of a continuous cycle of action – reflection – action. Critical reflexivity is a dynamic never-ending moment that can

move a person from feeling indignant and into action. For example, critical questions can be posed of assessment tools and frameworks (e.g. Richards & Galvaan, 2018; MacLachlan et al., 2019). Lastly, guarding against domestication of decoloniality includes regular assessment of comfort and convenience because decoloniality done well is discomfoting.

Collaboration and network building are also vital decolonial processes that can be intentionally developed and nourished while studying and strengthened throughout practice. For instance, developing a habit of acknowledgement of people who inspire, challenge and support can build networks and create support structures across the globe. Sustaining relationships over time is central to decolonial praxis as is citing purposefully as a way to foreground and elevate thinkers, authors, and art with an aligned worldview. Critical activist scholars and practitioners often include their positioning in their writings, see themselves as part of a community and therefore welcome, cite and build upon each others' thinking and work.

Tasks and roles in decoloniality differ depending on a person's position. Yet, being indignant to injustice is vital to all roles. People in powerful roles may be unlikely to support decoloniality unless there is a track record of being indignant about inequities, strategising against status quo, and rallying collective action. In addition, it is important to not expect success in every endeavour and to re-group if allies express fear and revert to silence, when racist colleagues are promoted and kinfolk work against their own interests. Certainly, doing nothing in the face of oppression guarantees more oppression, but where collectives united in social justice rally, power can build.

A message to BIPOC colleagues

If readings in colonialism are new, welcome colleague. It is your right to grow literacy around the causes of injustices and oppressions, as well as what reproduces them every day, but do take care. If instead you have been thinking critically and developing antiracist practices already, deep appreciation and thank you for your work and vision. For myself, decoloniality is a two-pronged approach. This chapter is an example of the first prong i.e. supporting mostly non-Indigenous people to grow critical consciousness and provide opportunities and tools for practice. However, this current section is an example of the second prong to create and support opportunities to centre our knowledges and practices so that we can grow, share and heal together. The latter is best done away from the colonial gaze and the former requires cultural capital and critical allies to keep the work safe. Decolonial approaches for BIPOC colleagues require both decentring colonial thinking as well as a profound belief and enduring hope in our own knowledges and healing.

Another example of the second prong is a support network created by and for Māori practitioners. We meet regularly to support each other and centre Māori knowledges of occupation and spend time with ancestor stories and guidance un-touched by a colonial gaze. Our rituals honour the toil and resistance of previous generations and centre our language, our hopes and futurity. Forming and nurturing a group of like-minded supportive peers has been key to surviving and thriving in a profession that reproduces coloniality. The opportunities to be career and lifelong supporters, cheerleaders, mentors, supervisors and friends, centre our sovereignty and allow fuller expression of our epistemic range. The ability to hold multiple perspectives /cultures /languages is a unique treasure to nurture and guard.

Too often BIPOC learners are expected to be 'cultural experts'. Informal requests for cultural advice place us in impossible situations because a 'No' can risk grades, reputation and being seen as 'difficult' and a 'Yes' can risk becoming a 'functional object of coloniality' (Seet, 2021). In such cases, it is important to remember that adjacency to colonial power is adjacency to white supremacy. It is not a step towards freedom. Compliments, special treatment or 'opportunities' can be short-term, shallow performances of consultation with BIPOC peoples. Be wary too of calls for help that are 'time critical' especially if your relationships with your own communities are being leveraged for someone else's project. Instead, find strong advocates and join or start safe spaces to help navigate such unnecessary ethical dilemmas. Experienced BIPOC practitioners have been where you are, and there are professional groups that can take the heavy lifting, so that you can concentrate on learning.

As a learner I was racially targeted in the classroom and as an activist scholar 30 years later I am racially targeted in the board room. Hence, I am sure that racism is occurring in classrooms, lecture halls and fieldwork placements today and I acknowledge the dehumanisations you have observed and experienced. Please support the targeted and if you have experienced dehumanisation in your training, you are seen. You, like me, like many, do not deserve it. There is support so I implore you to keep reaching out until you find supportive spaces and colleagues. Your community will benefit greatly from your work and the profession is already better with you in it.

Decoloniality is a team sport – a message for educators and practitioners

Being an educator for decoloniality within western structures that affirm and uphold coloniality is both challenging and contradictory (Smith & Smith, 2018). Educational institutions are seen as spaces that both perpetuate problematic discourses of diversity and hold potential

for dismantling such discourses (Grenier et al., 2020). Joseph-Salisbury and Connelly (2002) argue that such contradictions and tensions can be exploited for good and that educational institutions are becoming sites of scholar activism. Activist-scholars attest to the importance of navigating institutional racism and backlash alongside trusted peer groups and strong community (Came & Griffith, 2018; Joseph-Salisbury & Connelly, 2022). As well, creating cohesion, joining and serving alongside community is deeply understood and reflected in the rise of affinity groups within the profession such as Māori OT Network, Indigenous International OT Consortium, DisruptOT, BAMEOTUK, ABLEOTUK, Decolonising OT Curriculum group and many others.

There are three tasks that I believe are quite urgent with regards preparing for antiracism praxis and decoloniality and they require the collective efforts of educators, researchers, practitioners and leaders alike. First, to address the demographic mismatch between who we train and the global population, second, grow and nurture antiracism communities of practice and third, teaching as critical conversations. With regards the first task, it is an interesting thought experiment to imagine programmes that meet contextual need as opposed to programmes that mimic the global minority. There is an urgent need in certain programmes to increase epistemological range so that the needs of local and global population can be met. Yet, plans to encourage, actively recruit and support BIPOC colleagues as educators appear to only extend to BIPOC students or new graduates. Reliance on BIPOC learners to bring epistemological range and knowledge can only be a stop-gap measure at best because there are power differentials that are unjust, making such systemic reliance unethical. Instead, centring and addressing the needs of the most vulnerable communities can help to manage the tension rather than feeding the insatiable demands of the neoliberal academy. In

practice settings, BIPOC colleagues need to be recruited into culturally safe spaces ready for their epistemological range and given fair and timely compensation.

The second task is to 'grow and nurture antiracism communities of practice'. As there are currently no global plans or strategies to end racism across occupational therapy and occupational science settings (including associations, research, theories), the work of planning to end racism is left for smaller collectives. However, antiracism communities of practice can be interdependent, local and operate in equal parts support and accountability while crossing institutions. Despite, education and health sector heritage of being colonial silos that rarely coordinate or share decolonial efforts beyond conference presentations or publications, antiracist communities of practice can provide mentorship, role-models for power sharing, support when facing racism in real time, and safe places to grow. Examples of team reflexivity as part of research, education and practice include Johnson and Lavalley (2021), Galvaan and colleagues (2022) and Park and Zafran (2018). Conversations inside antiracism communities of practice may be the most 'real' conversations you experience outside of family and close friends.

Delays and derailments to antiracism are frustratingly usual and can be attributed in part to under-education of -beneficiaries of colonialism about coloniality and social determinants of health *prior* to attending professional training. Educators are left the job of teaching elementals of citizenship (with some learning local history for the first time) while developing concern and compassion for the global community. As well, content focused on culture, cultural occupations, settler-colonial history (where appropriate), diversity and justice have yet to prove liberation and instead appear to maintain the status quo. This leads us to the third task. bell hooks (2010) reminded educators that in their grasp is the ability to curate just learning spaces through critical praxis of conversation. Moreover, the classroom is a powerful

place to role model equity, positive social relationships, managing tough conversations and tension in real time (Blaise, 2010). Teaching as critical conversations, is exemplified by Galvaan and colleagues (2022) who intentionally stand alongside learners, to ensure the *process* of teaching and learning was valued equally if not more than the curriculum content. Turcotte and Holmes (2021) suggest that by “using disobedient thought instead of perpetuating the rules of an unhealthy capitalist society, occupational therapists have the obligation to express dissent [...] and mount a theoretical and critical revolt” (p. 16) whether in the classroom, clinic, conference presentation or home.

Conclusion

Preparing to “[promote] access to, initiation of, and sustained participation in valued occupations within meaningful relationships and contexts” (Egan & Restall, 2022, p. 1) includes knowing our histories and ourselves. Leaning into uncertainty, unlearning colonial praxis, seeking and responding to critique, failing and standing again with community are part and parcel of the discomfort and joy of decolonial work (Galvaan et al., 2022; Gibson, 2020). Indeed, colonial systems that require complicity with hegemony must not be our continued professional legacy.

This chapter aims to support students, educators and practitioners’ preparedness for working well with any person or collective who seek assistance to participate fully in their contexts. While there is much to do to make the profession antiracist and culturally safe (Beagan et al., 2022; Davis & Came, 2022; Pride et al., 2022), a number of tools have been developed and shared to support readiness for decoloniality. Understanding social positioning and privilege, and examining beliefs and knowledge of coloniality are important preparation tasks of the budding decolonial practitioner. In addition, developing foundational knowledge

and language of racism and health impacts, making antiracism praxis routine and nurturing global knowledges are all examples of decolonial praxis that can start today.

Importantly, opportunities for decoloniality are grown within long-term trusting relationships, working alongside and with colleagues addressing local needs while keeping abreast of global big picture concerns. Interdependent collectives in antiracism praxis and research anticipate derailments and barriers to justice and share experience in how to analyse power and dismantle oppressive structures (Came & Griffith, 2018). For colleagues actively working to bring justice and equity, it is hoped this text both sparks further ideas for conversations and provides encouragement for your vital work. Indeed, decoloniality in practice is tied to decoloniality of the profession itself and its accountability to all communities who share this planet.

In the next chapter, the study moves from the *Conscientisation* phase to *Developing the means to see* phase. This is the phase where the research question and objectives arose. The Kaupapa Māori methodology is explained as is its role in supporting the research question and objectives. The specific methods chosen and utilised are also detailed.

Between the Phases: Poem 1

Ventriloquy

Decorated puppets perched on laps of Colonial Court Jesters
Oversized eyes that pop and roll
Loose jaws that drop to mouth the Master's screeches and cackles

Icy hands
Shoved up
Open shirt back flaps

Commanded to sit and lie, but mostly to lie
Duly paraded, freaked and show pony'd
Faded makeup, patchy glitter, still garishly brighter than versions 1.1 to 4.whatever

Colonial promises of fancy costume upgrades never materialise
Eventually tossed soundlessly
upon other discarded imperial munitions

Abandoned, left, forgotten
Naked now.
Shame envelops all and covers nothing.

13 October 2020

E Uenuku, e Uenuku

Ko to ātārangi ka tau mai ki pae tata

He turaki riri, he turaki nguha

E Uenuku, e Uenuku

Ko tou ātārangi ka tau atu ki pae tawhiti

He turaki nguha, he turaki riri

Turaki ana te riri i konei, peperu ana te nguha i korā

Houhia te rongō,

Houhia te rongō i tuwhakaotinuku, i tuwhakaotirangi

Hou!

Te Whare Kōrero o Te Kōpua

CHAPTER FOUR: Developing the means to see phase

Introduction

The following phase and chapter outlines the chosen methodology and methods. At first blush the name of the phase *Developing the means to see* can seem ableist. However, it is used here as a nod to my upbringing at Homai College for the Blind where I learned that being sighted can blunt other senses, and how some persons who experience visual impairment can still see right through you. This phase is about learning how to discern between Western science, knowledge, mātauranga and how these are presented and represented. In this chapter, I describe Kaupapa Māori methodology, the three main research methods and how each of these supports the research question and aims. The aim of this Kaupapa Māori study is to examine the relationship between ‘colonisation’ and ‘occupation’ and specifically, how this

relationship contributes to both the reproduction of colonialism and decolonisation of everyday life for Māori. To aid the development of a means to see, I clarified some of the key terms and notions being used: occupation, occupational therapy, occupational science, decolonising occupation, everyday occupation and mahi.

By and large occupation refers to “the things people do in their everyday lives” for self-care, work or leisure (World Federation of Occupational Therapists, 2010). For this study, ‘occupation’ refers to human activities, acts, tasks, routines and habits done every day or less frequently as understood by Western theorists. ‘Occupation’ also refers to the human act of possessing of time and spaces (Iwama, 2003) yet is commonly understood as employment, work and labour. For occupational therapists, occupation is both the desired goal and means of ‘therapy’. In occupational therapy conceptual frameworks, a distinction is made between ‘occupation’ and ‘occupational performance’ (Hitch & Pepin, 2021). However, this thesis does not support the continued separation of occupation that humans do from the occupational performance of humans, as will be further explained in *Chapter Four*.

Occupational therapy is a registered health profession that is “concerned with promoting health and wellbeing through occupation” thus enabling participation in “activities of everyday life ... [that] ... they want to, need to, or are expected to do, or by modifying the occupation or the environment.” (WFOT, 2012). Occupational therapists work across rehabilitation settings in schools, hospitals and homes and work across the lifespan with individuals, families and communities who experience chronic-type, severe, enduring, traumatic injuries and conditions. Occupational therapists value holism and promoting participation in occupation (Egan & Restall, 2022). Whereas occupational science, evolved during the 1990s from within US occupational therapy departments whose studies focus on the meaning of occupation, occupational patterns and participation in occupation (Hocking, 2013).

As mentioned, theorising about occupation remains primarily the domain of white, able-bodied, class-privileged women (Hammell, 2011; Iwama, 2003) along with the development of frameworks of/about/for the 'destitute Other' (Hammell, 2015; Pollard & Sakellariou, 2008). The profession's first-world orientation is inherited from the early founders who were typically white, class-privileged, able-bodied women from North America, Britain and Europe who did not need to acknowledge social positioning, privilege (Angell, 2012, p.4; Hammell, 2009). Nor did they need to acknowledge the existence of impoverishment via slavery and land theft, Indigenous peoples, settler-colonies or indeed colonialism. Hence, universalism is implicit in the development of theories and practice models while the relationship between occupation and colonisation is ignored (Hammell, 2020). In the candidacy report I wrote that "Occupations are methods by which colonisation is done. As agents of rehabilitation services that are closely aligned with Western medicine (and often funded by historically colonial governments), occupational therapists have not joined the philosophical dots between 'colonisation' and 'occupation'". In addition, it is no linguistic coincidence that "occupation is synonymous with seizure, possession, settlement [and] the holding and control of an area by a foreign military force" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.) because the profession emerged from an era and from within cultures that were actively engaged in colonising Indigenous territories.

'Decolonising occupation' refers to the philosophical and pragmatic work to view and treat human activities as more than that which falls between colonially categorised systems of self-care, work and leisure. 'Decolonising occupation' is explored and examined further in *Examinations* phase. 'Everyday occupations' refers to what is ordinary, usual – even banal and mundane - for the person and their community, but is not necessarily done every day. 'Mahi' includes human activities that also exist beyond coloniality and mahi is explored and examined further in *Chapters 12 and 13*.

Research question, aims and objectives

The research question is *In what ways do everyday occupations maintain and transform colonialism?* which demanded an exploratory design, one that necessitated decolonial theorising and critical reviews of extant Western theorising. That an Indigenous collective was asking the research question - perhaps for the first time in the profession - it was imperative that Kaupapa Māori as a critical methodology was the foundation for the study. Hence, the research methods of wānanga, writing, building and re-building antiracist community for transformation fitted the enquiry and were tailored to the research aims and objectives:

1. Kimihia te mana mai ra ano
 - To explore and analyse mātauranga Māori that relates to the whakapapa of occupation, mahi and tikanga
2. Āta tirohia te whakarere o te tāmitanga
 - To critically examine Western theories and notions of occupation and explore the philosophical links between colonisation and occupation,
 - To critically examine occupations particular to colonisation to highlight everyday mechanisms that produce and maintain colonialism.
3. Hanga he whare hou hei hiki i te tāmitanga
 - To develop a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi that will contribute to the development of a practice framework of mahi.

The following section outlines the tikanga, methodology and methods that have scaffolded the research.

Tikanga

In my confirmation report I wrote that *how* research proceeds is just as - if not more - important as *what* will be done and *why*, and that tikanga and ethics of research envelop the *what* and the *why* of research. The term 'tikanga' emerges from 'tika' which refers to 'that which is correct' and is synonymous to 'accurate', 'valid' and 'right' (Ryan, 1995). Tikanga is also jural tradition (Jackson, 2020, p. 140) of custom and law (Quince, 2007), beliefs, concepts and practices (Mead, 2003) and a collective ethic of an agreed way of acting and being as practiced for centuries in Aotearoa. In addition, there are specific and essential tikanga practices regarding knowledge seeking, holding and sharing (Marsden, 2003).

Hapū and iwi define tikanga in relation to their own knowledges, contexts and polities. Tikanga also represent the sum knowledge and practices of many previous generations (Mead, 2003). Centuries of tikanga have been applied and refined regarding every aspect of life and death and especially with regards to knowledge. Tikanga for seeking, holding and sharing knowledge are practiced within a context of a communal ethical responsibility for each other (Hoskins, 2012). As a sense-making process, research demands attention to which tikanga are drawn upon. The kaupapa of this research is decolonising occupation which also demands nothing less than bringing decolonial praxis to methodology and method, guided by specific tikanga.

Tikanga practices throughout this study include karakia, maintaining discussions amongst the profession, whakatikangia and following tohu, and I unpack these practices below. Karakia can provide a purposeful pause during the flow of daily life tasks. It is about regard for relationship with spiritual supporters and causes reconnection, interception, and harnessing of energy and purpose. I karakia to invoke and maintain focus on the kaupapa at hand and

therefore different karakia fit different tasks, kōrero, times of day and stages of the research such as karakia to clear a space whakawātea, provide guidance and bring clarity. Karakia is an important tikanga practice woven throughout this research and is an expression of my belief that if I bring reverence to my writing, people will feel it. At times when a return to balance is required, karakia and following tohu support me to move more conscientiously and lightly within the mahi.

Another tikanga that has been central thread to the study is regular discussions about the study amongst whānau and tupuna, mentors and friends, the Network, and BIPOC colleagues. In addition, a special group of kaitiaki was gathered from experts from occupational therapy profession and my whānau. I approached those who care for the kaupapa, believe in research potential to transform Māori health and talk frankly with me. The kaitiaki were always willing to discuss the study, receive updates and remained supportive throughout the study. Each discussion has supported critical reflexivity and some allowed me to further interrogate my motivations for engaging with the research process especially at times when being a researcher and an occupational therapist was hard.

Whakatikangia is an overarching tikanga that emerges from the kupu *tika*. Whakatikangia requires an ability to see and to notice that which is not quite right through to what is plain harmful. It is also about being well prepared, being the person to correct, tweak, guide, anticipate, and so mirrors the ethic of responsibility for all based on a taken for granted belief that we are all connected. The importance of relatedness is an essential aspect of whakatikangia. This means that when one's actions are corrected, it is not meant to shame, belittle or hurt, but instead, it speaks to relationship and connection to a shared kaupapa. Whakatikangia is naturally part and parcel of Māori approaches to research and knowledge i.e. with an ethic of responsibility and relatedness to each other.

To me, Dame Rangimārie Naida Glavish (Ngāti Whatua) exemplifies the tikanga of whakatikangia in praxis. Whaea Naida came to national attention in 1984 when her employers NZ Post Office threatened her job as a toll operator because she greeted callers with 'Kia ora'. Known from then as the 'Kia ora Lady', Whaea Naida spurred a national conversation about te reo Māori which led to her retaining her job while being supported by thousands around the motu. More recently she stated, "Inā kite koe i tētahi mea hē, hakatikangia. Inā kore ka rite koe ki taua hē. If you see something wrong in front of you, then correct it, because if you don't, you will become like it" (Glavish, 2021; as cited in Espiner, 2021).

Whaea Naida's praxis of whakatikangia or the belief and practice of ensuring things are put right, has guided countless health boards, national tribal governance spaces, public sector services and education sectors that she has been called on to support. She credited her praxis of whakatikangia to her grandmothers and noted that such praxis is not necessarily an 'easy' approach to life. Whakatikangia aligns with a fundamental Indigenous belief that all knowledge is relational (Wilson, 2008) and that it is not enough for one to know. Rather knowledge exists because it is shared, demonstrated and anticipated.

In choosing to research colonialism and racism as expressed in the minutiae of everyday life tasks is to join with a number of Indigenous, Black and People of Colour and critical allies across the profession who act to whakatika the wrongs of oppression. To see harm, then take steps to do something about it, is to see oneself as part of a collective, a collective that honours and looks after each other and is committed to making things better for everyone.

Whakatikangia is opposite to a colonial way of being that has people see themselves as autonomous independent individuals, separate, unrelated, and not responsible for each other. Instead, despite the inordinate amount of time and energy that racist targeting demanded in the events of 2020 – 2021, it was important that the Network spend time together. In our hui

we privileged reconnection which is resistance against constant overwhelming colonial efforts to fragment our purpose, mahi and relationships.

Occasionally I was implored to “just focus on your research” and that racist harm that is continuously occurring and being reproduced daily in the profession, “can wait”. However, to not act would have amounted to supporting the continuation of racist harm which would also fundamentally undermine the kaupapa of this study. Further, because of the racism harm experienced, antiracism and anti-colonialism were then purposefully designed into the developing Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi and practice model as outlined in *He Pua* phase. Certainly, opportunities to study the transmission of colonialism in everyday occupations are never hard to come by within the profession, as well as beyond it and whakatikangia cannot be left for later.

Kaupapa Māori

It is important that we, as Indigenous communities, take over the responsibilities for naming, defining, and intervening in the crises, which fundamentally, are not of our making, but in which we have been situated and which have had on-going and enormous negative impacts on our language, culture, collectives, and families.

(Smith & Smith, 2018, p. 4).

Kaupapa Māori is an Indigenous response to provide a necessary broader theory of change signalling an end to the era of inevitable systemic assimilation, ‘fitting in’ and stop-gap measures (Smith & Smith, 2018). As a term, Kaupapa Māori has been used to highlight a ‘by Māori, for Māori’ philosophy and practice and can refer to a Māori structure and/or philosophy within a mainstream structure, an iwi structure and/or philosophy and anything in between (Eketone, 2008). Kaupapa Māori has been used to describe a political movement, a template

for a process and content of thinking, theory, research methodology, health and social services, as well as a way of life. The terms 'Kaupapa' and 'Kaupapa Māori' are themselves ancient (Pihama, 2001) and with each hapū and polity determining the meanings contextually. Crucially, Kaupapa Māori takes for granted a Māori centric, emancipatory and socially just agenda (Bishop, 1998; Irwin, 1994). Further, Kaupapa Māori is nourished by, emerges from and in some cases may only be accessed through te reo Māori (Smith et al., 2012).

Kaupapa Māori research

Kaupapa Māori as theory and research methodology emerged from within the education sector in the 1980s (Stewart, 2017) having been applied to that sector by Tuakana Nepe who also named Kura Kaupapa Māori as natural extensions of Kohanga Reo (Smith et al., 2012). Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and WhareKura (Māori medium schooling) are a distinctly Kaupapa Māori response to poor educational outcomes for Māori children and have led to vast improvement in educational outcomes for Māori children (Pihama et al., 2002). Nepe described Kaupapa Māori as a conceptualisation of Māori knowledge and a superstructure for research with Māori (Smith et al., 2012).

Crucially, Kaupapa Māori requires the academy to change (Smith & Smith, 2018) because it is concerned with Māori knowledge, viewpoints, language, ways of being and politics (Stewart, 2017). Such ontological, epistemological and political elements retrieve space in the academy and challenge Western notions that have tended to view Indigenous peoples as 'producers of culture' instead of 'producers of knowledge' (Cooper, 2012). Indeed, many if not all societies, understand and explain the world inside of epistemological contexts representing generations of compounded learning. After three decades of Kaupapa Māori theory and research in the neoliberal academy, Māori have reclaimed our rights and roles as active and

vital theorists, imaginers of research questions, designers and appliers of studies and 'producers of knowledge'. However, Cooper (2012, p. 64) asserts that Kaupapa Māori research is necessarily paradoxical, that it "...must stand aloof from the concerns of science and centre Māori epistemologies as a starting point for research. At the same time, it must critically engage Western knowledge and production practices as part of its decolonising and transformational strategy." Kaupapa Māori research is therefore simultaneously a site of struggle and opportunity, resistance and transformation. Through engagement with a myriad of non-Māori philosophies and methods across many sectors, Kaupapa Māori research has grown, emerged and held space for many varied yet particular needs (Pihama, 2017).

With regards this study, Kaupapa Māori research calls for scholarly examination of non-Māori and mainstream philosophies and methods. Critical engagement with non-Māori research is vital to achieve sound discernment to make important choices – grounded in a critical Indigenous lens - about theories that may support and contribute to Kaupapa Māori and those that do not. Importantly, Kaupapa Māori as methodology has opened the theoretical space for re-interpretation of being Māori while privileging Māori realities, often within a context of Māori knowledge, values and solutions (Edwards et al., 2005; Jones et al., 2006; Penetito, 2008). Borell (2014) noted that Kaupapa Māori research gaze can and must be applied beyond what Māori need and towards researching non-Māori. Two core functions of Kaupapa Māori research: critical engagement with coloniality from a 'taken for granted' centre as Māori *and* privileging of Māori ontology, epistemologies and politics are reflected in this study's research question and objectives.

Kaupapa Māori theory

Leonie Pihama asserted that Māori have always thought deeply about the world and as such theory and theorising have always been important (Pihama, 2005; Pihama, 2010). Indeed, like many peoples, Māori have complex yet accessible frameworks for theories and theorising as evidenced in wānanga, pūrākau, whakapapa, whakairo, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai, whakataukī and kīwaha (Pihama, 2001). Kaupapa Māori theory is premised on the evidence that Māori have the tools necessary to deeply consider and analyse our circumstances (Pihama et al., 2017). As people with millennia of theorising as heritage who have existed beyond British imperialism and coloniality, it is natural and necessary to reclaim our roles as theorists as part of our decoloniality.

The phrase 'Kaupapa Māori theory' was coined by Graham Smith at a time when 'theory' seemed an unlikely ally alongside the term 'Kaupapa Māori' (1997). However, Smith was not using the term 'theory' in a Western sense; grand narratives and universal truths (Mahuika, 2008). Instead, Smith's deliberate use of the term 'Kaupapa Māori theory' served several functions. Firstly, that Māori reclaim the roles and rights to theorise about our own lives, and secondly, by doing so, we disrupt the series of interruptions to our natural theorising. A third function of using the term is to counter prevailing scientific notions of theories and theorising that assume that the social, cultural, political and economic contexts that frame theory generation, have little bearing on the theory itself, and cause real harm (Carter, 2006; Pihama, 2005; Smith, 2012). Finally, a fourth function is to contest theoretical spaces where Māori could critique and talk back to colonising structures and systems that include supposedly acultural and universal theories (Borell, 2014; Smith et al., 2012). Said another way, Kaupapa Māori theory is a site of struggle that is firmly founded in practice (Pihama, 2001). A

fundamental cornerstone of contested theoretical spaces is Critical Social Theory (Smith et al., 2012).

Smith identified three core elements of Critical Theory that align with Kaupapa Māori theory; conscientização, resistance and praxis (Smith, 1997). Freire's (1970, p. 35) concept of conscientização, "refers to learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality". Translated to 'conscientisation', this concept is concerned with critical analysis of theories of oppression, and structures that support their continued use (Smith, 1997). The second element is resistance particularly in the form of reactive and proactive activities that seek to either respond to dominant structures of oppression or transform existing realities (Smith, 1997). The third element refers to Freire's (1970) notion of praxis, where the relationship between theory and practice, or analysis and practical action, must exist in dialectical unison. Smith et al. (2012) contend that praxis and political action in Kaupapa Māori research is key to retaining the 'radical potential' of research. Smith (2017) reinterpreted the three elements as spheres that exist simultaneously as *conscientisation, resistance and transformation*. Transformation is unapologetically about transformation of unequal power relations and theory can guide us to and through transformation (Pihama, 2017).

There are several aspects of Kaupapa Māori theory that make it essential to decoloniality. Theory supports Indigenous peoples to "...make sense of reality ... make assumptions and predictions about the world in which we live... enables us to deal with contradictions and uncertainties..." (Smith, 2012, p. 40). Theory also provides a vocabulary to support the ordering and organising of strategy, choosing and developing methods (Smith, 2012) and perspectives of colonial life understood from anti-colonial frameworks. Kaupapa Māori theory generates opportunities to reclaim and occupy theoretical and methodological

spaces that are inherently Māori as a response to and despite colonisation (Pihama, 2010). As such, Kaupapa Māori theory supports decolonisation of colonial pedagogies and epistemologies of knowledge. Naomi Simmonds asserted that decolonisation in a general sense is about uncovering assumptions of power (personal communication, July 24, 2017). In the context of this study, decolonising Western theories and notions of human occupation is about uncovering assumptions of power - and in a context of Te Tiriti, a gross misuse of power – as that same power is transmitted and expressed in everyday acts.

As a research methodology, Kaupapa Māori challenges how the British colonialism of Aotearoa New Zealand has translated into ideologies, constructed stories and values about knowledge, education and research (Smith, 2012). For occupational therapy and occupational science education in this country, only Western imperial and colonial notions of occupation are taught and they are taught within neoliberal academies thus impacting how Māori occupational therapists see and relate to our own knowledge. Kaupapa Māori research supports and formalises the Network's deconstruction of hegemonic discourse as started prior to this study. This study also harnessed our desire to co-create a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi and spark conversations about Indigenous notions of human occupation. The research wānanga designed - but not implemented - as part of this PhD process are therefore a collectivist, participant-driven design to co-create a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi and practice model, that I have named *Ngā Mahi a Rehua (the tasks of Rehua)*.

Kaupapa Māori theories continue to emerge from and are themselves shaped by a myriad of whānau experiences and spaces which means that there can never be a single formula or recipe for what a Kaupapa Māori theory must be. Indeed, "Kaupapa Māori theory is ... developed from a foundation of tikanga, reo, mātauranga, defined and controlled by Māori, organic, transformative, multiple, structural and cultural, informed by positionality". (L. Pihama,

personal communication, July 24, 2017). Early in the study it was agreed that potential participants and future Māori practitioners would be encouraged to adapt the model to reflect their contexts. That is, that the Network would expect the developing co-created theory and practice model to be adapted to the specific contexts where they may be implemented.

This study is also driven by the need to critically engage with the Western notions of human occupation, specifically the coloniality of those notions. Smith (1997) asserted that in addition to the cultural aspirations of 'being Māori' as methodology, critical engagement with societal structures of oppression is necessary. For Indigenous occupational therapists and scientists, the societal structures of oppression also include our 'professional' educational institutions, registration and regulation institutions and membership societies. As much as it is important work to critique and examine these bastions of coloniality, I suspect that they would illuminate what many other health professions are also structured on: centuries old notions and everyday practices of white supremacy through the colonial use of 'therapy' and 'science'. The critical examinations for this study have focused instead on the philosophical notions of occupation that are held as universal and 'true' across the profession because they are reproduced in service of colonialism beyond the profession.

Where theorising occurs and amongst whom is important. This study is purposefully placed outside of occupational therapy institutions and with SHORE & Whariki Research Institute; a place where Māori epistemology, research and expertise is nurtured. This was done because in settler-colonial nations, "Māori epistemological and ethical schemata are essentially other and, despite advances and ambiguities, remain add-ons, widely seen as politically forced rather than critical and vital alternatives to the status quo." (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2009, p. 5).

Certainly, epistemological dominance in the academy is 'business as usual' and is reflected in the kind of studies that receive funding and get ethical approval (Moewaka Barnes,

2006). From my vantage, Kaupapa Māori is also a way of life that supports mana motuhake and decoloniality through epistemological freedom, examination of coloniality and careful choice of research methods. For these reasons, the study necessarily needed to be placed distally from Western occupational therapy programmes and SHORE & Whariki Research Centre has been an ideal space for this requirement.

Three research methods

Three main research methods were used across the study: wānanga as theory making (includes building examination tools), writing, and building community. The first method described is wānanga which focused on exploration, examination and theory making. Wānanga also included building examination tools which was a critical aspect of the study in that new Kaupapa Māori tools needed to be developed to help examine coloniality as reproduced in everyday occupations i.e. a taxonomy of colonial occupations and a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis tool. The second method was ‘writing to understand and publishing to disrupt’ recognising that Indigenous scrutiny is still relatively rare in the profession and that the ‘thesis with publications’ pathway was the most useful method for The Network’s goals. The third method is building and re-building antiracist communities of BIPOC colleagues and critical allies; a necessary transformational praxis.

1. “Me āta wānangahia”

(Hon. N. Mahuta, personal communication, September 4, 2018).

I mōhio kē, he taonga tuku iho te wānanga arā, ngā tikanga me ngā pūrākau tō te wānanga. Tīmata ai te tauira mai te Tīmata. Ma te wānanga ka pā ki te ngako, ki te pū o ngā whakaaro. Wānanga is a gift handed down from the beginning of time and is reflected in our

earliest stories of how the Universe was created. It is ancient work, characterised by deep learning, reflection and creativity where we are able to perceive and harness the creative potential of mātauranga (Royal, 2011). As such where wānanga of pre-colonial times were highly revered and respected spaces of learning (Marsden, 2003).

Each hapū have their own localised and specific epistemologies, pedagogies, ethics around mātauranga developed over centuries but meaningfully applied for contemporary times. After years of observing a learner's character they may be invited to attend wānanga (Marsden, 2003) as it was understood that not all knowledge is 'up for grabs' (Te Awekotuku, 1991) and that some learners have proven abilities that are desirable for certain kinds of learning. In a contemporary sense too, wānanga requires of the learner a commitment to time, concentrated effort and the specific tikanga of their wānanga (Winiata & Luke, 2021).

Wānanga learning can be staged, difficult, discomfoting, sometimes sacred and special. Tasks that require deep listening, curiosity, wonder, imagination, creation, exploration, examination, suspension of knowing and challenge are posed, along with rangatiratanga, strategy, mental dexterity, organisation, and manaakitanga (Winiata & Luke, 2021).

The following section consists of four parts: wānanga as theory making, personal wānanga – my everyday occupations as case study, development of examination tools, and research wānanga.

Wānanga as theory making

In order to describe the *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* and practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua*, I needed to develop a way to observe and explicate how human occupation had been colonially framed as part of my education as an occupational therapist and scientist. As such, the taxonomy of colonial occupations and Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis tool were

developed and are described and discussed in *Chapters Seven and Eight*. These examination tools helped to ground the theorising in Kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori.

To begin,

I came to theory because I was hurting – the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend – to grasp what was happening around and within me. Most importantly, I wanted to make the hurt go away. I saw in theory then a location for healing (hooks, 1994, p. 59).

Indeed, I can relate to hooks' sentiment as part of me did come to theorising, desperate for a profession that ceases racialised harm and racist withholding of rehabilitation opportunities to Māori (Gordon-Burns & Walker, 2015). Yet, I also arrived to theorising excited, joyous and relieved that there was a space being made that was not only about a survival response to colonialism in the profession. Certainly, it is slightly ironic that as keen observers and prescribers of 'therapeutic occupation', the profession actively resists social justice, not as a one-off, but in a routine, naturalised and expected part of colonial everyday practice (Beagan et al., 2023). To that end, I have leaned into the possibilities that theory can manifest for healing, liberation and transformation (hooks, 1994) by centring ancestral teachings and guidance for the everyday.

As previously mentioned, prior to and during the research, I participated in hapū marae-based wānanga for Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga at Te Kōpua Marae. The purpose of our wānanga is to come together as a hapū to examine our worldviews; we decolonise and indigenise together. We are actively encouraged to both learn who we are from a hapū perspective and affirm our hapū identity in our homes and lives beyond the marae. The wānanga is not so much what happens once a month at the marae but rather what we do and express as Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga every day between each monthly wānanga (S. Te

Ruki, Ngāti Unu, Ngāti Kahupungapunga, personal communication, July 4, 2020). The hapū wānanga are the ethical, tikanga-based foundation of this study.

Personal Wānanga – my everyday occupations as case study

The study of my colonial and decolonial experiences - as a human that is and does - is a statement that my experiences of colonialism are not only worthy of closer examination and explication, but are in fact a necessary element of my unique contribution as a decolonising Indigenous occupational therapist and occupational scientist. Through examination of coloniality and decoloniality, I am putting into words and art what is being done to us – within the routine and invisibility of everyday tasks - so that we can move beyond what ordinarily and colonially happens to us. To narrate the everyday colonialisms and share my world, is to interrupt the ‘natural flow’ of coloniality, to question it’s inevitability and shine a light on potential healing inherent in decolonising the small tasks of life.

Leonie Pihama reminds Kaupapa Māori theorists that we must be deeply grounded in who we are and connected to our communities, our lands and waters (2017). We must know the colonial legacy of our lands and waters as hapū, not just as Māori. To that end, Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga were known as skilled fighters and mercenaries but suffered extensive land loss due in part to raising arms against the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 2020). The Battle of Ōrakau where the famous words “Ka whawhai tonu mātou mo ake ake ake” were uttered by rangatira Rewi Maniapoto and fought near Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga lands. The statement was prophetic in that as much as that battle was over, another phase of colonialism was just beginning and in many ways our people have yet to leave the battle. In the case of my career, it feels natural for me to scout terrain, lead the reclamation of space in clinical fields

and academy and I am often asked to support situations where conflict has occurred or is expected.

The personal wānanga encompassed two aspects related to daily occupations - routines, habits, everyday tasks and internal in-the-moment talk: *noticing how 'being colonised' impacts my everyday life* and *noticing how I consciously decolonise my everyday life*. These moments were recorded in journals and often lead to further reflections inside poetry, conversation with ancestors, family, supervisors, peers, the Network and hapū. Part of noticing how I consciously decolonise my everyday life required constant critique of internalised racism, which I have discussed further in the fifth publication *Rapua te kurahuna: an occupational perspective of internalised oppression* (see Chapter 10). Balancing manaaki and interrogation of discomfort was also necessary as there were times when experiencing colonial racism as transmitted in habitual, routine tasks of life, made the purposeful studying of it very difficult. *Noticing how 'being colonised' impacts my everyday life* has informed the examinations of colonialism which in turn have been captured in the following *Examinations* phase and the third publication *Occupational Justice – Colonial business as usual? Indigenous observations from Aotearoa New Zealand*.

For both aspects of the personal wānanga, I allowed especially strong emotions that often repeated to guide further enquiry. Further enquiry was guided by questions such as What exactly is this about? Is that what I really think?, Where (what situations) have I noticed this before? Why am I noticing this now? I have treated these wānanga as moments to listen to inner wisdom, letting the kare-ā-roto speak/'ripples within' by sitting with them. Some needed to be held lightly as initial feelings could be strong and unpalatable and I noticed that they are very hard to grasp and hold the memory of. It sometimes felt like trying to hold steam. If I did not have a notebook handy, or start speaking out loud to myself, I would quickly forget what I

had noticed and felt, even if in the moment it seemed like an illuminating revelation that made other things make sense.

At times when te reo Māori was better suited to theorising and expressing emotions, I would write freely and sometimes think of or research whakataukī that conveyed the reflections, illuminations and kare-ā-roto. Pihama and colleagues (2019) asserted that “there are unique ways of ‘feeling’ within Indigenous worldviews that can serve to decolonise current understandings of emotional wellbeing” (Pihama et al., 2019, p. iii). In addition, the expression of emotions evokes “... a deep ontology of emotions within te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori that transforms how emotions are understood and expressed.” (Pihama et al., 2019, p. iii).

Tracking the pathways that kare-ā-roto were illuminating within, was also supported by ‘in the moment’ talking with whānau. During the lockdown periods in Auckland, I engaged in Zoom writing days with fellow doctoral students and conversations with my whānau, which allowed for many ‘in the moment’ discussions about observations and reflections on these. Talking with my husband and peers meant that I could hold, explore and further illuminate ‘what bubbled up’ as we shared in the role of being each other’s muses: “a state of deep thought or dreamy abstraction” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Certainly those in the moment discussions of fresh illuminations were critical to my being able to deepen the state of wānanga; they happened hundreds of times over the course of the research and in many ways, I see these moments as scaffolding the theorising.

Noticing how and why I decolonise and indigenise my daily occupations was the second aspect of the personal wānanga. Importantly, certain assumptions guided the personal wānanga including: that “our tupuna are only a breath away, and in sight *is* in mind” (S. Te Ruki, Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga, personal communication, July 4, 2020); that in order to decolonise I must know who I am, that in learning who I am, I am returning to an understanding

that colonialism's reach has included defining who I am, that all is connected, that all of creation sits with and alongside each other; that there is an agreed way of everyday being that is hapū based and collectively agreed, that decolonisation is accessible across multiple moments every day. Indeed, the decolonising of everyday tasks is not just what is done (which is a heavy focus of occupational therapy) but also includes what I physically and spiritually bring to my everyday doing of life as well as what I choose to disengage from.

During the study, I recalled a particular conversation with my late grandmother when I was 18 years old. We were standing in the carpark of our marae Kauwhata Pa, when she said "I want you to...". I did not hear the end of that sentence, but she was pointing to her chin and I realised she was referring to moko kauwae, even though the conversation was not about moko kauwae, tāmoko or even adornments. Nan spoke deliberately, never wasting words, often unhurried but was always clear. Teenaged me scoffed "Oh Nan". It was the early 1990s and I had only seen a handful of whānau with moko kauwae. I could not imagine a time when it would be seen as a means to decolonise the everyday. Three decades later, hapū leaders at Te Kōpua invited whānau to consider moko kauwae and mataora during anniversary celebrations of our whare tupuna opening. Six whānau took to the whāriki and tables overnight and when we woke on the morning of 5 July 2021 to the celebrations and Ra-ā-Wairua, our faces were no longer bare, no longer colonised. I face my daily mahi now with what feels like ancestral coding, spiritual inking and hapū endowment.

The same wānanga questions before 5 July 2021 felt quite different after. There was at once a deeper level of appreciation for the same questions, and I found myself literally feeling more deeply attuned and committed to the wānanga. Questions included 'What are the instructions that our tupuna left us with regards to mahi? And from where does mahi emerge?

How does this particular mahi support my decoloniality? How can mātauranga be reflected in my routines?

The final critical aspect of the wānanga was consideration of where wānanga occur and where the study itself was placed. Being amongst hapū and marae wānanga and Indigenous academic spaces was considered the best place for the research. I had already attempted research in another university and despite a full fees scholarship, this study and I needed to be physically, politically, spiritually, and academically in a place where Māori research wasn't seen as culture production, but instead as sovereign, ever adapting knowledge production. Both the emotional trauma of and praxes of coloniality needed to be critically engaged and examined. Yet equally, it needed to be contained, and put in a place away from view while hapū, iwi, and Indigenous knowledges were privileged. This study is part of the lived ongoing wānanga of my decolonial life that has intersected with a Kaupapa Māori research process for a time.

Moreover, Helen Moewaka Barnes and colleagues (2017) described the self-editing of voice that can often occur in research as a result of colonial imperatives to research. By locating this research outside of occupational science and therapy institutions, the research has been placed in spaces that make being Māori, māori. For the same reason, I chose not to privilege Western reckons about culture or Other in the review of literature. I minimally engaged in mainstream occupational therapy conferences for the duration of the study as the explanation fatigue is real. Instead, being amongst experienced Kaupapa Māori theorists and researchers and critical allies, this research was able to realise decolonial praxis.

Becoming a Kaupapa Māori researcher is aligned with examination and analysis of decolonising everyday life. This personal wānanga continues to be a deeply creative process that is inextricably linked to a process of seeking to know why. The research question posed is a genuine one, in that, I do not know the answer to it. This means that there is room to intuit,

sense, turn over ideas inside the context of what Garrick Cooper called the necessary 'epistemic wilderness'. Certainly, exploring and analysing the everydayness of our colonial and decolonial lives fascinates this Indigenous occupational therapist/scientist.

Development of a Taxonomy of Colonial Occupations and a Kaupapa Māori Occupational Analysis Tool

Developing an Indigenous occupational analysis tool is an expression of mana motuhake. To decolonise occupation, Indigenous theorists need to block the colonial gaze and centre our knowledges and in so doing retrieve philosophical space so that we define for ourselves the nature of our lives (Smith, 2012) and in this case, the nature of mahi. It is also about giving ourselves permission to hold and turn the lens in ways that benefit Māori and it is about being mindful of which tools perpetuate colonial harm (Borell, 2014). Creating a tool has involved eschewing the profession's colonial narratives of what humans are, taxonomies of what humans do and assumptions of our relationships with the universe such as apex predators above all nature.

In 2017, I wrote a keynote for the profession's national conference and had begun to think about what I eventually called the occupational stages of colonisation (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018). This theorising made space for the assumption that everyday occupations are sites of colonisation and that everyday routines, habits and acts are in fact profoundly and diabolically effective hidden tools to reproduce coloniality. Theorising links between occupation and colonisation allowed the next steps in the examination which was twofold: to develop a taxonomy of colonial occupations and a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis tool. Occupational analysis is a beloved tool of clinical practice and is seen as acultural and therefore erroneously applied often with only superficial consideration of context.

Leonie Pihama's questions informing Kaupapa Māori analysis were applied to develop both the taxonomy of colonial occupations and a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis tool. The questions included: What is the dominant cultural framework for the event/ issue/ development? How are Māori identified and positioned? Is being Tangata whenua considered or a consideration? What language is dominant? How is te reo Māori positioned? Whose knowledge is selected? Where is mātauranga Māori positioned? How is history discussed? What will be the potential impact on Māori? How can we transform the event/issue/policy? Where is tikanga Māori and how is it positioned? What is the process through which it is being defined? (L. Pihama, personal communication, June 30, 2014).

Further questions supplementing the theorising included 'In what ways does this routine, habit, task support my mana? My connections to purpose, tupuna, plans? How does my home nurture connections and purpose? How is this reflected in the things I choose to have around me, near me, decorating or with my person, at arms length, in my children's bedrooms, in my garden? Are there things in my home that do not support my mana, my purpose, my connections? What then is their purpose? What do they help me to do/ if anything?'. I also leaned into hapū cosmology and pedagogy (including tikanga, reo and whakapapa) with regards the activities of atua, tupuna and relations across epochs of time. The theorising is not complete but instead is organically evolving, open and flexible (Pihama, 2005).

Research wānanga

As previously explained, the marae wānanga did not run due to Covid lockdown and gathering restrictions. However, two marae-based research wānanga that addressed all research objectives, were still designed with a plan to hold them over three days, and with up

to 12 participants. It was planned that haukainga facilitators and whānau who are experts in wānanga and marae-based learning were central to the facilitation of theorising. The first wānanga was designed around the first research objective *Kimihia te mana mai ra ano - Explore and analyse mātauranga Māori that relates to the whakapapa of occupation, mahi and tikanga* and included a Tiriti o Waitangi refresher course. The second wānanga was centred around the third research objective *Hanga he whare hou hei hiki i te tāmitanga - Develop a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi that will contribute to the development of a practice framework of mahi*. In addition, a half-day Antiracism praxis course co-facilitated with a Tauwiwi critical ally was planned for day two of this wānanga. The second research objective *Āta tirohia te whakarere o te tāmitanga – using Kaupapa Māori analysis - Critically examine Western theories and notions of occupation and explore the philosophical links between colonisation and occupation, and Critically examine occupations particular to colonisation to highlight everyday mechanisms that produce and maintain colonialism*, was going to be presented in a summary form only to support co-theorising in the second wānanga.

The wānanga were designed to facilitate personal and intimate understanding of decoloniality as expressed in mahi to inform and guide clinical practice and education. Safe spaces where we can pose questions such as ‘What do our communities want us to prioritise as practitioners of a decolonised occupational therapy?’ must be able to be posed without a colonial gaze. Further questions include ‘What happens when Māori unpeel the layers of our everyday lives? How do we best do this? What might be revealed?’. The wānanga also run counter the profession’s penchant for buying in ‘cultural experts’ outside of the profession, to tack on Māori language or concepts to Western notions and models of practice. Instead, the wānanga support direct vitalisation of the multiple epistemological positions that are a unique contribution to our training programmes and communities. Despite not being able to run the

wānanga within this study's timeframe, they are able to be implemented as and when the Network chooses.

Based in Indigenous-centred spaces, together we can answer our own call for theory development regarding everyday occupations as powerful sites of colonisation and potent accessible sites for decolonisation and healing. As a legitimate but ignored concern for occupational therapists and scientists, colonisation has disintegrated our occupational patterns and practices with compounding loss of opportunities spanning centuries. Hence, the research wānanga have been purposefully designed with transformation in mind using Graham and Linda Smith's questions: What count as transforming outcomes? Transforming in whose interests? What is meaningful transforming? How do we know when we have real transforming? Whose responsibility? And who is accountable? (Smith & Smith, 2018, p. 10-11).

2. Writing to understand, publishing to disrupt

"If you do not define yourself, someone else will."

(M. Pitman, personal communication, June 13, 2022).

Across occupational therapy and occupational science's literature, there is minimal writing about, to and for Māori. Because writing is the currency of tertiary institutions where the profession trains the next generation of learners who will work with Māori, then writing is an urgent necessity. Writing carves space out for Indigenous epistemology and voice (Smith & Smith, 2018) and therefore the thesis with publications pathway was necessary for this study. Beyond the profession however, we believe that Indigenous knowledge expressed in writings can prevent and decrease racialised harm potentially reducing disability and saving lives. Writing says 'we are here and we see you'.

Writing is the way that I make sense of coloniality, and it is also one method of healing while experiencing targeted racism. Throughout this research, I have continued to write poetry, prose and musings which help name, contain and wrestle with the struggle of coloniality and decoloniality. As well, writing and especially the tikanga I bring to writing, all support me to decolonise and indigenise the tasks and methods of writing. For example, I have a particular way of starting and finishing a writing session, for me it is karakia, an expression of gratitude, intention and presence. I am mindful of the space (physical and social) I am in, the energy I bring to the writing moment and check in with myself to gauge how I feel (energy level, pacing needed, hydration, mood, distractions). I call on certain atua, ancestors and mentors depending on the topic of the writing session and centre the start of the session in gratitude and reverence. I write what I feel needs to be written. What that means is that I allow thoughts and feelings some time and space. I write what I dream and feel about and what I intuit others might need. Once I have written, I will think about what to share in clinical, research and/or peer supervision often using the rule of thumb that if I can't say it out loud, there is more to be processed (mused, dreamt or further writing). I have used over 10 notebooks/journals during the study alongside notes from conferences or seminars, reflections on teaching and notes from wānanga at Te Kōpua.

Writing is a decolonial process in the context of a Kaupapa Māori methodology and way of life. Writing as a decolonial process transforms the moment and manifests in a certain kind of phrasing, reckoning and literature. Yet, writing is also a way to begin and nurture relationships, build upon, contribute to and perhaps steer discourse. Throughout this study, I have thought strategically alongside BIPOC colleagues about who we read, who we cite, who we read for understanding and who we will no longer platform amongst our writings. Citation is a political tool for either upholding “hegemonic citational processes” thus perpetuating the

colonialism that we argue against, or “advancing ... conscientious engagement” with sources that are often denied and ignored (Mott & Cockayne, 2017). For example, in one publication for this study and one outside the study, our BIPOC author collaborations agreed to only cite BIPOC authors and critical allies.

Reading and citing literature in the profession can be disturbing, encouraging, traumatic and healing. I have also been strategic about where to place the publications produced within this study, as well as those that arose in parallel with the study. As it is, there is only one journal in the profession that has guidelines for authors regarding Indigenous Peoples. Amongst Indigenous networks, we share details of such support including editorial policy and personnel and we also share which journals and publications are experienced as colonialist in approach and perspective.

Sometimes Indigenous practitioners are viewed colonially as rarities and our writings have been treated as if they are gold in a supposed ‘goldrush’. Writing for ‘still to decolonise’ audiences requires careful consideration in order to minimise colonial objectification of our writings. Therefore, the publications for - and beyond - this study, myself and BIPOC collaborators have:

- sought out specific journals and edited books that have guidelines for writing with Indigenous communities,
- negotiated to add sections that cater to BIPOC colleagues and learners,
- negotiated authorship guidelines,
- negotiated to privilege Indigenous analysis of issues important to us,
- created dialogue and built relationship with editors,
- at times turned down certain publishing ‘offers’,
- written entirely to BIPOC colleagues and critical allies.

These actions have supported us to balance the desire to speak directly to BIPOC colleagues and critical allies, while addressing the need to provide information and education to colleagues who have never had to – and sometimes still do not have to - consider perspectives beyond their own.

Writing collaborations in themselves can be an expression of decoloniality. For example, when writing alongside BIPOC colleagues, I have noticed how colleagues quickly step back and strongly encourage each other to claim first author space. Negotiations are sometimes strategic with discussions that include agreement on whose people or voices need platforming presently. As well, there is consideration for sustainability and strategy and so for several publications - within and beyond, but during the study - I have purposefully invited colleagues who are developing their writer's voice.

Methods for writing about racism while being a target of racism

Developing tikanga for writing about racism helped with the acknowledgement of emerging memories and feelings. To an extent, I had underestimated the personal impact of philosophical examinations on the transmission of coloniality via everyday occupations. This meant that I was finding racism everywhere, especially in retail situations, professional conversations (online, emails and in person), in social media, school, medical and sports situations with my children. At times it was important to process issues immediately and other times I held them lightly while I worked through the kaupapa at hand. Requests to support colleagues (national and international) deal with racism increased throughout the study and I sometimes wished the research question had had smaller boundaries. For this reason, I initially welcomed the lockdowns because they were a slight reprieve from immediacy and proximity to direct and vicarious in-person racism.

Without a doubt, writing helps to process the racism. Poetry and random musings were characteristically sarcastic, comedic, bitter, ironic, analytic and timeless. Indeed, Audre Lorde stated “Poetry is the way we help give name to the nameless so it can be thought.” (Lorde, 2018, p. 2). Through poetry, I recognised at a spiritual, physical, mental and collective level how everyday occupations are sites of struggle for the racially targeted. This was especially tested when senior colleagues of the Network were publicly racially targeted. Hence, the tikanga guiding the research - karakia, whakatikangia and building community - are the tikanga I use to manage racism noticed, examined and theorised. I also wrote ‘beyond colonialism’; for example using as purposeful, slow handwriting of ancient karakia, which is connection-enabling and healing for me.

Writing is revelatory and there have been moments when I’ve realised that the gun held to my face is the same object that my hand is wrapped around. Certainly, examining internalised oppression helped me to notice how whakatikangia does not have to be out loud, overt or a staged moment. Writing also helped me to develop a state and practice of ‘seeing, defining and narrating the racism’ as opposed to being a functional object of coloniality that is either hypervisible or completely ignored. It is probably no coincidence that much of the writing for the taxonomy of colonial occupations occurred during the time that I was being publicly racially targeted.

Publishing to disrupt

Writing is power and in a professional context with minimal – but growing – Indigenous literature, we must write in order to not be erased. We cannot yet boast to be cancelled. That distinction will have to wait until there is enough literature that is rejected, ignored and minimised. For instance, a well-known international assessment that is building a global

database of scores for standard measures of daily tasks, does not have a place to write Māori ethnicity, and I was advised to list Māori as 'Pacific Islanders'. More locally, two publications that document the first 60 years of the profession in New Zealand failed to talk about Māori people at all. But more than that, beyond the authorship circle, there were no cries from the profession to say 'Hey we've missed something'. Māori colleagues, Māori communities, Māori peoples were simply not seen and no-one noticed that we were missing. Writing means we increase our chances of being engaged with - even if only cited - at least when we are cited we are talked about. When we are talked about we might be talked with and when we are talked with, we might be taken seriously. That is when we really engage with the power within the profession, as opposed to middle managers of the local colonial institutions.

There are still colonial oddities to manage with peer review processes especially where publications do not have guidelines for Indigenous submissions. Like some of my BIPOC colleagues, I find I sometimes need to explain concepts at length (which is tricky when the positioning of the reviewer or editor is unknown) and manage that they may not have seen or read much Indigenous literature (inside the profession). In addition, there is the triggering that can occur, then sifting the racism out of the 'constructive feedback' to glean the crux of the feedback, and managing getting no feedback at all except that the submission is accepted in whole. However, the extra labour required to publish internationally has meant that the Network has been able to be seen, to put our need unfiltered into international Indigenous and non-Indigenous agendas, and to put our own Taiwi colleagues on notice.

3. Building international and re-building community networks as disruption

“Colonisation makes us forget the art of discussion. Insist on kanohi ki te kanohi if we are decolonising together. We must be shoulder to shoulder in the mahi.”

(M. Pitman, personal communication, June 14, 2022).

Part of the reason for turning to building an international community of BIPOC colleagues and critical allies is because we lacked the personnel here in Aotearoa New Zealand. When Linda Wilson passed in 2017, the profession lost their only Tauwiwi Tiriti and antiracism educator. As well, the International Indigenous OT Consortium created in 2018 along with First Australian colleagues and a Native American practitioner, was meeting only annually despite our desire to meet more frequently. Organisation and resource were required.

Two events occurred during the study that have impacted greatly and became interconnected: public racialised targeting and an invitation to train alongside experienced Tiriti and Antiracism educators. It was clear that enhancing my skills and knowledge as a Tiriti and antiracism educator could benefit the Māori OT Network and the study. In addition, I recognised that there were similarities between the Māori and Tauwiwi practitioners who were attacking Māori practitioners publicly; Tiriti illiteracy and denial, unconscious and unprocessed internalised racism and lack of antiracism in strategy and praxis experience. Hence, becoming an Antiracism and Tiriti educator also recognised that colonially-led attacks on our Indigenous and autonomous spaces was par for the course. It should have been expected and as Māori practitioners, we needed to build skills, cohesion and community for such predictable attacks. Building community as antiracist praxis is also discussed in *Chapter 11*.

Building community disrupts coloniality because the dominant and often problematic Western way of being with each other as occupational therapists is averted and avertable. Amongst international colleagues, building community has been important for the Network's growth and decolonial futurity. Collaboration also stops the colonial splintering, cultural shopping and cherry picking for 'cultural advice' and can potentially impact the weaponising of internalised oppression. However, the facilitation of successful meetings and gatherings rely on clear guidelines and ensuring these are followed. Some of the community building guidelines we follow include tikanga to start and finish – welcome each other warmly and well, respect tikanga of introductions and openings, understand each other's context by making space for each other's context, accept the host's kawa, commit to time and regularity of meetings. As basic as the guidelines are, we recognised as Māori practitioners, they are not necessarily respected in hui here in Aotearoa with our Tauīwi colleagues and yet, as international BIPOC colleagues, we easily fell into step with each other's processes. (See publication Ahmed-Landeryou et al., 2022). As much as whakawhanaungatanga is part of tikanga, what ended up organically evolving was the need to purposefully programme in the building of an antiracist community of practice amongst Māori, international BIPOC and critical ally colleagues.

To conclude, wānanga is work and even for me a naturally deep thinker who enjoys investigations and examinations, wānanga has required sacrifice and effort. Indeed, wānanga is not like everyday work even though it has become my every day work. The work is done over time, at certain times, under certain circumstances – often repetitively. I do not necessarily feel chosen to wānanga this research question as in ancient times, but I do feel it is a necessary piece of work and someone has to make a start. In addition, as much as decolonising everyday mahi is about doing and action, it is also about ceasing to do, removal of or disconnection from that which does not align with wānanga and decoloniality.

Ethics

“For Indigenous peoples, our peer reviewers are our communities.”

(K. White, personal communication, November 18, 2020).

As previously mentioned, ethics approval to conduct the research wānanga was obtained from the Human Ethics Northern Committee in August 2021. This formed one part of the ethics concerns for this study. Despite not completing the research wānanga, research is formal business and so ethics still very much guide other aspects of the research. Every society establishes frameworks for, negotiates, and practices ethics and research ethics. In settler-colonial societies, ethics is a site of tension and struggle for Indigenous research. Māori society – like every society – has ethical frameworks that guide relationships, knowledge and some of these have been discussed in the first part of this chapter. When it comes to research, discussions about Indigenous knowledge are really discussions about ethical behaviour. As knowledge bearers and producers, Kaupapa Māori researchers ensure that both Māori ethics and the ethics outlined by Western research ethics committees are carefully considered as sometimes these sets of ethics overlap and sometimes, they are in direct conflict.

One aspect of internalised oppression is self-gaslighting, feeling inadequate and too colonised to be of use to the struggle of decoloniality. With this in mind, it is still vital that when embarking on the formal business of research some tough questions such as ‘Am I the right person for this question? Is this the right time and place and Why now? What is getting transformed during research preparation, design and implementation? What are my motivations, skills and expertise? Who benefits? In addition, despite knowing the community of interest I realise that connections will not guarantee success of a project nor accountability

(Ormond et al., 2006). Ethics in this study are as they are in my career: about connection and responsibility to the Network.

Rigor

...rigor comes from the voices and feedback of our own people; it comes from testing the results with our communities;...and it comes from a methodology that requires compulsory self-disclosure of where you are from, whose family you belong to, and what interests you have in the research (Smith, 2013, p. 95).

Kaupapa Māori research rigor is wholehearted, whole-minded and whole community centred. Rigor in research then is about honouring the connections and relationship ethic that comes from the kaupapa and the tikanga of the community. The study presented two unique tensions that were about recognising the formal business of research versus the abstract and sometimes informal everydayness of my individuated life tasks – that is their routine, habitual, contextual nature. I met this tension in two ways: firstly, by unapologetically being part of the story where I am not trying to be objective. Moreover, it is my connection to the community and experience as an occupational therapist and occupational scientist that has placed me in this space to support the kaupapa. Smith (2013) agreed that the appropriateness of research kaupapa is judged on the experience of the researcher in relation to the topic (Smith, 2013). Secondly, ongoing conversations and feedback with the Network upholds rigor, tikanga and kaupapa. Further, purposeful and facilitated gatherings have ensured that our decades of observations and discussions about mahi, decolonising occupation, theories and models of practice, are the ngako of our Network.

This leads to the second major tension of the study which concerns how the research supports the Network's years-long conversations without derailing, detracting from or denying

their natural flow. Specifically, this research needed to walk in step with the ongoing collective theorising, be a vessel of sorts to capture the essential aspects of our thinking to date, and then extend the theorising meaningfully and with a decolonial and antiracist purpose. Certainly, publishing throughout the study has provided 'deadlines' and discrete project moments which have ensured that key people in the Network are constantly linked into the flow of the theorising and can provide guidance to that flow, despite not being able to hold the research wānanga proper.

Rigor in Kaupapa Māori research is also about being a kaitiaki during and beyond study spaces and demands, keeping good relationships while furthering the goals of the community. Many lands, maunga, awa, moana are represented in 'the Network'. Therefore, standing in good stead with each other as students, practitioners, supervisor, peers, fieldwork educators, researchers, governance representatives while strengthening our capacity to transform our coloniality via tiny everyday acts. The robustness of the study is borne out by the beneficial transformation - or not - of the Network during the research process and as a result of it.

Summary

Part of the task of Kaupapa Māori research, then, is to draw and theorise from ancestral legacies, to critically engage with scientific epistemologies, and at the same time use the wilderness to critically disengage from science. This is the paradox of the wilderness.

(Cooper, 2012, p. 71)

Kaupapa Māori theory, research methodology and methods have created spaces in the wilderness that is academia, for Māori to re-claim our identities as theorists of our own lives and futures, as people who have our own research questions and as scholars who privilege our

own relevant, powerful and transformative research. Where colonisation interrupts theorising and the right to theorise, engaging in Kaupapa Māori theorising is in itself, a decolonising act. Similar to unblocking drains and 'daylighting' buried streams, designing research that allows the utterly human mahi of enabling the natural flow of thought and theory about our everyday lives to dam, ebb, eddy, spray, whirl, pulverise and ripple, is deeply satisfying. Moreover, within critical occupational therapy there "... is considerable evidence to support the view that theorists' positions *do* matter and that they matter a great deal." (Hammell, 2020, p. 10).

This chapter has described the methodology and methods chosen for the enquiry. Indeed, Kaupapa Māori methodology is the central unifying foundation that impelled and held the research question: *In what ways do everyday occupations maintain and transform colonialism?* The study's aim was to examine the relationship between 'colonisation' and 'occupation' and specifically, how this relationship contributes to both the reproduction of colonialism and decolonisation of everyday life for Māori. Hence, the methods chosen were wānanga (as theory making and exploration), writing (including publishing to disrupt) and building international and re-building antiracist community networks. The methods centred decolonial theorising to critically review extant Western theorising as well as centring mahi as ordinary and as a site of struggle while reclaiming mahi as a site of decoloniality.

Importantly, this chapter concludes the phase *Developing a means* to see whose purpose was to set up the study's remaining phases: *Examinations*, *Disruption* and finally, *He Pua*. To that end, the next phase *Examinations (Chapters Five-Eight)*, takes a Kaupapa Māori lens to critically examine Western theories and notions of occupation. Specifically, I explore the philosophical links between colonisation and occupation, thus highlighting everyday mechanisms that produce and maintain colonialism.

Between the Phases: Poem 2

My part of the battlefield

We fight on different parts of the battlefield

I'm with mine and you're with yours

We know our country and you know yours

I know the best weapons, artillery and styles for this terrain

I can get to my supplies fast and I know who's with me.

Thanks but no thanks, I can't fight with your weapons

They're not designed for me and no, I don't want to grow into them, or one day afford them

Not when the price is my freedom.

Sure I'll take some medicine off your hands if its spare. Why is it spare?

No, I can't carry your ammo and your boots are fine.

Good god man, they're advancing, get ready!

Stop watching what I do – we're fighting different fronts.

Yes it's the same enemy,

but my terrain, shields and medicines are different.

And there's way less of us-GO!

Yes. For real. Now! It's TIME! Open your eyes and fire!

”Activism takes different forms
and one of those forms is the kind of activism
that is deeply knowledgeable about the struggle,
where it has come from, what is at stake,
and what tactics are required now.”

(Smith, 2012, p. 222)

CHAPTER FIVE: Examinations phase

Introduction

Examinations phase is the part of the thesis most concerned with occupational therapy and occupational science’s colonial treatment of everyday acts, of human occupations. In this chapter – part one of four for the *Examinations* phase – I examine three aspects of the profession’s treatment of occupation: ‘occupation as a series of separations’ in contrast to ‘occupation as continuum’, ‘occupation as having’ and the lauded but problematic notion of occupational justice. With regards, ‘occupation as a series of separations’ versus ‘occupation as continuum’, I explore racist speech as an example of how speech is not separated from deed but is part of a continuum of expressed actions. I utilise two clinical tools from Motivational Interviewing - cognitive distortions or thinking errors and ambivalence - to develop the examination by highlighting malalignment of beliefs with actions. ‘Occupation as separations’ section includes a reflection on the risks and benefits of this kind of theorising that separates ‘occupation’ from ‘occupational performance’. A brief discussion about how some world and national associations use ‘occupation as separations’ and ‘occupation as having’ to get colonial business done, concludes this chapter.

As previously mentioned, *Chapter Six* is a published critical examination of the overly lauded profession-specific notion occupational justice. The chapter centres the critique of occupational justice alongside an Indigenous critical examination of linguistic and everyday links between occupation and colonisation. The chapter titled *Occupational Justice—Colonial Business as Usual? Indigenous Observations from Aotearoa New Zealand* was published as an article in the *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy* in 2021.

Chapter Seven is where occupations that characterise colonisation are presented using a ‘taxonomy of human occupations in colonial spaces’. *Chapter Eight* includes a summary of the taxonomy and is presented in the third publication of the thesis, an in-press chapter called *Decoloniality in action: A Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis of colonization*, in a Taylor and Francis chaptered book *International Handbook of Occupational Therapy*. Included in the publication is an outline and description of a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis tool which expands on a widely used tool of clinical practice – occupational analysis – but also engages directly with coloniality and racism.

Occupation as a series of separations, occupation as a continuum

It is not difficult to find examples of situations where humans have famously - or infamously - agreed to do something and then proceeded to do something else. Given the profession’s broad domain of concern – human occupation - it is surprising that this very human phenomenon has attracted little attention. Indeed, a recent publication that promised to present perspectives on otherwise unexplored occupations or ‘dark occupations’ failed to mention engagement in occupations that support and maintain racism, hate nor oppression. It also missed occupations that include verbal expressions of equity, yet still result in dehumanising actions (e.g. Twinley, 2020). The following section is concerned with occupations

that appear to be different, in contrast to or direct opposition to espoused intentions, beliefs and values. I then offer a perspective of 'occupation as a continuum' based on a Māori perspective of thought, speech and deed, as a way to contrast these two worldviews. Finally, I explore and examine occupation as a series of separations using motivational interviewing notions of cognitive distortions and ambivalence.

Colonisation: early separations

"I can't believe what you say... because I see what you do"

(Baldwin & Morrison, 1998, p. 738).

Some of the most pressing and important examples of saying one thing and doing another concern the British colonisation of Aotearoa. Two examples that have had far reaching consequences with ongoing trauma and impact today are the dishonouring of te Tiriti o Waitangi from 1840 and the British military invasion of the Waikato territory and peoples in 1863. With regards the dishonouring of te Tiriti o Waitangi, promises and intentions made on the 6th of February 1840 were made impossibly difficult because the English version of the Treaty is not the same as the Māori text (Mikaere, 2011). For example, Article 2 of Te Tiriti states:

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu - ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. The Queen of England will make the arrangements and recognises the Tino Rangatiratanga (retained paramount and ultimate authority, which includes sovereignty) of the Rangatira, Hapu and all the people of New Zealand over their lands, villages and everything else that is held precious.

Note that this translation is not the English version from the signing but a more accurate translation by Network Waitangi Ōtautahi dated 2018. Many language scholars have agreed that Article 2 affirmed hapū tino rangatiratanga as had been outlined, signed and gazetted in He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tirenī – The Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand (Mikaere, 2011). However, within a few short years, Queen Victoria’s promise was dishonoured as evidenced in dishonest land sales, colonial legislation and preparations for a series of military invasions against hapū (O’Malley, 2019). Subsequent opportunities to honour the text of te Tiriti o Waitangi are still to be fully effected by the Crown and settler colonial governments. Presently, there are members of parliament who still deny the place of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and use election years to challenge it’s constitutional importance as a cynical way to win votes from certain sectors of society (Doyle, 2023).

With regards the Waikato invasion, visiting rangatira in London had an audience with Queen Victoria on the 15th July 1863. At the time, Queen Victoria was recorded as saying ““They all kissed my hand and behaved extremely well’. Three days before, on July 12 1863, the Queen’s soldiers had invaded the Waikato” (Belich & Stephens, 1998). The Waikato invasion resulted in many lives lost, horrific injuries including rape of children and women, confiscation of millions of hectares of land (Belich & Stephens, 1998), Tāwhiao the Māori King lived in exile, starvation, with economic destitution, poor health and homelessness for descendants of the Indigenous hapū. Historian Vincent O’Malley stated “It was not just a great war for New Zealand. It was *the* great war for New Zealand, with consequences that continue to be felt – if not always remembered – in multiple ways today” (2019, p. 601). Victoria’s descendant the late Queen Elizabeth II made her apologies in person and in writing to the descendant of Tāwhiao, the late Queen Te Atairangikaahu, in 1995 (Herald Online, 2013).

UK scholar Kehinde Andrews notes that settlements and reparations to Indigenous peoples “have been offensively small and little more than token gestures” (Andrews, 2021, p. 83).

Both examples are exemplars of occupation as a series of separations as they highlight how separating spoken, agreed and trusted word from deed, are integral to a colonial way of being. Everyday Western colloquialisms such as ‘actions speak louder than words’ and ‘sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me’ also speak to an ideology that treats spoken word and deeds as different and separate. However, the notion that it is possible to separate one’s word and one’s deed is not the only separation. There is also the separation between one’s integrity, trustworthiness and reputation. From a Māori perspective, such separation between word and deed is potentially problematic and can impact standing and authority. It is certainly not unheard of to say something and then purposefully do something contrary to what was stated. However, word as expressed in voice is considered a continuation of word expressed in text, and any subsequent actions. Moreover, the colonial separation of ‘thought, words and deeds’ is not a universally accepted practice and in fact, it appears to be properly colonial.

Occupation as continuum

By way of contrast, Māori creation stories tell us that we are related, connected and must therefore live well alongside each other. This shared fundamental belief about the place of humans as carers and guardians of all the creature families, means that wholesale ideologies like extractive industry and Papatūānuku as real estate, are viewed as extremely harmful for all of creation. Our ontologies and epistemologies clearly indicate a particular perspective of sentience and aspects of wānanga, language and thoughts within that. Moreover, they signal

that there is flow, connection and rhythm that move and carry conscious intention across different expressions as opposed to compartmentalisations of thoughts, words and deeds.

In addition, in pre-colonial times stories and strategy were expressed in many and various voiced and art forms including haka, oriori, tāniko and such, as opposed to written script. Within my whānau, there are stories of tohunga who healed through the use of voice and voicing alone. Words are believed to be powerful means to heal and harm and evidently, words are used to produce colonialism as well as to liberate. Taken together, it is clear that spoken word was hugely significant and regarded seriously amongst hapū. Everyday acts were less a series of separations, and more a continuum, so that 'thoughts, words and deeds' are understood as a continuous flow of expression.

Therefore, the colonial notion that 'talk' is separate or somehow different in nature from 'deed' is challenged by the perspective that everyday acts are simultaneously context and continuum. To illustrate, written into the Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga hapū Trust Charter is a maxim: "By your deeds we will know you". The maxim refers to deeds, because the spoken word to Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga are deeds, moreover deeds are regarded as an expression of character and identity. From this vantage, talk is not only deed, but is part of an occupational continuum of human doing that also includes thinking. Not only is talk deed, talk means something and conveys mana. Hence, there is no differentiation between racist acts and racist speech, because to express through language and speech a racist view, is to act in a racist manner. It is hard to believe and trust a profession, tutorial group or clinical team where expressed derogatory remarks are not treated as derogatory acts or where racist speech is expected to be viewed as an unracist act.

Cognitive distortions

As a practitioner and senior lecturer in mental health and addictions, I have practiced and currently teach a clinical approach called Motivational Interviewing. Motivational Interviewing was developed by Bill Miller, Stephen Rollnick and colleagues in the US and “...uses an evidence-based set of clinical methods... [to]... enhance intrinsic motivation to change by exploring and resolving ambivalence” (M. Yeoman, personal communication, February 20, 2023). Motivational Interviewing is an empathic approach that aims to support alignment between values and expressed actions while holding a long-term optimistic perspective (Britt et al., 2014; Graham et al., 2004).

A key skill of Motivational Interviewing includes noticing expressions of cognitive distortions - thinking errors – and gently reflecting those errors whenever reasons for continued harmful substance use occur. This requires listening with care, without judgment and therapeutically responding to moments in conversation where a person may be discussing desire to change their use while also continuing harmful and sometimes risky use (Graham et al., 2004). Consequently, I began to recognise cognitive distortions in everyday conversation, but especially when hearing racist talk. I noticed an eerily similar way of speaking and acting between harmful and risky substance use and racist talk and actions. The separation between so-called espoused egalitarian beliefs and speaking racist talk is so pervasive that it is worth further analysis.

Racism - like addiction – allows for the rationalisation, moral justification and permitted use of harmful thinking and inhumane practices, especially where unexamined core beliefs exist. Such situations seem more frequent and harmful, where there is no social sanction and where minimal relationships have been established, for instance ‘keyboard warrior’

interactions. Moreover, it seemed that harmful thinking and inhumane practices (racism, oppression, harmful use of substances alike) are actually taught, transmitted and made routine inside everyday tasks of life – including speech acts. For example, where a colleague casually shared racist views with the new team member over lunch, where a mother refused to let her children learn ‘Chinese’ language and insists they instead have a study period twice a week, and where a new migrant argued against Māori colleagues in a quarterly governance meeting that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the same as The Treaty of Waitangi because ‘their tikanga advisor’ explained that to be the case.

Cognitive distortions can first appear as if they provide moral justification for harmful behaviours that are: against social norms, threaten health or lives, or against one’s own espoused beliefs (Graham et al., 2004). I outline four common examples of cognitive distortions using quotes from clinical practice and quotes from professional interactions with colleagues:

- Minimising: “It’s only one drink”.

“I think [x] did a great job chairing the meeting”. (Tauwiwi colleague to me about a meeting where the head of the institution thumped the desk, swore at me and another senior Māori practitioner, then left the board room. The chair then admonished my colleague and I for insisting a previous racist incident was discussed).

All-or-nothing thinking: “The voices don’t stop unless I use”.

“The Network doesn’t include anyone outside of Auckland so you don’t represent me”. (Māori practitioner that did not realise the Network meets via online platforms too).

Over-generalisation: “Everyone is using something”.

“I thought Māori didn’t need help with latching because you don’t feel as much pain”. (A recent Tauwiwi migrant when I shared about getting help with breastfeeding).

Rationalisation: “C’mon, it’s my birthday. Just have one with me”.

“None of you have a PhD, so I can’t employ you anyway”. (Head of school who felt this justified their having no Māori practitioners on staff, despite themselves being employed to teach when they did not have a PhD).

It appears that ignorance of core beliefs, not only allows for dehumanising words and actions to go unchecked, but such ignorance of self (values, beliefs, praxis) seems to give racism itself a kind of sentience. It is as if racism becomes an object or entity in and of itself, a theory and an idea that is separate to the do-er. Ironically, despite becoming expressed in the doing of everyday acts within a person’s social, cultural, political, spiritual and material contexts, racism can still be (colonially) held as somewhat distal, separate and outside of the do-er. A colonial practice of racism therefore is peculiarly a theory-only experience.

Separation in theory is separation in practice

The Person Environment Occupation or PEO model was developed in 1996 by Mary Law and colleagues at McMaster University, Canada. It enjoys wide readership across the US, Australia and is taught in New Zealand. The model is described as bringing together theory and practice so that occupational performance can be understood as complex transactions between a person and their environment (Law et al., 1996). The model is depicted as a Venn diagram where the three circles ‘Person’ ‘Environment’ and ‘Occupation’ overlap depending on circumstances. At the time, there was a growing awareness that disability needed to be regarded less as arising from within a person and more towards being about the person’s environmental supports and barriers (Law et al., 1996). As expected for an occupational therapy model, the developers of the PEO model drew from a number of different theories and disciplines including ecological theories, social and disability theories, psychology, architecture

amongst others (Law et al., 1996). Law and colleagues (1996) added that the model was designed to recognise complex 'transactions' of the person and environment rather than see the person as merely interacting with the environment. In addition, the model appears to only draw from Western notions of human occupation with little mention of culture. Culture is considered within a person and cannot be changed although according to the authors, a person can change their beliefs about their culture (Law et al., 1996). It is unclear if the authors are referring to ethnicity, race or culture in that sense.

Tellingly, the practitioner is required to engage in a Cartesian separation of parts in order to understand a whole picture of an individual's situation. Damasio (1994) a neurologist argued that the Cartesian praxis of inventing separations between thoughts, emotions, facts and reasonable actions is not borne out by neuroscience. Throughout his career, Damasio worked with persons affected by trauma specifically related to reasoning and found that rational thinking is not due to separating or privileging of logical processes, but that emotions and feelings are integral to reasoning (Damasio, 1994). Damasio described Descartes' conception of the mind and body as separate as 'Descartes' error' and argued for a way of thinking and teaching about the brain as much more than just the life-support system of the mind (1994). Instead, Damasio asserted that reasoning is the result of the complex and integrated body (1994).

Importantly, the PEO model, like others highlights a key aspect of a Western treatment of occupation in the profession. That is, that human agency and expression itself has become objectified through treating occupational performance as something that is only seen once it is outside of a person or when it is being done by an individual. Similarly, occupation has been defined as different from occupational performance as theorists chose to see occupation as form and occupational performance as doing of the form. The form, from this perspective, can

be made separate despite the obvious issue that human occupation must be done by humans. This goes part of the way to explain how racist speech expressed within the profession, is treated as somehow functionally different from racist actions. It also explains in part why occupational therapy and occupational science have yet to theorise the occupational performance of dehumanising beliefs through everyday occupations, despite being highly skilled in observing and analysing everyday occupations.

Ambivalence

Another key concept from Motivational Interviewing is the notion of ambivalence. Ambivalence is “a conflicted state where opposing attitudes or feelings coexist in an individual” (M. Yeoman, personal communication, February 20, 2023). Ambivalence is when a person is in two minds about making a change and

... on one hand want to change (however, this is an unknown and invokes fear) and on the other hand may also want to remain the same (this may be making the person feel miserable but at least it is known and familiar (Britt et al., 2014, p. 9).

Ambivalence can be uncomfortable because there appear to be reasons for and against a change in the situation and decisions for change - to act or not, to leave or stay for example – can be put off or delayed for later. If change was not previously on the agenda, the presence of ambivalence is seen as a positive signal that change is now being seriously considered (Graham et al., 2004).

I have noticed that when someone becomes aware of their privilege and unearned power they can feel ambivalent, discomfited and focus on costs to making a change to the (racist) status quo. Ambivalence is especially noticeable when there is talk about antiracism, Te

Tiriti o Waitangi and ongoing inequities. In learning environments, I have noted that some colleagues believe they might lose privilege, standing, opportunities and power, while some express guilt, hopelessness and anger. Many ask 'what can I do?' and I have noticed that it is especially useful for critical allies to guide the next steps in those particular conversations. Critical allies are trusted because they have lived experience of moving beyond ambivalence, discomforts and contradictions into action. Overall, critical allies can identify where naturalisation and normalisation of racism, prejudice and hate occurs via everyday occupations and then provide words, phrases, actions (big and small) that support connections instead of separations.

To support my understanding of the phenomenon of espousing racist views while seeing oneself as antiracist, I kept a journal section called 'racist things people say to me'. These were not intended to be a formal method of study, but more as a place for me to reflect, stew over and work through such racist talk and actions. There were several important realisations that are pertinent to this *Examinations* phase: that the espoused words and sentiments were about the person, their (usually) unexamined privilege and how they had been taught to perceive and be, with Indigenous practitioners. In *Chapter 10*, I write further about unexamined privilege and internalised oppression along with observations of critical ally praxis. I realised that the racist expressions, were not and hardly ever are, about me. Instead, the racist gaze that is sometimes turned my way has very little of me reflected in it and I have noticed that the people who hold me in that peculiar gaze, are merely relating to me as a functional object of colonialism.

Certainly, living in ways that do not suit and sit well with our beliefs is a very human phenomenon. For example, it is generally accepted now that if we drive less, waste less, consume and travel less, that we can slow climate change. Further, it is understood that unless

changes to everyday ways of living occur, continued deterioration of natural ecosystems and growing inequities for many millions of families will worsen. In this way, everyday occupation as a series of separations also includes occupation as inaction; refusal to act when there is a dire need for action. However, where word and deed are accepted as different, silence and inaction can hide, active disconnection and unrelatability follows, and dishonouring spoken words is institutionalised.

Occupation as having

The late legal philosopher Moana Jackson (2007) described colonisation as a process that took the human phenomenon of longing for someone else's stuff, to a culture replete with systems and agents who enact and profess to the moral rightness of their theft. From Columbus' staked flag to COVID-19 vaccination inequity, the thinking that informs the actions of colonisers in relation to Indigenous peoples globally are peculiar if terrifying. Identifying such peculiarities of thinking is achieved in part through critical observation of who is lauded and who is not. More often than not, those that have much, such as billionaires, celebrities, monarchs or billionaire-celebrity-monarchs, are lauded loudly and strategically across media platforms.

In 2022, the late Queen Elizabeth celebrated her 70th anniversary as head of the British commonwealth which raised again the question about the place of the monarchy in modern day society. The show *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver* highlighted footage of an interview with an English woman in 2015 who appeared to be near Windsor Castle in London (Oliver & Pennolino, 2022). She was asked what was good about the monarchy "I just think it's nice that we have it...it's nice that we have it. It's a British thing isn't it, and I think a lot of people would like *what we have* [emphasis added]". The idea or belief that the people 'have' the monarchy

and that the monarchy belongs and exists for the people is a clever mind trick. For the most part, it is the monarchy that owns and possesses properties and riches which arguably are not in any pragmatic and useful way 'for the people'. Although, the monarchy did lend legitimacy to departing subjects to continue in the ongoing plunder of colonies allowing creation of nations similar 'but better than Britain'. In addition, the sense that for herself as a British woman, 'having' a monarchy seemed to be related to her identity, perhaps 'having' a monarchy was for her, an identity marker. This is how 'having' is related to 'being' despite the fact that the person herself receives no tangible benefits, except for an idea or belief that she does *have* a monarchy. My final comment is the woman's expressed idea that "people would like what we have" signals a way of being that involves 'having' and possessing in comparison to what others have. In this case, having a monarchy, albeit a centuries old hereditary institution built on theft, enslavement and ongoing public financial support (Oliver & Pennolino, 2022), was not in any way harmful or concerning to her. She also gave no indication that she was aware of colonial harms committed by the British monarchy.

Certainly, Western notions and consequent practices are deeply rooted in ideologies of ownership and possession (Freire, 1970). Raymond Nairn and Tim McCreanor (2022) describe how Pākehā/settler race-talk in Aotearoa New Zealand contributes to the ongoing maintenance of "social control of Māori and the naturalisation of racism" (p. 153). The authors highlight how a particular social commentator's pejorative remarks about Māori are meant to seem comedic and therefore render the comments somehow less racist. One particular commentary stated that Māori ought to be doing menial tasks to show gratitude to settlers on a mockingly proposed annual public holiday. The commentary was also about asserting a colonial desire to 'have Māori', especially Māori who can, will or should do things for settlers, a harken back to times when Māori women were educated primarily in domestic duties and skills.

Having as doing – more tricks

Racist commentary designed to shock and race-bait is as important to analyse and dismantle and as much as theories and models of practice, because at their heart is the same ideology: supremacy. Karen Whalley Hammell, a critical activist scholar, has voiced and written about her concerns within the theorising, teaching and practice of occupational therapy for many years (2009a, 2011). More recently, in her 2020 book *Engagement in living: critical perspectives on occupation, rights, and wellbeing*, Hammell argues that critical approaches to occupational therapy and occupational science are the only way that the profession can grapple with the inherent colonialism in our theories and practices.

One of Hammell's early concerns was with how the profession created occupational categories of self-care, productivity and leisure, but that many meaningful occupations such as connecting and showing care for others, just do not fit neatly within these categories (2009b; 2022). She argued that some occupations of productivity can cause harm and injury, that productivity is not universally prized and that leisure is ableist and classist (2009b). In addition, the categories of daily occupations are treated as places where someone either *has* or *has not* got ability, skill, capacity or resources to engage and participate in said occupation. This includes rehabilitation plans that focus on 'having' access to self-care, 'possessing' productive jobs and roles, and 'having or taking' leisure opportunities. Interestingly, the most recent version of the Canadian Model of Occupational Participation (Egan & Restall, 2022) has removed categories of occupation.

Occupational therapy self-identifies as 'the doing profession' (Wilcock, 1998b). However, I argue that the profession conflates doing with having. For example, I am often told that 'we *have* a diversity policy', 'we *have* Māori contractors', 'we *have* powhiri for every new

staff member'. By 'having' diversity policy, diverse staff and cultural protocols it is inferred that diversity is being done, yet merely being in "...the possession of a term does not bring a process or practice into being..." (hooks, 1994, p.61). In practice, they are not themselves getting things done, rather they are directing that resource and attention on certain tasks occur. This is not the same as ensuring a culturally safe workplace nor being a practitioner that has colleagues and families describe them as culturally safe. Indeed, I flinch when I hear occupational therapists self-identify as culturally safe. Instead, I would expect that therapists might humbly share that colleagues or families have expressed that the therapist's actions made them feel culturally safe. It seems vicarious and somewhat removed to imagine the self as a knower because one possesses readings, powerpoint presentations and information.

Charles Te Ahukaramu Royal (2009) stated that mātauranga arises from doing that is taken for granted as contextual and with regards to relationships and relatedness, and that mātauranga is expressed in the *doing* of life. Yet, I have met occupational therapist leaders who espouse to be 'learning' to be culturally safe and 'getting better' when it comes to enacting antiracism practices. It is my observation that antiracist practice occurs directly and in place, every time it is needed and what is more, the practitioner and practice settings have reputations for antiracist praxis. Repeated claims of being a perpetual learner of cultural safety, antiracism and decoloniality are 'get out of jail free' cards where one can both claim to be a knowledge holder and, be under no obligation to practise said knowledge. From a mātauranga perspective, a knowledge holder is one who practices said knowledge, every time, everywhere.

Another occupational therapy conceptual framework worthy of examination is the notion of occupation as 'doing, being and becoming'. This was first articulated by Ann A. Wilcock in 1998 and presented in her keynote at the WFOT Congress, Montreal and subsequent

publication *Reflections on doing, being and becoming* in the Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy. Wilcock expressed a desire to move away from medicalisation of occupational therapy and overt focus on what had become core aspects of rehabilitation practice such as activities of daily living, equipment prescription and techniques (1998b). Wilcock drew primarily from evolution and biological theories about the brain, added Western sociological, anthropological and health promotion perspectives. It was an important contribution at the time because it supported the organisation and framework building central to the new emerging field of occupational science (Wilcock, 1998a).

In time, 'belonging' was added as the fourth aspect of the model, and according to Hitch & Pepin (2021), together they represent a paradigm, specifically the Pan Occupational Paradigm (POP). The POP was developed using this and several other models including Kielhofner's 1980 Model of Human Occupation (MOHO), the Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists, the 2007 second edition of The Canadian Model of Occupational Performance and Engagement (CMOP-E) model, Iwama's 2006 Kawa Model and Schkade and Schultz 1992 Occupational Adaptation (OA) model. Essentially, Hitch and Pepin (2021) corralled a number of well-known and used models to infer a paradigmatic perspective of occupation based on Wilcock's 1998 model. However, the 'doing, being, becoming and belonging' model or paradigm I argue, pre-supposes having. That is, 'doing, being, becoming and belonging' all assume having resources, choice, control, opportunities, time, social structures and support to engage in a way that health and wellbeing are possible, desired or enhanced. This is simply not the case for many communities outside of developed, Western, global north, middle-class, cis, able spaces of privilege (Hammell, 2009b).

Occupational balance is another notion that has fallen out of Wilcock's conceptual framework (Kosma et al., 2013). Clouston (2014) argued that "achieving occupational balance

through participation in 'doing' and 'being' occupations enhances personal and social wellbeing" (p. 507) but her research highlighted that the occupational therapists (research participants) did not achieve occupational balance. In her study with practitioners who teach about occupational balance, few achieved work-life balance, and some interpreted this as a personal failing (Clouston, 2014). If occupational balance ever did exist, it is certainly not going to be enhanced by neo-liberal markets and instead occupational therapists are "unwitting participants in market cultures, accepting paid work as the ultimate goal for participation and engagement" (Clouston, 2014, p. 514). 'Unwitting participants' infers a level of trickery whereas occupational therapists and occupational scientists are all educated health professionals with a degree of power and autonomy.

However, like many conceptual wrangles that emerge from imperial and settler-colonial states, Hitch & Pepin's analysis (2021), Kosma and colleagues advocacy (2013) and Clouston's study (2014) made no mention of oppression, colonisation nor societal level dehumanisations. The socio-cultural positioning of the analysis and development environment of the POP was also missing and the model – like many occupational therapy models – focused on the individual with an afterthought for collectives. Kosma et al. (2013) argued that Wilcock's theories deserved wider use, fifteen years after it was first presented, but then failed to address lack of social positioning, oppression or universalism that critical occupational therapists have convincingly argued for (Hammell & Iwama, 2012; Hammell, 2020).

It would be accurate and somewhat more honest to be upfront and state that the models, paradigms and research are unapologetically from a Western paradigm. Essentially, Eurocentric hegemony is applied universally across occupational therapy theories and models (Hammell, 2020). To theorise uncritically and without mention of the colonial project, is to skip out of paying the bill, to take scholarly attention and resources without consideration of the

costs of ignoring critical decolonial approaches. It is also an utterly colonial way of being. We need to expect much more of our conceptual frameworks especially when critical scholarship has revealed much about global epistemologies, philosophies, occupational contexts, politics and histories. So while we call for global south theorising, we must also call for an end to uncritical reckons, insist on fair academic appointments, stop accepting research proposals and conference abstracts that continue Western only treatment of occupation, and finally incorporate the charge that Western notions of occupation and occupational performance are simply not shared by everyone.

Organisational expressions of occupational as ‘separations’ and ‘having’

The notion of ‘occupation as having’, is a colonial indicator of where power sits. Amongst occupational therapy and occupational science, power appears to sit with those who set and accredit training programmes, and subsequently, those who can afford to attend, teach, lead and research within said training programmes. This is not obvious if one comes from a position of privilege, where one has never needed to think about restricted access to what is ordinary, usual and expected. Likewise, it is difficult to imagine life without freedom to do, if one has always had the freedom to do. However, when one experiences the flip side of the colonial coin, everyday tasks/expressions of humanity are all about – not who has rights and freedoms to do – but who gets to have rights and freedoms to do as routine and expected part of living.

The World Federation of Occupational Therapy (WFOT) is an organisation that sets practice standards, espouses global representation and voice, but acts colonially. This organisation has set itself up as an authority to the profession and representative body to the

World Health Organisation and various other global organisations. Like many such developments post World War II, the WFOT founders included mostly settler-colonial nations including New Zealand and the newly apartheid South African state's association (WFOT, n.d.). In 2020, WFOT issued a public statement condemning systemic racism, however it was considered too superficial for the then New Zealand association to publish without further commentary. 'Having' a public statement about condemning systemic racism is conflated with 'doing something'. Finding, mapping and working to end systemic racism has never been on the WFOT agenda and it is unlikely that national occupational therapy organisations have done anything other than performing condemnation.

In New Zealand the membership society assumed, that having a governance board with equal numbers of Tauwiwi and Tangata Whenua representatives, meant that power was being shared with Māori. It was almost as if colonial ways of doing governance and historical ways of relating with Māori would spontaneously stop and new equitable Treaty partnerships would duly arrive. This same erroneous assumption was presented at international conferences and publications to audiences that could never ask Māori collectives how the new partnership benefited us. Equally though, there is no system, habit, or routine in place where international colleagues could ask and be accountable to each other with regards Indigenous communities. It is worth reflecting on both the mechanisms that support the need for Tauwiwi to spread such a narrative and the global profession's willingness to uncritically accept the line that Tauwiwi were doing well with Māori. 'Having Māori' at colonial governance tables is conflated with being a good Treaty partner. In the end it was another cynical method of assimilation.

Colonialism hides in the gaps between colonial polities and colonially constructed narratives, especially in phrases such as 'that's not in our remit/budget or this year's policy cycle' and 'we've already agreed the best course of action'. The somersaults, backflips and side

steps mask the fact that there is much work and effort going into ensuring that there is no plan to decolonise, but instead, there is much effort dedicated to looking as if there is. Moral justifications and rationalisations of harmful and oppressive behaviour occur through cognitive distortions and lack of social checks. Such social inventions benefit the colonial project which in turn institutionalises the praxis of dishonouring spoken and written words. It is not only socially permitted to say something that reflects egalitarian views and then not follow through on agreed or subsequent actions, but also expected and usual from our most privileged and resourced governing, educational and research spaces.

Summary

Colonisation has amplified the human penchant to defend dehumanising behaviour by creating an imaginary separation between actions and talk. Where spoken word and written text are valued as deed, it can feel both confounding and chilling that a colleague can engage in racist talk while successfully arguing that they are not doing or engaging in racism. As well, when observing racism as it is transmitted in everyday language and tasks it becomes clear that dehumanising ways of being are normalised through everyday acts. Many occupational therapists and occupational scientists are blindfolded by inherited privilege and have chosen complicity in colonial theorising as evidenced in the continuing perpetuation of apolitical and ahistorical theorising. This means that as perfectly positioned as the profession is to contribute meaningful analysis about links between colonialism and occupation in relation to wellbeing, only a few scholars have done so.

Treating human occupations as objectifiable because they are seen or done outside of oneself – as opposed to the expression of desire, imagination, agreement, strategy that is part of a continuum – means that there is an imagined break or severing of self to expressed acts.

This break, this imagined gap however, is where irresponsibility, deception, violence with impunity, forgetting, inaction in the face of injustice thrives. It is a mind trick as well as a basis of – or perhaps expression of – hegemony. Some theorising is more akin to a seesaw; movement is perceptible, but even after decades of learning about oppression, opportunities and rights, some new theorists and older organisations are returning to colonial theoretical foundations. This means there is little to no change and benefits of scale for communities we serve. Part of the reason for this is the embedded nature of coloniality in our language and terminology, our influencers (paternalism, ableism, medicine and management) and our still maturing capacity to grapple with these and less visible impacts on thinking and practice.

This chapter argued against colonial distractions of siloed thinking and highlighted how a Western perspective of occupation, as espoused in occupation studies, is itself a vehicle of the colonial social project. Specifically, occupation *is the societal context* in which colonialism hides and thrives in plain sight. In the next chapter, *Examinations* phase continues with an analysis of the notion occupational justice which is arguably one of the most effective colonial distractions to date. As mentioned in my candidacy report, occupational justice is a notion that has enjoyed wide acceptance and promotion across both occupational therapy and occupational science, despite the limited definitions of key terms including occupation and justice (Bailliard, 2016; Gupta, 2016; Hammell, 2017). Key concerns about the concept of occupational justice include a lack of theoretical humility (Hammell, 2011) and the universalism that seems apparent when theories exclude global majority voices.

CHAPTER SIX: Occupational justice: Colonial business as usual?

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Introduction

This chapter is founded upon a Kaupapa Māori perspective of occupation whereby Māori are tangata whenua, people of the land; not *on* or *over* the land, but *of* the land (Jackson, 1993). Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) is our heritage and legacy. Success is measured in occupations of kaitiaki (guardians and protectors) of Papatūānuku, not statues or empires. Central to a Māori worldview is a belief that humankind exists *with* and *alongside* all of creation (Mikaere, 2011) and where natural ecosystems feed our languages and frame our collective ethic of responsibility to each other. Daily occupations are where *tikanga* or codes of living with collective concern for all (then, now and in the future) are practiced. Despite this, daily occupations, are experienced through a filter of British colonialism, which although denied, is still everywhere (Jackson, 2007; Mutu, 2019). Daily racialised discourse in main(white)stream media regenerates and reproduces colonial injustices through negative, demeaning and unjust narratives about Māori (Moewaka Barnes, Taiapa, Borell, McCreanor et al., 2013; Nairn, Moewaka Barnes, Rankine, Borell, Abel & McCreanor, 2011; Wall, 1997).

Western ideologies and systems of occupation and justice are implicated in the colonisation of Indigenous peoples worldwide. Yet, colonialism, racism and privilege are minimally acknowledged and examined within occupational therapy and occupational science literature, as evidenced in uncritical development of notions of 'occupational justice'. The

purpose of this chapter is to open a discussion of how and why theories and approaches to justice have developed as they have in Aotearoa New Zealand. As well, this chapter furthers a burgeoning field of Indigenous perspectives and critiques of colonial theorising within the profession, while highlighting local Indigenous justice frameworks including Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Matike Mai Aotearoa.

Predictably, colonialism is minimally examined in occupational justice approaches and promotion. Certainly, across my lifetime, most racist encounters - interpersonal and institutional - occur in and around the profession of occupational therapy. Once I discerned that settler colonialism – practices of exerting economic and political control - was in play in multiple spheres including institutions, theories and models of practice my attention turned to calling for honest examination of colonialism within the profession. Scaffolding such an examination are Indigenous justice frameworks that can advance critical praxes of decolonising occupation and re-connecting occupation with justice and equity.

Certainly colonising philosophies and habits are insidious, yet it is possible to unshackle them from Indigenous theorising and lifeways (Pihama, 2010; Thiong'o, 1986) by returning home to our own rich and complex understandings and languages (Carlson, Moewaka Barnes, Reid, & McCreanor, 2016; Mikaere, 2011; Smith, 2012). Despite land and resource theft, race-based laws and practises favouring non-Māori for over 180 years, Māori strive to create and dwell within our spiritual and intellectual free-doms. From a Māori cosmogenic perspective, occupations such as theorising and dreaming are healing and connection-enabling. However, to realise some of the depth and potential of occupation, decolonisation is required alongside continual identification of the nature and function of colonialism's occupation within occupational therapy.

Historical roots of occupational justice

As incursions go, the Euro-British colonisation of much of the globe over the last six centuries had unprecedented complexity and reach (Pieterse & Parekh, 1995). Europe had arrived at a turning point and after millennia of invading and colonising within, wealth, materials and opportunities were sought beyond traditional trade boundaries (Smith, 2012). At the centre, was a distinct cultural mindset that formed the foundation of Western hegemony affecting politics, philosophy, technology and science (Pieterse & Parekh, 1995). Wealthy landowners, sovereigns, governments and eager followers of capitalism combined forces across European states (Bedggood, 1980) to capitalise systems of slavery and land theft (Jackson, 2007).

The tone of relationships with Indigenous peoples was set by particular creation stories (e.g. scientific thinking and Christianity), a competitive race for extractable resources and deficit views of Others (Henderson, 2000; Smith, 2012). Philosophers of the European Enlightenment such as John Locke influenced societal views of everything from politics and legal institutions, parenting, to science, including the 'state of nature' of Indigenous peoples (Cunningham, 2006; Henderson, 2000). Locke also owned shares in slave trading vessels (Cryan, Shatil & Piero, 2009) and contended that seemingly 'under-utilised' lands attested to a low intellect of Indigenous people who consequently deserved no property rights (Brookfield, 2006). This worldview, systems of warfare, government, justice, economics, health and infrastructure, were imported and constructed to closely mimic the 'mother country' (Bedggood, 1980; Belich, 1986). Despite the devastation Locke's philosophies brought on multiple Indigenous communities, his particular philosophies of occupation and how occupation ought to be studied are highly valued within occupational science (e.g. Wilcock, 2001).

Today Aotearoa New Zealand is home to Indigenous collectives now known as Māori, descendants of British settlers and a growing super-diverse population of 5 million people. In 1835, He Whakaputanga The Declaration of Independence was signed by 52 rangatira (Māori leaders) and counter-signed by King George IV as an affirmation of sovereignty and in response to European settlement and trade regulations (Keane, 2012). When in 1840, a treaty -Te Tiriti o Waitangi - was signed between the British Crown and rangatira, Māori were re-signalling continued sovereignty over their lands and resources (Mikaere, 2011) and a concern for just rights for all (Keane, 2012). However, before that decade had ended, the Crown had fomented and initiated war with Māori (O'Malley, 2019), effectively extinguishing any social justice potential of He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This history ensures that for both Māori and settlers, colonisation is far from 'over' (Mutu, 2019; Smith, 2012).

In 2007, like Canada, Australia, and the United States of America, Aotearoa New Zealand voted against the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (United Nations, 2007). It was not lost on the Indigenous peoples of these countries, that each of us had experienced a British-European style of colonisation.

Occupational therapy derives from the same colonial societies that sustain the exploitation of Indigenous peoples territories and consequential inequity of occupational opportunity. It is somewhat expected then that promotion of occupational justice has by and large excluded mention and discussion of colonisation.

Lack of critical debate across the profession about the European colonisation of the 'modern world' is therefore a predictable symptom of colonialism with the primary source and style of theorising emanating from the Global North (Hammell, 2011; Iwama, 2003). New Zealand proponents have similarly maintained active silence on colonisation - an unparalleled system of injustices - and have minimally engaged with some powerful templates of social

justice; He Whakaputanga, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. Instead, a plethora of research projects, papers and programs based on occupational injustice experiences of Others have ballooned (Bailliard, 2016; Gupta, 2016).

Despite efforts to see and overcome injustice, there remains a powerful and socially sanctioned myopia that distorts how 'occupation' and 'justice' are viewed and treated. Such distortions affect descendants of colonisers and contribute to a subsequent collective amnesia that facilitates ongoing suppression of exactly how they came into that power (Borell, Moewaka Barnes, & McCreanor, 2018; Nairn, 1989). For example, the 1854 English Acts Act enshrined and protected English views, systems and practices of justice, law, land and trade (Moewaka Barnes, 2008). From this perspective, it is possible to perceive how colonial power maintains privilege, controls occupational opportunities, determines law, and disfigures justice. Ongoing colonialism and its legacies continue to perpetuate great inequity of resource, power and health (Robson, 2007).

This article posits that in the face of centuries of colonial 'forgetting' and conferred privilege, theoretical development and promotion of western styles of 'occupational justice' render it another iteration of colonialism. Before engaging an ethical imperative of 'occupational justice' to orient services to "promoting fairness, equity and empowerment for participation in occupations for the purposes of health and quality of life" (Durocher, Rappolt & Gibson, 2014, p. 431-2), we must first ensure we possess a capacity to perceive and shift colonial privilege to engage in actionable and accountable transformation. Indigenous thinkers and allies have staked out useful theory and critique of colonialism and decolonisation to assist with defining a scope of this challenge. For example, Smith (2012, p. 22-24) described colonialism as an outpost and "realization of imperialism ... a system of control which secured

the markets and capital investments” of territories and nations through genocide and appropriation, while utilising particular tale-telling methods of struggle and victory. Despite incalculable loss several Indigenous concepts and approaches “to counter the injustices of colonisation” and characterised by “unified, dynamic and relational” concerns for whenua (lands and waters), have reoriented attention and approach (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019, p. 1). Certainly, displacing colonial power and privilege makes way for ancient justice practices and healing pathways for both colonised and beneficiaries of colonisation alike (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Ramugondo, 2018; Smith, 2012) such as Matike Mai Aotearoa.

The following section begins with an exploration of how settler colonialism usurps social justice in Aotearoa New Zealand. Occupational stages of colonisation are then explicated to highlight how everyday occupations maintain colonialism and how justice is inevitably disfigured by colonialism. The profession’s early reluctance to define (Hammell, 2016) and “deepen philosophical understandings” of occupational justice (Bailliard, 2016, p. 3) is also explored. This article concludes with an invitation to critically reflect and collectively engage with multiple and varied strategies of decolonising occupations as suggested by critical activist scholars and Indigenous communities of Aotearoa New Zealand, Canada and across the globe.

Unrealised social justice potential of a treaty

By 1840 in Aotearoa New Zealand, a treaty was signed - Te Tiriti o Waitangi - between William Hobson (the British Crown representative) and some 500 Māori tribal leaders across the country. Te Tiriti o Waitangi has unique potential to justly unite two very distinct cultures (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016). The second article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi guaranteed continued Māori sovereignty over lands and treasures (Orange, 2004) and includes customs and practices.

However, the Treaty of Waitangi (the English version) is not an accurate translation and instead usurps Māori sovereignty, while Te Tiriti o Waitangi affirms it. The state of confusion occurred before Hobson signed, as evidenced in Lord Normanby's 'Instructions to Hobson' as Secretary of State for War and Colonies:

...the increase of natural wealth and power promised by the acquisition of New Zealand, would be a most inadequate compensation for the injury which must be inflicted on this Kingdom itself, by embarking in a measure essentially unjust, and but too certainly fraught with calamity to a numerous and inoffensive people, whose title to the soil and to the Sovereignty of New Zealand is indisputable.... (Normanby, 1839, as cited in McIntyre & Gardiner, 1971, pp. 10-17).

This quote suggests that behind the Treaty lay a genuine humanistic conscience. Even so, such beliefs were effortlessly eclipsed by London capitalist enterprises founded on selling illicitly purchased Māori land to settlers keen to flex newly acquired 'property rights' (Nairn, 1987). In the end, Te Tiriti o Waitangi was universally ignored and rejected by New Zealand's legal fraternity (Mikaere, 2011), majority of settlers and their descendants for the subsequent 180 years (Abel, McCreanor & Moewaka Barnes, 2012). Diluted re-interpretations of the Treaty's English language version receive token attention in government policies and procedures (Came, Cornes & McCreanor, 2018; Mutu, 2019). The superficial acknowledgment and general confusion persists (Mikaere, 2011) across social, education, business and health sectors including occupational therapy schools and departments. Consequently, any social justice potential of Te Tiriti o Waitangi remains unrealised (Royal, 2007).

The British colonisation of New Zealand caused near complete genocide of some Māori collectives via novel diseases, war, land confiscations, mass British immigration and tribal

displacement, imposition of knowledge systems and foreign daily occupations (Durie, 1994; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Pool & Kukutai, 2018). Indeed, Māori health and prospects are similar to most other Indigenous peoples who endure a Lockean justified style of colonisation (Battiste, 2000; Morrissey, 2003; Paradies, 2016). Economic, political and ideological assaults forced Māori to protect the right to have ever existed (Bedggood, 1980). Such predictable outcomes of colonisation occur as a direct result of imposed ideologies of justice and fairness within an introduced legal system that asserts itself as universal and just (Mikaere, 2011). Despite colonial promises of 'civilisation' for Māori, health and economic data show that even when controlled for income and class, disparities for Māori have worsened and continue to do so (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Robson & Harris, 2007).

And what of the beneficiaries of colonisers? They and new migrants speak the particular language of the colonial officials, soldiers and settlers, and treat the world and each other, through the same state-sanctioned globalising neoliberal philosophies and theories of the anglophone world (Fanon, 1961; Memmi, 1965). These philosophies inked socio-political blueprints that scaffold contemporary colonialism such as gender pay gap, institutional racism, environmental protections for industry and homelessness. Ensuring this continued undercurrent of colonialism are self-justifying mass media discourses of the Euro-British settler history in Aotearoa New Zealand (Abel et al., 2012).

Kouri and Skott-Myhre (2016) assert that disavowal of colonial history and consequently Indigenous presence is an invisible foundation of settler colonialism. Further, a cornerstone of New Zealand society is the deliberate miseducation about the colonial takeover of Aotearoa (Nairn, 1987; Mutu, 2019). Thus, the profession has by and large neglected examination of the relationship between occupation and colonisation, despite enthusiasm for occupational justice. Perhaps such neglect is a result of the greater colonial task; to ignore and mask any history or

story that might challenge the master narrative of 'fair conquest' and 'best race relations in the world' (Nairn, 1989).

Occupation: a tool to colonise

Occupation "can be a site of both resistance to and reproduction of the social order" (Angell, 2012, p. 104). The profession is yet to examine why the British-European colonial social order is the social order being reproduced and universalised. Instead, occupational justice proponents tend to become overly concerned with cultural difference and/or competency (Beagan & Etowa, 2009) and lean-in to descriptions of occupational injustice variants as observed in Others (Bailliard, 2016; Hammell, 2016). If the status quo remains unchanged or inequity is maintained, such explicit over-concern for the occupational wounds of the oppressed Other, only obscures hoarded gains to privileged groups.

From a Māori vantage, the term 'occupation' is generally understood to mean a 'sit in'; a place-specific event where Indigenous collectives assert sovereignty over colonial attempts to take land by literally 'sitting on' the land. Māori understandings and uses of the term 'occupation' are worthy of explication because they highlight some of the dynamic, slippery and complex relationships of the term with colonisation, actions of colonisers and Indigenous responses to colonial challenges to sovereignty. Indeed, occupation and colonisation are intricately interwoven (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018). Early conceptualisation of four occupational stages of colonisation of the Indigenous mind are described below. Each stage severs connection of Indigenous minds to Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), creature families, communities, routines, body and self-belief to say nothing of impacts on spirit and life purpose.

Settler occupations of research.

Colonisation starts with 'occupations of research', where 'savage lands' are brought into order via charting, measuring, counting, observing and recording (Smith, 2012). In her landmark 1999 book *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Smith astutely described imperial motivations and colonial functions of research; to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their lands. The British colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand was underpinned by 'enlightenment' ideological justifications regarding the annexation of Indigenous spaces (Brookfield, 2006). However, few imperial explorers seemed able to keep 'objective scientific enquiry' separate from their imperial capitalist motivations (Smith, 2012), thus research occupations often occurred alongside trade, kidnapping, killing and theft (Anderson et al., 2014). Despite transformational change to research practice and methodology brought about by Indigenous peoples for Indigenous peoples, mainstream research *about* Indigenous peoples can still be designed, funded and executed by non- Indigenous people (Smith, 2012).

Settler occupation of Indigenous territories.

Colonisation continues with settler 'occupation of territories' from sacred to everyday communal spaces. A Māori perspective of whenua (land) and wai (waters) views whenua and wai as sacred gifts to be looked after for the benefit of all. Whenua and wai are *where* occupations are done and as such a Māori relational perspective of occupation with place is explicated. Land 'ownership' is therefore considered nonsensical. This contrasts starkly with Locke's notion of the right to private ownership of resources despite public and communal shared arrangements (Cryan et al., 2009). Consequently, colonial confiscation of whenua represents a "fundamental insecurity" where "seeds for the transgenerational transmission of

the trauma of colonisation are sown” (Reid, Taylor-Moore & Varona, 2014, p. 514 and 522).

Despite clear breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the English Acts Act cemented whenua as ‘property’ and placed Aotearoa under English law. Herein, the settler colonial ‘justice’ system was enabled and continues to play a key role in the colonial capitalist agenda (Moewaka Barnes, 2008).

Settler occupation of Indigenous bodies and time.

Following theft of lands, colonisation further manifests in the occupation of hands and time (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018). This occurs in two phases, firstly denigration, outlawing and criminalising of daily occupations of Indigenous peoples such as language, ritual, healing and food gathering practices, and secondly by imposition of foreign daily routines and occupations (Memmi, 1965; Thiong’o, 1986; Walters et al., 2011). For example, separation of children from family collectives to attend ‘school’ meant that Māori children were vulnerable targets within the ‘civilising mission’ (Simon & Smith, 2001). The education system is a powerful site of racism and prejudice for Māori while simultaneously privileging the beneficiaries of colonisation (Bishop, 1998; Mikaere, 2011).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, colonisation was invigorated by creation of a cheap labouring ‘underclass’ that is occupied primarily by Indigenous peoples (Walker, 1996). For Māori, daily collective-centric occupations imbued with relational philosophies, connections and collective reasoning were replaced by occupations that focused on the ‘independent’, ‘autonomous’ ‘individual’, and human labour value was measured in hours, rather than the full bellies and baskets of guests. Contesting settler colonial practises of choosing and engineering everyday occupations for Indigenous peoples is central to the Indigenous struggle (Fiddler & Peerla, 2009; Smith, 2012).

Settler occupation of Indigenous minds.

Colonial occupation of the mind is near-absolute when foreign philosophies, enforced laws, values, beliefs and sanctioned languages pre-occupy the mind (Fanon, 1961; Memmi, 1965). Jackson (2011) argued that the persistence and effectiveness of colonialism is due in part to the naturalisation of colonial narratives so that Māori come to uncritically accept an un-human version of who we are. Colonial narratives are conveyed through imposed schooling, broader social discourse and mainstream media agents in the language of the coloniser; arguably all arms of the same state sanctioned beast. Indigenous resistance to such discourse is framed as demanding 'special privileges' and working against the 'just application of one law for all' (Borell, Gregory, McCreanor, Jensen & Moewaka Barnes, 2009). Indigenous research on the health impacts of racist narrative and events on Indigenous bodies (e.g. Paradies, 2016; Walters et al., 2011) include measurement of the embodiment of colonialism (e.g. Currie, Copeland, Metz, Moon-Riley, & Davies, 2020; Paine, Harris, Stanley & Cormack, 2018; Shepherd, Li, Cooper, Hopkins & Farrant, 2017).

In summary, occupation is a tool to colonise and reproduce settler colonialism (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018). The many meanings of occupation used here make sense when understood as a function of imperialism (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018). Thus, occupational justice - if it can exist - must be concerned with how and why health and social inequities are caused and are reproduced. However, like occupation, justice must also be decolonised.

Justice; Whose justice?

The uncritical and universalist treatment of the word 'justice' and its juxtaposition with the term 'occupational' in occupational therapy and occupational science are problematic.

First, justice is not acultural; concepts of justice have particular philosophical foundations and are understood in a plethora of ways (Durocher, Rappolt & Gibson, 2014). Typically, for the colonised, 'justice' refers to colonial customs of justice and their ever-changing parameters. For example, in the name of justice, lands, homes, fishing areas and forests were alienated, burned and confiscated; not just for a season or fit purpose, but forever (Mikaere, 2011). Certainly, many Māori experiences of colonial 'justice' have been plainly criminal and illegal (Jackson, 2011). Hence, it is a struggle to discern exactly what justice is because its modern colonial use is extraordinarily ironic, complex and treacherous.

The normativity and invisibility of colonialism is apparent in the unacknowledged and unexamined social origins of the profession's founders. Thus, the universalist treatment of the notion of occupational justice is merely a continuation of a colonial task. It is agreed that pre-professional occupational therapy emerged within the time of the moral treatment era of the 18th century amongst asylum settings of Europe and Britain before being introduced to north America (Bing, 1981; Christiansen, 1991). Moreover, reflections on early beginnings of occupational therapy have generously emphasised the humanistic concerns and 'moral treatment' efforts of the 'founders' (e.g. Christiansen, 1991). However, the social context of classed, patriarchal, imperialist and raced ideologies along with consequent colonial privileges and benefits of the founders, are entirely ignored. Attention to the human rights of Indigenous peoples seemed beyond the reach of the early founders humanistic concerns. Instead, the enlightenment rationalism that imposed universalised anglophone standards of health is mimicked and reproduced.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, World War II provided the impetus for occupational therapy (Gordon, Riordan, Scaletti, & Creighton, 2009). Consistent with the mainstream colonial consciousness, Māori collectives and worldviews remained invisible to the fledgling profession.

While the numbers of Māori completing occupational therapy training have steadily increased since the 1990s, so too have complaints of prejudice and racism experienced by Māori students, practitioners and clients (Came, McCreanor, Haenga-Collins & Cornes, 2019; Gordon-Burns & Walker, 2015). In response, Māori practitioners have created an autonomous national network that offers peer and student support offering safe, critically aware spaces for Māori.

A third concern with the use of the term 'occupational justice' in Aotearoa New Zealand is the absence of Māori philosophies and practice of justice and law such as tikanga and restorative justice. Tikanga is the Māori system and practice of law (Mikaere, 2011) and requires immersion in a way of practicing a communal ethical responsibility for others within shared spaces over the courses of shared lives (Hoskins, 2012). Māori have always had and still have our own complex and enduring knowledge and practices of justice, rights and law (Irwin, 1994; Mikaere, 2011). Tikanga ensures re-connection between affected parties, families and communities and a restoration to an agreed justice. Although it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss and explore tikanga in depth, its relationship to a colonial practise of justice is ironically, almost the exact opposite. Failure to understand and acknowledge tikanga ensures that western theories and practices of justice, will continue to be universally imposed.

Tikanga is a key cornerstone of Matike Mai Aotearoa movement which represents a call for constitutional transformation (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016). Matike Mai Aotearoa is a collective of tangata Tiriti allies (settlers) and tangata whenua (Māori) who recognise the social justice potential of tikanga, He Whakaputanga (Declaration of Independence), Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. For three years, a working party surveyed thousands of tangata whenua and found that many had "an instinctive grasp of constitutional matters and their effects on them. They certainly also knew what it was in everyday terms, and ... what it was meant to be in treaty terms" (2016, p. 16).

Legal philosopher Moana Jackson (2007, p. 173) stated that it is in “the little everyday colonisations that we might most profitably find explanations”. As theorists, educationalists and prescribers of occupation that heals, we are called to recognise Indigenous knowledges and calls for constitutional transformation on everyday life.

Theorising, education and research that attends to the structures and processes that support oppression moves scholarship beyond describing predictable outcomes of colonialism for Others (Bishop, 1998; Gerlach, 2015; Hammell & Iwama, 2012; Smith, 2012). Some especially useful theories such as historical trauma (Reid et al., 2014; Walters et al., 2011) and historical privilege (Borell et al., 2018) have astutely described the compounding cumulative nature of colonisation on health. Increasingly, researchers, regulators and practitioners are implored to address the “causes of the causes of ill-health” (CSDH, 2007, p. 1153) such as practicing active vigilance of health systems that are enveloped in colonial and therefore racist contexts (Came & Griffith, 2018).

Likewise, activist scholars have critically examined a tendency to universalism (Fijal & Beagan, 2019; Gibson, 2020; Hammell, 2011; Iwama, 2003) and questioned the ‘normative standards’ from where diagnoses and judgements of occupational injustices occur (Hammell & Beagan, 2016). Guajardo Córdoba (2020) examined the trend of placing the word ‘occupational’ in from of terms such as ‘justice’, ‘marginalisation’, and deprivation’ as essentially “...arbitrary demarcations of a technical discourse that tries to support the idea that there is something that only belongs to OT and no one else.” (p. 10). Such critiques are rare however as many seem to stop short of naming racism and colonialism and are instead distracted by the desire to name occupational injustices sans oppression. Just why occupational justice continues to cross borders and find homes in willing mindscapes is complex but may include a universalist treatment of the terms *occupation* and *justice*.

Certainly, the “invisibility and normativity of whiteness” (Durie, 2003, p. 135) and an inability to imagine or credit the Other with organisation, justice and healing knowledge and practices, contribute to the complexity.

Decolonising Occupation

If colonisation is the Great Disconnect (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018), then decolonising occupation must include deliberate reconnection of purpose with spiritual, reverent aspects of collective being and doing. In the everyday praxis of healing colonised minds and souls, opportunities to enact connection and guardianship of Papatūānuku are decolonising occupations. Decolonised everyday occupations take many forms and inherently support freedom to do. Multiple and varied engagement opportunities for decolonising everyday occupations are possible, from constitutional transformation, Indigenous-led education programmes, tikanga informed practice, co-theorising to anti-racism praxis.

Decolonisation for Indigenous theorists and practitioners requires purposeful decentring of whiteness, deliberate blocking of the colonial gaze, and a return to Indigenous spaces, desires and hopes (Carlson et al., 2016; Iwama, 2003; Pihama; 2010). Indigenous occupational therapy might reclaim valued and healthful occupations such as dreaming, theorising, meeting, speaking, and listening that promote reconnection to self, one another, and nature. Indigenous practitioners might continue to practise ‘disobedience’ in refusing colonial inducements and ‘dangled carrots’ that promote deeper entrenchment within colonial systems. Gibson (2020) asserted that ultimately, decolonisation is about self-determination and therefore is a praxis of both politics and healing.

For beneficiaries of colonisers, an openness to working with Māori must come before being able to perceive, let alone diagnose, injustices that Māori experience (Huygens, 2010).

Hammell encouraged the development of “a healthy scepticism towards the assumptions perpetuated within our profession” (2009, p. 11), while developing cultural humility (Hammell, 2019). Together Indigenous and critical colleagues argue for respectful, conscious positioning in relation to privilege and oppression in theorising, scholarship and practise (Galheigo, 2011; Gerlach, 2015; Hammell & Iwama, 2012; Jungersen, 2002; Restall, Valavaara & Phenix, 2019). Tackling colonialism and racism through resistance and activism requires personal collective responses to systems that scaffold institutional racism (Came & Griffith, 2018; DiAngelo, 2018; Huygens, 2010). Furthermore, examination and devolution of power demands explicit refusal of the ‘option of silence’ (Cowlshaw, 2004; Durie, 2003), full expectation of racial discomfort (DiAngelo, 2018), confrontation of everyday “unjust exercise of power” (Jensen, 2005, p. 3) and ongoing practices of accountability to peer collectives.

Whether in Canada or Aotearoa New Zealand, a profession that is seeking to understand and clarify its contribution to decolonisation work at multiple levels must engage with local Indigenous justice frameworks. Similarly, the profession might create platforms of diverse collectives to strengthen co-theorising (Gerlach, 2015), triangulation of theories (Hammell, 2019), and apply a decolonising strengths-based framework at social and system levels (Gibson, 2020). This article invites and calls on theorists and practitioners to reach beyond critical reflection of individual practice. Instead, readers are invited to collectively and locally organise and strategise so that collective displacement of colonialism from theories, education institutions, organisations, frameworks and practice is enabled. Essentially, without freedom of colonialism from occupation, there can be no justice.

Conclusion

Like the 'Emperors New Clothes', occupational justice sounds attractive in theory, but is yet to evidence a turning tide against racism and colonialism - key social determinants of health - as practised across the profession. Colonialism mixed with philosophical beliefs about ownership of resources (capitalism) and racist theories of white supremacy persist in Aotearoa New Zealand today and are part of the origins of the occupational therapy profession. Having relegated Indigenous ways of doing everyday life to the 'colonial past', modern day beneficiary theorists have then taken up the space with uncritical reckonings that once again assert their knowledge as best. It is possible that having no theories is less racist.

Predictably then, an uncritical acceptance and universal promotion of 'occupational justice' endures. As well, a lack of temporal and social positioning of the persons and theories within occupational therapy practice contribute to the resilience of colonialism and explains why theorising alongside Indigenous peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand are atypical. This chapter questions the power of the profession to name, but not define, and to build entire papers and programmes based on an uncritiqued colonial notion. At the heart of this critique is a desire to spotlight and identify where and who has the power to direct attention and resources, set audit and practice standards, and determine what is considered and valued as knowledge.

Previous United Nations director, Erica-Irene Daes shared an important insight on the power of privilege, "You cannot be the doctor if you are the disease" (2000, p. 5). Being healed from such a thought disease requires relentless critical inquiry into the *whys* and *hows* of every system, every theory and every occupation. This chapter challenges the practice of using occupational justice as a notion amongst a profession that prefers assimilated, de-powered,

and dis-connected 'individual' approaches. To that end, *Examinations* phase continues with *Chapter Seven*: a discussion about the risks to the profession of continued under-theorising of occupation that privileges Western-only praxis. *Chapter Seven* also highlights and platforms critical occupational therapy literature that directly engages power structures and suggests future spaces that theorising could explore. In addition, occupations that characterise colonisation are presented using a 'taxonomy of human occupations in colonial spaces'.

Examinations phase begins to point toward *Disruption* phase where local collectives organised and contributing to the development of a self-aware and self-determining profession is envisaged. Such a profession would also be fully cognisant of the terrific unrealised potential of occupation to both wound *and* heal.

CHAPTER SEVEN: A taxonomy of occupations in settler-colonial spaces and a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis tool

Introduction

The *Examinations* phase began with a philosophical exploration of the profession's colonial treatment of everyday human occupations where three aspects of the profession's treatment of occupation were identified and examined: 'occupation as a series of separations' in contrast to 'occupation as continuum', 'occupation as having' and 'occupational justice'. This chapter presents the examination of occupations that characterise colonisation using a taxonomy of human occupations in settler-colonial spaces (See Figure 2). The taxonomy describes occupations that both maintain and reproduce colonialism, and occupations that resist and transform colonialism. With regards occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism, the categories of dismantling occupation, imposed occupation and mis-occupation were developed.

The taxonomy was a way to organise observations and reflections from a Kaupapa Māori analysis perspective. I have utilised the same Kaupapa Māori principles that are detailed in *He Pua* phase, that were central to developing the *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* and practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua*. In this way, this chapter could also fit inside the *He Pua* phase because it is a presentation of thinking. Yet, it is placed here because the thinking is still very much centred on colonialism, whereas *He Pua* phase is about centring a Māori theory and practice model. This chapter ends with a brief critique about critical occupational therapy and critical occupational science literature.

A summary of the taxonomy is also presented in *Chapter Eight* which is also an in-press publication of the thesis *Decoloniality in action: A Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis of colonization*, in a Taylor and Francis book *International Handbook of Occupational Therapy*. Included in the publication is an outline and description of a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis tool which expands on a widely used tool of clinical practice – occupational analysis – that also engages directly with coloniality and racism.

Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation

Māori learners and practitioners of occupational therapy and occupational science have for some time questioned the Western treatment of human everyday acts. For two decades the Network has desired and talked about a Māori model of practice; one that makes better sense to us than ‘self-care, leisure and productivity’. We noticed the lack of Indigenous perspectives and understandings in literature and understood that the prevailing impression on students was that there weren’t any, implying that Indigenous peoples did not have that level of theorising. As we often do, many in the Network settled into busy clinic schedules upon graduation and such questions are left unexplored.

This Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation was ignited by two women and I would like to take a moment to celebrate their inspirations. The late Linda Wilson, a former head of school, Tiriti facilitator, Quaker and mentor would occasionally talk about possible PhD ideas with me. During one conversation, she stated clearly and plainly “Find the links between colonisation and occupation Isla”. In another conversation this time with Prof Leonie Pihama, she reiterated the key task that needed to be done “Decolonise occupation”. I realised the gravity of what both women had meant; they were not asking me to research how coloniality is expressed in occupational therapy, but to examine and decolonise the radical generative that is

occupation. This realisation had me withdraw from the fully funded PhD programme I was enrolled in and return to clinical practice for a time, while I began to simmer on the task these fiercely intelligent and big-hearted women had urged.

For a keynote in 2018, I had theorised a Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation by thinking about colonisation as occupational stages. The stages were further refined and presented in the second publication for this study. At the heart of this analysis was the knowledge that not only have Indigenous peoples theorised everyday acts for millennia, but our theorising is also inclusive, expansive, reveres Papatūānuku, and questions the relevance and necessity of colonial agents in our theorising. In addition, I presented ideas about how occupational therapists work with people who experience chronic health conditions, but do not think about let alone support Indigenous peoples to deal with colonialism, arguably the greatest chronic and enduring impact on health to date.

Ostensibly, a Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation is about process not just content. Content takes care of itself, and knowledge reveals itself 'in the doing of' and especially where tikanga is centred. However, the process of analysing occupation through a Kaupapa Māori lens is no small task. It calls for searingly honest self-appraisals of one's motivation, experience and capacity. Because ancient knowledge may be encountered, there needed to be careful and sound tikanga and habits that ensure respectful process. Physical spaces, health of the mind and body all impact the process and matter greatly because a Kaupapa Māori study is in the end calling for transformation. This means that those involved in the analysis must occupy spaces of healing and hold decoloniality as real time processes for each other. The work is scholarly, robust, *and* deeply humane.

A Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation is concerned with highlighting the colonialism of everyday occupations, that is, which occupations reproduce colonisation, how occupations

naturalise colonialism, and how colonialism is transmitted through occupations. It also analyses which occupations are disordered or privileged by colonialism and why, which occupations are forced, imposed, denied, halted, deemed illegal and why. Further, it takes for granted that Māori are experts in our everyday lives, that we are legitimate knowers of our realities, and that wairua is expressed in the going about of our everyday lives.

A Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis engages contexts where occupations are done. This includes all the privileges and trauma of colonality including socioeconomic realities, class, gender and identity, able and disabling environments, wellbeing and illbeing, racism and efforts to maintain and disrupt colonality. It also includes the 'behind the scenes' un-events of daily life, the un-named and barely noticed moments, bitparts, postures (ideological and bodily), gestures, interrupted thought continuums that reveal microcosms of colonialism within everyday tasks. When placed together, these microcosms indicate character, traits, and unnoticed colonialist ways of doing life. Evidently, everyday moments are where, and everyday occupations are how colonisation is carried out.

To manage observations and reflections from the Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation, I used a classification system which also helped further examination and interrogate my reflections. The Merriam-Webster online dictionary (n.d.) defines taxonomise as "the process or system of describing the way in which different living things are related by putting them in groups". Taxonomies have traditionally been used in biology as hierarchical classifications of organisms depending on what has been culturally and socially defined as their 'natural relationships' with each other. Taxonomising or the act of using description of observable phenomena to organise, name and categorise phenomena is useful when inferring relationships between the phenomena (See Figure 2).

Taxonomy of human occupations in settler-colonial states

This taxonomy is written from my social positioning as an Indigenous woman who experiences, is targeted by and is impacted by the occupations that beneficiaries of settler-colonials engage in. Within critical occupational therapy, categorisation of occupations has been roundly and thoroughly well-critiqued as universalist and poorly defined (Hammell, 2009a), that unnecessarily limits the scope of what an occupation is (Rudman et al., 2022) and is simplistic and heavily Western value-laden (Hammell, 2009a; Pierce, 2011). While it is certainly true that definitions create unnecessary boundaries that can and do exclude and miss phenomena, this taxonomy is one method amongst many that Indigenous colleagues use, to spotlight links between colonisation and occupation.

Figure 2

A taxonomy of human occupations in settler-colonial states

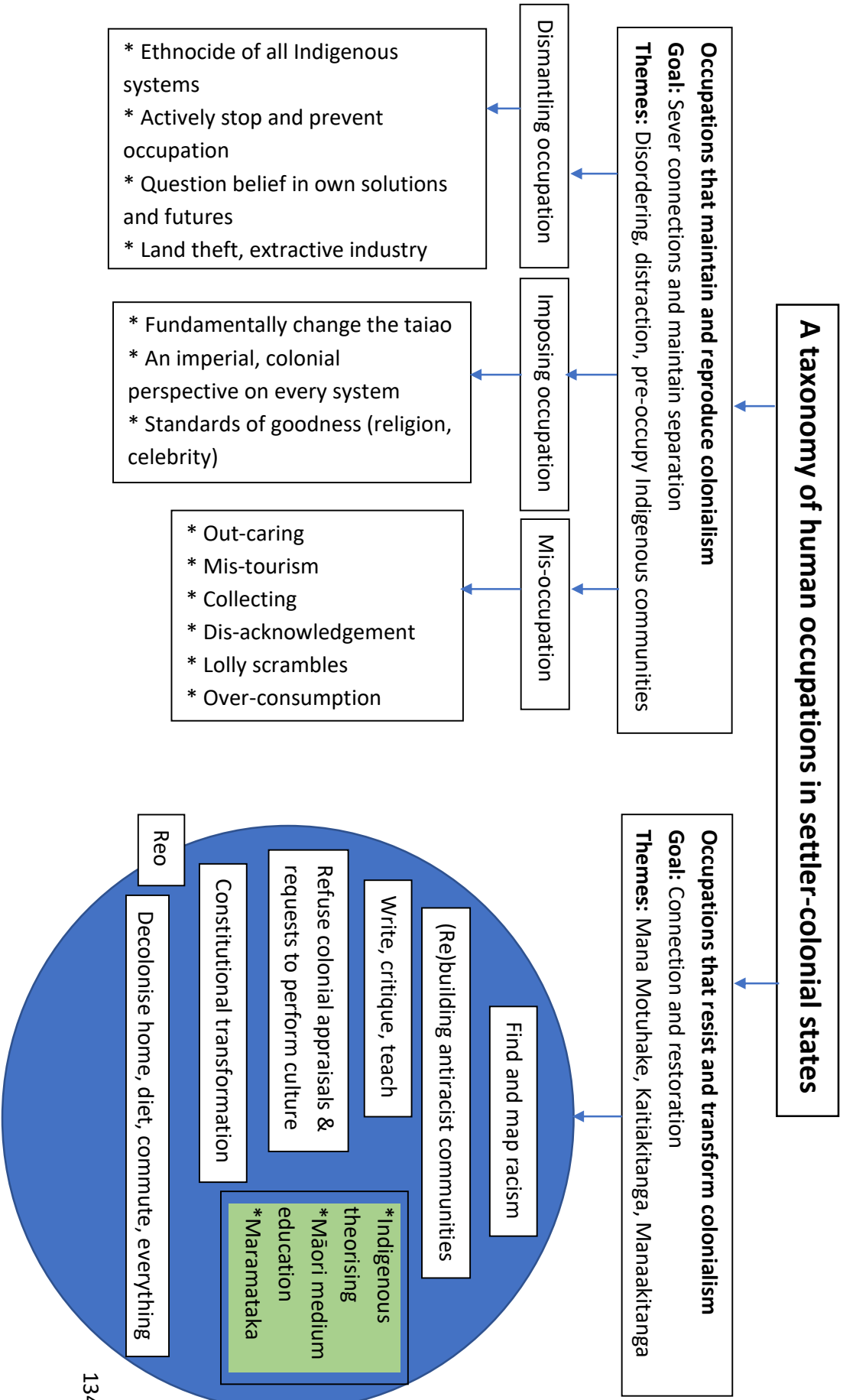
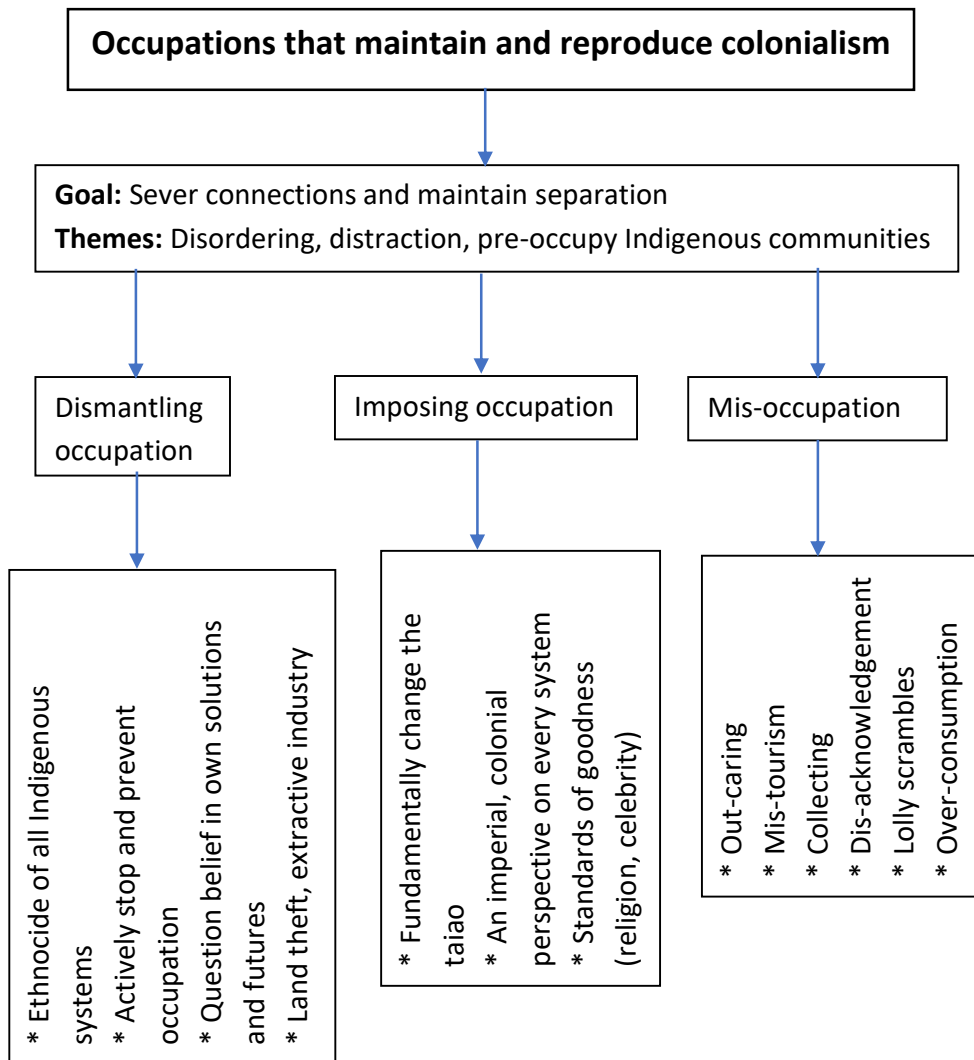


Figure 3

Occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism



Occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism

Occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism is the part of the taxonomy that has collected observations of how colonialism is done (See Figure 3). One of the first observations is that humans are centred as the peak or apex predator compared to all other living organisms, and that humans have agency while the rest of the natural world is considered passive (Mead, 2019). The major goal of occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism is control. Control is acquired and maintained by severance of relationship and relatedness to all that is not deemed worthy of relationship. This includes Indigenous separation from own ideologies, creation stories, solutions, each other, knowledge systems and futurity. Three themes became apparent including distraction, disordering and pre-occupation of Indigenous communities.

Toni Morrison stated that “The function, the very serious function of racism is distraction. It keeps you from doing your work. It keeps you explaining over and over again, your reason for being.” (1975). The primary distraction is from our freedom and our advancement towards this. The major occupation of colonisers is to occupy us, then it is to preoccupy us. In every sense while the settler-colonial lives on our unceded territories, we are occupied peoples (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). We are distracted and disordered with colonising and imperial ways of being such as raced-based policies, alcohol, tobacco, technology and non-things for example celebrity, gaming, and occupational justice. And issues of survival such as honourable Tiriti relationships, slowing climate change, sovereignty, and creating antiracist collectives are delayed and delayed. But crucially, the function of distraction,

disordering and preoccupation is intergenerational transmission of hoarded privilege, wealth and supremacy.

Dismantling occupation, imposing occupation, mis-occupation

Occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism are further categorised into three parts: Dismantling occupations, Imposing occupations, and Mis-occupations. Dismantling occupations refers to ethnocide of all Indigenous systems, actively stopping and preventing occupation resulting in Indigenous people questioning their own solutions and futurity. Dismantling occupations is denied and skipped over in colonial narratives such as ‘we brought them out of the Stone Age’. Behind such thinking is the misguided notion that Māori did not and could not have had a modernity without a British imperial ‘leg up’. Māori were actively travelling and becoming known in international spaces as seen in the establishment of banks, number of trading vessels and negotiation of international trade agreements. Many were also refusing to sell land and as it turns out no hapū collectives could match the British muskets, numbers of soldiers and warships to defend the land. The fastest and most effective means to stop and prevent Indigenous freedom to engage in everyday acts is to take their lands and territories. This ensures there is no home, shelter, sanctuary, gathering space, food sources, spaces to die and mourn, political control nor economic base.

Dismantling occupations

Dismantling occupations occurred through a number of means but especially legislation. The Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) made seeking health care and spiritual guidance illegal and the Town and Country Planning Act (1953) forced hapū to leave papakainga and in so doing

dismantled everyday routine and taken for granted ways of doing life. As well, English Acts Act (1854) enshrined and protected English systems and practices of justice, law, land and trade (Moewaka Barnes, 2008). Every Indigenous system of health, law, justice, education, politics, economics were impacted deeply by the theft and loss of land and the dismantling of everyday ways of being. When these regular, routine and ordinary ways of being are dismantled then it is referred to as ethnocide or destruction of cultural ways of being. Worse still, the inevitable loss of faith and belief in Indigenous ways of being that follows is essentially a dismantling of a sense of being Indigenous because it is no longer a usual, practiced, valued and ordinary way to be.

Imposing occupations

Imposing occupations refers to occupations that fundamentally change the taiao and in some cases irreversibly. Deforestation through slash and burn methods, 100 year incentives to farmers for clearing lands for pasture and draining swamps and lakes have left irreparable damage to the taiao (Durpoix, 2010). Following military occupation, imposing occupations is most profitable when done with children and so schooling is a preferred colonial method (Simon & Smith, 2001). Then ideologies of white supremacy and capitalism become the prevailing narrative so that systems and sectors that view and treat human occupation as labour and labour force are reproduced. Occupational therapy programmes duly reproduce their inherited systems and colonial habits as seen in poor treatment of Indigenous staff and students (Davis & Came, 2022).

The imposition of imperial, colonial praxis across every Indigenous system and territory is how dismantling occupations and ethnocide are covered over. Once again, Indigenous communities are kept busy and preoccupied with trying to meet imposed standards of

whatever is deemed important at the time such as beauty, 'the look', religion, celebrity, health fads, trending. Western treatment and use of imposed occupation is a potent mechanism by which colonisation occurs and reproduces.

Mis-occupations

Mis-occupations refers to occupations of Out-caring (including out-parenting), Mis-tourism, Collecting, Dis-acknowledgement, Lolly scrambles and Over-consumption. *Out-caring* is where families and communities are socially expected to out-source care and parenting duties. These duties receive a nominal fee, can be made invisible or poorly acknowledged and mostly encompass the very elderly, very young, injured and disabled. The goal of out-caring is to ensure that able-bodied, working age adults can continue to be available to the workforce. This way of carving up families, neighbourhoods, communities, relationships and time together, has become extremely usual in Western and developing nations. Many Western families value independence above caring for each other to the extent that when someone ages (naturally) or falls sick or injured, it is considered tough but inevitable that they will separate from and leave the family home to be cared for elsewhere. The 'out-caring' industry is a multi-billion dollar enterprise and many parts of the sector receiving government funding from Health NZ and tax breaks for early childhood centres. 'Out-caring' reproduces capitalism.

Mis-tourism refers to occupations that involve purchasing passage to travel and stay in Indigenous spaces while acting in sometimes degenerate ways. Often there is little regard for the guardians or locals of that space, no reciprocity or care as to what is important to the locals (NZ Herald, 2019). Tourism is a way to slowly colonise a place and is sometimes justified with sentiments such as 'the locals need tourists dollars'. Poor behaviour from visitors and tourists can leave a sense of violation of one's home and norms.

Collecting refers to what Cheryl Smith termed 'cultures of collecting' and the need for some to acquire and have collections of anything that can and can't be tied down (2007). Collecting is characterised by occupations of commodifying the world such as Papatūānuku as real estate parcels, herds of animals as stock, hides and ivory, and even packages of knowledge as books, papers and degrees. Once separations, silos and parts are carved up they are more easily transportable, packaged, tradable, and profitable. The opposite of collecting is appreciation-in-place and eschewing the need to alter, change and take something from the place where we first met it (Smith, 2007). Collecting also infers an act of removal, sometimes forced removal as we see with displacement of Indigenous communities, Indigenous children and newborn babies (Hurihanganui, 2020).

Dis-acknowledgement refers to colonial occupations around forgetting, mis-remembering, ignoring and denying stories, events and history. According to the Merriam-Webster thesaurus, dis-acknowledgement is about refusing to acknowledge and is synonymous with disowning and denial of existence. An example of dis-acknowledgement are think tanks that set direction and policy in the profession but completely miss colonialism and racism (e.g. Rudman et al., 2019). For the purposes of this exercise, dis-acknowledgement also refers to silence such as taking the option of silence as quiet agreement for oppressive action. As well, dis-acknowledgement includes forced silence which prevents understanding, wider knowledge or connection with reasons for actions such as non-disclosure agreements. Dis-acknowledgement also includes occupations where a person or community is forced to wait and where waiting is used as a form of control and harm but is not explicitly acknowledged as such.

Lolly scramble is the unseemly way in which colonised peoples are expected to run or compete for scraps of power, attention or trinkets being thrown from colonial – often corporate – board tables. It sets up competition and a fear of lack where there was none, and an idea that proximity to power is the goal. This is another mind trick, where instead of seeing the ‘special favours’ and attention as a lolly scramble, scraps of power thrown are sometimes seen as an award for merit and are motivation to persevere. Being centred on the needs of Indigenous communities can counter such dynamics especially when the communities demonstrate shared power relations.

Over-consumption is related to *Collecting* but is about taking more than is needed for extended periods of time, and in such a way that harm and irreparable damage occurs. The harm or damage might be with the consumer for instance in the case of addictions and/or the physical or social space that was taken from such as foreshore or family income. Harm to an individual or family can be mental, physical, spiritual, cognitive, financial, reputational, social and impact future opportunities. Harm to the taiao is still arguably not fully appreciated but easily seen as in examples of oil spills (Sneath & Laughland, 2023), open cast mine pits, rainforest degradation and poor water quality.

Costs and benefits and other thoughts

Outside of genocide, ethnocide, degradation of forests, waterways and homes, there are a few human families that are benefiting from occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism. But it would be difficult to argue that most people gain from dismantled lifeways, imposed and forced occupations nor mis-occupations. Family trips, car upgrades, bigger more comfortable and convenience trinkets are the things that make us feel that we are benefiting

from colonialism. In part this is true, but only for a short moment given that climate change is now upon us and huge changes to daily life are inevitable.

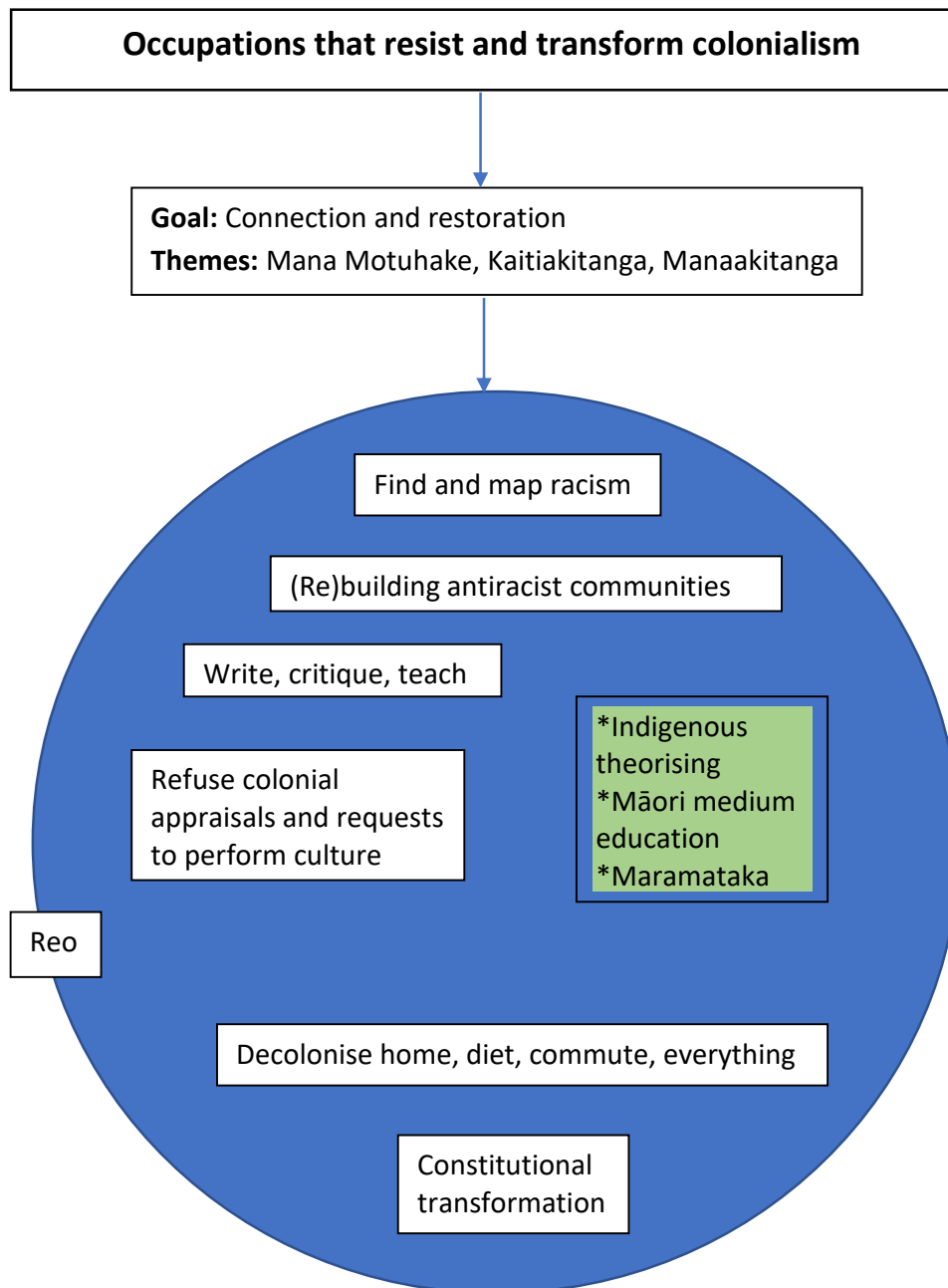
In my candidacy report, I referred to the profession's identity crisis of the 1970s and 1980s where there was a desire to turn from being 'para' or aligned to medicine and name for ourselves who we are and our domain of concern (Watson & Fourie, 2004). The term 'occupation' was itself being carefully considered. Kantartzis and Molineux (2011) researched the term and its use in the profession and found that occupation is not easily translated into French, Greek and several other languages. It was popular in the early 20th century, reflecting Western societal views of the era where the Industrial revolution had drastically changed how ordinary people went about their daily lives (Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011). It was a time when large scale industry began to organise housing, health and schooling for example Bourneville in Birmingham, UK built by the Cadbury family (Andrews, 2021). Kantartzis and Molineux contend that Western 'English' understandings and philosophies underlying the term have crystallised the meaning in such a way that a century later, it is difficult to communicate a shared understanding of the term within the global profession and community at large (2011).

However, given the timing of the profession's birth when Europe and America were settling on Indigenous lands and engaging in occupations of coloniser settlements, the word occupation seems remarkably well-fitted. The term 'occupation' refers to the human act of possessing of time and spaces (Iwama, 2003) and is also synonymous with 'seizure', 'possession', 'settlement' and "the holding and control of an area by a foreign military force" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Occupation can also pertain "to being seized by" (D. Sutton, personal communication, August 10, 2020). Grappling with the word and inability to feel that it represents practice, is a symptom of colonial forgetting (dis-acknowledgement), where the profession does not want to - and then after a few centuries struggles to - remember its social,

ideological and cultural roots. This inhibits settler-colonialists and beneficiaries today from recognising that they carry and transmit the State in their everyday occupations and minutiae of life both at home and at work as signalled in the name of our profession.

Figure 4

Occupations that resist and transform colonialism



Occupations that resist and transform colonialism

Occupations that resist and transform colonialism is concerned with observations of how decoloniality is being done every day and what is being done to undo and prevent impacts of colonialism. I have not attempted to further classify and delineate a taxonomy as whakapapa already provides a framework to understand relationships between all that exists. Moreover, whakapapa guides how to be in relationship with all that exists, has existed and is yet to be. However, I argue that whakapapa does not necessarily account for being in relationship with an entire system that seeks to disorder, destroy and deny Indigenous existence. (See Figure 4).

The primary goal of *Occupations that resist and transform colonialism* is to connect and restore connections in order to save the planet. Three themes that characterise 'Occupations that resist and transform colonialism' are Kaitiakitanga, Mana Motuhake and Manaakitanga. Kaitiakitanga is not so much about guardianship as discussed and described by various government and non-government conservation departments and organisations, but more about enacting relatedness and relationship as guided by whakapapa. From an occupation perspective, Mana Motuhake is the freedom to do as, when, how and with for reasons that work and make sense as kaitiaki. Manaakitanga is the freedom to care for, host and protect, which aligns with and informs Kaitiakitanga.

So far, I have identified several aspects of the family of *occupations that resist and transform colonialism* including:

- Decolonising home, diet, commute, everything
- Engaging directly in Indigenous theorising, Māori medium education, Maramataka
- Claiming and using te reo Māori critically

- Writing, critiquing, and teaching decolonial and antiracist approaches
- Refusing colonial appraisals and requests to perform culture
- Finding and mapping racism
- Re-building antiracist community
- Organising for promoting constitutional transformation
- Decolonising and decolonial occupational notions as developed and shared by Indigenous occupational therapy and occupational science theorists.

Decolonising home, diet, commute, everything is discussed in detail in Chapter 12 under the wāhanga Mahia, the fifth wāhanga of the practice model. *Engaging directly in Indigenous theorising, Māori medium education, Maramataka* is about centering mātauranga Māori in daily life so that it is usual, expected and structural part of how life is gone about. *Claiming and using te reo Māori critically* is referring directly to the importance of seeing te reo Māori as a vehicle for reclamation of culture which is not an ethnographic ornament, but a living entity that has it's own modernity and impacts from colonialism. Like theory, language can harbour or encourage racism, unless we intend it to be something else. One can speak te reo Māori to express internalised oppression, ignorance and dehumanisation, unless we demand that critical consciousness is developed alongside reo reclamation. Otherwise, we are bringing a colonial mindset to reo and reo reclamation which will eventually need decolonising too.

Writing, critiquing, and teaching decolonial and antiracist approaches is about conscientisation and praxis. When one teaches about a subject one needs to have practised it, and the practice and teaching cycle constantly inform one another. *Refusing colonial appraisals and requests to perform culture* refers to the lolly scrambles and the importance of seeing the dynamics for what they are. It is difficult to disentangle from the dynamic even when it is

gleaned, and I find that it is useful to walk and coach practitioners through a process of weighing up the costs and benefits to them and the Network. I have spent many years discussing this particular kind of colonial expression amongst the Network and with international BIPOC colleagues as it is a strong feature of our profession.

Finding and mapping racism and *Re-building antiracist community* have both been described in detail in *Chapters Three, 10* and *11*. They build on Heather Came-Friar's work and scholarship and the wider community of activist scholars including STIR Stop Institutionalised Racism community. *Organising for promoting constitutional transformation* is a direct reference to Matike Mai Aotearoa and the fundamental changes needed to realign with the social justice templates that are He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Indigenous occupational perspectives include the notion 'occupational consciousness' theorised by Professor Elelwani Ramugondo (South Africa), Decolonising occupation by Dr Chontel Gibson (Australia), occupation as advocacy by Ashley Ryan (Australia) and decolonising occupational science by Dr Juman Simaan (Palestine). What is distinct about Indigenous occupational perspectives is epistemological range and an understanding that many truths can and do co-exist. Connections and embodied relationships are taken for granted and care for Earth Mother is privileged. Occupations move in rhythm and are cyclical, seasonal, threaded, networked and patterned and not restricted to purely physical and tangible form. Resistance and engagement with colonialism (Ramugondo, 2015; Ryan et al., 2020) alongside guidance to be occupied beyond coloniality are central to the praxis (Gibson, 2020; Ramugondo, 2018; Simaan, 2020), and certainly any occupation that centres Indigenous sovereignty is also resisting coloniality. In addition, *Chapter 12* has a full discussion about a Kaupapa Māori praxis (theory and practice model) of mahi as part of the process of this study.

Costs and benefits and other thoughts

The plus side to *occupations that resist and transform colonialism* is yet to be researched and studied within occupational therapy, but from a personal perspective, there is a freedom, a relief and joy to them. However, on the downside, the costs are acerbic.

Occupations that resist and transform colonialism can be life threatening, career ending, targets for harm, hate and defamation. Costs are borne out every day by the simple act of refusing dehumanisation and the anticipated colonial attention can cause hypervigilance and preventable distress. However, the greater cost in choosing to acquiesce to colonialism is death of the spirit, choosing toil for descendants and speeding up climate change.

Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis interview tool

A Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis interview tool has been developed to support practitioners to consider power, societal barriers and supports, intergenerational trauma and privilege in relation to desired occupation goals. It is further detailed in the third publication for this study, a sole authored chapter *Decoloniality in action: A Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis of colonisation* in S. Baptiste & S. Shann (Eds.) *International Handbook of Occupational Therapy* Taylor and Francis.

Critical occupational therapy perspectives

Critical occupational therapy was first used as a phrase and published in 2011 in two different sites during the same year i.e. Canada by Hammell and Iwama, and across Canada-Australia in a collaboration between Whiteford and Townsend (Hammell, 2020). It appears that both pairs of theorists believed that critical approaches would support the profession to fulfil its potential and support occupational rights (Hammell & Iwama, 2012) and injustices

(Whiteford & Townsend, 2011). Prior to this, Frank Kronenberg, Nick Pollard and Dikaios Sakellariou had collaborated to edit chaptered books *Occupational therapies without borders* in two volumes (2011). These books intentionally platformed voices amongst the profession that were marginalised or not given a platform in English-language publishing spaces. The trio had already written about the need for the profession to consider a more political approach to practice (Pollard et al., 2009) and like Hammell and Iwama, had begun to question the narrow Western definitions of occupation, reluctance to employ critical and global perspectives and self-limiting tendencies.

Pre-BLM

Literature regarding critical occupational therapy and Indigenous communities has been separated into 'before' and 'after' the fatal murder of Mr George Floyd by police brutality in Minnesota, US and the subsequent global protests in support of Black Lives Matter. Prior to this moment, the profession's approach to critical occupational therapy, decolonisation and antiracism seemed muted but for a few steadfast voices (Wijekoon & Peter, 2022). As mentioned in publication 1, some colleagues were grappling with aspects of theoretical colonialism (Hammell, 2011; Lim & Duque, 2011; Simaan, 2020) and even newer notions of occupational injustice and justice were attracting some critique (Guajardo Córdoba, 2020). By and large however, these critiques have not enjoyed wide uptake except in South America, South Africa and Canada.

Indigenous activist scholars Elelwani Ramugondo and Chontel Gibson have led the development of Indigenous centred theory and research praxis, such as occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015) and Indigenous research methodologies (Gibson et al., 2020). Both brought their scholarship to transformative action such as the #RhodesMustFall

movement at the University of Cape Town, creation of the first decolonising occupation paper in Australian occupational therapy curriculum and co-convening the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Occupational Therapy network. Both have and continue to endure racist backlash and withholding of career opportunities. Indeed, “In our discipline, this regime of aesthetics is reinforced to ensure that what is perceived about occupational therapy (discourses, practices, etc.) corresponds to the dominant consensus and that any oppositional viewpoints are silenced or made invisible” (Turcotte & Holmes, 2021, p. 6). Despite status quo colonial efforts, in 2018 Elelwani delivered a WFOT Congress keynote on decoloniality as healing work and in 2019, Chontel delivered her keynote to the New Zealand association about trusting Indigenous leadership.

In response to Elelwani’s 2018 keynote, two authors wrote about their critical reflections on feelings such as shame and grief with regards racism within the profession (Nicholls & Elliot, 2019). As well, a rights based approach to critical occupational therapy began to gain traction across Canada (Hammell & Iwama, 2012) with Gibson and colleagues applying a First Nations Australia focus (Gibson, 2015). Ashley Ryan and colleagues described advocacy as a decolonising occupation for First Australians (Ryan et al., 2020) and Alison Gerlach extended her research into developing critical consciousness with regards coloniality and Canadian Indigenous communities (Gerlach, 2015). More Canadian research teams this time led by Brenda Beagan, are studying the experiences of training and practice of ‘racialised’ practitioners (Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Beagan et al., 2022; Beagan et al., 2023).

Amongst the Indigenous theorists who were carving out new literary and educational spaces were a clutch of platformed and articulate allies, whose teams were researching in detail the various ways in which oppression is reproduced across and within the profession itself. A proverbial line in the sand was being drawn and perhaps a level of maturity had been

reached where the profession was calling itself out. For instance, lack of social positioning and declared motivation for researching the topic has highlighted and examined by Wijekoon and Peter (2022). Crucially, the altogether romanticised view of occupation as 'healthy', the colonial ideologies and foundations and solipsistic approach to knowledge production were all coming into question (Angell, 2012; Hammell, 2012).

Post-BLM

Following the 'moment of reckoning' professional associations and organisations turned to publishing statements denouncing institutionalised and systemic racism (e.g. Royal College of Occupational Therapists [RCOT], 2020; WFOT, 2020). However, the statements attracted much criticism and critique for lack of social positioning of the authors, overstating or misrepresenting progress made and lacking detail and a tone of humility (Ahmed-Landeryou et al., 2020; Kronenberg, 2021). In an invited commentary, Beagan recalled how she found it difficult to have her work published in the profession's journals unless the word 'perceived' was added in front of the word 'racism' (2021). It was telling that the response from many global BIPOC communities was to roundly reject the 'statements' as performed/published and instead organise as collectives against racism.

Since 2020, there has been a marked increase in publications regarding varied and nuanced aspects of antiracism, decoloniality and critical occupational therapy (Wijekoon & Peter, 2022). In education settings, Grenier (2020) argued that cultural competency is another iteration of white supremacy and calls for an overhaul of Canadian education systems given racially targeted students experiences of exclusion, isolation and marginalisation by educators and classmates (Pride et al., 2022). In addition, research evaluating pedagogical transformations within occupational therapy education have been undertaken and reported

(e.g. Galvaan et al., 2022; Grenier et al., 2020) and closer to home Georgina Davis investigated Māori practitioners' student experiences (Davis & Came, 2022).

Several publications provided guidance for the profession with regards early and important next steps for example, developing a language of decoloniality (Zafran, 2021), noticing epistemological antiracism (Wijekoon & Peter, 2022), and disciplinary propaganda and the importance of disobedience in such situations (Turcotte & Holmes, 2021). Beagan and colleagues highlighted and platformed theorists in decoloniality and antiracism (Beagan et al., 2023) and Alaa Abou-Arab and colleagues explored his study regarding racism in the profession and trauma informed care and racism (Abou-Arab & Mendonca, 2022).

With the increase in contributions from BIPOC authors and experienced critical allies, the stories, theorising and carefully constructed offerings feel altogether quite different in tone from before 2020. They feel humble, are situated so that the reader can glean the positionality of the authors and works, and they are based within praxis (e.g. Ahmed-Landeryou et al., 2022). In another example, Bailliard and colleagues (2021) revisited a published manuscript about 'laying low' and staying out of an oppressive gaze. They re-analysed it from a post-BLM perspective as they reflected that the 'moment' is demanding much more bravery from them. It seems that there are less articles being published that are *about* instead of *with* Indigenous peoples. This might indicate an impact of the Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy's development of guidelines for manuscripts regarding Indigenous communities that insisted alignment with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015 recommendations (Restall et al., 2019).

The under-theorisation of racism in occupational science was a focus in Khalilah Johnson and Ryan Lavalley's award winning article (2021) that also spotlighted anti-Black racism. In their critical interpretive synthesis of literature regarding oppression, Elizabeth Pooley and

Brenda Beagan (2021) note that critical scholarship is growing albeit slowly. They argue for greater intentional use of the term oppression to support avoidance of individual-only explanations, grow understanding of everyday limits to occupation, and recognise intersectionality of oppression. Memmi (1965) asserted that for the coloniser there is a general dislike for theory because theorising begins to reveal the shaky ideological and moral justifications for supremacy. Instead, he argues that the coloniser becomes hyper focused on a hypothetical person of action who has pragmatic life experiences, for instance the 'number 8 wire' mentality in New Zealand. Yet, neither seems to be in play in occupational science; there is a paucity of both theory and practice in antiracism and decoloniality.

Somewhat against the grain, is the Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists' new publication *Promoting occupational participation: Collaborative relationship-focused occupational therapy* (2022) which has aligned the new national practice model with recommendations from the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015). Moreover, principles of practice centre Indigenous concerns and explicitly discuss colonialism. The editors and association it seemed were ready to signal an end to status quo theorising and instead be guided by critical occupational therapists. What is less clear, is if the association is also willing to support the end of colonialism as expressed in lecture halls, clinical placement supervision, marking schedules, clinical notes, conference keynotes and professional conversation.

Brief critique of critical occupational therapy and occupational science literature

It is fair to say that critical occupational therapy and occupational science scholars have expressed concern that there is a limited and dominant way of viewing occupations, which has enjoyed limited critique despite wide influence with exclusion of global majority voices (Rudman et al., 2022). This work has undoubtedly wedged open the door for work that is

decolonial and antiracist praxis. However, there are some salient points about the collective theorising to date and focus of future collective occupations. First, there is still much work to be done with regards designing, implementing, evaluating and disseminating decolonial and antiracist praxis. Second, that by and large, Indigenous theorists guidance have still to be resourced and onboarded, despite the calls for them. And thirdly, too many publications and conference presentations conclude with a suggestion for engagement in critical reflexivity; a largely unproven tool for social justice action in the profession.

With regards the first point, the lack of reviews, evaluations, reports on decolonial praxis and antiracism studies, projects and audits is telling, but not surprising. A small but growing number of colleagues in South Africa and Canada have written about pedagogical shifts in training programmes. Regarding dissemination of professional information, South American colleagues Roseli Lopes & Ana Malfitano edited a book that spoke to the societal lens and community-oriented practice in Brazil called *Social Occupational Therapy* (Lopes & Malfitano, 2021). This publication highlighted that their 20 year ground-breaking population-oriented use of occupational therapy has been missed by many in the profession until this text was translated into English. Literature within critical occupational therapy also describes racism experienced within occupational therapy professional training and workspaces (e.g. Beagan & Etowa, 2009; Davis & Came, 2022; Gibson, 2020; Pride et al., 2022). Some offer detailed analysis highlighting exactly where the colonialism is within theory and practice models (e.g. Guajardo Córdoba, 2020; Kronenberg et al., 2011; Ramugondo, 2018) and others are best guesses for antiracist ways forward (e.g. Lerner & Kim, 2022).

I am reminded of an invitation six years ago, to write a chapter on cultural safety for an edited chaptered book with the working title 'Decolonising Occupation', edited by two well-known white authors from Australasia. I was curious to know in what ways cultural safety was

related to decolonising occupation and asked this of one of the editors. However, they seemed unsure. I suggested that an important and impactful topic for such a book, would be a chapter written from their perspective. Again, they seemed unsure. I explained that as a privileged person with various platforms and resources who has then begun the work of decolonising their everyday occupations, they will have important insights to share regarding decolonial praxis. Certainly, stories about how power was successfully shared with Indigenous communities and how everyday occupations can be decolonised, is really what is most needed as opposed to another chapter about cultural safety from a BIPOC colleague. However, the book is still not written, which points to a salient aspect of antiracism and decoloniality; that it must be practiced to be known and that writing such publications can have a negative impact on career. Having a publication about decolonising occupation is just the Emperor's New Clothes and is not the same as knowing decolonising occupation by experience and then curating the learnings in such a way to lead and support collegial learning.

What this also points to is that the most resourced and power holding sections of our profession have made no significant change to practice, or at least, not enough to teach and write about. As much as there is a start to humble sharing of approaches and guidelines and even a hint at planning and implementing antiracist change in institutions and within curricula. However, the overall sense is that there are few stories, experiences and studies to share. To reiterate: racism is a well-established social determinant of health (CSDH, 2007), racialised targeting occurs within the profession (e.g. Beagan et al., 2021; Davis & Came, 2022; Gordon-Burns & Walker, 2015), and there is general agreement that some policies privilege the status quo. Yet no perceptible change to status quo – at least enough to write about – has occurred. So the question becomes, what does that mean about occupational therapy and occupational science?

The second point in this brief critique is that Indigenous perspectives taught by Indigenous theorists are minimally incorporated and taken seriously. Taken seriously means resourcing well, over extended periods of time and power sharing. Indeed, “Indigenous work in the academy is an important part of the process of decolonisation because the academy plays such a significant role in the production and legitimation of knowledge”, (Smith & Smith, 2018, p. 11.) Taken seriously also means increasing basic literacy across the profession so that when engagement in antiracism and decolonial projects are committed to, then a shared language and knowledge can support the work. Crucially, antiracism is not a new and updated term for multiculturalism, diversity, equity or inclusion. These terms may overlap but only insofar as the moon occasionally lines up to cause a solar eclipse. At first these concepts might feel outside of one’s everyday orbit, but that doesn’t mean that they aren’t functionally and semantically millions of kilometres apart.

In settler-colonial states, Indigenous perspectives, knowledges and guidance with regards occupation need to be part and parcel of occupational therapy and occupational science practice and thus reflected across minimum education standards, competency standards and audit protocols. In addition, because antiracism looks different in different settings, there should be no room for universalist takes. For example, antiracism requires a centring of Indigenous knowledges and practices, land back and reparations in settler-colonial spaces. However, there is scope for funding and curating critical occupational therapy and critical occupational science think tanks for example an Indigenous theorists summer school. Such projects require power holders to share power, something that the profession has not been in the habit of doing (Hammell, 2020). Indigenous communities already gather and are networked but this is occurring off the side of our desks and is not resourced nor acknowledged until of course, we are asked for something. A coordinated, global and organised approach to

critical occupational therapy, decoloniality and antiracism might then be possible when BIPOC communities are properly funded to be involved.

The third and final point, is that critical reflexivity seems over-stated, even by Indigenous authors. Critical reflection and reflexivity are professional practice tasks that are essential for pre-registration. It is described as a process of examining bias, beliefs and values with the expectation that new ways of thinking about issues will arise (Restall et al., 2022). Critical reflection models vary depending on the institution and country but for the most part, critical reflection and reflexivity is done in supervisor-supervisee pairs. The evidence for critical reflexivity is still growing but despite this, it frequently appears in conclusions and suggestions for future practice sections of manuscripts. This could be a default position and a consequence of having experienced very few decolonial and antiracist practices or perhaps leaning heavily on critical reflection indicates a profession-wide lack of decolonial and antiracist facilitators and educators. In addition, leaning in to the extensively tried and possibly untrue could reflect a retrenchment, where attempts to tackle oppression at scale failed, and there has been a return to practice as usual. It could also reflect the colonial habit of saying out loud thoughts of wanting to practice antiracism and mistakenly thinking that speaking such ideas out loud *is* antiracism.

Undoubtedly, antiracism and decolonial practices are not easy, and therefore not simply able to be read about, discussed in pairs or occasionally observed. They must be demonstrated, coached, guided and facilitated in carefully designed and curated safe spaces. Similarly, when learning about splinting, wheelchair fitting, initial triage assessment for mental distress, as learners we can expect skilled, expert guidance with the opportunity to practice, take on feedback, develop further skill before assessment and certainly before we become certified and employed. An exception to this critique is where using critical reflexivity in actions

as an effective means for transformation, is a study by Galvaan and colleagues in South Africa. The team have published several articles about their research into the collective decolonial use of critical reflexivity in teaching (Galvaan et al., 2022; Richards & Galvaan, 2018).

This weekend as I write, another Black colleague in America is being supported after racist comments were stated publicly at a national conference, by a white colleague. What is feared – if social media is anything to go by – is that those who perpetuate racist views and harms are not expected to adopt antiracist learnings or even conciliatory ways to further the conversation. The perpetrator is well-known globally across the profession and they occupy a very powerful role, so they expect a modicum of protection, freedom and privilege. They know that they can dine out on the promise of ‘I am learning, I am going to critically reflect and I will do better’ and that after the meal, after the positions of power are retired from, paid conference attendance and publications enjoyed, they can skip out of paying the bill and move on to the next restaurant. They can expect system level protection because they are working to ensure that the dehumanising colonial project of that settler-colonial state is maintained and reproduced. The ‘doing profession’, is squandering another opportunity to demonstrate antiracist practice. Conversely, it could be said that the profession is doing exactly what it has been colonially habituated to do; the mis-occupations of waiting and making no response in the face of oppression.

Calls to diversify, and include all, belie the fact that there are few practitioners and educators talking about how to diversify and include all. In this way, calls for change appear vague and end up sounding meta and abstract. Over the years, I have observed practitioners make very small changes to practice, but in their mind the practice and teaching is meaningfully different. They are still to grasp that the point of change is not to make them feel less guilty and unprepared. Instead, whānau and students seeking support need to experience a culturally

safe, trauma informed, high level of care or education. There are not enough discussions in the profession about how critical occupational therapy looks, everyday in the classroom, in faculty meetings and clinical referrals and such and the literature reflects this.

Limitations and strengths

There are undoubtedly aspects of the Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis, the taxonomy and the Kaupapa Māori occupational interview that require further refining and additions. I have not attempted to close every gap or make every observation fit. The theorising is limited because it is so far only made up of collected conversations within the Network and my own study. It does not yet include the formal collective theorising and reasoning of the Network and therefore, I have purposefully left space for that next step, rather than tie up every loose end and foreclose imaginings and possibilities.

In addition, this study has used citation consciously. Given the solipsistic nature of some theorising and knowledge development, I have taken the opportunity to only privilege critical occupational therapy and critical occupational science literature. Obviously, some literature will have been missed in my desire to avoid privileging those who write *about* Indigenous communities instead of *with* us, who write our ideas and projects and do not reference or acknowledge us, and do not extend their platforms to include us when they are speaking about us in professional fora. I am also painfully aware that impactful work is being done in South America, and that these colleagues have the extra labour of translating their studies into English for deserved readership.

In refusing to engage with status quo colonial reckonings from the literature I make space for the increasing number of BIPOC authors who are presenting and sharing ideas in social media, virtual affinity groups and communities, who also share their works in traditional

journals and publications as well as critical allies (Mott & Cockayne, 2017). This is not to say that the critical ally space is not without concerns. Some BIPOC authors, academics and practitioners have decried the fact that they do not get invitations to talk about decolonisation and antiracism as much as critical (white) allies. As well, some critical allies are themselves targeted, abused, and de-platformed for vigorous critique of powerful institutions.

Encouragingly, the work and consequences of exposing how power is operating “...to exclude and include in explicit, complicit, and implicit ways.”, (Smith & Smith, 2018, p. 11) in the profession is beginning to be shared amongst BIPOC and critical allies. But it is not shared equitably and the workforce of critical allies, accountable and supportive antiracist collectives are still to make their mark.

Summary and conclusion

Examinations phase began with explication of three aspects of the profession’s treatment of occupation: ‘occupation as a series of separations’ in contrast to ‘occupation as continuum’, ‘occupation as having’ and ‘occupational justice’ as captured in *Chapter Five*. Accordingly, the current chapter continued scrutiny of the profession’s colonial treatment of everyday human occupations from an Indigenous perspective. Specifically, Kaupapa Māori analysis of colonialism as expressed in everyday occupations were centred, privileged and classified using a taxonomy called ‘A taxonomy of human occupations in settler-colonial spaces’ (Fig 2). The taxonomy outlined *occupations that both maintain and reproduce colonialism*, and *occupations that resist and transform colonialism*. *Occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism* (Figures 2 and 3) were further categorised using ‘dismantling occupation’, ‘imposing occupation’ and ‘mis-occupation’. Importantly, the taxonomy allowed for novel organisation of

observations of how expressions of racism – a cornerstone of colonisation - are transmitted via occupation.

The objectification of occupation - the desire to 'make it a thing' to be observed, counted and measured - separates occupation arbitrarily for what seems to be for charging, waged, commodification sake. Such separations signal an imposing of a particular values system that is patently unable to consider a song of motivation and joy, a memory lane being travelled, planning, strategy and fulfilment of Indigenous ancestors dreams through everyday acts. To that end, the taxonomy presented (Figures 2 and 4) early theorising with regards *occupations that resist and transform colonialism*. These occupations are characterised by not over-valuing the human within the world, but instead as peers and relations who contribute to the intricate, interdependent web of connections.

This chapter also includes a brief critique about critical occupational therapy and critical occupational science literature. Critical occupational therapists and occupational scientists have critiqued the profession's initial denial and then selective engagement with occupation and it's links to oppression. I would add that the profession is still yet to seriously engage in examination of it's own complicity and reproduction of oppression because some have yet to recognise a need to. This impacts a colonial imagination's ability to know Indigenous occupation as anything other than forcing, imposing, denying, having and possessing occupation.

To borrow again from clinical practice, one question carefully timed and posed in a particular group therapy session was 'Which areas of the body are not effected by substance use?'. It was a question that tended to invite a long quiet pause as people worked on the possibilities. Other than the occasional impassioned pitch for 'Toenails!', in the end, it was usually agreed that every part of the body was impacted by substance use, because substances

enter the circulatory system and cross the blood-brain barrier. This is a useful metaphor for colonialism; colonialism occupies every part of Indigenous territories, waters, bodies, minds and futurity via the colonial circulatory system that is everyday acts. The kicker is that this is all the colonial imagination and assimilated, colonially-oriented individual understands it to be, thus coloniality is reproduced.

Examinations phase continues and then concludes with the next chapter; a summary of the current chapter with the addition of an outline and description of a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis tool. *Chapter Eight* is also the third publication of the thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Decoloniality in action: A Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis of colonisation

Emery-Whittington. I. (*in press*). Decoloniality in action: A Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis of colonization. In S. Baptiste & S. Shann (Eds.) *International Handbook of Occupational Therapy*, Taylor and Francis.

Introduction

One of the necessary tasks as a decolonising Kaupapa Māori researcher is to settle quietly, pray and/or set an intention before writing and thinking. The ritual of intentional connection of mindful body with purpose in the presence of ever-present strength, clarity and support of ancestors, invites and invokes a way of being with text, thoughts and imagination that feels right. Similarly, active critical reading and thoughtful engagement with text can themselves be practices of healing occupations if they support meaningful connection to one's place, purpose, and shared community. This chapter space is an invitation to dwell within the connection enabling beliefs, philosophies and practices of Indigeneity that are unapologetically re-centred as fundamentally ordinary, vibrant and a way forward. It is intended as acknowledgment, support and a contribution to global southerners and co-disruptors: makers of good trouble, anti-racism practitioners, walkers of margins, the Indigenous family and guardians of Earth Mother. That is, those who have already joined the dots between the myth of 'progress' and the co-desecration of human dignity and the natural world. The colonial bluff has been called and the evidence is in: inequity for most is growing, mental distress is worsening, the natural world is being desecrated, and so there is work to be done.

Indigenous peoples are inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures and ways of relating to people and the environment. They have retained social, cultural, economic

and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live. (United Nations, n.d.)

This chapter explores some of the links between colonisation and occupation and specifically how colonialism is transmitted via everyday occupation. To be sure, colonialism is naturalised and made routine by way of everyday occupations and in this sense, everyday occupations are where colonialism hides in plain sight. A Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation that centres Indigenous knowledges, beliefs, and practices has been utilised to help observe and examine the ways that everyday occupations transmit colonialism. Where the occupational analysis supports practitioner understanding of capacities and impacts on occupational performance, a Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation supports identification and critique of occupational notions and occupations that produce and maintain colonialism.

Indigenous theorising and practice of occupations that call out and de-centre everyday colonialism attest to the re-imagination of the profession as a community accountable to local colonial histories. This chapter – its intent and expression – is a contribution to the growing critique of how the profession might forward the conversation about the links between colonialism and occupation; an essential step on the way to decolonising occupation. Our theorising arose and is fed by a growing concern that as Māori practitioners, we could not see our ideologies, histories and theories within current theories and theoretical notions of occupation. As reconnectors of sacred, healing purpose with everyday occupation, the Māori Occupational Therapy Network has begun the work of theorising occupation, for example, occupational stages of colonisation from a Kaupapa Māori approach (Emery-Whittington, 2021). It was therefore a natural next step to develop a Kaupapa Māori taxonomy of occupation which ensured that our theorising and praxis were centred as ordinary and usual as

opposed to 'ethnic' or 'alternative'. Importantly, a Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation supports identification of occupations and occupational notions that maintain, reproduce, disrupt and transform colonialism.

The Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation supported the examination of occupations and occupational notions that are particular to settler-colonial spaces. The analysis soon required a way to organise and manage the observations and critical reflections and so a taxonomy of human occupations in settler-colonial states was developed. The taxonomy also recognised and made space for serious exploration of local epistemologies of occupation and these are organised into two sections:

- Occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism,
 - Dismantling occupation, imposing occupation, mis-occupation
- Occupations that resist and transform colonialism, (with a sub-section)
 - Occupations that specifically celebrate and grow Indigenous capacity, vitality and well-being.

However, the scope (and word count) of this chapter only allows for a brief discussion of the first of the two sections: *Occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism* (See Figure 3), which has been further organised into the three sub-sections: 'dismantling occupation', 'imposing occupation' and 'mis-occupation', which speak to the particular New Zealand style of colonialism that is scaffolded by monolingualism and monoculturalism.

The Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation revealed that occupation is the vehicle through which colonialism gets done. Moreover, colonialism is most potent when it is naturalised and made invisible within the minutiae and banality of everyday life routines and tasks. Within small daily and unremarkable things that people do, colonisation is transmitted and reproduced often unrecognised, unacknowledged and unexamined. What is more, the

naturalisation of oppressive and dehumanising ideologies are done through seemingly benign and ordinary family and social encounters.

In certain countries, occupational therapists and occupational scientists are educated, employed and contracted agents of settler-colonial government funders. Some settler-colonial and ex-colonial states have adopted curricula and standards of education from imperial states or agencies that replicate imperial states including occupation studies programs. This means that occupational therapists are carrying and transmitting the settler State within everyday minutiae of life including and especially within education, research and practice. Critical occupational therapists are recognising and facilitating conversations around theoretical imperialism and calling for greater platforming of global south epistemologies. Decolonial praxis requires identification and explication of links between coloniality and occupation as expressed in everyday occupations. However, in order to notice and identify colonialism, a critical understanding of one's social position, privilege and inherited ways of thinking about 'occupation' is necessary (Emery-Whittington, 2021).

Kaupapa Māori: An Indigenous theory and practice of transformation

In 1840 a treaty between the hapū (sub-tribes) polities and British Crown was signed. Te Tiriti o Waitangi reaffirmed sovereign Rights of the hapū and allowed the Crown to control the few British settlers that had arrived but were lawless. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is an important social justice template that if honoured would have ensured that occupational rights of hapū (Indigenous collectives now known as Māori) and new settlers were protected. However, within a generation, British warships and troops had begun implementing capitalists plans of seizing Indigenous territories leaving hapū without homes, food sources and community (O'Malley, 2019). Hapū did not cede territories nor rights to engage in everyday occupations

and this chapter is an expression of occupational right to theorise as Māori – humans – have always done. The work of Māori theorists to reclaim academic space is exemplified in decolonising research methodologies and methods (Smith, 2012).

The terms 'Kaupapa' and 'Kaupapa Māori' are ancient (Pihama, 2001). Colloquial use refers to Māori structures and/or philosophies within a mainstream structure, tribal structures and/or philosophies. *Kaupapa Māori* is also used to describe a socio-political movement, a template for a process and content of thinking, theory, research methodology, and a way of life. Kaupapa Māori takes for granted a Māori centric, emancipatory and socially just agenda (Smith, 2012).

The term *Kaupapa Māori theory* was coined by Graham Smith (1997) and has several functions including use of the term 'theory' to encourage Māori to reclaim the roles and rights to theorise about our own lives. Engaging in Kaupapa Māori theorising is itself a decolonising response; an expressed decoloniality. Kaupapa Māori theory aligns closely with three core elements of Critical Theory: conscientisation, resistance and praxis as described and furthered by Paulo Freire (Smith, 1997). Hence, Kaupapa Māori theory has political structural analysis occur alongside transformative action with the express intent to effect self-determination (Pihama, 2001).

As a methodology and method, Kaupapa Māori purposefully re-orient, re-centres and re-positions being Māori as usual. In addition to the cultural aspirations of 'being Māori', Kaupapa Māori requires critical engagement with societal structures of oppression (Smith, 1997). This means that cultural *and* structural aspects of decolonisation are attended to i.e. utilising Māori worldview, language and practices while theorising and critically examining power and the transformation of colonial systems ways of thinking and doing colonialism. To

that end, a Kaupapa Māori approach has been used to examine links between colonisation and occupation.

Settler colonisation of Indigenous lands, bodies and minds have been described in terms of occupational stages. Colonisation is heralded by settler occupations of research such as measuring, counting, recording, surveying Indigenous territories and bodies. Colonisation continues with settler occupations of occupying Indigenous lands usually aided by military incursion and then sheer numbers of new settlers in Indigenous territories. Then colonisation continues further with settler occupations of occupying and pre-occupying Indigenous bodies and time typically via institutional and system level changes and directed at children such as native school systems. The final stage of colonisation is settler occupation of the Indigenous mind which is done through imposition of language laws, education systems favouring only settler histories, standards of beauty, healthcare, justice for example (Emery-Whittington, 2021). Each stage compounds and contributes to the severing of Indigenous minds to spirit, community, purpose, body care, roles and occupations of caring for Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and all her descendants. Colonisation profoundly affects the expression of culture and knowledge via routines and patterns of daily life. One of the most efficient methods of assimilation is the imposition of a different daily routine and the dismantling of everyday lifeways, culture and identity (Durie, 1994). A Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation reveals that colonisation is achieved in occupational stages. However, colonisation is not complete once the majority of the territories are taken and the Indigenous communities are displaced. Colonisation continues until the Indigenous mind agrees with the colonial occupation of the mind. Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation is a signal of resistance and displacement of that colonial goal.

Occupational Analysis: An Indigenous case for change

Training and education in occupational analysis often occurs alongside education about Western ideologies, schemas and conceptual notions of occupation. As a core skill of occupational therapy, occupational analysis uses observation of task performance to assess function. Occupational analysis requires consideration of a broad range of factors that impact the doing of occupations from biochemical interaction with medication, joint angles, grip strength, accessibility, motivation, housing, engagement with services, resourcing to social supports and many more factors. By and large, assessments of occupational performance account for cognitive and motor capacity, and social context of the person observed in their natural setting. Some occupational performance assessments use criterion-referencing where performance is compared and contrasted against one's own previous performance. As well, standardised assessments are used where it is assumed that capacity can be observed and measured against a set of performances by others.

There is a causal relationship between theories of occupation and what counts as an occupation and is therefore worthy of analysis and which occupations improve health and will subsequently contribute to well-being (Kiepek, Phelan & Magalhaes, 2014). Western categories and taxonomies of occupations have been critiqued as somewhat simplistic and heavily laden with Western values while claiming universality (Hammell, 2009). The choice to focus or attend to some occupations and not others, is in itself a value judgement, based on what is important to privilege and what is not (Kiepek et al., 2014). A Westernised approach makes itself obvious, because it tends to not declare itself in social positioning and often assumes an imagined inherent universalism that takes for granted a 'normativity' of knowledge and experience.

The function of the Western occupational analysis is to measure, record and predict ability to do particular occupations within a prescribed set of epistemological framing and priority. Thus, conclusions from the occupational analysis can cause life altering decisions to be made, such as the difference between returning home, returning home with certain supports or never again returning home. However, it is rare to find occupational analyses that take in to account well-established and well evidenced social determinants of health, such as racism and colonisation.

The result is problematic as it limits understandings of human occupation and misses how “occupations are complexly related to health, well-being and social justice...” (Kiepek et al, 2014, p. 412). Additionally, it may arrest the development of a capacity to identify, explore and understand the harmful occupations that are delivered upon Indigenous peoples every day by colonisers. In the study of occupation, to focus and attend to an occupation or a set of occupations is not necessarily intended to avoid the study of other occupations. But the shallowness of the dive means that almost any other non-Western occupation remains unobserved, imperceptible and beyond imagination, barring those deemed noteworthy or study-able. What occupations are included and valued in education, taxonomies and research seem to cast a shadow over what is not and what could have been included. In this way, Indigenous solutions and potential fall beyond the Western imagination and grasp of what is possible of occupation.

Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation

A Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation is a critical Indigenous examination of the political, cultural and social aspects of everyday occupations and occupational notions that both maintain and produce colonialism as well as resist and transform colonialism. It takes for

granted that Māori are experts in our everyday lives however filtered, denied, deemed illegal and disordered by colonialism. A Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation centres that that we are legitimate knowers of our realities, and that our spirituality is expressed in the going about of our everyday lives.

A Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation requires keen observation of the bit-parts, the pixels of colonialism that build the picture that is everyday occupations including gesture (or lack of it), posture (ideological and bodily), un-named micro-events, interrupted or severance of occupational continuums that illuminate colonial performance of occupation. When placed together, these microcosms indicate character, traits, and previously unnoticed colonialist ways of doing life.

In addition, a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis directly engages all contexts where occupations are done, including colonial privilege and trauma. This means that socioeconomic realities of class, gender and identity, able and disabling environments, wellbeing and illbeing, racism and antiracism are understood as determinants of occupational opportunity and capacity. Evidently, everyday moments are where and everyday occupations are how colonisation is carried out.

Indigenous occupational analyses challenge the notion that Western understandings of occupation are the only understandings of occupation that exist, and the subsequent assumption that any and all definitions and framing of understandings of occupation must universally apply to everyone, everywhere. Universalism appears to function in opposition to a Māori worldview of knowledge and knowledge practices, where it is understood that what is true and makes sense for one community, may not be true, or make sense for another community. Māori perspectives of knowledge tend to appreciate knowledge as integrated and contextual, because knowledge emerges from compounded, layered experiences. Multiple

epistemologies are already ever-present regardless of whether they are identified, researched, evidenced or even perceived.

Methodologies and methods of seeking local Māori epistemological understandings of occupation, requires local knowledge and approaches to understanding knowledge itself. That is, the usual processes and methods of seeking knowledge about occupation from a Māori perspective, cannot be found by utilising the universalised Western processes and methods of understanding occupation. For example, Māori epistemological understandings might centre Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) as a paramount organising structure of human occupation, as opposed to 'nature' being relegated to an aspect of 'the environment'.

Crucially, a Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation is about process not just content. However, the process is fundamentally different because of the place from which the analysis occurs i.e. a place that centres Indigenous epistemologies, creation stories and Indigenous perspectives of human doing. Therefore, the process calls for honest appraisal of one's motivation, experience and capacity, because careful and respectful habits that care for knowledge revealed is required. Undertaking Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation is preferably a collective task where those involved in the analysis occupy spaces of healing and facilitate decoloniality for each other. Hence the work is scholarly, robust, and deeply humane, because it is accelerating real time transformation.

A taxonomy of human occupations in settler-colonial spaces

This taxonomy is written from my social positioning as an Indigenous woman who is targeted and impacted by the occupations that beneficiaries of settler-colonials engage in. It is also written from my contexts of everyday occupations where ascribed social identity markers intersect with real consequences of those identities. To understand and organise the

observations being revealed through a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis, a framework began to take shape in the form of a local taxonomy of occupations in settler-colonial spaces in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Merriam-Webster dictionary (n.d.) defines *taxonomise* as “the process or system of describing the way in which different living things are related by putting them in groups”. Taxonomising is useful when inferring relationships between phenomena. Yet, within critical occupational therapy, categorisation of occupations has been critiqued as universalist and poorly defined (Hammell, 2009), unnecessarily limiting the scope of occupation (Rudman et al., 2022), simplistic and exclusively Western values based (Hammell, 2009). It is agreed that categorisation can create boundaries that exclude and miss phenomena. On the other hand, categorisation can help manage, sort and arrange phenomena so that they can be more usefully grappled with until such time as they begin to naturally coagulate and relationships between phenomena become apparent. In addition, a taxonomy is one method amongst several that Indigenous colleagues use to examine links between colonisation and occupation.

Dismantling occupation, imposing occupation and mis-occupation

Occupations that reproduce and maintain colonialism were further organised into subsections of dismantling occupation, imposing occupation and mis-occupation. A key characteristic of *occupations that reproduce and maintain colonialism* is that they are human-centric and tend to view human beings as apex predator with agency, while the rest of the natural world are somewhat passive. The primary goal of such agency is control and therefore severance is a necessary method by which all the world is controlled. For Indigenous communities severance can occur between communities and territories, communities and

ideologies and language, each other through state removal of children, and even severance to hope and futurity.

The first sub-section of *occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism* is *dismantling occupations*, which refers to ethnocide of Indigenous systems (health, education, justice and such) and actively stopping and preventing everyday occupations. *Dismantling occupations* refers to occupations that disallow natural, ordinary occupational patterns and routines from occurring. Therefore, where lands and homes are taken, everyday occupations are stopped and prevented because there is no shelter, sanctuary, food source, gathering space, space to birth, bury and mourn and therefore there is no economic base or political control. By explicating *dismantling occupation*, the author is not advocating for a 'call to return' to practices of old, but rather calling out the ethnocide that occurs when communities are disallowed to practice natural responses and sovereign adjustment to the world. An example of state sanctioned intended dismantling of occupation include the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 where health practitioners knowledge and practices were outlawed.

The second section *Imposing occupation* refers to occupations that fundamentally change the environment and, in some cases, irreversibly. Deforestation through slash and burn methods, draining wetlands and lakes that leave irreparable damage to the natural world. *Imposing occupation* also includes colonial occupations and daily routines that demand (often through legislation) a new colonial everyday normal. Obvious examples include schooling for Indigenous children and under-employment for Indigenous adults. This means that ideologies of white supremacy and capitalism can be adopted as the prevailing narrative so that systems and sectors that view and treat human occupation as labour and labour force are reproduced. Occupational therapy programmes duly reproduce their inherited systems and colonial habits as seen in questionable treatment of Indigenous staff and students (Davis & Came, 2022).

With imposition of new imperial, colonial praxis across every Indigenous system and territory, the displacement of Indigenous everyday occupations and ethnocide is less obvious. Imposed occupation keeps Indigenous communities busy and preoccupied with trying to meet imposed standards of whatever is deemed important at the time e.g. beauty and 'the look', religion, celebrity, health fads and even abstract and unproven occupational notions such as occupational justice. Western treatment and use of imposed occupation is a potent mechanism by which colonisation occurs and reproduces.

The third and final sub-section of occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism is Mis-occupations. Occupations that make up this sub-section have been further organised into six further sections including: occupations of *Out-caring* (including out-parenting), *Mis-tourism*, *Collecting*, *Dis-acknowledgement*, *Lolly scrambles* and *Over-consumption*. *Out-caring* refers to the social expectation of families and communities to out-source care and parenting duties of their own family members. The out-sourced duties typically receive a nominal fee if there is payment, and workers can be poorly acknowledged. The out-sourced care mostly focuses on seniors, the very young, injured, sick and disabled as ultimately, the goal of *out-caring* is to ensure that able-bodied, working age adults will be available to the workforce. This is a peculiar way of carving up families, neighbourhoods and communities, relationships and time together, but has become extremely usual and is an organising social phenomenon in Western and developing nations. This is evidenced in situations where when someone ages (naturally) or falls sick or injured, it is considered tough but inevitable that they will have to separate from and leave the family home to be cared for elsewhere, and often by people unknown to the family. The 'out-caring' industry is a multi-billion dollar enterprise and many parts of the sector receiving government funding from Health NZ and tax breaks for early childhood centres. 'Out-caring' therefore maintains and reproduces capitalism.

Mis-tourism refers to occupations that involve purchasing passage to travel and stay in Indigenous spaces while acting in sometimes degenerate ways. Often there is little regard for the guardians or locals of that space, nor reciprocity or care as to what is important to the locals. *Mis-tourism* is a way to slowly control Indigenous spaces, despite the often heard the 'locals need tourists dollars'. When one lives close to own lands, poorly behaved tourists can leave the feeling of one's body – not just lands – being travelled through.

Collecting refers to the need to acquire and have collections of anything that can and can't be tied down. *Collecting* is characterised by occupations of commodifying the world such as Papatūānuku as real estate parcels, creature families as stock, hides and ivory, and even packages of knowledge such as books, papers and degrees. Once separations, silos and parts are carved up they become transportable packages, which makes them tradable, and ultimately profitable. The opposite of collecting is a habit and culture of appreciation-in-place and eschewing the need to alter, change and take something from the place where we first met it, for example a piece of driftwood on a beach. *Collecting* also infers an act of removal, sometimes forced removal as we see with displacement of Indigenous communities, Indigenous children and newborn babies.

Dis-acknowledgement refers to occupations around forgetting, mis-remembering, ignoring and denying stories, events and history. *Dis-acknowledgement* is about refusal to act, and specifically refusing to acknowledge which is synonymous with disowning and denial of existence (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). An example of *dis-acknowledgement* in the profession, are think tanks or governance conversations that set direction and policy while completely missing discussions about oppression. *Dis-acknowledgement* also refers to silence as quiet agreement and complicity with oppressive and dehumanising acts. As well, dis-acknowledgement includes forced silence which prevents understanding, wider knowledge or connection with reasons for

actions such as non-disclosure agreements. Where a person or community is forced to wait, and where waiting is used as a form of control and harm, but is not explicitly acknowledged as such, then there is a *dis-acknowledgement* of their presence, needs and humanity.

Lolly scramble borrows from a New Zealand childhood game that is sometimes used as a way to engage children. It involves children arranging themselves in a large area with space between them, where they rush to claim lollies/candies that are thrown in random and unpredictable times and directions by (usually) an adult. The 'scramble' refers to the competitive rush and sometimes inevitable clash between 'collectors'. *Lolly scramble* in this sense is referring to the unseemly way in which colonised peoples are expected to run or compete for scraps of power, attention or trinkets being thrown from colonial – often board – tables. It sets up competition and a fear of lack where there was none, and an idea that proximity to power is the goal. This is a mind trick, where instead of seeing the 'special favours' and attention as a lolly scramble, scraps of power thrown to maintain competition and the illusion of a meritocracy. However, where the practitioner is centred on the needs of Indigenous communities, rather than the power that may or may not be 'thrown', they can emotionally counter such colonial dynamics. Being raised in or experiencing habits and rituals of shared power relations in communities can act like an antidote to *lolly scrambles*. The last mis-occupation is *Over-consumption* and refers to consuming or taking more than is necessary, over a long period of time, and in such a way that harm or damage is done for example addictions, open cast or deep sea mining and deforestation. The harms can have wide ranging and deeply traumatic impacts on individuals, families, communities or society leaving physical, cognitive, psychological, reputational, ecological, economic damage for instance.

Occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism are characterised by a mis-alignment with goals of doing well for ourselves, beside each other and with nature. Certainly,

a major occupation of colonialism is to occupy and then pre-occupy Indigenous communities with the goal being distraction via *dismantling occupations*, *imposing occupation* and *mis-occupation*. Indigenous occupations are also disordered via raced-based policies, alcohol, tobacco, technology and non-things for example celebrity, gaming, and occupational justice. Crucially though, the key function of the distraction, disordering and preoccupation is intergenerational transmission of hoarded privilege, wealth and continued control to a small few. Indigenous communities become utterly pre-occupied with survival, while settler communities secure land, resources and certainty.

The Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation also identified aspects of occupations that resist and transform colonialism and a critique regarding the profession's relationship to the word 'occupation'. With regards the *occupations that resist and transform colonialism*, I encourage Indigenous occupational therapists and occupational scientists to continue to privilege the theorising of these occupations as meaningful and applicable in your own local contexts. To theorise is to reclaim the occupation of theorising as well as to carve space in the academy for Indigenous knowledges.

In terms of the critique regarding the profession's relationship to the term 'occupation', it is useful to consider that perhaps the term is well-fitted. According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, the term occupation is synonymous with 'seizure', 'possession', 'settlement' and "control of any area by a foreign military force" (n.d.). Then, let us consider the timing of the profession's birth; when Europe and America were, militarily and then as a state, settling on Indigenous lands and engaging in the everyday occupations of colonial settlement. And then fast forward to the profession's identity crisis in the 1970s and 1980s and subsequent grappling with the term occupation. Taken together it appears that the identity crisis is not only related but is a predictable symptom of colonial forgetting (dis-acknowledgement). *Dis-*

acknowledgement is a peculiar phenomenon of settler-colonial states that occurs when historical beginnings are only partially acknowledged, while the imperialism – a key social organiser – is disacknowledged. Hence, it is expected that after a few centuries of Western value laden theorising, the profession would struggle to remember it's social, ideological and cultural roots, and the influences on its own name. Having considered the characteristics of a Kaupapa Māori analysis of occupation and the subsequent taxonomy of human occupations in settler-colonial spaces, we now ponder what this information might contribute to an aspect of practice, a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis interview.

A Kaupapa Māori Occupational Analysis [KMOA] Interview

Like the time-honoured and finely honed occupational analysis, a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis aims to identify and name the many impacts and influences on the occupation being experienced. Unlike occupational analysis however, Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis reaches beyond the invisibility and normativity of whiteness and neo-liberalism as a measure of wealth and health. Instead, a Māori worldview is centred, where connection to Source, community, life purpose and all of nature is taken-for-granted aspect of the analysis. Identification of structures, policies, and procedures that require transformation in order to achieve occupation, is an important part of the KMOA as the path toward disruption of barriers to occupation becomes clear. There are four overall themes focusing a Kaupapa Māori Occupational Analysis interview:

- Who controls the processes and where is the power held? (e.g. Who benefits from the occupation being achieved, described, defined? What will be the potential impact on the family and community be?),

- What coloniality is being resisted and transformed through the design and practice of the particular occupation?,
- How does the occupation reflect known contributors to Māori wellbeing? (i.e. spirituality, connection to people and place, contributions to community and being in synchronous activity with Papatūānuku),
- How does the person, family, community experience occupational therapy interventions?

Important differences between occupational analysis and a Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis include a critical analysis of power, sites of power and resources. In addition, there is acknowledgment that in the process of non-collaborative style assessments, persons and families experiencing occupational therapy rarely have the space within an assessment process to evaluate the process itself. Feedback about the experienced cultural safety and competence of the process from the perspective of the person/family/organisation/community, is an important anti-racism, anti-oppression measure that can easily be implemented throughout practice. However, it is important that the practitioner and service create an environment where feedback is freely given, which is not a straight-forward exercise given the power differentials of health care services.

The KMOA interview includes concern for social access and advocates for radical inclusive communities. For instance, a statement on social housing situation would reflect anti-colonial sentiment e.g. instead of stating “the family live in rented accommodations”, a statement might instead report, “The family are part of the xxx tribal collective that have been made landless by way of xxx legislation/policy/war/land confiscations of xxx [year].” In addition, the report could speak to the resistance and strength of the family for instance “The family/tribal collective have survived genocide and resisted homelessness by way of xxx. Their

wellbeing plan with regards accommodations includes xxx". Thus, the KMOA requires and expects such impacts on occupation to be identified, discussed and integrated within the greater context of person, family and community wellbeing.

A KMOA interview necessarily requires practitioner self-analysis with regards social position, perceived power and privilege and relationships with local Indigenous collectives. Identification of skill and knowledge gaps is not enough however in Aotearoa New Zealand, where competencies of practice espouse clear expectations that practitioners will develop and maintain respectful relationships with their local Indigenous communities. A usual suggestion to develop practitioner self-analysis with regards social positioning and privilege is the use of critical reflexivity. However, as much as this is heavily leaned into, it is argued that critical reflexivity is over-stated as a tool to increase critical consciousness and spark antiracist and decolonial actions. There are only a small number of studies that have evidenced movement towards antiracist and decolonial actions due to critical reflexivity. In the profession, critical reflection and reflexivity is often completed within a supervision or mentor relationship and usually this is a pairs or duo situation. It is argued that antiracism and decoloniality requires a collective effort and therefore small groups where practitioners feel supported and accountable for transformation, are much more impactful and effective. Keeping in mind that colonialism hides in the between spaces and gaps between artificially severed relationships, it is important that part of decoloniality is curating spaces where trusting relationships and connections can flourish and become a usual aspect of professional practice.

In addition, collaborations with Indigenous communities are still somewhat rare across the profession. Therefore, it is vital for practitioners to intentionally develop sound relationship building skills that stretch beyond group therapy, skills and facilitation expertise. Practitioners need to consider that relationships with Indigenous communities that are led and based on the

needs of the communities – as opposed to the practitioner – might be some of the most decolonial relationships that the community has experienced. For example, instead of approaching Indigenous communities for support for a predetermined study or project, an educational program or health care service could approach with, this is who we are, we are here if/when you need or would like to engage us, we are happy to support your projects as you define them to be.

Conclusion

Colonisation is a legitimate concern for occupational therapists and scientists because of the sheer depth of disintegration of occupational patterns, practices and compounding loss of opportunities spanning centuries. In fact, colonisation is most potent when it affects the taken-for-granted daily patterns of life, where choices, control, opportunities to improve, racism and hegemony find expression. Further, everyday occupations are themselves the context wherein colonialism hides in plain sight.

Following years of calls for serious attention to occupational therapy education, theories and practices, Indigenous, diverse and global south practitioners are contributing, organising and leading new spaces of community. As collaborations and links grow across nations, borders and states, and with the open sharing of knowledge and encouragement with each other, the everyday occupation as a powerful site of colonisation is also being claimed as an equally powerful site to resist and transform colonialism. It is hoped that many Indigenous taxonomies and occupational analyses may be developed and shared amongst communities of learning. Highlighting the colonialism of everyday occupations is a small but potent contribution to ongoing global disinvestment in the status quo and it requires sharing of honest takes and learnings amongst global colleagues and allies' collectives. In this way, it is possible to also

displace colonialism from everyday occupations and potentially the profession definitionally concerned with them.

To conclude the *Examinations* phase, the previous four chapters are concerned with the profession's colonial treatment of human occupation. It is certain that the profession is still some way from being able to weigh up the costs and benefits (to a few) of not doing decoloniality and antiracism. Instead, while power remains in the hands of a few colonial institutions, the profession remains determinedly focused on theoretical notions such as occupational justice that distract and divert much needed attention and resource away from global majority needs. The next phase *Disruption* takes the essence of this Indigenous examination of occupation and moves beyond the colonial imagination and infrastructure of the profession, towards antiracist actions of global majority collectives. Included in *Disruption* phase are two publications that are intentionally placed to carve space in professional discourse regarding internalised oppression and antiracist occupational therapy.

Between the Phases: Poem 3

Ok sure, I get it

You want me to listen, but you're not quite ready to talk truth

You want to learn about Te Tiriti, but you don't want me to teach you past history

You want to be seen as good/fair/nice, but you're struggling with the guilt of when you weren't.

Yeah sure, I get it.

You want me to tell you exactly how to decolonise, but that's a MASSIVE paradigm shift

You want to be seen as doing much better, though you're unhappy with your progress

And you want to be seen as tolerant, but you know that I know, that you know,

that if you met someone who looks like my Dad on a bad day

who needs your helpcare, you might not be tolerant.

I mean sure, I get it, I get it.

So, you want to practice antiracism but you know, the pandemic

And, you want the system to better accommodate everyone's needs,

But, there's only a finite number of resources since you know, the pandemic.

Yet I've watched you,

in reverent stillness,

hanging on

to every syllable

when your unspoken question

what should I do?

was gracefully and humanely answered

by the Tauwiwi co-facilitator.

I get it.

Makiki Makaka

Kuruki whakataha!

CHAPTER NINE: Disruption phase

Introduction

The thesis moves phase again, this time into *Disruption* phase. There are three main points to take from *Examinations* phase into *Disruption* phase. Firstly, that the profession's focus has been overly reductive as it tried to grapple with the complex radical generative that is human occupation. As well, attempts to create frameworks and models to try and understand the potential of such human agency expressed via everyday acts, occur in a vacuum of accountability to all peoples and creature families that inhabit the globe.

Secondly, the ability to remain comfortable and relatively inconvenienced has occurred through unexamined privilege and reproduction of imperialism and colonialism which has been - and is still being - exported across the globe by way of new training programmes and national associations. This means that with real impacts of inequities, climate change and threats to social cohesion (Te Tai Ohanga The Treasury, 2022), the profession is ad-libbing it's contributions to society and the planet. There is a dire lack of practice in facilitating connection and re-connections, complex critical thinking and strategy, expertise in undoing privilege, because there has been little need to develop such skill and community-mindedness outside of one's own ideology or class.

Third, the same breath that calls for justice and equity, also murmurs it's approval for the maintenance and reproduction of colonialism in training programmes and wider professional institutions. Dehumanising acts of oppression within our own professional teams and departments go unchallenged as the profession refuses to see the correlation between this and it's stunted growth. Justice and equity can find no lasting home in a profession that cannot perceive and recognise what justice and equity for everyone feels like. Worse still, those who love the profession and prove this by staying despite risk and sometimes injustice, have had our ideas ignored, efforts denied and reputations sullied.

I have learned that racism does not respect merit and in the end it does not even protect its most ardent adherents. Racism only wants to be reproduced. It hides in civility, reasoned arguments, measured even tones, 'safe neighbourhoods' and health professions. Recent experience taught me that, racism even hides in governance spaces that profess to 'listen' to tangata whenua and prove their commitment by creating equal numbers in governance. Equal numbers do not equate to equal power, workload, nor shared responsibility. Equal numbers do not guarantee cultural safety, fair representation nor indeed, adherence to agreed conduct guidelines. Instead, what was deemed to have been a space that was actively decolonising, became a space re-colonised, if indeed, it was ever actually decolonising. This has been a bitter realisation and with the support of my research supervisors, I have recognised that a PhD about a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi and a practice model was always going to need a full examination of racism as it is wielded in my profession. Yet more than just examination is required; disruption is needed as antiracism and decolonisation do not wait for peer review or examiner feedback.

Thus, a fork in the road and decision point arose. Either stay and disrupt the space or walk away, and I acknowledge those who felt that they could not stay. Part of me also

understands acquiescence and misplaced hope in colonial promises. However, once the scope, scale and impact of colonialism on daily life is examined alongside the profession's under-theorisation of colonialism, there arose a sense that Freire was right:

This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both. (1970, p. 44).

This chapter is a record of the disruption that has occurred by way of this study. It is also an agreement with Freire that BIPOC collectives, along with critical allies, have to do the work of disruption ourselves. There is no appetite from today's powerholders to share power, and there are few precedents – if any – of spontaneous and sustained sharing to decrease inequities.

A key part of disruption work is knowing exactly where you are and coming to grips with what has happened to us across every sphere of life. Preparation for the mighty task of deliberate and careful decolonisation of our minds means recognising that we are much more than what happened to us, despite freshly deployed daily dehumanisations. But it is hard work. Preparation requires continuous locating and managing of daily colonialisms – big and small – that scaffold our lives and get under the skin. We also need to return home, to identity affirming institutions to reacquaint or begin anew connections that have been loosened over generations. Decolonisation of the mind guides us to spend time in our own knowledges building theories, frameworks and practice models that we know bring healing to today, tomorrow and yesterday. And finally, disruption needs a plan.

This chapter summarises the work of holding the line, disruption and transformation of professional spaces before, during and as a result of the research. There are three main parts: becoming an Antiracism and Tiriti o Waitangi educator, building community and publishing to disrupt. As such, this phase also includes two publications (*Chapters 10 and 11*) written with BIPOC colleagues which highlight Indigenous, BIPOC and ally connections, strategies and international collaborations.

Becoming an antiracism and Tiriti educator

Shortly after the PhD started, I attended a Tiriti o Waitangi refresher course in my capacity as a board member for a national organisation. Excluding myself, the board members had already participated in an intensive course and the refresher was a follow up. However, it appeared that board members had not retained or worked through the initial training. Despite the skill of the facilitator, the workshop was slow and punctuated by long pauses with minimal response to some questions as board members seemed to strain to participate. Despite how straightforward the Tiriti text is, it seemed there was something about how the board members viewed the kaupapa that had them - as educated and learned health professionals - struggle to retain and recall it.

A year later I began training as an antiracism and Tiriti facilitator. A steep learning curve ensued as I came up to speed with scholarship yet, the steepest part of the curve was about learning to trust Pākehā. My internalised oppression has meant that too often I ascribe ability to Pākehā and believe people when they say, “I’m actively working to become culturally safer”. Yet, my experience of the profession is that many Tauwiwi overstate their abilities and ask for free advice only to ignore it. The three Pākehā co-facilitators I have had the pleasure of working with, have demonstrated deft skill, knowledge and deep manaaki of Māori. Through

their example, I am learning to differentiate between allies and faux allies one of the key distinctions being, acceptance of te Tiriti and its implications.

The ability to differentiate who is an ally from who thinks they are, is vital in disruption work. Certainly, it is important to always keep room for growth, be generous with each other with our mistakes and learning within BIPOC communities as well as shared ally spaces. However, too often I see BIPOC colleagues encumbered with extra work including teaching, mentoring, guiding, advising, and theorising. Typically, this work does not exclude our own, but it does not centre them either. I have noticed that faux allies take actions that please their imagined hierarchy of Māori and seem to need that praise. Whereas critical allies carry the responsibility of their allyship and learning of their people. This then is an easy way to discern a critical ally; they literally lighten my workload.

Once when I applied for a part-time position, a faux ally stated “You are the strongest OT for this position, but don’t bother applying. They won’t give it to you. [xx] is on the panel”. They were referring to a Māori woman who had engaged in character defamation of me some years earlier and who had been retained by that organisation. Yet, in that case, I was later approached – without irony - to do the work unpaid. Faux allies act as if they are being fair-minded and claim a supposed neutrality by seeing ‘both sides’, providing ‘a heads up’, thus in their minds, they get to ask outrageous requests. Having now worked alongside experienced Tiriti educators across the country, for many national and international organisations for fair pay, with an ever-increasing number of requests for my work, I realise that valuing BIPOC colleagues or not through fair and timely remuneration is a choice.

Crucially, as a result of my research supervision and Tiriti co-facilitators, I have begun to trust Tauwiwi to teach me. This is profound for me because I realise that my trust in Tauwiwi had whittled down so much during my career, that I held little stock in their feedback. Now I can

trust in tough conversations, and I can see gaps in knowledge and skill, which means I have been able to make detailed plans for improvement. This is where working alongside skilled Tauwiwi educators has been so very important to my development and growth as a disruptor of racist status quo thinking and practice.

I have spoken a lot in publications for this thesis about the critical work of allies (see *Chapter Three, 10 and 11*). Strictly speaking, I am speaking out of turn but still I am frequently asked ‘what can I do?’. When the critical ally workforce in the profession begins to organise and teach its own, then I hope I won’t be asked to answer a question that is not really for Māori to answer. I am also privy to seeing privilege and racism be called out in real time by the critical allies that take complete responsibility to manage it. Statements that have typically been left unchallenged and do harm, do not get to settle under the skin when skilled critical allies stand with Māori. I look forward to the time when a critical mass of allies in the profession make a stand that is not just about ‘learning to do better’ and feeling less guilty, but is instead about rewriting policy, sharing platforms, defending Indigenous voice, lands, waters and Rights.

Being a Tiriti educator during the course of the study, means that I get to be in spaces with incredibly courageous experienced Māori facilitators too. The manaaki, generosity and healing that they and critical allies offer, challenges and nourishes the mind and leaves a mark on the soul. It was a natural step to continue this energy and look for, join and build antiracist communities.

Building antiracist community

“Humanity expects other things from us than this grotesque and generally obscene emulation.” (Fanon, 1961, p. 239).

In *Chapters Three and Four*, I wrote that building antiracist community was an unexpected but, in the end, a natural and necessary method for the study. As discussed in *Chapter Two*, the Māori OT Network was established nearly two decades ago to support students and practitioners in the profession across a range of kaupapa. As an autonomous organisation, we have reclaimed tikanga as our core and guide, but not without challenge and difficulty. The Network is also a kohanga for disruptors; a place where those who feel deep commitment to decoloniality can grow and lead change. In 2016, we reached out to Indigenous colleagues in Australia, South Africa, Canada and the US and had our first virtual meetings to establish the International Indigenous Occupational Therapy Consortium (IIOTC) in 2017. We were well positioned to respond calls from BIPOC colleagues to join them in a larger push to disrupt occupational therapy and occupational science.

In May of 2020, Aotearoa New Zealand was already in lockdown when the world heard the awful stories of US police brutality and murders of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor and many others – too many others. Sheela Ivlev, an occupational therapist from San Francisco, began to gather disruptors from across the globe. We came together for Black Lives Matter, for antiracism, for change. As disruptors across the globe were finding each other, we began to bring each other up to speed with the state of oppressions in our countries, perhaps for the first time on such a large scale. Further realisations ensued. Our stories were terrifyingly similar, but fundamentally we gleaned and understood that racialised harms and oppressions were being reproduced everywhere occupational therapy and occupational science were taken. For example, we shared stories about labour and remuneration for labour. Late, poor and no remuneration is so frequently discussed that it became a lightning rod in conversation. For myself, in every circumstance of late or low remunerations - domestic and international – I was approached to lead a ‘special project’ or bespoke training, not the other way around. It is likely

that irregular and poor compensation to BIPOC colleagues are methods to showcase who has power and influence and who does not. I must conclude that as payment irregularities are so frequent, they are not random oversights, but systemic ways of how the profession relates with BIPOC colleagues. This pointed to a wider if not global practice of undervaluing BIPOC peoples, knowledges and our unique synthesis of our knowledges within our practice.

This realisation was a line drawn in the sand for me. Hoping for equitable actions let alone antiracist actions and change in the profession, was really just the breath you take before your head gets pushed back under the water (Watego, 2021). Hope is a mythtake. Through DisruptOT, collectives began the next step of transformation as described by Linda and Graham Smith: creating coherence and sustainability across the various communities and countries (2018). I became a supporter, speaker and leader of DisruptOT global community and participated in 2020 DisruptOT Global Summit, community gatherings (in person and virtual), sharing social media hosting, facilitating and participating in healing circles. Truth telling and witnessing truth telling has become a central practice of our gatherings. In each other, we have found solid ground, a place to launch from and come home to.

Another often discussed topic of discussion is 'who we serve', and therefore which line on the battlefield we are trying to hold. The line for education of non-Māori is not my preferred space but I am often found on this part of the battlefield, because it is the most resourced. Truth be told, it is the only space that Indigenous people get to stand resourced in this profession. My space on the battlefield should be wherever my community says it is and certainly, they have not implored me to educate non-Māori. This is often the default position for Indigenous researchers and educators because education is believed to decrease racist harms. Funding discrepancies are also discussed at BIPOC gatherings, and it is noted that funding rarely crosses to specialist education for Indigenous practitioners. The World

Federation of Occupational Therapists has a yearly income of over USD\$1 million, but in 2021, budgeted USD\$600.00 for 'Indigenous occupational therapist project' (WFOT, 2021, p. 122). Certainly, across resource rich 'developed settler colonial countries' of the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, there are no Indigenous schools of occupation studies despite overwhelming evidence of inequities and dire need.

It has been delightful and harrowing to spend time with Indigenous colleagues, to witness truth telling, to share expertise and 'the Indigenous side of the story' and Indigenous perspectives, to share poetry and comedy, to commiserate, to warn and to write, teach and plan together. Central to our gatherings is the displaced gaze of the usual colonial institutions, which do not get immediate platforming. For the inaugural DisruptOT Summit in August 2021, Sheela Ivlev (Founder of DisruptOT) requested financial sponsorship from over one thousand national associations, educational institutions and organisations, so that invited speakers at the free events could be fairly remunerated. However, only nine occupational therapy organisations across the globe, provided financial support and these were outnumbered by attendees and individual practitioners who sponsored speakers (S. Ivlev, personal communication, May 26, 2023). In the meantime, we question the self-assigned roles of professional organisations, their power and authority to speak and represent all occupational therapists, and have begun discussions about alternative global structures that include all of us.

As a result of expanded collaborations with international colleagues, I have co-written five publications, during this study, two of which are included in *Disruptions* phase. Along with 15 other BIPOC occupational therapists, I have been interviewed for a book about disruption called *Occupational Therapy Disruptors: What global occupational therapy practice can teach us about innovation, culture and community* published by Jessica Kingsley Publishers in 2023. At the same time, Māori and Indigenous colleagues from Canada, Australia and South Africa have

agreed to stop writing 'the Indigenous chapter' into occupational therapy and occupational science texts. Instead, we have begun planning an Indigenous occupational therapy book.

One issue that we plan to spotlight and discuss in the book is the special attention given to BIPOC students and new graduates from non-Indigenous faculty staff, and the power dynamics in play. Too often we have had to support overwhelmed students and new graduates who are asked to do work that is complex and beyond their pay grade, experience and sometimes age. BIPOC colleagues must guard against being seduced by special invitations, positions and attention and recognise that they are not being elevated, they are being hunted. Colonialism will not stop hunting us, but if we know who we are and keep our communities needs as our central motivations, then it is easier to see the 'special attention' for what it is: the pause before the lion opens its mouth.

A further issue is sharing analysis about what to do when a space gets recolonised, situations where we lose ground and when we realise after much time and effort, nothing changed for the better. It makes sense to warn each other of colonialism's shapes and shapeshifting and then strategise efforts. This requires trusting relationships and maintaining strong connections. Certainly, when networks are made aware of struggles in real time, we have been able to bring attention and noise via social media and speaking engagements. It has been interesting how colonial institutions have tried to silence the local collectives, but once they realise that there is a global spotlight, suddenly meetings with important people are scheduled or talks open back up. Threats to jobs and harm have not necessarily decreased, however, we have shown that through connections, BIPOC collectives and affinity groups can be each other's safety net and together demand better for our communities.

Conclusion

Of all the disruptions and transformations, the schism within the Māori OT Network was the most surprising and a brief background to this has been outlined in *Chapter Two*. In some ways, it was broken by racist-targeting as opposed to being disrupted, and writing *Chapter 10* with my colleague Georgina Davis, has been a way to understand both how internalised oppression impacts the Network and how to manage and heal from such impacts. The Network has been made anew and along with critical allies, we plan to formally launch a bespoke Māori occupational therapy society. The opportunity to not only rebuild but recreate has meant that we could make Tiriti literacy, antiracism, whanaungatanga and manaaki the core of the new association. In *Chapter 11*, I describe the emerging and strengthening antiracist communities along with some of the core issues we wrestle with.

CHAPTER 10: Rapua te kurahuna: An occupational perspective of internalised oppression

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Background

This chapter (and publication) is about internalised oppression. It was prepared with Māori occupational therapist and colleague Georgina Davis who with me, co-convenes the Māori Occupational Therapy Network and Indigenous Occupational Therapy Consortium. The premise is that to end racism, we must know exactly where it is especially when it resides within. We noticed that internalised oppression is rarely discussed beyond pejorative expressions and exasperation, with few studies and little formal discourse about it. Building on *Examinations* phase, the chapter opens an occupational perspective of internalised oppression that spotlights the role of everyday tasks in conveying racism.

Certainly, internalised oppression can be difficult to locate initially and with racism being so denied at societal levels, it means that there are few guides or guardrails developed and available for the journey. As occupational therapists, Georgina and I are trained in observing and analysing occupational performance of everyday tasks. As Indigenous practitioners we had experienced and continue to experience racialised targeting from both non-Māori and Māori colleagues. Hence, it made sense to take the opportunity to explore, examine and attempt to understand the phenomenon of internalised oppression especially in situations where unrecognised internalised oppression is weaponised for white supremacy. We

drew from vignettes, stress and trauma-informed literature, practice observations and elemental aspects of manaaki and Mana Motuhake.

Introduction

Paradies (2006, p. 151) defined internalised racism as “the incorporation of racist attitudes, beliefs or ideologies within an actor’s worldview” that manifests in either internalised dominance such as privilege, or internalised oppression such as self-subordination. Literature regarding the second aspect of internalised racism - internalised oppression - tends to focus on survival, acquiescence and resistance narratives (Seet, 2020). We argue that internalised oppression also includes focused intentional actions to perpetuate and maintain colonialism by centring white supremacist ways of being as one’s own. Further, we agree that internalised oppression is comprised of and intersects with multiple forms of oppression (Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). It would be unlikely that perpetrators of dehumanisation were *only* targeting race. To that end, we understand antiracism as not solely focused on being against racism, but is about naming, disrupting and ending unjust social division across a range of dehumanisations.

In occupational therapy and latterly occupational science, there are a growing number of calls to address racism (Ramugondo, 2018; Ryan et al., 2020), and especially in the wake of police brutality and 2020 murder of Mr George Floyd in Minnesota, USA (Lavalley & Johnson, 2020). Strategy and effort to locate and manage racism seems lukewarm and being seen to be intolerant of racism - such as issuing statements condemning racism without policy and procedural change - is conflated with taking action to end racism. Such apolitical performatives have attracted critique and concern from global collectives such as DisruptOT and critical allies (Kronenberg, 2021).

Contrary to mainstream narratives that New Zealand is leading the world with regards to bicultural practice, several publicly racist events have occurred in the profession before, during and after 2020. Instead, the profession's tolerance levels of overt racism appears stubbornly high, as evidenced by nil reporting of any public racist occurrences to the registration authority (A. Charnock, personal communication, November 11, 2022) by witnesses nor targets. Consequently, there have been no examinations of racism against ethical codes, values, practice competencies, nor education audits, and with that no accountability, remediation steps, and strategies to end racism. Indeed, racist acts by occupational therapists with minimal institutional response or professional accountability, is usual and expected.

In addition, racist targeting of Māori occupational therapists has at times been led by Māori occupational therapists and have recently involved new migrants to our shores. Scholarship regarding internalised racism suggests that such expressions of racism are not as atypical as they first appear; rather, colonialism is working exactly as intended (Seet, 2020). As authors from a vibrant community of Māori occupational therapists, we offer our unpacked reckonings and scholarly investigation of internalised oppression in service of white supremacy to help make sense of targeted racism across our professional spaces. The examination is discomfiting and triggering, as perhaps it should be. Beyond this however are resistance and healing centred in growing critical consciousness, noticing and locating internalised oppression and developing a relational ethic of manaaki (to support, take care of, give hospitality).

Racism needs ending, and to end racism we must know where it is, including and perhaps especially, when it resides within and when it is being further utilised for white supremacy. Indeed, internalised racism is the most insidious kind of racism due in part to its ability for camouflage (David et al., 2019). Occupational scientists and occupational therapists examine how everyday occupations - tasks, acts, habits, work- shape and contribute

meaningfully to health. As practitioners interested in everyday occupations, we observe that racism is expressed in and across everyday occupations, often habitually, repeatedly and over many years. Part and parcel of the machinery of colonialism is making racism - albeit denied and forgotten - seem everyday, usual and expected (Billig, 1995). We argue that internalised racism – internalised dominance and internalised oppression - is not well hidden, if camouflaged initially, but is performed and transmitted in plain sight many times a day.

Despite this, there is much to do regarding scholarly examination and theorising of the links between everyday occupations and racism. Racism shapes people because it shapes what people do including what people feel, think, say, action and withhold from, and in this way, racism forms different kinds of people, communities and societies. Moreover, racism is transmitted through occupation which makes occupation not a link to racism, but *the link* to racism, and the means by which racism is transmitted between parents and children, families, friends, neighbours and communities. Hence, racially targeted occupational therapists and scientists are in a unique - albeit difficult - position to observe, narrate and theorise the links between occupation and internalised racism and the transmission of racism through everyday occupations.

We note that discourse about internalised oppression can sometimes seem like victim-blaming, as if the racially targeted chose the situation. Rather, colonialism and its cornerstone racism are the only food on offer in settler-colonial spaces. Furthermore, occupational therapy is not the first or last profession where internalised racism is weaponised for white supremacy. Studying internalised racism and sharing learnings is about recognising that no one deserves racialised targeting and that in choosing to explore internalised oppression, it is possible to glean the profession's unique contribution to transformation of everyday ways of life beyond colonialism.

The next section begins with definitions of levels of racism and outlines literature exploring reasons why internalised oppression can be hard to grapple with. In addition, Indigenous critical responses are highlighted, supported by vignettes following an examination of expressions of internalised oppression as natural survival reactions to white supremacy. This chapter is a small contribution by Indigenous occupational therapists in locating and defusing internalised oppression through examination of the transmission of racism through everyday tasks of life.

Defining internalised oppression

Racism is a system of power and control; a constructed social hierarchy of assigned and imagined value based on human appearance that violates human relationships and is continually reproduced (Speight, 2007; Wilkerson, 2022). In New Zealand, racism benefits white supremacy, an ideology of presumed superiority of white culture (Te Kāhui Tika Tangata Human Rights Commission, 2022) and justifies land and resource theft. However, Jackson reminds us, that racism can never morally cleanse such violence (2020). Racism is taught and learned every day and has been studied using a variety of theoretical frameworks, levels and definitions. For this paper, we refer to four levels: structural racism as described by Nazroo et al., (2020), and institutional racism, interpersonal racism and internalised racism as described by Camara Jones (2000) and further expanded by Yin Paradies (2006). Structural racism is the “circulation of ideas and representations that produce race and ethnic groups as different, but also as threatening and inferior, [and] serve to rationalise and inform an uneven distribution of resources” (Nazroo et al., 2020, p. 265). Jones’ (2000) allegory of three levels of racism as flower boxes, with different soil, seeds, attention, and ascribed value over many seasons framed and described institutional racism, interpersonal racism - also referred to as personally

mediated racism - and internalised racism. Institutional racism is “differential access to the goods, services, and opportunities of society by race. Institutionalized racism is normative, sometimes legalized, and often manifests as inherited disadvantage” (Jones, 2000, p. 1212). The interpersonal racism level refers to both intentional and unintentional actions - spoken and non-verbal - that are expressed and/or withheld (Jones, 2000). Such actions and inactions can be habitual, routine sometimes violent, direct or vicarious, pernicious, cumulative, intersecting in multi-axial and simultaneous fashion (Nadal et al., 2021).

Internalisation of oppression is about “the cultural imperialism, the domination, the structure, the normalcy of the 'way things are'” (Speight, 2007, p. 129). Racial distress is transmitted amongst own communities, families and serves as a reaction to everyday racism and the subsequent feelings of self-doubt and inferiority (Fanon, 1961) which can spiral and become a further source of animosity towards one’s own (Freire, 2000). Thus, internalised oppression is both a source and consequence of racism (James, 2022). Internalised oppression can be known and unknown, practiced as an individual and collectively, with some well aware of their self-hate (David et al, 2019; Memmi, 1965). In Pyke (2010) and Seet’s (2020) studies that focused on perspectives of new migrants from Asia to USA and Australia respectively, participants shared insights into the pervasive, all-encompassing internalisation of dominant ideologies into their everyday lives. Research such as Pyke’s (2010) and Seet’s (2020) usefully allow for comparison of lived memory of pre-migration ways of being, alongside real time assimilation patterns. Such positioning of research provides invaluable insights into how internalised oppression is seeded and grows over time. Conversely, the positioning of Indigenous peoples differs in that communities have survived and are surviving settler-imposed societies on ancestral lands. Hence, exposure and resistance to forced assimilation occurring for centuries across generations, signals that a variety of research styles are needed to capture

both nuances of and resistance to internalised oppression. That some Indigenous ways of being are still taught and practiced daily tells us much about the will to live.

Perhaps a clue to the pervasiveness of internalised oppression in settler-colonial states are everyday language, colloquialisms and pejoratives such as Uncle Tom, sell-outs and in phrases such as *Crabs in a bucket* and *when your skinfolk ain't your kinfolk*. In New Zealand, terms such as *kūpapa* (traitor), *riwai* (potato), and *waka jumper* (denotes disloyalty), indicate both frustration and distress towards the phenomenon throughout colonial history. Colloquialisms also signal dismay, confusion and betrayal such as *shoots self in foot*, double agent, and turncoat. Such language seems to express a deep sense that ethical standards and societal contracts have been broken, such as *sell their own grandmother*, traitor and accomplice. Despite the pervasiveness of colloquial expressions that describe and convey deep emotions about internalised oppression, studies are few and far between. Internalised oppression is the most devastating form of racism, because it is the least examined, discussed and understood (Seet, 2020; Speight, 2007).

Indigenous occupational therapists and colleagues are developing theory and examining links between occupation, coloniality and racism (Emery-Whittington, 2021; Gibson, 2020; Ramugondo, 2018). Concerns about under-theorisation, and an under-developed literature and practice of antiracism stemmed from observations that the profession tended to treat occupation as only healthy, universal and therapeutic (Angell, 2012; Hammell, 2011). We contend that an occupational perspective of racism can and must grapple with the learned, habituated expression of racist oppression through everyday deeds and activities. This requires a decolonial appreciation that Indigenous peoples are not merely producers of culture, but producers of knowledge (Cooper, 2012). For instance, everyday occupations in settler states must be recognised as contentious sites of struggle. Such examinations must ensure that

transformation is built in so that there is a measurable decrease in oppression as a result of the research. These kinds of examinations would create and release the radical potential of occupation thus contributing to foundational knowledge and therapeutic practice beyond occupational therapy and occupational science.

Typical expressions and impacts of internalised oppression

Literature about internalised oppression has focused heavily on individual level expressions and manifestations including trauma (Seet, 2021). Expressions of internalised oppression vary depending on context but may include changing appearance, distancing or non-association with own kin groups, mental distress, physical harm, shame, competition, self-denigration, and feeling compromised (Jones, 2000). Other expressions include publicly shaming and undermining others that look stereotypically kin to self (Pyke, 2010) and complicity with white colonialist desires. Seet (2021, p. 1) reported that participants in his study “conceive of themselves as relationally dependent on the dominant racial groups appraisal of them.” Where the dominant group was the centre, they and their peoples' needs, desires and imaginations were irrelevant and consequently, some participants could not or would not see racism as problematic, systemic nor pervasive.

Of the few occupational therapy articles that have discussed internalised oppression, Beagan and colleagues (2022, p. 52) contend that internalised oppression is a survival response to “psycho-emotional harm.” This article builds on that idea and posits that internalised oppression extends beyond kneejerk reactions to active assimilating of colonial ideologies informing subsequent violence directed against one's own. Internalised oppression includes but is not limited to the things one must do to stay alive, remain housed, keep employment, however clever and agile. It feels messy: comfort, shame, convenience and survival responses

mix, coagulate, and sometimes define and separate. For example, seeking nomination as *the* Māori representative while having little to do with the Māori being represented.

Then there are situations where the oppressed prioritise colonialist views and agendas, implement white supremacist practices, attack and belittle their own and assume a lone role within colonial institutions. Setting oneself up as *the* authoritative knower requires definition and delineation from those that do not know. Necessary to the success of the framing as *the knower* is the requirement to define the not-knowers as undesirable and in our case, dangerous radicals. This framing fits with well-known media reporting styles of “Good Māori / Bad Māori” trope (Rankin et al., 2008, p. 10). Regardless of who transmits the ideology, it is important to remember whose ideology it is and whom it serves.

The individual who speaks for the collective but isn't functionally part of the collective is an example of the interplay between institutional racism and internalised oppression. Certainly, the concentrated colonial power of institutions attracts those with internalised oppression who desire power usually denied, yet power and information are not shared with the collective they purport to represent. Tell-tale discourse are phrases that placate white anxieties such as ‘you are not racist’, ‘you are culturally safe’, and the more insidious ‘you know the Treaty better than most Pākehā’ (British settlers and their descendants). The effect is that white supremacy continues as before which means that newly carved out decolonising or tikanga (correct procedure)-led spaces, cannot remain so for long.

Certainly, supporting a white supremacist agenda within institutions and organisations is not an aberration, but the status quo. Nazroo et al. (2020) described institutional racism as a sedimentation of structural racism that also normalises interpersonal racism as expressed in routine operations, budgets, meeting agendas for example. However, Seet (2020) noted that resisting racism is not always effective or impactful. Therefore, anyone seeking power would

do well to chase roles within colonial institutions but would need to eschew the role of a resistor or worse, engage in racism themselves.

Further, to support white supremacy, time needs to be spent in and amongst it, learning its language, processes, habits, roles, what it values, its justifications for violence and how it reproduces throughout communities and across generations every day. Being and doing coloniality means accepting a colonially imposed self as “a human version of epistemic terra nullius” devoid of ability to produce knowledge (Cooper, 2012, p. 69). There is an ideological clash between holding, studying and reproducing white supremacy and supporting Māori sovereignty and land back. Indeed, it would be difficult to hold a profound love for one's own culture while serving white supremacy.

Power and pain

Why then serve white supremacy? Dangled colonial carrots might seem inducing but the double-bind situation is that despite all attempts, the racially targeted will never be white (Pyke, 2010; Seet, 2021). Therefore, a contentment with only being adjacent to colonial power must suffice - despite any short-term gains – because adjacency to colonial power is not akin to building sovereignty and wellbeing for all. Being in service to colonial power conveys a sense that oppression is all human potential is capable of. If mortgage or rent payments, job position and entitlements, social acceptance and mobility did not require and depend on one's complicity with white supremacy, would one still be complicit?

Another way of viewing expressions of internalised oppression is transmission of pain and trauma. Typically, where trauma has occurred, the target is removed from the situation and a rāhui (a temporary prohibition) is placed around the space. Such envelopment is difficult with institutionally sourced trauma and seemingly impossible with internalised oppression

given the unconscious and unrecognisable shape, as well as the constant societal denial of racism in the first place. Internalised oppression like many aspects of oppression carries societal shame, and so finding language of colonial wounding and subsequent feelings is difficult. Along with the relatively under-examined nature of internalised oppression, the ability to understand causes, strategise to prevent further trauma, and recover, must all occur in concert and simultaneously with fresh daily racial harms.

It is possible to sense harms experienced by the choice of tone, words and phrasing used to describe or further transmit racial trauma. Language to name and recognise the cause and scope of racial trauma, stops harm being tucked away and continuing in the background. Instead, internalised oppression can be recognised during the flow of everyday occupation once it is considered and treated as inevitable, locatable and manageable. From there, normalising discussions about identified internalised oppression supports reconnection to our-real-selves.

Viewed from a biopsychosocial perspective, reactions to racism depend on whether a situation is deemed threatening or challenging (Page-Gould et al., 2008). Price (2018) explains that the neuroscience of threat is essentially a stress response triggered by the sympathetic nervous system invoking fight, flight, freeze, or fawn reactions. Following an initial release of adrenaline, cortisol will be released if a threat is sustained, and with both adrenaline and cortisol in play, the body is alert and poised for survival (Page-Gould et al., 2008; Price, 2018). When a threat is deemed over, the cortisol-inhibited cognitive functions - such as critical thinking, reasoning, and planning – also resume. In the case of internalised oppression, stress-responses from exposure to racism must be understood as mechanisms for survival and ever present.

Increasing awareness of responses in the moment, can bring particular attention to what is a threat and what is not. Following this, it is important to acknowledge shame, make

opportunities for constructive next steps (Fernandez, 2010) and reconnect to positive aspects of culture. People who actively work against their own interests often hold strong beliefs in colonial fabrications about their culture and its value. Certainly, where only colonial myths about one's own people exist, one is more likely to become disconnected, compromise-able and feel shame for not being enough. Therefore, we must remember who is responsible for the colonial harm in the first place, take and make opportunities to grow critical consciousness and purposefully and strategically reconnect to manaaki.

Dealing with internalised oppression

In our experience, the work of antiracism requires perpetual motion, and actions and strategy must be in reference to something, otherwise it is hard to glean development. A reference point for gauging what is trustworthy when dealing with internalised oppression is mana motuhake (autonomy, independence, sovereignty) because mana motuhake concerns “Who we want to be, and who we choose to be, expressed in our own ways” (S. Te Ruki, Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga, personal communication, December 4, 2021). The following section describes some of the processes we utilised in the work of deciphering and dealing with internalised oppression: growing a critical consciousness; noticing and locating internalised oppression; practising a relational ethic of manaaki which includes building community and strengthening identity. These sections are not sequential or staged, and instead co-occur and overlap.

Growing a critical consciousness

Growing a critical consciousness is hard work with few shortcuts because it requires critical examination of colonial and racist tropes that have been accepted as real and true,

perhaps for many years. It includes the practice of rejecting hegemonic discourse with deliberate centring of being Māori as the taken for granted solution to social transformation (Smith, 2003). Developing a critical lens supports the work of unlearning how to be colonially objectifiable, thus recentring ourselves as whole humans necessary to the ancient work of supporting and looking after Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and her children. When mana motuhake is centred, colonial desires can be understood in appropriate context and framing, which then leaves space to mobilise Māori advancement and desires (Durie, 1998). The following vignette describes a moment that sparked the growth of critical consciousness for the lead author:

When I was 14, I remember an unusual conversation with Dad. It was Friday night, after Dad's weekly visit to the Cossie Club and he was his usual post-Cossie Club visit self: tipsy, talkative and looking for dinner leftovers. Sitting in the lounge, he was playing the guitar and I was complaining about a school concern, an injustice of sorts. Dad suddenly became serious and asked, "Do you love being Māori?" The change in pace from funny rambling to an intense direct question was surprising, but I sensed that this kind of question is posed only once and so I let an answer arrive in its own time. I eventually replied "Yes, but it's hard." It felt like a thousand invisible souls were listening in; making my response a public declaration. Dad beamed and exclaimed "Kia ora, kia ora!" (an idiomatic expression of happiness). I knew that prejudice and injustices will continue to concern me and realised that during the conversation, I had joined the struggle. Conversations amongst whānau (family grouping) and community were where I glimpsed the armoury and strategy of the struggle. I also understood that injustice was real and that I too must help.

Nurturing a critical consciousness originates in love. However, choosing to love being Māori is not blind and includes healthy critique and curiosity of Māori intelligence and agency. This kind of enquiry requires genuine questioning where there are no tricky or hidden agendas. Do you love being Māori? Do you feel the compounding love of ancestors, gods and leaders in your life and work? Posing questions about what already exists seems initially ridiculous. However, such questioning creates a choice - a powerful conscious choice - and in this case, choosing to love being Māori. By natural extension, by choosing to love being Māori, we also choose to love relationship with the natural world, our ancestors and shared descendants (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018).

Challenging racism is necessary but in a racialised society that protects perpetrators, is absolutely a risk to job, health and career. We recommend careful strategy, support and safety of proven peers and allies with platforms, resources and power along with habitual critical self-awareness. Questions such as *Am I the right person for this task?* (Smith, 2012), *How is racism permitted here?* and *What supports my continual connection to Māori knowledges and community?* have guided deep reflections amongst the Māori Occupational Therapy Network (the Network) and provided guardrails for healing. Welcoming critical examination into how racism is reproduced and naturalised within occupational therapy and science theories, models and everyday professional practice is an important next step.

Noticing and locating internalised oppression

Racism must first be perceived. In advocating for an increase in awareness of internalised racism, we do not assume that internalised oppression can or must always be perceived. It is disturbing to encounter the sometimes ugly, ironic and sad inner colonialisms yet, there is also a brief respite and clarity in the moment when one can say “I see you”. We

intentionally observed daily transmissions of racism via the mundane, banal, routine and habitual tasks of life, as we are trained to as occupational therapists. Coincidentally, occupational therapy training was where we were provided the tools to observe and analyse everyday occupation, while experiencing routine expression of racism via staff discourse, tutorials, hallway banter, group work and clinical placements. Training as occupational therapists was both the most dangerous and illuminating thing we had ever done.

Locating internalised oppression that resides within is also a journey of self-discovery. James Baldwin said, “a journey is called that because you cannot know what you will discover on the journey, what you will do with what you find, nor what it will do to you” (Peck, 2016). It can be difficult to track when and how white supremacy got in. Identifying automatic unconscious thoughts is not easy. Yet being aware of one's own physical reactions in real time can help, especially when a stress-threat reaction occurs. Being able to notice this and becoming aware of the thoughts one is having can then help notice, name and manage feelings arising from internalised oppression as the second author shared below:

Whittaker’s Chocolate Company recently released bilingual branding on Creamy Milk chocolate: *Mirika Kirimi*. When I saw the advertisement, I felt my body react: I felt hot, noticed my breathing was shallow and my heart was pumping fast. I felt angry and fearful. I remember my thoughts rushing, “What are they going to say? What is the backlash going to be? Am I going to have to defend the language... again? Who is going to challenge me for being Māori?”. I had to use strategies of deep breathing, checking my surroundings for threats and soothing self-talk so then I saw that no one was threatening me right then and I was safe. This reaction arises again and again, when I perceive racism coming my way and when remembering racist trauma. I want to want bilingual labelling on food, but it feels stressful, and it shouldn’t.

Practicing a relational ethic of manaaki

Manaaki is an expressed value, a lived ethic and realisation of deep and attentive care for all. A relational ethic of manaaki refers to a way of being *with* self as connected to all, and all as connected to self. Practicing a relational ethic of manaaki illuminates the links and connections that are simultaneously within and amongst the collectives that hold us. A relational ethic of manaaki is timeless and recognises that we are simultaneously ancestors and descendants, and that today's detractors might be tomorrow's allies.

Manaaki includes restoration, which when understood in the context of colonialism is necessarily about an "ethic of restoration" (Jackson, 2020, p. 140) and a way back to the promise of the entirety of our pre-disconnected selves. Like many societies, Māori developed sophisticated and complex ways to deal with transgressions, restore trust and relationships and prevent harm (Jackson, 2020). In the absence of agreement that racism exists, manaaki requires getting above the mass societal denial of racism and seeking spaces of healing and reconnection. For immediate connection and access to ancestral guidance, language including whakataukī (proverbs) and pūrākau (ancient stories) provide perspective to difficulties and literally give phrases to explain, connect, defend and soothe.

Knowing oneself as a whole human and fostering a healthy sense of self-worth is central to a relational ethic of manaaki. Returning to traditional homespaces often and regularly, despite busy schedules, decentres the colonial gaze and its grip on daily life. Colonialism severs what was once usual and routinely practiced manaaki. Despite this, compounded ancestral wisdom and stories exist in the minutiae of daily life - wherever that takes place - as much as grand ceremonies and gatherings. Knowing kin connections also makes room for the identification of strengths, character traits and roles that have been handed down and

practiced for centuries. Grounding in ancestral wisdom, rituals and lifeways holds healing that is timeless, and time tested and reminds us that we exist beyond colonialism (Paradies, 2020).

Important healing spaces for the Network have been global and Indigenous collectives and affinity groups including DisruptOT within and beyond occupational therapy. The Network created safe spaces for debrief and reflection with members and leaders, hosted experts and critical allies in healing discussions and strengthened tikanga practices. Like many Māori collectives we prioritise reconnection to purpose thus continuing healing and wānanga. We are committed to a relational ethic of manaaki for Māori occupational therapists to connect and reconnect in the spirit of right relationship.

Call for development of a critical ally workforce

In small professions such as occupational therapy and in settler-colonial states, the work of critical allies is crucial. There is an overrepresentation of settlers and new migrants in the profession compared to Indigenous therapists who make up 6% of the workforce (A. Charnock, personal communication, March 20, 2023). In the absence of a critical ally workforce the predictable occurs that is, Māori are expected to tackle an impossible share of the labour of educating settlers and new migrants on elemental citizenship topics including Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the legal and Māori text of the Treaty of Waitangi – not to be confused with the English translation of the Treaty of Waitangi), decolonisation, antiracism and cultural safety, while experiencing denials of racism. Low numbers of Māori in the profession makes it easy for settler-colonials - overrepresented in roles of power - to racially target Māori without consequence, perform calls for equity and treaty partnership with minimal critical understanding, and elevate their preferred Māori voices over Māori collectives. Tuck and Yang

(2012, p. 1) remind us that in “settler moves to innocence,” the voices that are marginalised are the voices that challenge settler comfort.

Another settler move to innocence as described by Tuck and Yang (2012) in play in occupational therapy is language equivocation. Language tricks function to control and confuse discourse about colonisation and by extension decolonisation. For example, “We are all colonised” slips into “None of us are settlers” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 17) and “We are all migrants here” becomes “We are all Indigenous” meaning, no one is. Equivocation removes the distinction between settler-colonial and new migrant, thus creating a supposed sameness that makes new migrants ripe and ready to be picked as functional and symbolic objects for colonial consumption. In the background is the ever-present threat of not being offered residency, employment and career opportunities, because in settler-colonies, migration status and acceptability is controlled by settler-colonial structures and agents (Seet, 2021; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Such complicated double-bind arrangements are in play when new migrants encounter the colonially imposed social hierarchy of this country: either engage as themselves with tangata whenua (Indigenous Māori peoples) or as the colonial requires them to. Building relationships with tangata whenua is influenced by Te Tiriti o Waitangi education literacy required for entry and approval to work here. In our experience, three key factors influence new migrant relationships with tangata whenua in the profession. First, privilege and critical awareness of privilege. Too often new migrants originating from imperialising nations have related to this country as a colony, espoused a perceived backwardness of biculturalism versus multiculturalism, and regard themselves as experts in governance and management. Whereas, settlers from nations with less colonial and imperial heritage, have a variety of responses to this country’s particular social terrain. Second, experience of racialised targeting and/or

oppression, and subsequent responses or alignment with social hierarchies of power. Third, ongoing development of critical consciousness and active engagement with antiracism practice, such as alignment with critical allies and rejecting hegemony that a colonial filter is required to relate with tangata whenua. Crucially, deep engagement with tangata whenua who have mana whenua (territorial rights, jurisdiction, authority) while working towards Matike Mai Aotearoa as a constitutional imperative becomes possible (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016).

From our vantage, critical allyship wields power through inclusion of recent migrants while deploying multiple strategies that prevent and stop racialised harm. We observe that the allies that work from a centre of Tiriti- - not Treaty - literacy and antiracism surround themselves with like-acting mentors and collectives. Critical ally educators are word-ready and act in the moment to stop and isolate those causing racialised harm mid-lecture, while preventing further harm. Critical allies take the work of role modelling allyship seriously and provide learning and unlearning opportunities via tough but necessary conversations. They role model antiracism everywhere including emails, daily conversation, policy, assignment guides and marking, governance spaces and audit standards, all while prioritising the racially targeted.

We observe that critical allies are tired, exhausted sometimes but they know that experiencing undeserved oppression is worse. They critically reflect on all sources of racism and don't acquire inexperienced or disconnected Indigenous practitioners. They comprehend the gift that is a collective of Māori practitioners willing to support a shared kaupapa (purpose, topic) and demonstrate manaaki through good communication, reciprocity, and follow through on promises made while listening to advice given. Critical allies know their power, privilege, and levers they have at hand, and never try to convince Māori that they too have little power. However, quiet ally support has mixed results in our experience and ultimately does not stop racialised harm. Support that is out of view of those that racially abuse sends the message

‘Someone is doing some harm to you and I will not or cannot stop it, but I’ll carry your stretcher to the ambulance’.

Occupational therapy and occupational science have a unique contribution to theorising and framing racism (Johnson & Lavalley, 2021). However, there is an urgent need to value, grow and incentivise education spaces that are organised, connected and share responsibility in the development and care of an antiracist global workforce. This kind of workforce would be recognisable for its humble tireless work standing quickly, firmly and always with the oppressed. Certainty of strategy would be balanced with genuine curiosity to explore new ways of being in relation with, while co-occupying space, time and kaupapa. In so doing, internalised oppression would also be recognisable, definable and manageable across daily life occupations.

Conclusion

Racialised targeting is undeserved and contributes to internalisation of oppression resulting in further trauma. Certainly, internalised oppression can be tricky to recognise and hard to talk about and it remains poorly researched and understood. Therefore, we assert that identifying colonial methods that weaponise internalised oppression in everyday occupation is a worthy and unique contribution for a profession concerned with the potential of humanising occupation. Nuanced and expansive ways of understanding internalised oppression are necessary in the work of being recognised and seeing each other as fully human.

We observe that for many complex reasons, internalised oppression can be performed by targets of oppression in service of white supremacy, turning Indigenous spaces into new foci for racism via everyday occupations. Hence, holding complex, multi-layered understandings of internalised oppression requires recentring of Indigenous worldviews and values such as

manaaki. This chapter outlined a critical examination and steps to grapple with internalised oppression as Indigenous occupational therapists who observe how racism is transmitted in daily tasks of life. Steps include growing critical consciousness, developing a relational ethic of manaaki (to support, take care of, give hospitality) and building community to support recognition and healing from internalised oppression.

Rapua te kurahuna – seek that which is hidden – in this case refers to the importance of anticipating, noticing and being in relation with manifestations of internalised oppression, so that it can be managed. We acknowledge the many ways that communities of antiracist praxis activate manaaki to move from being colonially occupied to Indigenously alive. However, this work must be done in parallel with critical allies who recognise that internalised oppression can and is being weaponised in service of status quo colonial ways of being occupational therapists. Hence, we call for development of a critical ally workforce in solidarity with the racially targeted. The following chapter (and publication) engages directly with antiracist work that centres BIPOC community needs and is fully supported by an emergent critical ally workforce.

CHAPTER 11: Antiracism as means and ends

Emery-Whittington, I., Leite Junior, J. & Ivlev, S. (2023). Antiracism as means and ends. In M. Ahmed-Landeryou (Ed.) *Antiracist Occupational Therapy: Unsettling the status quo* (pp. 119-136). Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Introduction

Chapter 11 is also a co-authored publication with occupational therapist colleagues Jaime Leite Jnr (Brazil) and Sheela Ivlev (USA). The authors were approached to contribute a publication towards a book specifically about a framework to measure antiracism in occupational therapy. As racism is different in different spaces, I asserted – and my colleagues agreed – that it is not useful to try to develop nor assert a universalist measure of antiracism. Instead, we chose to highlight antiracist work and processes used by collectives of antiracism champions, BIPOC colleagues and critical allies that includes measuring and evaluating antiracist praxis. My colleagues also agreed that this publication is included in this PhD study.

The purpose of this chapter is unapologetically to further one of the goals of global racialised communities: ending racism. Farias et al. (2020, p. 243) explains that the “... racialisation of life and the production of racial inequality permeates the everyday life of all agents, whether those who suffer violence, whether those who practice and/or legitimise violence, or those who watch them”. Measuring antiracism is a small aspect but necessary action of the antiracism approach, yet it does not follow that racism with its roots in colonialism is easily circumscribable nor open to being scrutinised and grappled with. This chapter will argue why and how measures of antiracism require nothing less than the collaborative strength of collectives using multiple strategies across multiple spheres of influence to bring transformation. We outline a stepwise antiracism programme that includes honest identification of sites of racism, bespoke and contextualised plans, in full and transparent

collaboration with expert collectives. As antiracism and decolonisation are entirely contextual, we do not endorse standardised antiracism measures, closed protocols, or universals.

About the author group

We bring our experiences of building antiracist collectives from three different continents together in this collaboration which is more than text but the result of approximation and mutual learning, which is itself antiracism in action. One author is a cisgender, gay, Latino American man who lives in Brazil and was able to enter the public University due to the social policies of quotas, access, and permanence. The other authors identify as cisgender, heterosexual women. One is a first generation Bengali American and the other Māori with responsibilities to her tribal community and Māori peer network. We each share a commitment to support the growing BIPOC occupational therapy global communities. We make reference to the acronym BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Color), it is an imperfect term, we acknowledge that experiences of oppression, exclusion, and mistreatment are not the same for everyone, and attention and distinctions need contextualising. BIPOC is not a measure or category (Sarfo-Annin, 2020).

Two of the authors experience English as a second and third language; although this text arrives to you in English, it was also thought and elaborated in Brazilian Portuguese and Māori, thus requiring delicate translation of theorising from different languages and ideologies. This collaboration of thought and experience about occupational therapy, racism, and its inevitable occupational impacts on everyday life is both a privilege and painful process of excavation. Each of the authors has undeservedly experienced racialised aggression in everyday life and overt racism while training, practising and/or researching occupational therapy. Therefore, writing to decolonise demands careful co-witness to racial trauma, co-theorising possibilities,

and collectively transforming these into action. Together we resist, heal, and transform the effects of racism, including founding DisruptOT global collective, Māori OT Network, Dona Ivone Lara Group, and many more collaboratives.

This chapter is purposefully written to collectives of antiracism champions, BIPOC colleagues, and allies. We acknowledge your commitment, courage, and strength. If your reader experience is about unlearning or recognising the need to share power, we commend these steps and encourage the next antiracist actions. The following is not meant for those just beginning their antiracism journey. It is written for those prepared to fight despite discomfort and risk to career trajectory, for collective liberation.

Defining Racism and Antiracism

Measuring antiracism requires identification of both the obvious and hidden aspects of racism. Racism is wielded at systems, relational, and internal levels of human experience. Racist systems, structures, and policies ensure access to material resources, power, and opportunities are unfairly distributed to benefit some and exclude others (Almeida, 2018; Williams & Mohammed, 2013). Interpersonal racism refers to relationships and interactions between people that may include violence, expressions of hostility, surveillance, refusal to act, fragility, and micro-aggressions. Internalised racism refers to the belief in and identification with negative stereotypes and assessments of one's culture by a dominant culture, that can lead to self-loathing (Fanon, 1961) and accelerated aging (Geronimus et al., 2006).

Race as a biological truth has long been disproven (American Anthropological Association, 1998). As an entirely social invention then, critical scholars and activists question the societal context within which people are actively taught to perceive 'race' (Munanga & Gomes, 2016; Wilkerson, 2020) and practice racism. Interpreting differences positively or

negatively can interfere with or grow relatedness and community; therefore, how people experience relating with differences becomes a critical factor in antiracism praxis.

Antiracism is much more than simply not being racist (Kendi, 2019). Antiracism includes disrupting centuries-old institutions that perpetuate harm resulting in lifelong and intergenerational racial trauma. Antiracism recognises and elevates modern and ancestral knowledges and technologies (Farias et al., 2020; Leite Jnr et al., 2021). Importantly, antiracism praxis is not contingent on a single definition of antiracism, antiracism praxis, decolonisation, or decolonising occupation. Putting oneself in the antiracist struggle is a political alignment given expression through everyday actions with all people we connect with.

Theorising antiracism: a decolonising occupation, everyday life and action

Despite the well-researched and well-established understandings of race as a social construct and racism as a social determinant that impacts multiple dimensions of life, racism is poorly researched and the impacts on everyday occupation are poorly understood within the profession (Beagan, 2021; Farias et al., 2020). Such under-theorisation of racism in relation to occupation, activities, everyday life, and ways of life is a predictable outcome of a pro-western dominated profession (Amorim et al., 2020; Costa et al., 2020; Farias et al., 2020; Johnson & Lavalley, 2021; Leite Jnr. et al., 2021; Martins & Farias, 2020; Ramugondo, 2018; Ryan et al., 2020). While power remains firmly in white knowledge systems, the flip side is that the profession remains under-evolved. Worse still, being miseducated and mis-engaged with antiracism is causing further racial trauma (e.g., Gordon-Burns & Walker, 2015).

Antiracist, decolonial occupational therapies understand that there are many knowledges and practices of occupation, activities, everyday life, and ways of life. BIPOC colleagues and allies have contributed to deepening the examination of these diverse concepts

(e.g., Amorim et al., 2020; Costa, 2021; Costa et al., 2020; Emery-Whittington, 2021; Farias et al., 2020; Gibson, 2020; Guajardo et al., 2015; Leite Jnr. et al., 2021; Ramugondo, 2018; Ribeiro, 2021; Simaan, 2020), and in so doing, they are decolonising the profession's attachment to the need for universal acceptability of a single core understanding of these concepts. Such 'disruptions' to the 'usual' western theorising has potential to both deepen and widen understandings of the potential of occupational therapies.

Certainly, there are no lack of spaces to theorise racism and its impact on occupation, activities, everyday life, and ways of life. Yet, due to a lack of positionality and self-critique, the profession tends to overstate the amount and extent of antiracism work done while perpetuating a-historical, a-political approaches (Kronenberg, 2021). Further, if as Bojadžijev (2020, p. 193) states, "racism as episteme" then we must carefully critique why we are calling on the very same institutions - that maintain and reproduce racism as episteme - to theorise and examine links between racism and occupational therapy core concepts. Indeed, we assert that our profession's particular and special contribution to antiracism work is theorising the links between racism, society, everyday life, and occupation.

Lack of theorising seriously challenges the ability of certain parts of the profession to honestly face racism in practice, education, and research, but also speaks to the incredible lengths that some colleagues have gone to bring existing theorising to life. For example, Angell (2012, p. 104) argued for the examination of "occupation in perpetuating the hegemonic social order" allowing closer attention to the potential of occupation to be a vehicle for the transmission of racism. Ramugondo (2015) expanded thinking further with the contribution of occupational consciousness, grounded in the works of Fanon and Biko. More recently, Ryan et al. (2020, p. 412) argued that "...occupations reflect society, but also ...occupations can change society". Such theorising illuminates and affirms the potential of occupation - once decolonised

- as a means to resist colonialism and heal (Emery-Whittington, 2021; Gibson, 2020; Ryan et al., 2020; Simaan, 2020). In addition, Farias et al. (2020) reported that social occupational therapy promotes various elaborations for the creation of strategies to strengthen BIPOC individuals and collectives, considering their subjectivities.

To support theorising antiracism within occupational therapy and science we ask: What has been this discipline and profession's contribution to racism? Moreover, what do the racialised tell us? Importantly, when historically excluded communities join with the construction and implementation of antiracism efforts, what do they set as measures of antiracism praxis and why?

In proposing a stepwise programme of collective-centred antiracism that includes antiracism measures, we note that despite the burgeoning literature about antiracism in occupational therapy and occupational science since June 2020, few authors have implemented and evaluated active antiracism in practice. This is important. Antiracism is praxis, and decolonisation is not a metaphor. To borrow from one of the late Audre Lorde's book titles: 'The Master's tools will never dismantle the Master's house'. Therefore, whatever antiracism measures global north occupational therapy have, they have not dismantled racism and thus a rebuild is required. However, a measure of skepticism is warranted given the gravity and urgency of the task, the overwhelming evidence of racist harms, derailments, and delays to date (i.e., focus on cultural competency and diversity), and where much of the hoarded power still very much lies.

Antiracism in five steps: a collectives-centred programme

In a review of effective antiracism approaches, Ben et al. (2020) report on the importance of theory-led, evidence-based plans with clear objectives and well-designed

evaluation. Coordinated cross-organisation and sector initiatives supported by decision-makers and funders were indicators of successful initiatives. However, their review did not explicate the positionality of the approaches, which means that it is difficult to determine by whose measure the antiracism initiative was successful or not. Crucially, success, achievement, and value for BIPOC collectives may not look the same for non-BIPOC persons, and it is no measure of well-being to be as 'sick' or as 'well' as non-BIPOC persons.

Step One: Gather or Join With the Experts to Build Your Community

Those with the least to gain from racism, and compounded oppression of any kind, are essential to every discussion of antiracism. Active collectives pursuing equity and the end of racism already have the experience, skills, analysis, and capacity to support new antiracism initiatives. The unfortunate practice of cherry-picking and collecting BIPOC 'champions' is replaced with a practice of engaging with collectives of champions. For example, in Aotearoa New Zealand, the Teaching Council has partnered with several agencies, including the NZ Human Rights Commission (includes the Race Relations Commission), the Commission for Children, Te Papa National Museum, and other collectives, as powerful and platformed partners for its antiracism programme 'Unteach Racism'.

Representation is a vital part of any venture to end racism because, as Came (2014) argues, majoritarian decision-making is a site of racism, often appearing in the guise of democracy as 'numerical fairness'. Conversely, Came (2014) noted that governance discussions involving numerically minoritised groups – often the experts in the room – tend to benefit dominant groups. Listing antiracism agenda items last or delaying 'until the next meeting' has caused numerically minoritised people to report feeling unsafe (Came et al., 2019). Numerical fairness arguments mean that hoarded power remains with those that gain from maintaining

the racist status quo. Shifting focus to instead highlight why there is an over-representation of those that consciously or unconsciously maintain the status quo is useful (Came et al., 2019). We argue for intentional over-representation of BIPOC collectives at every level of decision making, i.e., at every meeting.

Flawed consultation process is a common refrain of historically excluded groups (Came, 2014). Instead, collectives resourced to drive antiracism initiatives can ensure BIPOC voices remain centred. Also, erasure of BIPOC expertise is unlikely if decision-making processes (e.g., voting, consensus), framing of issues (e.g., epistemologies included or not), and evidence collected (e.g., positionality of literature) are carefully considered and agreed on (Came, 2014). Of the many lessons from this pandemic moment in history, vaccine inequity has shown ‘You can’t put out half a fire’, and it is the same for oppression. Sound consultation processes and following through with advice alongside historically excluded communities, means that every barrier – every ember of inequity – is addressed.

The work to end racism is a serious undertaking, so it is expected that all persons involved in the work are politically astute and have a firm understanding of the shape of their contribution, e.g., skills, experience, time, or access to resources. Therefore, it is recommended that allies and BIPOC champions are acknowledged and supported in their own growth e.g., regular coaching and mentoring with plenty of opportunities to build capacity. For example, a local collective of allies in Aotearoa New Zealand meets monthly to collectively crowdsource solutions to dilemmas or difficulties. The process is deliberately collective, open, non-blaming space with generous sharing of accumulated wisdom as the norm. Such communities of learning are integral to keeping momentum up, preventing burnout and isolation, and helping to ride through tough times. Came (2014) noted in her research that unacknowledged deficiencies in political competency could be a site of racism (Came 2014). Therefore, regular,

reliable opportunities for growth ultimately support transparency and accountability across the community.

Effective antiracism plans require ring-fenced, multiply sourced, protected funding for years. Guaranteed long-term funding means that lasting changes based on well-developed plans can be implemented, evaluated, disseminated, and improved. Moreover, when the budget is matched with executive and senior level power, then critical institutional decisions and changes occur at what seems lightning speed. Antiracism programmes and collectives must be confidently and continuously supported with commitment from all levels, but especially senior levels. Antiracism measures may include tracking funding for these initiatives over time, quantifying the decision-making ability, or calculating the time allotted for these roles is sufficient for antiracism-only initiatives.

Step Two: Collective Mapping of Racism

To end racism, one must know where it is and by what means it continues to be reproduced in the space of concern. Occupational therapy emerged and is reproduced from the same societal structures that have racism firmly positioned as the status quo. The hegemonic history of occupational therapy is acknowledged and must not prevent or frame the creation of new ways of acting. That being the case, the honest desire and will to identify sites of racism, label those sites accordingly, and map those sites in relation to each other, must be bold, sustained, and collective.

This means proactive broadening of scope to identify sites of racism and other forms of oppression, varied expressions of racism, and resources that seek to measure and end racism. It is vital that non-English language written and spoken resources, within and outside of the profession, are actively sought and engaged with. Although it is uncommon to find instruments

that measure and report on the existence of racism inside western dominated occupational therapy spheres, it does not follow that they do not exist. Examining whose voices are absent and whose are present, how and why that came to be is part of identifying sites of racism.

Mapping sites of racism may be as straightforward as providing safe opportunities for those most affected by racism to report on the sites they are aware of and experienced. It is our experience that when provided with safe opportunities to map sites of racism, people are able to do so efficiently and without hesitation. As for every space in this work, safety is essential. Further time will be required for in-depth analysis and mapping of the more hidden forms of racism, e.g., lack of salary or promotion opportunities. More than that, once started, this is a process that is best seen as a series of beginnings: actions sparking actions.

Identification and reporting on sites of racism need to be believed, acknowledged, filtered only by those entrusted to do so, and most importantly, be prioritised for action where and when required. Mapping sites of racism is potentially a risk to reputation, position, career, and personal safety.

Institutional racism is also wielded by silence and the withholding of information, material resources, and opportunity (Wingfield & Alston, 2014; Blessett & Littleton, 2017). Oppression is like a hidden algorithm written skillfully into societal structures. Therefore, open questions like *'In what ways do BIPOC communities thrive here?'* may elicit stories of antiracism, resistance to racism, and resistance to antiracism. In addition, examination of the effectiveness of current antiracism approaches gives further insight as to the shape and peculiarities of racism of the organisation in question.

Examination of institutional racism would include policies, procedures, curriculum, and demographic information of all persons involved or benefiting from the organisation, i.e., current students, employees, service users, stakeholders, shareholders, investors, and

contractors. Available and accurate demographic information means that monitoring at a basic level for diversity policies, quotas, and outcomes can occur. However, it is common for such information to be gatekept and poorly recorded, again a possible site of racism. In addition, anonymity in feedback through a third party may ensure that truthful feedback is protected from coercion or fear of acts of reprisal, e.g., losing jobs, poor grades, missing opportunities such as promotions, being prematurely discharged from treatment, or not offered all treatment options, etc. Respectful and careful handling of data and information is central to accurate identification of sites of racism.

There are a plethora of workplace, practice, and research tools that can support the identification and measurement of 'bias,' opportunity, trauma, and consequence of racism (or not). We recommend use of measures only where there are embedded practices of:

- a) mobilising the expertise of antiracism collectives, with high-level backing,
- b) attaining a full and comprehensive cultural understanding of the organisation and its particular expressions of racism through mapping,
- c) planning effective antiracism actions and evaluation of those actions,
- d) taking sound actions that not only align but are led by BIPOC aspirations.

Step Three: Analyse the Stories and Numbers

Methods for analysis of data need to be researched, developed, and agreed upon, allowing room for localisation and change where and when needed. No one single method of analysis is possible or indeed necessary. Importantly, each instance, story, and experience shared about sites of racism deserves to be seen as the gift that they are: trauma shared generously in the hopes for transformation. Therefore, the analysis and building of antiracism measures call for several safe, platformed pairs of hands to hold the space for better. Initiating

systemic change can be clarified by knowing exactly where racism resides and being open to addressing change in multiple spheres and interactions alongside an accountable, committed community.

Step Four: Have a Plan (or Join With Those That Have a Plan)

The planning process can be itself a potential site of healing. Planning to end racism demands the creation of methods that can accurately and sensitively guide antiracism approaches for the given context. Centering BIPOC well-being and humanity engages BIPOC imaginations, creativity, generosity, and experience. 'The plan' becomes a collection of sequenced moments of co-creation whereby connections are made and renewed, and community is forged.

As a gold standard, we would argue that well-managed, inclusive processes of antiracism initiatives are crucial. The energy, the soul if you like of these processes, are not tied to neo-liberal ideology of ownership, and are instead powered by the energy of collectives working and sharing together for the benefit of all. This necessarily requires a different set of tools than 'The Master' has. The transformational potential required for new tools can already be found in breakthrough collectives. Thus, when planning to measure antiracism, methods that are likely to identify sites of identified racism, then antiracism measures need to be local and context-specific because racism looks different in different spaces. It is important to be vigilant and avoid falling back into coloniality (Ramugondo, 2018) and this will likely require being led by new people and processes. In addition, it makes sense to remain cognisant of - but not necessarily led by - tools and measures of antiracism praxis that already exist.

There is a vast proliferation of tools to support the measurement of antiracism practices available but causal effects of interventions are largely unclear (Paluck & Green, 2009).

Importantly, tools have their own genealogy of thought, epistemologies that birth them, frameworks, values, and ethics that shape them. Tools selected to guide and support BIPOC collectives to measure antiracism must unapologetically centre BIPOC needs and wants. Many current measures are centred on an individual and their beliefs (e.g., Implicit Association Test), or they rely on accurate recording of ethnic data, salaries, and job opportunities. We argue that such measures still primarily only attend to revealing the depth, shape, and extent of racial wounds and harms. Antiracism measures built on localised contextual knowledge, data, and stories are likely to have several characteristics including: embedding rights focus, taking for granted that BIPOC communities already employ many methods of resisting racism, consciously building communities of learning, and processes promoting healing through a vast system of collective knowledges and centuries of adept navigation of colonial structures. In addition, an antiracism initiative may include:

- a) A commitment to being collectives led;
- b) A commitment to engage all stakeholders;
- c) A commitment to change structures;
- d) A commitment to accountability and transparency;
- e) A commitment to resource and funding;
- f) A commitment to building public policies that favour historically excluded populations.

Antiracism plans ought to mitigate backlash (Ben et al., 2020) against BIPOC collectives and antiracism workers. Regular assessment of agile safeguards that protect staff from racial discrimination, harassment, and retaliation from peers, supervisors, and service users is central to the plan. Safe reporting of harmful events and their aftermath must capture details of exactly how persons reporting harm are protected from reprisal and further injury. The system for tracking racist occurrences will bring visibility to who is being targeted, where and when

incidents occur, and prevention strategies, if any. Supports for healing from racialised harm that centre the wellness of racialised services users, students, and practitioners would include evidenced processes and detailed data about those that cause racial harm (accidentally or otherwise).

Antiracism plans are transparent, available, and updated regularly. Complete transparency at all levels means that racism cannot seep in and hide. Having then gathered the antiracism community, identified and mapped the sites of racism (which includes bespoke methods of analysis of the sites of racism), and co-created a plan (that centres BIPOC aspirations and has carefully selected antiracism measures of success), it is time to mobilise the plan.

Step Five: Action, Reflection, Action

The next action is the best action. In other words, do something regularly, evaluate that action, adjust when needed and plan the next action, and repeat. Getting and staying stuck, accepting delay, and waiting for 'staff development and training' have been effective in maintaining racist structures and processes. What is clear is that most global north bastions of occupation studies have yet to show significant impact as a result of sustained antiracism programmes and initiatives. However, there are a number of antiracism initiatives and projects that occupational therapy professionals are engaged in and lead in the global south and in spaces unchained to global north spaces. It is possible that antiracism actions are being effectively and consciously positioned for maximum effect.

We argue that there is an urgent need for humble representation and role modeling of antiracism as central to development of accountability across the profession (e.g., Ahmed-Landeryou et al., 2022). The construction of legitimacy in the profession is often formed

around individual-centred activities such as conferences and congresses (Guajardo et al., 2015). It is important that antiracism initiatives and measures are not captured and pigeon-holed by that kind of colonising process. Instead, we encourage collectives and allies as role models to take care with selecting where and why they present and share, by what means their work is platformed, and what are the risks and gains for sharing.

Greater diversity and representation in health practitioners will result in better care for service users and offer a more well-rounded education for future practitioners, particularly increasing the likelihood of success for BIPOC students (Milner, 2006; Ridgeway & McGee, 2018). This begs the question as to why there are not more BIPOC students accepted into occupational therapy programs as reflected in society. Carefully curated occupational therapy courses that are co-designed to be experienced as antiracist, anti-ableist, and LGBTQIA+ friendly are possible spaces to influence profession-level change. It is still to be seen if it is a worthwhile endeavour to take existing courses and build/add in such societal and cultural change.

Though it is not yet well documented in occupational therapy research, other services have shown that culture match results in better care. Matching service users to mental health providers with similar racial and ethnic backgrounds has resulted in better outcomes, satisfaction, and service utilisation (Meyer & Zane, 2013). Hence, monitoring for fair representation in local, national, and international is an important aspect of antiracism actions. Unfortunately, when faced with opportunities to increase diversity, it is noted that the profession tends to opportune colleagues from mainstream, global north ahead of global south. Representation alone is not a measure of antiracism. We also assert that cultural competency efforts are not antiracism strategies in that knowledge of culture in practice does not by itself mitigate the impacts of racism (Allen, 2010; Grenier, 2020).

Concluding thoughts

Farias and colleagues asserted:

Part of this is seeing, in the occupational therapist, the duty of social articulator, enabling people to know their rights and understand themselves as capable of carrying out transformational movements. In other words, it is about being a facilitator across art, culture, leisure, health, education, knowledge spaces with strategies to confront racial inequality and racism, thus upholding social rights (2020, p. 245).

The antiracism approach and suggestions outlined in this chapter are posed *by* BIPOC colleagues *to* BIPOC colleagues *for* BIPOC colleagues and proven critical allies. We recognise the expertise and multi-dimensional range of BIPOC collectives within the profession who have already begun to mobilise and disrupt racism. Antiracist and disruptive action in the current world puts us in dialogue with the constant contradiction and tension in institutions and with those who propagate racism on an everyday basis. Therefore, the proposal of an antiracist action and the possibility of measuring actions comes in a movement of conscientisation, sum of forces, and composition of a struggle that is bigger and needs many bodies to face it.

We encourage colleagues to complicate thinking, strategise thoroughly, mobilise multiple collectives as one, and be invested for the long haul as we reconstruct the profession to theorise racism and honestly meet injustices. This chapter seeks to broaden and contribute to antiracist action in education, professional practice, and research in occupational therapy based on our particular experiences. Thus, it is not about producing a kind of protocol, following a recipe, nor crossing a finish line in the hope of solving inequities.

To conclude the *Disruption* phase, the lack of theorising about links between occupation and racism across occupation studies, has had direct knock-on effects. That is, under-

developed theorising about antiracism, questionable theorising about justice and continued hoarding of power and resource in the global north. Hence neither the therapeutic practice of occupational therapy nor the foundation knowledge base of occupational science have strategy or organisation with regards antiracism. Therefore, *Chapters 10* and *11* are themselves disrupting colonial business as usual both in topic and placement in an Indigenous journal and the profession's first book dedicated to antiracism. Perhaps the greatest disruption to date is the collectivising of BIPOC and affinity groups globally and working shoulder to shoulder in struggles in various countries as they occur. A spotlight has been brought to locally wielded colonialisms by creating relationships and connections who noisily support BIPOC collectives when they ask. Further planned disruptions include the launch of both a Māori OT association by the Network and an Indigenous occupational therapy book.

Disruption phase now moves into *He Pua* phase, the final phase of the study. This is where the colonial gaze is displaced for a time and a Māori perspective of everyday human acts is centred. A proposed *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* is outlined followed by the practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua*.

Reader note: In the published version of this chapter, a table of BIPOC collectives and affinity groups is included.

Between the phases: Tāniko and pepeha

During the study, I also attended wānanga at Te Kōpua marae. The wānanga theme for 2020 was mahi toi and each taura was tasked with creating a single piece of mahi toi, keep a journal of the process and exhibit at the end of the year. I visited the Toi Tū Toi Ora exhibition (Auckland Art Gallery) and was inspired by Peter Robinson's (Ngai Tahu) 2001 piece '*I am I, I am not I*'.

Peter reflected that during the Y2K panic, he observed that binary data coding consists of 0s and 1s. He recognised that if they were instead represented as letters i.e. I and O, that IO or Io (the Source) is represented throughout the universal language that is binary code. For my mahi toi project I created tāniko earrings with the design of a 5-bit binary code for the Te Kōpua Marae pepeha. This involved transcribing each letter (and double vowel or macronised vowel) into the corresponding code of five 0s and/or 1s, including gaps between words.

*E kui ma, e koro ma
Whakatōngia mai ou manaakitanga
Ki runga ki a mātou
Kia kaha te tū, kia tū hei raukura
Mo te iwi*

CHAPTER 12: He Pua Phase

Introduction to a Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi

This is a love letter of a sort; these words are written in deep acknowledgement of the many whānau, colleagues, supervisors, mentors and students whose mahi have contributed to and fashioned the chapter. This phase is written with the intention of lightening the loads of Māori, Indigenous, Black and People of Colour and our critical allies. I want it to be nourishment for the struggle, if only a little. Many have shared and uphold our collegial belief that our ancestors have laid a path for our epistemological freedom as expressed through our daily mahi. Hence, it is right to begin in a spirit of gratitude for that vision and labour. This phase builds on that belief and is itself the result so far of our collective determination to build a vessel that can support us to theoretically understand, perceive and hold the generative potential that is everyday mahi. This chapter signals the final phase of the study – *He Pua* – which includes both the *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi*, and practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua* (*Chapter 13*).

To scaffold both the theory and practice model, this chapter foregrounds a brief discussion on making research, mātauranga and tikanga natural, ordinary and everyday. Then

follow summaries of the wānanga regarding mahi including explorations of kupu, whakataukī, common expressions, whakapapa and whanaungatanga as related to mahi. The assumptions and implications of the current *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* are outlined. In addition, the theory's requirement to be experienced as a process is explained.

During the early parts of the study there was a move from building a Kaupapa Māori theory of occupation to a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi, following discussion with research supervisors. This change seemed tiny, but it signaled that a vitally important change of approach from believing in the power of Kaupapa Māori theory for transformation to facilitating transformation as a Kaupapa Māori researcher. Further the name change signaled a move from decolonising occupation as a contribution to the profession, to decolonising mahi as a contribution to Māori and Indigenous communities. The change came as a result of beginning to centre decolonisation of my own mahi as everyday praxis.

Making Māori māori

Helen Moewaka Barnes co-director of SHORE and Whariki Research Centre, highlighted the irony that exists when Māori research approaches are seen as being 'other' in our own country. Indeed, Kaupapa Māori research can be equally understood as kaupapa māori, as the kupu *māori* means ordinary (Moewaka Barnes, 2001) and natural. Rather than arguing for the right to exist, Whariki researchers take that for granted and instead ensure that research uplifts health and directly benefits Māori communities. The current study arises from Māori occupational therapists from many hapū across the motu who desire that mātauranga and tikanga regarding everyday mahi be regarded as ordinary and natural in our clinics, governance spaces, research and training programmes.

Māori practitioners also engage routinely in underground practice, that is mahi that upholds tikanga despite and in spite of, such practices being unrecognised, minimised, rushed over or revealingly requested as ‘performance’ in colonially-led spaces. Examples of underground practice include greeting maunga, oceans and waters that run alongside roads or under bridges during travel to community visits and whakawātea between visits to ‘clear the space’. These are commonplace but undocumented and often unspoken aspects of everyday clinical practice. For myself, karakia to whakawātea a space, open and/or close kaupapa are pivotal to the safety and successful outcome of the day’s mahi. In this way Māori practitioners are reflecting a deep desire to make Māori māori: to have the expression of our mātauranga and tikanga be usual, typical, expected and routine in our everyday lives.

Similarly, one of the greatest transformational impacts to daily life practices for Māori was the establishment of Māori medium education in the 1980s. My candidacy report discussed how Kohanga reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura “...allowed Māori children to be proximal to each other and grow positive identities away from usual racist narratives... What was so potent ... was the re-establishment of the ‘everydayness’ of tikanga... to just ‘be Māori’ on a daily basis”. Moreover, as much as forgotten and underground ‘ways of being Māori’ were rediscovered and platformed, new modern expressions of being Māori found a place to be developed and made ordinary. Within the mental health sector, Dr Diana and Mark Kopua’s ‘Mahi-a-Atua’ programme has challenged mainstream approaches to mental health support and whānau wellbeing (Te Kurahuna, n.d.). The programme unapologetically incorporates mātauranga and pūrākau as healing practices that support connection to atua and purpose. As well, Rikki Solomon’s study of Maramataka in relation to suicide led to a nationwide education about living in synchronicity with and alongside te taiao and then

applying mātauranga of the maramataka to contemporary living. These examples of decolonial initiatives highlight a growing desire to make being Māori māori.

The kupu 'whakamāoritia' means to naturalise and make ordinary. Mahi is the means by which everyday life is done and gone about but especially it is where knowledge is naturalised and made ordinary. My father tells stories of watching his Nanny gently rock her mokopuna to sleep while singing whakapapa to them while he brushed her long silver hair. I vividly remember sage life advice of a favourite aunty, while hanging out three loads of wet washing together on the washing line. Singing newly taught waiata with cousins while clearing large marae kitchen benches, wiping surfaces and mopping floors feels profoundly nourishing. The memory making part of the moment is partly due to the ordinariness or whakamāoritia that occurs when engaged in collective shared mahi. Mahi - even the mundane and routine - normalise and naturalise knowledge, advice, song and emotion. Further, collective shared everyday mahi reflect and evoke our deepest beliefs; that all of creation is connected and that we are all whānau.

A brief wānanga of mahi

To sincerely understand a Māori worldview, it is important to start at the very start. It is also the nature of wānanga to ask from where (which epoch of time, peoples, geographies, ideologies, epistemologies) did this arise? The question then becomes an enquiry about whakapapa and whanaungatanga. Whakapapa is a tenet and a system of ordering the universe (Hikuroa, 2017). Whakapapa is based on cosmology (theory of the origins of the universe) and tells us that we are all created beings from the same source (Marsden, 2003). This means that there is an inherent and ancient relatedness between all of creation. Such relatedness –

whanaungatanga - defines roles, assumes responsibilities and functions, and thus organises behaviour and mahi.

Māori cosmological knowledge specifies that there have been several epochs of time and depending on hapū re-telling, sentience marks the beginning of marked time. Creation is classically understood to have occurred in three discrete phases starting with Te Kore, also known as Te Korekore (Durie, 1997; Marsden, 2003; Walker, 1996). Although often referred to as ‘the great nothingness’, Te Kore was also the womb of all that is possible (Marsden, 2003; Mikaere, 2005). Te Po followed Te Kore, and like Te Kore has many distinct phases, but unlike Te Kore, Te Po is the time of hesitant exploration and growth in the dark. These two epochs are considered to be timeless and “correspond to aeons of cosmological time” (Walker, 1996, p. 13). Following the separation of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku by their son Tāne-nui-ā-rangi, the world of light and understanding Te Ao Mārama, came to pass (Barlow, 1991). Te Ao Mārama is measured using whakapapa as genealogical structure of human life (Walker, 1996) and as a verb means ‘to layer’. However, whakapapa also refers to content of genealogical inheritance (Mikaere, 2011) and vitally whakapapa is the means by which Māori are connected to the Creator, the gods and all living creatures from the past and into the future (Mead, 2003). As such, whakapapa is a foundation of identity for Māori (Durie, 1997; Edwards, 1999; Te Rito, 2007; Walker, 1996) providing clear guidance as to how relationships with all of Creation are to be sustained.

Māori society is structured and supported by whakapapa, whenua and language (Edwards, 1999; Mead, 2003; Murchie, 1984; Walker, 1996). Stories of belonging exemplified relationships between a person, the natural world, and the spiritual realms (Durie, 1994; Durie, 1997). The highly communal nature of society is reflected in the words that built the stories of how a person belongs to their whānau, natural world, and spiritual realms. For example,

‘whānau’ refers to both the close kin group that a person is born into, as well as ‘to labour and give birth’. ‘Hapū’ which is a collection of whānau that in pre-colonial times lived in close proximity, is the same word for pregnancy. Iwi has come to mean tribe; a collection of hapū that descend from a common ancestor and iwi also means skeletal bones (Mead, 2003).

Mahi as connection to whakapapa

Whakapapa is central to a Māori way of being, thus everyday mahi reflects and occurs as a result of cosmological understandings of who one is and what one’s roles are in relation to and with all else. ‘All else’ includes existing taiao, creature families and relatives, along with those who have moved beyond the veil. As well, *when* humans occur in cosmology, and *how* humans were created and *by whom*, indicates our mahi as ones who listen, care and protect ‘older’ relatives i.e. birds, trees, rivers, mountains. Mahi is therefore also an expression of our relatedness and whanaungatanga. Whakapapa and whanaungatanga guide the function, style, timing, sequence, importance, rituals and routines of our everyday mahi. For instance, only harvesting what is needed for food, housing, clothing and tolerating minimal waste is respectful of the ‘older relatives’.

How then can mahi to be understood in relation to the epochs of time? If every possibility and potential for everything was already always present in Te Kore, perhaps mahi is simply a tangible manifestation of what has already been imagined, dreamed, intuited and longed for. It is interesting to think about what this means for problems, disasters, terrorism, oppression as well as growth, learning, solutions, responses and healing. Possibility and potential are already always everywhen. In addition, the first moment of sentience is remembered and revealed inside small daily acts of life. That is, mahi provides connections to

creativity and can generate wonder, so that we remember and intuit the First Moment of “I am”.

Māori do not and cannot separate ourselves from our temporal existence and therefore Creation (Royal, 2009b) because such a separation would be from the universe, from millennia of ancestors and their wisdom, one’s life purpose and roles, and time herself. To separate and maintain separation from whenua, whānau, hapū, whakapapa and reo is however exactly what colonising agents require of us, every day, through the mahi that we all are permitted, enabled, required or are stopped from doing. So then decolonial steps require an enquiry of our cosmology and relationships. For example, nō whea tēnei mea: te mahi? (Where does mahi arise from?) If we are descended from gods, then when did godly functions and activities turn to tasks of the youngest, to humans? What makes mahi human versus godly? What are the characteristics of mahi of the gods that have remained within human expressions of mahi? We have stories that some of our ancestors seemed to have ‘superhuman’ qualities, that some hapū characteristics, skills and knowledge were revered and even traded. What does this mean in light of contemporary living?

Mahi can create a sense of regulation and relatedness. For example, when we feel in step with a shared common purpose, in sync with daylight or tides, and alignment with weather and seasons. Observing celestial and terrestrial movements, seasons and changes is a core teaching when learning about the Maramataka. Reading signs such as listening for certain birdcalls and watching for certain blossoms supports a sense of connection with the taiao which in turn helps organisation of mahi for that moment, day or night or season. Knowing what such signs in Nature mean can support understanding of our feelings, energy levels, and help with planning for optimal and efficient times for certain tasks. Connection-enabling mahi is a

vital aspect of being in place. Indeed, “Knowledge that nourishes, has the feel of generations upon it”, (Royal, 2009b, p. 84).

Returning to the philosophical question of ‘where does mahi arise from’, I am struck how mahi can sometimes feel self-generated yet there are other times when one works in step and in sync with nature, that there is a sense of shared generative moments. There are also moments where mahi feels so light and easy that one gets a sense that mahi is not generated from within but that one is merely tapping into a greater source. Similarly, the Lebanese poet Kahlil Gibran (2008, p. 43) wrote that parents often think that children come from them, but he suggested “...Your children are not your children. They are the sons and daughters of Life’s longing for itself. They come through you but not from you, And though they are with you yet they belong not to you.” Like children from Gibran’s perspective, mahi could be perceived as Life working through us, in concert with the place and context with the taiao, urged and in perpetual motion. The next section takes a closer look at the kupu ‘mahī’ and includes a parsing analysis of elements of the kupu.

The Ma of hi and hi of ma

The kupu *mahi* is made up of the two kupu; *ma* and *hi* therefore a simple parsing analysis of *mahi* is useful to explore and illuminate deeper meaning. *Mā* means “pure, clean” (H. Morris, personal communication, September 2, 2021). *Mā* is a versatile language feature that is used as a noun, verb, adjective and particle denoting time, travel by way of, numbers and relationships (Moorfield, n.d.). *Mā* also refers to the colour “white... pale, faded... freed from tapu” (Moorfield, n.d.). As a conjunction, *mā* also means “and”, and *mā* is used to bring points of the compass together (Williams, 1971, p. 161). As a preposition, *mā* means “for” and indicates consequence of actions (Williams, 1971, p. 161).

Hi as a noun means “ambience” as well as “the heat that emanates off the body during work” (H. Morris, personal communication, September 2, 2021). Similar to *ma*, the elongation of a vowel or repetition of the kupu can add emphasis to the meaning of a kupu. For example, *hī* as a verb means to raise, rise, dawn, draw up, lead a song (Moorefield, n.d.; Williams, 1971), for example *hī ika* is to fish using a line. Also, *hihi* refers to rays of the sun, ray of light energy (gamma), and front gable (of a house), whereas, *whakahīhī* refers to someone who is boastful and thinks highly of themselves, figuratively, one who causes themselves to be seen (Moorefield, n.d.).

As a verb, *mahi* means “work, do, perform, make, accomplish, practise, raise (money)” (Moorefield, n.d.) as well as “work at...procure” (Williams, 1971, p. 163). As a noun, *mahi* means “work, job, employment, trade (work), practice, occupation, activity, exercise, operation, function” (Moorefield, n.d.) and “doings” (Williams, 1971, p. 163). In addition, *mahi* means “abundance, lots of, many, heaps of” (Moorefield, n.d.). If both vowels are elongated, then the kupu becomes the verb *māhī* which means “to ferment and purify” (Moorefield, n.d.) and according to The Williams Dictionary it also means “putrefy” (1971, p. 163). Kupu that share similar parts to *mahi* include ‘ahi’ which means fire and ‘hihiri’ which is a verb that refers “to eagerly desire, long for, spring up, rise up (of thoughts)” (Moorefield, n.d.). *Hihiri* also means “to be laborious, brisk, assiduous, diligent, persistent, determined... dynamic, energetic, spirited” and as a noun, means desire and longing (Moorefield, n.d.).

According to the Ministry of Education (2010), *mahi* is the third most used verb after *haere* and *hoki* in English medium New Zealand Schools. As a highly utilised daily kupu, *mahi* is engaged to describe and refer to tasks, functions and acts that structure the minutiae of everyday routines from the simple to the complex. Although only a brief collection of kupu have been highlighted in this simple parsing analysis, it is possible to get a sense of the kupu

mahi as pertaining to the movement of energy, for example precise lightwaves, heat from the human body and solar energy whether dynamic, springing forth or persistent and drawn out. The *movement of energy by way of a new or clean platform* is one way that I have come to think about *mahi*. That is, mā being a vessel or platform for hi, and hi being an igniter of mā. Certainly, this reflection, the centrality of energy movement and high versatility of the kupu are characteristics that I plan to explore further with Māori occupational therapists, when the wānanga are eventually run. As well, the wānanga will feature exploration and analysis of atua Māori and their specific concerns and impacts on aspects of human activities as well as extended analysis of whakataukī (proverbs) and whakatauākī (quotes) pertaining to mahi.

Mahi – whakataukī and whakatauākī

Whakataukī and whakatauākī convey advice, values, warnings and encouragement. We also get a sense of the poetry, maybe insights into the issues of the day and conversely a perspective of contemporary concerns when the timelessness of metaphor is leaned into. Certainly, it is possible to glean the centrality of mahi to human existence, as reflected in whakataukī and whakatauākī. One whakataukī that is enjoying wide promotion and is now a bumper sticker is *Mauri mahi, mauri ora*, which has been translated as *Do the mahi, get the treats*. Matua Hirini Mead's 2001 book *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tīpuna: The Sayings of the Ancestors* has a vast amount of whakataukī and whakatauākī that relate to mahi. Some whakataukī pertain to characteristics for example "Ina te mahi, he rangatira", which is translated as "See how he does – a leader indeed meaning nobility evidences itself" (2001, p. 146). Others refer to timing and sequencing work tasks, for example "E kore e kitea te tui i ngā toke i te pōuri." The literal meaning is "One cannot see to thread worms in the dark" and is further explained as "When the end of the day comes, it is time to stop work." (Mead, 2001, p. 32).

Whakatauākī also convey values that must underlie decisions about mahi. For example, Princess Te Puea Herangi, a tireless worker for her Waikato people stated “Mehemea he mahi pai moo te iwi, mahia.” (Roa et al., 2019, p. 77), which means, *if it is good for the people, do it*. The whakataukī *he mahi te āta noho* refers to the importance of taking time to think, make sound decisions, strategise and is a caution to not rush to action. This whakataukī is sometimes spoken with the extension *tā te wheke* and means *said the octopus*. In this case, the meaning of the whakataukī changes, as it is implied that the wheke is being lazy pretending to work by giving the appearance of thinking.

Both parsing analysis and spending time with whakataukī are tools that provide direct contact with wisdom and deep thinking from ancestors. We get a glimpse of how they thought about life by how they structured and then handed down knowledge through language. Metaphor, whakataukī and whakatauākī are also useful and effective clinically when used to identify shared values between whānau and services (A. McLachlan, personal communication, July 29, 2022). Ancestral wisdom enveloped in wānanga of whakataukī and parsing analysis, seems to skip past colonialism by feeling relevant, close and timeless. In the next section, I will outline the need to return to ancestral wisdom and build on critical theory to re-theorise mahi to move through and beyond everyday expressions of coloniality.

Mahi and the need for a theory

“Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.”

(Article 13.1, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007).

It is easy to forget the kind of magic that exists in the ordinariness of daily mahi. We are reminded of this when we are suddenly struck with not being able to do something that is an easy part of the day, or when we are prevented from doing what is usual or typical. Depending on the circumstance, we can feel a profound sense of loss that can impact identity requiring much support and energy to manage. Even temporary interruptions to usual flow can give one pause and an opportunity to rethink what was previously taken for granted. Routine can be enjoyed, anticipated, expected, structure the day, provide comfort, mark time, develop and grow into something else over time. Everyday mahi is about keeping in step with the flow and rhythms of the household, community and Nature.

In clinical practice especially, occupational therapists witness magic and healing through human doing that occurs regardless of chronic disability and forced change i.e. learning to dress again following stroke, getting homework in on time despite tough home situations, when dementia hasn't stopped the body from remembering the waltz or a loved one for a few moments, getting through a safe walk despite constant negative judgements from 'the voices', and sharing in joy of drinking from a favourite tea cup despite moving from home to a care facility. Māori practitioners have been calling for a theory to harness such everyday joy where the wisdom of ancestors can be designed into clinical practice and clinical settings. Such a theory must also align with fundamental Indigenous organising concepts of living and dying, including nurturing and caring for all of Nature: the theory must move beyond its entrenched coloniality.

Mahi existed before colonialism for millennia and outside of the white gaze, some expressions of tikanga, kawa and mahi still survive. Mahi has shaped language and in true reciprocal fashion, language features (whakataukī, kupu as parts and whole) impact how, when, to what standard and for what purpose we engage in mahi. However, colonialism has also

shaped and impacted mahi as māori expression through disruption of mahi, dismantling daily patterns, imposing mis-occupations. As *Examinations* phase illustrated, coloniality and the impact on Indigenous lives have yet to be fully grasped by Western trained occupation theorists and practitioners. They have yet to recognise and grapple with their main occupation: to occupy Indigenous territories, bodies and minds and preoccupy us with imposed and forced daily tasks. Still, Māori practitioners are re-centring and privileging understandings of mahi as profoundly necessary and urgently required for our decolonisation. To this end, this enquiry has centred our own examination about occupation and theorising of mahi alongside our own methods of enquiry.

Having reclaimed the right to theorise, it is possible to wonder ‘What is the nature of mahi once colonialism is displaced? How can compounded generational wisdom and taonga tuku iho find expression in everyday mahi? How might everyday mahi centre reverence, sanctity, connections to atua, self, whānau, taiao and communities? Certainly, the theorising that such questions invoke is supported by dwelling in wisdom of whakataukī, parsing analysis amongst other hapū knowledge practices. However, equally important to theorising are processes of unlearning who we are as Māori as told by those that prefer our assimilation and complicity with coloniality. Therefore, any Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi needs to both facilitate a process of unlearning coloniality in our theories and daily practices as well as a praxis of mahi as accessible healing ‘knowledge in action’.

Despite experiencing Western occupation studies as unsafe (Davis & Came, 2022) the Network persists in gathering, upholding kawa, tikanga and various knowledges of hapū. We wānanga as much as we can, yet these moments are often ‘squeezed into’ already busy schedules. More formal co-theorising of a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi by a fledgling community of active thinkers, meditators on mahi, and knowledge holders and producers was

required. This is what a Kaupapa Māori theory desires: a space where thinking is not only held up as important, vital and necessary in our decolonisation, but is also experienced in the moment as freedom (hooks, 1994). In her doctoral thesis, Leonie Pihama (2001) reminds us that:

When looking at the relationship between theory and peoples lived realities the idea that theory and practice are indivisible and must be viewed in a dialectical relationship is useful for Māori. It is seen as both necessary and critical to creating change. Māori do not have, and never have had, the luxury of theorising for the sake of theorising. The impact of colonisation has meant that by necessity theory and practice must be continually informing each other. (p. 108)

Therefore, the following section is a collection of what I have gleaned so far in lieu of the co-theorising wānanga. This theorising is a start, a beginning, a step towards what we hope are many more moments of wānanga. Certainly, there is a growing sense that the everydayness of being Māori through daily mahi is becoming māori and more than that, they are potently powerful means to resist coloniality.

A Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi

Hapū cosmologies tell us that we are all integral parts of creation, related and connected to each other. What is more, our mahi mirrors and reflects these connections to each other. Colonialism severs connections and relationships because at the root of colonial ideologies of assumed superiority are habits of disconnection and imagined unrelatability. Such colonial impositions on Indigenous everyday acts have shaped the quality of hapū mahi to the extent that some rituals and habits of whanaungatanga seem unrecognisable today. In addition, unprecedented levels of harm have impacted and continue to impact every continent

through environmental degradation, extractive industry and neo-liberal policies protecting such harms. A Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi must therefore concern itself with the connections and relationships with and between all that has been gifted and shared with humans as well as that which must be cared for and handed down to future generations. The following section outlines the assumptions and principles of this particular iteration of a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi, which takes seriously the far-reaching impacts of colonialism, within the minutiae of everyday life and replicated across the globe. Characteristics of this Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi follow as well as a brief examination of the theory against Graham Smith's four functions of a Kaupapa Māori theory (1997).

Assumptions

For water to be carried or transported it needs a vessel. In the same way, mahi does not occur separate from bodies, minds, purpose, relationships and nature. For a time, a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi provides a means to hold, analyse and deeply consider everyday acts as powerful spaces of expression for decoloniality. What this means is that a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi must be enacted: it is process. By virtue of being a process, a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi cannot be acquired, collected, possessed, or owned, and instead must be expressed. Indeed, unless enacted, a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi is a shadow of freedom, not freedom itself.

Similarly, mātauranga is not mātauranga until many sets of hands and minds have held, shaped, grown, contributed to and transmitted mātauranga (Royal, 2009a). The relationship between knowledge and action is described by Royal in the following quote "Humans do not create knowledge separately from its application. Rather knowledge seems to flow out of the person into their practical actions" (2009a, p. 44). Thus, mātauranga is expressed in the 'doing'

of life; in everyday mahi. It follows that a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi is deeply contextual spiritually, physically, mentally, socially, terrestrially and celestially. Therefore, the ‘Cartesian snip’ – the divorce of mind from everything else - cannot be applied and must be overcome in this case.

Principles

There are seven principles that feel elemental to this *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* and whose absence would change and challenge its praxis. They include: Whakapapa, Whanaungatanga, te reo Māori, Whakatikangia, Wānanga, Antiracism and te Tiriti o Waitangi. The principles are not a checklist of things to attain capability nor can they explain an outcome as there can be no predetermined explanation in an open system (Pihama, 2001). They are a signal – so far – of what feels central to the task of returning mahi to a taken for granted, central, organising structure and process of life.

Whakapapa and *Whanaungatanga* are fundamental tenets of mahi that privilege a Māori experience of coloniality and decoloniality. *Whakapapa* provides a backdrop or “context of values and perspectives within which actions take place” (Royal, 2009a, p. 48) and along with *whanaungatanga* both have been discussed in detail in relation to methodology and method in the *Chapter Four*. Yet, as principles they ensure that obligations and responsibilities to each other and all creation are central to everyday mahi. *Te reo Māori* as principle, represents the vehicle and seedbed that has held centuries of wānanga, philosophies and everyday mahi and continues these practices, now and for the future. In addition, te reo Māori is being reclaimed after decades of repression. I argue that such reclamation is not necessarily occurring while growing critical consciousness and managing internalised oppression. Therefore, *te reo Māori* as principle with regards a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi signals two functions. Firstly, the

capacity of te reo Māori to carry and seed decolonial praxis beyond coloniality and the second function, is encouragement to continue the work of reclamation irrespective of fluency levels, while working to grow critical consciousness.

Chapter Four included explorations and discussions of both *Whakatikangia* and *Wānanga* as core aspects of this study’s methodology. *Whakatikangia* as principle represents a Māori way of being that is relational and honours obligations to those relations and connections. *Whakatikangia* is about deep listening and keen observation before acting in ways that uphold tikanga and kawa. This principle is also about refusing silence and hegemony where injustice and dehumanisations are being expressed. *Whakatikangia* also demands one seeks internalised colonialisms in order to invite manaaki into the stream and flow of everyday mahi. The *Wānanga* principle is about seeking understanding, meditating collectively on options, critically analysing, debating and defending reasoned perspectives.

Finally, *Antiracism* and *te Tiriti o Waitangi* represent both templates of decoloniality and social justice collective-based work necessary to everyday mahi. *Antiracism* as principle includes manaaki which refers to Rights and responsibilities to one another that cannot and were never given up despite colonialism, including kaitiaki roles and obligations in relation to taiao. *Antiracism* without the hyphen means that all forms of dehumanisation (i.e. misogyny, classism, ableism, ageism, homophobia, transphobia, discrimination) are engaged and actively displaced. *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* as principle takes for granted that hapū never gave up our freedom to choose and engage in mahi as we saw fit.

Whakapapa	Origins and futures
Whanaungatanga	Connection and relationship with all
Te reo	A vehicle for decolonial praxis
Whakatikangia	Reject hegemony, uphold tikanga and kawa

Wānanga	Critical thinking, strategy, meditation and discussions
Antiracism	Active displacement of all forms of dehumanisation
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Upholds our sovereign Rights to be māori

This *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* is reclamation of the Rights and freedom to do. It does this by re-centering Indigenous epistemologies, imagination and organising structures in relation to human everyday acts. Further, even the process of making and allowing space for principles of Kaupapa Māori theory to emerge, ensures that those once colonially researched, instead become the researchers (Pihama, 2001). Because *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* privileges connection, relatedness and context, it is also a theory by Māori and critical Tangata Tiriti, for everyone.

What are the essential characteristics of a *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi*?

Mahi are where cultures are transmitted, values enacted and beliefs made tangible whether it is via making tea or a speech, giving way in the hall or honouring guests and the dearly departed. I argue that everyday mahi that evokes ancestral wisdom as usual and ordinary, straddles the spiritual and everyday, ancient and contemporary, merging purpose and connections many times a day. Mahi is also a means to manifest ancestral hopes, dreams and imaginings, that is mahi is a platform upon which hopes are organised, dreams become strategy, and love imagined is realised. As the Lebanese poet Kahlil Gibran stated “Work is love made visible” (2008, p. 57). In the same way however, fear, loathing, indifference and distaste, are also reflected in work, the taste of a meal and unease with a melody (Gibran, 2008). Mahi can be understood as millions of space-time expressions that are both the form and shape of Life herself and her most intimate expression. In the context of *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi*, mahi therefore:

- Reveres all life,
- Envelops, grows and affirms connections,
- Is the meeting space of the sacred and everyday,
- Provides a means for wairua to be expressed,
- Is where mauri can flow or be harnessed,
- Honours sacred life purpose,
- Where sovereignty and collective will are intimately expressed,
- Is a series and continuum of actions sparking actions including and beyond thinking, theorising and wānanga.

Functions of a Kaupapa Māori theory

In *Chapter Four*, I described Kaupapa Māori theory as outlined and extended upon by Graham Smith (1997) and Leonie Pihama (2001). The use of the phrase Kaupapa Māori theory was to evoke a reclamation of the roles and rights of Māori theorise our lives thus disrupting the series of interruptions to our natural theorising. Another function of Kaupapa Māori theory was to counter the assumption that social, economic, cultural and political contexts have no bearing on theory development. The final function of a Kaupapa Māori theory is to critique and talk back to colonising systems and structures (Borell, 2014; Smith et al., 2012).

I argue that the proposed Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi has met the four functions described above first and perhaps foremost by capturing what Māori occupational therapists have said for years; “These Western theories and models don’t fit. We need our own theories and models”. Second, we counter the notion that theory is ‘neutral’, since as people that come from marae and hapū, we recognise that every marae and hapū have particular knowledges

and perspectives and that these have arisen from somewhere and for some reason. In the same way, it is natural to recognise that theory is always arising from situations, contexts and struggles and we make no claims that this theory is universal. Finally, this *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* has formalised the Network's critique of the Western so-called universal theories and notions of occupation as captured in *Examinations* phase.

The proposed theory is guided by the three core elements of critical theory as first described by Paulo Freire as *conscientização*, resistance and praxis (1970). Graham Smith re-interpreted for fit with Kaupapa Māori research as *conscientisation*, *resistance* and *transformation*; three spheres that exist simultaneously (Smith, 1997). If we apply this to a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi, then the theory must privilege conscientisation, resistance and transformation in relation to the mechanisms, systems, and ideologies of oppression regarding everyday acts. Certainly, ideologies of white supremacy and capitalism have created systems and sectors in Indigenous lands that view and value human occupation as labour. The phases of this study engage and examine Western ideologies, systems and mechanisms within the profession of occupational therapy and occupational science as described in *Conscientisation*, *Examinations and Disruption* phases.

As I wrote in *Chapter Four*, the second element 'resistance' is concerned with reactive and proactive activities that seek to either respond to dominant structures of oppression or transform existing realities (Smith, 1997). By merely taking space as a network of Indigenous practitioners, we are resisting dominant structures in the profession. But more than that, by examining occupation as a tool to colonise *and* decolonise, the Kaupapa Māori research gaze has extended beyond the profession's structures and notions to Western society in general. By theorising for ourselves as Indigenous peoples, we are both resisting theories and notions that are supposedly universal and relevant across the globe and growing skill, knowledge and

expertise in theorising itself. The third and final element, praxis, refers directly to the intended and deliberate connection between theory and practice as transformation. Hence, I argue that this *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* is transformational because:

- it has placed Māori practitioners back in the theorist seat,
- it has centred and privileged mātauranga Māori, ontology, epistemology and methodology as ordinary and expected parts of occupational therapy and occupational science,
- it engages directly with the societal and political contexts that reproduce coloniality as expressed and experienced across everyday acts,
- it has contributed to the growing global Indigenous knowledges about human agency through everyday acts,
- it is currently informing occupational therapy curricula at two of the three occupational therapy programmes in the country,
- it requires decolonisation in real time through the most accessible means that humans have: everyday acts.

Like a thread that sews together occurrences in such a way that those occurrences feel explained and predictable, the proposed *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* pieces and stitches together everyday acts which can at times feel accidental, disconnected, and inexplicable. Certainly, a theory about everyday acts explains and makes explicit through process, that which is not always foregrounded but which is none the less, a driver of human activity. In the case of this particular *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi*, we glean that theory is not neutral and that we must demand much more of it. Theory must be rooted in the world and its many societal contexts (hooks, 1994). In the case of occupational therapy and occupational science as

practiced today in Aotearoa New Zealand, theory must be founded in mātauranga Māori and engage determinedly and directly in antiracism and decoloniality.

As a guard against domestication of Kaupapa Māori theory, Smith proposed five tests for the veracity of a Kaupapa Māori theory approach; positionality, criticality, structural and cultural considerations, praxicality and transformability (Smith, 2017). *Positionality* is discussed in some detail in the first publication and the importance of the researcher critiquing who they are in relation to the work. This study arose from the Network, that is from a community of interest, and as one of the community's leaders, I can say that we are clear about our need to bring our experience and theorising to our clinics, training programmes and marae. *Criticality* includes understanding "how our colonisation is being formed and reformed over the top of us" (p. 90) and has also been referred to in *Chapters Six, Eight, 10 and 11*. In Aotearoa New Zealand, theory development must be antiracist and include critical understanding of this country's colonial invasion. Growing critical consciousness has and is done by and large outside of professional training programmes within peer supervision and training sessions. It is recognised that without critical consciousness, Māori practitioners can and do wield colonialism against Māori practitioners.

The third test for veracity of a Kaupapa Māori theory is *structural and cultural considerations*. The proposed theory privileges Te Tiriti o Waitangi and supports constitutional transformation as adeptly researched and presented in Matike Mai Aotearoa (2016). Our theory also privileges kupu, whakataukī and reo and challenges practitioners to research and understand how colonialism is being done every day at professional and theoretical levels. Indigenous practitioners are growing awareness that how we are viewed and treated across the globe is part and parcel of a colonial rulebook for treating BIPOC communities. Hence, the establishment and strengthening of BIPOC collectives domestically and internationally.

The fourth test is *praxicality* which is about ensuring our theory and practices are always engaging and informing each other. Any Kaupapa Māori theory about mahi must privilege praxis, as praxis is in many ways its *raison d'être*. The final test for veracity is *transformability*, the actual positive changes and benefits that accrue directly to the research community as a result of engagement with the praxis. In the small and informal spaces where the theory has been discussed with the Network, it is the transformability that excites us the most. We are acutely aware that too much time and resource has been given to explaining colonial wounding without change, and we want more.

Conclusion

In the *Examinations* phase, Western notions of occupation were shown to lack critical understanding of the link between occupation and colonisation. The subsequent *Disruption* phase affirmed the requirement that Te Tiriti o Waitangi and antiracism need to be designed into any and all theories concerned with everyday acts. Consequently, this chapter described and explored a theory of mahi through close examination of the kupu mahi and whakataukī regarding mahi. It is recognised that examining Western notions of occupation plus dwelling in mātauranga Māori understandings of mahi alone would still be insufficient in the work of countering all forms of dehumanisation. Hence, the primary goal of *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* is to carve out spaces to make Māori māori and to take as ordinary that which is an expression and celebration of mana motuhake.

The main assumption of this *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* is that it is in fact process. If treated and viewed as an idea, then it would duly remain only an idea rather than mātauranga in motion. Seven principles of the *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* are also presented along with essential characteristics. Coombes (2017) warned that since Smith first

coined the phrase Kaupapa Māori theory attempts at domesticating it are evident. Given the shape-shifting nature of colonialism (Smith et al., 2012), it is important to remain vigilant and attentive to critical elements and tests for veracity of Kaupapa Māori theory and research. Together, with a brief examination of functions of a Kaupapa Māori theory, this chapter has laid theoretical cornerstones for the next chapter and practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua*.

CHAPTER 13: *Ngā Mahi a Rehua* – A practice model

Introduction

The next part of the *He Pua* phase includes an outline and description of the practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua* - the tasks of Rehua. The model is named for Rehua (the Priest god) and Tāne (the Progenitor god) and the brief but important interactions between them during Tāne's quest for Ngā Kete Mātauranga also known as The Baskets of Knowledge. Their relationship and interactions will be elaborated on and explained further below.

There are five wāhanga (sections) of the model and some include pūrākau to support their explication. The pūrākau are not standard shared understandings but are unique versions amongst many similar accounts.

Wāhanga tuatahi: Whakarongo

Wāhanga tuarua: Whakawātea – Māui and Mahuika

Wāhanga tuatoru: Hononga – Rona and the Moon

Wāhanga tuawha: Whakarite – Rata and the Tree

Wāhanga tuarima: Mahia

I am cognisant of the ways in which culture has traditionally been treated as Other within main(white)stream occupational therapy, as observable thus understandable, reportable, assessable, and 'treatable'. Like all theories and models in occupational therapy and occupational science, this theory and model is from somewhere. Our works are unapologetically Māori, positioned within our colonial struggle and decolonial actions. They are not *the* Kaupapa Māori theory or *the* Māori model for/of/in the profession and it is my hope that they will be one of many Kaupapa Māori theories and models. I encourage colleagues to

seek to hold multiple epistemologies simultaneously as a way of being with knowledge that is respectful, humble and decolonial, which works well with the profession's well-known penchant for eclectic *use what works* approaches to theory and practice. Crucially, a model that facilitates decolonisation of everyday mahi necessarily requires that of the practitioner. Therefore, the model requires connections and building of relationship to self (whānau, hapū, iwi, communities), to histories, to te Tiriti o Waitangi and its implications, with Indigenous and critical allies (theorists, researchers and experts) who will support maintaining critical consciousness, antiracist praxis and accountability to community.

He kōrero mo he mahi a Rehua

Kei te pukapuka *'The woven universe: Selected writings of Rev. Māori Marsden'*, he tini tuhinga e pa ana ki ngā wānanga a te tohunga Māori Marsden (2003). He tauira ia a tētahi whare wānanga nō roto o te Tai Tokerau. Kei roto i ēnei taonga he paku kōrero e pā ana ki a Rehua. E ai te kōrero, ko Rehua te atua tohunga i roto ki taua tuhinga. I te marae a Io a Rehua e noho ana, e mahi ana hoki. Ko ia hoki tētahi o ngā tūmau. E ai ki a Māori Marsden, nā Rehua a Tāne i whakatau ki ngā rangi tūhāhā. I kitea e Tāne ngā kete o te wānanga, ā, e mutu ana i a ia tōna pikinga ake mā te aka, nā Rehua i mihi, i whakatau.

Tēnā, i a Rehua e āta tiroiro ana i te hunga kua tae, i kite ia i ō Tāne hakahaki, ōna taotū me tōna ruha. I te mōhio kē ia, nā Whiro me āna tamariki aua taotūtanga, arā, tōna āhuatanga katoa. No muri mai, nā Rehua a Tāne e tiaki, e ārahi hoki i mua i tō Tāne nuku ki tētahi atu anō wāhi e taea e ia Ngā Kete Mātauranga te tiki atu. E ai ki a Māori Marsden, nā Rehua ngā pure hei whakanoa i mahi hei hiki i te tapu i runga i a Tāne, kia tau te mauri, kia tau te oranga. Ka whakawātea a Rehua i a Tāne me tōna ruha me tōna āwangawanga hoki. Kātahi ka taki i ngā pure kia piki ake ai te oranga me te kaha. Nā te tautoko a Rehua, ka taea e Tāne te hono ki tōna

ake mahi te mau. Ā tōna wā, i whakarite a Tāne i a ia anō mō tērā kaupapa nui whakaharahara māna.

Heoi, kei te mōhio kē tātou, he kōrero tā ia hapū, tā ia hapū, e pā ana ki Ngā Kete o te Wānanga, me te whāi hoki i ēnei taonga. Ahakoa te rerekētanga, kei ia hapū tō rātou ake mana, tō rātou ake mana motuhake, tō rātou ake wānanga. Atu i tērā, ka mau tātou ki ngā tikanga me ngā kawa o ngā tūpuna.

I hui tahi mātou me ngā kaiwhakaora Ngangahau Māori, ā, ko te hiahia o taua hui, ko te hanga i tētahi anga mō ngā kaiwhakaora Ngangahau Māori. I aua wā, kāore ngētehi o tātou i whiwhi mahi ki ngā kura Whakaora Ngangahau i Aotearoa. Ahakoa ra, kei te mōhio kē ehara aua kura Whakaora Ngangahau i te wāhi pai, i tētahi wāhi tika hei waihanga i tētahi anga, hei waihanga hoki i tētahi ariā mō ā mātou mahi. Kua rongō mātou ki te oranga kei roto i te mahi ahakoa ā te momo hauātanga. Tēnā, ko te tino kaupapa o te tuhinga nei, ko te hanga i tētahi ariā, i tētahi ariā kaupapa Māori e pā ana ki te mahi o ia rā, o ia rā, me kī, he taonga nei te mahi. Atu i tērā, ka hangaia he anga hei whakaatu, hei ārahi i a ngai tātou i roto i tā tātou mahi. Ko te ingoa o te anga ko *Ngā Mahi a Rehua*.

Tāne, is it said, was a progenitor god and a seeker of new realms and knowledge. In some hapū, he is credited as the one who brought Ngā Kete Mātauranga (the Baskets of Knowledge) to the human realm. As one version of the story goes, not all his sibling gods believed that such gifts of mātauranga should be taken from the higher realms and shared. Whiro, who is thought of as a sibling god of dark powers, did not agree with Tāne's mission. This version of the story, centres on the brief moments shared between Rehua, the priest god, and Tāne. The telling starts at the point at which Tāne arrived at the first realm of heaven, having climbed up the sacred vine from earth and ends just before Tāne continues the journey to the next heaven.

It is understood that Rehua welcomed and received Tāne following his epic climb to the heavens and the first part of the quest to obtain Ngā Kete Mātauranga. Amongst the sibling gods, Tāne's strength and bravery was proven. Yet, he had been physically attacked and cursed by Whiro (a younger brother) and his agents, who diligently and determinedly tried to distract, hamper and stop the mission. Tāne was injured, cursed and exhausted and for a time could not continue onwards to the twelfth heaven.

The following model is based on this briefest of moments where Tāne rested, healed and made preparations to complete his perilous but essential task. It was a snapshot in time within the full and complete pūrākau, but I argue that this part of the pūrākau is a fitting guide in the work of decoloniality. If we examine the translation of the word *decolonisation*, the online Te Aka Māori dictionary states “purenga ihomatua” (Moorefield, n.d.). *Purenga* refers to a ritual to lift and remove tapu whereas *ihomatua* is an ancient word that refers to the mind. *Purenga ihomatua* then can be inferred to mean decolonial actions that ritually lift tapu from the mind. In a sense, colonisation causes trauma and harm, and it is these that require lifting and healing. *Purenga ihomatua* as a translation for decolonisation acknowledges the reach of coloniality into the mind and so it makes sense that it is here that the journey of decoloniality begins.

Returning to the pūrākau of Rehua and Tāne, Rehua exorcised and ritually lifted tapu from Tāne (Marsden, 2003). An assessment of injuries and wounds followed as well as decisions about the appropriate and corresponding fixes and healing required. I can imagine that at this time discussions and plans in preparation for the next steps of the journey also occurred. This brief encounter and critical moment between phases of the task of claiming Ngā Kete o te Wānanga is a useful allegory for the tasks of seeking knowledge and healing *while* seeking knowledge. There is also a deeper meaning in the importance of toiling for knowledge

and the role of fitting the knowledge to the task required. In the process of decoloniality, there are certainly baskets of knowledge that require toil and equally, allow that some knowledge can be left behind. Examples of knowledge, beliefs and values that no longer fit or meet the needs of today's coloniality include ways to assimilate and ways to fight with 19th century muskets. Similarly, the knowledge that Tāne needed to continue the climb up the sacred aka vine, was not the same knowledge needed to survive a climb while being actively and violently attacked. Such knowledge about surviving could be placed to the side while the intricacies of the next stage were worked out.

Again, I note that every hapū has its own version of this pūrākau and that each and every version is the right one for that space. This model, like the theory are not 'catch all' universals and I look forward to there being many versions. For the time being, there are five wāhanga of the practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua* and each wāhanga relates directly to the brief meeting of purpose and minds between Rehua and Tāne. The wāhanga speak directly to decolonisation practices that function to displace coloniality from everyday mahi in preparation for Indigenous futures based in constitutional justice, antiracist communities of praxis, and mana motuhake.

Ngā wāhanga e rima

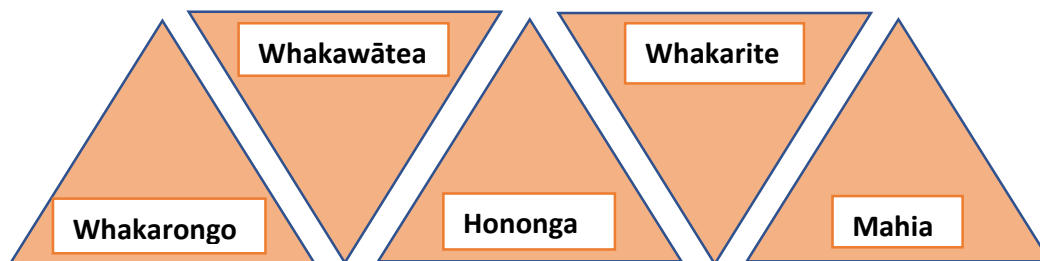
The following section describes each wāhanga and explains their particular characteristics, some with the aid of additional pūrākau. Figure 5 is a representation of the five phases of the practice model:

- Wāhanga tuatahi: Whakarongo
- Wāhanga tuarua: Whakawātea – Māui and Mahuika
- Wāhanga tuatoru: Hononga – Rona and the Moon

- Wāhanga tuawha: Whakarite – Rata and the Tree
- Wāhanga tuarima: Mahia.

Figure 5

Ngā wāhanga e rima – Five phases of Ngā Mahi a Rehua practice model



Pūrākau have been colonially defined as myths and legends. However, Lee (2009) argued that instead pūrākau are “a traditional form of Māori narrative” that contain “philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori” (p. 1). Carefully constructed, tested and defined over generations pūrākau are best “understood as a pedagogical-based anthology of literature that are still relevant today” (Lee, 2009, p. 1). In the context of an oral culture, transmitting knowledge from memory (Royal, 2009b) means pūrākau are exceptionally important. The next section includes detailed descriptions of each wāhanga to date beginning with *Whakarongo*.

Wāhanga tuatahi: *Whakarongo*

Tāne needed sanctuary, rest and recovery. It was clear to Rehua that Tāne’s injuries, wounds and trauma were unusual and therefore needed careful and comprehensive assessment.

Whakarongo draws from the intricate structures of relatedness and connections that are whakapapa and whanaungatanga. Central to human survival are our abilities to sense, intuit, hear, smell, feel the spaces and situations we are in and especially changes to our situations. In their landmark book *Wayfinding Leadership: Ground-breaking wisdom for developing leaders* Chellie Spiller, Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr and John Panoho describe the ancient art and practice of wayfinding and oceanic navigation in relation to modern day leadership (2015). Leaders or wayfinders they argue, are guided by a “philosophy of recognition” and “...recognise the signs in the world and process the knowledge they glean from disciplined observations in order to make astute decisions” (p. 17). Wayfinders must also bring emotional self-awareness so that they can “remain open and aware to what is really going on... seek to ‘recognise the invisible’” so that patterns and relationships between phenomena can be discerned (p. 17). Wayfinding requires constant refreshing of thinking and ability to be present to the now while knowing exactly where one is headed (Spiller et al., 2015).

Whakarongo is often thought of as most important at the beginning of a project, journey, or change process as it is vital to preparation. However, *Whakarongo* is a habit of responsiveness that should occur throughout every phase of a decolonial process. Recognising and noticing what is, what isn’t working in relation to what is desired are extremely important and why *Whakarongo* is the first wāhanga of this model. The ability to take into account a

three dimensional and complex understanding of coloniality and its multiple points of severance of relationship and connection is important in being able to get a useful and thorough analysis of the colonial situation. Prior to offering support, clinical treatments and/or healing, listening to gain understanding of the main aspects of a situation and observing impacts of wounding, are vital to future actions and strategies.

Further *Whakarongo* recognises that humans are the taiao – not in it or above it, but exist in concert and with the taiao. Royal asserted that “Humans face a challenge to achieve mutually enhancing relationships with each other and with the natural world.” (2009b, p. 113). Human activities have for a very long time been human-centred as we forgot, dismissed, ignored and neglected our way through the last few centuries. The taiao has been used as a source of plunder – to extract and mine, to take and take and take and take. The loss of symbiotic and respectful relationships with other families of the taiao occurs because extraction, intense farming and charging exorbitant rents occurs from a distance and through the opaque shield of ‘companies’, inheritance and ‘gentleman’s agreements’. Distal exploitations ensure that harm to others cannot be perceived or traced back to response-able relations.

Colonisation is the Great Disconnect and so decolonial practice calls for deliberate connection-enabling mahi that is concerned for the most vulnerable (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018). This requires an ability to perceive disconnections and sit with the discomfort, inconvenience and destructiveness of those truths. Identifying the occupations that uphold colonialism is part of becoming conscious of the ways that colonisation impacts connections and disconnections. Building or rebuilding connections to purpose, own values and beliefs, each other and the taiao is getting done with incredible mātauranga such as wayfinding navigation and maramataka. In addition, *Whakarongo* is about (re)connection to our histories

such as learning about the Doctrine of Discovery, as told by Māori and Indigenous experts and leaders. This wāhanga requires a modicum of discernment and natural wariness such as 'this smells funny and I'm not going to eat it'. In other words, the mahi needs to feel trustworthy and where it doesn't, trusting those feelings. For myself, I have begun to enjoy Decolonisation and Antiracism workshops and training with certain scholars and activists that have proven track records of long-term antiracist and Tiriti scholarship and praxis. This work requires leaning in to knowing through whakarongo.

Wāhanga tuarua: *Whakawātea*

Rehua recognised that curses had also befallen Tāne. Therefore, carefully chosen, and specific rituals were employed to lift and clear the curses and heal Tāne's wounds. The process of healing could not begin until the particular trauma were recognised, understood and healed.

From my experience, *Whakawātea* and *Whakarongo* phases are years long and tend to co-occur. Having leaned into and allowed the colonial situation to be sensed, read and interpreted, the next phase is to clear away that which is not useful, prevent and disengage with those things that harm ourselves, our loved ones, homes and communities. *Whakarongo* was the phase where we learned more generally and from a structural sense what happened to us, whereas *Whakawātea* is where we understand specifics about colonial histories and impacts on our own whānau and hapū. This is also the stage where relationships to whānau and where possible, hapū need to be strengthened if not already while deepening knowledge and practice of hapū epistemologies, traits, responses to adversity, aspirations and strategies. The late Moana Jackson asserted that hapū are the traditional polities and collectives where independence is respected amongst inter-dependent relations (He Tohu, 2017) and this is

reflected by many marae still being hapū – as distinct from whānau or iwi – centres.

Whakawātea also includes serious consideration to our own situations and circumstances, ways of being, opportunities, homes, minds and bodies.

Tiriti literacy is important to hone at this time given the plethora of Tiriti scholarship especially in relation to health, mana wahine and specific rohe that are having marked impact on health sector, health professional competency standards and education programmes.

Whakawātea signals active displacement of colonial stories of who we are as Māori. Growing up in and working in Aotearoa New Zealand means that exposure to racist reckonings about nearly every aspect of life is inevitable. Hence, a focus on further development of a language of decoloniality to explicitly complicate our initial understandings and then speak directly to our experiences will greatly enhance *Whakawātea*. I find that reading certain authors and listening to certain speakers who seem to illuminate and put into art, prose, song what I feel and notice, but didn't have words for, all incredibly soothing and useful. In being mindful of the language we use, we may notice the ways that we have learned to describe oppression, racism, harms, justice, humanity and ourselves. We might also increase awareness of any cognitive distortions – thinking errors – that we may have inherited or used without deeper analysis of the meanings of for example the erroneous but commonly heard 'tikanga is lore, not law'.

Whakawātea is a time to clear away, cleanse and make room for new habits, thinking as well as language. It is a decluttering of aspects of our everyday mahi that are now long past 'best before', unnecessary, have no meaningful benefit, contaminated, cause harm and are energy depleting. Examples include, addictions, internalised oppression, prejudice, resentments, regrets, uncritical thinking (lazy, half, not thinking), all-or-nothing thinking, catastrophising, hate and any situation where we notice that mauri is stagnant. *Whakawātea* is about recognising injuries and trauma, pausing and taking stock and beginning a wānanga.

Whakawātea is about noticing what distracts and what supports life purpose and relational obligations to each other (Walters et al., 2020).

Because *Whakawātea* is such a seminal aspect of decolonial praxis, it has been further studied and placed into six sections:

- wāhi (physical spaces),
- whatumanawa (emotion centres),
- tinana (physical body),
- kōrero (conversation and self-talk),
- tāngata (human persons), and
- hinengaro (mind).

With regards *whakawātea wāhi*, in the past hapū practised and organised spaces, societal norms and routines around tapu and noa; sacred and unrestricted conditions respectively. Tapu and noa are important aspects of Māori social and everyday life because they provide guidance to ensure success of daily life, ceremony and ritual such as tangihanga and baptism. A physical area, a practice, or kōrero might be placed under restrictions temporarily – rāhui – depending on the particular event that occurred in the area, whether pertaining for example to the sacred, the important or the tragic. It is important to know one's space and recognise that as much as clinical and education spaces might be routine and everyday for some, they can represent spaces of 'bad news', harm and death for others.

Whakawātea whatumanawa refers to responses to hurt, harm or trauma that may be a trigger or barrier to full self-expression and positive relationships. When listening feels hard or connection too difficult, it is worthwhile to enquire as to what survival patterns and responses we have continued to use in situations where survival responses are no longer required.

Emotions are a guide and a path to knowledge (Lorde, 2018) so they are pivotal to knowledge seeking endeavours. Spiller et al., (2015) suggest that countering ego driven thinking and practice is about activating whakamana: to value and uplift the mana of those around us. To empower and support others is to ensure that fears, judgements and arrogance are displaced from relationships (Spiller et al., 2015).

Whakawātea tinana is where balance between 'basic necessities of life' are considered alongside the things that are beyond what is needed but feel necessary. Social determinants of health such as poverty, housing and educational opportunity and access severely impact our experience of everyday mahi. Conversely, over-reliance on chemicals, substances, food, clothing, exercise and 'nice to haves' are also considered in terms of impact on everyday routines and relationships. *Whakawātea tinana* might include eschewing colonial standards of beauty, health and goodness.

Whakawātea kōrero is concerned with stories and narratives including stereotypes, master narratives and discourse, portrayals, self-talk, clinical speak, information, disinformation and misinformation. Educators and clinicians might ask 'What are the things I hear myself say? How do I talk about students and whānau when they are not around? Have I leaned into stereotype recently? And what is that about? How would students or patients feel about my notes, assessments and reports if they read them? How would I like clinicians, supervisors, mentors, health providers to write about and speak about me? What tone? What details? Who do I admire with regards to how they describe clinically complex situations, pedagogy or budgets? And what is it about the way they talk that I admire?'

Whakawātea tangata is a reminder of thinking about relationships with people who actively support, appear to support, do not support and actively work against us. This aspect of whakawātea invites a sharper analysis of people in our lives, their roles, values, reciprocity of

energy and contribution. Whakawātea tangata prompts a conscious consideration of those who support antiracist, decolonial processes, their experience, skills and expertise and what kinds of conversations, projects and communities they uphold.

Whakawātea hinengaro is the aspect of whakawātea that spotlights beliefs, values, ideologies and critical thinking. It is probably no accident that it is presently the most developed and discussed aspect of the model within the Network. Certainly, beliefs and values are not always easily explicated but are seen in what we choose to spend time doing and how we talk what matters to us and what we think is 'normal', 'successful', 'healthy', 'valuable' and 'important'. Thinking styles might be identified by how superficial, stuck, incomplete, expansive, creative and actively curious expressed ideas are. Whakawātea hinengaro prompts multilayered analysis of what colonial beliefs and values we might have internalised, what we are gaslit or stopped by and consequently what steps we take to mitigate harms. One way to help move beyond what feels like stuck thinking is to ask how might my elders, tupuna or atua think about this? Another way is to bring the issue to a trusted group of peers who can help identify any patterns in thinking and support new ways of approaching issues.

There is a desperate need for critical thinking and theorising (Yellow Bird, 2005). That is, serious attention to intellectual work outs that, along with tikanga, can support the displacement and whakawātea of colonial thinking in our hinengaro and kōrero. Noticing any disconnect between our values and speech, our beliefs and our actions comes down to becoming skilled at critical thinking. Noticing situations where we have only thought through part of an issue, or allowed others to do our thinking for us, works against decolonial thinking. Whakawātea hinengaro includes rejection of hegemony (Smith, 2017) and silence in the face of injustice. Both can be facilitated by learning to hone skills for example, knowing how to spot derailment techniques, updating skills in interpreting statistical data and subsequent

conclusions, carefully choosing media sources and having good process when it comes to sharing and amplifying information.

With regards development of critical thinking amongst the Network, the following questions in relation to clinical practice were posed and discussed during workshops 2017 – 2019:

- Who are your storytellers (including social media)? Who tells your stories? How did/do you develop trust in them?
- Who benefits from your decoloniality? Who doesn't?
- Who do you serve, and how do you know?
- Who is most in need of your particular skills and expertise?
- How do you guard against 'group think'? or letting others do the thinking for you?
- What tikanga spaces have you created in your practice regarding critical thinking?
- How is critical thinking discussed as part of your e-portfolio and in supervision?
- Have you romanticised your tupuna or aspects of Māoritanga?
- What questions, definitions, whakataukī are your go to?
- Are you willing to disagree and question or is cohesion and acceptance the greater priority?

A regular feature of peer supervisions is sharing of tikanga of whakawātea with each other. As well, Ngā Pou Mana Tangata Whenua Allied Health Professionals lead wānanga, peer supervisions and critical conversations where practitioners can share their tikanga of whakawātea that centre wairua, hinengaro, tinana, whānau and whenua elements seamlessly and safely. Within Network seminars and workshops, we explore how tikanga of whakawātea are affected when we feel stressed, sick, tired, unable to manage referral rates and caseloads

and when our service's practises conflict with our values and tikanga. Allowing rest and healing times, weighing things up, letting go of what doesn't work right now, remembering purpose and reasons for becoming a health professional are some of the responses shared by the Network. Importantly, there needs to be a formalising of this growing discussion, where we are actively encouraged and trained in critical questioning and thinking (Yellow Bird, 2005).

Whakawātea as whole incorporates a deliberate enquiry into power, looking for and challenging privilege and alignment or complicity with white supremacy. Given the denial of colonialism despite the impact on everyday occupations, the question for occupational therapists and occupational scientists is not 'is this racist?', but 'how does racism and prejudice show up in my teaching/practice/research?'. It is useful to have detailed analysis of marking processes and rubrics, allocation of tutorial time and clinical placements, responses to complaints and feedback, expectations of student success, referral response times across ethnic groups, referrals to other services, bystander awareness and support for example.

In 2019 and 2022, I shared the pūrākau of Māui and Mahuika as an example of critical thinking, theorising and curiosity with the Network. A brief summary of the pūrākau: the demigod Māui wanted to know from where fire emerged. He theorised that if all the fires were extinguished, he would be able to find the primal source. He set about extinguishing all fires in every village causing great worry and panic across the motu. His mother Taranga sent him to request fire from his grandmother Mahuika, with a warning to be respectful. Mahuika lived in a volcano and kept fire within her fingernails. Māui arrived and made his request. Mahuika carefully gave Māui a single fingernail who made his return to the village. However, he promptly extinguished the gift of fire and returned to his grandmother to request another. Māui repeated this until angered and feeling tricked Mahuika threw fire at Māui setting alight the earth. Māui barely escaped but was singed and called on Tāwhirimātea to send rain to put

out the fire. There were five trees that ‘caught’ the fire and when twigs of these five are rubbed together, fire starts.

As with all pūrākau, there are several thoughtful and pragmatic implications and wise direction that can be gleaned. First, it is important to seek knowledge beyond what is currently known and understood and although a virtue, curiosity ought to be tempered with respectful conduct not trickery. In addition, fire and water are taonga and so must always be carefully engaged. Lastly and usefully, there are five trees of the ngahere that provide fire when needed. This pūrākau both highlights some key tasks of critical thinking and is a reminder of ancestral inheritance available when we embrace critical thinking. Some highlights include the importance of testing out hypothesis, striving for intellectual dexterity, creativity and agility in approach. Also, the importance of not arguing for the truth or not of something, but instead focusing on the process of arriving at a ‘truth’.

Wāhanga tuatoru: *Hononga*

Tāne was in an entirely new realm and set of circumstances. He was proven as adept and agile in other realms, but this journey was unprecedented. As Tāne healed he began to focus on the purpose of the quest, his journey so far and the decision to continue or not.

Hononga means to “join, bind, enjoin” (Moorefield, n.d.). *Hononga* in relation to decolonisation is about both recognising disconnection and trauma as well as spending time actively connecting and reconnecting. Recognising disconnections might include alienation from whenua, hapū and whānau, our values, purpose, ancestors, atua or higher power however defined, hapū epistemologies and pūrākau, tikanga and kawa. Disconnections and trauma are

not past events and are often observed in real time, such as the disconnections that occur as a result of racist anti-Māori rhetoric in the lead up to general elections.

Like *Whakawātea*, *Hononga* can be ritualised and some rituals incorporate both wāhanga into the same process. For instance, warriors return from battle and crawl between the legs of a ruahine (female elder), thus removing the tapu of war, killing and battle trauma from them. It seems clear why hononga rituals for specific and massively traumatising events are needed. Yet killing by policy neglect is still as deadly as a gun, just slower, so in the same way, hononga rituals that address even the relatively smaller colonialisms in everyday life are vital.

Connection is powerful when pragmatic for example, asking simple questions of oneself such as ‘how am I doing?’ can be important checks and reminders to reconnect to kare-ā-roto. Across the motu, Rikki Solomon shares in workshops and training sessions his suggestions for supporting people experiencing distress; to go into the garden, go to the moana. He guides people to ‘ground’ themselves by placing hands into soil to weed, plant, harvest from the garden (personal communication, September 21, 2019). Engagement in mahi that matches sensory needs is also utilised in ‘Sensory Modulation’, a therapy modality used by occupational therapists which has a basis in the neuroscience and physiology of stress. The same expertise can – but is yet to – be formally and systematically utilised to support whānau dealing with oppression and racism.

Connections to ancestors and their wisdom can occur through reo, whakataukī, storytelling, waiata, karakia and many more. Inviting atua and tupuna into our day can occur through objects and images in our homes and on our devices such as windchimes for Tāwhirimātea and shells for Tangaroa and Hinemoana. How we set ourselves to sleep can be ritualised in such a way to wake refreshed and ready for the next day, for example by setting off

to sleep with sounds of ngahere or recordings of loved ones. Simply setting aside or taking opportunities in the day to be aware of the weather and environment is a way of being connected to place and time. Making and refreshing rituals of giving thanks – especially when we have asked for support – can be a way to strengthen connections and make new ones.

Kaupapa Māori theorist and researcher Jenny Lee-Morgan talks about the importance of being Kaupapa-connected as this brings another level of integrity to the mahi at hand (personal communication, November 12, 2020). Reframing clinical talk about and naming connections can highlight connections to kaupapa. For example, ‘I am attending a meeting’ or ‘my connection to this organisation/kaupapa is xyz and so I am supporting this by being at the meeting’. As well, the phrases multiple ‘did not attend’ and ‘hard to reach’ can be reframed as ‘we understand needs are not being met here and we’re committed to figuring out a different way’. Lee-Morgan adds that being community connected is an antidote to imposter syndrome and self-gaslighting.

The pūrākau about ‘Rona and the Moon’ is useful to illustrate *Hononga* as a wāhanga of this model and I am sharing a version told and re-told by Shane Te Ruki (Ngāti Unu Ngāti Kahupungapunga) at Te Whare Kōrero o Te Kōpua. It is said that Rona was a water bearer for her hapū. Water bearing was a revered role and Rona knew the best puna (springs), was adept at making good quality calabashes and was fast at her job. However, Rona was known to have a short-temper and was not slow to express it. One evening after she had already fallen off to sleep, she was woken and implored to collect wai. Begrudgingly she set off, collected the wai and made her return for the most part in moonlight. However, a cloud passed by and Rona lost her footing after tripping on a tree root. She fell, the calabashes broke and she cursed rudely and at some length at the Moon. It is said that the Moon was not just irritated but extremely

angered by her unjust tirade. Rona was then taken up to the Moon, along with the ngaio tree she used in an unsuccessful attempt to stay grounded.

To be sure, Rona was in an awful predicament and her next steps could make things better or potentially worse. She could not return home that much was certain. Once she had time to reflect and assess the situation anew, Rona recognised that even though she lost her family, her home, her mahi, she was not without power. Rona's reflections had to move beyond superficial questions of own actions to deeper investigations as to what patterns, habits and ways of being were contributing to risk and loss in her life. Rona realised she held a power to reinvent herself and move beyond that which she had always known herself to be. And this is how Rona became Hine-Mārama, the controller of tides and emotions.

Hine-Mārama's example of self-reflection and re-invention despite forced displacement is legendary. Further, such wisdoms can be applied in many aspects of life for example, the Network have discussed this pūrākau and applied it to clinical practice scenarios. One scenario shared concerned the times when it feels difficult to connect with whānau and perhaps some decisions they make about their lives. Hine-Mārama's story is a reminder of the importance of taking time to pause, regather thoughts and recognise that the thought of feeling stuck, powerless and without a pathway forward is potentially an illusion; that it is possible that we have more power than we recognise to transform a situation. *Hononga* is about arriving at sound decisions with rested minds, healthy bodies, supportive communities and clear goals.

Nurturing connections and building community are the opposite of colonisation, and its silos, faux limits and fiscal considerations. We already have and employ tikanga and karakia throughout our daily lives which acknowledge ancient connections and build a sense of alignment with kaupapa. *Hononga* also reminds us that we can be like Rehua when we work in our clinical and social spaces because we have a way of listening that is altogether different,

non-judgmental and hopefully healing. When Kaupapa-connected clinicians engage, we aim to align values, purpose, right timing and right resource with those of the whānau. Rehua created moments where Tāne could connect and re-connect to his values and purpose. In the same way, Indigenous practitioners work to connect whānau to their own sources, potential and decoloniality through everyday mahi.

Wāhanga tuawha: *Whakarite*

Tāne was healing well. He decided to continue the quest and began to make plans for the next steps. With support from Rehua, Tāne had met and overcome adversity, regathered himself and healed. Tāne began to gather intelligence, strategise carefully and clarify who was with him and who was not.

Whakarite is about sound ethical preparation, strengthening, decision making, planning and organisation. The habits and skills of *Whakarongo* are pivotal to being able to read and sense information from within, from the community and the environment. Information can be as broad as knowing policy, regulations and legislation, to understanding the people who are and are not with you, as well as self-knowledge such as awareness of internalised oppression. Trustworthy preparation, planning and decision-making is greatly bolstered by keeping whakapapa and whanaungatanga central to all aspects of mahi. To help explicate *Whakarite* I draw on the pūrākau of Rata and the Tree, which is meaningful account of preparing well and always leaning into good ethical conduct.

The story, as told to me, is that Rata lived in the time before migration to Aotearoa. He was a skilled tohunga in waka construction and all the aspects of that particular mahi. Being

the go-to person for waka construction, he was tasked with building a waka that would typically not take too long to construct. Tikanga practices were central to his preparation from selection of the tree, through to care for tools along with expertly offered karakia to invoke support and give thanks. However, this time Rata set to work without his usual tikanga - he did not seek consent, guidance nor did he give thanks. Having worked an entire day Rata was satisfied that much of the hard work of chopping and cleaning the tree, and fashioning the shape was done, and he made for home. As the story goes, the next morning when Rata returned to the clearing, the waka – his work in progress – was gone. Instead, the tree that he thought had been felled the day before for the waka was standing tall and proud as before, as if nothing had ever happened.

Rata set about repeating the same process as the day before and unfortunately, also repeating the same mistakes of working without tikanga, without gaining consent nor giving thanks. Again, he left at the end of the day and when he returned the next morning, the same scene greeted him; no waka, but a tree standing tall. Rata worked all day but instead of going home he hid in the forest and waited. Rata was astonished to see hundreds of insects, birds and animals working together to return every woodchip to reconstruct the tree. Once their work was completed, once the tree was standing tall again, Rata emerged from his hiding place. He was appropriately contrite, having realised his mistakes. Rata offered his apologies, he was forgiven and even helped to finish the waka.

Rata was going to build a waka no matter what. However, he stepped out of tradition – what was usual and what had presumably worked so well before – as his goal became the most important thing in his mind. He also failed to notice that he was being observed the whole time and in so doing, demonstrated an uncharacteristic forgetting of connections and reverence for creature families who had supported his work in the past. This story is a reminder that

whakapapa means we are never alone, that being part of nature means that nature cannot be separated from mahi, and it explains why concepts such as ‘terra nullius’ are so utterly erroneous. Further, Rata’s story points to the importance of always working with values and beliefs in mind and heart and ensuring that mahi is always in alignment with them.

This pūrākau is also about seeking permission and preparing correctly for every task. With regards seeking permission, research applications for ethical approval are deeply concerned with ensuring that permission to implement research can only occur once informed consent is guaranteed. Jenny Lee-Morgan (personal communication, November 12, 2020) implored researchers to be research ready; to be like Rata, and chop, fashion and prepare correctly for the mahi. In addition, seeking permission is also about how you see and regard the mahi. For example, is completing an initial assessment seen as a ‘triage’ task or function in order to refer on, or a privilege and a blessing to be included and trusted with an aspect of a person’s life.

In order to prepare for any task, one must know oneself. *Whakarite koe i a koe mo ou ake wero* is about owning your challenges and preparing well and ethically for them. This means knowing one’s limits, biases, blindspots, triggers and recognising when rest is needed and if your current energy levels can match the task required. Whakarite also includes habits of *whakarongo*, noticing patterns and habits of stuckness, leaning into old patterns of thinking that may not be useful or effective for the mahi, and perhaps resolving difficulties of the past. Equally, knowing and drawing on one’s strengths, experience, expertise for the mahi is crucial to good preparation. Sharpening, polishing and practicing community building can be done by being aware of one’s values, strengths and boundaries.

Whakarite reflects how time is viewed and approached. There is a school of thought that treats time as cyclical and therefore, what is imagined will come to pass. Indeed, some

elite athlete training programmes incorporate imagination where trainees actively and intentionally envision winning competitions (Johnston & Jolly, 2016). With regards daily diaries, clinical schedules, bed wait times, we can ask how such schedules and lists reflect what we intend? Are breaks and rest times protected or are appointments mostly back-to-back appointments? Is there space for the unscheduled, and moments for preparation and reflection? Who influences, controls, manages your schedule? Right timing is also about choosing the right tools and resources for the season, month and stage of the project.

Another aspect of *Whakarite* is knowing who is with you and understanding their shape and potential contribution to the kaupapa. Who opens doors and moves barriers? Who can you debrief with, gives you courage, or imagines with you? Who anticipates backlash and has a plan to manage so you do not have to? Who can see the rocks on your back (addictions, lazy thinking, internalised oppression) and will tell you? It is possible to bring to mind guidance from ancestors and trusted loved ones to a situation when we ask “What would xyz say about this situation?”.

Further, it is helpful to expect support from ancestors and te taiao as an important part of mahi. In this way karakia is not inoi, but an intentional and deliberate invocation and therefore, answers to questions posed and tohu for guidance are fully expected. They are but a breath away. Like every wāhanga *Whakarite*, can be expressed through ritual and ceremony. Certainly, haka which have come to be about performance in contemporary times, were also traditionally about preparation for combat and a demand for support from atua and ancestors. Smith’s (2017) exploration of haka as an energising pursuit of understanding was he concluded, about spiritual alignment for goal realisation.

Chapter 11 outlined a process of antiracism planning and building antiracist communities in occupational therapy. *Whakarite* must include antiracism which if occurring in

Aotearoa New Zealand, must include Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Antiracist actions and expressions measurably reduce harm to people targeted by racist policies and actions. Because racism is the status quo of settler colonial societies such as New Zealand, antiracism theory and practice frameworks must be designed in as racism will not accidentally or spontaneously disappear. *Chapter 11* outlined a staged process that includes gathering or joining experts in antiracism, collectively mapping sites of racism, building a plan or working with others who have a plan, and using an ‘act – reflect – act’ approach.

Wāhanga tuarima: *Mahia*

This is the moment that Tāne healed and prepared for. It was time to put plans into action and manifest the desires of his people. He was briefed by Rehua on aspects of the journey that lay ahead. Tāne was ready and as the story goes, he was indeed successful.

The last wāhanga, *Mahia* is about manifesting the change that has been imagined, discussed, planned and organised while keeping space for random, messy surprises that are human processes. By itself, the kupu *mahia* is sometimes used in daily talk as strong encouragement and instruction meaning ‘just do it’. Of course, situation, tone, delivery and conveyed intention give the single kupu much more meaning. As a wāhanga for this practice model, *Mahia* describes a series of moments; another turn in the course of the river already being navigated. Either way, change or the opportunity for it, is being invited. Change is sometimes as simple as letting go or deciding to stop holding on. Other times change is about clear, organised, multi-system, collective efforts in concert together to create a manifestly different and lasting impact to a current situation, and everything else in between.

An interesting thought experiment at this point is to ask ‘in what ways are we colonially occupied?’. My first kneejerk reaction is “in every way”, still, it is a question that deserves some nuance. There are bastions of tikanga such as marae and wānanga (Mikaere, 2011) that still overtly uphold Indigenous ways of being. One of the tasks that wānanga participants at Te Whare Kōrero o Te Kōpua are encouraged to do is think about the ways in which the objects in our homes enhance our mana and reflect our atua and tupuna. The Kaiako matua for the wānanga Shane Te Ruki suggests that whānau walk around our homes with a roll of stickers and place a sticker on the objects that do not reflect atua or directly enhance mana. It is a worthy exercise because it ensures that whānau do not leave the learning of the wānanga at the marae, but instead intentionally bring hapū learnings into our everyday lives. We are decolonising our homes by bringing to mind and making conscious the reasons for ‘having’ and ‘possessing’ the things that we bring into our homes and interact with daily. By gleaning the pervasiveness of the colonality reflected in our homes we can begin to question its centrality, and any legitimacy we may have ascribed to it.

Waziyatawin and Michael Yellow Bird (2005) in their book *For Indigenous eyes only: A decolonization handbook* encourage readers “to question the legitimacy of colonization” (p. 3). Their edited handbook has specific teachings about decolonising the diet, tribal governance spaces, growing critical tribal thinking centres and provides strategies on how to deal with colonisation through education and misrepresentation amongst other topics. In other words, like Shane Te Ruki, the authors are advocating for us to engage in critically appraising our everyday lives against decolonial imperatives and ancestral teachings.

Fifteen years ago, I worked in an occupational safety and health team where my role included receiving notifications of workplace pain, discomfort or injury. From time to time, I would visit staff who sat for very long periods of time at workstations and sometimes I would

be asked ‘what is the best position for this task?’ Ergonomically, the best position is always ‘the next one’. *Mahia* as a wāhanga of this model, includes the essence of that ergonomic guidance; keep moving. Similarly, mauri does not flow with stuck thinking, stagnation and inaction, and nor do decolonial efforts.

Mahia as wāhanga includes the principle and praxis of whakatikangia where both the requirement to act in a timely fashion and with a sense of communal responsibility is expected praxis. Similarly, antiracism and anti-oppression require timely responses along with collective strategy and organisation. Hearteningly, there are growing numbers of occupational therapists and occupational scientists who have chosen the path of whakatikangia. We see this in the rise of affinity organisations such as DisruptOT and BAMEOTUK as well as smaller collectives of therapists such as Decolonising OT curriculum group, a UK based affinity group who gather to discuss decolonial practices in the academy.

Another useful means to appreciate *Mahia*, is analysis of the te reo Māori translation of ‘occupational therapy’. Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori The Māori Language Commission translated *occupational therapy* as ‘Whakaora Ngangahau’. *Whakaora* as a verb refers “to save, rescue, resuscitate, revive, restore to health, cure, heal remedy” (Moorefield, n.d.). As a noun however, *Whakaora* means a “healing, rescue, revival, cure, recovery, resuscitation, restoration, redress” (Moorefield, n.d.). *Ngangahau* means “to be active, spirited, zealous, vibrant, vivacious, lively, animated” (Moorefield, n.d.). The Māori translation for occupational therapy provides a wide scope for the occupational therapist that is beyond therapy and literally speaks directly to restoration, redress and healing.

Importantly, in adopting and accepting the Māori translation, all occupational therapists in this country represent a promise and an expectation to Māori of being able to practice in ways that cause healing, redress and restoration. Whether or not this was understood by the

profession at large, is somewhat beside the point. The Network are actioning the Māori translation of the profession's name just by gathering and sharing decolonisation efforts. Such efforts range from internally developed seminars supporting professional portfolio goals for re-certification, healing from racist targeting, and increasing Tiriti and antiracism literacy amongst others.

Mahia as wāhanga, is the realisation of *Hononga*, reason for *Whakawātea*, natural next step from *Whakarite*. That is working to (re)establish connections, discerning what helps and what hinders, making detailed plans and growing Tiriti literacy and antiracism praxis. The goal is to make every moment of every day, everything we do/think/talk can become a healing moment/ conversation/ connection and an opportunity for moving past what these past two centuries of colonialism imagined for us. The solutions and innovations of surviving and thriving despite colonised existence are already abundantly present. Ancestral teachings tell us that every possibility of the universe is everywhen and has already dwelt within Te Kore since the start of time. This means that some of the tools for decoloniality are already present in the practices and knowledge handed down, refined and expressed in daily mahi. They too have been hiding in plain sight.

Refining the practice model

In 2014, I attended a series of Kaupapa Māori research seminars called *Kaupapa Rangahau* run by Waikato University's Te Kotahi Research Institution and Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development. Central to the workshops, presentations and facilitated discussions was the notion that Māori can and must think about what we require of our theories and models. Therefore, as part of the planned – but not implemented – research wānanga of this project, several questions had been drafted with the idea that they would be

further refined and prepared as facilitated discussion points. I have included them here, but they are not set or decided upon at this point in time. The questions so far are: how do tikanga and the model connect and work together?, where and how does mauri flow?, how are kupu Māori placed and supported?, which aspects of Kaupapa Māori theory are enhanced and what is the impact?, how does the model allow for varied application? how is hapūtanga (hapū-centred knowledges and practices) supported? how does the model speak to inequities and privilege?

With regards critiquing a Kaupapa Māori model of practice, I developed another line of questions that were loosely based on learnings from the 2014 Kaupapa Rangahau series. Again, like the earlier questions, these questions will benefit from wānanga with collectives of Māori, Indigenous and critical ally colleagues to refine them further. The questions include:

- What are the underlying assumptions, theories and beliefs about mahi?
- What has been privileged? And why?
- What is absent?
- Have the necessary theories, facts, and logic been presented?
- Have any alternative intelligent explanations been presented and in a balanced way?
- In what ways could you use the model to improve connections between truth, ways of knowing, facts and evidence?
- How has the model been tested? With who? What does this mean?
- Do you agree with its no/some/all conclusions? Why? Why not?
- Do the standards and processes match the conclusions?
- How are Indigenous or alternative models, beliefs and practices of health been positioned?

- What is your process/tikanga? Personal and collective?

The Network has used card decks in the past to facilitate deep analysis and stimulate discussion regarding professional goals, wairuatanga and practice, mentorship, values guiding practice amongst other topics. For the upcoming wānanga, it is envisaged that pre-printed cards with critical questions is utilised again as it is a fun tool that quickly creates cohesion while varying facilitation methods. The card decks can also be part of a taonga basket for the whānau.

Implications of the theory and model

In lieu of running the wānanga inside the PhD timeframe, I present some draft implications of the theory and model pertaining to their present form. As such, there are four draft implications that can be signaled in a general sense only. Firstly, that mahi needs a reclamation process. Secondly, by virtue of posing an Indigenous theory and model of practice regarding mahi, Māori occupational therapists and our communities have signaled that we are no longer leaving our occupational rights and goals of Indigenous communities, in the hands and imaginations of non-Māori. We are reclaiming mahi.

A third insight is that the theory and model are themselves a continuation of the guidance we have been sharing with each other for years. For example, we have shared whakawātea practices for 'between' community visits, before and after clinics, when we leave home for work and vice versa and when we start new roles and leave old ones. I suspect that many Māori, make māori the abundantly available and accessible moments that mahi affords. Such moments of expressed tikanga and connection with tupuna wisdom and practices are in a sense, the opposite of ethnocide.

Finally, the model points to a need for increased focus and attention on relatedness and collective responsibility especially in the wāhanga of *Hononga*, *Whakarite* and *Mahia*. For instance, collective action for antiracism as a project is recognised as needing sound planning and strategy based on knowledge of purpose and one's own strengths, and implemented amongst trusted critical allies and colleagues. In *Disruption* phase, I wrote about the schism within the Network that was tied to the racist targeting of myself and several Māori practitioners and referred to our plan to build a new society or entity. I believe that the theory and model can support the Network's movement from being passive colonial recipients of Western notions of occupation, to decolonial practitioners with antiracism and te Tiriti as core to everyday praxis.

Conclusion and next steps

Key learnings from this phase include, Indigenous practitioners are enacting our sovereign right to reclaim and define both occupation and mahi for ourselves, and our pūrākau and mātauranga can and do illuminate decolonial praxis. However, like Whiro's blows, it is important to acknowledge colonial wounds, heal them, clear barriers and build critical collectives to notice, manage and make plans beyond the colonial imagination. "When we create a world where there is union between theory and practice we can freely engage with ideas. Our thoughts then are not abstract meaningless currency..." (hooks, 2010, p. 186). Hence, the deep reflective theorising in action as proposed in this *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* and the practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua*, deserves and requires further action. To continue the work of co-developing this *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi*, is to deny the colonial habit of separating theory and practice. It also furthers the goal of making everyday acts māori,

thus bringing us closer to halting destructive acts against ourselves, our shared taiao and making space for ever-present healing.

E kui ma, e koro ma

Whakatōngia mai ou manaakitanga ki runga i a matou

Kia kaha te tū, kia tū hei raukura

Mo te iwi

CHAPTER 14: Summary and planning for the future

This thesis with publications study is a part of a wānanga that privileged a philosophical examination of both Western theories and notions of occupation (activities, acts, work, deeds) and Kaupapa Māori praxis of mahi. The study also narrates a decolonial process to reclaim theoretical space where everyday acts are once again regarded as mahi, and as māori. Like many health professions, occupational therapy and occupational science were developed primarily within Western society to reproduce Western society. This wānanga has shown that the profession struggles under the weight of its own unexamined privilege which causes it to both call for decolonisation and then actively work against it. If the theories, models and sometimes dehumanising professional interactions with Indigenous colleagues are anything to go by, it is certain that the profession tasked with understanding and wielding human occupation therapeutically and scientifically, has a way to go. As such, theorising of decolonial praxis with regards the radical generative potential of mahi may find its scope and acceptance beyond the profession's Western imagination and capacity and amongst our own beloved communities.

Movement through phases

A quality of wānanga is movement through phases and stages. With regards this study, subtle changes indicated movement from phases that were named *Conscientisation*, to *Developing the means to see*, *Examinations*, then *Disruption* and finally *He Pua*. The phases mirror or mimic a conscientisation - transformation process, that is its own wānanga. The chapters (including publications) have been organised under these phases.

Becoming conscientised to oppression is the start of the wānanga and is the part where one can be cognisant of a problem. In this case, an issue so huge and gnarly that its very existence is denied despite it being as obvious as a clown bursting into a room and singing a well-known melody offkey. However, conscientisation to oppression is also, in a way, an end to a kind of innocence. Conscientisation for me began prior to the PhD, impelled by observing and experiencing racism from a young age, observing misalignment of beliefs with actions, and then discrete and amplified moments of both of these when I began training as an occupational therapist.

My first 0.15 FTE role as a new graduate in academia was focused entirely on supporting Māori to stay in the programme. This brought a heavy sense of responsibility with it and explains why as an educator, I have honed and refined ways to support all students to grow their critical consciousness. This is the most humanising occupation that I could think of: teach about the Great Lie without hurting and harming students, because at the end of the day, it is an end of innocence and a start of action if they choose to. The work might be discomforting and inconvenience some, but it is not designed to harm. Conversely, it was designed to stop harm. However, the work of bringing humanising methods and critical consciousness to the profession is short-sheeted as I have only ever been offered very part-time, guest, senior

educator contract roles. Despite this, the first publication highlights some of the methods and thinking behind my work to raise critical consciousness for the past quarter century.

The next phase, *Developing the means to see*, is where ambivalence grows because on one hand, conscientisation to oppression has occurred, and on the other hand, discomfort is growing because knowing about injustice does not mean someone has knowledge and skills to do anything about it. For this study, *Developing the means to see* is where skills such as learning about decolonising methodologies, Kaupapa Māori research and hapū mātauranga come together and are explained. This phase is where the research question arose: *In what ways do everyday occupations maintain and transform colonialism?* The research objectives were also refined during this phase:

1. Kimihia te mana mai ra ano: To explore and analyse mātauranga Māori that relates to the whakapapa of occupation, mahi and tikanga,
2. Āta tirohia te whakarere o te tāmitanga: To critically examine Western theories and notions of occupation and explore the philosophical links between colonisation and occupation, and to critically examine occupations particular to colonisation to highlight everyday mechanisms that produce and maintain colonialism,
3. Hanga he whare hou hei hiki i te tāmitanga: To develop a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi that will contribute to the development of a practice framework of mahi.

This thesis utilised Kaupapa Māori methodology and methods to identify and critically examine the ways in which everyday acts reproduce and resist colonialism. The main methods were wānanga as theory making, writing to understand, publishing to disrupt, and building antiracist community. There are many features and facets of wānanga as method such as right timing, organisation, agency and challenge. A wānanga that intersects and is shaped by a PhD process also has specific functions. For this study, the functions include being the means for

the Network to formalise our theorising, exercise our agency, develop expertise in research and carve space for Indigenous knowledges regarding occupation and mahi. Crucially, the wānanga intentionally recentered mahi, and in this way guides practitioners to facilitate decoloniality of everyday acts. A natural next step in the process of centering antiracist, Tiriti-based praxis, is the development of *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* and a practice model: *Ngā Mahi a Rehua*.

This study – like many – was impacted by Covid 19, the recentring of mahi alongside the examination of occupation, and the necessity of developing methods for writing about racism while being a target of racism. Therefore, some of the methods utilised have reflected those impacts, such as purposeful building of antiracist community.

The second phase, *Developing the means to see*, framed and set up the third phase: *Examinations (Chapter Five – Eight)*. *Examinations* is where critical examination of occupation in relation to colonisation was presented: the second research objective - Āta tirohia te whakarere o te tāmitanga. Specifically, *Chapters Five* and *Six* examined occupational therapy and occupational science's colonial treatment of occupation as 'a series of separations', 'having' and (ahistorical colonial) justice. I explored the notion that occupation is a continuum and argued that speech is deed using the example of racist speech as racist deed.

Chapter Six is a critical examination of the lauded notion of occupational justice. It built on a theoretical framework first published in 2018 called 'occupational stages of colonisation' (Emery-Whittington & Te Maro, 2018) and examined how key tenets of occupation and justice are disfigured in a colonial context. *Chapter Six* showcased how the development and use of occupational justice maintains colonialism within occupational therapy. Like many health professions, coloniality is maintained through uncritiqued and unexamined white privilege, meritocracy, and universalism (Borell et al., 2009; Haggis, 2004; Pease, 2010). *Chapter Six* also highlighted the perplexing praxis of excluding Indigenous practitioners in theory development

with regards Indigenous models and frameworks. Hence, Indigenous theorists and practitioners write from academic and professional margins where many BIPOC practitioners walk. Interestingly, it appears that the margins were exactly the space to challenge the notion of occupational justice from, as the article won the Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy Golden Quill award for 2023 (see Appendix A). The award assessment is based on a member survey and review panel recommendations.

Chapter Seven built on the philosophical examinations of *Chapters Five* and *Six*, and organised observations of colonialism into a taxonomy of human occupations in settler-colonial spaces. The taxonomy is presented in two main parts: *Occupations that maintain and reproduce colonialism*, and *Occupations that resist and transform colonialism*. In addition, a brief critique of critical occupational therapy and occupational science literature concluded the *Examinations* phase. This phase was completed with a literature review that used conscious citing and purposefully platformed and explored emerging Indigenous and critical occupational therapy and occupational science literature. *Chapter Eight* is a summary of *Chapter Seven* that includes an outline of a practice tool which has become another publication of the study.

Following the in-depth examination of human occupations in settler-colonial spaces in the *Examinations phase*, *Disruption phase (Chapters Nine -12)* is presented. Paradoxically, *Disruption* phase was initially unintentioned but quickly became necessary to the study. It is a phase that recognises that decolonial praxis needs to be an active real time phenomenon of the study itself. *Disruption* included the intentional building of antiracist community that also writes, leads and teaches together, careful placement of publications as a way to carve space for BIPOC theorising, re-building of the Māori Occupational Therapy Network, and becoming an antiracism and Tiriti facilitator. This phase includes two co-authored publications that highlight Indigenous, BIPOC and ally connections, strategies and collaborations for healing and resistance

within our respective communities and spaces (*Chapters 10 and 11*). *Chapter 10* included an interrogation of internalised oppression as wielded within the profession. It is a sad but known phenomenon that sometimes “Colonisation is also perpetrated by ourselves, against ourselves” (G. Smith, 2017, p. 81) and that white culture and ideology recruits brown bodies and minds too. We outlined three methods to support being in relation with ‘the coloniality that gets under the skin’: growing critical consciousness, developing a relational ethic of manaaki and building community. We believe that internalised oppression is part of living in a settler-colonial space that denies racism, however, internalised oppression can be managed, but it requires a critical lens and relationship with it. Like interpersonal, institutional and structural racism, it is possible to notice, map and plan to end internalised oppression by building relationships to ourselves and with antiracist collectives. *Chapter 11* platformed the work of BIPOC communities and marginalised collectives across the profession with regards antiracism. Based on experience from the authors networks and affinity groups, a five-step antiracism process was presented: Gather or join with experts to build community; Collective mapping of racism; Analyse the stories and numbers; Have a plan (or join others who have a plan); and the final step Action - reflection - action. The chapter platformed antiracist efforts of networks and affinity groups that support and centre BIPOC knowledge and practices and/or support populations that are historically excluded and marginalised within the profession.

The final phase *He Pua* directly engaged the first and third research objectives:

- Kimihia te mana mai ra ano - To explore and analyse mātauranga Māori that relates to the whakapapa of occupation, mahi and tikanga, *and*
- Hanga he whare hou hei hiki i te tāmitanga - To develop a Kaupapa Māori theory of mahi that will contribute to the development of a practice framework of mahi.

He Pua is where the wānanga of mahi, development of theory and practice model occurred and its placement after the previous wānanga phases was important for these reasons: first, in order to dwell in mātauranga one must have already worked and struggled. Mātauranga requires expression through mahi which has the feel of time, toil, and many hands on it. In this case, the toil is about conscientisation and the subsequent work of privileging Māori epistemologies, pedagogies, tikanga and aspirations in spaces that are hostile to them. In this way, mātauranga chooses its adherents.

The second reason for placing *He Pua* last concerns the timing of the racist targeting of myself and close colleagues during the early part of the study. Essentially, the early work that I had started on the theory and model was put aside until I was no longer fighting and defending the Network, our governance work and my reputation. The work of spending time with mātauranga, developing theory and the practice model is not the same energy as fighting and defence. Following the worst of the racist targeting, I spent some months healing, visiting whānau tohunga and elders and returning to a place where I could allow the learnings of the moment to settle. Certainly, there is mātauranga and decolonial praxis in managing racism as an everyday mahi.

Thirdly and in hindsight, I realise that my view of Kaupapa Māori theory was initially somewhat romanticised. I approached the work from a generally sound understanding of struggle as a key aspect of Kaupapa Māori methodology. However, I was reticent about bringing my personal experiences of the struggle and so I instead created imaginary silos and told myself that I could place racist experiences from my profession to the side. I had named the silo the 'toxic sideshow' and hoped that if I drew an observation line, I could somehow exert control over racism's prevalence and frequency. I hoped more than believed that it might be possible to leave the sideshow and instead dive into ancestral teachings and theorising.

Turns out, studying racism does not stop, mute or distract it and by trying to keep it at arm's length rather than incorporate it, the study itself was what was being left.

As a direct result, the emergent *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* and practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua* were designed to also address and engage the powerful and toxic organiser of Indigenous careers that is white supremacy. This included the internalisation of oppression and joining and contributing antiracist collectives. An important aspect to the theory and practice model outlined, is the process of turning towards our whakataukī, whakatauākī, pūrākau and hapū mahi to help displace inner colonialisms that impact who we see ourselves to be. The Network will continue to recognise and celebrate hapū perspectives as we synthesise and refine our theory and practice model: *Kaupapa Māori Theory of Mahi* and practice model *Ngā Mahi a Rehua*. At the heart of this is the understanding that when we talk of decoloniality we mean habituated disruption of every single task of daily life.

Weaving theories and shaping leaders

As previously mentioned, during the 1970s and 1980s the profession experienced an identity crisis where alignment with medicine was being questioned and the profession also began to move away from its tradition of using crafts as rehabilitation tools. In Aotearoa New Zealand, when the only training institution split and became two schools, one school continued to use crafts as part of the programme while the other embraced research methods. Occasionally practitioners who practiced crafts were pejoratively referred to as 'basket weavers'. Importantly however, the profession's identity crisis was not an Indigenous issue and so it was curious to be asked specifically to teach weaving at the school that eschewed crafts. This taught me that as Māori we must not be buffeted by colonial health trends, but centre

what we know works, especially if it privileges reconnection and known healing practices.

Through this research process, and the guidance of research supervisors I have reclaimed the ancient roles of tāniko weaver and theorist.

As such there are three main points that I would like to suggest going forward: Māori occupational therapists complete the co-theorising for the theory and practice model, leadership for decolonial praxis is developed, and education privileges BIPOC global majority communities. With regards the first point, Māori occupational therapists need a process to support our reclamation of mahi as rongoā (medicine, healing) for ourselves as Māori, and as Māori health professionals. As much as our informal wānanga continue as usual, this kaupapa needs formal bespoke wānanga designed to spark further co-theorising. The research wānanga are designed to support the decolonising and antiracism process of reclaiming mahi. The unremitting work of lifting and clearing forms of colonialism expressed by way of everyday acts must be supported by our co-theorising and shared healing. Exploring rest, sharing strategy and standing up support quickly are just some of the healing practices we have developed expertise in – as one does - when encountering daily wero (challenge) of colonialism.

The second suggestion for future action concerns leadership. Whaea Naida Glavish stated that leadership is “...learning to do something of service...” (2013). With regards decolonising everyday acts, leadership is an opportunity to commit to deep learning about how to decolonise our everyday, and then sharing this generously and openly with our whānau and communities. There are many opportunities a day to learn and role model the everydayness and ordinariness of mahi as a decolonial tool. In addition, leadership requires managing the self, regardless of external circumstances and I would add, finding, managing and being in relationship with internalised oppression. Hence, decolonial antiracist leadership must be cognisant of and willing to manaaki those that carry colonial shame and guilt because it is a

barrier to realising personal and community potential. Leadership in the context of a health profession requires commitment to create and strengthen kinship bonds already severed or continually made loose by colonialism.

Further, decolonial antiracist leadership involves will and willingness. That is, mentors manifest the will of tupuna on to the next generation of leaders, through their kaitiakitanga of the kaupapa (Spiller et al., 2015). Mentors might ask themselves ‘who am I willed by and who am I willing for?’ (Spiller et al., 2015). In this way, leadership is a chain of influence and will from kaiako to taurira, mentor to mentee, whānau to whānau linked over time and despite oppression. Leadership as a continuum of will and willingness recognises that words are deeds, and that decolonial actions are absolutely about sharing power, supporting honest attempts at decoloniality and being willing to be guided and accountable.

Leaders also pose questions that stimulate deeper examination. The well-known Indigenous research leader and theorist Linda Tuhiwai Smith once posed “What does a university that is not racist look like? What does a university that really values Te Tiriti o Waitangi look like?” (personal communication, November 18, 2020). The question could equally apply to a profession as a university. Such questioning sparks imagination which is crucial to both strategy for and implementation of antiracist Tiriti-based future profession. There are many opportunities where the profession’s leaders could strengthen their decolonial praxis including how decolonial praxis is discussed and imagined.

Professional discourse about change has dominated training programmes for the three decades I have spent with it. Conversation has ranged from 1990s discussions about affirmative action, culture, cultural sensitivity, cultural awareness, biculturalism, multiculturalism, cultural safety, cultural competence, equality, diversity, equity, inclusion, oppression, colonisation, occupational justice, colonialism, right through to more recent

discussions about Treaty and Tiriti, decolonisation, antiracism and decoloniality. Yet, there is no measurable proof that practice is any less racist or oppressive with regards BIPOC communities. Added to this discourse is the focus on filling 'cultural knowledge gaps' for practitioners, researchers and educators from the global north.

Hence, with regards the third suggestion for the future, I believe that education across the profession needs to deliberately and immediately switch focus and attention to the needs of the global majority. I would argue that calls for change to improve services to the global majority has resulted in no measurable change, and that perhaps this is exactly the goal. Local programmes have increased the numbers of BIPOC students but at frustratingly slow rates and after three decades of effort, Māori students are still less than a third of the number needed to reflect the population. Certainly, it seems that the practice of effectively drip-feeding students from the global majority into global north styled training programmes is to ensure assimilation with white culture. Added to this is the oddity of Māori students learning about our people's health outcomes, from non-Māori educators. There is an assumption that for occupational therapy and occupational science to become culturally safe, antiracist and decolonial, resources must be primarily directed towards the most privileged of the global population who then must unlearn their privilege. To further muddy the waters and in spectacularly unfair power dynamics, Indigenous students or new graduates are regularly approached to help teach to the cultural knowledge gaps of their peers and educators.

This unstated yet pervasive and well executed educational strategy does not take into account the epistemologies and praxes of decoloniality that already exist in the world. As a Tiriti o Waitangi and antiracism educator, I have noticed that many learners genuinely want to understand 'what does decolonisation mean for my life and practice'. I also note that people with privilege want to learn from people with privilege as illustrated in the many times that the

room grows reverently quiet when my co-facilitators share the nuts and bolts of how they shared power and created meaningful relationships with mana whenua for example. On the occasions where I have returned to review antiracism policies and plans in organisations, the greatest measurable changes occurred where privileged people who have done antiracist work, support and mentor other privileged people. I have wondered if it's about people with power and privilege feeling safe and not judged by BIPOC colleagues in the room, despite regularly requesting our input. Clearly, antiracism and Tiriti-based work requires role modelling and leadership by skilled, mentored, resourced and supported critical allies. Such a collective is sorely lacking in the profession.

Given the rate of change, growing inequities and need in the global majority, I suggest that a more efficient way to meet the occupational needs of the global majority is to educate vastly more people from BIPOC communities. That is, target education towards persons with epistemological range, who speak multiple languages, think and act as collectives, and understand occupations are not just for health and well-being. Certainly, if we were to ask BIPOC communities what they prefer, I do not think it would be re-educate the global north practitioners, researchers and educators and hope that they develop skill, expertise, and willingness to work well with us. This suggestion for the future would require making space for experienced BIPOC colleagues to share their research, teaching and community mindedness as collectives with the academy.

A gift and a warning

Threaded through this study is the belief that the tools and methods for our decolonisation are within our reach. Certainly, when we position mātauranga Māori and tikanga as central, natural and expected it is easier to make mahi māori. Where assimilation

was once the only option as Māori, our tupuna have continued to struggle so that hapū can move through to resistance, and some are able to occupy spaces to thrive as Māori. Kaupapa Māori supports this movement by requiring the development of critical consciousness, recognition of oppression and power, resistance of racism, development of our own theories and practice models from a centre of mana motuhake.

The Māori universe is huge and must not be limited by the colonial imagination of it. A frequent and unwelcome aspect of being Māori in this profession are the requests for sharing or performing Māori culture and providing cultural approval for projects and research. Sharing mātauranga in order to fill - performatively or otherwise - a non-Māori perceived cultural knowledge gap must be carefully considered. Indigenous and cultural knowledge gets distorted in the hands of Western society who see 'having' knowledge as 'having' value as opposed to sharing and expressing knowledge humbly struggled for.

Thus, it is important to interrogate non-Māori about how colonialism, antiracism, Māori communities, and Māori desires and aspirations are viewed and understood before sharing mātauranga. In related moves, 'brown rubber stamping' of colonial projects or filling of 'the Māori seat' in governance spaces, have not evidenced any substantial gains to Māori communities and conversely, have done real harm. We must not offer our mātauranga to those who have more desire to be seen to 'have' it, than engage in antiracist praxis. With regards this theory and model, if one is not Māori or Indigenous, they will only make sense if there are very close and meaningful relationships with Māori communities. "Our overall goal is to contribute to uplifting the health of our people..." (Moewaka Barnes, 2001, p. 3) which requires centring their needs above all else.

“If I bring reverence to my writing, people will feel it”

This study has explored mahi as a contiguous platform for the expression of intentions, words, and theories that literally conveys light and energy. Furthermore, decoloniality is understood as a praxis of making Māori māori. This research supports the work of Indigenous communities led by our own knowledges who are already humanising spaces as experts in our own lives. However, to get to this space, we have needed to perceive, confront and examine coloniality and inner oppressions, and finally choose our decoloniality. Often reeducation of hapū and national histories are necessary while learning how to recognise colonial distractions of inadequate theories, power over tactics and gaslighting.

BIPOC colleagues are turning from colonial institutions to build global antiracist community, disrupting status quo publication spaces and examining the examiner. Having observed how occupation is the means by which coloniality is done through dismantling occupation, imposing occupation and mis-occupation, the overall goal of coloniality is gleaned: control through severance of relationships and connections. We know that racist targeting across the profession occurs because it is allowed to, and because civility is obscene. Yet, these acts bring into focus the domestic and international colleagues that can and have understood decoloniality, and who are now walking in step as an antiracist decolonial community. Many have offered love and support for Māori occupational therapists in ways that beneficiaries of colonisation in this country were taught not to.

Through the struggle and deliberate centring of Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies, we recognise that the tools for decoloniality are already accessible, ever present, and potent. Thoughtful and responsive recentering of mahi into everyday life is a decolonial healing modality that can be role-modeled and shared with whānau and

communities. Eschewing colonial framings of everyday acts makes space for the privileging of our humanity and freedom; a praxis of resistance and peace that might also guide beneficiaries of colonialism back to theirs.

Tangihia te tangi, Riria te riri, Mamaetia te mamae, Tāpaetia te rongo.

*Grieve for that which needs to be grieved, be angry at that which deserves anger,
feel hurt from that which hurts, then cover all with peace.*

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APPENDIX A – CJOT Golden Quill Award



Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists
Association canadienne des ergothérapeutes

March 7, 2023

Isla Emery-Whittington
Via email: isla@whittington.nz

RE: 2023 GOLDEN QUILL AWARD

Dear Isla,

It gives me great pleasure to send my heartfelt congratulations to you as the recipients of the 2023 Golden Quill Award for the Manuscript titled: “*Occupational Justice—Colonial Business as Usual?*”. As the most deserving recipient for this honour, the CAOT Board of Directors is very pleased to bestow upon you this accolade.

As the recipients of the 2023 CAOT Golden Quill Award, you will receive:

- An invitation to the Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists Awards Ceremony;
- An award of recognition presented at the Awards Ceremony of the Annual Conference;
- Name and profile published in *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy* and on the website.

The presentation of this award will take place at the CAOT Awards Ceremony on Friday, May 12, 2023 and at the Annual General Meeting taking place on March 20, 2023.

We kindly request that you please refrain from sharing this information until the public announcement is made.

Please contact Maegan Piltzmaker by March 31, 2023 as to how you would like your name to appear on the award. As well, please confirm your attendance at the Awards Ceremony in Saskatoon. Because the stage at the awards ceremony has some stairs, if you require a ramp or any other accessibility requests to attend, please let Maegan know that as well. You can reach her at (800) 434-2268, extension 247 or via e-mail at mpiltzmaker@caot.ca.

Congratulations on being the recipients of a Golden Quill Award and I look forward to seeing you in Saskatoon.

With kind regards,

Phillip Wendt, BScOT, MScOT, OTReg (Ont), OTR
President of the CAOT Board of Directors

cc Lisa Diamond-Burchuk, Chair, Awards Committee
Josée Séguin, Director of Knowledge Translation Programs
Brenda Vrkljan, Chair, Golden Quill Nomination Committee

APPENDIX B – Statements of Contribution

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Isla Emery-Whittington
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Helen Moewaka Barnes
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	Chapter 3
<p>Please select one of the following three options:</p> <p><input checked="" type="radio"/> The manuscript/published work is published or in press</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please provide the full reference of the Research Output: Emery-Whittington. I. (in press). Decoloniality in practice: preparation and readiness. In M. Curtin, M. Egan, D.C. Da Cruz, R. Galvaan, T. Parnell, Y. Prior & K. Sauvé-Schenk (Eds.). Occupational Therapy and People Experiencing Illness, Injury or Impairment (OTPEIII) 8th Edition. Elsevier <p><input type="radio"/> The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The name of the journal: • The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 100 • Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work: <p><input type="radio"/> It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal</p>	
Candidate's Signature:	
Date:	30 May 2023
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	
Date:	28-Aug-2023

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STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Isla Emery-Whittington
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Helen Moewaka Barnes
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	Chapter 6
Please select one of the following three options:	
<input checked="" type="radio"/> The manuscript/published work is published or in press <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please provide the full reference of the Research Output: Emery-Whittington, I. G. (2021). Occupational Justice—Colonial Business as Usual? Indigenous Observations from Aotearoa New Zealand. <i>Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy</i>, 88(2), 153-162. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F00084174211005891 	
<input type="radio"/> The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The name of the journal: • The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 100.00 • Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work: 	
<input type="radio"/> It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal	
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Name of candidate:	Isla Emery-Whittington
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Helen Moewaka Barnes
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	Chapter 8
Please select one of the following three options:	
<input checked="" type="radio"/> The manuscript/published work is published or in press <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please provide the full reference of the Research Output: Emery-Whittington. I. (in press). Decoloniality in action: A Kaupapa Māori occupational analysis of colonization. In S. Baptiste, & S. Shann (Eds.) International Handbook of Occupational Therapy, Taylor and Francis. 	
<input type="radio"/> The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The name of the journal: • The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 100.00 • Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work: 	
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Name of candidate:	Isla Emery-Whittington
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Helen Moewaka Barnes
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	Chapter 10
<p>Please select one of the following three options:</p> <p><input checked="" type="radio"/> The manuscript/published work is published or in press</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please provide the full reference of the Research Output: Emery-Whittington, I. & Davis, G. (in press). Rapua te kurahuna: An occupational perspective of internalised oppression. AlterNative <p><input type="radio"/> The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The name of the journal: • The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 90.00 • Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work: Lead author. Co-author contributed one narrative, reviewed every version and provided timely feedback. <p><input type="radio"/> It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal</p>	
Candidate's Signature:	
Date:	30 May 2023
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	
Date:	28/08/2023

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STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

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Name of candidate:	Isla Emery-Whittington
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Helen Moewaka Barnes
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	Chapter 11
Please select one of the following three options:	
<input checked="" type="radio"/> The manuscript/published work is published or in press <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please provide the full reference of the Research Output: Emery-Whittington, I., Leite Junior, J. & Ivlev, S. (2023). Antiracism as means and ends. In M. Ahmed-Landeryou (Ed.) <i>Antiracist Occupational Therapy: Unsettling the status quo</i>. Jessica Kingsley Publishers. 	
<input type="radio"/> The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The name of the journal: • The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 34.00 • Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work: I was the lead author and in terms of the final version, and believe that the majority of the words were crafted by me. However, my colleagues were working on the chapter for a year before they asked me to contribute. Despite substantially reworking the chapter one of the coauthors want their early contributions to be reflected in this number. They would like the attribution to reflect overall effort for the entire project i.e. a third each way as opposed to number of words in the final version. 	
<input type="radio"/> It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal	
Candidate's Signature:	
Date:	30 May 2023
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	
Date:	28-August-2023

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...Whakataka te hau ki te muri

Whakataka te hau ki te tonga

Kia mākinakina ki uta, kia mātaratara ki tai

E hī ake ana te atākura

He tio, he huka, he hau hū

Tīhei Mauri Ora!