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Mai i te Kāhui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana: Māori social workers' experiences of growing up, the influence of whānau on their upbringing, and how these experiences impact their social work practice

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Karakia Timatanga

Whakataka te hau ki te uru
Whakataka te hau ki te tonga
Kia mākinakina ki uta
Kia mātaratara ki tai
E hī ake ana te atakura
He tio he huka he hau hū
Tihei Mauri ora!



(Photograph of Taranaki Mounga taken by author on 23 July 2022)

Tuhinga Whakarāpopoto/Abstract

Ko rātou ngā toka tū moana. Ka ākina rātou e ngā ngaru o te moana. Ka ākina e te tai, ka ākina e ngā hau. Engari ahakoa pēhea ka tū tonu, ka tū tonu.

They are the rocks standing in the sea. They are bashed by the waves of the ocean. They are dashed by the tide. They are struck by the winds. But no matter what hits them, they stand and they stand”

(Ngā Tuara, 1992, p. 56)

Kaimahi (Māori social workers) are like toka tūmoana – sometimes standing steadfast in a sea of chaos and uncertainty when working alongside whānau on change journeys. This thesis examines kaimahi growing up experiences, the influence of whānau on their upbringing, and how these experiences impact on their mahi as social work practitioners. Also discussed is kaimahi social work education and tertiary qualification journeys, noting the specific impact of whānau during that period.

This qualitative research project utilised Kaupapa Māori theory, incorporating a Mātauranga-ā-Taranaki methodological approach. This made sense given that the researcher is a uri o Taranaki – a proud descendent of Taranaki! Sixteen kaimahi were interviewed kanohi ki te kanohi utilising semi-structured interviews. The study also captured the voices of whānau members of kaimahi that involved six whānau hui - four of which were conducted kanohi ki te kanohi with two utilising Zoom© technology. Eleven individual whānau members were also interviewed. The pūrākau of Pukeonaki ki Taranaki was utilised to assist in the interpretation of kaimahi experiences resulting in the construction of an overarching *Te Kāhui Mounga ki Te Toka Tūmoana* framework. An extension of this Mounga pūrākau structure is given and referred to as *Ngā hau o te Mounga framework*, assisting in the organisation of the data.

Two streams of participants emerged from this research – the Whānau Mouri Ora cohort who grew up in loving, safe home environments surrounded by protective adults, often with a strong foundation of te reo Māori and tikanga and the second stream - Whānau Mouri Noho, who grew up in challenge, adversity, and unsafe home environments. Overall, the thesis makes theoretical, methodological, and substantive contributions to the Māori social work literature.

Key findings identified that kaimahi bring their lived experiences to social work. The Whānau Mouri Ora group viewed whānau as a social structure of safety and protection for children. These kaimahi bring a solid foundation of whānau, hapū and iwi support, as well as knowledge of tikanga, te ao and te reo Māori, to their practice. The Whānau Mouri Noho group emphasised that kaimahi were able to foster resilience that enabled them to not only survive trauma, but to flourish. These kaimahi bring their lived experience to social work which enables them to connect with marginalised whānau they work alongside. Theoretical understandings about becoming within te ao Māori illustrate how social work practice is always evolving with no finite end. Kaimahi need to connect to their Māori identity during social work training because the mahi of social work often involves reconnecting disengaged, marginalised whānau to their culture. The research also captured the voices of the whānau of kaimahi who were positive about having social work trained whānau members, often accessing them for their specialist knowledge, skillset, networks and resources.

Participants identified that Māori have always been social workers practicing kaimahi ā whānau within whānau, hapū and iwi. It is subsequently argued that contemporary Māori social work practice can be traced to the Parihaka peace resistance movement, as the first documented form of Māori social and community work in Aotearoa. He Whāriki Haumaruru model, developed within this thesis, illustrates how natural social work happens within whānau Māori with the threads of aroha (loving relationships), mokopuna ora, ngā mātāpono ā whānau (whānau values and beliefs), te taiao, hāpaitia (whānau happiness, unity, and connection), pou manawa (resources and resilience) kōrero (clear communication), and moemoeā (whānau aspirations) included. Kaimahi ā whānau networks have always operationalised these Māori-centric value systems to encourage oranga-ā-whānau – flourishing families. Additionally, it is identified that the professionalisation of social work has the potential to inhibit kaimahi ā whānau in Māori communities therefore it is imperative that registered social workers continue to support and develop relationships alongside these networks in order to achieve oranga-ā-whānau – flourishing families.

Te Oha/Dedication

Ki tōku ūkaipō waiwaiā, Judith Anne Watson.

Ko koe tōku pou, tōku awhi rito, tōku ngākau, tōku toka tūmoana, te wahine āniwaniwa o te ao marama! Nei rā, he whakaihi nāku tēnei tuhinga whakapae ki a koe. E kore au e mimiti te aroha mōu...

This thesis is dedicated to my beautiful mother – Judith Anne Watson, the pou of the whānau, my awhi rito, my heart, my toka tūmoana, the rainbow lady. My mother passed away in June 2020, whilst I was on this PhD journey, and I know that she will be so proud of this work and the journey I have walked to get here. She was my biggest cheerleader in life and would often tell all who would listen of what I was doing. I will always miss you Mum but know you are with me at all times. My love for you is endless.

I also want to acknowledge two others who were pivotal on this journey alongside me and have now passed beyond the veil. Ihaka Noble, Pāpā Bam, who was my tungāne, my whānau, my pūkenga and cultural consultant for this thesis up to the time of his passing. Bam, I have much love and appreciation for your wonderful whakaaro, kōrero and pūkenga regarding our mounga tupuna and reminding me always that I am Te Āti Awa nō runga i te rangi. You are greatly missed in this world Bam! *Ngā mihi aroha ki a koe Bam!*

Matua Dr Michael Dale had been my external supervisor when I was in social work practice, then became my colleague and friend when I joined the School of Social Work at Massey University in 2015. He was a supervisor for my Master of Social Work thesis and also travelled this PhD journey alongside the team until his retirement in 2022. Michael passed away in November 2023. Michael - you too are missed in this world – your presence, your humour and your laughter, and your roundedness. Many thanks for teaching me to see different perspectives and growing my thinking and knowledge in new and different ways. *Ngā mihi aroha ki a koe Dr D.!*

My mother wrote a song and we often, as a whānau, sing this song at significant whānau events. It is a message from our mother to us and the words are encapsulated here:

Earth, water, fire, and air. Within me all things are there.

Flesh on my bones is like the earth – soft and strong and full of worth.

The blood that runs within my veins is like the oceans, rivers, and rains.

My spirit flies higher and higher, this is where I keep my fire.

My thoughts and breath are like the air, I can do anything, I can go anywhere.

Earth, water, fire, and air. Within me all things are there.

And so, I pledge unto my self – love, power, health, and wealth!

Earth, water, fire, and air. Within me all things are there.

(Judith Anne Watson)



He Kupu Mihi/Acknowledgement

This thesis took me six years to complete and so much life happens in six years, sometimes planned, often not, and it has been a fluctuating time of highs and lows – including birth of mokopuna and passing of loved ones. Also, during this time, the Covid pandemic hit the world and we had to learn new ways of connecting and working whilst being physically isolated from the outside world. Studying and writing a thesis in such a time was a novel experience and presented new challenges.

There are many to acknowledge for providing support on this journey. First and foremost, Atua, my tūpuna and my whānau. Atua and tūpuna guide me in all aspects of life, sometimes this is challenging as I wonder why I am where you have put me but then trust that I am in the right place at the right time. My whānau provide me with unconditional love and support, and honest critique, and I appreciate you all for being who you are and helping me to be who I am in the world.

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Kia piki te ora, te kaha, te māramatanga!

May you have good health, strength, and enlightenment!

(Dr Te Huirangi Waikerepuru)

(Opai et al., 2022, p. 47).

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Whakataukī

Tū ke Tongariro	Tongariro stands apart
Motu ke Taranaki	Separated off is Taranaki
He riri ki a Pihanga	By the strife over Pihanga
Waiho i muri nei	Leaving in after times
Te uri ko āu – e!	It's descendent in me!

(Smith, 1910, p. 32)

This whakataukī enables the researcher to locate herself through pūrakau as being a descendent of Taranaki Mounga.

Ko wai te tangata e tū nei?

Ko wai ahau? Ko te wai ahau, ko te hau ahau e.

Who am I? I am a descendant of my tūpuna. I am the water; I am the wind.

(Keri Opai in Opai et al., 2022, p. 91).

Ki te taha o tōku koro
Ko Taranaki te mounga
Ko Waitara te awa
Ko Owae Whaitara te pā
Ko Tokomaru te waka
Ko Te Āti Awa nō runga i te rangi te iwi tūturu
Ko Te Āti Awa nui tonu te iwi matua
Ki te taha o tōku kuia
Ko Taranaki te mounga
Ko Matenehunuhu te awa
Ko Kurahaupo te waka
Ko Taranaki te iwi
Ko Ngā Mahanga te hapū
Ko Tarawainuku te marae

Ko Paora te ingoa whānau
Nō Aerani te whenua o tōku māmā
I tipu ake āu i Waiouru me Manawatū
Kei Te Papaioea āu e noho ana
Ko Andrea (Ange) Makere Watson āu

Saying/quote

This walk began before I was a seed.

(Halfe, 2004, p1)

He Pūrākau

Taranaki was formerly known as Pukeonaki and Pukehaupapa and stood in the area around Lake Rotoaira near Tūrangi, with Ruapehu, Tongariro, and Pihanga. Pukeonaki and Tongariro both loved Pihanga and fought over her. Following the conflict Pukeonaki, bearing the scars of battle, withdrew underground and down the Whanganui River valley. Led by his companions Te Ra-uhiuhi, Wheoi and the guide stone Rauhoto they entered the sea. When Taranaki surfaced, he saw Pouakai Mountain inland. Pukeonaki then followed Rauhoto up the Hangatahua River and resurfaced beside Pouakai. Rauhoto continued her flight on the North-eastern side of Pouakai where she then turned westward at the gap between Pouakai and Kaitake. Her flight path went through the sweeping saddle between Kaitake and Pouakai and ended near the mouth of the Hangatahua River by the sea. Pukeonaki remained there with Pouakai and their offspring became the trees, plants, birds, and rivers that flow from their slopes.

(Te Āti Awa, 2021)

Wāhanga Tuatahi: Introduction

*E rere kau mai te awa nui nei
Mai i te kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa
Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au*
The river flows from the mountains to the sea
I am the river and the river is me

(Young, n.d.)

The title of this thesis is *Mai i te Kāhui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana*. The name is very apt because the whakataukī above is from Whanganui iwi and names the Kāhui Mouna – a cluster of mountains in the central North Island that includes Ruapehu, Tongariro, Ngāuruhoe, Pihanga and of course, Pukeonaki (now named Taranaki) mouna, which according to Māori pūrākau, was once part of this whānau (or kāhui) of mouna. The above pūrākau enlightens the fate of Pukeonaki. The whakataukī is also relevant because in Taranaki Tūturu whakapapa, the Kāhui Mouna also refers to the earliest inhabitants of the Taranaki region who were believed to reside in the area prior to the coming of Te Hekenga - the great fleet of waka (Hohaia, 2001). The whakataukī then outlines and defines “ki Tangaroa”, whereas the title of the thesis states “ki Te Toka Tūmoana”. So literally the whakataukī denotes a journey from the cluster of mouna in the Central North Island to Tangaroa (the god of the Sea) and again this is relevant as for coastal iwi Tangaroa plays a significant part in their traditions and worldview (Smith, 2001). I have utilised the term *Te Toka Tūmoana* within the title because this research is about Māori social workers (kaimahi) and within the world of social work, not only can kaimahi be viewed as rocks standing strongly steadfast in a sea of chaos and uncertainty, it also acknowledges the Oranga Tamariki Indigenous and Bicultural principled framework for working alongside Māori whānau known as *Te Toka Tūmoana* (Oranga Tamariki, n.d.).

A personal journey

Originally this thesis was going to focus exclusively on whānau healing. This was because in my generation, some of our whānau have dedicated our efforts to changing past patterns that do not serve us well as we want to propel our own whānau healing journey forward. Cavino (2016) notes that “Research is a whānau restoration tool we have been using for several years ... [and] can be a tool for healing” (p. 9). Hence, it

has always been my hope and aspiration to move our whānau forward, from unhealthy, negative, abusive patterns, to healthy, positive, and enhancing ways of being and doing, as well as being part of a process of moving with my own whānau, from a place of mauri noho to mauri ora (Mooney et al., 2019), or from patu ngākau to oranga ngākau (Cameron et al., 2020). For these reasons, I was motivated to focus on whānau well-being and healing and this also underpinned my motivation to become involved in professional social work in the first place. However, when considering my master's research on kaimahi who had experienced tukia (collision) of their personal, professional, and cultural worlds, I realised that many kaimahi, had grown up in challenging and adverse times within their own whānau. Yet, they had somehow worked through those hardships, and managed to take themselves on a professional training journey to become successful practitioners of social work.

My own experience of social work training highlighted how supportive tertiary study was for me during my own healing journey as I had to unpack and critically reflect on who I was, where I came from, and what values, beliefs, and worldviews I held, and then literally put myself back together again. This process also led to an unpacking of my identity in the context of my own whānau and played a major role in helping me to set new directions for both myself and my whānau. Overall, it was an incredibly healing experience as I learned new ways of managing life and have been sharing this knowledge with my whānau - we are slowly evolving. Similarly, Cavino (2016) states, “[Research] work is motivated by a desire to end cycles of abuse and by an understanding that this is not possible without a thorough and complete accounting of the root causes and contexts under which such abuse is able to manifest and flourish” (p. 10). Cavino's quote is helpful as it invokes connotations related to British rule and colonisation. Here, my whānau, like other whānau, have lived through the colonisation experience and the unhealthy cycles that have eventuated due to the disconnection between Māori people and their land and cultural practices. The journey of social work training started our whānau journey of finding alternative ways to live our lives, and this journey into research has allowed the process of healing to further unfold. Cavino (2016) summarises this succinctly, stating, “What we are finding as a whānau is that the process of ‘doing a research project’ is one way to actually start having the conversations that lead to healing” (p. 10). Therefore, for my whānau, this research

journey is so much more than an academic exercise – it is a pathway to *oranga-ā-whānau* and flourishing.

Creating a space for reconciliation and healing through space and time

In 2016, my father, who was living in Australia at the time, was diagnosed with cancer and decided he wanted to come back to Aotearoa for his last months. One of my older sisters went to Australia and helped settle things there for him and assisted him with his move back home. I had an estranged relationship with my father. For me, the prominent story of my father was that he had been an aggrieved man who did things in anger, and that anger was also evident in his male line (*te taha tāne*) – I saw it in my Koro and my uncles, and I could see it in my brothers. Violence also seemed to be a dominant feature of my father's life. When my father came home to Aotearoa to live out his last ten months, our whānau underwent a healing journey – cancer had changed him. He apologised for all the violence and anger of the past, and he shared some of his own stories of growing up, which gave me more insight into what life had been like for him. A new alternative narrative was being rewritten into this space – and in this, reconciliation and healing occurred, making it possible to come back to love.

Love had always been there, even when I had stated I felt hate towards my father, and we were able to journey back to love. That journey was achieved through a process of creating spaces to be in relationship through *mokopuna* (my two *mokopuna* at that time), through *tamariki* (my daughters), and through my ex-husband and my sons-in-law. Creating spaces in relationships also allowed Dad to be in a relationship with the people who I loved and were closest to me. In turn, this allowed me to see Dad differently. I watched how he engaged with the people I loved the most in the world and I saw he was a changed person – he was the koro and great koro that I had wanted him to be, and he was also becoming the father I had always wanted when growing up. Additionally, there was an opportunity to create a healing space that allowed us to be in a different relationship through music. You see, my dad had been a singer back in the day and sung in bands. In fact, there was a whānau story that had been told to me as a child about a lost opportunity for Dad to join the Māori High Fives.

When my father was becoming more bed-bound by the illness, I started playing the old sounds for him on my cell phone – John Rowles, Elvis, Howard Morrison Quartet – he would lie on his bed singing along with the songs, then drift off to sleep, and then wake

up and start singing again. I sang with him at times. It was a way that we were able to reconnect through our shared love of music. These were all opportunities that allowed me to see Dad differently. Even with his illness, he was always mentally sharp, and he was frequently asking us to buy little notebooks that he could take notes on. Within his writings were general trivia exercises such as countries and capital cities, army battle strategies (he had been a soldier in the New Zealand Army), and words to mantras. We would often find him furiously writing in these notebooks and these exercises helped to keep his mind sharp.

There was one particular day where I had plucked up enough courage to talk to him about how it was for me growing up, and just having the opportunity to voice to him what it was like, was healing in itself. This kōrero also allowed me to forgive my father, which released a whole lot of negativity and emotion that had sat with me for a long time. We were able to shed tears together for what did not happen and lost opportunities (e.g., not attending my wedding because I never invited him). Overall, this healing journey allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of how life was for my father. He shared stories of the social welfare people coming to take him and his brothers away (we would say uplift) and he would run away and not come home, and it was because of this that he believed he had become a fast runner. He told other stories of how his father would try to make him sing to his friends, but Dad did not always want to, so he would run away. Creating a space for healing in my relationship with my Dad as his health started to decline, allowed me to see him differently and gave me insight into how difficult life had been for him as a child. He spent his life running away from social workers (social welfare people) and then his own daughter (me) ends up becoming a social worker – it seems so ironic! Hence, my PhD research was always going to be about whānau healing because I had experienced the transformational impact of reconciliation and healing within my own whānau.

My focus shifted from my whānau healing to looking at the journey of kaimahi – their experiences growing up and how this impacted on their practice as social workers. In changing the focus to kaimahi and their whānau, I realised that my own transformational healing journey within whānau may or may not be reflected in other social workers' experiences of growing up, overcoming adversity, and utilising this knowledge and experience to navigate other whānau successfully and effectively on a

similar journey. Therefore, in essence, this thesis is still ultimately about whānau healing but within the context of Māori social workers' and their own whānau.

Terms utilised in this research

Two terms that are utilised throughout this research are listed below to help the reader understand the writer's perspective and intent regarding the content and context of the study. Please note that kupu Māori are utilised often throughout this thesis and the decision has been made not to provide a glossary for translating these. The rationale for this is that Te Reo Māori is an official language and online Māori dictionaries are freely available if assistance is required.

Kaimahi – Kaimahi is the term used to describe Māori social workers in this research.

Mounga – is a Taranaki iwi dialectal variation of the kupu 'maunga' which is often translated as mountain.

The impact of colonisation on whānau

“Our reo is damaged, our customs, our beliefs, our traditions, our attitude – all of this has been hurt. Of course, we will fight ourselves. It will be very, very disruptive as we try and heal and cure ourselves. I believe all Indigenous people; all iwi of Aotearoa are in a state of recovery. They are waiting to mend themselves. There is no manual to help you do this”

(Tamati Kruger, 23 November 2017).

Kruger refers to the impact of colonisation on Māori and claims that iwi Māori are at a place of wanting to mend, cure and heal themselves. Social work as a profession, and Māori social workers in particular, should be able to help and support people on a road to recovery of mending, curing, and healing whānau Māori. Moreover, kaimahi have come into the profession of social work for many reasons, often due to their experiences growing up and wanting to be part of a journey that effects change for others. However, kaimahi have their own experiences of whānau, and this can consolidate, assist, and impact on their relationships with the individuals and whānau they work alongside.

This research utilises a qualitative Kaupapa Māori approach to investigate kaimahi experiences of whānau and how this influences their practice as social workers. The research will also focus on the whānau of kaimahi and how, as a whānau, they navigate

complexities as well as challenges and adversity. In particular, the research explores the impact of having social work trained people within whānau. An element of the research also captures kaimahi well-being and the well-being of whānau. Here, it is the hope that this research will assist kaimahi in being strong, resilient workers with others, and assist whānau in being self-determining and self-healing on their road to recovery through healing.

Social work is a field where Māori are over-represented as clients and users of services; social workers are encouraged to reflect upon and bring their own experiences into the profession of social work. However, some social workers may have faced challenge and adversity in the past which has either helped or hindered their relationships with colleagues as well as their professional practice with clients. Similarly, English et al. (2011) found that, “Māori are over-represented in the low socio-economic strata of society. The kaimahi themselves reflect this reality” (p. 20). This raises the notion that many kaimahi have shared similar experiences to the clients they work alongside and possess the potential to utilise their own lived experiences to work in an effective way with whānau (Watson, 2017).

This thesis is about kaimahi and their whānau. Māori social workers are part of a whānau collective and cannot be considered in isolation from their whānau. Moreover, past research has shown that “Gathering whānau stories using a whānau-centred research approach is an information source that enables whānau to directly contribute information, insights and solutions to the continued development of evidence-based whānau centred initiatives and service provision towards whānau ora” (Eruera et al., 2013, p. 13). In addition, incorporating whānau voices within this research enables further exploration of what having a social work trained whānau member is like for whānau.

Whānau Māori have journeyed through challenge and adversity in Aotearoa, from the impact of colonisation, assimilation, amalgamation, land alienation, urbanisation, and the introduction of the nuclear family structure (Isaac-Sharland, 2012; Kenney, 2011), to historical and intergenerational trauma (Borrell, et al., 2018; Cameron et al., 2020; Duran & Duran, 1995). Despite this, whānau have strengths and resilience, even when faced with adversity. In fact, the journey of adversity can grow strength and resilience (Saleebey 1997, 2002), as trauma and abuse “may be injurious but they may also be

sources of challenge and opportunity” (2002, p. 14). This strengths and resilience thinking aligns to the literature on post-traumatic growth, which determines that although trauma can be distressing, and people can be changed through confronting difficulties, it can also transform into an opportunity for development (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995; Van Slyke, 2015; Zoellner & Maercker, 2006).

Mokuau and Mataira (2013) affirm that for Māori, “cultural identity is linked inextricably to psychological well-being and a sense of self-worth ... Māori peoples have drawn upon cultural strengths to deal with past challenges” (p. 149). They elaborate further, stating that “building cultural strengths and resilience might be seen as a decolonising approach to counteract the worst vestiges of historical trauma” (p. 152). Here, the idea that whānau have cultural strength and resilience is seen as a decolonising approach that assists with progressing whānau from being ‘broken’ and ‘dysfunctional’ (or in a state of Mouri Noho), to being self-healing, functional and thriving (or in a state of Mouri Ora). This research study is about moving whānau on a road to recovery that facilitates mending, curing, and healing (Kruger, 2017).

Research aims, research question and rationale

The aim of this study is to explore the influence that whānau has on kaimahi; it examines kaimahi in the context of their own whānau and how these experiences are carried into their social work training and practice. The research also considers the whānau perspective through exploring and investigating whānau views on social work, whānau wellness, and overcoming and managing challenge and adversity.

The research question asks:

- How do Māori social workers’ experiences of their own whānau influence their social work practice alongside other whānau?

There are four key objectives developed to assist in answering the main research question. These are:

- 1) Explore and document Māori social workers experiences of growing up in their whānau.

- 2) Enable kaimahi to reflect on their social work training journey and the Training Education Institutions (TEIs) they trained at, as well as the influence whānau had on their training journey.
- 3) Document kaimahi lived experiences of connecting their own whānau experiences to their social work practice.
- 4) Include whānau perspectives of social work, whānau wellbeing and overcoming and managing challenge and adversity.

This study explored the roles that kaimahi held in their whānau growing up, as well as the roles they hold now as pakeke. It also looks at the challenges and adversity that kaimahi and their whānau have experienced, and how they have been managed and/or overcome. Moreover, this study sought to explore perspectives of whānau wellness among kaimahi and their whānau.

Methodology

This study utilises Kaupapa Māori theory, and draws on Mātauranga Māori, alongside Mātauranga-a-iwi and the use of pūrākau as the foundation and framework. Mātauranga Māori gives efficacy to utilise pūrākau and Taranakitanga (Taranaki specific knowledge) within this thesis to reconnect with tūpuna (ancestral) ways of knowing and being, particularly through pūrākau and whakataukī. The utilisation of Taranakitanga in this research, is rationalised first because the researcher is a uri o Taranaki, but more importantly this research argues that the pioneers of Māori social work in Aotearoa was birthed with the Parihaka resistance movement and the peace teachings of Te Whiti o Rongomai and his uncle Tohu Kākahi. Pūrākau is utilised as methodology to connect the research to our Māori worldview, with a particular focus on *Te Kāhui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana* as the framework for this study. This pūrākau has been separated into four underlying themes for the research framework that reflect the journey of Pukeonaki becoming Taranaki (see the pūrākau at the beginning of this thesis).

Te Kāhui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana framework outlines four phases:

1. Te Kāhui Mouna - Pukeonaki growing up in Te Kāhui Mouna.
2. Te tohi – the conflict experienced by Pukeonaki that lead to his departure from Te Kāhui Mouna.

3. Te haerenga o te awa - depicts the journey of Pukeonaki to the west coast.
4. Te Toka Tūmoana - Becoming Taranaki — Pukeonaki settles in the west and becomes Taranaki.

These four phases of the framework are similar to the kaimahi journeys of growing up in whānau (Te Kāhui Mounga), perhaps experiencing challenge, conflict and/or adversity (Te tohi), then kaimahi journeys of social work training (Te haerenga o te awa) and then becoming social workers (Te Toka Tūmoana) – the actual lived practice; therefore, the data analysis/discussion chapters are structured and named into this framework.

An extension of this pūrākau framework is *Ngā Hau o te Mounga framework* and is utilised in the five data analysis sections of this thesis. This Hau framework sits well with the overall Mounga framework of this research and the pūrākau of Pukeonaki growing up in Te Kāhui Mounga, then journeying to the west (Te haerenga o te awa) and then eventually settling in Te Tai Hauāuru (Te Toka Tūmoana). The emphasis is on hau and Pukeonaki was also known as Pukehaupapa (Hohaia, 2001). Hau is the winds, the breath that comes from Tāwhirimātea, who is one of the sons of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. *Ngā hau o te Mounga* framework consists of eight components: Hau Tangata (the breath of humanity) incorporating Hau Whānau (the breath of whānau), Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono (the breath of roots, values, and beliefs), Hau Wairua (an indigenous spirituality). The breath of te tai ao is outlined and is inclusive of Hau Whenua (breath of the land), Hau Moana (breath of the sea), Hau Awa (breath of the river), and again Hau Wairua. The last hau include Ngā hau e whā (the four winds of change) which combine two tailwinds of positivity, strength, and resilience and two headwinds of challenge, adversity, conflict and tohe. *Ngā hau o te Mounga* framework is unpacked further in the Methodology chapter.

Rationale for Study

There is growing literature on Māori social work and Māori social workers in Aotearoa focusing on bicultural approaches (Eketone & Walker, 2015; Ruwhiu, 1997, 2009; Walker & Eketone, 2013), Indigenous approaches and Māori social work practice (Bradley, 1995, Eketone, 2006, 2008, 2020; Eruera, 2013; Hollis-English, 2012a, 2016; Pohatu 1996, 2003, 2004; Ruwhiu, 1995, 2018; Walsh-Tapiata, 1997; Watson, 2017, 2020); Kaitiakitanga (Beverland, 2022; Webber-Dreardon, 2020), Māori care and protection social work (Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2015, 2016; Moyle, 2013, 2014), Māori

mental health social work (Mooney, 2012; Mooney et al. 2020; Walsh-Mooney, 2009), Māori parenting (Eketone, 2012); limitations in the social work profession (Eketone, 2015); dual relationships for Māori social workers (Eketone, 2021; Watson, 2019); Kaupapa Māori social work supervision (Elkington, 2014, 2015; Eruera, 2005, 2012; Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2021; Lipsham, 2012; Walsh-Tapiata & Webster, 2004; Wallace, 2019; Ward, 2006; Webber-Dreardon, 1999, 2021), Matua Whangai (Walker, 2002), Puaotea tu (Hollis-English, 2012b; Keenan, 1995), decolonisation in social work (P. Ruwhiu, 2019: 2023) and many others. There are also Māori models of practice being developed and utilised in social work inclusive of Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985; 1998), Powhiri Poutama (Drury, 2007); Te Wheke (Pere, 1997), Pā Harakeke (Ward, 2006; Watson, 2017), The Meihana Model (Pitama et al., 2007), the Kaitiakitanga Framework (SWRB 2018), Ngā Takepū and Āta (Pohatu, 2004), and Te Toka Tūmoana (Ruwhiu & Eruera, 2016). However, there is limited research in social work, and allied professions, that considers familial influences on social workers. In order to understand the impact and influence of families on social workers, there needs to be further research that examines Māori social workers in the context of their own whānau. This study aims to address this gap and investigate how kaimahi experiences of growing up in their whānau influence and impact their social work practice. Hence, it is imperative to capture whānau perspectives in this research as there does not appear to be any previous literature that utilises this approach in social work. Moreover, this research is important as illustrating how kaimahi are influenced by their own journey of growing up while capturing a whānau worldview, may assist other whānau facing challenge and adversity.

Key Findings

The seven key findings from this research include:-

Kaimahi bring their lived experiences to social work

Two streams of participants emerged from this research – the Whānau Mouri Ora cohort who grew up in loving, safe home environments surrounded by protective adults, often with a strong foundation of te reo Māori and tikanga, and the second stream - Whānau Mouri Noho, who grew up in challenge, adversity, and unsafe home environments. The Whānau Mouri Ora group viewed whānau as a social structure of safety and protection for children. These kaimahi bring a solid foundation of whānau, hapū and iwi support,

as well as knowledge of tikanga, te ao and te reo Māori, to their practice. The Whānau Mouri Noho group emphasised that kaimahi were able to foster resilience that enabled them to not only survive trauma, but to flourish. These kaimahi bring their lived experience to social work which enables them to connect with marginalised whānau they work alongside.

Racism continues in mainstream Tertiary Education Institutions (TEI) and supports for Māori students are crucial for success

Māori social work students in mainstream TEIs continue to face adversity and challenge in that environment, particularly implicit and unconscious bias, as well as racism from their student peers. Participants identified that specific supports within TEIs made a difference for their learning journey. These supports being having access to Māori staff with strong cultural knowledge, being on Māori bursary programmes, and having culturally safe spaces and access to other Māori students.

Becoming a social worker has no finite end

Theoretical understandings about becoming within te ao Māori illustrate how social work practice is always evolving with no finite end. The traditional markers of identity for Māori were centred around whakapapa, whānau, hapū, iwi, waka and te reo Māori however due to colonisation, marginalisation and urbanisation, Māori have often become disconnected from being Māori. This disconnection can also be the case for kaimahi training to be social workers. Kaimahi talked about connecting to their Māori identity during social work training because the mahi of social work often involves reconnecting disengaged, marginalised whānau to their culture.

Mainstream organisations need to support kaimahi Māori

Participants described the strategies that they used to relax and prevent brownface burnout (Hollis-English, 2012a, 2016; Moyle, 2014), a term utilised when Māori social workers are overworked by the cultural expectations and supplementary responsibilities placed on them within mainstream organisations because they are Māori. Kaimahi identified self-care strategies of connecting to te taiao, gardening and physical activities. Participants also identified that organisations need to create and provide supportive environments for kaimahi Māori through access and funding of appropriate supervision, and providing opportunities for and encouraging self-care strategies.

Whānau views of social work are positive

Whānau of kaimahi view having social workers in whānau positively and often access kaimahi for their specialist knowledge, skillset and ability to access resources. This research concurs with Staniforth et al. (2022) who highlighted that the public needs to be educated about social work and this needs to be led out by professional bodies and social workers themselves.

Māori have always been social workers and practiced kaimahi ā whānau

This research presents the argument that Māori people have always been social workers and practiced kaimahi ā whānau because of embedded natural practices such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga and the traditional systems of whānau support. Another key argument from this research identifies that the Parihaka peace resistance movement was an exemplar of the earliest social justice movement in Aotearoa and the first documented framework and model of Māori social and community work. The professionalisation of social work may inhibit kaimahi ā whānau in Māori communities therefore it is imperative that registered social workers do not replace or disrupt kaimahi ā whānau networks but continue to develop relationships with them to achieve oranga ā whānau.

He Whāriki Haumarū operationalises oranga ā whānau

Oranga ā whānau is about whānau wellness and wellbeing and He Whāriki Haumarū model will be introduced with the key threads of aroha (loving relationships), mokopuna ora, ngā mātāpono ā whānau (whānau values and beliefs), te taiao, hāpaitia (whānau happiness, unity, and connection), pou manawa (resources and resilience), kōrero (clear communication), and moemoeā (whānau aspirations). In Māori communities kaimahi ā whānau networks have operationalised these threads as ways of working alongside whānau, hapū and iwi to encourage oranga ā whānau. The knowledge that this whāriki exists is enough to propel whānau into wanting and doing more, safe in the knowledge that the whāriki will be there to support them if they fall.

Chapter Outlines

Wāhanga Tuatahi introduces the topic of how kaimahi growing up in whānau and their life experiences impact on their social work practice. The context of the research question and the research aim, and objectives are contemplated, alongside an overview of the research. A personal connection to the research is contemplated via creating

space for reconciliation and healing through time and space, with an emphasis on whānau healing. The impact of colonisation on whānau was pondered and the rationale for this study further outlined. The framework of analysis, *Te Kāhui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana*, is introduced in this section, alongside *Ngā Hau o te Mouna framework* which will structure the five data analysis chapters.

Wāhanga Tuarua discusses literature related to this research. This chapter is sectioned into four topics incorporating literature on the concept of whānau; inclusive of traditional whānau Māori, the impact of the colonisation process on whānau and the detrimental consequences of violence, abuse and neglect, childhood adversity, state care and children being abused in state care in Aotearoa. The second section discusses Māori whānau wellbeing focusing on resilience, protective factors, whānau ora, post-traumatic growth, and the strengths perspective. Section three embodies literature on Māori social work, Māori social workers and challenges that kaimahi face. The last section summarises international and Indigenous social work literature.

Wāhanga Tuatoru presents the reasoning and framework of the methodology of this research which is located within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm and utilises Mātauranga Māori knowledge, underpinned with pūrākau methodology. Mātauranga Māori underpins the utilisation of the pūrākau and Taranakitanga (Taranaki specific knowledge) within this thesis as a way to reconnect to tūpuna (ancestral) ways of knowing and being, particularly through pūrākau and whakataukī.

Wāhanga Tuawhā considers the methods utilised for this research and further delineates the pūrākau framework *Te Kahui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana*. Ethical concerns, participant selection processes, procedures for analysis inclusive of coding, classifying, and assembling kaimahi and whānau pūrākau into coherent themes are discussed here. Researcher positioning and justification for an interpretive and subjective approach to the research is explored. The pūrākau framework, *Te Kāhui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana*, is a tool and framework that is comprised of four sections 1) *Te Kāhui Mouna*, which considers kaimahi growing up and life experiences, 2) *Te haerenga o te awa*, which traverses the kaimahi social work training journey, and healing, 3) *Te toka tūmoana*, becoming a social worker, and 4) *Te tohe*, which considers conflict and challenge in whānau. Also outlined in this section is *Ngā Hau o te Mouna Framework*, which is utilised in the five data analysis chapters.

Wāhanga Tuarima and Wāhanga Tuaono are the two Te Kāhui Mouna chapters. These chapters consider the kaimahi experiences of growing up in their whānau with two streams of participants identified in this research, whānau mouri ora and whānau mouri noho. Wāhanga Tuarima is titled *Te Kāhui Mouna Whānau Mouri Ora* and discusses kaimahi experiences of growing up immersed in love and strong in their identity of being Māori. Wāhanga Tuaono is titled *Te Kāhui Mouna Whānau Mouri Noho* and focusses on kaimahi who grew up in challenge and adversity.

Wāhanga Tuawhitu is titled *Te haerenga o te awa* and is inclusive of kaimahi social work training journeys. This chapter outlines how kaimahi came to be on social work training journeys, the influence and involvement of kaimahi whānau on these journeys and the supports that whānau provided to kaimahi. Also considered in this chapter is the incorporation of te ao Māori values taught in whare wānanga and mainstream TEIs where kaimahi studied. Two pitopito kōrero (case studies) are presented, as examples of the ‘virtuous self’ and the ‘redemptive self’, to conclude the chapter.

Wāhanga Tuawaru is titled *Te Toka Tūmoana* and considers kaimahi becoming social workers, including how their lived experiences of growing up in whānau have impacted and influenced their social work practice. Outlined in this chapter is the notion and process of becoming a Māori social work practitioner from a te ao Māori perspective. Becoming a social worker is a process of beginning, becoming and being and has no finite end. Pivotal markers of identity are explored in this section, including fixed, fluid, forced, fragmented, and finalised identities. In the continual process of becoming and being a Māori social worker, our identity shifts, and changes in relation to context and as we take on new learning and start to apply that knowledge. Also explored is how kaimahi became effective in the art of social work and particularly how the kaimahi lived experiences influence their practice. The self-care aspect of social work is contemplated in this section, focussing on strategies to manage brown face burnout, the requirements of organisations to create and provide supportive environments for kaimahi Māori, and the importance of supervision. Two pitopito kōrero are presented as examples of pūrākau informing our narratives of becoming and taking learned knowledge to a state of knowing in the mahi.

Wāhanga Tuaiwa is titled *I am We” The Whānau Voice in the Research*. and considers whānau perspectives of the research. This chapter affirms that Māori have always been

social workers because embedded in our natural systems of whānau support are practices of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga which reflect the social work values that TEIs are attempting to teach to social work students. This chapter presents the argument that the Parihaka peace resistance movement, led by Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi, was one of the earliest forms of a social justice movement in Aotearoa and the genesis of Māori social and community work. Whānau views of having social workers within whānau are explored and Oranga ā whānau (whānau wellness and wellbeing) is examined. The Whāriki Haumarū model is introduced and unpacked and the key threads that make up the framework explained.

Wāhanga Tekau is the conclusion and presents the key findings of this research, the implications of these findings to social work practice, and the recommendations from this research. The limitations of the research are highlighted and a reflection on the unique methodology utilised is provided.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined the research question, aims and objectives which is to explore the influence that whānau has on kaimahi; examines kaimahi in the context of their own whānau and how these experiences are carried into kaimahi social work training and practice. The research also considers the whānau perspective through exploring and investigating whānau views on social work, whānau wellness, and overcoming and managing challenge and adversity. The methodology employs Kaupapa Māori theory, drawing on Mātauranga Māori and is underpinned by the pūrākau Pukeonaki ki Taranaki. This pūrākau provides the framework for this thesis and is aptly named Te Kāhui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana framework. The next chapter considers the literature related to this research.

Wāhanga Tuarua: Literature Review

He who has not first laid his foundations may be able with great ability to lay them afterwards, but they will be laid with trouble to the architect and danger to the building”

(Niccolo Machiavelli, 2003)

Introduction

The above Machiavelli quote determines the importance of laying strong foundations, which is also applicable to this chapter as the literature review provides the foundation for the study. The research considers the influence and impact that whānau has on Māori social workers; it explores the social workers in the context of their own whānau and how these experiences are brought into their social work training and practice. Therefore, this chapter provides a review of relevant literature and a critical examination of the material regarding whānau, as well as highlighting issues associated with Māori social workers and social work.

The literature review is structured into four sections. The first section explores the concept of whānau, inclusive of traditional Māori whānau pre-1840, and the roles and positioning in whānau. The transition of whānau to family via the colonisation process is also outlined, and the detrimental outcome of that process on the whānau unit is explored; inclusive of literature regarding whānau violence, abuse and neglect, childhood adversity, state care and children being abused in state care in New Zealand. The second section discusses Māori whānau wellbeing with a focus on whānau resilience, protective factors, whānau ora, post-traumatic growth and the strengths perspective. The third section encompasses the literature on Māori social work and Māori social workers, as well as some of the challenges that they face. The final section considers the literature regarding international social work and Indigenous social work.

Literature Searches

The first literature search was based around the concepts of family, whānau, wellbeing and whānau ora, hence the terms whānau, family, extended family, whānau whanui, whānau, hapū, iwi, and family group were searched. In terms of family or whānau wellbeing, this search encompassed healing, well-being, and wellness. Lastly, Māori concepts were also searched, which included Mauri ora, toiora, hauora and oranga. Key words utilised to capture the international literature included Indigenous, social work,

decolonisation, indigenisation, historical intergenerational trauma, wellbeing, and healing.

There is significant literature on whānau within the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand, therefore the following review will consider this first. Second, literature pertaining to Māori social work and Māori social workers is discussed. Finally, discussion regarding both international and Indigenous literature is provided.

Whānau

In order to contemplate Māori social workers, it is necessary to consider them in the context of their own whānau as Māori, like many Indigenous people, are part of the collective of family. Similarly, Wilson (2016) states that whānau “are the fabric of any Indigenous community and society” (p. 32). This review begins with a summary of literature on pre-1840 Māori. Whānau within the context of traditional Māori society in terms of whānau, hapū and iwi, is considered whereby whānau are seen as collectivist rather than individualistic. It also considers the transformation of whānau into family (Cavino, 2016) via the colonisation process and historical intergenerational trauma, whānau violence, alcohol and drug use, and abuse in state care. Next, the way forward from whānau violence is explored and Māori whānau wellbeing and whānau healing is outlined.

Traditional Māori whānau

Pre-1840 Māori “controlled their own transformation, managed their own economy and set about the development of their own institutions” (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988, p. 57). Māori practices were founded on the societal structures of whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribe) (Ballara, 1998; Chile, 2006; Durie, 2001; Ruwhiu, 2009; Walker, 1990). Whānau, hapū and iwi were the main social structure (Metge, 1995) and central to Māori culture and all models of Māori wellbeing (Kenney, 2011). This society was collectivist and value was placed on working together for the well-being of all; members relied upon one another. Tikanga was the basis for traditional social order as these values and beliefs guided conduct and behaviour from a moral posit (Cooper, 2012; Walters, 2016). Pre-1840 Māori society saw Māori whānau as strong with men, women and children all having important roles in the preservation of the strength and wellbeing of whakapapa (Wilson, 2016). Whānau was a network that extended beyond the nuclear family unit (Mum, Dad, and children) and

whānau has been described as, “the key to the health and wellbeing of Māori” (Kara et al., 2011, p. 101).

Wilson (2016) describes pre-1840 as a time whereby women and children were valued highly, men had nurturing roles within the whānau, and the role of the whānau was to collectively “protect its members and raise healthy mokopuna” (p. 33). Taonui (2010) outlines that in our whānau and hapū histories, there was an absence of violence against wāhine and mokopuna. Rather, wāhine and mokopuna were held in high esteem (FVDRC, 2017, p. 21) and any violence against them were seen as ‘breaking of tapu’ (FVDRC, 2017, p. 22) as well as transgressions against whakapapa (Kruger et al., 2004; Mikaere, 1994), which were deemed a crime against the victim’s whānau. Moreover, family violence was not tolerated (FVDRC, 2017) and perpetrators were dealt with quickly and with a collective response (Grennell & Cram, 2008; Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002; TPK, 2012; Pihama et al., 2003). Colenso (1868) also commented on observations on the role of the tāne in the care of mokopuna, noting “Their love and attachment to their children was very great ... the father, or uncle, often carried or nursed his infant on his back for hours at a time, and might often be seen quietly to work with the little one there snugly ensconced” (p 5-7). Therefore, violence against wāhine and mokopuna was not part of traditional Māori culture and rarely occurred.

In traditional Māori society, whānau was “the basic social unit” (Walker, 1990, p. 63) and encompassed extended family, including three or more generations (Henare, 1998). Makareti (1938) considers how Māori were immersed in whānau, and that in turn whānau was engrossed in the hapū, and the hapū absorbed in the iwi. Kuia and kaumātua were revered as being the head of the whānau, the vessels of knowledge and wisdom holders, and had a role in tending to, nurturing, and mentoring the young (Metge, 1995; Walker 1990; Wilson 2016). Tamariki/mokopuna were heavily influenced by kuia and kaumātua and were viewed as treasures (Pere, 1982). Whānau also had responsibilities and obligations to their own intergenerational network system and to the hapū and iwi. Here, Wepa and Wilson (2019) note, “The integral connection whānau members have to one another underpins their responsibilities and obligations to each other and the collective” (p. 4). Moreover, whānau provide manaaki, tautoko, aroha and whanaungatanga in times of need and can, “mobilise to provide the crucial support for one of their members” when necessary (Wepa & Wilson, 2019, p. 1).

Whāngai/Taurima

In Māori society children were regarded as taonga by the whole whānau (Bradley, 1995; Walker, 2002) and were seen as being “the responsibility of the wider collective ... child raising involved grandparents, great uncles, great aunts, uncles, aunts and older siblings and cousins” (Ware, 2014, p. 12). Whāngai was the customary kinship practice that provided for care and support of tamariki/mokopuna, as well as rongoā for childlessness (Kenney, 2009), and was a cultural practice where children would move from one whānau household to another, either temporarily or permanently (Newman, 2020; Payne, 2020). In short, whāngai is “to take care of, to feed, to nurture a child that is not your birth child, as part of a whānau, hapū, iwi Māori arrangement” (Cameron et al., 2013, p. 16). In such circumstances, the child continues to have a relationship with their biological parents (Ware, 2014) and the process of whāngai would not “alter who the child was, where they came from or what their role was within their whānau” (Newman, 2020, p. 44). In Taranaki, the kupu ‘taurima’ is the dialectical preference for whāngai (Cameron et al, 2013; Metge, 1995; Payne, 2020) and taurima is a “tikanga that has continued to be practiced within Taranaki and gave both tamariki and tupuna ways of sharing” (Cameron et al., 2013, p. 16).

Grandparents

Grandparents play a critical role in maintaining “oversight of whānau health and wellbeing” (Smith, 2008, p. 262) and have considerable influence in the lives of tamariki/mokopuna. As noted by Cameron et al. (2013), “The relationship of the grandparent generation to mokopuna is considered critical in the well-being not only of tamariki, but of the whānau as a whole” (p. 18). Newman (2020) and Metge (1995) also point out that often firstborn children (mātāmua) would be raised by grandparents, which is a practice that continues in contemporary times. In te ao Māori, to raise a mokopuna is regarded an honour and mokopuna raised by tūpuna are treasured, whereby the relationship enables for the transmission of knowledge from the older generation to the mokopuna (Higgins & Meredith, 2013; Metge, 1995; Smith, 2008; Ware, 2014). Given this, there is much evidence to support the fact that grandparents often play a major role as key teachers for tamariki/mokopuna. Moreover, McRae and Nikora (2006) comment that grandparents will whāngai the mokopuna to keep the extended family together and that usually when a whāngai relationship is established, it is typically a positive experience for all. Similarly, Cameron et al. (2013) notes that

for mokopuna, “being raised by grandparents in a supportive and caring environment has a significant influence on security felt by tamariki and mokopuna ... and the grandparent-mokopuna bond is reciprocal with tamariki learning to care for their elders through the relationship” (p. 27).

The roles and operation of whānau

Whānau “remains a persistent way of living and organising the social world” (Smith, 1997, p. 18), making it the crucial foundation of Māori society and societal growth (Metge, 1995; Pihama et al., 2003). Each whānau has its own mana and if the whānau mana is tarnished, it is the responsibility of all members to join together to rebuild and maintain whānau prestige (Metge, 1995; Pere 1982). Thereby, the whānau unit will band together even if they have internal arguments between themselves as “members of a whānau are often prepared to make personal sacrifices to uphold the mana of their group” (Pere, 1982, p. 33-34). Māori whānau are dynamic (Bradley, 1995) as well as diverse and are connected by shared language, marae, and knowledge (Durie, 2003). Tamariki/mokopuna, “belong to whānau, hapū and iwi, and as such responsibility for raising children is shared beyond the bounds of their immediate family” (Cram, 2012, p. 6). Whānau structures can include the traditional Māori whānau unit (whakapapa whānau i.e., related by blood and ancestors) and kaupapa whānau (whānau sharing common purposes and interest) (Durie 1994; Durie 2001; Kara et. al, 2011; Metge, 1995).

The primary role of whānau is to grow and nurture tamariki as they are the future of Māori communities (Walker, 1990). The nature of whānau functioning as outlined by Durie (2003), who highlights the importance of recognising how whānau operate and the need for different approaches to address different whānau dynamics. In the Kōrero Mai E Te Whānau research report, the importance of natural whānau leadership roles, responsibilities and obligations was acknowledged promoting the idea that “everyone has a role to contribute to whānau leadership and development. Whānau leadership also includes mentoring and role modelling those positive values and attributes of whānau” (Te Puni Kokiri, 2012, p. 29). These descriptions of whānau are important to social work by and for Māori as they challenge the western individualised concept of family. The process of colonisation has attempted to change the traditional Māori structure of

whānau and yet some elements of traditional functioning and role of whānau remain embedded in whānau Māori.

The literature related to the roles and operation of whānau confirms that Māori were strong people and had durable systems in place that revolved around the wellbeing of whānau. Also, whānau were seen in the context of hapū and iwi, with all members having roles and responsibilities to protect each other, and nurture and grow healthy tamariki/mokopuna. Moreover, across many literary sources, included those cited within this chapter, there is a significant amount of evidence that shows how the transformation from traditional strong whānau in the past, to disconnected whānau in contemporary times, can be attributed to the colonisation processes that occurred in Aotearoa.

From whānau to family: The impact of colonisation

The impact of colonisation on whānau, hapū and iwi has been extensive. Through colonisation, changes occurred to the traditional whānau concept and in the process of becoming ‘family’, the structure of whānau changed immensely. Cavino (2016) describes this succinctly, stating: “The transformation of whānau into family had enormous implications for our modes of social control: the means by which we became aware of an applied sanction to behaviour that we understood as not tika/correct” (p. 11). Hence, the introduction of hegemonic social norms changed the structure and function of whānau and changed the gender status and roles of tāne, wāhine and mokopuna to wāhine and tamariki becoming subjugated (FVDRC, 2017; Pihama et al., 2003).

These hegemonic social norms were an outcome of the Victorian ideology that was taught through the missionaries and then through the Native School teachings that espoused patriarchal cultural norms that rendered women as chattels of men and imposed European gender roles on Māori (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Mikaere, 1994). Also, the ‘nuclear family’ ideology was reinforced by the missionaries and Native School teachings, which in turn led to the “loss of traditional collective support and protection for wāhine and mokopuna” (FVDRC, 2017, p. 24). These new discourses pertaining to colonial customs and ways of thinking replaced traditional Māori practices and values. Moreover, this overwriting of fundamental Māori traditions and cultural

protective structures also resulted in the loss of positive role models (Wilson, 2016, p. 35).

Isaac-Sharland (2012) argues that “colonisation, assimilation, amalgamation, land alienation, the introduction of the nuclear family structure and urbanisation [has facilitated] the change from a collective cultural identity toward an individualised cultural mind-set for Māori” (p. 30). Similarly, Wilson (2016) attributes the loss of cultural practices and values to the loss of respectful relationships and safety of whānau and argues that colonisation has been detrimental to the traditional ways of being for whānau. Cavino (2016) also outlines how the loss of Māori land has had a significant impact on relationships within whānau, hapū and iwi, and goes on to state, “Landlessness forced the internal migration of many Māori ... it changed our relationship to the land, our mother, and it changed our relationships with each other” (p. 5). In short, the impact of colonisation on whānau, hapū and iwi has been profound. It has disconnected Māori from their land, language, cultural practices, and values (Kenney, 2011; Wilson, 2016). Moreover, it has impacted negatively on relationships and fragmented and disordered Māori knowledge and values (Pihama et al., 2003).

Cavino (2016) expressed that a detrimental consequence of colonisation was that it “stripped us of an ability to deal with conflicts, particularly those involving women and children” (p. 9). This subsequent adopting of western values saw Māori move from collective responsibility and inter-dependence to individual ownership, wealth, and independence (Bradley, 1995; Durie 1998). Over time the traditional Māori social structures have been broken down, and as a result, the structure and nature of whānau also changed causing a disconnection and loss of Māori identity (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Furthermore, the impact of colonisation has destroyed traditional ways of life (Wilson, 2016), and the ongoing harm of colonisation is “visible in the realities of many Māori whānau today” (FVDRC, 2017, p. 25). This loss of identity and disconnection has also been attributed to historical and intergenerational trauma, which is discussed below.

Historical and intergenerational trauma

Historical trauma has been defined as, “complex and collective trauma experienced over time and across generations by a group of people who share an identity, an affiliation, or circumstance” (Mohatt et al., 2014, p. 128). Historical trauma is a growing

research area that explores contemporary inequities in health and social wellbeing that can provide insight into the experiences of Indigenous people in colonial settler societies. At a global level, Brave Heart (1998) led the way in historical trauma theory through the addition of a wider native trauma and how it can be transferred intergenerationally to mainstream understandings of trauma. She shared that historical trauma encompassed a collective wounding that crossed generations because of substantial group trauma caused through colonisation and assimilation. As noted by Borrell et al. (2018), there is much evidence to support the fact that Indigenous people have been greatly impacted by “historic acts of trauma and ongoing experiences of dispossession, denigration and discrimination” (p. 31). However, to gain an in-depth understanding of the colonisation impact on the wellbeing of Māori, a link needs to be made between the impact of historical traumatic events and the contribution of these events to the negative health disparities experienced by whānau Māori, including how these events “stopped the intergenerational transmission of tikanga (protocols), reo (language), and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge)” (Pihama et al., 2014, p. 249). The colonisation process has led to “the suppression of knowledge” (Mead, 2003 p. 2), alongside the loss of identity and disconnection to Mātauranga Māori.

Disparities related to historical trauma

Historical trauma impacts on the collective, can be ongoing, creates emotional and psychological damage, can influence across a lifetime, and can be intergenerational (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Gagne, 1998; Gone, 2013; Mohatt et al., 2014; Prussing, 2014). Evans-Campbell (2008) points out that whilst Indigenous communities exhibit strength and resilience from the colonisation experience and the associated historical trauma, it has come at great cost. Similarly, Marie-Anik Gagne (1998) notes that colonialism is a traumatic act and trauma can be defined as a disturbance that generates damage emotionally and psychologically. This historical and intergenerational trauma can manifest in unhealthy behaviours that can be transmitted inter-generationally (Pihama et al., 2014). Work by Walters et al. (2011) link high rates of health disparities for Indigenous people to historical trauma events such as the confiscations and dispossession of land and forced relocation. Here, they contend that these are hazardous to Indigenous peoples’ health and can go on for generations. Coyhis and Simmonelli (2008) outline that “intergenerational and historical trauma contributes to many of the behavioural, health concerns and problems

experienced by Native individuals and communities” (p. 292). Transgenerational trauma was discussed by Martin et al. (2019) when exploring the concept of internal colonisation. Aboriginal adults have been living with ongoing trauma and this trauma is being transferred to family members through “globalized experiences of fear that is transmitted to Aboriginal children” (Herring et al., 2013, pp. 107-8).

According to Eruera and Ruwhiu (2015), post-colonisation trauma and poverty has influenced whānau ability to care for and protect tamariki/mokopuna Māori. Overseas, Blackstock (2009) asserts that there was substantial over-representation of Indigenous children in the child welfare system, as well as an over-reliance on Western conceptions of child welfare policy and social work practice. This has been the case in Aotearoa where Māori children have been over-represented in the child welfare system. Leduc (2018) makes the connection of this over-representation in child welfare systems to intergenerational trauma for Indigenous people and that it has led to social issues such as addictions and domestic violence. These are some of the issues that Māori social workers are immersed in. Moreover, the loss of language, identity, cultural practices, dispossession from land and natural resources, alienation from decision making, and ostracism from Indigenous status, have all contributed to heightening “the pain, loss and hurt experienced” by Māori (Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2015, p. 5-6).

When examining the historical trauma impact on Māori in New Zealand, the terminology associated with historical trauma theory is considered controversial. This is evidenced by extremely intense reactions to Māori using the term ‘holocaust’ in relation to colonisation and traumatic events experienced by our tūpuna (ancestors) (Turia, 2000; Pihama et al., 2014, p. 256). Here, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada (2015) specifies that cultural genocide is the destruction of structures and practices that allow a group to continue as a group, noting:

States that engage in cultural genocide set out to destroy the political and social institutions of the targeted group. Land is seized, and populations are forcibly transferred, and their movement is restricted. Languages are banned. Spiritual leaders are persecuted, spiritual practices are forbidden, and objects of spiritual value are confiscated and destroyed ... families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next.

(TRC, 2015, p. 1).

What the TRC describes is aligned with the lived experiences of Māori within Aotearoa, where land was seized, laws were passed to restrict Māori movement and assist land acquisition, and te reo Māori was discouraged and stopped from being utilised in educational settings. Furthermore, in Taranaki, the Peace Prophets Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai (from Parihaka) were imprisoned unjustly, and the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) was passed with the intent of prohibiting the use of spiritual practices.

Cameron et al. (2020) outline how historical, colonial, and intergenerational trauma can be a systematic collision of several oppressions and events, noting that Taranaki iwi have “suffered the sustained impacts of occupation; of physical, spiritual, cultural and sexual abuse; of removal and incarceration of large numbers of Māori men to the South Island; of genocide; and of ethnocide” (p. 19). However, George et al. (2014) presents the view that this can in turn, lead to healing as “Historical trauma theory is about having the ability to name our pain and create our own pathways to hope and healing” (p. 10). Therefore, historical trauma has impacted negatively on the health and wellbeing of whānau Māori, however once Māori have named this pain there is the ability to move to hope and healing.

Transcending the Trauma

Overseas Duran (2006) explored effective intervention strategies for prevalent problems including substance abuse, intergenerational trauma and internalised oppression utilising a model of inter-generational historical trauma to contextualise the wounding and healing of Indigenous peoples. Later work by Duran et al. (2008) explored how oppression has resulted in ‘soul wounding’ for afflicted Indigenous communities and the way forward is in ‘soul healing’. Coyhis and Simonelli (2008) discuss the impact of colonisation as being an intergenerational trauma whereby we carry our ancestors hurts inside of us and that to break the cycle we must acknowledge and address our trauma and forgive in order to stop the transfer of the trauma from one generation to the next. They outline a cycle for healing to rebuild families and communities. Walters et al. (2011) introduce the idea of ‘transcending the trauma’ and that Indigenous people need to move beyond historical trauma victimisation to a ‘warrior mind’ and that, “future research on historical trauma needs to consider expressions of resilience and the culturally protective functions of family, culture,

identity as they may buffer the impact of historically traumatic events on wellness outcomes” (p. 193).

In Aotearoa, Cameron et al. (2020) discussed the Taranaki concept of historical intergenerational abuse as being patu ngākau. Smith (2015) cited in Cameron et al. (2020) states, “A trauma event can be classified as a patu ngākau, which might be translated as a strike or an assault to the heart or the source of the emotions ... that is the emotional core of a person and the location where memories are stored” (p. 264). Patu ngākau can be a physical and/or psychological strike and impacts on the memory and can be related to the feeling of assault/hurt due to land loss. Patu ngākau is the result of colonisation, land loss and unfair treatment of Māori and in terms of this research about kaimahi Māori can be seen to be a significant factor in historical intergenerational trauma experienced by their whānau and passed down the generations. However, transcending the trauma, and moving from soul wounding to soul healing, moves the focus from patu ngākau to oranga ngākau, with an emphasis on healing the emotional heart.

Thorpe and McKendrick (1998) highlighted that post-traumatic issues, unresolved grief and depression are common for Aboriginal communities and that “historical, social, cultural and political factors continue to impact on the wellbeing of Aboriginal people” (1998, p. 4). They express that the way forward is through addressing underlying issues and ensuring that Aboriginal people have access to mental health and wellbeing programmes. In another study, Mokuau and Mataira (2013) examined the historical trauma trajectory for Native Hawaiians and Māori. Their work postulated that cultural strength, resilience, and growth rose from the trauma despite ongoing challenges and disparities. Often Indigenous peoples who have experienced historical trauma are seen as problem-saturated people however the way forward is to focus on cultural resilience and strength. As mentioned earlier in this review, this ties into the Western concepts of strengths-based practice, resilience, and post-traumatic growth. Next whānau violence as an impact of colonisation is considered.

Whānau violence

Family violence is a global and national concern, particularly for Indigenous women and children (Family Violence Death Review Committee 2014). As stated earlier, in traditional Māori society, whānau violence was not common or acceptable (Cooper,

2012; Durie, 2001; Kruger et al., 2004; Mikaere, 1994; Taonui, 2010; Wilson, 2016). However, in contemporary Aotearoa, family violence is complex, a significant problem, a critical issue, and has dire consequences for children (Cooper, 2012; Ministry of Social Development, 2006; Walters, 2016). Wilson (2016) posits that not having a “secure cultural identity and connectedness aids in the existence of violence and its perpetration for many whānau” (p. 35). Therefore, whānau violence in Aotearoa is enmeshed in our colonisation story, the marginalisation of Māori, historical traumatic events, and the societal changes enforced on Māori (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Pihama et al, 2014).

Urbanisation policies have also contributed to the diminishing of social structures and weakening of support for whānau, hapū and iwi; ultimately resulting in many Māori becoming disconnected from their culture, as well as their sense of identity and belonging (FVDRC, 2017). The act of colonisation itself can be seen as an act of violence against Māori (Newth, 2015) and the statistical reality for Māori today reflects this. For example, the Ministry of Social Development (2016) note that Māori attain lower levels of education and income and suffer high levels of unemployment. Also, the Ministry of Health (2015) has documented inequalities across numerous health outcomes, and Statistics New Zealand (2014) has highlighted poorer housing conditions for Māori (Stats NZ 2014). Wirihana and Smith (2019) stated that for whānau Māori there is an over-representation in rates of family harm, and child protection, incarceration, suicide, and poverty. FVDRC point out that there is less access to transport and communication technologies for Māori relative to non-Māori, and non-Pacific populations (FVDRC, 2017). In conjunction with these reports, Māori are also over-represented in various family violence forms as both victims and perpetrators (Eruera, 2014; FVDRC, 2017; Kruger et al., 2004), which Cooper (2012) highlights as concerning as it is a “deadly problem for Māori in Aotearoa” (p. 6).

There is a difference between the terms ‘family violence’ and ‘whānau violence’. Here, Cooper (2012) identifies family violence as a “‘catch-all’ phrase used widely to describe all forms of abuse and neglect that can occur in a range of family relationships” (p.7). Whereas, whānau violence must consider the “impact of historical trauma as a key underlying factor in Indigenous violence” (Cooper, 2012, p. 172). A historical trauma theory approach assists with broadening understanding of Māori health inequities seen today (Pihama et al. 2014). Similarly, the FVDRC (2017) argue that the

“trauma of colonisation has been passed on to successive generations and that the impact of the social changes imposed on Māori during colonisation is ongoing” (p. 24). As demonstrated by past research, just as trauma can be transmitted intergenerationally, so can violence within whānau be transmitted across generations. Therefore, whānau violence is broader than family violence, has a wider scope of issues, can be an outcome of trauma experienced through colonisation, and demands a different approach (Pihama et al., 2003). Consequently, it is not surprising that whānau violence has become a ‘normalised’ concept within much of Aotearoa, and as such, is often misunderstood as being an inherent part of Māori culture, and can be intergenerational (FVDRC, 2017; Kruger et al. 2004; Wilson, 2016). Wilson (2016) explores and contests the normalisation of intergenerational transmission of violence in whānau. Kruger et al. (2004) also introduce the concept of ‘imposter tikanga’, whereby violence is normalised and misinterpreted as being part of Māori culture. Kruger et al. (2004) claim that the consequences of whānau violence for Māori is that it damages wairua, hinengaro, tinana and ngākau (emotional wellbeing of the heart) and disturbs ihi, wehi, and wana. Consequently, that ‘damage and disruption’ creates an imbalance and results in the loss of wellbeing, not just for individuals, but for whānau, hapū and iwi. Here, Cooper (2012) notes that “Mauri ora is achieved by restoring balance between these elements and fostering experiences of wellbeing” (p. 34). Moreover, whānau violence has a whakapapa and is shrouded in whakamā due to “the stigma of living with violence, secrets (especially regarding child abuse and neglect) and silence” (Wilson, 2016, p. 36). Therefore, any definition of family violence for Māori should encompass a wider social, economic, and cultural context and exist within a Kaupapa Māori framework that is grounded upon tikanga Māori (Kruger et al., 2004; Walters, 2016).

The main approach to violence in Aotearoa has held women to account because they are unable to keep themselves and their children safe rendering the perpetrator invisible (FVDRC, 2017). This dilemma is due to disconnection of cultural supports and the fact that young wāhine are often parenting their tamariki “without the experience and wisdom of elder women” (Wilson, 2016, p. 39). Māori women are three times more likely than other New Zealand women to be a homicide victim, Māori children are 5.5 times more likely to be a victim of a homicide and Māori men are 5 times more likely to be an offender of homicide (FVDRC 2014). Wilson (2016) identifies that, “Māori children make up 30% of all children born in Aotearoa however they comprise 57% of

children coming into CYF (Department of Child, Youth and Family, now Oranga Tamariki) care by 5 years of age” (p. 34). Wilson further elucidates that tamariki Māori comprise 60% of children in state care. These figures align with overseas literature that states that Indigenous children in Canada, Australia and the United States are also disproportionately over-represented in state care (Denison, Varcoe & Browne, 2014; Roylance, 2009; Scannapieco & Iannone, 2012).

The FVDRC (2017) reported that over a 7-year period (2008 to 2015) there were 194 Family violence deaths in Aotearoa and that half of these deaths were intimate partner violence (FVDRC, 2017, p. 9). The majority (80%) of the Child Abuse and Neglect (CAN) deaths involved children under 5 years of age, with 66% of child deaths occurring via fatal physical abuse and/or gross negligence. The review identifies that Māori are over-represented as deceased and offenders in all family violence deaths and that they “lived in the most deprived neighbourhoods” (FVDRC, 2017, p. 9). The IPV deaths show histories of intergenerational harm (victimisation and/or perpetration) for offenders and deceased, many of whom were also experiencing high levels of structural inequities - family violence and mental health histories, social gatherings where large amounts of alcohol were consumed, and family inheritance, property disputes or financial exploitation (FVDRC, 2017, p.11).

According to Lamers-Winkeman et al. (2012), violence has a long term and adverse impact on children, which can go into adulthood and lead to poor health and social outcomes and premature mortality. Moreover, there is a link between whānau violence and greater alcohol and drug misuse (Jaquier et al., 2015). The next section explores the topic of alcohol and drug misuse further.

Alcohol and drug misuse

Prior to colonisation Māori had little or no exposure to alcohol and when introduced, it was often met with resistance. However nowadays, Indigenous people’s use of alcohol is framed as problematic and harmful (Herbert, 2017). Herbert’s work, which draws on insights from previous researchers such as Frank et al. (2000), Hudson (2011), and Marie et al. (2012) identifies that colonisation and the influence of the settlers to New Zealand has been theorised as a key reason for contributing to “problematic alcohol use among Indigenous peoples” (Herbert, 2017, p. 60). Māori health and wellbeing has been significantly impacted by alcohol (Bramley et al., 2003; Durie, 2004; Moewaka

Barnes et al., 2003). Here, Durie asserts that, “Māori did not escape the worldwide pattern of alcohol usage that has plagued Indigenous people in the wake of Western colonisation” (Durie, 2004, p.125).

From the mid-1950s onwards, Māori alcohol use began to reflect the alcohol use practices of Pākehā, leading to a more widespread acceptance among Māori regarding the role of alcohol in everyday life (Hutt, 1999; TPK & KWWA, 1995). Additionally, information concerning alcohol consumption and its associated harms among Māori began to be recorded by health and research professionals (e.g., Pomare, 1980; Pomare et al., 1993), which became evident as public health perspectives of alcohol use began to emerge in literature (Herbert, 2017, p. 73). Yet another impact of colonisation, marginalisation and disconnection experienced by Māori was the policy behind the decision to send Māori into the care of the State, which is discussed in more detail next.

Abuse in State Care

In the 1960s, social welfare policy introduced the concept of state care, which, when applied, would transfer responsibility of children to the state. By the early 1980s just over 12% of Māori children were under the guardianship of the state, of which over half were in the foster care of Pākehā families (Cram, 2012). Often these tamariki were abused in state care (Henwood, 2015). Eruera and Ruwhiu (2015) attribute whānau violence to “the removal of mokopuna into state care which subsequently disconnects them from whānau and cultural networks impacting greatly on the health and wellbeing of mokopuna safety” (p. 17). Tamariki Māori going into state care have been further marginalised and disconnected from their whānau, hapū and iwi, which has had a detrimental impact on their health and wellbeing.

The Confidential Listening and Assistance Service (CLAS) was established in 2008 as an independent agency to help people who had suffered abuse and neglect while in state care before 1992. A report was compiled which outlined common themes of participants’ stories, the legacy of the effects, and the level of assistance the service provided. The aim of the report was to provide a forum for people with concerns regarding their treatment in state care to come forward for assistance.

While conducting their research, the service met with 1103 participants over a seven-year period and stated, “Our panel meetings revealed an alarming amount of abuse and neglect, with extreme levels of violence” (Henwood, 2015, p. 10). The panel also

gleaned from the participants' stories that Māori males were more likely to be treated harshly and put into care, especially state institutions (i.e., boys' homes or institutions), and more readily placed into care for minor reasons such as truancy. Moreover, this was often done without any needs assessment or life plans being made. The panel also spoke with many Māori men who were prison in-mates. Here, the report noted, "The placement of young Māori men in institutions often led to gang affiliations where there was a sense of family, a sense of belonging. We were told that many gangs actually began in State institutions" (Henwood, 2015, p. 28).

In contrast, Māori children were typically placed with Pākehā foster families, which often resulted in a disconnection from their whānau and whakapapa. More importantly, the panel also shared that many participants believed that social workers simply took the children away from their families, with no warning or explanation. They went on to state, "The most shocking thing was that much of this (abuse in State Care) was preventable. If people had been doing their jobs properly and if proper systems had been in place, much of this abuse could have been avoided with better oversight" (Henwood, 2015, p. 12).

The Royal Commission of Inquiry into Abuse in Care (RCIAC) investigated what happened to children, young people, and vulnerable adults in care from 1950 to 1999. However, it has also considered other experiences outside those dates (RCIAC, n.d.). More recently, in December 2020 an Interim Report titled 'Tāwharautia: Pūrongo o te Wā' was released by the Minister of Public Service. This report highlights key findings about abuse in care between 1950 – 2019, which included: Of the 655,000 children in state and faith-based care in the timeframe, 250,000 were abused; discrimination and racism was evident across various roles – ranging from those occupying authoritative positions to members of the public – which occurred when children were being taken into care including the treatment they received while in care; and a wide range of abuse occurred – physical, emotional, psychological, medical, educational, spiritual and cultural neglect. On completion of the most recent investigation, recommendations will be made to the Governor General on how New Zealand can better care for children, young people, and vulnerable adults. This report is ongoing, and the final report will be due for release in March 2024.

The way forward from whānau violence

Just as whānau violence is a complex issue, preventing violence in whānau is equally, if not more, complex than intergenerational violence, because it requires an intergenerational response (FVDRC, 2017). However, contemporary mainstream services continue to struggle to make a positive difference. Many of the tools used by these services are embedded in a colonial approach for finding solutions to problems from a misinformed stance that is typically culturally inappropriate, combined with a lack of understanding for issues they have little understanding of, such as colonisation and institutional racism. Hence, within this space, there is an ongoing engagement with racist and discriminatory behaviour via the enactment of colonisation practices, where stigmatisation and negative stereotypes concerning Māori continue to thrive (Harris et al., 2012; Wilson, 2016). Similarly, Wilson (2016) argues that these systems continue to “perpetuate systemic inequities that compound historical trauma and poverty, employment opportunities and access to necessary services” (p. 35). Overall, what is evident is that western approaches towards whānau violence are inept and unsuccessful at prevention measures. Therefore, Māori not only require, but deserve, solutions that are culturally informed from their own worldview, by Māori for Māori.

There is consensus that the way forward for family violence involves a collective approach (FVDRC, 2017). To stop the intergenerational transmission and normalisation of whānau violence, whānau cultural identities need to be restored and strengthened (Wilson, 2016). Also, given the impacts of historical trauma and ongoing colonisation that has contributed to the structural inequities Māori whānau have encountered, any future solution needs to carefully consider and plan for strategies that effectively mitigate occurrences of racism and discrimination (Came, 2014). Wilson (2016) also advocates that “Disrupting and transforming whānau violence is about building safe and supportive communities and growing safe and healthy whānau that are culturally connected” (p. 40). Hence, moving forward involves recreating collective pathways that enable transformation and healing from trauma and violence. This in turn, involves reclaiming mātauranga Māori (bodies of knowledge), strengthening cultural identity, and restoring connections to aid in renewing the protectiveness that cultural traditions offer (Wilson, 2016; FVDRC, 2017).

Moreover, any future approach requires a “long-term commitment from government and mainstream services to address structural inequities and institutional racism – forms

of violence that have contributed to the current levels of violence within whānau” (FVDRC, 2017, p. 11). However, a more recent report from the FVDRC (2022) highlights an uptake in a whole-of-whānau approach taken by Māori organisations that shows a reduction in “the proportion of Māori accounted for 44% of family violence deaths. In 2021, the provisional data reported this had dropped to 23%”. Committee chair Dr Fiona Cram (2022) attributes this change to the fact that “Māori community organisations are leading the way and their approach can show us how to form genuine, respectful relationships ... embedding a duty to care for their people ... more opportunities for families and whānau to guide service delivery” (p. 8). These findings are useful as it reiterates the necessity of moving forward in a manner that is inclusive, in conjunction with Māori led solutions by kaupapa Māori organisations.

Overall, the literature pertaining to this topic confirms that the impact of colonisation on whānau Māori has been devastating and that Māori have, and continue to, experience trauma because of historical events and incidences that occurred at the individual, whānau, hapū and iwi levels. Hence, the destructive process of colonisation continues to be manifested as lifetime trauma.

Māori whānau wellbeing

This section considers the literature on Māori whānau wellbeing, including protective factors that facilitate flourishing whānau, resilience as an overarching concept that leads to whānau well-being, post traumatic growth, a strengths-based perspective, whānau healing, whānau as a tool for change, and whānau ora.

Understanding the concept of whānau wellbeing is pivotal for improving the wellbeing of the wider hapū and iwi (Durie, 2001). Cram (2014) highlights that “Māori wellbeing is the foundation of Māori development yet Indigenous peoples (including Māori) are often invisible in universal measures of wellbeing” (p. 18). In the past, most data on families is gathered from the Censuses and has provided information on measuring wellbeing for household units (Cram & Kennedy, 2010). Kiro et al. (2010) utilised indicators of income, education, work, housing, and health as major factors towards achieving wellbeing in their Trends for Wellbeing for Māori Households/Families report. Similarly, the Family and Whānau Wellbeing Project also used Census data to provide an analysis of family wellbeing in New Zealand (Tibble & Ussher, 2012).

Cram and Kennedy (2010) developed a report for the Ministry of Health that listed a variety of ways that whānau well-being can and are being measured, including a focus on qualitative approaches for the purposes of gathering data about Māori. Tibble and Ussher (2012) acknowledge that whānau wellbeing is complex but in the simplest form, it is about happy and healthy self-determining whānau. Their quantitative study, while informed by a Māori centred approach of whānau and whānau wellbeing, explored the whānau unit as the fundamental block of Māori society. Moreover, they highlight how whānau are kinship groups that involve mokopuna, tamariki, mātua, kaumātua and whanaunga, and emphasise that whānau is the key source of Māori wellbeing and connectedness. Lawson-Te Aho (2010) reiterates that whānau wellbeing is based on Māori cultural values and encompasses collective wellbeing. Durie's (2006) framework identified four principles for measuring wellbeing for Māori including indigeneity (link to land and natural environment), integrated development (integration across sectors e.g., health, education), multiple indicators (comparative and Māori specific measures), and commonalities (acknowledges heterogeneity of Māori while celebrating distinct cultural similarities).

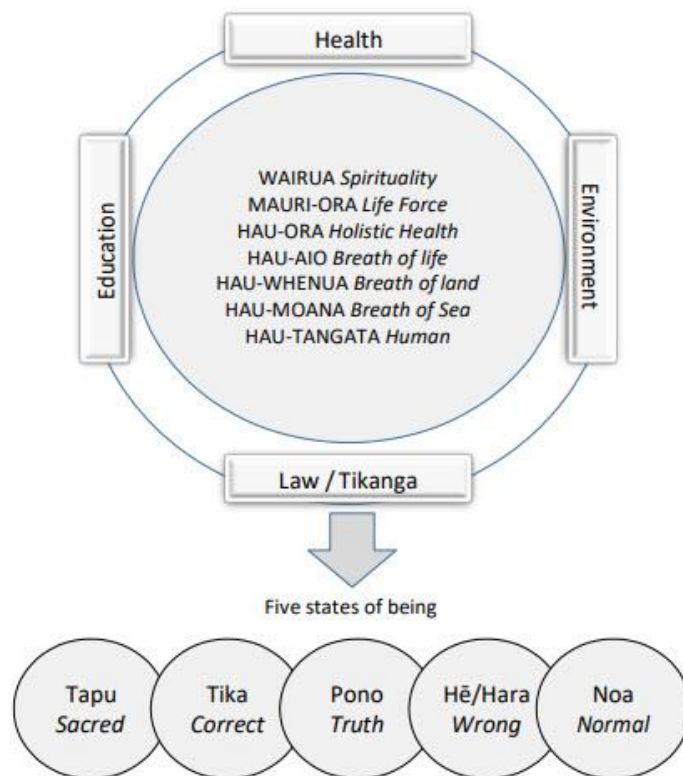
A study by Kingi et al. (2014) explored ways in which “whānau can flourish and the factors that accelerate flourishing” (p. 4) through developing a framework that encompassed six markers that aided this concept. These markers are whānau heritage, whānau wealth, whānau capacities, whānau cohesion, whānau connectedness, and whānau resilience. Kingi et al. also note that “The framework equates flourishing with Mauri Ora – spiritual robustness, cultural engagement, emotional vitality, positive thinking, high levels of energy, participation in activities and events and an ability to enter sustainable and rewarding relationships” (2014, p. 32). Durie (2011) also identified that there are three key phases of whānau wellbeing intervention which are inclusive of Whakapiri (engagement), Whakamarama (enlightenment) and Whakamana (empowerment). In addition, Eruera et al. (2012) highlight that using a whānau centred research approach through gathering whānau stories, “enables whānau to directly contribute information, insights and solutions to the continued development of evidence-based whānau centred initiatives and service provision” (cited in Te Moananui-Makirere et al., 2014, p. 12).

Another study by Isaac-Sharland (2012) explored how te reo Māori could be an empowering tool for building mana whānau, in a manner that contributes to whānau

well-being and empowers whānau as a key outcome of whānau wellbeing. As the numerous examples of research outlined above highlight, in order to achieve whānau wellbeing, it is imperative that Māori cultural values are enacted at a fundamental level when conducting research. Therefore, the research conducted for this thesis utilised this approach through exploring what whānau happiness and wellbeing are for whānau and providing a space for them to describe this concept for themselves.

In 1997 Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru, Mera Penehira and students developed the Mana Kaitiakitanga framework, which focuses on Māori wellbeing. It includes Mouri as one of the seven keys to Māori wellbeing, with the other six keys referring to aspects of Hau (see Figure 1) (Cameron et al., 2020, p. 42).

Whakaahua 1: Mana Kaitiakitanga (Penehira, 2011)



As discussed above, the existing literature argues that Māori whānau wellbeing needs to be measured in Te Ao Māori concepts and terms, which have relevance to research undertaken with Māori participants. For this research, it is imperative to capture the whānau stories of the kaimahi, and how they and their whānau highlight and measure whānau wellness and wellbeing for themselves. The research objectives highlighted in the previous chapter related to whānau wellness and wellbeing. More specifically, the themes canvassed will aid in 1) Exploring and documenting Māori social workers

experiences of growing up in their own whānau; 2) Enabling kaimahi to reflect on their social work training journey, the influence whānau had on that journey, and how te ao Māori fits with their training; 3) Documenting kaimahi lived experiences of connecting their involvement in whānau to their social work practice and 4) Exploring and documenting the whānau perspective of social work, whānau wellbeing and overcoming and managing challenge and adversity.

Protective Factors

Protective factors are the circumstances that can offset the effect of risk factors and possibly eliminate risk (Cooper, 2012; Martinez-Torteya et al., 2009). Within the area of whānau violence it is not always the case that abused children become abusive parents. For example, “Such a trajectory involves a complex interplay between contextual risk (such as poverty) and protective (for example attachment) factors present at childhood along with family, community and societal (mis)understandings of and attitudes towards violence” (Kim cited in Wilson, 2016, p. 36). Therefore, protective factors can change outcomes for abused children. Modelling non-violent responses to violence has been identified as a protective factor” (Walters, 2016, p. 17). Key protective factors for individuals and families who experience family violence risk include resilience opportunities and access to necessary supports (Garbarino & Garzel, 2000).

Resilience

Resilience is described as “manifested competence in the context of significant challenges to adaptation or development” (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998, p. 208), including an individual’s ability to withstand and ‘bounce back’ from adversity (Ungar, 2008, 2012) and do well against the odds (Martinez-Torteya et al., 2009). Resilience also involves the ability of an individual to psychologically function at a greater level than expected given their developmental history (Higgins, 1994) and ascertains that when people are exposed to adversity, resilience is their capability to steer a way through to a position of wellbeing (Walters, 2016). It is where some people, despite very challenging circumstances, can thrive (Cooper, 2012). Durie (2006) acknowledged that for Māori to thrive and prosper adversity needs to be reduced and resilience needs to be built. Boulton (2013) also states that resilience is not an innate quality but acquired through surviving a hard upbringing or being taught the values by elders such as wairuatanga, kotahitanga, and whanaungatanga. Boulton (2013) goes on to suggest that

it is this resilience that enabled Māori to survive the devastating impact of colonisation. Similarly, Walters (2016) research focussed on the protective factors and resilience of young people who had experienced whānau violence and highlighted that resilience relies on “connections with others” (p. 19). Here, the identified internal resources of young people having resilience includes “inherent qualities, having an understanding of whānau violence, having dreams, hope for the future and goals, and self-belief in their abilities, having a significant person in their life, having a strong positive Māori identity and having a wairua connection” (Walters, 2016, p ii).

Waiti (2014) developed a resilience framework that considers the underpinnings of resilience, identifies resilience mechanisms which exist within whānau, and aids in the construction of an evidence framework of resilience. More specifically, in Waiti’s research, education was identified by several whānau as being “a protective factor and coping strategy for adverse life events” (p. 132). Waiti (2014) identifies whanaungatanga, pūkenga, tikanga and tuakiri-ā-Māori (cultural identity) as factors important for whānau resilience. These factors could also contribute to the protective factors for Māori social workers. Just as whānau can develop protective factors to help alleviate stressors in life, so too can kaimahi. This research also explores how kaimahi self-care and build up their resilience in what is often a demanding and complex profession. Additionally, research by Walsh (2002, 2007) highlighted how flexibility contributes to family resilience and adaptability to challenges encourages resilience.

Whānau Resilience

Walters (2016) outlines that family resilience is an emerging area of research, whereby the emphasis is not on individual resilience but on collective strength, noting “... the family’s ability to adapt to risk and adversity by drawing on protective factors and resources from individual family members, as well as the wider community and/or the way the family functions” (p. 16). Similarly, Te Puni Kōkiri (2010) highlighted that whānau resilience can be understood as whānau overcoming or enduring challenge and adversity together. Moreover, Walters (2016) identified that whānau with strong resilience had “greater access to natural resources such as whānau, friends, marae and other culturally significant places as well as greater education and knowledge” (p.19). Also, traditional artefacts, such as pūrākau, are sometimes associated with whānau resilience.

The idea that pūrākau hold the key to understanding how whānau managed historically in Te Ao Kōhātu was discussed by Waiti (2014). According to Lee, “Pūrākau is a genre of Māori literature that was a regular feature of daily life” (2005, p. 12) and there are many pūrākau that demonstrate the capacity and resilience of whānau. Wilson (2016) also asserts that, “Embedded in Indigenous traditional artefacts ... are messages for learning and [provide] a vehicle to restore the protection inherent in traditional tikanga and mātauranga” (2016, p. 37). Therefore, our pūrākau, waiata and karakia are our vehicles for whānau resilience.

Examples of pūrākau that address whānau resilience include Te Wehenga – the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku – particularly as it is a demonstration of overcoming adversity and challenge from within the structure of whānau (the first whānau), as does the pūrākau regarding Hine-titama transcending into Hine-nui-te-po – a demonstration of resilience in transforming oneself from a challenging and adverse experience. The pūrākau regarding Pukeonaki transforming into Taranaki and being able to leave one whānau behind (Te Kāhui Mounga of the Central North Island plateau) to travel to the West Coast and reinvent one’s story and become another whānau (with Pouākai and Kaitake) is another example of resilience. A more recent demonstration of whānau resilience is the introduction of Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie 1985, 1998) in the 1970s–80s at a time where there was no acknowledgement of the capacity or resilience of whānau (Waiti, 2014). Just as iwi Māori are resilient and have protective factors that have ensured the survival of their race and language, so to do Māori social workers. Next, a critique of resilience is examined.

Critique of Resilience

There are several critiques of resilience. One critique focusses on the individual perception of resilience and the neglect of structural forces (Collins, 2017). In fact the origins of resilience are in “individuality and survival of the fittest” (Penhira et al., 2014, p. 100). Another critique claims that there is inadequate attention to culture (Bottrell, 2009, Mohaupt 2009; Ungar, 2008). Harris et al. (2018) state that resilience “does not account for the political and inherently power-laden structures that shape decision-making” (p. 196). A further criticism poses that resilience preserves the status quo and can overlook differentiated power issues due to political philosophy of knowledge, race, class or finance and this is intensified through neoliberal reformation of the political, economic and social domains (Gillard, 2016; Joseph, 2013) which can

lead to furthering the wealth gap and benefitting those who are already disproportionately represented in the dominant socio-ecological regime (Bahadur & Tanner, 2014) thus continuing to assist advantaged people (Harris et al., 2018). One of the biggest criticisms of resilience is that it is a “neoliberal security paradigm which causes the responsibilisation of individuals while justifying the withdrawal of the state” (Kruger, 2019, p. 53).

Waiti (2014) claims that there are Indigenous critiques of resilience which include unease between resilience and ‘failure’, the defining of resilience encourages Indigenous people to become “better at coping and being more resilient despite the socio economic and health inequalities that exist” (p. 68) and that the term ‘resilience’ does not acknowledge colonisation and the special history of Māori. Penehira et al. (2014) present the argument that by “examining and developing theories and models of resilience we buy into the idea that this is the way it is, and we need simply to get better at bouncing back and being resilient” (p. 96).

Post-Traumatic Growth (PTG)

Meilie et al. (2019) explore resilience factors and Post Traumatic Growth (PTG) when considering adaptive responses to adversity. More specifically, PTG refers to “positive psychological changes experienced as a result of struggle with highly challenging life circumstances” (Meilie et al., 2019, p. 1) and encapsulates a view of well-being that even though people can have experiences in life that are challenging and negative, these experiences can lead to personal growth and development and eventually a place of wellness and well-being (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995; Van Slyke, 2015; Watson, 2017, 2019, 2020; Zoellner & Maercker, 2006).

Strengths Perspective

Mokuau and Mataira (2013) assert that Māori have drawn on strength through a strong cultural identity in order to triumph over challenges. They state, “For Māori, cultural identity is linked inextricably to psychological well-being and a sense of self-worth ... Māori peoples have drawn upon cultural strengths to deal with past challenges” (2013, p. 149). This point can be linked to the strength’s perspective, which argues that people have skills and resources and can make change when strengths are encouraged (Saleebey 1996, 2002). Strengths can also be “forged in the fires of trauma, sickness, abuse and oppression” (Saleebey, 1996, p. 299) however can also be “sources of

challenge and opportunity” (2002, p. 14). Mokuau and Mataira go on to state that “building cultural strengths and resilience might be seen as a decolonising approach to counteract the worst vestiges of historical trauma” (2013, p. 152). Watson (2017) also notes that kaimahi experiences of collision (when professional, personal, and cultural worlds collide together in social work) were often viewed by the kaimahi as opportunities that promoted growth. Hence, the strengths perspective is a key theory in social work in Aotearoa.

Whānau Healing and Whānau as a tool for change

Whānau are important vehicles for their own healing and change (Wilson, 2016). Te Moananui-Makirere et al. (2014) assert that whānau can positively affect their own journey to wellbeing and that, “transformation for whānau must be informed and sustained by whānau themselves” (2014, p. 10). Moreover, Cavino (2016) sees that research is a “whānau restoration tool” that Māori have utilised for many years and that whakapapa work is “logical for whānau engaged in a process of restoration and recovery” (2016, p. 9). Cavino (2016) also explored whānau trajectories through abuse focusing on how whānau who have experienced violence are able to “transform their understanding of these experiences within a framework of story-based recovery and restoration” (2016, p. 7). In Eruera’s (2010) work, there is an emphasis on viewing whānau as experts of their own lives as they “hold the knowledge of their stories, past and present, aspirations, issues and complex dynamics that exist between whānau members and their extended and external relationships” (cited in Te Moananui-Makirere et al. 2014, p. 10).

Research by Te Moananui-Makirere et al. (2014) highlights their development of a cultural framework ‘Te Ara Whakapikiōranga’ to support and inform practice for all those who work with the potential and aspirations of whānau towards improved wellbeing. This cultural framework acknowledges and supports the “reclamation of practice wisdom inherent within whānau” (p. 10), where whānau can lead their own changes through gathering their stories of whānau and providing insights and solutions to move towards wellbeing (Eruera et al., 2013). Eruera and Ruwhiu (2016) also support this concept of whānau rangatiratanga by reinforcing the idea that whānau leadership, whānau-oriented strategies and whānau decision-making are the way forward for mokopuna.

As illustrated by the above examples, the role of whānau is pivotal to the wellbeing and healing of Māori and whānau knowledge systems can aid recovery and healing. This is summed up succinctly by Elder (2017), who states, “By locating the whānau within their own culturally determined knowledge systems and optimising their integral role in the delivery of culturally required interventions, the recovery experience will be enhanced, and they will feel a greater sense of ease and self-determination in the process of their own healing” (p. 27). Cameron et al. (2020) also assert that Taranaki Māori need to lead and reclaim their own healing processes, and some of these processes include rongoā Māori. As discussed earlier, Cameron et al. (2020) considered the concept of oranga ngākau in relation to patu ngākau. Patu ngākau being the historical intergenerational trauma where the emotional heart has taken a beating and oranga ngākau being the healing of the emotional heart. Wirihana and Smith (2014) also outline that utilising traditional narratives can help aid healing from trauma; these narratives being whakawhanaungatanga, waiata, haka, moteatea and whakapapa kōrero. These traditional artefacts have been utilised by our ancestors and are relevant in modern times. A way forward for our healing as Māori involves the connection with te taiao and the holistic approach to wellbeing.

Whānau Ora

When considering the wellness and well-being of whānau the terms Whānau Ora, Mauri Ora, Toi Ora, and Hau Ora are often used. Mead (2003) defines Hauora as hau meaning wind and hauora encompassing the spirit of life, health, vigour, fresh, and being well and in a healthy state of well-being. “The hau is an invisible aura that every individual possesses” (Mead 2003, p. 59). Te Moananui-Makirere et al. (2014) argue that Whānau Ora and whānau centred practice has gained momentum over the last ten years, due to the Whānau Ora state policy, however for Māori whānau ora is not a new concept. They note, “These policies recognise whānau as the primary kin, social and cultural grouping for Māori, and therefore an effective forum central to intervention and service delivery for improving whānau wellbeing and outcomes” (p. 11).

Whilst Whānau Ora is a new government initiative, it is in fact a traditional Māori concept and can be seen to be returning to traditional ways of looking after whānau. Whānau ora is a family centred approach that seeks to achieve well-being of the extended family and requires health services to work across the traditional sector boundaries to improve client health (Te Moananui-Makirere et. al 2014, p.19). Within

the implementation of Whānau Ora a new concept was introduced - ‘whānau-centred practice’ (Te Moananui-Makirere et al., 2014, p. 13). Whānau centred practice ensures the whānau is the focus, driving and controlling the processes that will ultimately benefit the whānau. Whānau centred practice has been adopted in the development and writing of Whānau Ora policy. Lawson-Te Aho (2010) considers that the focus on whānau in social policy recognises that changes in individual Māori wellbeing can happen through focusing on the collective of whānau and vice versa. Whānau Ora outlines the vital role that whānau, hapū, iwi and communities have in facilitating whānau wellbeing. Under the Whānau Ora structure, the role of government agencies and services is primarily to support the achievement of the aspirations of whānau with outcomes focused on collective wellbeing (Te Moananui-Makirere 2014).

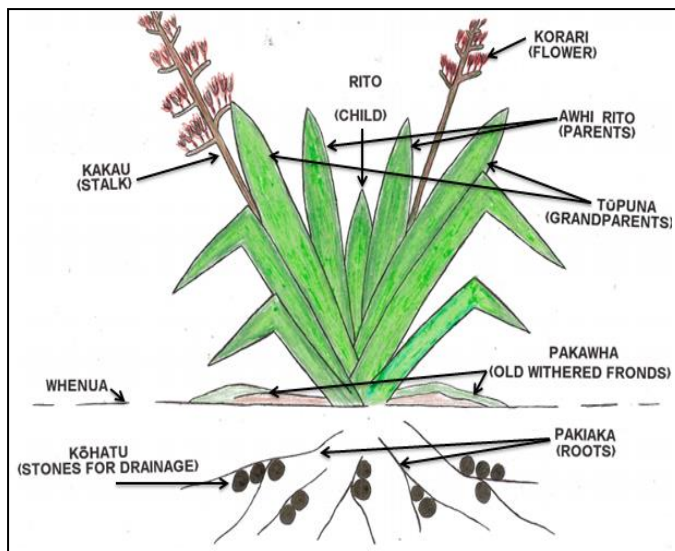
Boulton et al. (2013) explored the challenges and opportunities for innovation that Whānau Ora outlined, noting that Whānau Ora is an “integrated model of health and social service delivery, across the range of human services” (p. 24). They go on to note that it was hoped that the introduction of Whānau Ora would transmute the services being delivered to vulnerable whānau as the approach was touted as more culturally appropriate and meaningful in that Mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori and Māori ways of being and doing were being utilised (Boulton et al., 2013). In other research, Kara et al. (2011) explored the concept of whānau ora through a series of hui with kaumātua. She developed the Te Korowai framework, which showcased seven interconnecting themes, including tūāpapa (foundation and vision), whanaungatanga (relationships), uara tu (guiding values), huarahi (pathway of the individual), oranga and hauora (health and wellbeing), mana tangata (empowerment), rangatiratanga (self-determination) and whakarurhau (safety). These themes represent the concepts and practicalities of whānau ora which literally represented a Korowai.

Eketone (2012) warned that Māori should be “wary of legislation, policy and programmes that allow for more surveillance of Māori” (p. 78). He based this argument on Newbold’s (cited in Bradley, 1999) work that identified that when a certain area of the community is more likely to produce bad outcomes, the authorities tend to become more aggressive in policing those populations and they also become less compromising with suspects. This raises critical questions regarding the new whanau ora policy and funding models, such as were they created as simply another way to monitor and police

Māori? In short, one could justifiably argue that true whānau healing and restoration might be impacted by this process.

Te Moananui-Makirere et al. (2014), in their Whānau Ora research, asked participants to position themselves as whānau members first, by placing themselves as the rito of the harakere (see Whakaahua 2), and then considering their own roles in their whānau for example, as a pōtiki, or a cousin, or an aunt). Their findings demonstrated how “Life experiences within our own whānau can inform the decisions we make today and our whānau are our first teachers and knowing ourselves is the key to knowing others” (p. 14).

Whakaahua 2: Te paa harakeke framework



Note. Drawing by Hinemoana Watson-Pitcher

This process enabled the participants to take off their work hats and resume their natural roles as whānau members while participating in the wānanga. Doing this supported everyone to access their centre of practice wisdom that was whānau based. Overall, the exercise enabled participants to place themselves first and foremost as a whānau member to access their practice wisdom. For this research, I asked Māori social workers to place themselves as a whānau member first, consider the roles they had in their whānau and explore, and then unpack how their own experiences of whānau impact and influence their social work practice.

Māori social work and Māori social workers

This section considers the literature regarding Māori social work and Māori social workers within Aotearoa. It explores Māori social work and te ao Māori models of practice utilised in social work. Lastly, a focus on Māori social workers, particularly the challenges faced by kaimahi as well as protective factors concludes this section.

Māori social work practice has been founded on a strong base of Indigenous knowledge systems, values and theories and there continues to be a growing foundation of mātauranga Māori knowledge applied to social work practice (Hollis-English, 2012a, 2012b; 2015). Consequently, kaimahi working in the field continue to develop and create Māori theories and practice in social work to advance Māori communities. Moreover, kaimahi require appropriate support from management, tertiary education institutions and other social workers to enable them to practice in this way, however not all environments are supportive of Māori-centred social work practice (Hollis-English, 2015).

Māori models of practice used in social work

There is a significant body of literature on Māori social work in Aotearoa focusing on Indigenous approaches to social work and Māori social work practice (Bradley, 1995, Eketone, 2006, 2008, 2020; Eruera, 2013; Hollis-English, 2012a, 2016; Pohatu 1996, 2003, 2004; Ruwhiu, 1995, 2018; Walsh-Tapiata, 1997; Watson, 2017, 2020); bicultural approaches to social work (Eketone & Walker, 2015; Ruwhiu, 1997, 2009; Walker & Eketone, 2013), Kaitiakitanga (Beverland, 2022; Webber-Dreardon, 2020), Māori care and protection social work (Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2015, 2016; Moyle, 2013, 2014), Māori parenting (Eketone, 2012); Māori mental health social work (Mooney, 2012; Mooney et al. 2020; Walsh-Mooney, 2009), limitations in the social work profession (Eketone, 2015); dual relationships for Māori social workers (Eketone, 2021; Watson, 2019); Kaupapa Māori social work supervision (Elkington, 2014, 2015; Eruera, 2005, 2012; Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2021; Lipsham, 2012; Walsh-Tapiata & Webster, 2004; Wallace, 2019; Ward, 2006; Webber-Dreardon, 1999, 2021), Matua Whangai (Walker, 2002), Puaote Atatu (Hollis-English, 2012b; Keenan, 1995), decolonisation in social work (P. Ruwhiu, 2019: 2023) and many others. This body of work is also multi-faceted, as highlighted by Hollis-English (2012b), who argues that Māori social workers identify with Te Ao Māori, that Māori social work underpinnings

come from Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and that Māori social work theory and practice, “is an ever-changing, multifaceted body of knowledge that Māori writers and theorists are constantly developing” (p. 22). Similarly, Walsh-Mooney comments that, “Māori social workers can offer a particular perspective within the social work profession and to other helping professions” (2009, p. 11). Overall, the above literature argues that Māori worldviews are unique to Māori and can be of benefit to all people and disciplines.

Munford and Sanders (2011) also state that Māori worldviews have assisted in contributing and shaping social work practice in New Zealand. Māori social work is guided by Māori principles and ways of doing things, particularly making connections, building whanaungatanga and utilising whakapapa in whānau relationships (Hollis-English, 2012a; Walsh-Mooney, 2009). In social work, connections are made through whakapapa, and “whakapapa connections enhance the ability of the kaimahi to build relationships and to make progress with the whānau. Māori people often begin an interaction by making connections” (Munford & Sanders, 2011, p. 24). English et al. (2011) identifies that, “Māori are over-represented in the low socio-economic strata of society. The kaimahi themselves reflect this reality” (p. 20). This raises the notion that many kaimahi have similar experiences to the clients they work alongside and possibly can utilise their own lived experiences to work positively with whānau Māori. This research will also contribute to the existing body of literature as the kaimahi personal journey and whānau stories are explored and discussed to consider whether kaimahi have had similar experiences to the whānau they work alongside in social work practice. Māori theories and models are grounded in Mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori practices, can be emancipatory, decolonising and expressions of tino rangatiratanga (Hollis-English, 2016). In social work practice there are many models that are grounded from Te Ao Māori worldviews and utilised in practice. Some of these are Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985; 1998), Powhiri Poutama (Drury, 2007); Te Wheke (Pere, 1997), Pā Harakeke (Ward, 2006; Watson, 2017), The Meihana Model (Pitama et al., 2007), the Kaitiakitanga Framework (SWRB 2018), Ngā Takepū and Āta (Pohatu, 2004) and Te Toka Tūmoana (Ruwhiu & Eruera, 2016). Consequently, these models provide frameworks for working with Māori whānau, with common concepts including te ao Māori, whanaungatanga, whakapapa, wairua, rangatiratanga, and manaakitanga. ANZASW Ngā Tikanga Matatika Code of Ethics is a bicultural framework for social

workers in Aotearoa that outlines six pou of rangatiratanga, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, aroha, kotahitanga, mātātoa and wairuatanga, whilst having a foundation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Māori social workers have access to western theories and models of practice, as well as Te Ao Māori theories and models of practice. In particular, te ao Māori theories and models are founded from Mātauranga Māori and are, “influenced by one’s experiences of being connected to a whānau, hapū and iwi, and being Indigenous” (Hollis-English 2015, p. 6). This reference to experience and context alerts us that kaimahi bring their own experiences of whānau into their social work practice. Kaimahi need support when deepening their knowledge of culture and bringing the concepts of “identity, theory and tikanga into practice” (Hollis-English, 2015, p. 13). Kaimahi also “need to have confidence in their methods, knowing that their processes are underpinned by theoretical discourse and do lead to positive outcomes for Māori families” (p. 14).

Challenges for Māori Social Workers

Māori social workers come into social work with their lived and felt experiences (Cavino, 2016) from being a member of a whānau. Māori are a collectivist society, therefore kaimahi are part of the whānau collective. Moreover, Māori social workers can choose to be a member of a professional body (i.e., ANZASW, Tangata Whenua Association of Social Workers). More importantly, mandated registration via Social Worker’s Registration Board (SWRB) now requires all social workers in New Zealand to be registered. Under the SWRB’s ten core competencies, the competency related to work with Māori includes utilising the pou of te manaakitanga, te whanaungatanga, me te rangatiratanga. Hence, social workers practicing in Aotearoa need to competently incorporate these pou into their practice, particularly when working alongside whānau Māori.

There are many challenges that Māori social workers face in their field of practice. Some of these pertain to the use of self, cultural boundary issues, dual roles and accountability, appropriate supervision for kaimahi, conflicting cultural tensions, issues of culture, identity and self-esteem, and collision of Māori social workers’ personal, professional, and cultural worlds (Watson, 2017). It also goes without saying that the social worker is the primary tool in practice, therefore the use of self is critical (Weld & Appleton, 2014). Reupert (2009) emphasises that the use of self is not incidental,

unconscious, and inevitable. Furthermore, the concept of the ‘wounded healer’ is recognised in the psychotherapy and counselling literature and has also been employed in mental health (Gilbert & Stickley, 2012). Similarly, both Jung (1961) and Barker (1996) acknowledge the importance of therapists understanding their own pain and vulnerability in order to work effectively with another’s pain and vulnerabilities. Brandon (as cited in Gilbert & Stickley, 2012) argues that “the benefits to the practitioner of being a wounded healer suggest that the practitioner is as much helped by as well as helping through the therapeutic relationship” (p. 35). This literature has relevance to this research regarding kaimahi experiences of their whānau because they too may be the ‘wounded healers’ in their mahi alongside other whānau (Watson, 2017). This is explored in later chapters in the interviews with kaimahi.

Moyle (2014) identified that Māori practitioners often take on ‘in-between roles’ in their work when supporting their non-Māori colleagues. She identifies these roles as “teacher, cultural advisor, interpreter and advocate” (p. 56). An Indigenous practitioner walks the tightrope between two world views, whilst at the same time managing their own personal and professional identity. This is an example of dual accountability and as suggested by Love (2002), it is an unenviable position for Māori practitioners. Unlike their non-Māori counterparts, kaimahi face the double burden of professional and cultural expectations in organisations as well as from their communities (Moyle, 2014). It is also crucial to note that these expectations that are often placed on Māori social workers may have negative impacts.

Brown face burnout

Burn out is the “emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and reduced personal accomplishment” experienced by workers in high stress work (Maslach et al., 1996, p. 4). Compassion fatigue is a concept utilised to outline emotions and behaviours experienced by the helpers of people who have experienced trauma (Kapoulitsas & Corcoran, 2015) and can be the consequence of stress and is influenced by the helper’s empathic response. For Māori social workers working in non-Māori spaces, what is termed ‘brown face burn-out’ (Hollis-English, 2012a, 2016; Moyle, 2014) can become a reality. According to Moyle (2014), brown face burn out is the result of Māori social workers being overworked due to the cultural expectations and supplementary responsibilities placed on them because they are Māori (p. 57). Similarly, Hollis-English (2016) highlights that Māori staff have an “additional qualification: being

Māori is an attribute that is brought to engagement with Māori clients” (p. 73). For many kaimahi, this is a lived reality as they not only have their social work job description to adhere to but are also expected to be all things Māori for the agencies and organisations that employ them. Many kaimahi will take on these additional roles to ensure the Māori whānau accessing their service are receiving appropriate assistance and cultural support. However, it does mean that many kaimahi are dealing with workloads that exceed their non-Māori colleagues. This reference to ‘burnout’ means that stress is due to cultural expectations and additional responsibilities because of being Māori. This position is also reflected within the findings of the Grassroots Voices Report, which showed a concerning lack, and high turnover, of Māori practitioners in the social services (Moyle, 2014).

Cultural Boundary Issues and dual roles

As evident from the above discussion, boundary issues for social workers are not black and white and can be complex, however the cultural needs of kaimahi should also be examined and addressed. One study by Kidd (2010) explored how Māori Mental Health nurses navigated the complex area of boundaries daily to develop and maintain the therapeutic relationships with their clientele. Kidd utilises a Tidal Model (a Mental Health model of care) to demonstrate how critical it is for Māori nurses to learn how to surf cultural boundaries, which are there to be negotiated and worked with as they are not set in concrete. Watson (2019) explored collision for Māori social workers and identified specific challenges and ethical boundary issues for kaimahi including managing dual roles and accountabilities, conflicting cultural tensions of working in mainstream organisations, issues of biculturalism in practice and how to manage issues of collusion.

Dual accountability and roles for Māori practitioners are outlined by several authors (Collins, 2006; Love, 2002; Moyle, 2013; Wilson & Baker, 2012). Collins (2006), for example, discusses dual accountability for herself as a Māori researcher and a member of a community – with the tension being her responsibility and accountability to her community, her iwi, and to her research academy. Her experience highlighted how at times; her dual roles were simply incompatible. Similarly, Ruwhiu (1995) outlined that social/community workers need to be clear regarding their professional role and their whānau role, stating “you need to be clear about the different social/community worker

and whānau roles in the helping terrains you'll be invited to take on board. There are those that you have to take on board and those you'll leave at the door" (p. 23).

Another study by Moyle (2014) explored how Māori social workers attempt to walk between two worldviews to meet the needs of their own people. However, in doing so, they often became over-worked and felt under-valued. Today, many kaimahi continue to negotiate working between Māori and Pākehā worlds. This was reflected on by participants in Moyle's research when they talked about having to work twice as hard to get the job done due to working in-between two spaces. Moyle likened the Māori 'in between role' as "walking a tightrope between two worldviews whilst at the same time managing their own personal and professional identity" (2014, p. 56). These past studies are relevant to consider as the research being conducted for this thesis explores if Māori social workers have experienced tensions between responsibility and accountability to whānau, hapū and iwi and responsibility and accountability to their organisation or place of work.

Kaimahi Protective Factors

Just as iwi Māori are resilient and have protective factors that have ensured the survival of their race and language, so to do Māori social workers. Waiti and Kingi's (2014) resilience framework explored the capacity of whānau to overcome adversity and was comprised of whanaungatanga factors (networks and relationships), pūkenga factors (abilities and skills), tikanga factors (meanings, values and beliefs), and Tuakiri-ā-iwi factors (secure cultural identity). Hence, this research also explores how kaimahi are able to self-care and build up their resilience in what is often a demanding and complex profession.

Pūmanawa

Pūmanawa has been described as natural talents, attributes, intuition, and cleverness (Mead, 2003). Talents come with whakapapa, and it is assumed that parents pass on talents to their children. A talent for art, for example, may manifest itself in several generations of a descent line. According to Mead (2003), "A talent for music, or an ability to recite from memory hundreds of names in a whakapapa table, or a talent for weaving, oratory, singing waiata, or art, passes from one generation to the next" (p. 44). Pūmanawa can assist kaimahi with developing strong protective factors. Mead (2003) expresses that "In the world of today it has become important to know who we are,

where we are from and what we are born with. There is a felt need to know our roots and to belong to some place that we call home” (p. 35). This reflection by Mead is helpful as it reiterates the importance for kaimahi to know who they are, where they are from, and what their natural attributes and talents are. In this research, there is a focus on the training undertaken by kaimahi and whether there have been opportunities for them to explore and utilise Te Ao Māori concepts both in their training and then later in their practice. Also, the exploration of kaimahi whānau stories will pay close attention to what was noticed, if anything, from a young age that kaimahi may have had a natural talent and leaning towards helping skills and social work.

This section has considered Māori social work and the challenges and issues that kaimahi face in their practice, alongside kaimahi protective factors. The next section considers the literature on international and Indigenous social work.

International and Indigenous Literature

This section focusses on overseas research linked to international social work, global issues, considers Indigenous social work research, and highlights the international literature on decolonization, indigenization, and solutions for the way forward for Indigenous cultures.

International social work

International social work interest has grown, particularly over the last 15 years as the world is changing and social work has continued to advance as a global profession. While issues of globalisation, human rights, global social issues and problems, global injustice and practice challenges have been in social work for years (Healey, 2008), these issues have become magnified as the planet’s problems escalate. Healy (2008) notes that one nation’s actions can directly, as well circuitously, affect the economic and social wellbeing of other countries and ultimately the planet. The issues facing the planet are reaching crisis point and social work practice is embroiled in processes of global change (Lorenz, 1997). Dominelli (2010) highlights the social problems for social workers to address from the profound effect of globalisation are people-trafficking, environmental issues, armed conflict, and resource depletion. This includes the destruction of mother earth, the waterways, and the air we breathe. Indigenous people and poor people are fighting back through anti-globalisation movements and Indigenous movements (Dominelli, 2010)

With this in mind, Leduc (2018) points out that in the last 20 years the recognition of the importance of the environment and land has grown, particularly in understanding of social issues and healing responses, yet this has always been the case for Indigenous social workers. Moreover, literature continues to evolve as the social effects of the environmental and climate crisis deepen and the world begins to realise the role that social workers play in responding to global change (Dominelli, 2012). Walters et al. (2011) re-emphasise the Indigenous perspective that we come from Mother earth, who provides life to us and that we would perish without her. They go on to argue that in order to heal our planet, we have to heal ourselves. On a similar note, Leduc (2018) associates environmental issues to the “colonial legacy of modern processes that tend to treat Creation primarily as resources – a continuing tendency of objectifying land that is connected to a colonizing mind-set” (p. 416). Overall, this discussion is aligned to Māori views of Kaitiakitanga and the connectedness of humans to te taiao.

International social work requires understanding theories and concepts of globalisation, development, and human rights. Although other concepts such as human security and social inclusion/exclusion are important, globalisation, development, and human rights are at the core of international social work (Healey, 2008, p. 25). As Leduc (2018) eluded, globalisation can be connected to a colonising mind-set so this review now considers the literature on Indigenous social work.

Indigenous social work

“The bones of the ancestors are in the land calling us to a renewal of relations”

(Leduc, 2018, p. 421).

Indigenous social work internationally acknowledges the importance of the land, the people, the air, and the relationships between people. Within the literature exists similarities of experiences, where Indigenous people once had strong foundations and systems that have since been stripped away via processes of colonisation. Some of this literature then moves into discussions about ways to decolonise in an effort to move forward.

Research in Australia with Aboriginal social workers highlights parallels to Māori social worker experiences. Here, the literature identifies that a different practice experience exists for Indigenous workers and as such, it is imperative that they know

themselves culturally (Bennett & Zubrzycki, 2003; Bennett et al., 2011). Indigenous Australian research asserts the importance of “decolonising, repositioning, and supporting Indigenous knowledge and research methods that delegitimize racist oppression in research and shift to more empowering outcomes” (Martin, 2008, p. 47). Additionally, Briskman (2014) posits that, “Indigenous peoples are the holders of their own knowledge and are the experts in finding solutions to their problems, a view that is too frequently lacking in policy formulation” (2014, p. 3).

The literature acknowledges and recognizes that social work has been seen to be part of the colonisation experience (Collier, 1993; Hodge, Limb, and Cross, 2009; Margolin, 1997; Yellow Bird in Gray et al., 2008) and that mainstream social work is “essentially a modernist Western invention which has a history of silencing marginal voices and ... has been slow to accept non-Western and Indigenous worldviews, local knowledge and traditional forms of helping and healing” (Gray et al., 2008, p. 1). The international literature on social work emphasises “multiculturalism, cultural and ethnic sensitivity, cross-cultural, transcultural and anti-oppressive practice as ways to address meeting the needs of diverse groups” (Gray et al., 2008, p. 3). Briskman (as cited in Gray et al., 2008) concurs and feels there has not been significant movement forward and that social work “cloaks itself in fine rhetoric; empowerment, social justice, redressing disadvantage, and social change ... But the reality of social work is that it is a form of practice that reinforces colonialism in the name of helping” (2008, p. 90). In fact, the profession of social work has been an instrument of continual colonisation. Bennet (2014) expresses that “social work practitioners and students need to investigate the role of colonisation and white privilege within themselves, social work and society, and become challengers and advocates for decolonization” (2014, p. 12).

Mafile’o (in Tascon & Ife, 2019) discusses cake art as social work and considers “cake art as a metaphor and method for more fully human social work, which disrupts boundaries and binaries within mainstream social work, and expresses decoloniality in the diaspora” (p. 125). Mafileo (2019) further outlines how love is part of her cake art and is a base principle in social work and highlights how ‘Ofa’ (compassion/love) is a value Tongan and other Oceania social workers identify as a key aspect of their practice (Mafile’o, 2019; MSD, 2015). As a result of this work, love is receiving more attention in social work literature as an ethic for radical social work (Godden, 2017).

Tusasiirwe (in Tascon & Ife, 2019) shares the philosophy of Ubuntu (from Uganda) as being able to show humanity to others, stating, “One demonstrates ubuntu through embracing values and virtues including ... hospitality, including sharing with other material things like food and handworks ... Mutuality, connection and reciprocity characterise such exchange spaces” (p. 133). In addition, they outline that the sharing of garden harvests is part of ubuntu, where “Women also share part of their produce/harvests like crops from their gardens. Ideally this mutual sharing should not know any borders of personal or professional boundaries” (p. 134). The Ubuntu sharing of resources is similar to the Māori concept of manaakitanga, whereby a resource is shared beyond the bounds of the nuclear family and is also a reciprocal practice. It has also been noted that “Gifting and sharing food, as an expression of love, is a potential mechanism for decolonising social work” (Mafile’o in Tascon & Ife, 2019, p. 132).

Decolonisation

Yellowbird (2008) defines decolonisation as “a process that begins with the understanding that one is colonised ... it is the birth and use of new ideas, thinking, technologies, and lifestyles that contribute to the advancement and empowerment of Indigenous peoples” (p. 284). Therefore, decolonisation is a process of reconciliation and healing from colonization. Mafile’o and Vakalahi (2018) understand decolonisation as being important for Pacific social work development and for social change and social justice to be realised. Leduc (2018) introduces the idea of decolonizing by, “destabilising the position of social work so we can respond to the injustices and learn from Indigenous cultures” (p. 414). Leduc (2018) attempts to do this as a social work educator by being grounded in the lands where students are being educated and giving them learning experiences outside of the classroom and on the land that holds significance to Indigenous people. This enables students to start to critically position themselves. He uses the analogy and metaphor of Indigenous and non-Indigenous meeting in a common space as a canoe and a ship, “The core values carried by our common waters are peace, friendship (power of communal relations), and truth (justice), and they are attained when canoe and ship respect the cultural path of each other as well as their dependence on the common river of life” (Leduc, 2018, p. 415). He goes on to reiterate that relationships need to be upheld across the ship and canoe but also across the waters to which both belong.

Yellowbird et al. (2013) highlight that a social work decolonisation approach involves acknowledging and harnessing the strengths of Indigenous communities and that Indigenous Peoples have exhibited remarkable resilience in resisting colonial forces. Indigenous people have and will continue to survive and resist further incursions into their territories, natural resources, sacred sites, languages, beliefs, values, networks and systems of governance, intellectual property rights and sovereignty (Yellowbird et al, 2013). Here, the notion of decolonising social work can be seen as “a continuation of social work’s advocacy on social justice and of progressive elements within the profession that challenge hegemonic forms of practice” (Yellowbird et al. 2013, p. 1).

Indigenization

Indigenization, although widely used, can be seen as ‘an outmoded concept’ due to its blanket or generic approach to working with Indigenous people (Yellowbird et al., 2013). Gray et al. (2008) referred to Indigenous social work as straddling two vastly different Indigenous and the Western worlds (Yellowbird et al., 2013, p. 8). This is the experience for Māori social workers who attempt to straddle two worlds – te ao Pākehā and te ao Māori (Moyle, 2014; Watson, 2017). However, Mafile’o and Vakalahi (2018) consider Pacific social work across borders and posit that the indigenisation of social work is creating increasing critical international debate. They point out that “Current understandings of indigenization emphasise social work that is interpreted from a local frame of reference and is locally and culturally relevant” (p. 537). Mafile’o and Vakalahi (2018) reiterate that Pasifika theory and practice relies predominantly on “Indigenous Pacific worldviews, knowledge, values, and practices which have developed over hundreds of years” (p. 539) and has become a stand-alone knowledge and practice base. This is the case in Aotearoa with Māori theory and practice drawing on Māori worldviews, knowledge, values, and practices that have developed over hundreds of years resulting in a Te Ao Māori knowledge and practice base as opposed to a generic Indigenous practice base.

The Way Forward: “We are all Treaty people”

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) states, “we are all Treaty people who share responsibility for taking action on reconciliation ... thus all of us, not simply Indigenous people, have a responsibility to do the work of conciliation” (pp. 414-415). Within this, is a message for all people of Aotearoa, that we are indeed, all

Te Tiriti people and that the way forward requires a commitment and responsibility for everyone to become engaged with processes of conciliation.

Walters et al. (2011) suggest that Indigenous perspectives need to be incorporated into assessment and intervention design for Indigenous peoples to move forward because these perspectives carry the resistance and resilience tools that were used by the ancestors. As mentioned earlier, Mead (2003) stresses the importance of knowing who you are, where you are from and knowing what you are born with as, “There is a felt need to know our roots and to belong to some place that we call home” (p. 35). For Indigenous social workers this is crucial, particularly in their work alongside others who have experienced colonisation, trauma, and disconnection. Australian authors Martin et al (2019) comprised a culturally safe and trauma-informed framework that was underpinned by four principles. These are 1) culturally safe and trauma-informed practice is essential in the service design and delivery for Aboriginal people; 2) aboriginal leaders and elders are involved and participate in processes; 3) a united systems approach is utilised; and 4) strong relationships and partnerships with Aboriginal leaders and elders is upheld (p. 123). This emphasises the need for wider dissemination of Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing in order to meet increasing demand (Bennett, 2014; Martin et al., 2019).

In terms of workers themselves, Martin et al. (2019) emphasise that Aboriginal workers may need to acknowledge the trauma that they may have experienced in their own lives. “This requires recognition of the complexities and difficulties of the work they undertake, personal and emotional impacts and the possibility of vicarious trauma” (p. 122). For Māori social workers, reflecting on how their own experience of whānau impacts on their social work practice, it will be interesting to explore how they have undertaken their own trauma work and soul healing.

International and national literature theorise that the way forward includes community-led solutions, and that Indigenous people need to not only be part of the consultation and development of policy and delivery of the services but also take on a leading role when these services are aimed at Indigenous communities.

Chapter Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter confirms that the impact of colonisation on whānau Māori has been devastating and that Māori have experienced trauma as a result

of historical events. Moreover, this trauma has been experienced not only by an individual but also on a whānau, hapū and iwi level. Hence, the destructive process of colonisation continues to be manifested as lifetime trauma. There is also overwhelming evidence to support the argument that Māori whānau wellbeing needs to be led by Māori and incorporate te ao Māori worldviews. Within the literature related to Māori social workers and their family, there is a need for further research and discussion on this topic, including research on Māori social workers in the context of their whānau. There is, however, a growing body of literature on Māori social work, Māori social workers and Māori models of practice being utilised in social work. In fact, Māori models of practice are evolving quickly and being added to constantly. For these reasons, this research is timely as there seems to be a gap in the literature regarding Māori social workers and how their own experiences of whānau impact on their social work practice, which this research attempts to fill.

Wāhanga Tuatoru: Methodology

Ko au te mouna, ko te mouna ko au.

I am the mouna and the mouna is me.

Dr Te Huirangi Waikerepuru
(Opai et al., 2022)

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology and theoretical approach employed for this research. Section one defines the Kaupapa Māori approach giving a background of this Indigenous research method unique to the Aotearoa context via a discussion of mātauranga Māori – Māori epistemology and knowledge. In a traditional sense, Kaupapa Māori theory is an ancient concept within te ao Māori and can be evidenced back to the creation and beginning of the universe with its origins stemming from Rangīātea (Nepe, 1991; Pihama et al., 2015), the first known institution of knowledge located in Te Toi-o-ngā-Rangi, the home of Io-Matua-te-Kore (the Creator of Te Kore). However, in contemporary research Kaupapa Māori approaches are now more synonymous with a framework enlightened by Indigenous underpinnings to contest and challenge hegemonic and dominant colonial social systems (Pihama et al., 2015; G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1999). As Kaupapa Māori research is defined and regulated by Māori it is embedded within the “knowledge of mātauranga Māori and the ways Māori engage knowledge and forms of knowing” (Pihama et al., 2015, p. 9). Therefore, it is best understood as a “body of knowledge accumulated by the experiences through history of the Māori people” (Nepe, 1991, p. 4).

Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori is succinctly defined by Wiri (2011) as:

Māori epistemology; the Māori way; the Māori worldview; the Māori style of thought, Māori ideology, Māori knowledge base; Māori perspective ... Māori tradition and history, Māori experience of history, Māori enlightenment, Māori scholarship; Māori intellectual tradition (p. 25).

Therefore, mātauranga Māori is a term that is used - and applied in this thesis - as a concept that describes an Indigenous base of knowledge and understanding that

emphasises Māori philosophy in practice (Durie, 2011; Mead, 2003) giving capacity to “recover knowledge we had lost” (Mead, 2003, p. 2). Durie (2011) emphasised that mātauranga Māori systems and paradigms utilise a Māori epistemology drawing from and integrating concepts of knowledge, knowledge transfer, and the expansion of knowledge. While Eurocentric theory may consign this knowledge to the past, Durie (2011) argues that “Indigenous values, knowledge and custom can influence contemporary lifestyles” (p. 20). Rather, it authenticates ‘Māori cognition’ (Marsden, 1998; Marsden & Royal, 2003) while assisting in the “increased construction and subsequent evolution of Māori research processes” (Durie, 2011, p. 71). Therefore, mātauranga Māori has relevance for the modern world and contemporary modalities of Indigenous research methodology, design and strategy and can be a vehicle to assist Māori and us as Māori researchers to reconnect to our culture.

Mātauranga Māori has also enabled the researcher to have ‘insider status’ to carry out Māori research with Māori practitioners with a focus on a ‘by Māori, with Māori, for Māori’ approach. I join contemporaries such as Mahuika (2015) who stated that:

Māori have been and continue to be influenced by western thinking and that it is not about rejecting Pākehā knowledge but empowering Māori hapū and iwi to carve out new possibilities, and to determine in their own ways ... [Kaupapa Māori] greatest potential may lie in its ability to challenge Māori to develop a greater awareness of who we are, what it is we really want, and how we want to go about achieving that (p. 43).

Tangibly, mātauranga Māori is enacted through Māori forms of oral metaphorical and symbolic traditions and intergenerational knowledge transmission such as pūrākau (personal narratives), tongikura (chiefly wisdom), waiata (song), and karakia (ritualistic incantations) embedded within our histories, and tikanga (traditional rituals and practices) (Wilson, 2016). It stands to reason then, that a vital element of mātauranga Māori is te reo Māori, as the language becomes the tangible vehicle through which cultural beliefs, practices and understandings and knowledge is transmitted (Nepe, 1991; G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1999). Mahuika (2015) explains that:

If a researcher lacks the ability to speak in and understand te reo Māori it may limit the information a participant is able to communicate effectively in the research process ...[this] raises issues of authenticity and challenges the identity

claims and authority of those Māori who are unable to speak the language ...[this has the] potential to disempower and disenfranchise those who may already be marginalised within the mainstream because they are Māori, yet struggle to find acceptance from within their own culture because they are not Māori enough (p. 40).

Te reo Māori therefore becomes a contested criterion in what it means to ‘be Māori’ and these internal tensions trigger trauma and concerns regarding Māori identity, security, and affirmation. This has prompted my own personal identity negotiation in terms of my te reo fluency, realising that mātauranga Māori requires a certain level of te reo Māori comprehension. Indeed, mātauranga Māori is fundamental to Kaupapa Māori research as te reo Māori and tikanga form the basis of Kaupapa Māori approaches that empowers the researcher to connect and recover knowledge that has yet to be identified for their own whānau, marae, hapū and iwi (L. Smith, 1999; Pihama et al., 2015; personal communication, M.K. Durie, 2020).

In short, it is a research paradigm and body of knowledge that has grown from an Indigenous research base that has its beginnings on observations from the natural world and responds to changing environments. Hikuroa (2017) described mātauranga Māori as the ūkaipō of knowledge in New Zealand and “spans Māori knowledge, culture, values and worldview” (p. 5). The term ūkaipō is significant in this context as once again it is an example of the rich connection Māori have with te taiao. *Ūkaipō* is defined as “to be fed by the breast at night” that expresses “the spiritual, emotional and physical nourishment that is given through the comfort and intimate relationship between the mother and child” (Dell, 2017, p. 116). Symbolically, it illustrates how “land and people are viewed as carrying the same relationship, where land is the ūkaipō” (Dell, 2017, p. 116).

Given the fundamentality of mātauranga Māori and its primary function as an Indigenous form of knowledge and systems thinking, it is also a major criterion of Kaupapa Māori research. Consequently, pūrākau as a methodology is also substantiated within this Māori framework of understanding (Rikihana-Hyland, 1997; Pihama et al., 2003). As one example pertinent to my own thesis, Ngāwhare-Pounamu (2014) in his exemplary doctoral research utilised pūrākau to critically analyse the Travelling Mountain narrative and the representation of Taranakitanga (Taranaki

knowledge). He concluded that pūrākau was crucial “to explain space, time and relationships” (p. 17) that formed “divergent and differing views, conclusions, and paradigms” (Ngāwhare-Pounamu, 2014, p. 31) of well-known and long-held beliefs of the Taranaki Mouna storyline.

In another example, Cavino (2016) explored the development and utilisation of conceptual frameworks through which whānau violence could be addressed in context and with reference to “mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), Kaupapa Māori (the Māori way) and tikanga Māori (Māori praxis)” (p. 14). She utilised these as a conscious therapeutic model through a research based pūrākau approach that led to transformative praxis. Cavino (2016) explains that “in a Māori world whakapapa is central to methodology and this has implications with regard to both the goals of the healing process and the kind of pedagogies used” (p. 14).

These examples demonstrate that mātauranga Māori is a critical element of Kaupapa Māori theory and research encompassing Māori thinking, knowledge, philosophy, and epistemology, and is inclusive of whakapapa, tikanga, and te reo Māori. When mātauranga is valued and applied from a place of knowing it can be a catalyst for unleashing potential in kaimahi (personal communication M.K. Durie, 2020), hence, unleashing the potential within the researcher, within the research participants, and within the whānau, hapū and iwi of those whom I aim to serve in this research. Most importantly, it is a way in which we can recover knowledge and reconnect to our perspectives of what it means to ‘be Māori’ in contemporary Aotearoa society. This is my hope that by utilising mātauranga Māori in this research the unleashed potential will be realised, and transformation can take place.

Kaupapa Māori Theory and Approaches to Research

Kaupapa Māori as a theoretical approach was birthed out of the education sector and “political consciousness amongst Māori communities in the 1980s ... resurgence and revitalisation” (Mahuika, 2015, p. 37) with the work of Linda and Graham (Hinganaroa) Smith through the “establishment of Kohanga Reo and later Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura and Whare Wananga” (Mahuika, 2015, p. 37). It is also noted that Kaupapa Māori has been heavily influenced by theories drawn from outside of a unique Māori epistemology and has been described as closely aligned with Critical Theory and Constructivism (Eketone, 2020; Mahuika, 2015; Pihama, 2001; Pihama et al., 2015).

Critical theory understandings help to inform observations and assist interpretations of Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis. Smith et al. (2017) highlight the importance of being open to theory and practice which is emancipatory and will free the Māori mind.

It is important to note that Kaupapa Māori does not claim superiority over other existing paradigms but aims to “challenge and disrupt the commonly accepted forms of research in order to privilege our own unique approaches and perspectives, our own ways of knowing and being” (Mahuika, 2015, p. 37). Foundational to the historical understanding of Kaupapa Māori theory, G. Smith (1992) identified six elements from Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa movements that underpin Kaupapa Māori as an approach:

1. Tino Rangatiratanga: the relative autonomy principle
2. Taonga tuku iho: the cultural aspirations principle
3. Ako Māori: culturally preferred pedagogy
4. Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga: the mediation of socio-economic factors
5. Whānau: the extended family management principle
6. Kaupapa: the collective vision principle.

Additionally, some five years later G. Smith (1997) would state that Kaupapa Māori approaches contained three major elements:

Taking for granted our right to be Māori; ensuring the survival of the Māori language and customs; and acknowledging the central place occupied by our struggle to control our own cultural wellbeing (pp. 13-14).

It is evident that a Kaupapa Māori approach to research affirms Māori knowledge, language and culture complimented with additional underlying principles of “whakapapa, whanaungatanga, te reo Māori, tikanga, rangatiratanga, mana wāhine, and mana tane” (L. Smith, 2015, p. 48). Referred to as ‘resistance’ initiatives (G. Smith 2015, p 21) these themes allow for critical movement within Māori communities to challenge marginal positioning and ‘unshackle’ ourselves from the mainstream structural controls to advance Māori aspirations. In critiquing the process of ‘unshackling’, Mahuika (2015) proposed the following queries:

Is Kaupapa Māori a conscience raising theory of liberation that empowers individuals with a critical consciousness or does it simply critique the ‘norm’ or ‘oppressor’ without turning its own critical gaze inward? Moreover, if Kaupapa Māori both rejects the epistemological frameworks of the coloniser yet draws on theoretical foundations beyond the Māori world then is it really anti-colonial? (p. 36).

Regardless of the debates, L. Smith (2015) states that Kaupapa Māori is “a distinct knowledge tradition which lies outside western views of knowledge” (p. 48) identifying that it is located in a uniquely Māori worldview and from this position can generate solutions from that alternative framework. Because of this, Kaupapa Māori approaches developed rapidly as preferred research methodology by Māori academics due to its ability to recognise and adapt to Māori ways of being within an approach that is academically rigorous (Mahuika, 2015). In the end a Kaupapa Māori approach provides solutions and outcomes from a Māori knowledge framework, substantiating that Māori have always been theorists having “engaged with our world and constructed theories as part of our own knowledge and ways of understanding our experiences” (Pihama, 2005, p. 191).

Kaupapa Māori values Māori knowledge and ways of doing, is immersed in a Māori reality, focuses on emancipatory research by Māori, with Māori, for Māori, is decolonising and empowers whānau, hapū and iwi (Moyle, 2013; Pihama et al., 2015; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Hence, I vehemently position myself as a researcher on the premise that Kaupapa Māori does not need to align with Western models of research because it centres te ao Māori – our Māori worldviews. Because Kaupapa Māori research is decolonising, emancipatory, and transformative it sits well with this research on kaimahi and their whānau.

Kaupapa Māori Theory and Practice

Pihama (2015) highlights the “contradiction” (p. 10) of Kaupapa Māori as theory as the term theory is conceptually based on Western knowledge systems. Theory by itself is neither inherently oppressive nor transformative and remains somewhat inert until they are enacted through “socially constructed worldviews and philosophies of those who participate in their construction to inform their practice” (Pihama, 2015, p. 10). In this respect theory must be grounded in practice and similarly Kaupapa Māori theory must

also be “rooted in practice” (Pihama, 2015, p. 11) and can be “made and remade on the job” (G. Smith, 2015, p. 19). When theory is lived out in practice, complemented with a process of reflection, theory shifts to be more transformative. Otherwise, theory is just thinking and ideas, and needs to be grounded in lived experiences and connection to practice. Kaupapa Māori needs to “not just be theoretical but practical and purposeful working towards goals of emancipation” (Eketone, 2019, p. 24).

Whatarangi Winiata (cited in Eketone, 2019) called for theory to be developed out of practice and experience so that it serves the people, elaborating that “[Kaupapa Māori theory] is drawn from practice, it informs practice, and it guides practice” (p. 24). This validates my rationale for the employment of Kaupapa Māori as kaimahi are central to the ‘kaupapa’ of my project where I aim to affirm the practical application of social work practice. Consequently, I hope to add to the work of many Kaupapa Māori scholars by substantiating Kaupapa Māori theory praxis in the context of Māori applied social work systems. Additionally, there is an opportunity to provide theory in a palatable way that ensures that as a Māori researcher I prioritise the community of which I am researching ‘for and with’ particularly considering the whānau, hapū and iwi engagement and relationships I have developed. Theory, while a central element in an academic venture and outcome, does not give the emancipatory information or tools in which to advance the very communities I am representing. A Kaupapa Māori approach is the best strategy and means in which to satisfy the academic, social work and Māori communities, whose narratives I am collating and aspiring to influence.

Regardless, social work comprises a variety of theoretical models that contain a praxis element that Connolly and Harms (2015) express as ideas taken from our knowledge sources inclusive of our personal narratives based on lived experiences, our observations, cultural understandings, and expert knowledge

Although theory influences the field of social work practice, this project aims to identify the factors of how that theory is applied and what it ‘looks, feels and sounds’ like in practice - its application and its usefulness to practice. In this respect, critical reflection performs a significant role as Pihama (2015) explains in the evolution of Kaupapa Māori theory as a long-term project “requires intense reflection” (p. 13) involving concentrated engagement with mātauranga Māori and te reo Māori. This is where the alignment to social work becomes increasingly relevant as social workers are directed

to become critical reflectors – to engage deeply with knowledge, seek understanding of theory and create meaning for applied settings and contexts (Fook, 2015).

Pūrākau as Methodology

Pūrākau as a methodology is best defined by one of the foremost scholars of Kaupapa Māori research as:

An integral part of mātauranga Māori and [are] deliberate constructs employed to encapsulate and condense into easily understood forms, Māori views of the world, of ultimate reality and the relationship between Atua (deities), the universe and humans.

(Marsden & Royal, 2003)

Validating Marsden’s rationale, Lee (2005; 2009) would later add a definition that summarises pūrākau perfectly, stating that:

Pūrākau is a traditional form of Māori narrative, containing philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews. [It is] fundamental to understanding the Māori world [and] helps transmit ancient ancestral knowledge and wisdom via a Kaupapa Māori approach to qualitative research (pp. 6-7).

These two quotes justify the employment of pūrākau as methodology because pūrākau stems from mātauranga Māori and is firmly bound with the Kaupapa Māori theory and approach utilised for this project. As humans we continue to evolve, impacting both the environment and the world around us, so too does the conveying of pūrākau. Indeed, pūrākau have much relevance and significance in and to modern times because they hold the beliefs and values of the past. As Jenkins and Philip-Barbara (2002) note “pūrākau provide us with ways of reviewing and reconnecting our actions of today with the actions of our tūpuna” (p. 8). This comment highlights that through utilising pūrākau as a methodological tool in research, it enables a concentrated connection to mātauranga Māori values and beliefs of our tūpuna, while simultaneously impacting on the relevancy to our contemporary and changing society, assisting in our mobility to remain resilient to change and ensuring empowering decisions moving forward.

An etymological analysis of the kupu (word) *pūrākau* validates this connection and identifies the symbolic nature of our narratives and histories. The prefix *pū* is translated

as ‘source’ or ‘roots’, it is commonly referred to as the base of a tree. The word *rākau* is translated as ‘tree’ symbolising our perspective of our symbiotic relationship with the te taiao reflecting that our cultural understandings and social relationships are completely intertwined – human to human; and human to the natural environment (Lee, 2005, p. 7). Wirihana (2012) employed *pūrākau* in her doctoral thesis that explored the life experiences of thirteen Māori women leaders and the influence of those experiences in their roles as leaders in Māori communities. While Wirihana makes a valuable contribution to understanding and clarifying pertinent traits to enhance Māori leadership, it is her use of *pūrākau* that added vital insights to my study. She describes *pūrākau* as “traditional Māori narratives” (Wirihana, 2012) and illuminates that the word *pūrākau* can be better understood when looking at the four words upon which it is comprised – *pū-rā-ka-u* as described to her by one of her kaumātua. In the context of her study:

- *pū* (source) was used to interpret the women’s narrative life stories.
- Second, *rā* (light) identified periods in which the women had moments of higher learning or enhanced insight and understanding based on their life experiences.
- *Ka* represented the past, present and future, providing a foundation for exploring how her participants past experiences have influenced their current or future aspirations in the roles they hold in Māori communities.
- Lastly, the meaning of *ū* (while varied) identified the individual strengths that each generated intrinsically and brought to their roles as leaders.

Wirihana (2012, pp. 213-215).

Lee (2005, 2009) highlights that *pūrākau* has validity because it transmits ancient ancestral knowledge and wisdom but are not to be confused with perspectives that would observe these narratives as being ossified ‘myths, legends and folklore’ but pertinent to the intergenerational transfer of knowledge (Lee, 2009). I vehemently oppose the perspective of Colenso (cited in Orbell, 1985) who, as an observing missionary, stated that “in all this mythical rhapsody there is scarcely a grain of truth ... are suited perhaps for the region of romance, but ought to have no place in any reasonable enquiry” (p. 24). This is because Western perspectives have tended to perceive the literate culture as superior and oral traditions such as *mātauranga* Māori in the form of *pūrākau*, memory and experience as inferior (Royal, 2003). The notion that oral culture is inferior is based upon the racialised ideology and presumption that

storytelling was ancient and traditional, whereas the literate ‘written’ culture is superior because it is an evolved form of communication, modern and ‘the way of the future’.

Royal (2003a) asserts that a Māori perspective of knowledge is seen as an internal energy in the Māori world and referred to as *te hiringa i te mahara* (the power of the mind) and that “knowledge and memory change and transform over time” (pp. 46-48). Consequently, oral culture continues to be organic and alive because it is experienced through the reality of the individual. I take the position that pūrākau are traditional Māori narratives originating from our oral literature, containing philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews fundamental in understanding our world (Lee, 2009; Hikuroa, 2017). Indeed, I am encouraged by the words of Cavino (2016) who testified that:

Pūrākau is a transformative framework that can break down gender roles and the perpetuation of inter-personal violences on Indigenous communities ... to restoration and recovery ... a potential model through which to frame a contextualised and transformative praxis.

Cavino (2016, pp. 8; 14)

My intent of utilising pūrākau as methodology in this research is to create meaning and make sense of the pūrākau that I collate and to transform that meaning into relevant ‘footprints’ for others to perhaps learn from. Not only for myself as an academic exercise, but to have tangible impact and influence on my whānau, as uri o Taranaki (descendants of Taranaki), and for the wider field of social work. Consequently, the employment of pūrākau as a methodology sustains both mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori approaches to research that will provide significant added value to qualitative enquiry that is desperately needed in social work.

Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the epistemological stance of mātauranga Māori via a Kaupapa Māori theory and research approach, and the methodological tool of pūrākau used in this study. Indeed, I reject that as a Māori researcher I must be acquiescent and fit our te ao Māori worldview into a ‘western box’. Complimentary, I acknowledge the influence of western theoretical constructs of Critical Theory, Constructivism, Liberatory and Culturalistic perspectives on the construction of Kaupapa Māori theory.

Regardless, for this thesis, Kaupapa Māori approaches provide me, as a tangata whenua researcher, a paradigm to conduct my research that frames the way I see the world, the way I organise myself in it, the questions I ask, and the solutions I seek. It is also inclusive of “practices, values, beliefs and attitudes towards knowledge and towards the ways we view our relationships within the world” (L. Smith, 2015, p. 47). These are important concepts in practice, particularly our relationship within the world, both with humans and the environment. My preference for a Kaupapa Māori approach in research is because of its fluidity and flexibility that enables the researcher to “explore, add, shape and redefine according to their own experiences, knowledge and tikanga” (L. Smith, 2015, p. 47). This will facilitate the progression of my own development as a researcher because it is a journey of resistance, decolonisation, and emancipation and that the journey itself is the methodology, resonating with Sheilagh Walker’s expression almost three decades ago that “our struggle becomes our theory” (1996, p. 119). I position myself as a koru starting to unfurl on the journey of Kaupapa Māori - the journey in itself will identify who I am in this research, what I really want out of it and how I will achieve the research goals. Kaupapa Māori theory assists me in defining what it means to be an ‘unfurling koru’, not confined merely by western philosophical traditions but through my research and academic praxis.

The next chapter will identify the research strategy describing the way in which these theories were employed, noting the moral and ethical parameters used to preserve the interests of kaimahi and whānau participants.

Wāhanga Tuawhā: Method and Research Strategy

He maunga te tangata, he maunga he tangata.”

Every mountain is a person.

Mead et al. (2004, p. 98).

Introduction

This chapter describes the way in which the methods were utilised in the research journey. The research process is outlined and includes the operational items of participant criteria for selection and recruitment, ethics processes, consent, data collection and procedures applied for recruitment of kaimahi individuals, whānau participants, and analysis. The research strategy describes the researcher’s data collation journey and the enactment of Kaupapa Māori research concepts. This chapter also clarifies my position to aid in understanding and justifying the processes employed. Also illustrated in this section is how the key themes were formulated through a unique Taranakitanga *Pūrākau Framework* and the justification for the analytical processes selected. Also, another framework, *Ngā Hau o te Mouna*, is presented which was used to organise the five data analysis chapters .

Ethical Considerations and Approval

Ethics

This research proposal was assessed by Massey University Human Ethics Southern B Committee and was granted ethical approval number: SOB 18/52. The approval letter is included in the appendices (see Appendix 6: Massey University Human Ethics Approval Letter).

Supervision

Supervision for this study has occurred between three academic units with the Primary supervisor and one of my co-supervisors employed within the School of Health Sciences, and two co-supervisors previously employed by the School of Social Work, alongside a consultant from Te Pūtahi a Toi at one stage. Meetings were regular and occurred at frequent intervals of one to two meetings per month increasing towards the end to maintain the writing momentum. Critical peer commentary and support came in the form of my colleagues and academic group referred to as Whānau Pūkenga – a Māori leadership group composed of Māori staff members from the School of Social

Work. Regular meetings were also held with members of my whānau, specifically Ihaka Noble, and Aunty Maggie (Makere) Watson and my brother Mathew Watson. This was important to check that information was tika me pono and that whānau were aware of what my research was focussed on. Other whānau members were contacted regarding the chapter that was specifically written for my Watson whānau. This included all of my siblings, my children, and nieces.

Declaration of Conflict of Interest

I am the Chief Executive (CE) of my own supervision consultancy practice while also employed as a lecturer/academic by the School of Social Work, Massey University. To discourage any conflicts of interest current clients were not invited to participate in this study. Additionally, students that I supervised in my professional role as an academic at Massey University were also omitted from the study. However, I did interview one participant who later (after being interviewed) entered our Social Work Post Graduate (PG) programme, and I was a guest lecturer in two of her papers however this was not deemed a conflict of interest.

Kaupapa Māori Research Cultural Ethical Principles

I utilised the Kaupapa Māori research ethical principles gifted by Te Awekotuku (1991) who stated that empowerment needs to be an integrated principle throughout the entire research process. This ethical basis outlined the culturally specific ideas and practices to aid in collecting the pūrākau Māori research participants (hereon referred to as *Kaimahi*) provided. These are:

- i. Aroha ki te tangata (love and respect for people).
- ii. He kānohi kitea (the seen face).
- iii. Titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero (look, listen and later speak)
- iv. Manaaki ki te tangata (care and look after the people)
- v. Kia tūpato (be cautious).
- vi. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample on the mana of people).
- vii. Kia māhaki (be humble).

These concepts are outlined further to describe how they were enacted, demonstrating kaimahi and whānau interview processes of engagement, recruitment, pūrākau collation and analyses.

i) *Aroha ki te tangata*

Kaimahi and whānau members were given full autonomy to choose the location and the date/time of their interview. For instance, one kaimahi had originally agreed to be involved however declined later, which I accepted without prejudice. A variety of localities were selected by participants including personal residences (three), and workplaces (eight). Consent was first ascertained by the workplace. For those residing in Manawatū, I offered my private practice location and consultancy room to do interviews and two kaimahi chose to meet there. Two kaimahi (n=2) based in Ōtautahi (Christchurch) were given the option of being interviewed at my rented accommodation. One participant had come to Auckland to travel to Australia and was also given the option to be interviewed at my accommodation. Whānau interviews included two taking place at the whānau home, two were on zoom, one was at the kaimahi workplace, and one was at my private practice location and consultancy room.

To generate my position as an insider, each interview commenced with sharing of whakapapa and whānau stories enabling a process of reciprocity, aroha, respect, and development of rapport. I shared my own story of growing up, my social work training and practice journey, complimented with a story of healing. This helped to develop my rationale for the study while demonstrating a strategy on which to share their own pūrākau. *Aroha ki te tangata* also ensured that ethical processes of confidentiality could be discussed and maintained. Furthermore, I completed a follow-up kōrero to assist in clarifying their pūrākau to ensure that the details shared were correct while also checking accuracy. I also acknowledged the emotions shared ensuring safety throughout the interview and paid homage to whānau for their contributions and ensuring they were feeling safe and secure in our interview.

To maintain the Kaupapa Māori research paradigm employed for this research, all interviews included karakia, whakataukī, waiata, whakawhanaungatanga and whakapapa connection, use of conversational te reo Māori, koha (in the form of gift cards) and the provision of kai as part of manaakitanga. This was necessary given that the kaimahi interviews and whānau hui varied in length from one to three hours in duration.

ii) *He kānohi kitea*

Translated as the ‘seen face’ it is defined by interactions that are conducted ‘kānohi-ki-te-kānohi’ - face-to-face. While email contact was initiated to inform kaimahi of the process of the study, along with the interview schedule and list of questions, two kaimahi participants approached me using the kānohi-ki-te-kānohi method because of our previous relationship. Kānohi-ki-te-kānohi is mandatory if emotionally sensitive topics are to be discussed leading to metaphysical experiences that only ‘face-to-face’ contexts could have conjured enabling wairua (unseen and intangible) events to transpire. Taha wairua is a key component of Kaupapa Māori approaches enabling a more intimate detail of pūrākau to be captured. Recruitment also happened by attending a Manawhenua hui (the ANZASW Māori social work group in Manawatū) where I presented on this project ‘face-to-face’, thus providing an opportunity to inform potential kaimahi of the research.

All sixteen kaimahi interviews occurred kānohi-ki-te-kānohi and four (4) whānau interviews occurred kānohi-ki-te-kānohi whilst two (2) were conducted using Zoom technology as it was the only option available in which to complete the pūrākau process. There were some technical issues with one participant in one of the Zoom interviews (because he had a lower ranged voice pitch), overall, this method worked effectively. I met kānohi-ki-te-kānohi with my own whānau who provided cultural support for this thesis, including my Aunty Maggie (Makere), Ihaka Noble and others, as well as Dr Dennis Ngāwhare-Pounamu (Taranaki Tūturu iwi).

iii) *Titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero*

This principle describes the significance to ‘look, listen and then if appropriate and required, to speak’. This principle was very important in the whānau interviews when there was more than one whānau member, as it required the researcher to be very observant of all participants and notice changes in mood and behaviour. At times, the researcher would gently encourage other whānau members to share their thoughts if a noticeable reaction had been observed. Sometimes further clarification was required with kaimahi and whānau regarding the intent of kōrero. To ensure this process was smooth, an information sheet was forwarded to kaimahi and whānau prior to the interview. This ensured that kaimahi participants and whānau had been provided with

a rough estimation of the interview duration with participant information also being reiterated through phone calls and before interviewing began.

iv) *Manaaki ki te tangata*

Protecting the mana of the kaimahi participants and their whānau throughout the research process commenced at first contact. To honour this concept, the Māori model Te Whare Tapa whā (Durie, 1998) seemed sensible to use.

- Taha Tinana: The researcher made sure that a variety of kai (food) options was provided for each interview with kaimahi and their attending whānau, and for the whānau hui interviews.
- Taha Wairua: Karakia initiated and concluded each interview, and within the session if deemed necessary. Throughout the research process the safety and wellbeing of kaimahi and their whānau was paramount. This was done through tikanga processes by ensuring karakia was utilised, enabling whakapapa and whanaungatanga processes to take place, and including pūrākau, whakataukī, and waiata when necessary.
- Taha Hinengaro: This required the researcher acknowledging and being attuned to non-verbal behaviour and ensuring an empathetic approach to all levels of inquiry.
- Taha Whānau: Responding to the needs of whānau members while present during the interview process was paramount as well as being observant to whānau dynamics. The interview processes were completely kaimahi and whānau-led, as a way in which to acknowledge their status as Manawhenua including enabling them to take control of how they wanted the hui to progress and waiting for the mantle to be passed over to me as the researcher, and then back to the whānau for the whakakapi and/or mihi whakamūtunga. Every interview occurred in private areas to maintain confidentiality, even when these occurred in private dwellings. While there were occasional interruptions in kaimahi residences, they did not distract from the interview process, and were managed quickly by kaimahi. Rather, these were welcomed and allowed for the interview to maintain a sense of comfort furthering whanaungatanga and whakapapa connections. Kaimahi transcripts were also provided to whānau members, and they were invited to make any changes they felt necessary.

Kaimahi and whānau will also receive a copy of the research findings and will be invited to further gatherings where the findings will be presented.

v) *Kia Tūpato*

Kia tūpato identifies the processes of ethicality employed ensuring that the process of health, wellbeing and cultural safety were adhered to for all involved – for me as the researcher and most importantly for my kaimahi participants and the whānau participants. Elements of safety and caution were discussed with my supervisors, Whānau Pūkenga (School of Social Work Māori Staff Leadership Group) and my personal whānau members. Safety for the kaimahi participant and whānau was ensured through the provision and guarantee of confidentiality, anonymity, and the non-identification of personal details in public documents arising from the research. This included the alteration of personal details, workplace or rohe within the transcript and numbering kaimahi participants *Tahi ki Tekau mā Ono* (one-16) to protect identity.

Once the interviews and whānau hui were completed and transcribed, I emailed the transcriptions to the kaimahi participants and whānau members who had participated, along with the *Authority for the Release of Transcripts Consent Form* (see Appendix 5: Authority for the Release of Transcripts consent). Once participants and their whānau had checked the transcriptions, made any changes they felt necessary, they returned the transcript to me, along with the signed Authority for the Release of Transcripts Consent form. All participants completed this process. Upon completion of the thesis, participants and their whānau will be invited to a hui on the research findings. This hui will also be offered locally to social workers, educators, managers, and students. The participants and their whānau will also have access to a summary of the findings (based on the research findings presentation). They will also be given the electronic link to the thesis when available.

vi) *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata*

I endeavoured to conduct my research towards an outcome that encouraged te mahi whakamana (Ruwhiu, 2009) and engaged with kaimahi and their whānau in mana enhancing ways. This involved a strong communication framework that involved:

- an initial email.
- a follow-up phone call.
- organising an interview date and time.

- familiarisation of the interview process including their rights as participants.
- a follow-up email or phone call.

This process advocates a method that is facilitative and permissive whilst encouraging a paradigm of choices for participants that made the research happen. This exemplifies how at times a careful and sensitive balance was required that necessitated negotiating the constraints of the university, while also maintaining the mana of my participants. It must also be noted that Manawhenua and mātauranga-a-iwi (specific tribal knowledge) was adhered to, however, Whanganui perspectives of Taranaki (as Pukeonaki) were given precedence as a whakapapa model for Māori social work practice, thus the framework employed in this thesis utilises the Taranaki version of his travels through the Whanganui region their rohe as he journeyed to Te Tai Hauāuru.

vii) *Kia māhaki*

This concept was employed to reflect my role in collating the pūrākau and exploring the most appropriate strategies in which to deliver the interview process and disseminate the information. This was conducted with complete guidance and advice by kaimahi and whānau to ensure their expert accounts and knowledge were safeguarded and delivered in a form that was commensurate with their methods of knowing and being.

Two separate audio recorders were used for the kaimahi interviews and whānau hui in case one device malfunctioned. The methods utilised for gathering data in this study is semi-structured interviews (including an interview schedule) and whānau hui (similar to focus groups) (See Appendix 7: Interview Questions). These recordings were uploaded directly to my computer and transcribed using transcription specific software. Personally, transcribing the interview data presented an opportunity to become intimate with the kōrero. Brief notes were also recorded during the interviews to compliment the interview data. As a visual learner, I completed many illustrations and diagrams to assist in my thought processes, using mind maps and quotations to give clarity to my research. These visual aids are included in the Appendices (Appendix 8 – 13).

I was also able to uphold the *Kia māhaki* concept by being an ‘insider’ of the research topic. My identity as tangata whenua and a social worker may be described as an insider or *emic position* (Pike 1967, 1990, Zhu & Bargiela-Chiappini, 2013) while maintaining an outsider or *etic positioning* (Onwuegbuzie, 2012) in relation to the research as I hold

an observer's perspective of the social group i.e., researching Māori social workers providing an insight into cultural nuances and complexities. Through the research journey process movement is made towards an etic-emic fusion where all parties can profit (Lincoln & Guba, 2013) and is named an emtic position (Onwuegbuzie, 2012) which is described as encouraging "participation by involved parties in the reconstruction of realities ... with an intention to pursue with participants and stakeholders' social justice principles in practice" (Onwuegbuzie & Frels, 2015, p. 162).

While 'insider' research is described as complex and may present the researcher with challenges, these can be mitigated via strong support structures (L.T. Smith, 2012). These structures were based on the utility of the unique *Te Kāhui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana Pūrākau Framework* proposed for this project (see further in this chapter). Also, support was embedded in an intimate and holistic connection to Pukeonaki, as well as Taranaki narratives in both physical and metaphysical ways; *te taha tinana* (I descend from Taranaki); *te taha hinengaro* (I experience emotions and intellectual capacity from being uri o Taranaki); *te taha wairua* (I spiritually connect to the mouna, whenua me te moana o Taranaki); and *te taha whānau* (my whakapapa is Taranaki – Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Mutunga and Taranaki Tūturu).

Most importantly, *Kia māhaki* necessitates that insider researchers need to be humble and "have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more and so do their families and communities" (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 138). Often insider researchers are living and working with their own whānau, hapū and iwi and there may be no clear delineation between the personal and professional. Insider epistemology enables me to develop and reach levels of understanding that cannot be attained by outsider researchers and utilising a Kaupapa Māori approach within this research will facilitate this process (Watson, 2017). As an insider I wish to acknowledge the contribution of kaimahi and their whānau stories to the project as 'experts', as such I aimed to ensure that their interests were upheld before my own academic outcomes. By sharing my own experiences of 'growing up' while making connections with kaimahi healing and training journeys I was able to garner an account that reflected their personal and professional practice as a social worker.

Participant Recruitment and Profile

Kaimahi Participants

The criteria for the participants of this research included the following:

- Self-identify as Māori.
- Currently practicing as a social worker
- Hold at least three (< 3) years' experience in social work.
- Experienced challenge or adversity in their lives.
- Currently living in Aotearoa.
- The information letter also invited whānau to be a part of a separate interview process and share their experiences as whānau who either are direct relatives or socially connected to kaimahi. This was not a compulsory requirement of the research but was a method that could bring a whānau perspective to the research (Please see Appendix 1: Panui).

Most of the participants (n=11) were recruited via the assistance of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers (ANZASW) who disseminated my research information letter with associated consent forms (see Appendix 2: ANZASW letter). This information was sent twice (October and November 2018). Five (5) kaimahi participants were not members of ANZASW. Those who did not meet the research criteria assisted in my recruitment strategy and 'forwarded' the information on to Māori social workers they knew personally. I also attended a Manawhenua (Māori rōpū branch of ANZASW in Manawatū) hui and presented on the research 'kānohi-ki-te-kānohi' (noted earlier) however this did not garner any participants. In keeping with Māori engagement protocols informed consent was assumed when the kaimahi agreed to be part of the research. However, the communication detail was robust (see *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* communication strategy) and there were several check-in points to ensure transparency and that kaimahi and whānau completely understood their rights as participants (as outlined in the Information Letter and Consent forms, see Appendices 3 and 4).

Personal interviews and whānau hui were chosen for this study as they align with the Kaupapa Māori research approaches and the pūrākau method of 'kānohi ki te kānohi' communication. I was guided by kaimahi and whānau when delivering the questions, prompted by both verbal and non-verbal behaviours, and by remaining reflexive to the

interview ‘moment’. Interview questions commenced with general demographic information i.e., age (range), qualification, tertiary education provider, social work experiences, fields of practice including workplace locations (prior and current) and iwi/hapū affiliations. It was decided not to use the information on iwi/hapū affiliations as it could compromise anonymity for participants who reside in rural locations.

In total 16 individual kaimahi interviews were completed. The interviews took place in a diverse range of locations throughout the North Island (n=14) and in Ōtautahi (Christchurch, n=2). Kaimahi who participated were situated in Tāmaki Makaurau (n=3), Kirikiriroa (n=1), Tauranga Moana (n=2), Whakatāne (n=1), Rotorua (n=1), Whanganui-a-Tara (n=2), Te Pāpāioea (n=2), Ōtautahi (n=2), Whanganui (n=1) and Manawatū (n=1). The following table provides an overview of kaimahi who participated in this project.

Table 1: Kaimahi Participant Profile

PSEUDONYM	GENDER	YEARS OF EXPERIENCE	Age Range	CURRENT SERVICE	TEI where trained
Tahi	F	15	50+	NGO	TWOA
Rua	F	9	50+	Kaupapa Māori	TWOA
Toru	F	15	50+	NGO	TWOA
Whā	F	31	50+	STAT	Unitech
Rima	F	4	40-50	NGO	Toiohomai
Ono	F	5.5	30-40	NGO	Massey Uni
Whitu	M	-	50+	TEI	Otago Uni
Waru	F	15	50+	STAT	Massey Uni
Iwa	F	18	50+	NGO	WITT/TWOA
Tekau	F	25	50+	STAT	TWOA
Tekau mā tahi	F	22	50+	STAT	Victoria Uni
Tekau mā rua	F	30	50+	Partnership Iwi/DHB	Massey Uni
Tekau mā toru	F	22	50+	STAT	Massey Uni
Tekau mā whā	M	20	50+	STAT	TWOA
Tekau mā rima	F		50+	Kaupapa Māori	Canterbury Uni
Tekau mā ono	F	25	50+	STAT	Canterbury Uni

An interview schedule for kaimahi participants was developed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (see Appendix 7: Interview schedule). As *Te Kāhui Mounga ki Te Toka Tūmoana* is the underpinning framework of this thesis, the kaimahi interview schedule was divided into three parts:

1. Te Kāhui Mouna - kaimahi experiences growing up. Te Tohe is incorporated in this first section (reported separately, see Data Analysis).
2. Te Haerenga o te awa - social work training and healing journey.
3. Te Toka Tūmoana - social work practice.

A variety of topics were discussed during the interviews including:

- The experiences of kaimahi growing up in whānau including roles, personal experience, how good times were celebrated, how conflict was managed, values and beliefs instilled, biggest learnings and who were whānau inspirations.
- The social work training journey was explored and the ways in which whānau supported this.
- The influence of te ao Māori in social work training.
- How kaimahi navigated conflicts of interest when working with whānau and the how they negotiated spaces of tension between professional and personal interactions.
- The challenges and enablers of practice when utilising te ao Māori worldview perspectives and knowledge in workplace organisations.
- The strategies kaimahi employed to implement self-care.
- Kaimahi perspectives of whānau wellness.

Whānau Participants

An interview schedule for whānau participants was developed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (see Appendix 6: Ethics Notification).

The questions for whānau participants explored the following topics:

- Whānau values and beliefs.
- Whānau stories regarding social workers and social work and whether those stories changed as kaimahi became a social worker.
- The perceived benefits and disadvantages of having a social work trained whānau member, their role, expertise, and leadership within whānau.
- How whānau manage crisis, conflict, and challenge.
- A whānau perspective of whānau wellness.

Whānau perspectives of the research were discussed in the initial phone call/email with kaimahi and many kaimahi identified that they would like whānau members to be

consulted for the research. The kaimahi interviews occurred first, then kaimahi were again asked if they would like to identify whānau members for the whānau hui participation. Six whānau hui with kaimahi whānau members took place separate from the kaimahi interviews, however one (Whānau Rima) occurred with the kaimahi present. Three other kaimahi had identified that they would like their whānau to be part of the research – the first did not eventuate as it became problematic to bring whānau together, the second one we had scheduled a time to meet however the whānau member contacted me to decline the interview, and the third came with the kaimahi for the whanaungatanga part of the kaimahi interview however had to leave unexpectedly and then declined to be interviewed for the research.

Six (6) whānau interviews were completed, resulting in a further 11 whānau members participating in the pūrākau process (see Table 2 below). Four of the whānau hui were kānohi ki te kānohi and two were conducted using Zoom technology.

Table 2: Whānau Participant Profile

PSEUDONYM	KAIMAHI	RELATIONSHIP TO KAIMAHI	GENDER	INTERVIEW MODE
Whānau Tahī	Rua	Tama	M	Kānohi ki te Kānohi
		Tama	M	Kānohi ki te Kānohi
Whānau Rua	Toru	Hoa tāne	M	Zoom
		Tama	M	Zoom
		Hunaonga	F	Zoom
Whānau Toru	Rima	Hoa tāne	M	Kānohi ki te Kānohi
		Tamāhine	F	Kānohi ki te Kānohi
Whānau Whā	Waru	Tuākana	F	Zoom
		Tuākana	F	Zoom
Whānau Rima	Tekau mā rua	Teina	F	Kānohi ki te Kānohi
Whānau Ono	Tekau mā whā	Tungāne	F	Kānohi ki te Kānohi

Data Analysis: Employing Te Kāhui Mounga ki te Toka Tūmoana Pūrakau Framework

The formulation of a narrative analysis framework that resonated with my own whakapapa and journey as a social worker, and that also aligned with the experiences and meaning created by kaimahi, began pre-Covid and involved travelling back to Taranaki over a period of years. I attended many workshops related to family violence, Taranaki healing and Indigenous issues and took the time to meet with whanaunga to kōrero about my research. These trips at a personal level represented being physically closer to my own sense of *Te Toka Tūmoana*, facilitating new learnings while substantiating my own understandings and knowledge. I also conducted personal ‘retreats’ symbolic of being physically close to *Te Kāhui Mounga* and staying in the Tūrangi area. One pivotal kōrero took place in February 2020, when I met with Dr (Dennis) Ngāwhare-Pounamu (Taranaki Tūturu), a principal expert of the *Travelling Mountain Narrative*. His doctoral thesis explicated a framework where the themes derived from his narratives employed the following pūrākau framework; *Pāpā Pūtake, Te Pakenga, Te Hekenga, Pāpā Whenua*. While I decided not to employ his theoretical design of narrative analysis, it most certainly influenced and advanced my examination framework of - *Te Kāhui Mounga and Pukeonaki; Te Tohe; Te Haerenga o te Awa; and Te Toka Tūmoana: Becoming Taranaki*, collectively referred to as ***Te Kāhui Mounga ki te Toka Tūmoana Framework***. Gratefully, I have also had the opportunity to share my initial understandings at training sessions providing an appropriate context to ‘test out’ Te Kāhui Mounga ki te Toka Tūmoana Framework with social workers in social work contexts. The pūrākau upon which the framework is designed as well as the way in which I utilise and convey the data is expressed and described below.

Te Kāhui Mounga and Pukeonaki

Unbeknown to the general populace, Taranaki was founded before Kupe’s discovery of Aotearoa and prior to the arrival of the Kurahaupō, Aotea and Tokomaru waka (Ngāwhare-Pounamu, 2014, p. 109). Rather, the origins of Taranaki are attributed to the early inhabitants of the area referred to as Te Kāhui Mounga (Broughton, 1979; Hohaia, 2001; Smith, 1910). It is also believed that Te Kāhui Mounga resided there before the cataclysmic journey of Pukeonaki to his current resting place as Taranaki Mounga (also referred to as Mounga Taranaki). Pūrākau narratives identify that Te Kāhui Mounga were also known as *Te Kāhui Ao, Te Kāhui Rangi, Te Kāhui Pō, Te*

Kāhui Atua, Te Kahui Toka and occupied the original land of Mimi Maunganui, the mountain that preceded the arrival of Pukeonaki (now Taranaki), Ruatupua (now Pouakai) and Ruatawhito (now Kaitake) ranges (Te Kotahitanga o Te Ati Awa, n.d.). Noble (personal communication, 1 March 2019) introduces the Whanganui narrative by describing “the old sacred names for the Kāhui Mouna”, these are Ruapehu: Matua te Mana - the Patriarch and Father; Pukeonaki: Matua te Tapu - the Sacred One; Tongariro: Matua te Toa - the Warrior and Guardian; Ngauruhoe: Matua te Pono - the Servant, and Pihanga: Matua te Hine - the Maiden and Princess. The principal pūrākau that this research draws upon is the journey of Pukeonaki as Te Miringa Hohaia (2010) outlines:

In the past Pukeonaki [also known as Puke Haupapa] stood in the Taupō region. Rotoaira was where it was situated. The history can be told by Ngati Tuwharetoa however that is where Taranaki originally stood. At that time, it was known as Pukeonaki. He had many names, some referred to him as Puke Haupapa and others, but to us it is Pukeonaki.

This component of this pūrākau is used in this thesis as an allegory that highlights the nurtured and socio-ecological perspectives and lived experiences of kaimahi and their experiences of ‘growing up’ – as did Pukeonaki with Te Kāhui Mouna. It aims to identify the social-cultural impact of factors such as whānau position i.e., being mātāmua (first born), pōtiki (last born), and the roles and responsibilities they had while growing up and how those roles influenced their decisions to be a social worker. It also elucidates how they currently perceive their current roles and responsibilities in their whānau and the interesting dynamic being a social worker creates – both the added-value and challenges for whānau. It details the role whānau have in instilling their values and beliefs within kaimahi, and how kaimahi have internalised their learnings from childhood, adolescence into adulthood. Narratives from the interviews relating to these topics eventually found their way into Wāhanga Tuarima, Wāhanga Tuawaru and Wāhanga Tuaiwa.

Te Tohe

Te Tohe gives insight into the self-perceived internal conflict that kaimahi experience as social workers while also assuming a role as a whānau member. It aims to identify the tensions that exist when Kaimahi and whānau co-habit the realms of social work as

restorative justice, healing, and wellbeing. This tension is symbolically captured by the pūrākau of the dissension experienced between Te Kāhui Mouna and Pukeonaki, as Ngāwhare-Pounamu (2014) describes:

It came to pass that [Pukeonaki] Taranaki fell in love with the beautiful wāhine Pihanga. But Pihanga was desired by the other maunga, and the family of mountains was divided by conflict. [Pukeonaki] Taranaki came to blows with Tongariro The battle was long and continued until Taranaki was finally defeated by the power of Tongariro. Exiled, Taranaki trudged wearily away weeping for his home, his family, and the woman he loved. From his tears came a rock named Te Toka a Rauhoto, also imbued with a living mauri (p. 17).

Ihaka Noble presented another adaptation of this well-known pūrākau emphasising instead that, rather than “a battle” arising between the mouna, it was more of a discussion or argument (tohe) because “the mouna were a founding whānau unit referred to as Te Kāhui Mouna whose central role was to maintain the well-being of the landscape and environment” (Ihaka Noble, personal communication, 1 March 2019). Hence, Te Tohe represents the raru (issues) and tohe (debates) within whānau with a specific focus on kaimahi personal experiences of their whānau and how conflict was negotiated and managed. This section of the analyses also highlights moments of crisis and conflict management. Findings from the research related to these themes were incorporated into Wāhanga Tuaono.

Te Haerenga o te Awa

This component of the pūrākau, Te haerenga o te awa, represents the journey of Pukeonaki with Te Toka a Rauhoto to the west and is being applied as a symbolic comprehension of the kaimahi journey of social work training. This part of the pūrākau is illustrated by Ngāwhare-Pounamu (2014, p. 17):

[Te Toka a Rauhoto] led the grieving [Pukeonaki] to the west coast by way of the Manganuiateao awa, to the Whanganui awa. Heading west they journeyed overland. Crossing the Waitotara they rested at Ngaere swamp before reaching the coast. Two maunga were already resident in the area - Pouakai and Patuha, who welcomed Pukeonaki. Te Toka a Rauhoto came to rest next to Hangatahua awa and was venerated by later generations of inhabitants as the guide stone of

Taranaki maunga. But once there were two human ancestors named Rauhoto Tapairu and her husband Rua Taranaki. They are the tūpuna of our people.

Also relevant is the Whanganui iwi version of the creation of the Whanganui awa as being formed by a single teardrop of Ranginui (Patriarch of the te ao Māori conception narrative) and that the Whanganui awa was already in place when Pukeonaki left Te Kāhui Mouna (Whanganui Iwi & The Crown, 2014).

Regardless, of the account that individual whānau, marae, hapū and iwi consign, for this framework, *Te Haerenga o te Awa* represents the journey of kaimahi undertaking social work training and possibly their healing journey. Indeed, for this section I posited the query “*What was their training journey and what (or who) was their Toka a Rauhoto?*” It aims to capture their reasons for embarking on social work training, and the direct affect that whānau involvement had on that decision, while simultaneously identifying their notions of te ao Māori influence in both formal and informal modes of social work education. Findings related to social work education were presented in Wāhanga Tuawhitu.

Te Toka Tūmoana

The concept of *Te Toka Tūmoana* is from a well-known whakataukī – colloquial proverbial saying - that in its full iteration proclaims:

*Ko rātou ngā toka tūmoana, Ka akina rātou e ngā ngaru o te moana.
Ka ākina e te tai, ka ākina e ngā hau. Engari ahakoa pēhea ka tū tonu, ka tū tonu.*
They are the rocks standing in the sea. They are bashed by the waves of the ocean.
They are dashed by the tide. They are struck by the winds. But no matter what hits
them, they stand, and they stand.

Ngā Tuara (1992, p. 56)

Te Toka Tūmoana captures the pūrākau of how Pukeonaki, despite the challenges he endured, maintains his vigil at the site of his eventual resting place, his transition to Taranaki and relationship with Tangaroa (the Atua/deity of the oceans and seas). Indeed, he epitomises “ka tū tonu, ka tū tonu” – he still continues to stand and has created an identity symbolic of his stature as Koro Taranaki (enduring Elder of Taranaki). The whakataukī describes the attributes of leadership of those who manifest steadfastness, strength in their socio-cultural beliefs, values, and identity - likened to “the rock in the ocean that stands strong against all elements” (see Pihama, 2018). Another description of this whakataukī states that Te Toka Tūmoana is “a distinctive

rocky reef formation protruding out of the ocean, often used as a marker to navigate safely into and out of the harbour” (Oranga Tamariki, n.d.). In this thesis Te Toka Tūmoana represents kaimahi and their evolving praxis and professional identities thus them ‘becoming’ social workers. As such, this theme provides a culminating summary of kaimahi experiences and their learnings and considers their training, healing, and internalised sense of meaning and belonging within the social work socio-cultural context and location of practice. This aptly describes the kaimahi interviewed for this study who often stand strong and firm in the chaos of challenge and adversity and may be the safe marker to help others navigate a way through the choppy waters of life. This is symbolic of both kaimahi being ‘toka’ for their whānau and communities of practice and representative of whānau as ‘toka’ for kaimahi. Narratives related to becoming a social worker are presented in Wāhanga Tuawaru of the thesis.

Te Toka Tūmoana component of the pūrākau framework therefore clarifies themes that illustrate what kaimahi bring into their practice – positive and negative, what they need to develop further and how they can access support for both personal and professional development. It represents the concrete practices and strategies employed when working with whānau. This is where they culminate their life experiences and the social work training into their actual social work practice. Te Toka Tūmoana themes included: positive and negative experiences of growing up impacting on social work practice, dilemmas, and boundary issues for kaimahi, positive and negative aspects of being a social work trained whānau member, practicing from a te ao Māori worldview, self-care, and whānau wellness. Narratives related to social work praxis are presented in Wāhanga Tuawaru of the thesis.

A fourth section for data analysis included the whānau perspective. This is where the responses from the whānau hui were culminated together under the themes of whānau values and beliefs, whānau stories of social work, positive and negative aspects of having social workers in whānau, kaimahi expertise in whānau, kaimahi roles in whānau, crisis times and conflict management in whānau, and whānau wellness and wellbeing. Whānau narratives are presented in Wāhanga Tuaiwa of the thesis.

Next the framework, Ngā Hau o Te Mounga, which structured the data analysis chapters further, is outlined below.

Ngā Hau o te Mounga Framework

He Whakataukī

Hokia ki tōu maunga kia purea ai koe ki ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea.
Return to your mountain to be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea.

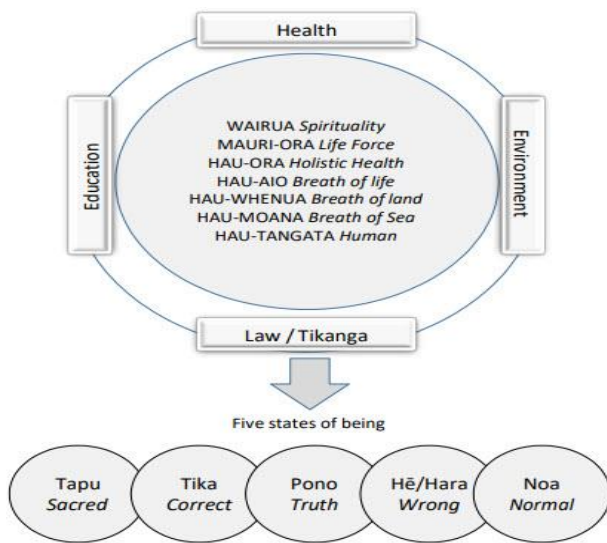
This framework was motivated by three inspirations – the karakia ‘Whakataka te hau’ (opening karakia), the Mana Kaitiakitanga Framework (Cameron et. al, 2020; Penehira, 2011), and the development of the Meihana Model to incorporate ‘ngā hau e whā’ (Pitama et. al, 2007).

The utilisation of Ngā Hau o te Mounga framework has been chosen because it sits well with the overall Mounga framework of this research and the pūrākau framework of Pukeonaki growing up in Te Kāhui Mounga, then journeying to the west (Te haerenga o te awa) and then eventually settling in Te Tai Hauāuru (Te Toka Tūmoana). The emphasis is on hau and Pukeonaki was also known as Pukehaupapa (Hohaia, 2001). Hau is the winds, the breath that comes from Tāwhirimātea, who is one of the sons of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. In the pūrākau regarding the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, Tāwhirimātea was against the separation of his parents.

The concept of winds also aligns well with the mounga framework as the above whakataukī emphasises that when we return to our mountain, we can be cleansed on our mounga by the winds surrounding our mountain. This reminds us of who we are, from whose waters we descend, and where our turangawaewae is. We are cleansed in the metaphorical sense but also in a physical sense as strong winds are cleansing and help to blow away our worries and troubles and can help clear our head. Valentine and Tassell-Mataamua (2022) outline that hau is inclusive of mauri but not the same because hauoratanga and whakahauora are connected to ‘wellbeing and acts of being healthy’ (p. 9). Vokoyvic (1981) delineates that hau is the power that mauri portrays. Mead (2003) shares that a person’s hau can be left behind and steps need to be taken to protect our hau, for example, not cutting nails at night.

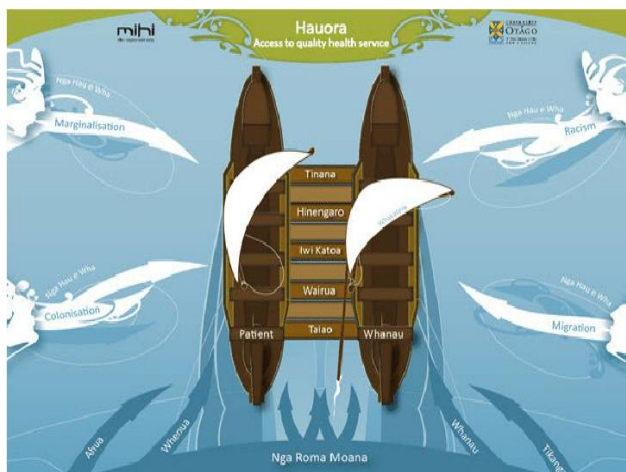
The Mana Kaitiakitanga Framework was developed by Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru, Mera Penehira and other students in 1997 and provides a framework to view Mouri, It includes Mouri as one of the seven keys to Māori wellbeing (Mouri ora), and the other six keys referring to aspects of Hau – Hau-Ora, Hau-Aio, Hau-whenua, Hau-moana, Hau-tangata and Wairua (Cameron et al., 2020, p. 42).

Whakaahua 3: Mana Kaitiakitanga Framework



Another framework that influences Ngā Hau o te Mounga Framework is the Meihana Model (Pitama et. al, 2017) whereby ngā hau e whā were introduced to the model to demonstrate the influence of the winds on a waka journey. Ngā hau e whā refers to the four winds. Pitama et al. (2017) made changes to the Meihana model which saw the model viewed as a Waka Hourua (double hulled canoe) and added ngā hau e whā to represent historical and societal influences on Māori. The four components that were represented by the four winds were colonisation, racism, migration, and marginalisation.

Whakaahua 4: Meihana Waka Model

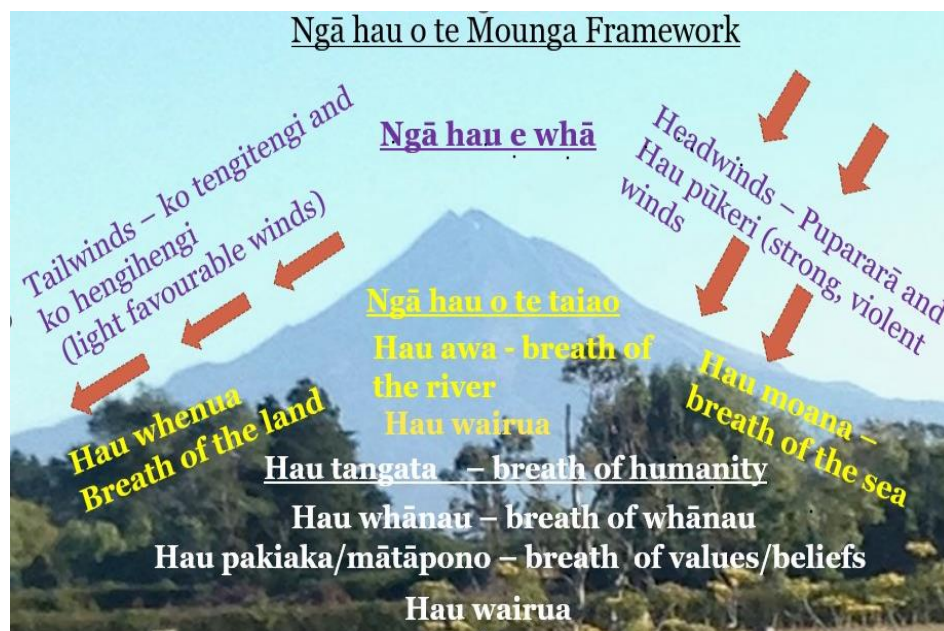


Note. (Pitama et al., 2017, p. 8).

Ngā Hau o te Mounga framework consists of eight components: Hau Tangata (the breath of humanity); inclusive of Hau Whānau, Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono, and Hau

Wairua, and the hau associated with te taiao (breath of the environment); Hau Whenua, Hau Moana, and Hau Awa, and concluding with Ngā hau e whā (the four winds of change) – see Appendix 13 First Draft of Ngā hau o te Mounga framework.

Whakaahua 5: Ngā hau o te Mounga Framework



Hau tangata

Hau tangata is the breath of humanity and incorporates human relationships, the individual and collective wellbeing of humanity and considers the wellbeing and relationships of people with each other (Cameron et al, 2020). For Ngā Hau o te Mounga framework, adding to this hau is Hau whānau, the breath of whānau, inclusive of whakapapa and exploring whānau relationships, whānau roles and growing up in whānau. Also added to the Hau o te Mounga framework is Hau pakiaka/mātāpono and is the breath of our roots; values, beliefs, and worldviews. These pakiaka/mātāpono are instilled within us from a young age. Hau wairua, the breath of wairua encapsulates spirituality and is emphasised as ‘ngā wai e rua’ (the two waters), is connected to Māori spirituality and, “includes knowledge, understanding and application of karakia pure (specific incantations) and waiata” (Cameron et al., 2020, p. 46). Hau wairua is implemented in both hau tangata and hau o te taiao.

Hau o te taiao

Hau Moana, Hau Whenua and Hau Awa consider wellbeing from te taiao. This is vital as our wellbeing as humans is connected to the wellbeing of te taiao. Within this

domain, Papatūānuku, Tāne Mahuta and Tangaroa are considered. Hau Moana is the Breath of the sea and specifically considers the wellbeing of people to the wellbeing of the ocean and the relationship between the two. Hau Whenua is the Breath of land and looks at the link of the wellbeing of humans and relates it to the wellbeing of the land, and particularly the relationship between people and the land. “If the relationship between them is active and well, this has a significant positive contribution to Hau Ora” (Cameron et al., 2020, p. 47). In the Hau o te Mounga framework, another hau has been added, Hau Awa, the breath of the river. This hau is specifically related to the second theme of the pūrākau framework – te haerenga o te awa, the journey of the awa and is incorporated in Wāhanga Tuawhitu. In this chapter Hau Awa outlines the kaimahi stories of coming into social work. The metaphor of the awa is utilised because the awa is the connector from Te Kāhui Mounga ki te Toka Tūmoana – therefore the awa is the journey. As mentioned in the previous section Hau wairua, the breath of wairua encapsulates spirituality and is utilised in Hau o te taiao and Hau tangata.

Ngā hau e whā

In Ngā hau o te Mounga framework ngā hau e whā are the four winds. These themes are Te hau kotahi, Te hau rua, Te hau toru and Te hau whā. Te hau kotahi and te hau rua are head winds and likened to the rough, violent head winds – Hū Kerikeri, Tupararā, Hau pūkeri. These winds focus on challenge, negativity, and adversity. Te hau kotahi and Te hau rua headwinds are utilised in Wāhanga Tuaono and Wāhanga Tuawhitu to highlight challenge, adversity, conflict and tohe for kaimahi growing up in challenge and adversity. Te hau toru and te hau whā are likened to the more gentle, favourable tail winds i.e., he tā tika, ko tengitengi and ko hengihengi. These winds are focussed on positives, strengths, resilience, and ways forward. Te hau toru and te hau whā are utilised in Wāhanga Tuaono and Wāhanga Tuawhitu to identify the tail winds of resilience, turning points for kaimahi and positive changes and ways forward for whānau who have experienced challenge and adversity.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined the ethical concerns from a Māori perspective, participant selection and the limitations of the research. The process of analysing the participant pūrākau for this investigation was described, discussing methods of coding, classifying, and assembling the pūrākau into coherent themes. These themes are articulated and

juxtaposed in the following chapters. The position as researcher was clarified justifying the necessity for an interpretive and subjective approach to seek out and provide the reader with an expression of kaimahi as understood by social workers. The pūrākau framework, *Te Kāhui Mounga ki Te Toka Tūmoana*, described is a tool and framework that is beneficial for all kaimahi working in the social services to reflect and work on themselves that assists them to make connection to what they bring from their own lived experiences that helps or hinders their practice, and what they need to develop further. To date I have facilitated two training sessions utilising the Mounga framework as a tool for social workers and supervisors to look at themselves and their own practice and how growing up in their whānau may impact on their practice. It is hoped that this stratagem may provide a blueprint for future Māori researchers choosing to investigate the convergence or divergence of social workers in various social work contexts, either Māori or non-Māori.

This project is underpinned by mātauranga Māori and is located within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm. Mātauranga Māori gives utility to employ pūrākau and Taranakitanga (Taranaki specific knowledge) within this thesis to reconnect to tūpuna (ancestral) ways of knowing and being, particularly through pūrākau and whakataukī. Pūrākau is utilised as methodology to connect the research to our Māori worldview, with a particular focus on *Te Kāhui Mounga ki Te Toka Tūmoana* as the framework for this study. This pūrākau has been separated into four underlying themes for the research framework. *Ngā Hau o te Mounga framework* is a tool, utilised on the concepts of hau to further structure and delineate the analysis/discussion chapters of this thesis. The next chapter will contour the results of these interviews with kaimahi and their whānau and present the findings within the aforementioned *Te Kāhui Mounga ki Te Toka Tūmoana Pūrākau Framework and Ngā Hau o te Mounga framework*.

Wāhanga Tuarima: Te Kāhui Mounga: Whānau Mouri Ora

– Positive Growing up experiences: I come from where my beginnings were

He tupuna, he mokopuna
Ma wai e whakaki ngā whāwhārua o ngā mātua tūpuna?
Mo o mātou mokopuna
He mokopuna, he tupuna.

Who will fill in the spaces left by our ancestors?
Our grandchildren will!
Respect our whakapapa by caring for our children
Respect your whakapapa by caring for your children

(Nā Tū Tama Wāhine o Taranaki)
(Cameron et al., 2013, p. 4)

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to investigate whānau influences on kaimahi; it will explore kaimahi in the context of their own whānau and how these experiences are carried into their social work training and practice. The research question asks: How do Māori social workers' experiences of their own whānau impact on their social work practice alongside other whānau? There are four key objectives that have been developed to assist in answering this research question. The first key objective explores Māori social workers experiences of growing up in their own whānau. Te Moananui-Makirere et al. (2014) in their Whānau Ora research urged participants to position themselves as whānau members first, by placing themselves as the rito (baby frond) of the harakeke (flax bush), and then considering their own roles in their whānau, e.g., as a pōtiki, or a cousin, or an aunt. They reiterated that our own lived whānau experiences impact on choices we make today and that, “our whānau are our first teachers and knowing ourselves is the key to knowing others” (p. 14). As the whakataukī above outlines, it is our mokopuna who will fill the spaces left by our tūpuna and it is imperative that we respect our whakapapa by caring for our mokopuna well. The following two chapters considers social workers' experiences of growing up in their own whānau and encompasses adults' perspectives of reflecting on their childhood. These chapters are part of Te Kāhui Mounga phase of the research, that is, Pukeonaki's experiences of growing up amongst Te Kāhui Mounga, the family of mountains in the Central Plateau.

The two chapters are split into Whānau Mauri Ora and Whānau Mauri Noho. The rationale for this structure is that when interviewing kaimahi for the research, it became obvious that there were two different streams – one group of kaimahi who had grown up immersed in loving, safe home environments, often with a strong foundation of te reo Māori and tikanga (Whānau Mouri Ora), and a second group of kaimahi who had grown up in challenge, adversity and unsafe home environments (Whānau Mouri Noho). Both groups of kaimahi bring different skillsets and strengths to the profession of social work. This first chapter, Whānau Mauri Ora, focusses on the positive experiences of kaimahi growing up in whānau. The second chapter, Whānau Mauri Noho, will focus on the challenges and adversity faced by kaimahi growing up in their whānau.

Ngā hau o te mouna framework

These two chapters are structured into Ngā Hau o te Mouna Framework which consists of eight components: Hau tangata (the breath of humanity); inclusive of Hau Whānau, Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono, and Hau Wairua and the hau associated with te taiao (the breath of the environment); Hau Whenua, Hau Moana, and Hau Awa, and concluding with Ngā hau e whā (the four winds of change).

There are three key themes outlined in this Whānau Mouri Ora chapter. The first theme focusses on Hau whānau and explores growing up in whānau and how positive experiences and relationships in whānau connect kaimahi to whānau, hapū, and iwi. It considers the placement and positioning of kaimahi in whānau, and the roles associated with these positions. Hau Whānau also considers the protective factors that assist in keeping children safe when growing up in a secure, loving environment. The second theme is positioned in Hau Pakiaka/Hau Mātāpono and considers the values and beliefs kaimahi learned growing up and how these set the foundation for the kaimahi values and beliefs that will become integral to their social work practice. The third theme considers the role of te taiao in kaimahi growing up experiences and encompasses Hau Wairua, Hau Whenua, Hau Moana, and Hau Tangata.

Hau Whānau – the social structure of safety and protection for tamariki

Hau whānau considers how whānau can provide a structure of safety and protection for tamariki, mokopuna. Hau tangata focuses on humanity and people in general whereas

Hau whānau focuses on the whānau aspect of humanity and people. In this section whāngai as a social structure is scrutinised, particularly the tikanga of first-born mokopuna being whāngai'd to grandparents. Protective factors that help to keep children safe are explored, alongside the placement and positioning of kaimahi within their whānau growing up, and the roles they upheld.

When tamariki grow up immersed in love, whānau can provide a structure of safety and protection for them (Cameron et al., 2013). Waru's experience of being nurtured and loved, and seeing love modelled by her parents impacted on her life positively: -

I had a really awesome childhood! ... There was lots of humour and laughter, lots of food, there was nothing dark about my childhood. I didn't have any experiences that weren't like abuse of any kind or anything like that. Mum and Dad were really in love, so I got to grow up watching the relationship where they adored each other and our house was open to any[one], Dad was really hospitable ... my childhood was loving, and nurturing and I grew up around love.

Growing up immersed in love can often assist in keeping tamariki safe and secure. In this research kaimahi who grew up in loving, safe and stable homes had the opportunity to consider protective factors i.e., what specific things kept children safe and free from harm. Kaimahi talked about parents not letting them stay at many other houses as children growing up, and that they had people around them that were protective of them. Sometimes parents abstained from drinking alcohol and that was identified as a factor in keeping children safe. The importance of modelling healthy ways to manage conflict was also a protective factor that ensured children's safety and wellbeing. Having protective people around tamariki/mokopuna keeps them safe. This includes parents, grandparents, and trusted others. When adults put children's needs first and think about the impact on children, they are being protective of them:

Tekau mā rua: We didn't stay at other places very often; Mum and Dad weren't too keen on doing that ... and of course later on there was reasoning behind that! ... I think it was really important too that Mum and Dad didn't drink, well they used to drink but once we came along, they chose not to drink anymore so we weren't raised in that environment.

Toru: My Dad always ensured that we were safe, even when we went to relative's places, and if they were drinking, he would make sure we were safe ... We weren't allowed to go to anybody's houses – only certain ones ... We always had people to protect us.

Tekau mā rua: She [Nannie] was such a protector, absolutely protected us and so sadly when I hear some of the stories from our cousins and my aunts and that, particularly my aunts, what happened for them in our village, gosh we were very, very blessed to have someone that protected us from some of the abuse that was actually happening at that time.

Kaimahi acknowledge here that having the protective adults around them, and in these examples, there is mum and dad together, dad by himself and Nannie, kept them safe and away from abuse. Kaimahi admitted that there was abuse around however they were often protected and shielded from it. Tekau mā tahi specifically identifies her mother as keeping her safe through not drinking, and then makes the connection to young people she works alongside in the field of sexual abuse as having an absence of protective adults around them:

My mother never drank ... and we talked about it in terms of what I do for work and how often when I talk to kids, in fact mostly when I talk to kids, a lot of this stuff happens when there's alcohol around and there's no safe adults for kids.

Another way that children were kept safe was through adults modelling healthy ways to resolve conflict. In the Kōrero Mai E Te Whānau research report (Te Puni Kokiri, 2012) the importance of natural whānau leadership roles, responsibilities and obligations was acknowledged and the idea that, “Whānau leadership also includes mentoring and role modelling those positive values and attributes of whānau” (p. 29). Kaimahi shared how healthy ways of resolving conflict were modelled to them growing up. A strong theme is the importance of talking through conflict. Some kaimahi shared that conflict would be discussed and that parents modelled how to talk through everything: -

Waru: Conflict – it would be tabled, verbalized ... we were never taught to suppress that and keep it in – it was just you certainly knew and that's when a conversation would be had so we never grew up around being scared of managing any conflict or anything – it was just said. It was just talked about.

Tekau mā rua: They [mum and dad] just talked through everything. Mum and Dad – they were such advocates about being truthful ... and they said “the truth we can manage, no matter what it is! Always be truthful!”

Protective factors include having people around children who are focused on being protective of them, of parents not drinking alcohol at parties and gatherings, and parents not letting children stay at many other houses when they were growing up. The importance of modelling healthy ways to manage conflict was also a protective factor that ensured children’s safety and wellbeing. These protective factors were identified by kaimahi who grew up immersed in love and generally safe and stable homes.

Whāngai: the tikanga continues

Another Hau whānau for kaimahi growing up was whāngai. Whāngai continues to be a ‘normal’ whānau structure utilised in modern times to ensure tamariki receive the knowledge and wisdom from their elder generation, and reinforced that tamariki are secure in the knowledge of who they are, where they are from, and where they fit in the wider structure of the whānau. This research also ascertains that the tikanga of firstborn children being whāngai’d to grandparents is a practice that continues in contemporary times.

In Māori society children were regarded as taonga by the whole whānau (Bradley, 1995; Walker, 2002) and whāngai was the customary kinship practice that provided for care and support of tamariki/mokopuna. Whāngai is a tikanga that “supports and shapes social structure” (Kenney, 2009, p. 119-120). It was a cultural practice whereby children would move from one whānau household to another, either temporarily or permanently (Newman, 2020; Payne, 2020). Whāngai is “to take care of, to feed, to nurture a child that is not your birth child, as part of a whānau, hapū, iwi Māori arrangement” (Cameron et al., 2013, p. 16). The child still has a relationship with their biological parents and whāngai would “not alter who the child was, where they came from or what their role was within their whānau” (Newman, 2020 p. 44). In Taranaki, the kupu ‘taurima’ is the dialectal preference for whāngai (Cameron et al., 2013; Metge, 1995; Payne, 2020) and taurima is a “tikanga that has continued to be practiced within Taranaki and gave both tamariki and tupuna ways of sharing” (Cameron et al., 2013, p. 16). Whāngai was also regarded as rongoā for miscarriage and infertility within whānau

when a wahine was unable to conceive a child herself, and as a “culturally based alternative to termination” (Kenney, 2009, p. 119).

Whāngai was ‘normal’ and a reality for many kaimahi growing up in whānau. Several kaimahi were whāngai’d from birth. Rua was whāngai’d to her mother’s sister, who could not have children, for the first two years of life. “I was given away from the hospital. But Mum gave me to her sister who couldn’t have children and I was the sixth child in our family, so Mum had enough!” This reinforces Kenney’s (2009) view that whāngai can be rongoā for women unable to have tamariki themselves and also reiterates that this tikanga can enable the “whāngai parent to assume the identity of mother” (p. 119). Kenney goes on to explain that in becoming a ‘whāngai parent’ a tapu can be lifted and sometimes whāngai mothers can go on to conceive their own children. This was the case with Rua’s aunty who conceived her own child two years later and subsequently Rua went to live with her grandparents.

Tikanga of firstborns being whāngai’d to grandparents

Newman (2020) and Metge (1995) outline that often firstborn children would be raised by grandparents, and this is a practice that continues in contemporary times. In te ao Māori, to raise a mokopuna is deemed an honour, and mokopuna raised by tupuna are treasured and the relationship enables the transmission of knowledge from the older generation to the mokopuna (Metge, 1995; Smith, 2008). Therefore, the grandparents are the key teachers for tamariki/mokopuna. McRae and Nikora (2006) note that grandparents will whāngai the mokopuna to keep the extended family together and that when a whāngai relationship is established it is usually a positive experience for all. For mokopuna “being raised by grandparents in a supportive and caring environment has a significant influence on security felt by tamariki and mokopuna ... and the grandparent-mokopuna bond is reciprocal with tamariki learning to care for their elders through the relationship” (Cameron et al., 2013, p. 27).

For three kaimahi who were firstborn in their whānau and the oldest mokopuna, they were whāngai’d to their grandparents.

Tekau: I grew up in a big wide whānau. I was the firstborn grandchild, and I was taken by my grandparents and raised ... I thought it was a privileged life ... I grew up with Te Reo, I grew up with tīkanga, you know I was very guided by

my mother, who was my grandmother, and she took me places, pointed out people to me who were connected.

Tekau mā rua: I went to Nannie because I was the oldest and that was the practice within the whānau, that was the tikanga.

Tekau mā rua was the firstborn of nine children and was raised by her grandmother until her grandmother passed away (when Tekau mā rua was 6 years old), she then moved back to her Mum and Dad. Tekau mā ono was whāngai'd by her great aunties for the first five years of her life and then went to live with her birth whānau where there was abuse and violence.

Tekau expressed that her birth mother had no choice regarding the tikanga of firstborns going to grandparents:

You know, so like me, my mother had no choice, she had to give me up and that was just how it was, because the grandparents with the first moko – it was their right, whatever they wanted to do it was their given right, they held that respect and mana and nobody argued with that – it was okay.

Tamariki/mokopuna, “belong to whānau, hapū and iwi, and as such responsibility for raising children is shared beyond the bounds of their immediate family” (Cram, 2012, p. 6). Kaimahi also talked about whāngai coming into their whānau. Tahi's whāngai was actually her oldest sister's child (Tahi's niece). Toru shared that three older brothers were whāngai'd to her family (her Aunty's sons so these were her cousins). Tekau mā rua's whāngai brother had come from her mother's side of the whānau. Tekau mā rima was whāngai'd to her older sister when she was 8 years old (her sister was 19 at the time). Tekau mā tahi also shared that one of her sisters was whāngai'd to other whānau and that her mother brought up a granddaughter as well. This reiterates that whānau have shared responsibility for raising tamariki/mokopuna beyond their immediate whānau. Tekau mā rua also shared that when her eldest child was born, her sister arrived to pick him up and take him back to her parents. Because she herself had been a whāngai to her grandmother from when she was born, she understood and accepted the tikanga. This was in the early 1980s.

The tikanga of whāngai has impacted on kaimahi growing up experiences and continues to impact on their lives today. Because of kaimahi understanding of tikanga and te ao

Māori, they can consider whāngai as an option for tamariki/mokopuna or can present it as an option for whānau they work alongside in their mahi as social workers.

Relationships in whānau

Another Hau Whānau is that strong, loving relationships in whānau help tamariki to be robust and confident and can then transfer into relationships outside the whānau i.e., with hapū, iwi and community. This will impact on relationships they form later in life, and for kaimahi particularly the mahi of social work.

Grandparents: “You knew the love”

Kuia and kaumātua were revered as being the head of the whānau, the vessels of knowledge and wisdom holders, and had a role in tending to, nurturing, and mentoring the young (Metge, 1995; Walker 1990; Wilson 2016). Tamariki/mokopuna were viewed as treasures by kuia and kaumātua (Pere, 1982). Grandparents play a critical role in maintaining “oversight of whānau health and wellbeing” (Smith, 2008, p. 262) and have considerable influence in tamariki/mokopuna lives. The grandparent-mokopuna relationship is crucial for the wellbeing of the mokopuna and the whole whānau” (Cameron et al., 2013).

Most kaimahi discussed the important attachment they had to grandparents, particularly if they lived with them, but even if they did not. Rua loved living with her grandparents and had secure attachment to them. She lived with them for approximately five years, returning to her birth whānau at 8 years old. She shares how life was with her grandparents: -

We used to live in a tent on the hills cos he [koro] was a fencer so we would follow him. My Nannie would put up the tents, find the wood for the fire, cook ... I can still remember [sniffs in memory] that kai on the fire. Yeah, so the next day he would move on so Nanny would pull down the tent, move up the hill, put it up and we’d have to go to the stream ... I loved it – loved that life!

However when she was 8 years old she was returned to her birth whānau and she felt that her life was stolen from her, “I loved it [living with grandparents] and you know that was like stolen from me ah?”. On returning to her birth whānau, Rua was exposed to abuse and violence.

Cameron et al. (2013) shared that when knowledge is shared by tupuna with mokopuna it is a way of “remembering and honouring what they had been taught and the knowledge passed to them from their kaumātua” (p 23). They stressed that it is important that this needs to be done for mokopuna from a young age to ensure it is implanted in their understandings.

Whā: Both sets of grandparents taught us to stand strong in Te Ao Māori and to embrace Te Ao Pākehā ... We were nurtured to know who we were, where we came from and where we belonged and that we had a place to stand (turangawaewae) and we could go away and return to that place at any time ... It is they who I remember when I am going about my personal and professional life because they were the greatest influencers in my life. They were inspirational; they were nurturers, our teachers and they were our role models.

Cameron et al. (2013) outlined the role of the tūpuna (grandparents) as being pivotal to showing aroha to the children/mokopuna. The grandmothers particularly were significant role models and provided unconditional love, were protectors and modelled manaaki ki te tangata.

Tekau mā rua: Absolutely our grandmother, she was a very significant role model in our whānau. She was so gentle and softly spoken and you know you knew the love, you felt the love, you tasted the love, you smelt the love ... she very much, I think, nurtured us on how to behave with other people.

Rua: I think a lot of it is that they taught me to be humble and they taught me to love, and to look after each other.

The importance of relationships with kuia and kaumātua for mokopuna are of benefit to the whole whānau and can assist in helping tamariki/mokopuna to learn important values, be immersed in love, and learn about looking after and caring for the older generation. These learnings and natural practices can extend past the whānau and for many of those kaimahi, it has extended into their social work practice.

Placement/Positioning In Whānau

This Hau Whānau contemplates the placement, position and roles of kaimahi in their whānau of origin. Placement and positioning in whānau considers mātāmua (first-born), pōtiki (last-born), tuakana and teina (older siblings and younger siblings) and

tamaiti waenganui (middle child). Seven kaimahi identified as mātāmua, two as pōtiki, six as tamaiti waenganui. One identified as pōtiki in birth whānau and mātāmua in her whāngai whānau, and another as mātāmua in birth whānau but pōtiki in whāngai whānau. One kaimahi was tamaiti waenganui however also identified herself as a pōtiki in being the youngest sister.

Mātāmua:

For kaimahi growing up in the role of mātāmua, they held positions of responsibility and leadership. These skills have transferred into their social work practice later in life. The mātāmua is usually the first-born, eldest or older son in a whānau, and has responsibility and authority for their younger siblings (Jackson, 1978; Williams, 2004). Metge (1995) informs that the mātāmua generally receives the greatest allocation of abilities and skills and holds the mana of the whānau. Nikora (2015) discusses how her father is the eldest in his whānau and, “as the firstborn he took seriously his responsibility to care for and protect his siblings and parents” (p. 3). The mātāmua has the responsibility of leadership in the whānau and are often “socialised into the traditional mātāmua and tuakana leadership roles within whānau, hapū and iwi from a young age” (Nikora, 2015, p. 3). It is the responsibility of the mātāmua to represent whānau, receive advice from whānau, and serve the needs and interests of the whānau. Tekau mā rua defined the mātāmua role comprehensively at a household level, before transferring those skills to the marae setting:

It is a position of responsibility, accountability, reporting and essentially really being responsible for the care of your siblings to enable Mum and Dad to go and do what they needed to do, whether it was work or serving in the community. I was really the constant at home. Certainly, I enacted any directions that came from Mum and Dad – that would be my role to make sure those things happened ... cleaning the home, cooking kai, manaaki when we had visitors and ... when I was old enough, then taking all of what I learned within our home to our marae, because we were very active within our marae.

Responsibilities to the wider whānau

The mātāmua has other whānau responsibilities to cousins, uncles and aunties, and extended relatives (Nikora, 2015) and are often called on to “represent and serve the

broader kinship network, so the system is expanded with genealogy, informing relatedness and positions of seniority” (Nikora et al, 2012, p. 402).

Tekau mā rua: I was kind of that direct line of kōrero to Mum and Dad, which they also recognized, so they recognized my place in the whānau and so did extended family members, and that’s continued on today. When there are events and that, there’s expectation that I’ll go through, although I might send a couple of sisters through, that’s not necessarily the faces they want to see. Yeah, but a huge expectation around that role, and that’s just part of how I was nurtured, especially by Nannie and then by Mum and Dad.

The mātamua were in positions of responsibility and leadership within whānau and this extended into whānau whanui. These positions were acknowledged by the pakeke in whānau and then by extended whānau members. The skills that were learned by kaimahi who were mātamua in their whānau growing up would eventually help, determine and shape their social work practice as they bring their leadership skills and knowledge to social work.

Pōtiki

For kaimahi growing up as pōtiki there is an expectation that they will ask the difficult questions, rebel, and push the boundaries. The pōtiki is the last-born child, sometimes known as whakapakanga (Jackson, 1978) and according to Metge (1995) also receives a special increment of mana. Nikora et al. (2012) states that pōtiki are junior, supportive roles and “traditionally do not demonstrate much influence in whānau decision making” (p. 410) however at times they are granted space and status beyond the pōtiki status. The pōtiki position is unique and “they are expected to ask the difficult questions, suggest other options and push the boundaries” (Nikora et al, 2012, p. 402) and have the responsibility to “challenge, critique and ensure the accountability as well as the success of the mātamua and tuakana” (Nikora, 2015, p. 3). This was the case for Waru who was the pōtiki in her whānau and struggled to understand the role of pōtiki at times but felt she was the most outspoken in her family and could push the boundaries:

I was probably the one that was the most outspoken in terms of what I thought, not necessarily to people’s liking at times. I’d be the one that would say things more, probably, yeah younger sibling one.

Williams (2004) states that the pōtiki is often indulged and Iwa grew up with her grandmother and was the baby in her whāngai family and did not have to do much:

I was the spoilt one. Well, I didn't have to do anything. That's my grandmother - I didn't have to do anything when it came to my whāngai family ... I was the baby of that whānau.

Nikora et al. (2012) reiterates that, "The conduct of pōtiki, although treated with some frustration, is understood and endured" (p. 402). Tekau mā rua and Tekau mā toru both felt the younger siblings missed out on the disciplining in the whānau because they would get very vocal and cry and need pacifying:

Tekau mā toru: Oh my god yeah and we all got it [discipline] all the same except for probably the youngest and the pōtiki – they don't ah? And he would just cry and say "he did it or she did it" ah and we would get it. He'd get pacified. Yeah!

These pōtiki traits assist kaimahi in their social work practice through being able to push the boundaries, particularly in seeking resources, and asking difficult and challenging questions which need to be accounted for in social work.

Tamaiti Waenganui

As the whānau extends and new generations are born the systems of tuakana/teina and mātamua/pōtiki continues to structure relationships (Nikora, 2015). Nikora (2015) was second born in her whānau, and she states, "I became number 2 to remember, number 2 to make parenting mistakes with, number 2 in the line-up of kids, number 2 for the allocation of duties and delegation of responsibilities, number 2 in the chain of command" (p. 6). She noted that when the next two siblings came along her older brother's responsibilities increased as did her own, particularly with regard to caring for the younger siblings. Although she was number 2, she was actually the number 1 daughter and had a mantle of responsibility for tasks that are shared amongst females in whānau.

When researching middle children in Māori whānau research, it was difficult to find information. This is probably due to the tuakana-teina concept. Participant Tahi had questioned what the kupu Māori for middle child was and had come up with 'waenganui' herself. Tamaiti waenganui has developed from this.

The kaimahi that were tamaiti waenganui held views that they are the ones in whānau that can hear all the conversations going on and can see both sides, and viewed themselves as the middle children who could be mediators, as well as manipulators:

Whitu: We're the middle children – the smugglers man! We can hear all the conversations ... sometimes you're the manipulator, sometimes the mediator!

Whā: I'm the middle child so I believe I'm quite fortunate because I see both sides – the old and the new and you're sort of like the mediator in the end. You're able to give a different perspective on things.

Whā saw the middle child as the challenger: “I was the conflict one so if I didn't like something people knew about it so I was always in conflict with my brother who is older than me, yes so I would be the challenger”. The literature on pōtiki views the last-borns more as the challengers and the pushers of the boundaries, however in larger families one can be a tamaiti waenganui but placed more at the pōtiki/teina end of the whānau and so could more strongly identify as having pōtiki traits. In the same way, some tamaiti waenganui could be placed more in the tuakana/mātāmua end of whānau so may strongly identify as mātāmua. Waru, who was the pōtiki in her family, saw her sister who was the middle child as relaxed and easy-going, “She's pretty ‘go with the flow’!” This seems to sum up most people's expectations of the tamaiti waenganui.

The traits of tamaiti waenganui assist kaimahi in social work practice because they are able to see different perspectives and not become ‘locked’ into a view. They can also take on the mediator role and assist others in being able to reach consensus. Also their easy-going manner and ‘go with the flow’ attitude helps them to walk the middle ground.

Tuakana-teina

The concept of tuakana and teina refers to the “mentoring or role modelling nature of relationships and encapsulates a sharing of knowledge and guidance within a symbiotic relationship” (Mead, 2003). Tuakana is senior and teina is junior. Tuakana refers to an older sibling or cousin of the same sex in an elder, senior branch of the family and teina refers to a younger sibling or cousin of the same sex in a junior branch of the family (Jackson, 1978; Williams, 2004). Te Rangi Hiroa (1952) writes that, “the prestige of the tuakana is inherited, for the cousin whose father was tuakana or senior in birth to the father of the other cousin remains tuakana and his cousin remains teina”

(p. 351). Those latter born members of whānau (who are teina to the mātāmua) have a responsibility to support the decisions of their tuakana and to ensure that mātāmua/tuakana are all genuinely representing the whānau plans rather than their own personal interests (Nikora et al., 2012).

The concept of tuakana-teina was raised by kaimahi throughout the research, particularly in terms of the elder siblings/cousins looking after and caring for the younger children.

Whā: We all went to the rere [waterfall] for a swim, the eldest to the youngest as no one was allowed to be left behind. The principle of tuakana/teina was adhered to consistently during these times ... We are now adults and when we are together as a whānau whānui we always acknowledge that we have been very privileged to have had a strong robust upbringing based on the values and principles that our elders lived by.

Looking after the younger children was the job of the older children in whānau.

Tekau mā tahi: I must have been maybe 7 when the first niece arrived, I might have been younger than that! I always remember feeling this affinity with babies and kids and I was always the baby-sitter in the whānau as I got older, and I would be the one looking after them.

Mantle of tuakana passed on to others

Although traditionally the general pattern of tuakana is the older brothers and cousins, “first born women and sometimes younger whānau members can also fill leadership roles, particularly if the tuakana abandon or cannot meet their responsibility or if teina demonstrates outstanding competence” (Nikora et al, 2012, p. 402). Therefore, if the tuakana does not possess the necessary skills, the role may be passed to others (Furbish & Reid, 2003). The two males in this research both talked about the mantle of tuakana being passed on to them. Whitu took on tuakana roles in his whānau at a young age, for example, being groomed for the kaikōrero role. Tekau mā whā emphasised his siblings saw him in a tuakana role: -

Although they are older, they see me more as up here, mainly probably because of the work I do ... so you know how some whānau – the mantle can be passed down because the other one isn’t quite ready for it so it’s kinda that, to the point

that when our Mum got sick, and H [older sister] was in England, and some decisions had to be made, that was put back to me, passed all [of] them.

The positioning and roles that kaimahi held growing up in their whānau of origin assisted in constructing the ways they work alongside others, in the first instance, their own whānau. These positions and roles determine their place in whānau, who and what they are responsible for, who they are accountable to, and how to navigate the sub-systems within whānau, and external to whānau. They learned how to be part of a collective and their niche and place within that collective. These roles eventually also assisted kaimahi in their mahi alongside whānau when they became social workers later in life.

The positive growing up experiences of kaimahi in their whānau outline the influence of growing up around love, having a big wide whānau of support and extended whānau, the ongoing outliving of traditional practices i.e., tikanga of firstborns going to grandparents, the importance of strong whānau relationships and how these solid relationships extend out further to community. In whānau is where kaimahi first learned to develop strong relationships and transfer those skills further out from the whānau realm. Being able to form strong relationships and accessing extended networks are the foundational skills needed in social work. The placement and positioning of kaimahi in whānau considers the roles of mātāmua, pōtiki, tuakana-teina, and tamaiti waenganui. Kaimahi who were mātāmua hold positions of responsibility, accountability, reporting and are responsible for the care of their siblings – this role has continued into their adult lives and those skills transfer naturally into social work. They also have responsibilities to their wider whānau. Kaimahi roles in whānau usually aligned to their positioning in the whānau. There was a strong emphasis on tuakana-teina in that the older siblings/cousins were responsible for the care of the younger siblings/cousins. Therefore, looking after children and being focussed on them was identified by some kaimahi as leading them into social work, particularly care and protection work of children. Having this strong foundation will assist kaimahi in their work alongside other whānau in social work. The importance of values and beliefs in kaimahi lives will be discussed next.

Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono: Values and beliefs

The second component of the Hau o Te Mounga Framework utilised in this chapter is Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono. Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono are the roots – the underpinnings of kaimahi – their worldview, their values and beliefs and where they come from. Values and beliefs learned and modelled in childhood form the solid foundation for life and these were instilled by tūpuna, “Tupuna modelled tikanga, values, practices, behaviour and etiquette to their mokopuna” (Cameron et al., 2013, p. 27). Tamariki learned how to care for, look after, and share resources with others who were in need. This strong foundation of values and beliefs will carry through into their adulthood and their professional working lives. Kaimahi were asked about values that were taught and instilled into them from a young age and the values they instil in their own tamariki and mokopuna. Te ao Māori concepts and values outlined by kaimahi included manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, rangatiratanga, tika, pono and aroha, and mana wāhine. The importance and influence of marae is also discussed in this section, with reference to learning kawa and tikanga and taking on roles at the marae.

Te Ao Māori concepts and values

Whānau values were pivotal to whānau behavioural conduct (Pere, 1982). Isaac-Sharland (2012), for example, identifies the whānau values and concepts of aroha, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, mana and whakapapa as being pivotal in her research exploring the link between te reo Māori as an empowering instrument regarding mana whānau and contributing to whānau wellbeing (p. 21). Kaimahi in this research shared te ao Māori concepts that have been instilled in them since childhood.

Manaakitanga: Manaaki ki te tangata

Manaaki is a key concept within tikanga Māori and it means to express love and hospitality towards people (manaaki ki te tangata) and integral to manaakitanga is aroha (Barlow, 1991). Expressions of manaaki can include “koha, kai, exchange of ideas and information or ensuring a power balance” (Payne, 2020, p. 47). Cameron et al. (2013) outline that caring for others is an essential part of tikanga Māori and as a process manaaki should enhance relationships.

Many kaimahi grew up with the value of manaaki ki te tangata and knew what they had to do when manuhiri or whānau arrived at home and now as adults they practice this concept in their lives: -

Tekau mā rua: To support others, manaaki, we just knew that. Whānau would arrive, we knew what the responsibility was ah? Put the jug on and it didn't matter what we had in our cupboard, and we never ever felt that we didn't have anything in our cupboard, you know, the bread, the butter, and the jam, that was absolutely great – that was a feast! So, we never, mum and dad never thought “oh God we haven't got much in the cupboard!” They said, “Whatever we have that is what we serve!”

Manaaki ki te tangata is outlined further by Waru:

Dad was definitely a man with integrity and his community-minded, you know helping others ... I can remember going up town and being little and there was a young Māori woman with her child, and she must have been sick, and he stopped to talk to her and found out that she was really unwell and needed to get home but had no way to get home, so we took her. And also like my cousin when she got pregnant, she was only 14 or 13 and I remember going to a tangi and C [cousin] sitting in the back with us and she was bawling her eyes out because she was only young cos Dad's oldest brother - Uncle, had disowned her. I knew that it wasn't good because Dad had had words with him and brought C back so she came back with us to live, and Mum supported her with her pregnancy and that, to have baby, because she would have been about 3-4 months pregnant, so she stayed with us until she had baby. So, it's all that kind of stuff - watching him do that.

These examples of manaaki ki te tangata are traditional concepts that ensure that all people are fed, looked after, having their needs met, and that it is a collective responsibility to do this. It is a form of social work practice that goes above and beyond an individual pursuit and confirms that traditionally Māori have been living out social work values for a very long time, and still do so. This emphasises a key argument of this research that Māori have always been social workers because of the living out of natural social work practices, with manaakitanga being one example.

Gang-hearty manaakitanga

Tekau mā whā went on to explain a concept 'gang-hearty manaakitanga' where people did not have much but would share the limited resources that they have:

The real interesting thing was where I grew up, that gang-hearty-gang place, when some of those families caught wind [when mother passed away], they turned up at my house. They aren't very rich people, but they brought watercress, puha, whatever they could, and they stayed.

For kaimahi having manaaki ki te tangata modelled to them by key people in their lives (parents, grandparents) taught them how to take care of and look after others and to share what resources they had albeit small. It is about “mutuality, connection, and reciprocity in exchange spaces” (Tusasiirwe, 2019, p. 133). This concept of manaaki ki te tangata will assist kaimahi in their social work practice as they will ensure that the whānau they work alongside are taken care of, and kaimahi will ensure that whānau have access to resources.

Whanaungatanga: Be kind, help others

When whanaungatanga was instilled in kaimahi in childhood they learned about whakapapa, kindness, helping, and supporting others and connections to each other. Whanaungatanga recognises that working with and supporting the wider whānau is pivotal to wellbeing and provides collective responsibility to each member and that these obligations are reciprocal (Cameron et al., 2013).

Tahi shared how her father taught them about whanaungatanga and helping others:

Dad was good in that way and teaching us to share, to be kind I guess to others as well. It is a kindness, it's whanaungatanga, it's always around whananungatanga, whatever that looks like, be kind, social skills, building up our resilience and social skills.

Whitu outlines that whanaungatanga has depth: -

What is whanaungatanga? ... You know it's just on one plane. But some stick out and they stick out in your mind when you're doing things. Yeah, that kōrero ah? It's not so much he iti te kōrero, he hōhonu te whakaaro and that's what she [grandmother] always used to say.

Whanaungatanga is about relationships in whānau and nurturing and growing these relationships. When kaimahi are taught about making connections with others, being kind and helping others, they will take this skillset into their lives as adults. They also learn this concept of reflective thinking in terms of considering others, where actions

speaking louder than words. Whanaungatanga is a hau pakiaka/mātāpono that the kaimahi will take into their social work practice to find out about whakapapa, build relationships, and make connections to promote wellbeing of whānau Māori. Ruwhiu (1997) affirms the importance of whakawhanaungatanga for Māori social workers in establishing relationships with whānau to promote Māori wellbeing, identity, self-management, development, and generosity. Eketone (2020) highlights that whakawhanaungatanga is crucial to Māori social work practice, has many facets, as well as a close association with tikanga, aroha and manaakitanga, and is integral to wellbeing.

Tika, Pono, Aroha

He waiata:

Mā wai rā e tau rima	Who will take responsibility
Te marae i waho nei	on the marae now?
Mā te tika	There can be justice
Mā te pono	and truth
Me te aroha e	only if there is love

(Composer: Henare Te Owai).

The values of tika, pono, and aroha are taonga tuku iho that have been passed down from tūpuna in various forms, particularly in whakataukī, waiata and pūrākau. “Together, tika and pono frame aroha and are grounded in reciprocity, responsibility and obligations to others” (Wilson et al., 2021, p. 9814). These mātāpono have been instilled in kaimahi:

Whā: They (parents) taught us the principles of tika (doing things right), pono (truth, honesty, and integrity), and aroha (compassion, empathy). Living on the farm with our parents and in the natural rhythm of their interconnectedness with whānau and seeing them maintain their first responsibility as parents influenced and provided the strong grounding.

Here Whā outlines how tika, pono and aroha assisted her growing up in whānau to enable her to work effectively in a whānau group. These skills of working together and being a team player are transferred into her social work mahi.

Aroha: I do it with love

Aroha is *aro* facing towards others, and *ha* is to breathe and is often denoted as the life force (Moorefield, 2011). It can be interpreted as an exchange of breath. Williams (2004) denotes that aroha is “unconditional love, affectionate regard and compassion” (p. 16). Barlow (1991) outlines that aroha is founded on manaakitanga and this asserts the importance of caring, compassionate relationships of individuals and whānau. Aroha encompasses behaviours that are demonstrated as genuine respect, compassion, empathy, generosity, humility, and affection (E Tū Whānau, 2024). Wilson et al. (2021) surmise that aroha “is a complex interweaving of multiple concepts and values and something difficult to comprehend when viewed from a Western worldview” (p. 9814).

Love is receiving more attention in social work literature (Godden, 2017). The importance of love was highlighted by kaimahi:

Tahi: My biggest learning being part of my whānau is aroha ... all my whānau - it's all built on aroha, and we have a lot of it – what that even looks like sometimes! It may not look that great but when I look back and sit back and think about it, I think we have so much in this whānau – it's aroha!

Tekau mā rima: That love is really important and it's really important for children to feel love and for children to know that they are special, and they are capable and they're competent ... in my birth family, it didn't matter if you made mistakes, it didn't matter if you did wrong – it was total unconditional love!

Baking cakes as a metaphor for love

Mafileo (2019) discusses cake art as social work and considers cake art as a “metaphor and method for more fully human social work, which disrupts boundaries and binaries within mainstream social work” (p. 125). Mafileo outlines how love is part of her cake art and is a base principle in social work. The concept of ‘ofa’ (compassion/love) is a value that Oceania social workers identify as a key aspect of their practice. In this research Toru uses the metaphor of baking cakes to represent love:

It's that warming, it's just like when you bake a cake and if you're tired and you've had a bad day, then don't bake, you know there's no love in there, it's gonna turn out wrong and a flop and then when you're in a better mood, better heart and you've got all the ingredients and then you do it and that secret

ingredient is about love, putting your love into it, whether it's one little cake or cupcakes, you know and then presenting that – and they go “Oh what's in this?” you know, those sorts of things.

Love, as a social work concept is not often discussed, particularly in social work. The idea of love in cake art and cake baking opens a new method of sharing love, ofa, and aroha through infusing aroha into tangible arts and artefacts. “Mana, tika, pono, aroha, and manaakitanga connect people and inform their behaviours and decisions about responding to and interacting with others” (Wilson et al., 2021, p. 9814). Therefore, te ao Māori values and concepts are not stand-alone concepts but gently interweave with each other.

Mana Wāhine/Wāhine Toa

He whakataukī:

Me aro koe ki te hā o Hine-ahu-one

Pay heed to the dignity of Māori women

Mana wāhine explores the connection of being Māori and being wāhine and mana wāhine is intricately linked to mana tāne. Wāhine toa is Māori woman warrior and both terms denote strong Māori women. In February 2021, the Wai 2700 Mana Wāhine Inquiry hearings commenced. The Inquiry will hear outstanding claims which allege prejudice to wāhine Māori because of Treaty of Waitangi breaches by the Crown. The scope of the Inquiry will focus on the “alleged denial of inherent mana and iho of wāhine Māori and the systemic discrimination, deprivation and inequities experienced as a result”. The four pou to underpin the Inquiry are rangatiratanga, whenua, whakapapa/whānau and whai rawa (Manatū Wāhine, 2023; Waitangi Tribunal, n.d.). At the first hearing Ripeka Evans stated that Māori women play a key role in linking the past with the present and the future.

In this research, 14 of the 16 participants identified as wāhine. Kaimahi wāhine discussed the strong wāhine role models in their whānau who had significant impact on them and how they wanted their own daughters and mokopuna to be strong Māori women:

Tekau mā ono: I think what my mother did, was that she showed us actually because all of the women, like my daughters, and I think myself ... we're all

pretty strong women, and even my Aunty W, she had never had children, but she certainly raised a lot of the moko.

Tekau mā rima: So, in some ways my whāngai Mum, she inspired me about being a strong, independent wāhine with a really strong voice and lots of abilities and capabilities and also some ways that I didn't want to be, as far as loyalty and revenge goes.

Simmonds (2009; 2011) outlines that mana wāhine is kaupapa Māori feminism that utilises a critical feminist lens and that applying a mana wāhine perspective validates mātauranga wāhine and mātauranga Māori. Tekau mā tahi remembers her mother as being very strong, preaching feminism and leading mana wāhine in her whānau:

She preached feminism ... she did a lot of stuff herself, like she ran the farm, she did everything, my mother, she did the gardens, I don't know how the hell she did it! She did all the cooking, and she ran the house, she ran the kitchen and the shop and stuff at the marae ... and the other thing she did - she preserved, like she made preserves. Well, we lived off the land all year round because she always had preservings and pickles and jams and sauces and stuff like that. She even made home-made spaghetti and stuff like that, lemonade, and ginger beer.

Although Waru had been in violent relationships she was keen to ensure that her own daughters not feel expectations around stereotypical views regarding women:

I was in relationships that were violent ... well both of them [daughters] are really good at speaking up and advocating and they know what's right and wrong so they are quite staunch in terms of mana wāhine ... so I'm proud of them for knowing and having insight into that and not buying into society's norms or expectations of what society thinks they should look like or be because they're women, so they totally discard that and I'm like "good!".

Next a pitopito kōrero is introduced that discusses how mana wāhine was celebrated in whānau growing up.

Pitopito kōrero: Tekau mā rua

This pitopito kōrero focusses on Tekau mā rua who shared beautiful kōrero around celebrating mana wāhine in her whānau, particularly around when the girls transitioned into womanhood and when they had their first babies and how this was really honoured

and celebrated by the whānau, and that there was a whānau value around keeping newborn babies in the ‘nest’ for the first three months of life. First, sacred rivers are explained:

Our transition to womanhood was a really, really important milestone in our whānau and that was absolutely celebrated ... Mum would come in and she would say “when you flow, it needs to flow out” and we would shower, we weren’t to have a bath, that was the time we were allowed to shower so that the flow would go through rather than sitting in the bath. They had beautiful kōrero, it didn’t make us think “Ew, it’s that time!” and I never ever thought that, and she always talked about sacred rivers. “Those are your sacred rivers” and you were really treated like a queen when it was your time cos you know they knew you had to rest and have good kai, which was great.

For Tekau mā rua and her sisters the transition into womanhood was really celebrated and honoured and they were cared for and looked after during that time. This celebration and honouring transferred into when they went on to have their first babies:

We were absolutely honoured when we all had our first babies ... it was a big deal and you just received a suitcase full of everything you needed for your baby, that was for your first baby. You know after that Mum said “Oh you can do your own now” but the first babies were so honoured.

Tekau mā rua then went on to share this concept of keeping baby safe and ‘in the nest’ for the first three months of life:

The other thing she [mother] instilled too and we still do this practice in our whānau is that the baby stays in the nest for the first three months, so baby goes nowhere. Everybody comes to the baby, you know, I even remember when my daughter did the same thing and she said, “Mum I spoke to all my friends and nobody knows about three months in the nest ... where did that come from?” so I just got photos of my great-grandmother, my grandmother and my mother and said “This is where it comes from and my role is to protect and ensure safety for you and the mokopuna. You know this is the biggest job you will ever do in your life is to become a mother. So, our role is to get you there safely and then support our moko”.

This concept of baby staying in the nest for the first three months is very baby/child focussed and puts tamariki/mokopuna first in terms of protecting them and keeping them safe. This is child focussed practice and practice that supports mothers and babies.

Mana wāhine is quite different to western feminism. Mana Wāhine theory focuses on wāhine Māori, mātauranga Māori, te reo and tikanga Māori, and is a perspective to view issues for Māori women through whilst decolonising relationships of gender (Pihama, 2020). This is inclusive of the cultural artefacts of pūrākau, waiata and whakataukī. Mana wāhine is an extension of Kaupapa Māori theory and validates mātauranga wāhine (Māori women's knowledge) (Simmonds, 2011). Simmonds (2011) identifies that Pākehā feminists promoted a “racially homogeneous ‘sisterhood’ in the 1970s and 80s” (p. 17) and that there were elements of racism in the ‘women’s movement’. Whiu (1994) declared that the similarity was the shared struggle with the patriarchy however western feminism ignored the colour of patriarchy. This is the key difference between Mana wāhine and western feminism. Kaimahi identified mana wāhine experiences in their own whānau of mothers who were strong, self-sufficient, capable wāhine who ran their own houses well, and extended this out into community, hapū and iwi, often transferring these skills into the marae settings.

These mana wāhine were exemplary role models for kaimahi. The social services are inundated with female workers, and it is important for kaimahi wāhine to hold fast to their mana wāhine and role model this to other workers in the field, and also to the wāhine in whānau they work alongside. The wāhine lines in whānau have continued to practice tikanga e.g., Celebration of sacred rivers flowing, celebrating birth of tamariki, and keeping pēpi safe in the first three months of life and these are kōrero that should be shared to reconnect whānau back to traditional ways of doing things that focus on babies and keeping them safe.

Marae

He whakataukī:

E hoki ki tō marae, mai to marae ka kia ai koe he tangata
Return to your marae, it is there you will find your identity

(Roimata Wi Tamehana (circa 1950)
(Payne, 2020, p. 266).

The marae as Hau Whānau outlines the importance of knowing who you are, where you are from and knowing what you are born with because, “There is a felt need to know

our roots and to belong to some place that we call home” (Mead, 2003, p. 35). Cameron et al. (2013) outlined that “marae life and the experiences of being on the marae meant that tamariki learnt the values and importance of whānau” (p. 15) and that, “Reconnecting tamariki and whānau to their reo, tikanga and marae is critical to understanding Māori ways of being and wellbeing” (p. 26). Nikora et al. (2012) emphasised that, “The cultural heart of hapū is the marae, a community meeting place” (p. 401) therefore the marae was the meeting place for whānau, hapū and iwi, and provided a space and place for te ao Māori values to be lived out and experienced by tamariki and ensured tamariki understood who they were and where they were from.

The marae is an integral part of some kaimahi lives as they were actively involved in their marae growing up and talked about the values that were modelled to them there and what they had learned:

Whā: Everything revolved around here [marae] so we were the haukainga – we went and opened up, did the dishes, cleaned up, before and after hui, we were always there so that really was the hub of our lives ... learning about the tikanga/kawa of the marae and about te ao Māori.

Next another pitopito kōrero is introduced and discusses the importance of marae life for tamariki growing up and transitioning into new roles on the marae.

Pitopito Kōrero: Whitu

This pitopito kōrero is focussed on Whitu who shares about the transition from being ringawera to sitting on the pae, the passing of the tuakana mantle to himself, and the importance of the marae in bringing people back together. Whitu had accompanied his grandmother, who was a tangata rongōā for the hapū, from a young age and shares his experience of transitioning from ringawera to sitting on the pae:

So, coming through in tangihanga was one of these roles of sitting on the pae ... and we were always ringawera – we’re out the back going to get the kai or whatever and that was okay. The transition started to come when my father would say, “Well, you speak for us!” I would be like, “What am I going to say?” so yeah probably started when I was about 17. But they had us sit there – my pakeke, my kuia and that, whenever on the marae they would have us sit by them anyway ... So, anything down home, down where we were born, anything there, there was an expectation that I would be the speaker for our whānau, and

I didn't realise that the other cousins down there went "Oh you're it!" I didn't realise my older brother said, "Well you're it!" ... and they would say, "Yes do your bit. You don't have to be in the kitchen anymore – we will do that!" But then when we took a cousin back up north for a tangi, up here, it was my grandmother, she was the one. If you can picture, the meeting house was quite big and she was pointing her toko down the line and ... she said, "you're the one!" and that goes back to when we were kids, that's going with her, she was really one of the rongoā people for the hapū, so I was always going with her and always going to places.

Whitu was not the mātāmua in his whānau however he had been groomed for the kaikōrero role from a very young age. His brother, who was his tuakana, had not wanted to take on the role and consented for Whitu to do it – this was the passing on of the tuakana mantle. Whitu had been grown and nurtured from a young age into the kaikōrero role because his kaumātua and pakeke had seen something within him that they wanted to develop and nurture further. By going with his grandmother who was a tangata rongoā for the hapū, he also learned about healing practices to help people who were unwell. It was probably a natural progression into social work for Whitu.

Whitu elaborates on how he learned about wairua from being in the marae environment:

If I think about it from my kuia's point of view, you are given roles, and we were given roles when we were kids, and it came through and it's almost socialisation or whanaungatanga ... [I would] sit down and whakarongo ki te kōrero of the pakeke ... like in a real sense they [tūpuna] are sitting there, and that environment is sort of not saying 'Haere ki waho' but it's just letting you sit there. Then you have the other side of the coin that is Mai te kōrero o te wairua pea nā tūpuna ... te mahi o te wairua, I think about growing up on the marae of both my mātua so, in the 60s, ... one thing you did take away was the wairua – wherever you were, you were the marae, you know, you are the whare puni, you are part of that, so the wairua was on the marae in your turangawae but the wairua – it never lets you go and so growing up like that, we always knew that it will never let you go. The great equaliser was the wairua ... that feels right, sounds, and feels right!

For Whitu, growing up around the marae gave him a strong sense of identity, and an understanding of his place in the world and as highlighted in this section, he was able to take the marae with him wherever he went in life because of this strong foundation and his learnings regarding wairua. This is the strength he brings to his social work practice and can help others learn about how to connect with wairua and the marae. Whitu also believes that the marae helps to bring people back together:

For us, because of that tight knit matawaka community, we all looked out for each other ... But as you got older you become more involved ... I think we have also become a more mobile, secular sort of whānau and the rejuvenative things of going to hapū things, it's a great ideal, I think pā wars helps, and such things, getting back to the marae – I think we have come full circle, where the marae now will bring us back together, yeah, so the ahi kaa of things will spark it again.

Whitu outlines how the marae allowed the community to look out for and look after each other and that the marae will bring disconnected Māori back together in the future. In social work this will be about connecting people back to whānau, hapū and iwi and marae for wellness and Mouri Ora to return. Whitu also asserts that by reconnecting to marae we will be reconnecting to living out the values and lives of our tūpuna:

I think, an old rangatira said it, from Ngā Puhi, he said, “You sit like your old people, you behave like your old people, everything you do has been had before just reconnect with it” and I'm like “Cha!”

For kaimahi who grew up immersed in whānau, hapū and iwi and on and around the marae, they acquired and learned a specific skillset. The marae was where they first learned to live out the values of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, tika, pono, aroha and the kawa and tikanga of their whānau, hapū and iwi. These natural practices are the foundation of kaimahi social work skills which emphasises the argument that Māori have always been social workers practicing kaimahi ā whānau. Kaimahi strengths and challenges were observed by the kaumātua and pakeke and they were grown and nurtured into roles, for example, Whitu to become the kaikōrero for his whānau, hapū and iwi. Kaimahi growing up in these environments grew up strong in their identity as whānau members first and as members of hapū and iwi, and the responsibilities that came with these. For these kaimahi going into the profession of social work, they bring

deep wells of Te Ao Māori knowledge and interpersonal and relational skills (learned on the marae) that assist in working alongside whānau. These formative experiences help to shape kaimahi into their work as social workers and how to practice social work tika, pono me aroha. All of these te ao Māori concepts learned from their childhood are foundational skills in social work and are the values espoused by professional bodies i.e., Social Work Registration Board and ANZASW. Mana wāhine was explored in this section because kaimahi were inspired by strong, mana wāhine in their own whānau and aspire that their daughters will be mana wāhine. Beautiful kōrero celebrating mana wāhine, particularly ways wāhine are honoured through their sacred rivers, when they had their first babies and the practice of keeping babies in the ‘nest’ for the first three months were shared. These mātāpono are not stand-alone concepts but gently interweave with each other.

The influence of the marae as a community meeting place for whānau, hapū and iwi was discussed, as well as providing a space for te ao Māori beliefs and values to be lived out, and for tamariki to learn who they were and where they are from. Tamariki learned about the kawa and tikanga of the marae. Kaimahi experiences on marae moulded them for roles, leadership, and responsibility within the hapū and iwi. They were nurtured, grown, and supported into these roles by whānau from a young age. The marae will bring people back together and the ahi kaa of things will spark again. The next theme will consider the role of te taiao in kaimahi growing up experiences.

Ngā Hau o Te taiao: Sit quiet and listen to the earth breathing

This aspect of Ngā Hau o Te Mouna framework focusses on te taiao and encompasses four hau – Hau Wairua, Hau Whenua, Hau Moana, and Hau Tangata. Hau Wairua considers the wairua side of te taiao, Hau whenua considers the land aspect, Hau moana considers the sea/ocean aspect of te taiao and Hau tangata considers the humanity aspect. All these hau interconnect with each other.

The relationship between humans and the natural world and environment forms the basis for understanding overall wellbeing. It is imperative that tamariki and whānau learn how to connect with te taiao to ensure sustainability, wellness, and wellbeing. The importance of the natural world and the environment was emphasised in this research – the whenua for growing kai and the raising and feeding of animals, and the moana and awa for fishing and eeling. It was important to know the seasons, when particular

kai was available, and to not over-harvest kai, thus ensuring the resources are available for the coming generations (Cameron et al., 2013). These practices also leads to the sharing of excess resources with whānau, hapū and iwi. Cameron et al. (2013) also accentuated the importance for children and whānau to connect solidly with te taiao, the moana and the ngahere, not only for kai and rongoā but also stressed that it was imperative for overall wellbeing.

Hau Wairua

Hau Wairua considers the wairua side of te taiao. Tekau mā tahi shared that her mother had a wairua way of looking at the world in how she talked about the earth and the skies, and so did her father and uncle in their viewing of the seas and waterways. The connection to the moon and the maramataka were also important. The wairua side was also highlighted because the whenua, mouna, moana, and awa are intricately linked to our own wellbeing as human beings:

Tekau mā tahi: She would often say “Just sit quiet and listen!” She had a real connection with a couple of the moko who were into gardening ... and saying to them, “Can you hear that noise?” and they were “no” and she’d say, “have another listen – just clear your minds and have a listen” and they would be listening “yeah, yeah” and she’d go “what does it sound like?” “buzzing bees” – these kids would say, and she’d be like “yeah, that’s exactly what it sounds like, it’s like buzzing bees” and they would go “what is it granny?” you know and she would say, “That’s the Ohm of the earth – that’s the earth moving and breathing” and these kids still talk about it, now that they are adults and raising their own kids.

Tekau mā tahi’s mother was teaching her mokopuna about becoming still and hearing the ohm of Papatūānuku and in doing this, it has impacted on those moko and how they raise their own children now. The importance of modelling to our tamariki/mokopuna is emphasised here. Many pakeke would not know the Ohm of Papatūānuku however kaimahi growing up connected to te taiao would understand this. In social work practice we need to find ways to assist the whānau we work and walk alongside to become still and hear the Ohm of Papatūānuku.

The importance of the maramataka in kaimahi growing up experiences was accentuated, particularly growing and fishing by the maramataka.

Tekau mā tahi: ... and the moons of course because she [mother] grew by the maramataka. And my father fished by the maramataka as well. And they still do, like my sister still grows by the moon and stuff.

The maramataka has been revitalised in recent times (Hikuroa, 2017; Roberts et al, 2006; Warbrick et al., 2023) as people are trying to reconnect with our tūpuna traditions and ways.

Hau Whenua (Breath of the land)

Hau whenua is breath of the land and encompasses the wellbeing of the whenua and how this is linked to people. For Māori, spiritual and physical wellbeing is linked to the land that you belong to, and relate to, and views people being of the land and belonging to the land as opposed to the land belonging to people (Pere, 1982).

Kaimahi recognised that the whenua remains always and that it requires a reciprocal relationship:

Iwa: Money is something that goes up, down, disappears and reappears; the cause of many problems. Whenua - remains always, won't change. If you care for it, it will always take care of you.

Kaimahi stressed the importance of taking care of the whenua and the moana and never taking more than what you require and to gather in season:

Iwa: Taking care of the whenua ... Work hard for what you need, don't take more than you require – land and kaimoana. Nana said “never over-take” ... She told me “if the trees bloom, go and get that one, if that tree blooms, go and get that one, she said only in those times, never pick it outside because that's the time when they're growing so don't touch it!

Iwa has taken the values she was taught and modelled from her grandmother when she was a child and applied it to her everyday life. She has then gone on to instil these values into her own tamariki and mokopuna.

Mara Kai

Kaimahi talked about the importance of the mara kai, how they were trained from a young age to grow vegetables, and these were intergenerational skills that were taught

from one generation to the next. Rua makes the connection of being in the mara kai and learning how to nurture, which would later transfer into social work skills:

My grandparents were always in the garden. We looked down the row and all you can see is gardens til the sky met the garden – these gardens go forever and they always grew kumara.

Whā: My uncle had acres of vegetable gardens which provided for everyone ... As children we would work in the gardens alongside our aunties and uncles ... so we all toiled in it, we all picked the fruit, we did everything, we had an orchard behind Nanny's, so we were all part of the whenua and all those skills.

Tekau mā toru: My father also loved gardening and he taught us to grow vegetables, he was taught from my Nannie, from his Mum, and so we used to help with the garden. We had fruit trees all around our back yard ... big on growing their own food.

Some whānau had market gardens and kaimahi had great memories of their grandmothers and the gardens they worked and developed:

Tekau mā toru: You know, even though there were hard times, I just remember the warmth of my Nannies – both my Nannies were also prolific gardeners, my Nannie, my Mum's Mum used to even grow her own puha. I can still smell the kamokamo and the watermelon in one Nannie's garden and the other Nannie – the golden queen peaches being bottled ah? Really good sustenance ah? It was real good soul food.

Iwa's grandmother was a market gardener and had the care of Iwa from when she was a baby:

When I was little, she put me in the garden ... and I said to her one day "who looked after the garden when you had me?" and she said, "I took you with me" and I said, "what do you mean you took me with you?" "I just dug a hole and put you in the hole and got on with the gardening". When I first heard that I was like "What?!" and I was slightly taken aback by that, "What? No cradle, no bed, you stuck me in the ground?" Well, she gave me to Papatūānuku – I thought she did! ... She said she put an old coat down and a blanket and put me in it, put the thing over the top, dirt around it, and I stayed there ... As I got older,

she taught me things about the garden, she taught me how to grow things, she taught me what to do with stuff, she gave me a lot of values that would never ever come to light until I got older.

Some kaimahi talked about being self-sufficient and living off the land and the sea and had everything they needed:

Tekau mā tahi: We lived off the land as kids and my mother was the gardener, so she had the big gardens, huge ... she had this big orchard, ah? So, we never lacked fruit – there was all kinds of fruits – nectarines. We lived off the land, yeah, and all organic so there was the big garden, the orchard, and the sea, and the farm of course cos we had a very small dairy farm – cream, milk. We had everything we needed!

Tekau has recently moved home to her whenua and has been growing corn on the whenua and sees it as an opportunity to knit the whānau back together:

This year I called them because I moved home to the land and I grew sweet corn to bring them together, to work together on the land ... and I said to my family “Here it is. It is yours - pick it, sell it, learn to use the land”. And so that’s happening – it’s wonderful!

Kaimahi were taught about the whenua and mara kai from a young age and a positive and nurturing, reciprocal relationship with the whenua was modelled to them as children. As a result, they learned the value of taking care of the land and how the whenua could take care of them. Many kaimahi have transferred this skill into their social work practice. Being connected to the whenua will also provide a way forward to reconnect whānau back to the whenua and with each other. In being connected to the whenua, overall wellbeing can be achieved.

Hau Moana (Breath of the Sea)

Hau moana is the breath of the sea and considers the relationship between people and the sea. The moana was a big part of life for many kaimahi growing up in whānau and they loved being close to the moana and a close connection to the sea was fostered:

Tekau mā tahi: So, we grew up in T which is like a little peninsular, so we were the end house, and it was just like paddocks to the sea, just surrounded by the sea pretty much - a big part of our life was in the sea.

Tahi discussed having an awesome upbringing by the sea, by the coast and then moved inland when she was 7 years old and hating the place they went to, saying it was traumatic:

It was awesome! We lived by the beach so that was our lifestyle, by the beach down there, all us Māori kids. We were at the marae because our Nannie just lived down the road, right next to the marae, so it was amazing! What more could you want and ask for until our father, when I was about 7 years old, our father got a new job, he got a job in T. – I hated that place! The trauma of it!

For Tekau mā tahi's whānau the children learned to do the mahi of collecting the kai first, and then they could have their fun. They also learned about the tide movements and how to fish.

The rule was you get the kaimoana first, and then you can have fun ... What I remember, about the movements of the tides, like what fish from what tide movements and things like that. We would go out netting all the time, we'd take the net out, so we'd catch flounder and mullet, go out in the boat fishing, so we always had a huge connection with the sea ... so you name the seafood, we ate it pretty much!

Many kaimahi talked about spending their days down at the beach as children and that it was a safe experience and they learned to take care of themselves:

Iwa: I spent days down at the beach, a lot of us kids used to go down to that beach and spend all day swimming, the tide goes out and you pick something, as long as you could find a corrugated something, light a fire underneath it and throw the kina and mussels on the top, you didn't have to go home for anything.

Tekau mā toru: We were taught to gather food quite young by Dad, I remember being quite young and us all going out to the pipi bed in O and gathering pipis and actually ending up having dinner out there. We were allowed to light fires then and so we'd all have to go in and learn how to gather the pipis and collect firewood and prepare the fire to cook them on.

For Iwa, her grandmother specified what kaimoana to collect and where to collect it from:

We had three reefs in our settlement, and she would say “go to that one, go to this one”. She would give me instructions in how to go down to get it. “Only fill it up this much in the kete” and then come home, same as her garden – don’t raid it all the time, just take what you need and now I can apply that to a lot of things in modern day life, I don’t have to apply that principle strictly to kaimoana.

Iwa makes an important point here that the principle she learned regarding not over harvesting from the moana, has transitioned into other aspects of her life. She learned to only take what was needed, and not overindulge and has instilled these learnings into her own tamariki and mokopuna and these are part of her skillset as a social worker.

As children, kaimahi first learned how to be safe with the moana, and were then taught how to become self-sufficient i.e., gathering kaimoana, fishing and cooking at the beach. They also viewed the sea as a ‘fun’ place where they spent many hours in the day and they enjoyed living by the moana, and when they moved inland, they found it hard not to be connected to the moana. For male kaimahi, it gave the opportunity to provide for their whānau through being hunters and gatherers. Māori have a strong tradition of being hunter/gatherers and particularly for males, having these skills and being the provider of their whānau can lead to men who are strong and secure in their identity and their roles in whānau. Because of colonisation, tāne Māori can struggle with their identity and clarity regarding their roles in whānau however traditional knowledge and ways provide us with the ways back to being strong, secure people.

Hau Tangata (The Breath of Humanity)

Hau tangata is the breath of humanity and considers people and their relationship with each other. It is about the individual and the collective wellbeing of humanity. “Our wellness as individuals impacts on our ability to relate to and engage with others, enabling us to contribute to or detract from the wellness of others and the collective” (Cameron et al., 2020, p. 47).

Sharing the kai resources

Mafire’o (2019) views the gifting and sharing of food as an expression of love and as a means for decolonising social work. As mentioned earlier, Tusasiirwe (2019) shares the philosophy of Obuntu as a way of demonstrating humanity to others and that the sharing of produce/harvests like crops from gardens is the living out of this concept. Kaimahi

outlined the importance of sharing the resources of kai from the mara kai, the moana and the awa. Often it would be given to other whānau, the neighbourhood, the community, or the marae:

Toru: They did gardens, they had a few animals – pigs and chicken things, eggs, big gardens, paddocks – and used to give stuff to the marae.

Tekau mā toru: The other thing we were taught was to share. We lived in a cul-de-sac ... and we used to share, you would see lots of food and products and stuff going across homes.

Tahi: The values he [grandfather] shared with us ... so, he would say, “Take this over to Mrs C, or take this to the family, our neighbours, they might want some of this with their boil up tonight”, you know those sorts of things ... and take it back for Nana, when we go back to the marae, we go to our Nan’s ... we’d always take whatever we had in our garden, we’d have a big bucket to take back to her as well.

Whitu sees the sharing of kai resources as being about building and maintaining relationships with people, and caring and sharing with people:

You had to build relationship with the people. I went back two weeks ago, and I went around to some pakeke, because I went out picking some karingo and I went around and had a kōrero with them, catch up on everything ... when we go and get kaimoana we always take it around to that pakeke – never stop for me. Went out and got a sack of karingo and dried it out as best I could in their weather before I came back and gave bits here and there.

Cameron et al. (2013) state that within Taranaki the collective sharing of kai and resources is a historical tikanga that can aid with poverty being faced by many currently. The sharing of kai and resources was prevalent in kaimahi growing up experiences. They learned not to plunder the resources of the whenua and the moana, and then to share the resources with others in their community. In doing this, everyone in the village is taken care of and will eat kai that night. As Cameron et al. (2013) state this was a historical tikanga that was utilised and can certainly be a way to combat food poverty facing many whānau today. Hau Tangata reminds us to take care of the collective needs and in doing so, Mouri ora and Hau ora is achieved for all.

Te taiao is the link to the natural world and the environment and it is imperative that the relationship between people and the land, people and the sea, and people with each other is active and healthy to ensure Mouri ora and Hau ora. A wairua way of looking at the world recognises our link to te taiao. Many kaimahi had grown up with huge mara kai stretching to the sky and learned important values regarding how to grow and tend to gardens, the importance of ‘listening to the earth breathe’, and that they could live from the whenua and the moana. An essential lesson learned by kaimahi as children was to know the seasons and when particular kai was available, and never to over-take from the land and the sea. The importance of hau moana and the sea in terms of providing kai, but also the fun experienced as children growing up in coastal areas, was outlined. Hau tangata reminds us to focus on the collective needs and share our resources with others as this is an act of manaaki ki te tangata . Manaaki is also a way of building and maintaining relationships with people, and naturally transfers into social work practice. Being able to live in balance and harmony with the environment are skills that kaimahi bring to social work practice. This is a therapeutic tool that can aid not only clients and whānau that kaimahi work alongside, but also the kaimahi themselves in that te taiao helps keep them well and balanced and is a protective factor against stress, dis-ease, un-wellness and burn out.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined the positive experiences of kaimahi who grew up immersed in love, having awesome childhoods, developing positive relationships in whānau, and being safe, secure, and protected. Hau Whānau affirms that when tamariki grow up immersed in love with caring, protective adults focussed on and surrounding them, whānau is a social structure of safety and protection for children. Whāngai continues to be a ‘normal’ whānau structure utilised in contemporary times and the tikanga of firstborns being whāngai’d to grandparents endures.

The importance of relationships with kuia/kaumātua for mokopuna are of benefit to the whole whānau and assist mokopuna to learn important values of looking after and caring for the older generation. Strong, loving relationships in whānau help tamariki to be robust and confident and can transfer into relationships outside of whānau. This is a skillset kaimahi have brought to social work which enables them to form and maintain relationships with others. The positioning and roles that kaimahi held growing up in

their whānau of origin determined their place in whānau, what they were responsible for, who they were accountable to, and how to navigate whānau sub-systems. It also assisted in constructing the ways they worked alongside others external to the whānau. Kaimahi learned how to be part of a collective and their niche and place within that collective. These roles eventually assisted kaimahi later in life as social workers because they understood systems and how to access systems when needed. There was a strong emphasis on tuakana-teina in that the older siblings/cousins were responsible for the care of the younger siblings/cousins. Therefore, looking after children and being focussed on them was identified by some kaimahi as leading them into social work, particularly care and protection work of children. Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono asserts that values and beliefs learned and modelled in childhood form the solid foundation for life, particularly te ao Māori values of manaaki ki te tangata, whanaungatanga, rangatiratanga, tika, pono and aroha. These mātāpono are not stand-alone concepts but gently interweave with each other. The argument that Māori have always been social workers practicing kaimahi ā whānau was introduced in this chapter because we have always been practicing these mātāpono which are foundational social work concepts that connect to the values espoused by the SWRB and ANZASW. This research contributes to new learning because there is limited research stating that Māori have always been social workers practicing kaimahi ā whānau because of these natural practices.

The marae as Hau Pakiaka outlines the importance of identity, knowing who you are and where you are from. When immersed in marae life, kaimahi extended on their skillset learned at home. They learned to live out the values of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, rangatiratanga, tika, pono, aroha and the kawa and tikanga of their whānau, hapū and iwi outside of their own kainga, as well as a solid base of te reo Māori. On the marae, their strengths and challenges were observed by the kaumātua and pakeke and kaimahi were grown and nurtured into roles e.g., Whitu to become the kaikōrero for his whānau, hapū and iwi. Kaimahi immersed in these environments grew up strong in their identity as whānau members first and as members of hapū and iwi, and the responsibilities that came with these. For these kaimahi going into the profession of social work, they bring deep wells of Te Ao Māori knowledge and interpersonal and relational skills that assist in working alongside whānau. These formative experiences shape kaimahi into their work as social workers. Whānau wāhine

lines continue to practice tikanga e.g., celebration of sacred rivers flowing, celebrating birth of pēpi, and keeping pēpi safe in the first three months of life. These kōrero should be shared to reconnect whānau back to traditional ways of doing things that focus on babies and keeping them safe.

Te taiao reinforces the relationship between people, the environment, and the connection to overall wellbeing. Hau wairua acknowledges the wairua perspective to te taiao and the importance of listening to the ‘ohm’ of Papatūānuku. This is a wairua way of viewing the world because the whenua, mouna, moana, and awa are intricately linked to our own wellbeing as human beings. Hau whenua reiterates that kaimahi were taught about the whenua and mara kai from a young age and a positive, nurturing, and reciprocal relationship with the whenua was modelled to them as children. Kaimahi were also taught about being self-sufficient and living off the land. Hau whenua provides a way forward to reconnect whānau back to the whenua and with each other. Hau moana educated kaimahi about being safe with the moana, and how to become self-sufficient through gathering kaimoana, fishing and cooking at the beach. The moana was a ‘fun’ place where they spent many hours in the day, and they enjoyed living nearby. For kaimahi tāne, it gave the opportunity to provide for their whānau as hunters and gatherers. Hau tangata reminds us of our obligation to take care of the needs of the collective and reinstates that the sharing of kai and resources is a historical tikanga that can aid with food poverty being faced by people today. This sharing is an act of manaaki ki te tangata and a way of building and maintaining relationships with people, and of course great skills to have when working as a social worker. It is imperative that tamariki and whānau learn how to connect with te taiao to ensure sustainability, wellness, and wellbeing.

The next chapter of Te Kahui Mouna focuses on growing up in childhood adversity for kaimahi – Whānau Mauri Noho.

The place of our mokopuna is a reflection of the beings and aspirations of our tupuna. The mana of our mokopuna is a reflection of the mana of our tupuna. If we live with those fundamentals as the underpinning ways in which we understand our place in this world and the centrality of the place of tamariki and mokopuna within whānau we can and will achieve whānau ora for those generations yet to come

(Cameron et al., 2013, p. 29).

Wāhanga Tuaono: Te Kāhui Mounga: Whānau Mauri Noho – Childhood Adversity: When the growing up environment is not safe for children

*Me tiki atu rā i te puna wai hohou rongō hei horoi atu i ngā mamae,
i ngā pouritanga.*

Fetch from the well spring of peace and harmony to cleanse anguish and sadness.

Dr Te Huirangi Waikerepuru
(Opai et al., 2022, p. 45)

Introduction

This chapter explores childhood challenge and adversity for kaimahi growing up in their own whānau. Durie (2017) describes mauri as “an inner human force that shapes the spirit, balances the mind, contextualises the body and is reflected in the ways individuals are perceived by themselves and others” (p. 61). Pohatu (2003) states that mauri is evidenced by the formation of positive relationships within the wider environment and the vigour within a person. The idea of flourishing and languishing was based on early works from the United States of America (Kingi et al., 2014). Languishing is focussed on Mauri Noho and is linked to cultural and spiritual alienation, negative emotions, knowledge gaps, chronic and unrelenting pain, listlessness, negative and harmful relationships, lack of mental and physical energy, and social isolation (Durie, 2017; Kingi et al., 2014). Durie (2017) states that mauri is neither static nor unchanging and can fluctuate between different mauri states therefore people and whānau can move between these states.

This section focusses on Mauri Noho for whānau because it discusses childhood challenge and adversity growing up for kaimahi, however it does not denote that kaimahi and their whānau remained in this state of languishing, in fact it could be argued that kaimahi have entered energised states of mauri oho to reach mauri ora because of the journeys they have undertaken in their lives, particularly their journey of social work education and training. Durie (2017) states that, “Mauri can become strong and vibrant – mauri ora – despite adversities” (p. 62) which indicates that kaimahi can become strong and vibrant despite challenges and adversity they faced in childhood.

Ngā Hau o te Mounga Framework: Ngā Hau e Whā

This chapter will explore four themes surrounding childhood adversity. Similar to the preceding chapter, these themes are structured into Ngā Hau o te Mounga Framework. This chapter will utilise the Ngā hau e whā concept of the framework. As mentioned in the Methodology chapter the Ngā Hau o te Mounga Framework is influenced by the Meihana Model (Pitama et. al, 2017) whereby ngā hau e whā (the four winds) were introduced to their model to demonstrate the influence of the winds on a waka journey. Pitama et al. (2017) added ngā hau e whā to the Meihana model to represent historical and societal influences on Māori. The four components that were represented by the four head winds were colonisation, racism, migration, and marginalisation. However, in this research ngā hau e whā will outline the four themes of Whānau Mouri Noho. These themes are Te hau kotahi, Te hau rua, Te hau toru and Te hau whā. Te hau kotahi and te hau rua are likened to the rough, violent head winds – Hū Kerikeri, Tupararā, Hau pūkeri. Te hau toru and te hau whā are likened to the more gentle, favourable tail winds i.e., he tā tika, ko tengitengi and ko hengihengi.

The first theme Te hau kotahi focusses on growing up in challenge and adversity and discusses unsafe environments for children. The second theme Te hau rua unpacks conflict/tohe and the impact of violence on children. Theme Three is Te hau toru and considers resilience, turning points for kaimahi and what they would change about their own childhood. The fourth theme, Te hau whā, explores wanting a different experience for children and mokopuna and is focussed on ways forward for whānau. Therefore, Te hau kotahi and Te hau rua are focussed on negatives and represent two headwinds, and Te hau toru and Te hau whā are the positive winds of change therefore depicting two tailwinds.

Te Hau Kotahi: Growing up in challenge and adversity

Te hau kotahi focusses on growing up in challenge and adversity and discusses unsafe environments for children, attachment issues, alcohol abuse, step parenting, Māori boys' experiences, children being uplifted from home to go into State care, transience, and running away from State care.

Unsafe environment for children

When tamariki grow up in challenge and adversity their primary environment is often unsafe and there may be a lack of protective adults looking out for them. Of the sixteen

kaimahi in this research, ten had grown up with challenge and adversity due to abuse, neglect, violence, alcohol and drug use, and overall not feeling safe as children. This theme encompasses adults' reflections on their childhood. Many kaimahi talked about their growing up environment being unsafe for tamariki and them not feeling safe as children.

Tekau mā rima: There was a lot of PD [Periodic Detention] parties ... there was a lot of alcohol, a lot of mental health issues, my Mum was an alcoholic, and she was unwell quite a lot so she was in and out of hospital ... not a safe environment which makes me very conscious of safety for kids ... I felt quite unsafe a lot of the time, didn't know what was happening from one time to another, knew that what was going on wasn't necessarily normal.

Tekau mā rima was then placed in her 19-year-old sister's care (at 8 years old) and continued to feel unsafe:

I still felt unsafe because my sister was only 19 when she took me. As I grew up one of the messages that came through was "You can't do that! You have to achieve or they [care and protection services] might take you away from me!". So that was a message that was there. There was still domestic violence and alcoholism and drug addiction in my whāngai whānau.

Feeling safe as a child is a human right. In Aotearoa child safety would be touted as a national policy priority and there are laws that should ensure child safety. Despite this, child abuse and neglect continues and children are made vulnerable (Keedell, 2015). Vulnerable children describe children aligned with child protection systems (Keedell, 2018).

Attachment

Social attachments are a fundamental human need (Sbarra & Hazzan, 2008). Attachment theory was developed by Bowlby (1973) to explain human bonding theorising that a bond with a primary caregiver performs the purpose of providing for safety, emotional security and learning. It is how a child relates in close relationships with attachment figures, often parents. Attachment is focussed on the relationship between a baby and their caregiver that develops over the baby's first year of life (Reiser-Danner & Slaughter, 2019). Bowlby posited that it was critical for infants to seek close proximity to their caregivers because they are dependent on them for

nourishment, safety and refuge (1973). Bowlby (1973, 1982) saw a connection with an infant's behaviour, secure emotional attachment with a caregiver, and willingness to confidently explore their environment. Therefore infants' attempts to seek or maintain proximity to caregivers is determined by how secure they feel with the caregiver in a specific environment. A secure caregiver-infant attachment is when the caregiving is responsive and consistent, an avoidant attachment is when caregiving has been unresponsive to the child, and a resistant/ambivalent attachment can result when the caregiving has been inconsistent (Reiser-Danner & Slaughter, 2019).

Many kaimahi shared that they did not have good relationships with their mothers.

Ono: I didn't have a very good relationship with my Mum, things were really tense.

Iwa: I can't stand the sight of her...It was a good thing she gave us all away. [She] didn't give them away because of anything cultural ... because she couldn't bloody manage, but she was married, and she was selfish. She was totally selfish!

Tekau mā toru: I wasn't close to my Mum. My Mum was the abuser in our family. My Mum was left really bitter when he [Dad] left to the point where she encouraged my brothers and their friends to go and beat him up and that sort of stuff, so yes, she was left quite bitter!

Ono's relationship with her mother has always been tense, even now (she is in her 30s):
I'm just trying to remember if I felt close to her when I was young ... I think if I can remember anyone being an angry person – that would be her! ... you don't understand it as a kid as much as you do as an adult, but you know because she was so busy there were a lot of broken promises around [that] we will do stuff but it never happened. And then I think you just start to get this very vicious cycle dynamic, and she wouldn't follow through. I'd get upset, I'd have crappy behaviour and that would make her even angrier, and she just didn't know how to deal with that and so I think our relationship started to get really distant.

Ono reflected how her own tense relationship with her mother mirrored a similar tense relationship her mother had with her mother (Ono's grandmother) and how now as an

adult Ono has more empathy for her mother but her relationship with her stepmother fills that void:

I see it with more empathy as an adult around that well things were tough, you know, it's not so personal ... I have more empathy for her ... but then I'm really close with my stepmother, and that kinda fills it for me.

Kaimahi shared that if their relationship was not good with their mother, the relationship with a grandmother, or whāngai mother or stepmother filled that void. This reinforces the concept that if tamariki/mokopuna lack attachment to parents, they will form attachment with other nurturing adults in their lives. Siebert and Kern's (2009) study suggests that a child might direct, "secure base behaviour towards peers, siblings, grandparents, and teachers" (p. 347). Attachment theory emphasises that learned attachment styles from prior experiences can impact the way people manage stress and can also impact on mental wellbeing (Pielage et al., 2000). Reiser-Danner and Slaughter (2019) also posit that there is strong research evidence that the quality of caregiver-child attachment relationship can impact on later behaviour. The attachment relationship has been described as an enduring, emotional bond a child forms with a particular attachment figure who (ideally) provides the child with security and comfort (Ainsworth, 1989). The child uses the attachment figure as a secure base from which to explore the environment and as a safe haven in times of distress. The formation of attachment to caregivers is a normative event, that is, all children form attachments to their caregivers even if they do not receive adequate care (Bowlby, 1982), and thus attachments do vary in quality.

Attachment relationships are thought to be long-enduring, with a history of interactions, and the attachment figure is not interchangeable with another person (Ainsworth, 1989; Schuengel & van Ijzendoorn, 2001). There is a desire to maintain closeness to the attachment figure and re-establish proximity if the bond is threatened and a child may become distressed when separated from their attachment figure.

Rua had been given to an aunty when she was born: -

She [mother] had given me to her sister and so I moved up around the coast with my aunty and uncle, and I think I was there for two years and she got pregnant and so she didn't want me, and then my Mum didn't want me too. And you know it's not until you study that you learn about attachment.

Rua was then whāngai'd to her grandparents and formed strong attachment to her grandparents, particularly her grandmother. However she returned to her birth family at 6 years of age and Rua's relationship with her mother was challenging. She had not grown up with her birth family and lacked an attachment to her mother and was abused by her mother:

I learned to shy from her and so everyone would get back from school and tell about their day but I'd go and change my clothes because I knew I'd get a hiding if I didn't change my clothes, and I used to just go outside and play. We had cats and dogs and they were my mates. Yeah but that's just part of my upbringing.

Rima identified her whāngai mother as her attachment figure:

I met my whāngai Mum. She was like, it was really hard because I'd never had an attachment with anyone ... I was like, "Oh My God – that's what I did!" [when during social work training Rima learned about attachment]. But my whāngai Mum was the first person I actually sat down with ... so we've got a really good relationship. She was just my world!

This research reinforces the concept that if kaimahi were not attached to mothers from a young age, they would form attachment to another caregiver, such as grandparents, whāngai mothers or step-mothers. The impact this lack of initial primary attachment with mothers has on kaimahi social work practice will be explored further in Te Toka Tūmoana chapter.

Kaimahi have shared that their social work studies have assisted them in being able to understand the bigger picture of their own life. For example, when kaimahi learned about attachment in their studies, it made sense to their own situations and helped them to gain an analysis of what had gone on for them in relation to the lack of attachment with their mothers. This knowledge and analysis is helpful in their practice as social workers.

Because attachment theory is based on western worldviews, a consideration of cultural factors needs to be factored into attachment. Choate et al. (2020) discussed cultural attachment theory, which examined the environmental and cultural differences of attachment and challenged ongoing colonialism from attachment theory. This research

argues that Whānau Mouri Noho is the ongoing impact of colonialism and colonisation. This relates to Walter and Carrol's (2021) theoretical arguments that Indigenous people are often only seen through a negative, deficit lens focussed on disadvantage and disparity. Scott (1998) espoused that Indigenous people can be viewed negatively by the 'state' and that social policy can continue to include data that supports the "long history of failed policy schemes that attempt to remake native societies" (Walter & Carrol, 2021, p. 6).

Next alcohol abuse in upbringing is explored.

Alcohol abuse: "It was normal"

The role of alcohol in abuse was discussed by kaimahi and parties were very 'normal' for some kaimahi:

Tekau mā toru: At the time it was okay, I just seen it as 'normal' but as I grew up and looked back and realised that things weren't.

Tekau: In my early stages, they liked to party, I can remember being transported to houses for parties and I can remember a party at our house and me sitting on my father's knee and he's playing the uke. I can remember my mother throwing a teapot and tea leaves over his head and throwing coats at him. I can remember the fighting ... when I look back, and I think this is that stuff around 'normal', it was just 'normal' – every house we went to had parties ... One house we would go to there was a room to put the kids in whilst they were partying, I don't recall that there were lots of kids when the parties were at home ... Yeah, the 6-o clock closing stuff – those days!

Tekau mā rua: It [alcohol] was absolutely around us and we often saw the results on our aunties, particularly, after a party had happened.

Kaimahi acknowledged that alcohol and parties were a 'normal' part of their growing up environment and the result of a party could be seen on their aunties i.e. the aunties would have bruises and swelling all over their bodies from being 'beat up'. Jaquier et al. (2015) inform that for many whānau living in complex whānau violence environments there is an association with greater alcohol and drug misuse. The mix of whānau violence and alcohol can be catastrophic and deadly. The Family Violence Death Review Committee (FVDRC) (2017) reported that over a seven year period

(2008 to 2015) there were 194 family violence deaths in Aotearoa and that half of these deaths were intimate partner violence (IPV) (FVDRC, 2017, p. 9). The IPV deaths show histories of intergenerational harm (victimisation and/or perpetration) for offenders and deceased, many of whom were also experiencing high levels of structural inequities - family violence histories, mental health histories, social gatherings where large amounts of alcohol were consumed and family inheritance (the process of passing on of material property from one generation to another generally parents to children), property disputes or financial exploitation (FVDRC, 2017, p.11). This was the reality for some kaimahi growing up. Tekau also refers to the “6 o clock closing stuff” and Park (1995) attributes the New Zealand binge drinking culture to the influence of the “six o’clock swill”. This was meant to be a temporary war measure however was enforced from, 1912 until 1967. When the taverns and pubs closed at 6.00pm at night there would be a rush to drink alcohol from the time work finished to the 6.00pm closing time.

Prior to colonisation Māori had little or no exposure to alcohol and when introduced it was often met with resistance however nowadays Indigenous people’s use of alcohol is framed as problematic and harmful (Herbert, 2017). There is a link between problematic alcohol consumption for Indigenous people and the influence of settlers alongside the colonisation experience (Frank et al., 2000; Marie et al., 2012). Herbert (2017) infers that settler binge drinking and heavy alcohol use may have influenced Māori and lead to, “antisocial and problematic alcohol use behaviours” (p. 60). The impact of alcohol on Māori has had a detrimental effect and compromised Māori health and wellbeing (Bramley et al. 2003; Durie, 2004; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2003). Durie (2004) contends that, “Māori did not escape the worldwide pattern of alcohol usage that has plagued Indigenous people in the wake of Western colonisation” (p.125). Herbert’s (2017) study identified two significant points, these were that “hazardous alcohol use among older Māori is related to social network membership, and binge drinking is related to Māori cultural identity” (p. i). From the mid-1950s onwards, Māori alcohol use began to reflect the alcohol use practices of Pākehā leading to more widespread acceptance among Māori of the role of alcohol in everyday life (Hutt, 1999). Additionally, information regarding alcohol consumption and its associated harms among Māori began to be recorded by health and research professionals (e.g., Pomare,

1980; Pomare et al., 1993) as public health perspectives of alcohol use began to emerge in the literature.

Three kaimahi particularly remember looking after the younger siblings in the car outside pubs whilst parents were inside drinking and this was ‘normal’ for them:

Tekau mā toru: One of my significant memories of being young and sitting outside in the car, outside the pub ... and we [the older siblings] were responsible for making sure that we all stayed in the car until they [parents] were ready to go ... and they used to come out and get us a scoop of chips and a little bottle of drink each and we’d just have to sit there quietly and wait until they come out of the pub and then we’d go home and yeah that was quite normal for us.

Tekau mā rima: When I was 8, you know, I was babysitting four or five of my nephews and nieces at the time and I was only like 6 years older than half of them. You know, so I would sometimes be left with 2, 3 kids when I was 8 yes cos there was no age to be left ... yeah and we were all parked outside in cars at the pub.

Some kaimahi grew up thinking alcohol and parties were just a ‘normal’ way of life, as was children sitting in the car park at pubs waiting for parents to finish drinking, and then getting behind the wheel, sometimes quite drunk, to drive the family home. It was not seen as an unacceptable thing to do in that era for Pākehā and Māori in Aotearoa. New Zealand has a drinking problem and a history of alcohol problems, exacerbated through binge drinking that has origins in the “6 o’ clock swill”. The complicating factor for Māori is that behind the alcohol use are the historical issues of colonisation and whānau violence. This is discussed further in *Te Hau Rua*. Alcohol abuse and misuse by tangata whenua is another impact of colonialism and colonisation which is a key argument of this research for Whānau Mauri Noho. Next step-parenting is discussed.

Step-parenting

Daly and Wilson (1998, 2005) explored the ‘Cinderella effect’ suggesting that stepchildren are at greater risk of abuse than children living with their genetic parents. They claim that, “Having a step-parent has turned out to be the single most powerful predictor of severe child maltreatment yet discovered” (Daly & Wilson, 1998, p. 441).

Tekau mā ono identified that there was lots of violence in the relationship between her parents as her father was a drinker, and he was very abusive to her brother who was her father's stepson:

Mum and Dad divorced after lots of violence ... he was a drinker and a violent man and an abuser – all those horrible things! He particularly was abusive towards my brother ... Yep, he was particularly horrible to him - we always said – he wasn't his son. I saw him do, well I got a hiding once for interfering when he [Dad] was kicking his face, he [brother] lost his teeth. But his life was just horrible!

Nobes et al. (2022) claim that Daly and Wilson reduce the explanation of abuse by stepfathers to a single factor, namely the lack of genetic relatedness. Their research on physical abuse of children by stepfathers in Colombia identified that there could be confounding variables i.e. relative youth of step-parent, poor education, own childhood experience of abuse, high levels of stress and the relationships with partners, contributing to the issue rather than the step relationship per se. Nobes et al. (2022) state that,

The high rates of physical abuse by stepfathers resulted from numerous factors, perhaps beginning with the parents' experience of abuse when they were children, and its subsequent intergenerational transmission via stressors such as interpersonal conflict and unstable relationships.

Aotearoa has appalling statistics regarding deaths of children by mother's partners. For the Sake of our Children Trust (n.d.) tabulated a 24 year snapshot of New Zealand children who were killed as a result of abuse and neglect from 1990 to 2014 and of the 58 cases, 27 of the deaths tabulated had a stepfather or boyfriend/partner of the mother. (p. 1). Of the 58 children 35 were Māori. For Māori stepfathers, the intergenerational transmission of trauma, abuse and violence via the colonisation process is a distinguishing factor that needs consideration as well. Again, a key argument from this research is that whānau Mauri Noho is related to the ongoing impacts of colonialism and colonisation.

Māori boys' experience

Two kaimahi had brothers who stole and were sent away to borstal or boy's home, which impacted greatly on their brothers and the whānau. Both kaimahi discussed the

impact of the brothers going into borstal and state care as the start of a downward spiral for their brothers. This experience influenced one kaimahi to go on the social work journey.

Tekau mā ono: My brother went to borstal when he was 10 ... my brother had gone and stolen cigarettes out of the dairy I worked in, so I remember the Police took him away. The Policeman came and took him away and he was in borstal, and that's all I understood at that time, that he was in borstal, but my brother's journey never finished.

Tekau mā toru: My brother that got sent to the boy's home, he got sent there because he stole meat out of someone's freezer, and the freezer he stole the meat out of, and it was not just a little bit, it was quite a big amount - him, and a couple of other boys!

Tekau mā toru went on to explain further that when her brother was sent to the boys' home, he became lost from the whānau, never to return:

I don't know what happened to the other two, but he ended up in T [city], a boys' home there, and I've been telling him to write his story about it, because I reckon, he was abused there. This is back in the 70s. And all I remember was one time we got put in the car and told we were going to T, because we would get to see our brother and I just remember me and my sister and two younger brothers we were just waiting in the street in T, I think my parents were in court with my brother but we never got to see him and then we didn't see him for a long time after that, and then he got sent down to H., in the care of DSW and placed with some caregivers down there ... that's when we lost him from our whānau. Yeah, never to return.

This young man's experience was not unusual at that time and many young people were abused in these institutions. The Confidential Listening and Assistance Service (CLAS) was established in 2008 as an independent agency to help people who had suffered abuse and neglect in state care before 1992 (CLAS, n.d.). The panel reported "an alarming amount of abuse and neglect, with extreme levels of violence" (Henwood, 2015, p. 10). The kaimahi brother's experiences reflected this. The CLAS panel also gleaned from the participants' stories that Māori males were more likely to be treated harshly and put into care, especially state institutions (i.e. boys' home or institution)

and more readily for minor reasons such as truancy, without any needs assessment or life plans being made. Māori children were often placed with Pākehā foster families which often resulted in a disconnection from their whānau and whakapapa. These young men were seeking connection and Henwood (2015) states, “The placement of young Māori men in institutions often led to gang affiliations where there was a sense of family, a sense of belonging. We were told that many gangs actually began in State institutions” (p. 28). The panel saw many Māori men in prison. These young men became disconnected from their whānau and then were looking for connection in other forms, through peers and this led to involvement in gangs, which led to prison.

The Royal Commission of Inquiry into Abuse in Care is looking into what happened to children, young people and vulnerable adults in care from 1950 to 1999. It also considers experiences outside those dates (Royal Commission of Inquiry into Abuse in Care, 2020). In December 2020 the Interim Report titled “Tāwharautia: Pūrongo o te Wā” was released by the Minister of Public Service. Key findings about abuse in care between 1950 – 2019 include: Of the 655,000 children in state and faith-based care in the timeframe, 250,000 were abused, discrimination and racism played a role from authorities and the public in both being taken into care and the treatment received in care, and a wide range of abuse and physical, emotional, psychological, medical, educational, spiritual and cultural neglect occurred. At present this investigation is still happening however after completing the investigation, recommendations will be made to the Governor General on how New Zealand can effectively care for children, young people and vulnerable adults. The final report will be released in March 2024.

This research has indirectly highlighted the issues for Māori boys in Aotearoa who were taken into state care, via borstals, for stealing meat and cigarettes. These stolen children were cut off from their whānau, often placed with non-Māori caregivers, and abused in the state care system, with this pathway leading to a life of crime, and going in and out of the prison system over a period of years. As mentioned above, these young Māori men became disconnected from whānau, hapū and iwi however they still sought connection to others and gangs may have filled the void that disconnection from whānau left. Particularly, as the CLAS report stated, the link between state care and gang affiliation for young Māori men looking for a sense of family and a sense of belonging was constructed (Henwood, 2015). Social work in Aotearoa entails working alongside these Māori males that have been disconnected from whānau, hapū and iwi.

Walter and Carol (2021) argue that there were “policies active during the twentieth century that sought to assimilate Indigenous populations via the removal of children from their families” (p. 4). A key argument of this research is that Māori boys going into state care was the direct impact and outcome of colonialism and colonisation. The removal of Māori children from their whānau home is discussed next.

Uplifting children from the whānau home

Policy changes in child welfare include the 1960s when ‘battered baby syndrome’ brought child abuse to the forefront in New Zealand and from 1962 information started to be collected on reported child abuse cases. The 1970s introduced a multi-disciplinary approach with police, lawyers and medical professionals being involved. The 1980s highlighted a continued coordinated approach to child abuse and specialist teams, such as sexual abuse teams, were introduced. There was a focus on keeping children in family and in 1989 the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act introduced family-based decision making (Family Group Conferences) for children in need of care and protection. There was also a focus on social workers needing to be trained. In the 1990s interagency protocols for dealing with abuse were introduced. In 1999 the Department of Child, Youth and Family (CYFS) services became New Zealand’s statutory child welfare agency and in April 2017 the agency was renamed Oranga Tamariki, Ministry of Children. In the 1960s social welfare policy introduced the concept of state care formalising the transfer of responsibility for children to the state. By the early 1980s just over 12% of Māori children were under the guardianship of the state, of which over half were in the foster care of Pākehā families (Cram, 2012). As at 30th September 2020, 5,750 children and young people were in care and protection custody of the Chief Executive, 58% Māori, 10% Māori & Pacific, 6% Pacific, and 26% New Zealand European and other (Oranga Tamariki, 2020). In 2021 Māori children are over-represented in care and protection services and have been for many years.

Rima tells the story of when she and her younger siblings were uplifted from home:-

Mum and Dad split up, so we ended up, we were uplifted at that split up. It was December 21st, just before Christmas ... I was holding my little brother who at the time was 8-9 months. Yep, he was a baby. I was holding him while all these people were telling us to get into the car – policemen and other people I didn’t

know. Because I remember a lot of it, and we all ended up in some random house.

Rima and her siblings went into the care of her grandmother after the first uplift from her parents: -

They did a shitty job with us too and lots of stuff happened there, lots of abuse ... We were all together and ... because too much abuse was happening and at that time, we knew the social worker was coming because I wasn't getting any hidings and that so, "Oh, the social worker must be coming soon!" because they [grandmother and partner] didn't want them [social worker] to see anything.

Tekau mā whā talks about when he and his brother started to get uplifted from home:

When I was about 8 my mother wasn't managing. And so, well someone made the decision that we were at risk, and so they uplifted us. What was interesting – it was about our street, there was another family that got uplifted heaps too but they were way worse in our street, and I used to wonder "how come you fullas don't go away?" and I don't know why to this day, I don't know why ... my Mum, she was not as bad as what I've seen, but she was easy meat for services I guess, compliant, and she was also committed, you know, Tokanui, things like that and it didn't help you put a person who, well she used to cry a lot about my dad dying and all that!

Iwa remembers a time when Social Welfare tried to uplift her from her grandmother:

Someone tried to remove me from my Nana, someone had made a complaint, I don't know the ins and outs of it, but they tried it. Well, you wouldn't have heard someone scream and yell as much as me – they had to leave me with my Nana. They couldn't take me. My mother had already tried that a few times when I was hitch-hiking – that was the last time that she would take me because she thought I should be living with her.

The kaimahi that were uplifted and put into the care of the state were not only disconnected from their whānau, but also their culture. "Whānau violence contributes to the removal of mokopuna into state care which subsequently disconnects them from whānau and cultural networks impacting greatly on the health and wellbeing of mokopuna safety" (Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2015, p. 17). Currently there is a drive for care and protection services to do better in keeping tamariki connected to whānau, hapū and

iwi. We are currently seeing Oranga Tamariki (OT) undergo numerous changes due to a catalyst event in Hawkes Bay in 2019 whereby Newsroom identified questionable practices by OT involved in the uplifting of tamariki Māori. This event highlighted a nationwide issue of tamariki uplifts that sparked numerous reviews and suggested ways forward. In November 2019 Oranga Tamariki released the report, Professional Practice Group, Practice Review into the Hastings Case (Oranga Tamariki, 2019), at Hastings Hospital. All the Review recommendations were taken on board by the then Chief Executive, Grainne Moss, who stated that OT had made mistakes and needed to take responsibility for that in order to ensure this would never happen again (Oranga Tamariki Media Release, 5 November 2019).

The review recommendations included ‘on notice’ custody order applications to ensure families have opportunities to present their view before a judge makes a final decision, every Section 78 ‘without notice’ application will go through additional checks, there would be investment in nationwide staff training and greater supervision for FGCs, all Site Practice Leaders will look at all unborn and new-born babies reports of concern to ensure appropriate planning and assistance for vulnerable mothers, and in Hastings, staff would have access to more resources and training and a Regional Supervisor was appointed (Oranga Tamariki, Media Release, 5 November 2019).

Oranga Tamariki (2022) reported a drop in the total number of reports of concern nationally from nearly 82,000 in 2017 to under 78,000 in 2021. They also state that 2019 saw the lowest number of tamariki Māori coming into care since 2004, 27% fewer tamariki Māori coming into care since 2010, Māori babies (0-3months) being taken into care has reduced significantly and that they are supporting Whānau Ora commissioning agency, iwi and Māori organisations to provide early intervention support for whānau based on whānau ora methodologies (Oranga Tamariki, 2022). Oranga Tamariki also state that 75% of tamariki Māori who are placed with caregivers are with their own whānau or Māori caregivers (Oranga Tamariki, 2022).

Transience has been identified as an issue of concern when supporting families and is discussed next.

Transience

It is challenging to provide social services that are effective to families who are transient (James, 2008). Transient means temporary or short lived (Jiang et al., 2018). Transience disrupts support mechanisms and can have negative impacts on education, health, and social outcomes. Jiang et al. (2018) emphasise that, “For children ‘repeated disruption’ means frequent changes in school environments” (2018, p.5) and that frequent residential moving impacts on physical and mental wellbeing. Morton et al. (2018) report that New Zealand has a relatively high school transience rate and school moves are more frequent for Māori, Pacific and Asian children compared to Pākehā (p. 74). Jiang et al. (2018) state that, “The odds of being vulnerable transient (VT) are higher for Māori and women ... Māori are more than twice as likely to be VT than Europeans for adults” (p. 17). Kaimahi who were uplifted talked about moving around a lot as children and being transient:

Rima: We were uplifted from Rotorua from my Dad and them, and then went to my Nan and them who moved all around, I remember some really shitty places living with them, one was at the dump, a house in the dump in T, another house that was haunted out of T and we ended up going over to M – that’s how it went for us!

Tekau mā whā: So, moving around was probably one thing that was gypsy-like I suppose, like living in different homes for 6-month stints and different schools.

The impact of transience on children is they might find it difficult to form connections and sustained relationships and have accessibility to effective health and education services. High levels of transience can have significant costs for communities, individuals, and families. Highly mobile families may find it difficult to access health and education services, to find adequate housing and to remain in employment (James, 2008). There is some evidence that high residential mobility and transience can be detrimental to children’s school attendance and learning (James, 2008).

Running away

Rima and Tekau mā whā, who ended up in Care and Protection services, took on adult, parenting roles, often running away from care to go and check on younger siblings because they saw it as their role to protect them:

Tekau mā whā: There was one time when CYFs ... moved us separately, we ran away, and it was funny how we ended up finding each other from two different houses all over the place so yeah, I suppose my role in there was tuakana.

Rima: So, my two brothers went to one home, my two sisters went to another home, and I went to another one. Yep, we were all split. So, we all went to different homes – that was a thing in its own. I'd go and take off to go and check on my brothers and sisters – make sure they were alright. That was my habit there, and it was still my habit. I got into trouble heaps of course because I was running away. I wasn't running away I was going to check on them ... I would probably have been about 7 or 8.

For the two kaimahi who were uplifted from home by Care and Protection services and placed in state care, they went on to move around quite a bit, being transient and having numerous placements in foster families. 'Drift in care' is when a child has multi-placements when under CYFs protection (James, 2008, p. 100). "Care drift is known to be associated with significant negative child outcomes" (Ministry of Social Development et al., 2003, p. 53). Both kaimahi were the mātāmua in their whānau and both talked about their responsibilities of being mātāmua and being in an 'adult' parenting role with their siblings, that continued into adulthood and is ongoing. The mātāmua is usually the first-born, eldest or older son in a whānau, and has responsibility and authority for their younger siblings (Jackson, 1978; Williams, 2004). These two mātāmua saw themselves as the protector of the younger siblings.

Children need to be safe and feel secure and valued when growing up. Unsafe environments for children included being around alcohol abuse, experiencing insecure family relationships and negative relationships with mothers which lead to a lack of secure attachment for many kaimahi. If children do not form strong attachments with parents they will attempt to form attachment with other protective, nurturing adults such as grandparents or caregivers. When kaimahi learned about attachment theory in their studies they were able to analyse their own lack of attachment in childhood. Kaimahi who grew up in state care were often disconnected from whānau, hapū and iwi and led transient lifestyles which impacted on their physical and mental wellbeing, education and health. Māori children were more at-risk of being vulnerable and

transient than non-Māori, and experiencing ‘drift in care’ with multiple placements. The mātāmua in whānau saw it as their responsibility to take care of the younger siblings and this has continued into adult life for many of them.

The next theme will focus on conflict/tohi and violence and specifically the impact of violence on children.

Te Hau Rua: Conflict/Tohi

Violence: Conflict was managed with violence – Violence solved everything!

As stated earlier in this research whānau violence was not common or acceptable in traditional Māori society (Cooper, 2012; Durie, 2001; Kruger et al., 2004; Mikaere, 1994; Taonui, 2010; Wilson, 2016). However in contemporary Aotearoa family violence is complex, a significant problem, a critical issue and has dire consequences for children (Cooper, 2012; Ministry of Social Development, 2006; Walters, 2016). Family violence is a global and national concern, particularly for Indigenous women and children (FVDRC, 2014).

There is a difference between the terms family violence and whānau violence. Cooper (2012) identifies family violence as a, “‘catch-all’ phrase used widely to describe all forms of abuse and neglect that can occur in a range of family relationships” (p.7) whereas whānau violence has to take into account the “‘impact of historical trauma as a key underlying factor in indigenous violence” (Cooper, 2012, p. 172). Historical trauma theory approaches assist to understand Māori health inequities seen today (Cameron et al, 2020; Pihama & Smith, 2023). The FVDRC (2017) outline that the “trauma of colonisation has been passed on to successive generations and that the impact of the social changes imposed on Māori during colonisation is ongoing” (p. 24). Just as trauma can be transmitted intergenerationally, so can violence within whānau be transmitted across generations. Therefore, whānau violence is broader than family violence, has a wider scope of issues, can be an outcome of trauma experienced through colonisation, and requires a different approach (Cameron et al., 2020; Cram et al., 2012; Pihama & Smith, 2023).

Whānau violence has become ‘normalised’, may be misunderstood to be part of Māori culture, and can be intergenerational (FVDRC, 2017; Kruger et al. 2004; Wilson, 2016). Wilson (2016) contests the normalisation of intergenerational transmission of violence in whānau stating that the effects of colonisation “introduced Victorian hegemonic

social norms, which forced the change from the collaborative structure and function of whānau and the roles of tāne and wāhine to whānau subjugating wāhine and tamariki” (pp 35-36). Kruger et al. (2004) introduces the concept of ‘imposter tikanga’ whereby violence is normalised and misinterpreted as being part of Māori culture. Kruger et al. (2004) claim that the consequences of whānau violence for Maori is that it damages wairua, hinengaro, tinana and ngākau (emotional wellbeing of the heart) and disturbs ihi, wehi, wana and that damage and disruption creates imbalance resulting in loss of wellbeing, not just for individuals, but for whānau, hapū and iwi.

Some kaimahi grew up with violence around them and it was modelled that violence solved everything:

Rima: Well, conflict was managed with violence. That’s all I knew, even I did it! I thought I was being good when I was picking on kids that were picking on other kids, you know, because I am one for the underdog ... I thought I was being good because I was saving that child but I would knock them [bully] out – that was easy. I’d seen my dad do it, I’d seen my grandfather do it ... Yep, violence solved everything – you got a hiding, well you were more feared [if you hit hard].

Rima’s view outlines how ‘normalised’ violence was for her however violence can also be stigmatised as outlined next.

Violence was kept in-house – a closed and isolated system

Whānau violence has a whakapapa and is also shrouded in whakamā through “the stigma of living with violence, secrets (especially regarding child abuse and neglect) and silence” (Wilson, 2016, p. 36). Tekau mā ono discussed violence as a closed and isolated system that was kept in-house:

Our parents kept us quite isolated. Well, we never had friends, we were never allowed to go out, you know, I don’t remember going out, well I remember staying with one girlfriend overnight, ... we never mixed much so probably that’s what kept the violence, that’s what kept it all in-house.

Research has shown that violence tends to be kept inhouse and private from the world and that silence sustains violence (Sanders et al., 2012). “Violence is a secret, and it survives through silence; it is given many names to minimise it’s harm and divert

attention from the damage it does” (Sanders et al., 2012, p. 46). Kaimahi described the violence graphically often having physiological reactions to the violence. Tekau mā rima describes her situation with violence:

Well, they smashed each other, literally. I used to wet my pants so when I moved from my birth whakapapa to whāngai whānau and when they started the yelling and that I would literally just wet my pants. I had problems when I first started school of wetting my pants, I had to see a public health nurse and I had to train my bladder and everything.

The ongoing impact of violence on children is vast and can require ongoing medical and health follow-up (Lamers-Winkleman et al., 2012), last for a long time, and psychologically scar children. Tekau mā ono is explicit that in her whānau the form of disciplining was violence, and that punches and kicks were used by an adult:

Well, I remember, and my brother talked about this not so long ago, cos he was moaning about our little brother not owning up to taking the ice-cream and he took the bash, you know, so we would all get lined up and it was violence. When I say violence, I mean punches and kicks. It was just horrible!

Tekau mā ono shared that she supervised a social work student on placement at her organisation and the student had grown up next to her house:

Do you know I met a social worker; I had a social work student when I was in the P. office and I knew her name. About two months into our supervisor-supervisee role, she said to me “what did I remember?” and I said “Well I know your name but I don’t remember you” cos she was an older woman and she said to me that she used to live in H. where we lived for a little while as a family, and she always heard the screaming and she’s always regretted never doing anything. I just sort of thought “Wow, what do you want me to say to you? Shit!” It’s like shush I didn’t want to know, and I just thought it was definitely about her and I said to her “Oh well what would you do now?” cos I didn’t know what else to say to her. She said she was about 18 at that time, living at home and she used to live next door to us, and I don’t remember her at all.

This was a dilemma for Tekau mā ono as she was unsure what the supervisee required of her in this instance. As a supervisor, her response was quite appropriate. Again, this

reiterates that a lot of violence is not reported so goes on regardless. The psychological impact of violence continues for children into their adult years.

Tekau mā ono left home at 16 to get away from the violence and ended up encountering the violence of the streets:

I remember when I left home, I literally hit the streets. I was on the streets, and I managed to take people on that were being violent to each other. I remember watching this man hitting his partner and just going up and pulling him off her and just saying “leave her alone!”, so I would do things like that and then off to the next town so yeah it was crazy. I am lucky to be alive, I think!

In her case, she had grown up in the violence and somehow their whānau had stayed under the radar and had not come to attention of authorities. This reiterates the point that many people do not report family violence, that family violence is ‘notoriously’ under-reported (Dissanayake & Bracewell, 2022) and that many tamariki are growing up in family violence. Violence has a long term and adverse impact on children which can go into adulthood and can lead to poor health and social outcomes and premature mortality (Lamers-Winkleman et al., 2012).

The main approach to violence in Aotearoa has held women to account because they are unable to keep themselves and their children safe rendering the perpetrator invisible (FVDRC, 2017). Wilson (2016) attributes disconnection from cultural supports for young mothers who are often parenting children “without the experience and wisdom of elder women” (p. 39). Māori women are three times more likely than other New Zealand women to be a homicide victim, Māori children are 5.5. times more likely to be a victim of a homicide and Maori men are 5 times more likely to be an offender of homicide (FVDRC 2014). Wilson (2016) stated that tamariki Māori make up 57% of children coming into CYF care by 5 years of age and that, “This disproportionate representation includes removal of Māori children from their whānau with Maori mokopuna comprising 60% of children in state care and protection” (p. 34). These figures align with overseas literature that states that Indigenous children in Canada, Australia and the United States are also disproportionately over-represented in state care (Denison, Varcoe & Browne, 2014; Roylance, 2009; Scannapieco & Iannone, 2012).

The FVDRC (2017) reported that over a 7 year period (2008 to 2015) there were 194 Family violence deaths in Aotearoa and that half of these deaths were intimate partner violence (FVDRC, 2017, p. 9). Many (80%) of the Child Abuse and Neglect (CAN) deaths involved children under 5 years of age, 66% of child deaths occurred in fatal physical abuse and/or grossly negligent treatment death events. The review identifies that Māori are over-represented as deceased and offenders in all family violence deaths and that they “lived in the most deprived neighbourhoods” (FVDRC, 2017, p.9). A key argument of this research is that whānau violence is another impact of colonisation and has contributed to the negative statistical narrative of Indigenous peoples worldwide.

Walter and Carrol (2021) posit that “emphasising Indigenous difference from majority populations locates Indigenous People with the national narrative as a deficit and problematic sub-population” (p. 9). This narrative of negative disparity feels disenfranchising for tangata whenua and can leave one with a huge sense of helplessness as it is soul destroying. These negative statistics sustain viewing Indigenous people like a state (Walter & Carrol, 2021) through only focussing on the negatives and deficits. New ways forward are needed. Children growing up in violence are impacted for life. Wilson (2016) states that not having a “secure cultural identity and connectedness aids the existence of violence and its perpetration for many whānau” (p. 35). Therefore whānau violence in Aotearoa is enmeshed in our colonisation story, including the marginalisation of Māori, historical traumatic events, and the societal changes enforced on Māori (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Pihama et al, 2014). Urbanisation policies diminished social structures and weakened the support of whānau, hapū and iwi, and Māori became disconnected from their culture (FVDRC, 2017). The act of colonisation itself can be seen as an act of violence against Māori (Newth, 2015; TPK, 2010).

Adults fighting

Kaimahi talked about violence between adults and how it was ‘scary’ when the adults fought. Rua had lived with her grandparents until she was 7 years old and then went to her parent’s house:

When I went home and I saw my Mum and Dad fighting ... I was like scared as and I’m looking at my siblings and they’re just carrying on with their books and things. Only once I heard my Nannie tell my Grandfather to shut up. That was it! ... They [parents fighting] were quite regular, and they were quite horrendous

but my siblings just carried on doing what they were doing so I just learned to back off, you know, look after myself, and go into the room and, or, because my mother was always kicking me outside, or just go outside.

Whā remembers her aunty and uncle fighting:

Aunty and Uncle used to fight – real fists! We used to get scared ... it impacted on us seeing violence.

Rima remembers being very fearful of her father:

You know I was very fearful of my Dad although he never hit me until I was older, but I had seen his violence, I had seen it all and I was very, very fearful of him.

Kaimahi have reiterated here that parents fighting, abuse and violence were ‘normal’, particularly for Rua who was traumatised by her parents fighting the first time she witnessed it as a 7-year-old, however her siblings were so used to it that the fighting was ‘normalised’ and Rua had to quickly find strategies to deal with the violence. Rima’s witnessing of her father’s violence imprinted strongly on her and she lived in fear of him. This is the reality for many children who have grown up in violence.

Sometimes the violence came from the mothers:

Tekau mā toru: So, she [Mum] was the dominator ... there was always arguments, only when he’d been drinking, and she would be the one doing all the yelling and screaming and she’s hitting him and he’d just be like that, trying to protect himself. It didn’t happen that often but the times that it did, I have very vivid memories of them, You know I’ve seen times when he would be pushed out of the house and down the stairs and we’ve waited for her [mother] to disappear down the passageway, me and my sister and then we’ve gone out to see if he’s alright.

Tekau mā ono: Mum - she was strong, as in you wouldn’t mess with Mum. I remember once she followed this car that had cut her off and this wasn’t long before I left home, and she followed it right up the driveway, this woman, right up the driveway and went up to the woman and slapped her across the face and hopped back in the car and went.

For kaimahi growing up in violence, it was around them, their siblings and cousins were also part of it, as dysfunction was modelled to them by the adults in their lives, and it was 'normalised'. Kaimahi witnessing whānau violence grew up in fear and fearful of powerful adults. They learned that violence, such as punches, kicks, yelling, arguments and smashing people, solved everything, that violence was a closed and isolated system, and was a 'normal' way of life. To understand violence for Māori, colonisation, marginalisation, urbanisation, historical traumatic events and societal changes that were forced on Māori need to be considered. Through these experiences Māori have continued to be disconnected and isolated from whānau, hapū and iwi, and their culture. Violence has a long term and adverse impact on children which can go into adulthood and can lead to poor health and social outcomes and premature mortality (Lamers-Winkleman et al., 2012). Whānau Mauri Noho is the direct result and impact of colonisation for Māori.

The next two sections will focus on Te hau toru: Resilience and Turning Points and Te hau whā: Wanting Difference and Ways Forward. These two hau represent the positive winds of change and are tailwinds.

Te Hau Toru: Resilience

This hau considers the resilience factors that assisted kaimahi to overcome challenge and adversity, the turning points in their whānau where a bottom line was reached and whānau were no longer accepting of violence. Kaimahi were also questioned as to whether they would change anything about their childhood. Many kaimahi expressed that they would not change their childhood as it made them the people they are today.

Resilience through survival

Resilience is described as "manifested competence in the context of significant challenges to adaptation or development" (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998, p. 208), an individual's ability to withstand and 'bounce back' from adversity (Ungar, 2008, 2012) and do well against the odds (Martinez-Torteya et al., 2009;) and involves the ability of an individual to psychologically function at a greater level than expected given their developmental history (Higgins, 1994).

Kaimahi shared what helped them to be resilient and bounce back from childhood challenge and adversity:

Tekau mā whā: We were in care quite a lot, but it was those sorts of care where they would take you for six months and then put you home again, and then something else would happen, take you away again, and put you in another and so I moved around a lot of schools ... the benefit of that, I made lots of friends because I went to other schools and I suppose my 'in', because I was a fast runner, my 'in' was sports, so when I went to a new school, I'd have a race, and you win it, people start to think, you're a bit cool, and then when you start playing rugby, you start to build a friendship base, I guess, so moving around schools, sports was the way I was able to make friends. The stink thing about it was when they told you it was time to go home, you never wanted to go ... When I saw the social welfare car coming, I'd get upset because I knew they would take me, and it meant I was out. That was the stink part I suppose and that is how I might have built resilience and stuff through that of 1. Not wanting to go and then 2. Not wanting to leave.

Tekau mā whā's experiences helped him to grow resilience through adversity. Walters (2016) states that when people are exposed to adversity, resilience is their capability to steer a way through to a position of wellbeing, it is where some people, despite very challenging circumstances, have the ability to thrive (Cooper, 2012). Resilience through adversity will be discussed further in Te haerenga o te awa chapter because rugby was a protective factor that steered Tekau mā whā away from the course towards youth gangs that he was on.

Boulton (2013) states that resilience is not an innate quality but acquired through surviving a hard upbringing and for many of the kaimahi in this research who experienced challenge and adversity in their childhood they often had a very positive and optimistic view of life, had a 'fighting for survival' spirit, and were able to make the most of their situations. Some comments made by kaimahi include, "without my past I wouldn't be where I am today", "my childhood shaped who I am right at this moment", "I can fight for survival", "I bounced from a lot of things", "I've made the best of it", "Your life experiences make you who you are", "The hardships made me resilient, they gave me strength". These optimistic and positive views from kaimahi who have traversed adverse and challenging experiences growing up ties into research on resilience and Post Traumatic Growth (PTG). Meilie et al. (2019) explored resilience

factors and Post Traumatic Growth (PTG) when considering adaptive responses to adversity.

PTG refers to “positive psychological changes experienced as a result of struggle with highly challenging life circumstances” (Meilie et al., 2019, p. 1) and encapsulates a view of well-being that even though people can have experiences in life that are challenging and negative, these experiences can lead to personal growth and development and eventually a place of wellness and well-being (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995; Van Slyke, 2015; Watson, 2017, 2019, 2020; Zoellner & Maercker, 2006). Watson (2017) noted that kaimahi experiences of collision (when professional, personal, and cultural worlds collide together in social work) were often viewed by the kaimahi as opportunities and experiences for growth. As demonstrated in the quotes above many kaimahi were able to overcome and bounce back from childhood adversity despite challenging and adverse childhood conditions and were also able to maintain a positive outlook on life. This is a key finding of this research and contributes to social work literature and research.

Education as a protective factor

In Waiti’s (2014) research education was identified by several whānau as being “a protective factor and coping strategy for adverse life events” (p. 132). Walsh (2002, 2007) highlighted that flexibility contributes to family resilience and the adaptability to challenges encourages resilience. For many kaimahi school and education was a resilient factor because school was a safe haven from the abuse and violence that may have been going on in their lives. Although Rima had suffered violence and abuse growing up, and then was in state care often traversing between different caregivers, school was a safe place for her and allowed her to take on leadership roles:

I had lots of leadership roles including kapa haka and responsibilities that I could do cos I could do them, the one that looks after this one, the one that looks after the books, the one that does this – lots of different things – I loved it!

Rima also grew good relationships with teachers and although she lacked attachment with parents and whānau members, she may have become attached to teachers and went on to form a strong attachment with a caregiver who became her whāngai Mum. Bergin and Bergin (2009) share that usually children will attach to maternal or paternal family members, however, they can also attach to non-family members such as teachers or

childcare providers. They introduce the concept of ‘school bonding’ whereby through having a sense of belonging at school a child can have a network of relationships with peers and teachers. Like attachment, school bonding can assist children’s feeling of value and security which may enable them to “take on intellectual and social challenges and explore new ideas. A child who is bonded to school has a sense that ‘people at school like me!’” (Bergin & Bergin, 2009, p. 142). Rima felt bonded to school and was able to form good relationships with certain teachers. To feel securely connected to others is a basic human need (Leary & Baumeister, 1995; Bowlby, 1973).

School also could provide opportunities for girls, particularly if parents, or at least one parent saw the necessity for girls to be educated:

Tekau mā tahi: Like we are also hugely academic ... she [mother] always quoted the Chinese philosopher Hang Xi Yun who used to say things like, “you educate a man, you educate an individual, you educate a woman, you educate a nation” and she always said that to us as kids, that the girls need to be educated.

However, some parents did not think girls needed to be educated:

Tekau mā toru: “I was pulled out of school at 14 so I could go to work because my Mum absolutely believed that the boys needed the education – not me!”

Some parents saw education and the acquiring of *tohu*, not just as an individual achievement but something to help move *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* forward.

Tekau mā tahi: My father in particular, well he really pushed the *Pākehā* education ... his reasoning was, and he was very honest with us about it, was that you’ve gotta go and you’ve gotta get this qualification and then you turn around and you beat them at their own game, and you use it – your qualification is not your qualification – you use it to help your people.

Tahi and Tekau mā toru wanted to role model to their own children the importance of education:

Tekau mā toru: I left school with no formal qualifications, their father had left school, well he got to 6th or 7th form and had started a degree in surveying but did not complete it, so it was really important for me, and we had a talk about it. I said one of us, if we want our children to carry on in education and go to

university, we need to role model that for them and one of us needs to do that so it was agreed that I would go first.

Tahi: I hope to be, even with my education, I am wanting it to be as a role model, so I'm role modelling ... Yeah and I want education for my kids and my mokopuna actually for all my whānau. So, you have to be role model for others!

Durie (2006) acknowledged that for Māori people to thrive and prosper adversity needs to be reduced and resilience needs to be built. Becoming educated, and being a role model for children is a way to build resilience. This research affirms that education can help children and adults to build resilience.

A key finding from this research is that even though kaimahi grew up in challenge and adversity they were able to bounce back and grow resilience through maintaining very positive, optimistic views on life. They did not let the challenge and adversity define who they were. Next, turning points are discussed.

Turning Points

Kaimahi identified turning points in their lives when things changed. These included parents giving up alcohol, a parent getting to a bottom line with violence and breaking the cycle of family violence. Tekau and Tekau mā tahi remember when their fathers gave up drinking alcohol and the impact that this had on their whānau:

Tekau: But then my father just gave up – I think I was still at Primary School, so maybe 11-12, and he just gave up ... there was no more parties and no more fighting, and he just gave up – he stopped!

Tekau mā tahi also identified that her father gave up drinking and the violence he had used on the older children never happened with the younger children. This was a significant change in the whānau.

Getting to a bottom line with violence: Enough is Enough!

Some kaimahi talked about getting to a bottom line with violence and Sanders et al. (2012) call this 'Enough is enough!' (p. 46). This is where a line is reached, and people are not prepared to condone and put up with violence anymore. Tekau mā ono describes reaching the bottom line as her mother 'putting her foot down':

My mum was very determined ... it was her that put her foot down, like I can still remember when she had had enough of my father and he was hitting her, he had actually pushed her head onto the doorknob of our door and so her head was bleeding on the side and she just got rid of him and never had him back from that time ... yep, the bottom-line stuff.

Tekau mā ono then talked about how when she was an adult, and in a violent relationship, she reached her own bottom line with violence:

My whole life changed! ... I decided from then on, that violence was not the way to go, that there was more to this life than me, and us, that there was bigger pictures and bigger things ... so I just packed my kids in the car and we just left and I knew we would be okay and we were okay.

Breaking the cycle of family violence was something that kaimahi expanded on further. Many stated it was a chance to do things differently and not use the same methods that had been modelled to them.

Tekau: Family violence was never present in our lives with our children and so they talk about breaking the cycle – I don't know. I don't think we did anything great to break the cycle – we just didn't do it!

Changing childhood

Kaimahi were asked if they would change anything about their childhood. Many had grown up in a time where te reo Māori and te ao Māori were not seen as a priority, most kaimahi were not immersed in te reo and te ao Māori as children and wished they had been.

Waru: Perhaps being more immersed in te ao Māori and more exposure around that, being Māori ... because we grew up in a Pākehā community where I was the only Māori.

Some bad shit happened but I wouldn't change anything!

Kaimahi shared that they would change the discipline, abuse and violence that happened in their childhood but overall kaimahi stated they would not change anything about their childhood as it might change who they became:

Tekau mā whā: I'm not sure because would that change who I would be right now? So, for example, if my Dad didn't die, what would I be now? If my mother found a nice husband when I was 4 and he was rich and whatever and what would I have turned out like? So even though my mother got locked up and some bad shit happened, I don't know whether I would want to change that, because it might change me.

Several kaimahi who grew up in challenge and adversity were not strongly connected to their whānau, hapū and iwi or strongly connected to being Māori. Many expressed they had grown up disconnected from their marae and tikanga and kawa. It was as they grew older, they felt a need to learn more about te reo Māori and te ao Māori. This contrasts with the kaimahi who grew up immersed in love and strong in their Māori identity and with te reo Māori (as discussed in the Whānau Mouri Ora chapter). Each of these kaimahi demographic bring strength and skills to their practice of social work. The kaimahi growing up immersed in love and strong on their te ao Māori and te reo Māori bring these skills as strength into their practice and kaimahi who have grown up with the lived experience of challenge and adversity bring their experience and knowledge of overcoming adversity to their practice. Both sets of experiences and kaimahi complement each other's social work practice.

The next section considers Te Hau Whā which is focussed on wanting difference and finding ways forward.

Te Hau Whā: Difference and the way forward

Wanting difference

Kaimahi had a strong sense that they wanted life to be different for their own tamariki and mokopuna and did not want the mistakes and challenges from their childhood impacting on the next generation. Rua's words of wisdom to the next generation was founded on the disconnection that exists between her and her siblings and told her nephews, "Don't let our past be your future". Kaimahi identified that putting children first in whānau was part of the way forward. Kaimahi also discussed the importance of education for them and that having a good education was something they wanted their children to aspire to. Kaimahi had clear views of what they wanted for their children:

Tekau mā toru: When I look back and I knew what I wanted for my children. First of all, I wanted them to be versed in te reo Māori and to have a home where

they had two parents, as much as possible ... [and] to be supported in their education. My parents never ever participated in any school events with us because they were working ... I wanted to do different for my children – absolutely different!

Tekau mā whā: I remember from a very young age, thinking when I have children, they are not going to be in care, we're not going to live in a state house, I made that decision real young and I've done it – I've got my own house, none of my children have ever been in care ... I also think I got it from watching people that had no values and thinking “that's not what I want to be like so what's the opposite of that?” I probably didn't even know the wording for it, but I just don't want to be like that.

Kaimahi had set views about wanting life to be much different for their own children, particularly in ensuring that the next generation did not grow up in abuse and violence, and that they would have opportunities to be well educated. Kaimahi were determined to do things much differently to their parents, and ensure the safety of children at all times. The way forward from whānau violence is explored next.

The way forward from whānau violence

Just as whānau violence is a complex issue, preventing violence in whānau is also complex (FVDRC, 2017). Intergenerational violence requires an intergenerational response. Kaimahi in this research, who grew up in abuse and violence, have made intergenerational changes through ensuring that they raise their children and mokopuna differently to how they grew up, that they give their tamariki and mokopuna access to educational opportunities, that they stand against abuse and violence against children and adults, and that they be different to their parents. However, mainstream services utilise tools that continue to colonise Māori, reinforce stigmatising, negative stereotypes of Māori, and engage in racist and discriminatory behaviour (Harris et al., 2012; McIntosh, 2022; Wilson, 2016).

These systems continue to “perpetuate systemic inequities that compound historical trauma and poverty, employment opportunities and access to necessary services” (Wilson, 2016, p. 35). Western approaches to violence are inept in preventing violence within whānau. These systems have not served our people well and definitely keep Māori in a Mouri Noho or languishing state. Walter and Carrol (2021) emphasised that

the current systems have only focussed on Indigenous disadvantage and disparity and that these frameworks “cannot and do not provide the policy outcomes that Indigenous people ... need” (p. 2).

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, the narrative of the State’s measuring, recording rationalising and standardising of Indigenous disadvantage is a long-established bureaucratic response which does not represent tangata whenua reality, purposes, and interests (Walter & Carrol, 2021). Often it has been non-Māori that “diagnose the Indigenous problems and formulate the appropriate Indigenous focussed policy solutions ensuring that tangata whenua are caught in a complex of failure” (Walter & Carrol, 2021, pp. 6-7). To move forward Māori require culturally informed solutions, responsive to their unique histories and requirements (Pouesi et al., 2023; Wilson, 2016), alongside data that “represents Indigenous lifeworlds and Indigenous priorities” (Walter & Carrol, 2021, p. 10) and Māori should be spearheading this change. Therefore the way forward requires te ao Māori approaches that embrace Māori frameworks and solutions.

Pouesi et al. (2023) outline a Kaupapa Māori approach named Black Rain to address family violence and trauma for Māori. The framework recognises the importance of moving whānau forward through working holistically and utilising collective approaches (FVDRC, 2017) as western, individualised approaches are inadequate for Māori. Strengthening and restoring whānau cultural identities and traditional values is crucial to “halting family violence normalisation and intergenerational transmission” (Wilson, 2016, p. 32). Also the impacts of historical trauma and ongoing colonisation that contributes to the structural inequities Māori whānau encounter when they access social and health services, including racism and discrimination, must be addressed (Came 2014).

Wilson (2016) advocates that, “Disrupting and transforming whānau violence is about building safe and supportive communities and growing safe and healthy whānau that are culturally connected” (p. 40). The way forward involves recreating collective pathways that enables transformation and healing from trauma and violence. This involves reclaiming mātauranga Māori bodies of knowledge, strengthening cultural identity, and restoring connections to renew the protectiveness that cultural traditions offer (FVDRC, 2017; Walter & Carrol, 2021; Wilson, 2016). It also requires a “long-

term commitment from government and mainstream services to address structural inequities and institutional racism – “forms of violence that have contributed to the current levels of violence within whānau” (FVDRC, 2017, p. 11). A definition of family violence for Māori must engage wider social, economic and cultural contexts and exist within a Kaupapa Māori framework that is grounded upon tikanga Māori (Kruger et al., 2004, Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010; Walters, 2016). The way forward involves reconnecting whānau to their whakapapa, their culture, their supports, and ways of being. In Aotearoa it is imperative that young women are reconnected to the elder women of the whānau.

Chapter Summary

This chapter affirms that children may grow up in childhood challenge and adversity, in unsafe environments, where alcohol and parties were common place, violence and abuse ‘normalised’, negative relationships with parents were not unusual and children may not have had strong attachment to whānau members. Kaimahi grew up in contexts where conflict was managed with violence, they experienced constant fear and fighting, where violence was insidious, physical, was kept inhouse as a closed, secretive, and isolating system. However, despite these adversities, some children have fostered and grown resilience that has enabled them to not only survive childhood trauma, but go on to do well in their lives, and thrive, effectively moving from a state of languishing (Mouri Noho) to a state of wellbeing, thriving, and flourishing (Mouri Ora).

Key turning points in the kaimahi growing up experiences included a parent giving up drinking alcohol, and a parent not willing to condone violence towards themselves anymore. When positive change was modelled to children, they were able to reach their own bottom line when in violent and abusive relationships as adults. Kaimahi in this research have made intergenerational changes through ensuring that they raise their children and mokopuna differently to how they grew up, that they give their tamariki and mokopuna access to educational opportunities, that they stand against abuse and violence of children and adults, and that they raised their own children differently to their parents. Their childhood experiences shaped and moulded them into the adults they became and their social work journeys also played a part in their life journey.

The social work journey will be examined in the next chapter – Te Haerenga o te Awa.

Wāhanga Tuawhitu: Te Haerenga o te Awa – The Social Work Training Journey

Pūkenga maunga, rerenga wai.
Where there are peaks, water flows.

Matehuirua Limmer
(Opai et al., 2022, p. 11).

Introduction

This chapter, Te haerenga o te awa, represents the kaimahi journey of social work training and healing. The metaphor of the awa is utilised because in the pūrākau of Pukeonaki to Taranaki the awa is the connector from te Kāhui Mouna ki te Toka Tūmoana. Therefore, the awa is the journey. Also relevant is the Whanganui iwi version of the forming of the Whanganui awa (from a teardrop of Ranginui) and the version that the Whanganui awa was already in place when Pukeonaki left the Central Plateau and followed the awa to te Hauāuru. Therefore, te haerenga o te awa represents Pukeonaki's journey with the guide-stone Te Toka ā Rauhoto, and also represents kaimahi journeys of learning, training, and healing.

Social work is a discipline that should allow for the exploration of emotions and feelings for the whānau we work alongside but also for the kaimahi themselves. If kaimahi have grown up in challenge and adversity and have navigated those tumultuous waters, they usually would have undertaken a healing journey before they can work effectively with other whānau. The social work training can aid that journey. Te Toka a Rauhoto guided and assisted Pukeonaki from the central plateau and also assisted in his healing journey – she led the way, she guided him, she appeased him, and she took him to a new life (Ihaka Noble, personal communication 30th November, 2019).

For kaimahi, Te Toka a Rauhoto represents a learning and healing journey for themselves and a path to a new life. Te Toka a Rauhoto is not a physical human representation but the representation of healing. Our healing journey as kaimahi moves us forward from Mauri Noho (Durie, 2017) into new terrain of possibilities. Once we have learned how to do this for ourselves and our own whānau, we can be effective in our mahi with other whānau. Therefore, in this research, the journey of Pukeonaki to

te Hauāuru represents the kaimahi training to become a social worker and their own personal healing journey.

Again Ngā Hau o Te Mouna framework is utilised in this chapter, as it was in Te Kāhui Mouna chapters. The aspects of the framework that will be utilised are Hau Whānau, Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono, Ngā Hau e whā, and a new hau is introduced – Hau awa. Hau awa is one of the hau associated with te taiao (inclusive of Hau wairua, Hau whenua and Hau moana). Hau awa is theme one and focusses on the kaimahi stories of coming into social work. Theme two is Hau whānau and focusses on the whānau aspect of humanity and people. This theme considers how growing up in their own whānau influenced kaimahi into social work training and education, if and how whānau were involved in the decision to pursue social work training, and what support structures whānau provided for the training journey. In the Hau whānau section, ngā hau e whā represents the four winds. Te hau kotahi and te hau rua are headwinds so will focus on challenge, negativity and adversity from whānau. Te hau toru and te hau whā are tailwinds and represent the positive impact from whānau. Theme three is the Hau pakiaka/mātāpono aspect and will focus on te ao Māori concepts, learnings, worldviews, values and beliefs impacted by the social work education and training journey. It also considers whether aspects of Te Ao Māori and tikanga were part of the kaimahi social work education and how kaimahi were able to bring te ao Māori into their social work training safely and comfortably. Racism in Tertiary Education Institutions (TEI) is also addressed in this section.

Theme One: Hau Awa: Kaimahi stories of coming into social work

This section considers the kaimahi stories of how they came into social work training and then into social work. Often their own lived experiences of growing up influenced kaimahi to embark into social work. The doorways into social work training included involvement in Early Childhood Education (ECE) for kaimahi wāhine as their children became older and less dependent on them, they sought to further their own interests/education/employment prospects. Experiencing positive interactions from social workers influenced kaimahi into social work and a lack of appropriate services, particularly in smaller rural communities, was the driving force into social work for others. Voluntary work in the community also led kaimahi into social work training. This section will also focus on two pitopito kōrero; Toru from the Whānau Mouri Ora

research stream which considers the ‘virtuous self’ and Tekau mā whā from the Whānau Mouri Noho research stream which considers the ‘redemptive self’.

Lived experiences lead to social work

For many kaimahi it was their own personal lived experience of growing up in whānau that influenced them into the social work training journey. Rima had grown up in violence and abuse; had been in and out of state care, and knew she wanted to ensure tamariki would not fall through the gaps like she and her siblings had. She wanted to be a social worker to make a difference:

I fell through too many loopholes ... I don't want any kids falling through loopholes ... I just don't want them to fall through the gaps, there are too many gaps, and our babies are falling through them ... I mean look at all our little babies that are getting killed – those ones still keep me in practice.

Rua's personal experience of children with disabilities led her into social work, particularly when the hospital sent an unsuitable social worker to her whānau. Rua had been very active in looking after her children's needs prior to moving to a city:

When we got to B [city] and we found a house for ourselves and then the hospital said “We're sending you a social worker to help you” and I thought “Oh cool, okay!”, and then I got a knock at the door and this 20 year old girl was there and I just slammed the door ... and then the hospital rang me not long after, because she would have rung them, and they rung me and said “We just sent you a social worker”, I said, “Don't send me that kid. She has no life skills. Anyway I'd be better doing it myself!”

Rua's life was focussed on disability, and she spent a lot of time with social workers because of her sons' disabilities and always wanted to do things herself:

I got to know the social worker there and so she supported me throughout the early days of being in B ... I always knew that I'd rather be doing this myself and because I spent a lot of time with CCS [a disability service], that was my passion!

When redundancy was offered at Rua's work at a factory, she was keen to study and the opportunity to become trained in social work opened up for her.

Other kaimahi shared that not having a voice growing up, a sense of fairness and justice, and negative experiences and treatment from government departments led them into

becoming social workers. Tekau mā rima had “disgusting” treatment as a beneficiary from a statutory agency which drove her into social work:

I was on the benefit myself and those people were ugly at WINZ. I’d rung up beforehand, I’d discussed it, I’d worked it out, I paid my money out for my wood, went to get a food grant and the woman - just ugly! I took my sister, and I was bawling my eyes out cos I know you never go on your own ... I realised that I don’t want people to experience that. The people at WINZ they work for the people ... and the way I was treated was disgusting and quite often our women get treated disgustingly instead of with the respect that they deserve so I wanted to be able to be there to support them and where possible for them to advocate on their own behalf, but if not to be able to be there and hold the line to stop that disrespectful, abusive behaviour.

In social work, the practitioner is the primary practice tool, and the use of self is crucial (Weld & Appleton, 2014). The wounded physician or healer (Jung, 1946) is recognised in counselling and psychotherapy literature (Gilbert & Stickley, 2012; Gordillo, 2021). Barker (1996) acknowledged the importance of therapists developing an understanding of their own pain and vulnerability in order to work effectively with others. Brandon (as cited in Gilbert & Stickley, 2012) emphasises that practitioners can be helped themselves through therapeutic relationships with others. Gordillo (2021), for example, utilised a Jungian lens to critically consider her own personal lived experiences of being a vulnerable teenager when considering the ‘resilience narrative’ of young people she reported on. For kaimahi who have their own lived experiences that led them into social work, being a ‘wounded healer’ requires them undertaking a healing journey and once they have done that, they can work very effectively with others on similar journeys just as Tekau mā tahi outlines regarding her own story:

I had a son. I was 19 at Training College and got pregnant but I didn’t tell anybody and my whānau, well I was in K [town] and I’d come home and everybody would say “God you’re getting fat!” but it didn’t occur to them that I was pregnant and I never told anybody and I’ve thought long and hard about that, and I know why I didn’t tell them because I was terrified of what my father’s reaction might be ... I made the decision that I needed to do something, that I could not go through life being terrified of my father, terrified enough to

not seek medical help through my pregnancy and stuff so I went and did that [social work].

It is important that kaimahi have undertaken that healing journey before they start to work alongside others because of the nature of the work and working in the human services field. The healing journey does not have a finite end and working alongside other people who have similar lived experiences it is natural that kaimahi will face triggers from their own journey. Kaimahi need to learn how to recognise and manage triggers and this is an ongoing journey for them.

The doorways into social work

For many of the kaimahi wāhine after they had their children, they started to look at how they could improve their life. Often, they were searching for something more.

Whā: So around 30, as a woman, I was thinking “I’ve done my children bit, what am I going to do? How do I get a sense of me? What am I going to do with my life? I’m a great cook, I’m a great mother, I’m a great partner, done all that, now what? I feel like I need something for me.

For six of the kaimahi, as they became involved in their children’s education journeys, Kohanga Reo, ECE, and Kura Kaupapa became doorways into social work, sometimes because others saw something more in them.

Tekau: I was in Kohanga Reo, and with my involvement with iwi I was always on a lot of committees, and then iwi social and health services. The whakapapa of it goes back to two of my kuia in the community that were nurses, they would drag me along to hui. Well, that was the birth of our iwi social and health care. I was at the very inaugural stages of it and so when Family Start happened, and I was in Kohanga Reo already ... the kuia driving it said, “this will be a good role for you because of your Early Childhood background”, so that’s how it started.

Tekau mā rua: It was through, well part of Kohanga and Kura Kaupapa, and during that time I was asked by a wāhine that established an organisation that supported Māori women and their children ... She came and asked me if I would like to work, and part of her kōrero was that she had observed me, you know, throughout our kapa haka, because we were in kapa haka together; just how I

was with people and so she saw something, as she did with other women that she brought into the organisation ... that's kind of where it started.

Not only was ECE the gateway into social work for these kaimahi but they often had others, who could see their talents and skills in engaging with people encouraging them into study.

Good social work practice influenced kaimahi

Some kaimahi had positive experiences of social workers when they needed support in their lives. Tekau mā ono's experience of a social worker who assisted her and her husband, who was in hospital, inspired her:

I met my first social worker in the hospital, and he was the first social worker I ever got to know ... It was a fantastic experience! ... He sat and he listened to us, and he helped get our point of view through like how important it was for his [husband's] mum to be flown down to E, how important it was for his brother to be there and that we all stay together – all those things that are part of who we are, our tikanga, our values - this guy absolutely fought for it to happen ... He absolutely influenced me in terms of what it was, what it felt like to be on the receiving end of a good social worker, actually I felt looked after!

Tekau mā rima went to live with her 19-year-old sister and brother-in-law when she was 7 years old and recognised that it was because of the social worker that this happened whereas her cousin and other siblings had a different story:

Well, the social worker at the time of my parents' death – we got a good one! She took a punt on my sister at 19 and my brother-in-law having me and I am so, so lucky that that happened and so I know about the importance of social workers and see my nephew wasn't quite so lucky ... He got pulled from the family and went from foster home to foster home and he was quite broken with all of that. And you see my other sisters and brother, she's [sister] really quite open about the abuse she received in foster homes whereas T and R haven't really spoken about it so much but they're really clear that it wasn't good.

In Tekau mā toru's small community a kaumātua was killed by his son who was diagnosed with schizophrenia. This incident highlighted the lack of support for mental health services in small rural towns and this was her motivation into social work:

That was kind of my thrust into social work was mental health. Because of the kaumātua who was killed by his son who was found to be insane. It had a huge, huge impact not only on myself but also on our whole community, our whole iwi because what it highlighted for us, we had no Mental Health services in our iwi and the closest services that this koroua and his wife could access to support their son, who was diagnosed with schizophrenia, was two hours' drive away. So, after that tragedy, there was a lot of money put into our community and health services to provide mental health support.

The following two pitopito kōrero are representative of the two threads within this research – Whānau Mouri Ora (kaimahi growing up immersed in love and strong in Te Ao Māori). Pitopito Kōrero 1 is from that stream. Pitopito Kōrero 2 represents Whānau Mouri Noho (kaimahi growing up in challenge and adversity). These concepts are further defined in the virtuous and redemptive selves.

The virtuous self

The idea of a 'virtuous self' stems from behaviours that people believe they ought to do, but might find somewhat difficult, time-consuming, or effortful (Ein-Gar et al., 2012). Virtuous behaviours can benefit the self or others, for example volunteering to help those in need or supporting a social action or environmental group (Ein-Gar et al., 2014). Virtuous behaviours are choices, actions, or decisions that can benefit others and are connected to morals, values, ideals, and social expectations (Baumeister et al., 2007). A person of good character is "both moral and virtuous" (Edwards & Chiera, 2019, p. 4). For social workers, the virtues of caring, generosity of spirit and concern for others are vital as is relationality because they need to be able to build trust and relationships effectively whilst working collaboratively with clients (Barsky, 2010).

Cohen and Cohen (1999) identified three key virtues for the helping profession - trustworthiness (being honest, reliable, and responsible), having fortitude (moral courage and doing what is right), and phronesis (practical wisdom). In social work phronesis can be related to the practical wisdom that comes from lived experience of social working. Being virtuous enables practitioners to be ethical (Blustein, 2007). Fortitude calls social workers to "act ethically even when the worker risks negative repercussions from clients, employers, government, or others" (Barsky, 2010, p. 4). Virtues are "lived out" (Barsky, 2010, p. 8) and practiced (Edwards & Chiera, 2019).

In social work, virtue theory highlights the social worker as a moral agent living out a “good life existence with the well-being of community at the forefront” (Jones, 2011, p. 18). Virtues are actions, choices, or decisions - as such, living a virtuous life is actioning the values one espouses to live by while utilising virtue theory and ethics ensures a critical lens in social work. Skills in virtue ethics match the social work values of social justice, reflection, moral courage, prudence (ability to evaluate and be practical), tolerance of others and temperance (self-restraint) (Jones, 2011). The following pitopito kōrero considers Toru’s living out of social work values and virtues.

Pitopito Kōrero: Toru: From secretary to living out social work values

Toru originally wanted to become a mechanic however her mother was not supportive of this career path. This was in the 1970s and roles for males and females were very prescribed. Toru ended up going to secretarial school which was seen as more appropriate for a young woman in the 1970s.

Toru: When I left school I wanted to become a mechanic and my mother said “No, you’re not going to be a mechanic!” and I said, “But I want to, I love it!” because I was quite good at welding and that, and motors, and she said, “No you’re not!”, and made me go in every lunch time to catch up with typing, and night school typing ... so I went on a secretarial course, this was in the Trade Training.

When Toru attended her Trade Training secretarial course she had to relocate to Auckland and moved in with her aunty and uncle whilst training. For many young Māori moving to the cities, they often would move in with whānau for the duration of their training as Māori are collective and relationships are important as self-worth is related to others (Cram, 2021). “Māori moving to the city purposefully built and strengthened whanaungatanga (kinship relations), with this providing a foundation for socialising, religious and cultural activities, and employment opportunities” (Williams 2015).

Toru finished her training and commenced administration work. She had been working at a faith based non-government organisation (NGO) for several years and then wondered what she should do next and realised that social work was what she had already been doing in her whānau and with her Church:

It was opened up to me that I could do work-based [training] and I thought, “I’ll have a look and see what this entails. Can I do the job?” and then I found out I was already doing it with my parents through the Ministry, church, whānau, with my grandparents, marae, and I said it’s just got a different name – empathy, aroha, manaaki, tika, pono and I thought okay, and I went in. When I first started, not the diploma but the degree part, man I learned about myself, about my turangawaewae, about my two feet being stable on my foundations, and it was about my values and beliefs and trying to articulate. I learned about myself when I was studying and I liked it and I’d go back to talk to my mum and them, to my aunties [who were social workers], my brothers and then they were calling me, “Oh here comes the social worker!”

Toru was fortunate in securing the NGO social work study award which was funded by the Ministry of Social Development. Established in 2005, the intent of the fund was to help build the capability of people working in community based social services. The award helped to improve social services through training incentives and wrap-around support for providers and their employees to gain professional qualifications (Yeung et al., 2016) in order to “build the capability of organizations and staff working in community-based social services” (Yeung et al., 2020, p. 682). The initiative had a monetary component that aided the student to undertake social work study whilst still working in the community. Over ten years several recipients became qualified social workers with “a high uptake of Māori recipients adding a distinct benefit for Māori and Iwi organisations and their communities” (Yeung et al., 2020, p. 694). The award had a positive impact on recipients by ensuring them the space to study and work at the same time thus implementing theory to practice (Yeung et al., 2016). Māori recipients acknowledged personal benefits as well as benefits for their whānau, hapū and iwi as “the qualification benefits more than just the individual and the additional pastoral care and relationship building reflects Māori values of aroha, manaaki and whanaungatanga” (Yeung et al., 2016, p.10).

The NGO study awards gave Māori community workers, such as Toru, the opportunity to be able to study social work and become qualified and registered, without having to give up their employment and the financial stability that work provided. However, the award was discontinued in 2016 and is no longer available for kaimahi who are working in the community sector and would like to consider social work as a profession.

For Toru, the social work training was a good fit and instilled in her that she needed to be living out the social work values in all aspects of her life and that she was not just a social worker between 9am and 5pm at work. That meant making a stand against hurting children:

I'd go out for dinner with my husband and family, and you'd see things in a public restaurant, and a whānau thing and the man just went Boom [smack] to this kid's head and my whānau said, "Hey you're not working for the whare now, you're just with us. Don't Mum! What are you going to do?" and I said "No, no, no, no! Whose gonna be the voice for that little child? He needs to know that I've seen what was done – I'm gonna see if he is alright". "Oh Mum, Mum, please!" and I went "okay I'll go and get a tissue" and I went to get a tissue and went all the way and came back to that table and went "Are you alright boy?" and the boy was so shocked and I looked at the man and I said "Kia ora" and then he settled down after that and then I toddled back to my table. He didn't have to do that because it's a little child, and he obviously got his pay check and wanted to shout his whānau and the boy didn't want to eat his hamburger but they can put it in the bag and take it home ... Well before [social work training] it was like my thinking, my lenses were okay I ought to do something and then when I went over to the degree and it was teaching me and it made me sort of, I have to do this now that I know better, I have to do this, you know it was like my own personal oath.

Toru's social work training journey changed her whole life whereby she realised and took responsibility for being the voice of children and this was not a daytime job but a living out of values in all aspects of her life. Edwards and Chiera (2019) outline the foundational virtues of courage, diligence, wisdom, honour, justice, and kindness as the key to achieving excellence in the art of living. These foundational virtues sit at the heart of social work values and particularly Toru's practice as she grapples with always living out virtues and values. Virtues are actions, choices or decisions so living a virtuous life is actioning the values one desires to live by, just as Toru did. The next pitopito kōrero focusses on Tekau mā whā, from the Whānau Mouri Noho stream, and ties into the redemptive self.

The Redemptive Self

The experience of ex-offenders living out generative actions is called the redemption-self (Kazemian, 2007; Maruna, 2001). The redemption self is making amends for one's past misdeeds or shortcomings by doing something positive. Generativity (Erikson, 1963) is when adults are concerned for and committed to promoting the well-being of future generations. A generative person can sustain hope in the face of adversity and transform suffering into a positive emotional state to move from pain and peril to redemption (McAdams, 2006). They can embrace the negative things that happened to them because through the transformation of the bad into good they can move forward in life. Radak's research (2016) interviewed six former male criminal gang members who had been working in social services in Aotearoa for at least two years taking part in generative exercises such as mentoring youth or counselling substance users. Radak's findings concluded that when a redemptive self is adopted ex-criminals can desist crime and are motivated to contribute positively to society. "The wisdom they have acquired via the criminal life experience and the utilisation of this past experience enables them to support others in overcoming their harmful behaviour" (Radak, 2016, p. 44). These shared journeys of life can be advantageous to being able to connect with clients and are an example of how challenging and negative experiences can transform into positive, pro-social behaviours (Dunlop, 2021). Tekau mā whā's redemption story is explored next.

Pitopito Kōrero: Tekau mā whā: From gangsta kid to social worker

For Tekau mā whā the journey to social work was born from his lived experiences of growing up in the worst part of town, amongst gangs, and then going in and out of CYFS care, and eventually joining youth gangs. His redemption journey subsequently led him into voluntary support work:

I started off as a support worker which is where I sat alongside students that couldn't be managed in class ... I guess the funny thing is I always had a thing for supporting people and helping. There were some kids at risk in T. [area] and someone put my name forward, so I got a call saying, "Would you be interested?" and I thought it was a paid job, so I went up there going "Yeah man, this is bloody good! I'm gonna go camping in the bush with these young ones" and they said, "Why do you want to do it?" and I said, "For one I am born and

bred in that area, so I probably know the kids or the parents, and second I really need a job” and then they said, “It’s voluntary” and I was like “good one!”

Although the job was unpaid Tekau mā whā decided to go ahead and do the work voluntarily. He realised that because of his own formative experiences he would be able to connect with the at-risk children:

With the kids that are gangsta-like I suppose, because our street was Mongrel Mob, in our area ... we started off as 5-year-olds sitting on the side of the road in our street, while everyone was partying around the place, and because we all lived there for so long. The next minute we are 10-year-olds, and we are wearing little jackets with our own bulldog drawn on the back, so we were the kid Mongrel Mob I suppose. Then when we got to be about 14, we started a car youth gang called the JSB ... and then we started being a youth gang where we were travelling out of our area to fight other gangs ... so we ended up in trouble.

Tekau mā whā could connect with these young people because of his shared experience of being an at-risk youth himself and this mahi provided the opportunity for his ‘redemption self’ to transform his challenging and negative experiences into positive, pro-social behaviours (Dunlop, 2021).

Rugby bridged the gap

For Tekau mā whā the point of difference for him was rugby because it bridged the gap between opposing gangs:

T[area] was sort of Mongrel Mob area, so we used to clash and so sports brought us together because I was in a rugby team with the Blacks, and they didn’t like me and I was suspect of them and before the game, little threats. But it was amazing how we went and played against U. [rugby club] ... but after the game they were being a little bit friendly to me, and then I became friends with them. But on my other side, where I came from, they were going “Why are you rubbing necks with those niggas?” so I got called out a little bit ... but now, 30-40 years later, I get on with all of them, so I can go back up to the Mob pub and have a drink with them, and all that sort of stuff and they’re all good, I can hang out with these fullas here because that’s who I kinda belong to now anyway!

The idea of sport for social change has been explored with research (Hapeta, 2018; Erueti, 2015; Sherry et al., 2015) identifying that sport can be a hook and a doorway to positive outcomes in “social inclusion, cultural cohesion, healthy lifestyles, education, gender equity, as well as reconciliation and peacebuilding” (Sherry et al., 2015, p. 1). Sport can also be utilised as a “strategic vehicle to achieve non-sport development goals” (p. 1). Tekau mā whā was lucky that he had the opportunity to be involved in rugby from a young age and utilised the values and skills that he learned from sports in other aspects of his life.

When you start playing rugby, you start to build a friendship base, I guess, so moving around schools, sports was the way I was able to make friends ... I played in rugby teams all my life so the values within the team and coaching and all of that so I kinda picked up a lot through sports and other people.

When Tekau mā whā was picked to play in an Under-21 rugby team that was travelling to Australia he observed the support that the fathers gave to their sons and learned values that he would transfer into other parts of his life:

That was my first trip out of New Zealand as a 17-year-old ... and it was with the D. Rugby club, touring Australia ... When I went to Australia, parents came to help but I had no-one come with me obviously but a couple of the dads came and I was just amazed at how they would be motivating their sons when they didn't have a great game, seeing them not yelling at them and going “Come here - we're going to do it better next time!” and I was like “Far out!” ... When I used to go on tour with rugby and stuff, I could actually sort of sidle up to any parent that was on tour and sort of get that too. So, I think I probably learned a lot of values watching and seeing what I wanted.

Rugby and sport can be linked to Māori identity, belonging and wellbeing (Erueti, 2015; Hapeta et al, 2018; Te Puni Kokiri 2012). Erueti (2015) states that sport can create “a secure sense of identity and belonging” (p. 6). Hapeta (2018) asserts that rugby can provide “the vehicle/vessel (or waka) for youth to find their way” (p. 132) and can change the lives of ‘at-risk’ youth. This was the way forward for Tekau mā whā, through being part of a team sport he was exposed to positive role models and values that began to influence him and fostered a sense of identity, belonging and wellbeing in him. Hapeta et al. (2019) have stated that in Aotearoa rugby can guide young people

onto positive paths and future directions. Rangatahi Māori can go on to attain educational achievements and employment prospects, as well as fostering “a stronger sense of identity, which influences their sense of well-being, and creates opportunities for them to explore and discover how they transform their lives through tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and whanaungatanga (collectivism)” (Hapeta et al., 2019, p. 489). Just as rugby was the gateway to positivity for Tekau mā whā, sports can be the gateway for other at-risk rangatahi to learn and have modelled positive, pro-social behaviours to foster a strong sense of identity and wellbeing, and possibly transfer some of those skills to other parts of their lives. This was the strength that Tekau mā whā brought to his voluntary work with at-risk youth and then later on as a trained social worker.

I had built up lots of connections through networks

As Tekau mā whā transitioned into his voluntary position working alongside at-risk youth, he started to draw on his many connections and networks through when he had worked at the freezing works and played rugby:

Understanding the social issues, I suppose was one big thing and because of my time in the freezing works [and] I’ve played a fair bit of rugby in this area for a number of clubs, and I coached a number of clubs ... I had a lot of contacts so I guess that’s the reason why I thought when this thing [voluntary work] came up, and it was in the T area, I thought well I can help because if I have to go and see anyone, I’m probably gonna see somebody that I know. It was quite funny when I first started doing this work and I did see people and they would go “What are you up to?” and I said “I’m working for the N now” and they’re like “you” and I’m like “yeah me” and we have a, like when you talk about whanaungatanga, most of my first meetings would be about what we’ve been doing in the last 20 years and they’re like “gee bro so you’re doing that” and we talk about stuff, who is in jail, who is not, whose dead, whose alive all that sort of thing, and then I go “well anyway bro, your young fulla, he’s a bit of a bully at school and he’s gonna get kicked out. I’m gonna try and help him not get kicked out but I need you to help me too” and that’s how we pretty much kick it off.

Tekau mā whā found that in his voluntary work alongside rangatahi he was able to utilise his personal networks to help him to connect with people, particularly through utilising whanaungatanga. The importance of whanaungatanga in social work is vital in making connections, reconnecting with people, and finding shared network connections, particularly when working alongside tangata whenua. Whanaungatanga is discussed further in Te Toka Tūmoana chapter.

Tekau mā whā thinks he may still have been with the freezing works if they had not shut however social work found him and he recognised that his formative experiences growing up pushed him into social work:

If the freezing works hadn't of shut, I would probably still be there now with my brother ... it [voluntary and social work] just fell, it found me cos I probably would have went off to do something else ... it was probably I had experience from being on the other side really so that was that.

Tekau mā whā could see that his formative lived experiences would help him connect and understand young people needing support:

I think being in care, because all of these things went through my head, being in care, running with youth gangs, living the life I lived I thought I would understand some of these young ones that were needing support – that's pretty much it!

As already mentioned, Radak's (2016) research confirmed that redeemed ex-criminal gang members were able to establish effective working relationships with 'hard to reach' clients in the social services because of their own lived experiences. For Tekau mā whā his life experiences enabled him to establish effective relationships with the rangatahi and their whānau. Voluntary work with at-risk youth helped to secure a strong sense of a 'Redemptive Self' for Tekau mā whā whereby he was able to atone for past actions by doing something positive through living out generative actions. These actions demonstrated his concern for and commitment to the well-being of future generations. Tekau mā whā was able to embrace negative aspects of his own life and transform them positively through enabling others to overcome harmful behaviours. This voluntary work allowed him to contribute positively to his community, eventually leading him into social work training and paid employment. Tekau mā whā was able to enter a social work training programme, however an identified issue for redeemed

workers is that even though NGOs have been employing them as helping professionals to work alongside the ‘hard to reach’ community for a while, because of their past criminal convictions and lingering ties to previous gang networks, they are often not able to commence social work training (Radak, 2016). In social work education this is due to SWRB ‘Fit and Proper’ policy which can exclude candidates with criminal offences or ‘backgrounds of interest’ (Eketone, 2015). Despite this, ex-criminal gang members still work enthusiastically in social services (Radak, 2016). Eketone’s (2015) concern is that by excluding people with certain life experiences there is a danger of “only allowing in people who conform to certain middle-class-type backgrounds” (p. 1) and that there are many Māori working in the community who can make a valid contribution to organisations and communities. He goes on to state that because of this professional restriction Māori men are further marginalised and that there is a real need in social work in Aotearoa for Māori men. Eketone (2015) questions what happens to people who make significant long-lasting and deep transformational change to their lives and can assist others on similar journeys. He offers a wero that social work is a profession touting change; therefore, people who have lived transformative change and healing within themselves and their whānau can contribute positively and effectively to social work. Eketone raises the question: are these not the people we need and want as social workers? Radak’s recommendation was that the government should support the utilisation of the valuable knowledge of the redeemed former criminal gang members and Ministers and policy makers “who prevent reformed ex-criminal gang members from providing their service on a statutory level should look beyond the black and white view of gang affiliation” (2016, p. 132).

There certainly is validity to utilising the redeemed worker in the field of social work, particularly as social work is all about transformational change for the people utilising services. It makes sense that those who have ‘walked the walk’ of transformative change and healing with themselves and their own whānau, will bring insight and value when walking alongside others on those same journeys. For many social workers, the four-year social work training journey is a learning and healing journey that ensures deep introspection of self and exploration of own lived experiences and life. For people to be effective social workers they need to have explored their own lived experiences, recognise triggers for themselves, and have effective plans in place to manage those triggers. If this healing work has been done, then they can provide real value to social

work practice, not only as a person who has undergone transformative change themselves, but as a practitioner that can connect with and walk alongside other whānau on their own transformative change journeys. I support Radak and Eketone's suggestions that policy makers need to think past the black and white of gang affiliation and consider that community workers with lived experience are the kind of people we want as social workers.

Te Hau Awa has shared kaimahi stories of how they came to be on social work training journeys and into social work. Their lived experiences of growing up influenced many kaimahi into the social work training journey. ECE was a doorway to social work for many of the kaimahi wāhine, especially those looking for something more when their children were older. Seeing and experiencing good social work practice can guide people into social work, as can a lack of appropriate services. Working voluntarily in the community often lead kaimahi into social work training as well. The next theme will consider Hau Whānau and the influence and involvement of kaimahi whānau in social work training.

Theme Two: Hau Whānau: Whānau influence and involvement in social work training

Theme two considers how kaimahi whānau influenced and impacted their social work training journey. Ngā hau e whā – the four winds of the Ngā Hau o te Mouna framework are utilised again. As te hau kotahi and te hau rua are the headwinds of challenge and adversity this section will focus on challenge, negativity, and adversity from whānau. Te hau toru and Te hau whā are the tailwinds that guide kaimahi and represent the positive influences from whānau.

Te Hau Kotahi and Te Hau Rua (Headwinds): The negative experiences with whānau

Negative experiences within whānau had a profound effect on kaimahi and hugely influenced them on to the social work training journey. Often these experiences pushed kaimahi to want things to be different, particularly for tamariki/mokopuna. Kaimahi identified that witnessing abuse and child maltreatment growing up had a profound impact on them and was pivotal in their decision to become social workers and commence social work training.

Tekau mā tahi: My father was the biggest influence ... I guess for me, and I know it affected me and it took me years to work through, was the hearing of the older siblings being beaten ... I remember hearing the thuds of the punches landing and stuff like that, the screams yeah and I remember ... and I know now even talking to other kids [children I work with], and they talk about it, you know, they talk about that stuff, and I think well that is probably why I'm doing what I'm doing, yeah cos I wanted to change it!

Tekau mā ono: That would be my brother and not ever wanting to know about a child being treated like that and the institutionalisation, we never saw him again, he was like 20 something before he was free. At 10 he went away to borstal, and he was never out. He went through all the electric shocks, he had it all!

For both Tekau mā tahi and Tekau mā ono these adverse childhood experiences spurred them into social work for social justice reasons and to ensure tamariki are safe.

Some kaimahi did not have whānau support on the social work journey and experienced negativity from whānau when they expressed that they wanted to do social work training:

Rua: Nothing, nothing! So me and my husband eventually separated ... and he always said to me "Is social work that job where you bring kids home? Don't you effen bring any kids home in this house!" He just rubbished me all the time, you know, just put-down, put-down all the time!

Tekau mā toru: He [husband] had to have a dig – so when I knew I would like to go to University, actually it was when I announced, "I'm going to go and do a Certificate in Community and Social Work in W", which was a year-long course, he said "Oh no - you'll never complete that!" Well, I did! And then I said to him, "I'd like to go to university" and his response was, "Geez when is this gonna end?" and I just said, "It's gonna end when I get the degree".

Whānau is pivotal to Māori success and is the foundation that can lead to connections with other people. Because Māori have a collectivist worldview, whānau are key supports for kaimahi on their social work training journey.

The head winds of Hau Kotahi and Hau Rua explored how kaimahi experiences of growing up in violence and abuse led them into social work training and how some whānau were not supportive of kaimahi and offered little to no support on the social work training journey. Despite head wind challenges, these kaimahi went on to succeed in the tertiary environment without the support of their whānau. This success is probably due to their resilience, desire, and willingness to change their lives and grow up differently from what was modelled to them as children. The positive influence of whānau will be explored in the next section.

Te Hau Toru and Te Hau Whā (Tailwinds): The positive influence of whānau

Māori view whānau as vitally important and will consider the needs of extended family more than individualistic, western societies (Harr et al., 2012). A focus on extended family resonates with a collectivist view of the world (Hofstede 1980, 1994) as opposed to an individualistic worldview which can see the individual as separate and independent from family and other collectives (Harr et al., 2012). Ali et al. (2005) argued that collectivistic employees are focused on group welfare, group goals, interdependence, and relationships. People in collective societies focus on social relationships and familiarising themselves with the people around them and can define their identity in terms of group life and group specificities (Haar et al, 2012; Hofstede, 1980). Ratima and Grant (2007) noted that for Māori the relationship with one's own whānau is the foundation that can allow further connection as "It is first about one's relationship with one's own whānau and in broader sense emphasises one's connection to all people and all things in the natural world" (p. 3). Within whānau are the "primary people in a child's life" (Glover et al., 2006, p. 142) and whānau is their most important and supportive group (Mead, 2003). Durie (2003) reiterated that all Māori belong to a whānau, that whānau have a huge influence on lifestyle, and that whānau is 'the gateway' through which Māori development will be obtained (Durie, 2003). Whānau often influence kaimahi through role-modelling positive behaviours and living out actions that help and impact on others. The importance of whānau influence inspired kaimahi into social work because they had observed whānau members (often parents) working amongst the community, education had been role-modelled as an option for them, and their whānau offered many forms of support to them.

Whānau members working in the community

Many kaimahi acknowledged the influence of whānau members, particularly parents, role modelling being active members of the community supporting others:

Waru: It would be growing up watching Dad how he was in terms of people and helping and supporting people, had an influence.

Tekau mā rua: Mum was a real strong influence ... because she was working in the community too and there was lots of things that she couldn't share about whānau and we wouldn't have known half the things Mum was doing. We just knew that the calls would come in and Mum would leave.

Ono was influenced by her stepmother who was a social worker and facilitated social work workshops. Ono was involved because she organised the food and cleaned the venues:

M (stepmother) owned a house down there ... where she was running retreats for social workers ... I was out there doing food, cleaning the houses and stuff like that and so I sat in on a couple of sessions, and met people and got quite close with D [facilitator] and yeah, I think that was kinda what did it. That environment really inspired me at the time and influenced my journey as well so I decided to come up here and do social work.

Tekau mā ono was very much influenced by her husband because of the community work he did:

It was hubby, because of the community work and because he was always, he would literally give everything that we had to other people, he was very much about the disadvantaged ... well that was the foundation of social work for me and what it meant – real social work and what it meant – it meant getting down and getting grubby and dirty with the people and engaging with those people so that they trusted you, that you could help them.

These experiences of whānau members practicing kaimahi ā whānau within their communities influenced kaimahi into social work. Some of these whānau members were trained social workers and some were not. The ones practicing kaimahi ā whānau do the mahi that social workers often do, within their whānau, hapū, iwi, and communities, utilising the te ao Māori mātāpono of whanaungatanga, manaaki ki te tangata, rangatiratanga, tika, pono me aroha. A key argument from this research,

developed further in Wāhanga Tuaiwa, confirms that Māori have always been social workers practicing kaimahi ā whānau in their communities and this provides new contribution to social work research and literature.

Positive whānau support on the social work training journey

Social support (Uchino, 2005) allowed kaimahi to receive help and assistance from others and social support is linked to wellbeing (Alianmoghaddam et al., 2018). Family members, relatives and close friends are part of kaimahi primary groups and can provide emotional, esteem and appraisal support in the form of “love, caring, encouragement and empathy and actions which show the individual that he or she is important to the supportive person” (Alianmoghaddam et al., 2018, p. 24). Theodore et al. (2017) identified whānau support as a crucial factor for Māori students to complete their qualification in tertiary education because families provide emotional and practical support, such as accommodation and childcare. Alianmoghaddam et al. (2018) identified tangible family support as help being directed through goods, services, and financial contributions. Whānau also provided lots of pragmatic and tangible supports for kaimahi including petrol, childcare, driving kaimahi to their tertiary education institutions, and dropping off kai.

Tekau: Lots – my husband – he would drive me to Massey, to Auckland, whenever I was studying.

Whitu: A lot of kai – my parents would always come up and bring mutton birds and pickles, Mum would bring up rewana, I made my own, but it didn’t matter, parents would always come up.

Tahi: Heaps of support from whānau – food, petrol, money for petrol, but just support – they were always there – and then they were very supportive, really pleased too that we [sister and I] were doing these studies.

Providing space and time for kaimahi to do the practical study helped:

Tekau mā whā: My family would be supportive in making sure I had my space ... and also when I had to travel away, because we used to have to go to B for like three days ... and you have to do all your work, come back, and present it and then get your next lot sort of thing. When I used to travel away, they [family]

were supportive and I suppose in the sense of no one in my family going on at me about it, like “Oh you’re going away again!”. They were all good.

Partners provided support to kaimahi in the form of supporting the children at home and financially:

Rima: My hun! He knew whilst I was studying that I was studying and it was going to be hard financially because it was, that is a huge thing to undertake but he worked all that time.

Tekau mā rua: D has always been the constant support when I’ve gone off to do whatever, he’s been the one that will be home with the kids or you know would allow me to have that time, and then with the BSW – it was the same.

Tekau mā ono: He [husband] was Mum. He did everything. I was up until 2 o’clock in the morning. I was a night owl and then up early in the morning and gone so he went to school with the kids, he did all the school stuff, he did everything!

Another way that whānau could help was providing accommodation in cities where the TEI were.

Tekau mā tahi: I had whānau, which is why I went to Wellington because I had whānau, which was that sister and it was good to develop that relationship with her because I hadn’t had a relationship with her, and I also had a half-sister living there from my father’s whānau who I didn’t really know.

Kaimahi whānau provided social, emotional, and tangible supports to them on their study journeys which allowed them to immerse themselves in the learning experiences of the social work training journey. Although family can be a huge source of support for Indigenous students, Theodore et al. (2017) identified that family responsibilities could also be a barrier to qualification completion and that for some students these responsibilities could cause them to undertake study part-time and might take qualification completion longer. Whānau commitments and cultural responsibilities can place Māori students and their whānau under pressure and balancing the multiple obligations of parenting, study, and work is crucial (Theodore et al., 2017).

Hau whānau has considered the tail winds of Hau toru and Hau whā and how positive experiences of whānau have influenced kaimahi into social work training. This

includes having whānau members who were active in the community and modelled people skills to kaimahi. Partners were supportive through being the main income earner, helping financially, and looking after the children. Whānau provided social, emotional, practical, and tangible support to kaimahi in the form of childcare, financial support, petrol, driver, kai, providing kaimahi with the time and space to study and whānau whanui could provide accommodation in the cities where kaimahi studied (if away from home). In tertiary education, Māori students identified family support as the most important factor in completing their qualifications. The next theme will focus on te ao Māori and tikanga in social work education.

Theme Three: Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono: Te ao Māori and tikanga in social work education in TEI

Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono will focus on te ao Māori concepts and values in social work training. This theme considers whether aspects of te ao Māori and tikanga were part of the kaimahi social work education and training, and whether kaimahi were able to bring te ao Māori into their social work training safely and comfortably at their TEI. This section focuses on Māori students and TEI, the barriers and challenges for Māori students, Māori TEI, and then mainstream TEI. The section finishes with a discussion on racism within mainstream TEI because Māori students highlighted that racism exists in TEI.

Māori social workers need support in developing their cultural knowledge to enable them to critically integrate concepts of identity, theory and tikanga into their practice and this support should come from training institutions, organisation's management structures, and social workers dedicated to supporting Indigenous families (Hollis English, 2015). Māori practitioners have experienced a variety of environments, some that are supportive of tikanga Māori and some that are not (Hollis-English, 2015). Similarly, TEI may be supportive of tikanga Māori and some may not be.

Role modelling education as an option in whānau

Māori graduates role model educational success, are essential for Māori futures, and are fundamental for Māori social and economic wellbeing of whānau and communities (Theodore et al., 2017). Kaimahi were influenced by whānau who had completed academic study and had role-modelled that tertiary education was an option for them. These whānau members influenced them to get trained:

Rua: My sister, she's done her masters ... she's been at university all her [adult] life ... and my sister's like "go to school ... I said, "I want to work with disability" and she said "Oh, go and do social work" and so she was nagging me ... so she pushed me to make sure I got in there and then when I got the degree she goes "Don't stop! Go and do your masters!"

Kaimahi were also role-modelling education as an option to other whānau members. Tahī and her sister were role-modelling in their whānau that it was not about being clever to be able to study in TEI:

You know you get whānau that say, "Gee I wish I could do that" and here's us going "Yeah you can do it!" and they say, "Oh you must be very clever" and we [sister and I] go, "I'm not so sure if I'm clever but I think I just stay on it". You have got to persevere.

Tahī and her sister both went on to do post-graduate study as well. Kaimahi were exposed to other whānau members doing tertiary study and these members encouraged them into study journeys themselves. Whānau members who had completed tertiary education were not only inspirational but also provided practical and emotional support because they had done the journey themselves. These kaimahi then went on to influence other whānau members to become educated.

Māori students and TEIs

Pihama et al. (2019) posit that education in Aotearoa is based on colonialism, assimilation, oppressive philosophy, biased systems, and that issues of institutional racism continue to "marginalise Māori and Māori theories, methodologies, and more broadly, Māori knowledge" (p. 53). Despite these headwinds, Māori continue to develop programmes that support their language, culture, and pedagogical practices both inside and outside western education systems. For Māori, identity and wellbeing are dependent on collectivist and social connections (Curtis et al., 2015) and for Māori students education is not a personal endeavour but a collective one and the learner is a "whole and connected person as well as a potential academic" (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008, p. 6).

However, there are inequalities and inequities between Māori and Pacific students' participation, retention, and completion rates in New Zealand tertiary education in comparison to Pākehā students (Curtis et al., 2015; Wilson et al., 2011) with Māori and

Pacific students having low completion rates in Bachelor and Postgraduate qualifications compared to other ethnic groups (Ministry of Education, 2019). Māori and Pacific students have been under-represented in university study (Coxon et al., 2002) however recent data identifies that in 2021 there was an increase in domestic student numbers at universities and polytechnics and that Māori student enrolments were up by an average of 14.5 percent (Newsroom, 2021).

The Tertiary Education Strategy (TES) sets out the long-term strategic direction for tertiary education (Tertiary Education Commission, 2020). The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) claims the focus of the strategy is on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and mātauranga Māori and acknowledges that Māori students should be able to succeed as Māori, while protecting their language and culture in a tertiary education environment (Tertiary Education Commission, 2020). Therefore, TEIs should be supporting Māori students to succeed as Māori students through utilising Māori worldviews. This can happen through creating “safe spaces and safe havens” (Curtis, 2018, p. 134) for Māori students. These spaces enable Māori students to “express themselves without having to explain themselves” (Waiari et al., 2021, p. 119) and connect with peers, mentors and staff that have shared similar experiences (Benseman et al., 2006; Marsh & Eastwood, 2017).

The knowledge and learning of social work

Kaimahi were excited and open to the journey of learning and gaining knowledge from TEI. For many it was life changing as it ‘opened’ their worlds to learning.

Tekau mā rua: My world exploded with the learning.

Tekau: You know I thought it could never be possible that I would be excited about learning – I hated school, I used to get hoha ... if you can’t connect, if you can’t get to te ihi, te wehi, te wana, it’s really hard!

For Whā the learning journey gave her a theoretical base but also connected the learning to her lived way of life, which assured her that she knew how to do social work:

She [lecturer] opened the world. It was like wow! ... opened my eyes to the world, every day was amazing! ... gave me a theoretical base, I could put myself in there and say I do that, I do that, I’ve done that, my aunty did that. My mother did it. There are families up the road, in our settlement, she used to

sew for them, she used to bring them in and give them kai and stuff like that. She did this. You know when you look at a community and say well who is in your community? You look at the Minister who was my grandfather, the marae who was my grandmother, my babysitters who were my Aunties who just lived down the road, you know had all that networks of people ... I saw through that course what I already had. And I thought “Oh that’s easy – I know how to do social work!”

Whā has elaborated here on how she was able to connect to the theoretical knowledge and learning of social work in her TEI through realising that social work was something she already knew, had experienced through her whānau, hapū and iwi, and community and had been a part of all her life. This strengthens the key argument from this research that Māori have always been social workers practicing kaimahi ā whānau and that social work was a natural progression from whānau, hapū, iwi work for them.

Tekau mā toru had completed a one-year certificate and was excited to come to university and engage with the authors of social work that she had read about:

We had the crème de le crème of lecturers, social work, and that is why I came here. I was reading articles by these people in my Certificate I was doing in W [city], our book of readings, it was all these people ... that is why I chose N [TEI]. I could have gone and done a diploma, there was a diploma starting up in social work in an Institute in W [city] and I just went “no” and because of those books of readings we got for our social work certificate, I loved what I was reading, and then I went and searched every article that I enjoyed, and they [lecturers] were all at N [TEI].

For Waru, the journey of learning about the history of Aotearoa and becoming educated, particularly on Te Tiriti o Waitangi was empowering for her:

I remember really getting to explore Te Tiriti with Mason Durie – that was awesome, having a little bit more education around the history for Māori and what that looked like and making sense of it in terms of why Māori are over-represented on every different health, justice, education negatively. And it was also really good in terms of being able to have that knowledge and make sense of it so that when people would make these comments, I actually could give a response that was informed and deal to them, prior to that you just wanted to

dong them on the head, but I could actually slap them down so that was empowering.

Kaimahi were ready and excited for the learning of social work and wanted to engage with that knowledge. However, when they arrived at the TEI they faced some barriers to their learning.

Barriers for Māori students in TEI

Theodore et al. (2017) noted that research has identified three key barriers to the participation and retention of Māori tertiary students: 1. External barriers such as financial issues, and family and community responsibilities, 2. Internal institutional barriers of monocultural curricula, unwelcoming surroundings, an absence of Māori staff and role models; and a lack of appropriate support systems and, 3. Student's prior negative school experiences. Additional barriers encompassed ineffectual preparation for academia including not knowing academic expectations and settings, complications with transitioning to university from school, being the first in their family to attend a TEI, lacking confidence to access resources, and being whakamā to request assistance. Māori students describe the under-representation of Māori staff and role models, and the lack of culturally competent support and supervision as hindering their academic success (Theodore et al., 2017; Mayeda et al., 2014).

Māori representation in academia needs to be increased because then teaching can be more student responsive as the students can relate with the person delivering the content (Curtis et al., 2014). However, Waiari et al. (2021) contends that whilst some university staff may go the extra mile to engage Māori and Pacific students, the TEI structures often fail to support Indigenous epistemologies by excluding and marginalising representation in the curriculum. Often Indigenous epistemologies are represented as 'cultural content' rather than legitimate knowledge and was often only "taught at the surface level and brushed over" (Waiari et al., 2021, p. 124). This surface level teaching can be deemed as tokenistic. Curtis et al. (2015) highlights that lecturers need an understanding of how mātauranga Māori may be relevant to students' lived experiences. TEIs need to transform their curriculum to recognise and value Māori pedagogy, research methodologies and worldviews in order to authenticate Māori students' cultural identity, and diminish alienation (Waiari et al., 2021). In doing this Māori students can position themselves within the curriculum content (Curtis et al.,

2015). If mātauranga Māori is not considered legitimate knowledge in Aotearoa, the western perspective is maintained as the “only viable source from which students can learn” (Waiari et al., 2021, p. 124).

Supportive systems for Māori in TEIs

As mentioned above a barrier for Māori students in university study can be financial support (Nikora et al., 2002). Māori bursary and scholarship programmes can assist Māori students in universities in Aotearoa. Five of the participants in this study identified that they had been on bursary programmes during their academic journeys. Tekau mā toru discussed the Māori bursary programme that the university she attended offered and how this made a big difference to her education:

Well, I was fortunate ah? I got on [the programme] in my first year so that became my whānau. There was only two of us – me and my cousin ... So, we were the only two in the first year that got on because you usually had to wait until you were in third year, you usually had to show some commitment.

Bursary and scholarship programmes help Māori tertiary students achieve academically in TEIs. Te Rau Puāwai (TRP) is such a programme that can help Māori students in tertiary education. In recent years, there has been a focus on Māori workforce development in mental health, including Māori social workers. TRP was established in 1999 as a joint workforce initiative between the former Health Funding Authority and Massey University and is an innovative and successful bursary programme for Māori students (Nikora et al., 2005). It sought to contribute at least 100 Māori graduates to the Māori mental health workforce within a five-year period and in 2003 Massey University graduated its 100th bursar (Nikora et al., 2005). TRP has continued and over the last 20 years, they have produced over 400 graduates and have a 95% success rate (Massey University, n.d.). Bursars identified that a key advantage of the programme was the value of networking with others who worked in the mental health field, and they appreciated the programme’s Māori focus, including the financial and academic support offered by the programme (Nikora et al., 2005, p. 20). For Māori students to succeed in mainstream TEIs it is important that they are supported financially and academically and scholarship and bursary programmes, such as TRP, allow Māori students to succeed on their academic journeys.

Tuakana-teina mentoring and relationships enable Māori students to actively support one another, develop friend and peer networks, and create a whānau environment that facilitates learning from each other (Curtis et al., 2015; Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008). Whanaungatanga can also assist students to form supportive networks that helps to nourish their social, spiritual, and academic lives to enrich their academic performance (Macfarlane et al., 2019; Ruwhiu, 1997). Whanaungatanga is pivotal to Māori student success in TEIs and should be the foundation of university services and programmes (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019). Ako involves reciprocity of learning between teacher and student (Berryman et al., 2019) and recognises students' knowledge and expertise in what is brought to the learning environment. TEI environments that foster whanaungatanga, ako and tuakana-teina mentoring will assist Māori students to achieve academically.

Ono: My first year when I started T [Māori lecturer] was there, she was real supportive of Māori students, so we used to have kind of like tutorials with her, especially around exam time ... I was like without that, without her support in that, I don't know whether I would have got through. It was awesome ... I guess T really made it feel like that and I remember the whanaungatanga.

Māori student success is dependent on how well the TEI can uphold the student's cultural identity and beliefs. If the content is informed by a Te Ao Māori worldview and the teaching is delivered by a Māori lecturer then students can relate to the content and the person delivering the content (Curtis et al., 2015) which in turn will nurture students to academic success.

Waru: Like M [lecturer] definitely, him being so staunch in terms of being a social worker. I remember him asking in class, because the class was really divided – you had Māori and you had non-Māori ... even the Treaty – doing that – it was really clear who was negative and against the Treaty. It was quite a grieving process going through the Treaty and I think that M had said, “Put up your hand if you are going to work with Māori when you graduate!” and I'm putting up my hand going of course I'm gonna work with Māori - we live in New Zealand. There were people in that class that didn't put up their hand because they did not believe they would be working with Māori. I remember him saying “The reality is you live in New Zealand – Māori are tangata whenua,

you will be working with them”. But that was scary, you know, people actually thinking they wouldn’t ... so there were different people that definitely influenced me around practice and being Māori.

Waru explores the complexity of the learning in a mainstream TEI and was struck by the tension that bringing te ao Māori perspectives into the classroom can create. This can be viewed as a ‘hostile’ environment for Māori as it can be a place where they can be ‘othered’, isolated and misunderstood. This is explored further in the racism section.

In TEI Māori students need whānau and financial support, strong relationships with Māori lecturers and tutors, access to peer and tuakana support, culturally safe spaces and havens, and culturally appropriate teaching practices (Theodore et al., 2017). This highlights the importance of family and cultural support, of being connected to culture and community, and the significance of giving back to tribal communities, as well as being role models and helping others (Theodore et al., 2017). Māori students want a better life for themselves and their whānau, and to positively contribute to hapū and iwi developments.

Ono had a whānau member who was part of an iwi mentoring programme that influenced her into social work:

There was a mentoring programme, so she was my mentor and, it was before I started studying, so that was probably an influential thing as well, and she was at the university at that time ... she was a huge support, she was amazing! And she hooked me up with other whānau that were studying at the time, and she was choice!

There are supportive systems in TEIs that help Māori students to succeed in these environments. In Aotearoa prospective social work students have options of doing social work training at whare wānanga (Māori universities) or mainstream universities. Māori TEIs will be discussed next, followed on by a discussion of mainstream TEIs.

Māori TEIs

Whare Wānanga are Māori TEIs and were officially recognised in the 1989 Education Act however Te Wānanga o Raukawa was the first Māori university to be established in 1981 (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008). Wānanga provide Māori cultural contexts to learning from a Māori knowledge base (mātauranga Māori). Interestingly the three

wānanga in Aotearoa (Raukawa, Aotearoa and Awanuiarangi) all started as iwi initiatives but are now pan-tribal in student composition (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008).

Several kaimahi in this research had studied at Māori TEI and felt they had been taught well regarding Te Ao Māori. They were taught Māori principles and values, were encouraged to make the connection with their own lived experiences and spoke about the learning of their own growing up being ‘opened up’ through the unique Māori pedagogy of teaching and learning.

Tahi: We had takepū principles over there and I mean we all say it – whanaungatanga, kaitiaki, all those principles are what we learned ... predominantly was the takepū.

Rua: I was prepping myself to go to Wānanga to do some very intense mahi, and then they’re talking about tikanga and values, and I’m like that’s my life, ah? Decolonisation and all that stuff ... and he [Taina] helped me open up all the learning from how I grew up ... Yes, understand it. I thought “Far out! I could have been doing this years ago!”.

Iwa, found the curriculum easy because she could relate the learnings back to what her Nana had taught her about Papatūānuku and growing and planting:

It became the basis for how to work with whānau. It was easy to bring Te Ao Māori in ... I didn’t need a programme to tell me that this is what it should be and it’s not how it is, even when I practice today, it’s the same process, with my Nana, with Papatūānuku, how you plant something, what you do to support it.

Tekau mā whā shared that being at a Māori TEI helped to influence and model him into his tāne role:

Being kaupapa Māori environment at the Wā ... so what I started to learn, just through being around, was how things were done and then when you start to do it yourself, you see other people don’t do it so I was already on my journey, ... that helped and being at the Wā – they start everything properly anyway – there is always karakia in the morning and then whoever does karakia, there is a mihi and so you learn all those things on how things are done properly.

Māori pedagogy is founded on Māori worldviews, symbolism, and metaphor (Stucki, 2012). Tait-Rolleston et al. (1997) highlighted that TEIs need to support Māori principles in education and training and that oral accounts, cultural templates, and Indigenous metaphors are essential. Rangiwai (2021) states that for Māori students to succeed in TEIs “education must be transformative and empowering as part of the decolonisation and healing process” (p. 10).

Tekau loved learning at her Māori TEI and found the learning transformative and empowering:

Certainly, the framework of Taina Pohatu’s ... Āta and he was thinking Kaitiakitanga, you know the takepū. Heaven to hear it and see it upheld and practiced! My whānau [lecturer] oozed it and it was his walk and his life was exactly what he was talking about. And the other thing about it is that he started from the inside out so you know people learned about who they were first ... he would take people to have a look at themselves. He started the pedagogy of learning on marae – it was perfect! We worked and we were always taught about the altered states of mind so we had an understanding about lifting ... lift people from their physical to leave that there and lift up to learn and because in that state, not only are you hearing him, but you’re connecting ā wairua so the learning is rich. He could do that because we would talk often about altered states, about how our kuia and koroua in the past were very aware, when they do whaikōrero and how everything that they did – the tauparapara, how that was the beginning to lift them into an altered state – to begin the philosophy and the talking from another plane, to invite the teachers on the other side to support and help them to kōrero and be able to do it. That is where all the philosophy came and the wise kōrero, the inspirational kōrero, the visionary kōrero, comes in that altered state. Today you just see a lot of verbal – you can’t see them lifted to the altered state, they haven’t mastered it, they know nothing about it, they don’t know ... it’s there in the hearing of kōrero you know when they’re in an altered state, there are very few that can do it today. Very few – they are the masters!

Tekau has identified here pedagogy specific to te ao Māori and highlights it as a traditional way of learning. As Tekau has discussed, the educational training journey

was about unlocking these domains for themselves and their own whānau, in order that they could go on to work alongside other whānau on change journeys. Whare wānanga are probably the settings that can most effectively tautoko Māori social work students on the journey because taura are encouraged to bring their cultural selves to the table, utilise Māori theories, worldviews and models of practice and unpack these ideas in a safe and comfortable environment.

Pihama et al. (2019) conducted research with Māori students who were studying in western mainstream universities and whare wānanga and whilst the students in mainstream universities highlighted issues of systemic racism and marginalisation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori, these issues were not raised by students in whare wānanga. Kaimahi who trained at Māori TEIs declared that their social work education was grounded in te ao Māori and Māori principles, and they were able to make the connection of social work to their lived experiences, linking growing up in whānau, hapū and iwi to mātāpono and ways to practice social work. The unique Māori pedagogy of teaching and learning was also discussed, particularly having kaiako pūkenga who could facilitate altered states of knowing which heightened learning. For male kaimahi, the structures, processes and tikanga of Māori TEIs was the model that taught them about their roles as Māori males in a safe and nurturing environment. Mainstream TEI are discussed next.

Mainstream TEI

For kaimahi who trained in mainstream TEIs some felt that their institution did not teach te ao Māori concepts effectively and that the TEI was just going through the motions and ticking the box:

Rima: I mean on paper we say we do this ... we did three Māori papers that we had to do but there was no actual concepts of it for me. It was part of the curriculum, but it was just because it had to be part of the curriculum. Yeah, they did a marae noho that we did not have to stay and it's like you know it's a marae noho, it should be [stay overnight]. So, our Māori things were not always enforced or encouraged.

Whitu: No, they were the clash of my education like the conflict, the collision ... then all of a sudden you realise the other doesn't know what they're asking and there's no idea of what the whakapapa of what they're asking relates to ...

I had no expectations that it would be different when it's a kawanatanga institution. It's not the marae and that's where it falls over a bit – people are trying to include Māori with marae terms or marae thinking and I don't think you're actually being safe with the term at all!

Tekau mā tahi: They touched on it but that was about it. It was only kinda touched on ... well there was discussion about the Treaty, and because of the Springbok tour, there was a lot of stuff around racism and stuff like that, and I do remember saying to them “But here we are out there protesting about this stuff that's happening in another country, what about here?”

Kaimahi who trained at mainstream TEIs believed that their Institute was just doing a ‘tick the Māori box’ exercise however many stated that the Māori staff at their TEI certainly helped and supported them through the social work training journey and being part of Māori scholarship and bursary programmes also assisted.

As relationships are fundamental for Indigenous student success in the TEI environment (Gorinski & Abernathy, 2007), it is essential that mainstream TEIs need to recruit Māori staff who have strong cultural knowledge, are role models for students and can navigate the systems of the TEI (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008). This is pivotal for Māori students and was reinforced by kaimahi who trained at mainstream TEIs sharing that the supportive Māori staff helped them to achieve academically. It is also important that they can access other supports such as culturally safe spaces, other Māori students, and that there is inclusion of culturally appropriate Indigenous content in the curriculum and relevant teaching practices (Theodore et al., 2017). The importance of whānau and financial support was also reiterated. Greenwood and Te Aika (2008) posit that TEIs, and teaching staff need to focus on how to improve their environment, support, and teaching to develop and enrich all students' learning as opposed to focussing on deficits that place Māori underachievement as a student limitation. In this regard, honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi is suggested as a way forward (Wilson, 2017)

Bringing te ao Māori into social work training in mainstream TEI

Kaimahi were asked whether they could bring their te ao Māori worldviews into mainstream TEIs:

Waru: In different papers, not all. Definitely not social policy – where it should be. The only ones where it felt safe to do it in were social work practice papers,

Māori development, by the final years, we were safe if we had M and T [Māori lecturers].

Waru suggests that as a Māori social work student she felt safe if she were with the Māori lecturers and tutors. Again, this reiterates the importance of having Māori lecturers and tutors in mainstream TEIs and the importance of creating safe spaces for Māori students' learning.

Tekau mā ono was excited with the te ao Māori lens her lecturer brought however realised that not all her student peers understood:

I always remember him [lecturer] telling us, giving us the kōrero about the korowai and the mutton birds and I loved it ... I love this kōrero and then that was it and no-one else knew what the heck he was talking about. It was about how, well he talked about how they [mutton birds] know, they know when the call is out - they just know, and they all leave together so it becomes like a korowai and that's how they keep each other safe and off they go. So that was the basis of it, but it was just interesting – I thought it was fascinating, looking at the way it was interpreted.

Tekau mā ono is talking about the metaphoric way Māori teach and learn and that this is advantageous to Māori students but perhaps may be lost on non-Māori audiences. Again, this reiterates the importance of having Indigenous content in TEI programmes because this is the te ao Māori pedagogy of learning which suits Māori learners.

Whitu was very immersed in Te Ao Māori prior to going to university and discusses some challenges that he faced on his social work education journey in a western TEI and how he believes the marae is the way forward:

I strongly believe that the marae is the way forward for them. Not only having a relationship with a governance level but at an operational level so what is it? Those concepts have been given to them. If you look at the early Māori academics, they provided them with the marae books, and I feel there's other things happening but that is the key. That is the starting of all the knowledge so just use that and everything else should start falling away a little bit. Well, I think the marae has a lot of mātauranga parts, personal, there's practice and there's professional sides of it so my thing is, my personal fits me. I will walk

and talk whatever that is. I don't have to write that down, the practice side is saying taking concepts that they were happy to put out there and I say okay well let's just go back to this framework that they've already given you on the marae and the kupu that they've given you, because *each kupu is a tīkanga, each tīkanga is a theory, and how are you using this within that space of social work?* And so that is what I want to explore, it's like you don't have to reinvent anything, we don't have to make new kaupapa to put in there – it all comes from there so I'm just wondering why people are looking further afield when it all comes from the marae.

The development of space where Māori values operate becomes a 'virtual marae' (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008, p. 95). Mainstream TEI have built marae on their campuses, and these are places where te ao Māori processes and values can function with minimal intervention from the TEI. Greenwood and Te Aika (2008) note that learning things Māori are more successful when learned on marae. Teaching te ao Māori values in social work on the marae is a way forward for all mainstream TEIs for all students. For a Māori Development paper in the undergraduate BSW programme and the Applied Masters programme where I teach, we have been utilising the marae space of local mana whenua, Rangitāne, to teach all our students (tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti). These noho Mārae are very successful at framing the teaching from te ao Māori, utilising Māori pedagogy, mātāpono, pakiaka delivered via pūkenga Māori in a Māori environment. Racism in mainstream TEI is explored next.

Racism in mainstream TEI: "It's as black and white as that!"

Racism was discussed by kaimahi regarding mainstream TEIs. Institutional racism has been defined as,

The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people"

(Macpherson in Tipa, 2021, p. 46).

Came and Humphries (2014) defined institutional racism as both action and inaction that provides an advantage to a specific sector of the population, while disadvantaging

another, and suggested that the pervasive nature of institutional racism makes it difficult to identify and even more difficult to address. They also highlighted that there is general reluctance to discuss institutional racism despite interpersonal racism being ‘frowned upon’ in privileged societies. There needs to be a ‘moral integrity’ shift from leaders and managers in institutions that disadvantage those who do not belong to the dominant group (Came & Humphries, 2014). In 2014, Came called for urgent action to address institutional racism within New Zealand health sector leadership and policy making and suggested that inaction from the public health sector would exacerbate a potentially ‘modifiable racist system’. Despite this, there has been little indication of improvements in health indicators for Māori, suggesting that aspects of the current health system remain inaccessible for many Māori health consumers and their whānau (Tipa, 2021, p. 46).

In 1988 a Ministerial Advisory Committee Report, Pūao-te-Ata-tū, was released. The report had been undertaken to consider Māori perspectives in the then Department of Social Welfare and racism within the Department was exposed. Thirteen recommendations were made to the Minister of Social Welfare at that time with a specific view of “making the social welfare system more responsive and appropriate for Māori” (Cram, 2012, p. 7). Pūao-te-Ata-tū is significant to Māori social work in Aotearoa in that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was ratified and the hope was that racism in the Department of Social Welfare would end (Hollis-English, 2012b, Keenan, 1995). The promises of this report have yet to be fully realised.

Pihama et al. (2019) found that the Māori student group they researched (MAI doctoral scholars) attended both mainstream TEI and whare wānanga and that issues of systemic racism and marginalisation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori were only evident in western mainstream universities. They contended that these systemic racism issues can be changed and transformed if there is “meaningful commitment by those in control within institutional hierarchies to disrupt the colonial structures which underpin all aspects of their operations” (Pihama et al., 2019, p. 56).

When institutional racism is part of organisational culture it is difficult to address (Oda & Rameka, 2012). It has been disputed that equality of service, rather than equity of access, provides a platform for institutional racism to evolve in New Zealand and that Māori health outcomes continue to suffer as the current system caters to the dominant

culture (Theunissen, 2011). ‘Unconscious’ or ‘implicit’ bias are terms discussed in reference to race relations and gender equity issues in New Zealand (Revell, 2012). Unconscious bias relates to a combination of knowledge and experience at a subconscious level and the way this is processed into thoughts and actions towards others. It has been proposed that by “lifting the lens of cultural safety from individual interventions to achieve institutional cultural congruence, the behaviour of health practitioners will reflect more culturally adaptive, diverse and responsive principles” (Tipa, 2021, pp. 46-47).

Mayeda et al. (2014) investigated Māori and Pacific students’ experiences in a university setting and found that even though Māori and Pacific tertiary students can attain high academic excellence, the students had to cope with everyday colonialism and racism on their academic journey, particularly from the dominant student group. The participants found the university culture to be Eurocentric resulting in the marginalising of Indigenous and Pacific values and that the dominant student group often expressed surprise at Māori and Pacific educational achievements. This was the experience for kaimahi in this research as well:

Waru: I had done some study before I had K [daughter] – so dabbled in a community work certificate and that led me on to doing a year at the Wānanga in te reo Māori, which was really awesome. It was actually my experiences doing the community work certificate [through a mainstream TEI provider] and comments made around being Māori, there was racism in what was happening there.

Ono: We used to have kind of like tutorials with her [tutor], yeah especially around exam time and I laugh about this because this was like quite controversial at the time, and I think complaints got made about it from other Pākehā students that it was kinda unfair treatment.

Toru: Some of my relations from T [town] were on the course too because in the classroom these Pākehā girls and their parents would be paying for it themselves and we got a lot of crap, “How come you Māoris do this and get this and we don’t, and we have to do this?”

These three kaimahi experienced racism from Pākehā students who believed that Māori unfairly received funding for their courses and had privilege and advantage because

they had access to tutors and mentors. There was no knowledge or understanding of ethnic-specific equity programmes for Māori and Pacific students. Essed (1991) describes everyday racism as behaviours that are unintentional, taken-for-granted, and are executed repeatedly by dominant group members against ethnic minorities reinforcing the view of majority superiority and minority inferiority. Essed states that these are, “practices that infiltrate everyday life and become part of what is seen as normal by the dominant group” (1991, p. 288). Mayeda et al. (2014) consider that “dominant group members fail to perceive these practices as racist” (p. 5).

Tekau mā ono shared a story of being accused of cheating whilst at university. Prior to the accusation she had been actively involved with the Māori Department setting up a retention programme for Māori students alongside university management, and then was accused by Pākehā students in her class of cheating:

I was part way through my second year and there was a group of us, five of us were pretty high achievers ... I got called into the Proctor's office ... who [Proctor] I knew from the Programme, and she said, “We've had a complaint. I received this letter from your fellow students”. ... Three of my colleagues had written to the Proctor and accused me of cheating because they could not understand how someone with my lack of education could actually get A's. I am serious! I'm for real! And I just sat there, and I just literally burst into tears when she gave me the letter and I couldn't even read it, and I just blubbered like a big baby. ... I looked at her because what I couldn't understand was why she was doing this to me. Like it went to her ... It went to D, who knew me, and I couldn't understand ... to have come through everything I came through and then to go to this university. I'm the first person in my family to go through university and I was getting good marks, and I loved it, I actually loved it and I believed in it! ... so, when that happened to me, it was like my whole world crashed, my whole world! I lost something ... so after about three weeks I went to talk with K. [lecturer] and he asked, “What are you going to do? Are you gonna pick it up or are you gonna put it down?” I said “I'm gonna pick it up” and I did, I got A fricken pluses and I won the award for academic excellence ... I thought, “Stuff you! I will show you I can do better than that!”

This story highlights the racist view whereby people hold beliefs, assumptions and generalisations regarding Māori not being able to achieve. Mayeda et al. (2014) call these ‘micro-assaults’ and ‘micro-insults’ whereby “majority group students (namely Pākehā) showing surprise at Māori and Pacific students’ academic success” (p. 10). Mayeda et al. (2014) exemplify further stating that majority group students believe Māori and Pacific students, “are not expected to be successful, thereby reaffirming racialised perceptions of inferiority” (p. 11). Racism can be cumulative and wear down minority groups who then must find strategies to manage the feelings associated with this, and then work harder to receive deserved recognition as strong students (Mayeda et al, 2014). Despite this Māori students can succeed in the challenge of unrelenting discrimination and racism, as demonstrated by Tekau mā ono determining to work harder in her studies and achieving the award.

For kaimahi Māori in mainstream TEIs racism identified itself in the form of their Pākehā student peers believing that Māori were privileged to receive scholarships to attend TEIs, with some not believing that Māori students were capable of doing well in the TEI environment without cheating. Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono has considered the aspects of te ao Māori and tikanga in the social work education journey in TEIs.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the second research objective of this study which enabled kaimahi to reflect on their social work training journey, the influence whānau had on that journey, and how te ao Māori fitted with the training they undertook at TEIs. Hau awa shared kaimahi stories of their social work training journeys with lived experiences of growing up influencing many kaimahi onto this path. ECE and voluntary community work were pathways into social work for many of the kaimahi wāhine. Experiences of receiving good social work practice guided kaimahi into social work, as did a lack of appropriate services in smaller rural communities. Hau whānau contemplated the influence and involvement of whānau on kaimahi social work training journeys. Hau Kotahi and Hau Rua considered how kaimahi experiences of growing up in violence and abuse led them into social work training identifying that some whānau offered little support. Hau Toru and Hau Whā explored how positive experiences of whānau influenced kaimahi into social work training including having whānau members active in their communities modelling people skills to kaimahi, and having whānau mentors

engaged in study themselves who gently guided kaimahi into study. Whānau provided practical and tangible supports in the form of childcare, financial help, petrol, drivers, and kai. Whānau also provided kaimahi the time and space to study, and whānau whanui provided accommodation in cities where kaimahi studied if away from home.

Hau Mātāpono/Pakiaka reflected on the te ao Māori values taught by the TEI where kaimahi studied. Many kaimahi found the social work training journey life changing because learning ‘opened up’ their worlds, and they were able to explore their own personal life journey and link this to social work. Kaimahi who trained at whare wānanga affirmed they were educated effectively in te ao Māori, particularly regarding mātāpono and Māori pedagogy. For male kaimahi, the structures, processes and tikanga at whare wānanga taught them about their roles as tāne Māori. Some kaimahi believed mainstream TEIs were ticking the Māori box and going through the motions. Kaimahi in mainstream TEIs noted that the Māori staff assisted and supported them and often went ‘above and beyond’. In mainstream TEIs racism showed itself in the form of Pākehā student peers believing that Māori were privileged to receive tertiary scholarships, that Māori received preferential treatment because they had tutorials with Māori staff and held limiting beliefs that Māori students were incapable of achieving academically.

This chapter has reiterated two key arguments already presented in this research: 1. Kaimahi growing up experiences influenced many into social work and they bring these lived experiences to their social work practice, and 2. Māori have always been social workers because of the mahi they do in whānau, hapū, iwi and communities through the natural practices of living out te ao Māori mātāpono. Another key argument is that racism continues in mainstream TEIs, and specific supports are crucial for Māori student success including recruiting Māori staff with strong cultural knowledge, who can be role models to Māori students, and have the ability to navigate the TEI systems. The curriculum needs culturally appropriate Indigenous content, relevant teaching practices, and Māori students also require connection to culturally safe spaces and other Māori students.

The next chapter, Te Toka Tūmoana, considers kaimahi social work practice and how their growing up experiences impact and influence the work they undertake as social workers.

Wāhanga Tuawaru: Te Toka Tūmoana – Becoming Taranaki, becoming a social worker

Haere ki te whakarongo ki ngā kōrero a te moana.

Go and listen to what the sea has to say.

Te Aramou Lake
(Opai et. al., 2022, p. 27).

Introduction

This chapter focuses kaimahi kōrero around becoming a social worker through practice and connecting their own whānau experiences to social work praxis. In the pūrākau of Pukeonaki ki Taranaki outlined in the methodology chapter, Te Toka Tūmoana represents Pukeonaki becoming Taranaki; having travelled to the west coast and settling alongside ngā mounga Pouakai me Kaitake and receiving the new name Taranaki. Traditionally Te Toka Tūmoana was often symbolic of strong leaders who are likened to rocks in the ocean that stand strong against the elements (Kupu Māori New Zealand, n.d.). Similarly, in the field of social work, kaimahi can be viewed as rocks standing steadfastly in a sea of chaos and uncertainty. Te Toka Tūmoana not only outlines the attributes of kaimahi but that they, like the toka, can be a pou for whānau they work alongside, as well as in their own whānau. The initial part of the chapter emphasises the notion of ‘becoming’, particularly from a te ao Māori perspective and then delves into Māori identity and the impact of experiences of colonisation and marginalisation on identity. Five markers of identity are explored; these being fixed, fluid, forced, fragmented, and finalised. Again, Ngā Hau o te Mounga Framework is utilised in this chapter to outline two key themes. The first theme is Hau Tangata and considers kaimahi becoming effective in the art of social work. The second theme is Hau Wairua and highlights how kaimahi become self-caring in social work.

First the concept of becoming is addressed in this chapter, particularly in relation to Māori worldviews.

Becoming

Western notions of becoming are founded on Northern developmental, post-structuralist and critical theories (Kastenbaum, 1993; Reeves, 1999). The process of becoming is a constant and ongoing state of movement and there is no finite point to arriving at a destination (Gee & Barnard, 2020). In this view, the professional identities

of social workers are always in a process of becoming enacted and sustained through everyday social work practice. The intention of this chapter is not to compare the western theories of becoming with the Te ao Māori notions but to highlight Māori ‘becoming’ narratives embedded in mātauranga Māori and pūrākau. Mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori are primordial; have existed from an age-old era and are evidenced in whakapapa back to Io-Matua-te-Kore (the Creator of Te Kore) (Pihama et al., 2015). Pihama (2015) explains, “Kaupapa Māori is extremely old – ancient, in fact. It predates all of us in living years and is embedded in our cultural being” (p. 9). Therefore, Māori perspectives of becoming are ancient and part of our whakapapa.

From potentiality to actuality

Development theory recognises that the concept of developing is a process of coming-to-be (Reeves, 1999). Kestenbaum (1993) explains development from potentiality to actuality utilising the acorn and the oak analogy to highlight their ultimate connection, “the oak is the actuality of the acorn, and the acorn is the potentiality of the oak” (p. 113). This progression from potentiality to actuality happens over time and is linked to growth and progress (Reeves, 1999). The acorn analogy correlates with te ao Māori worldviews where the process of becoming for humans is likened to the kākano, transitioning from *Te Kore ki Te Pō ki Te Ao Marama*. Marsden (in King 1992) outlines the allegory of plant growth from Te Korekore (the realm of potential being) to Te Pō (the realm of becoming) to Te Ao Marama (the realm of being) (1992, p. 135). Te Rangi Hiroa (1949) notes that “Te Kore was the nothing, the ‘Void’, and Te Pō was the night, darkness and ‘The unknown’” (p. 434). Te Kore is the beginning and the place of potentiality therefore:

Te Korekore is the realm between non-being and being that is, the realm of potential being. This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the womb from which all things proceed (Royal, 2003, p. 20).

The analogy to plant growth describes “Te Pu (root, cause), Te Weu (rootlets), Te More, (taproot), Te Aka (vine) and Te Tipuranga (growth)” (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1949, p. 435). This is the ‘becoming into being’ reality from a Māori worldview and is also an analogy for the growth and development of knowledge. Hence Te Kore, Te Pō signifying the “emptiness and darkness of mind, having no light or knowledge, transitioning into Te

Ao Marama, the world of light and enlightenment (knowledge)” (Walker, 1990, p. 12). Piripi and Body’s (2010) Tihei-wā Mauri Ora counselling assessment tool is based on the journey from “Te Korekore ki Te Pō ki Te Whei-Ao ki Te Ao Marama” (2010, p. 35). This model is utilised in their counselling work supporting whānau experiencing grief and loss related to suicide.

For kaimahi who participated in this research, not only have they transformed on a physical journey of beginning, becoming and being a social worker but they have also been transformed on the journey of knowledge development and growth through social work education. As social work is an applied profession, becoming and being a social worker involves turning enlightened knowledge into an applied skillset for practice.

In Māori worldviews there are processes and rituals for birthing and dying (Nikora et al., 2013). On completion of our physical journey in Te Ao Marama we return to Te Kore and Te Po. Māori Marsden (1992) describes the time and space of Te Kore and Te Pō as a dimension where beings are preparing for the journey into Te Ao Marama via becoming born and returning to Te Pō via dying and that the two are crossing over and past each other as part of the cyclical becoming and being journey. Tamanui (2012) clarifies that bringing tūpāpaku home reinforces connection of people to history and place and enables the spiritual journey to be supported by the whānau, hapū and iwi. This is “spiritual work” (Nikora et al., 2013, p. 4) and demonstrates the holistic journey of beginning, becoming and being. Therefore, becoming is part of the cycle of life, of birthing, of dying and transitioning through stages and dimensions.

Pitomata, Pūmanawa, Pūkenga

A Māori concept that outlines the beginning, becoming and being journey are the terms pitomata, pūmanawa and pūkenga (Durie, Meihana. personal communication, 7 July 2017). Pitomata is the ‘potentiality’ stage whereby adults will start to notice the skills and traits of a child at a young age and consider the child’s potential. Royal (2003b) outlines that parents and teachers would study a child’s character and note the creative potential, and then the child would be guided on a pathway to build on that potential. These traits were seen as gifts from ngā Atua. Pūmanawa is the ‘becoming’ stage of development of those pitomata through training, education, and skill-building. Pūmanawa has been described as natural talents, attributes, intuition, and cleverness (Mead, 2003). Talents come with the whakapapa, and it is assumed that parents pass on

talents to their children. A talent for art, for example, may manifest itself in several generations of a descent line and Mead (2003) contends that “A talent for music, or an ability to recite from memory hundreds of names in a whakapapa table, or a talent for weaving, oratory, singing waiata, or art, passes from one generation to the next” (p. 44). Pūmanawa can assist children to have strong protective factors.

Pūkenga is the ‘being’ stage of development whereby the child/adult is building on their skill development and becoming expert in that area. Similarly, for the kaimahi in this research, the pūkenga development stage is the ongoing process of becoming and being a social worker, building on their social work knowledge and skills learned in the pūmanawa (education, training stage) and developing their practice and becoming knowledgeable and expert in their mahi. Pitomata potential would have been noticed when they were growing up through their childhood, as an example, Tekau had always had a role of caring for and looking after other children from a young age, hence as a professional social worker she has developed and continues that role of manaaki ki ngā tamariki, caring for and looking after tamariki. Tekau discussed that being a whānau member helped her be who she is as a social worker. Her passion had always been working with children and before social work she had worked in Early Childhood and Kohanga Reo:

I think being a whānau member has helped me to be who I am as a social worker ... what I’ve done, what I’ve learned in my own whānau, from early looking after my younger siblings, looking after the young, listening to the old, has always been my passion – early childhood, kohanga reo – children were always my passion ... being a whānau member just complemented social work, it was just a natural process, so I was able to move into this work as a social worker because of my experience within my family, not just my whānau, but my whānau, hapū and iwi.

The process of becoming a social worker was commenced from a young age for Tekau, where pitomata and natural talents were identified, then the pūmanawa stage incorporated education and training, which led to the pūkenga stage of becoming knowledgeable and expert in the work. These stages align with the framework of the pūrākau regarding Pukeonaki becoming Taranaki i.e., the beginning stage being Te Kāhui Mouna (growing up in whānau), the acquiring of knowledge and skills is the

becoming stage, which is *Te haerenga o te awa*, and the being stage is *Te Toka Tūmoana*. This accentuates the Māori notion of beginning, becoming and being which, as mentioned earlier, is an ongoing, constant process with no finite ending.

Māori theories of becoming

Kaupapa Māori emphasises and values Māori knowledge and ways of doing, is immersed in a Māori reality, focuses on emancipatory research by Māori, with Māori, for Māori, and is decolonising and empowers *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (Moyle, 2013; Pihama et al., 2015; L. Smith, 1999). *Mātauranga Māori* underpins Kaupapa Māori and, as already discussed, *pūrākau* is one of the artefacts that provides the narratives that inform Māori worldviews. Looking back at the original Māori writers, Makereti (1938) and Te Rangi Hiroa (1949) were amongst the first to pen an insider view of the world of Māori and discuss the Māori concept of becoming.

Makereti's (1938) own journey of becoming is notable. She was raised in high esteem as a royal tour guide in Rotorua, eventually marrying a wealthy English landowner, living in England, and then becoming an "illustrious Oxbridge academic" (Ngahua Te Awekotuku in Makereti, 1938, p. xi) – all at a time when a woman's voice was often ignored and repressed in English society. Makereti provided an insider's perspective of Māori culture, which up until that point was provided by non-Māori, and she also offered a *wāhine* perspective on issues such as childbirth. She was "a solitary female voice in a bleak wilderness of male scholarship, the work of an isolated indigene amidst the clattering weight of western colonialism" (p. xi). Her work outlines social organisation and relationship terms, marriage and children, food, fire, houses, and weapons. Makereti attempted to demystify the ways of the Māori and correct the misinformation that had been written about Māori, particularly by outsider non-Māori writers. For Māori, their becoming and being was engrossed in *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (Makereti, 1986; Te Rangihiroa, 1952). Therefore, *kaimahi* becoming and being social workers need to connect with their own *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* first.

Te Rangihiroa, Sir Peter Buck, (1949) was a world-renowned ethnologist who delivered the Cawthron lecture in 1925 on 'The Coming of the Māori' which attempted to share Māori history and culture to the world. Sir Apirana Ngāta described Te Rangihiroa as a *taumata*, a mountain peak (Ramsden, 1954). Buck's own story of becoming included being born to an Irish father, William Henry Buck, and foster mother Ngarongo-ki-tua.

Te Rangihiroa commented on his mixed ancestry that, “There is an increasing number of people, including myself, who are of mixed blood. It is by mixture and intermixture that we can hope to understand each other more clearly and bring about that co-operation and unity that should be the ideal of all New Zealanders” (Ramsden, 1954, p. 3). Te Rangihiroa introduced a theory of becoming as a bicultural journey that he hoped would pave the way for more harmonious relationships between Māori and non-Māori. His work, similarly to Makereti, focused on all aspects of Māori culture including food, housing, clothing, tools, canoes, recreation, musical instruments, weapons, art, personal decoration and ornaments, the discovery and settlement periods, speech and language, social organisation and religion. Like Makereti, Te Rangihiroa aimed to present a Māori worldview from an ‘insider’ position as opposed to white outsiders.

Māori theories of becoming include a beginning, then a process of becoming and being. This is an ongoing, constant process that is cyclical and has no definitive end point. Encompassed in this journey of becoming is identity. Brown et al. (2020), for example, outline that becoming a clinician is more than acquiring skills and knowledge but is a “trajectory of identity formation” (p. 994). For kaimahi becoming Māori social workers it is imperative that they understand and connect to their identity of becoming and being Māori first.

Māori Identity

The shaping of identity is complex, beginning in early childhood (Harris et al. 1995; Peterson, 1989) it influences self-perception and views of others. There is a clear link between family practices and identity development (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Rameka (2016) outlines that it was only when Pākehā arrived in New Zealand that there was a concept of Māori identity. Notions of identity for tangata whenua were grounded on tribal structures of whānau, hapū, iwi (Makereti, 1938; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Te Rangihiroa, 1948) and waka (Walker, 1990). Māori had a strong sense of belonging to family and robust tribal identity because “tribal structures intertwined with the cultural practices provided the pathways through which Māori identities could be formed and developed” (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 2). Geographical locations, such as mountains, rivers, and land are also important for Māori identity (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Whakapapa is pivotal to Māori identity and connects everything genealogically, with the universe’s creation and ancestor descent (Hikuroa, 2017; Marsden, 2003). Interpretive systems can assist in tracing Māori identity and Rameka (2016) identifies

whakapapa, whānau, hapū and iwi, whenua and te reo as pivotal markers. However, the impact of colonisation changed Māori identity concepts significantly (Rameka, 2016).

Māori identity within the colonisation experience

Māori identity was severely impacted by the colonisation experience, and this was the lived reality for many kaimahi who participated in this research. The colonisation experience expounded the Māori sense of self because of the dualistic conflict between Māori and Pākehā (Walker, 1990) and “embedded Māori identity within a Pākehā ecology” (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 3). A pivotal event that impacted Māori identity was the loss of land through colonisation, which led to the diminishing of the structure of whānau, hapū, and iwi (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Māori identities were “in a state of flux ... [because of the changing] socio-political [context] in which they are embedded” (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 39). For many kaimahi in this research their Māori identity was impacted by colonisation as they were disconnected from whānau, hapū and iwi. In their own journeys of becoming and being, they not only were on a journey of becoming a social worker but also on a journey of becoming Māori and exploring what that means for them and their Māori identity.

Tekau mā whā, who underwent social work training at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa explained his journey:

I was already on my journey, but I didn't have enough. I could only, well I really struggled to say karakia. I could say “Kia ora, Tēnā koe, Kei te pēhea? Nō hea koe?” That sort of stuff but not [fluent], well I have got a little bit more reo now, but I took a year off work and went to the Wā for a year and just immersed myself as much as I can.

Ono found that her social work training journey had also helped her on her te ao Māori journey:

It brought it in for me, like when I came into N [TEI] I didn't really have a concept of te ao Māori and what that meant for me, so if anything, N brought that in for me and T (tutor) really helped me in that kinda Ko wai au stuff... I think it's more of a spiritual thing, which drew me there because that's what I needed.

For these two kaimahi, the journey of becoming a social worker kickstarted their journey of becoming and being Māori. Because of the colonisation, urbanisation and marginalisation experience in Aotearoa many Māori were disconnected from being Māori and from whānau, hapū and iwi.

Marginalisation and Māori Identities

Marginalisation, produced through the process of colonisation, has had a significant influence on Māori identity formation (McIntosh, 2005). Marginalisation favours a dominant, central majority (Hall, 1999). Tucker states that marginalisation is a “complex and disputatious process by means of which certain people and ideas are privileged over others at any given time” (1990, p. 7). Marginalisation is inclusive of oppression but also a consequence of it and is both a process and an experience (Hall, 1999). However, the marginalised experience can also be a position of resistance utilised to confront the way things are and to change that experience (McIntosh, 2005). Marginality is a crucial notion in Māori identity construction and ethnic identity aids people in understanding their relationships with others and their extended world, alongside sense-making in relation to their own world (McIntosh, 2005). Claiming to be Māori is a form of identity work and, “To be Māori is to be part of a collective but heterogeneous identity, one that is enduring but ever in a state of flux” (McIntosh, 2001, p. 143). The next section considers five markers of Māori identity.

Fixed, fluid, forced, fragmented, and finalised identities

Māori theories of becoming, in terms of identity, have undergone metamorphosis, initially being strongly based on the pivotal structures of whānau, hapū, iwi, and waka however mutating through colonisation, marginalisation, assimilation, land and language loss to a more disconnected, fractured identity that is currently in a state of reclamation and re-identification. The kaimahi journey of becoming and being social workers reflects this identity journey. McIntosh (2005) considers three markers of identity for Māori as fixed, fluid, and forced. McIntosh’s typology is extended by adding fragmented and finalised as two further markers of Māori identity. It is not the intent of this research to utilise these identity markers to categorise kaimahi working in social work but to assist kaimahi to identify and recognize these markers and reflect on how they can move themselves, and the whānau they work alongside, forward. These markers of identity are outlined in the following section using interview extracts to illustrate.

Fixed Identities

Fixed identities are where people have set ideas, positions, and understandings of what it is to be Māori. McIntosh (2005) aligns fixed identity with traditional identity suggesting that, “being Māori is seen as a right for those that are able to make a successful claim via whakapapa, but it also comes with a set of responsibilities and obligations to be a participating member of one’s hapū and tribe” (p. 3). The ‘fixed’ aspects assume Māori will automatically “‘know’ what being Māori is and will ‘act’ Māori” (p. 3). There is an essentialist understanding of being Māori and some people would affirm you have to be brought up in the Māori world to be Māori. Within this fixed traditional identity, knowledge of whakapapa, te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori are prioritised (Te Huia, 2015).

At times others will position Māori into roles based on essentialist understandings of identity, for example, an organisation may assume that because a staff member is Māori, they will be able to karakia, karanga, waiata and kōrero Māori and will automatically assign them into these roles. Kaimahi in this research, working in mainstream organisations, identified expectations that they would ‘do and be all things Māori’ for the organisation. Tahi shared the following story of her first day in a mainstream social work organisation:

The day I started there I got rung up and asked could you do our karanga for a group of our dignitaries coming in at the marae in town – that was on my first day and I am going “Excuse me who is this?” That was my very first day! ... I even got asked if I would run te reo classes for them. Well, I go, “you go down there [to the local marae] and there’s proper people who teach this” ... And even when I think about it – how did they know that I could karanga? I didn’t put it into my application.

Tahi’s narrative is an example of a fixed identity because her new mainstream organisation had a predetermined view that she would be able to perform karanga for them and teach te reo Māori classes because she is Māori. For kaimahi in non-Māori organisations these experiences are not isolated and can lead to brown face burnout (Hollis-English, 2012a; Moyle, 2014) as discussed in Wāhanga Tuarua.

Fluid identities

The fluid identity acknowledges the importance of fusion elements in identity formation (Ormond, 2004) whereby there is “fusing of different ideas and practices from a diversity of cultural backgrounds to articulate a Māori identity that is strongly grounded in its particular social landscape” (McIntosh, 2005, p. 46). Fluid identities enable people to move easily from one identity to another, for example, between Māori and Pākehā worlds or personal and professional roles. Fluid identities are inclusive and can privilege geographical settings over iwi settings (McIntosh, 2005). Te Huia (2015) acknowledges that fluid identities can fuse traditional and mainstream identities to form new identities. Fluid identities see culture and community as strengths and do not view themselves as, “lost, disaffiliated or inauthentic ... recognis[ing] that people make and are culture” (McIntosh, 2005, p. 50). This notion that people are active participants in making culture affirms the idea that identity formation is a process of becoming.

Ono discusses the differences between two agencies she worked for and how her past agency allowed her to be more fluid in terms of bringing her Māori identity and culture into a workplace that was steeped in Māori processes, and then contrasts this with her current agency where she was unable to do this:

T [mainstream agency ono used to work for] is a lot more, there was a lot more processes ingrained as in waiata and karakia were just the norm there ... and it's supported, people support and encouraging of it. I think too you've got freedom to practice how you want in your practice, and if that includes bringing a lot of te ao Māori into it and then you can but too I've noticed with the switchover to H [new mainstream agency ono works for], like I think I took it for granted at T that those processes were pretty solid and there was someone taking care of them ... and that was just stuff that was done and I could just tag along whereas at H I'm really having to lead that. If I don't do it, no-one else will ... but now it's like wow, now it's your time – you've got to lead it. But I guess you need someone to lead that in the beginning.

Ono's narrative demonstrates that fluid identities depend on context or place as well as illustrating that identities are always in process of becoming with certain settings and environments enabling the expression of identity whilst others shut down this identity expression in ways that require conscious disruption. For kaimahi becoming Māori

social workers in mainstream organisations it is important that they step into these roles and lead them out or they will not happen in these agencies. However, this comes at a cost to kaimahi as it adds more work to their social work caseload and agencies place more expectations on kaimahi. It is important that the processes and support for Māori whānau accessing these services is adequate and these agencies have a responsibility to deliver appropriate services for our whānau.

Forced Identities

Forced identities are identities, based on outsider group perceptions and stereotypes, that are imposed upon individuals who have no control over the process (McIntosh in Liu et al., 2005; McIntosh, 2007; Te Huia, 2016). Forced identities “have been distorted by the realities of living with a marginal status” (McIntosh, 2005, p. 48). Some Māori can be on the margins of both ‘mainstream’ and Māori society and forced identities may encourage negative perceptions about Māori based in deficit thinking to become normal. However, transformation is possible through an ongoing collective approach. The forced identity marker has created space for Māori leaders to emerge and lead out transformational change.

Forced identities can oblige people to be locked into an unwanted identity, for example, not being brown enough to be Māori. These are identities that are “cast upon individuals and groups rather than having been formed by them” (McIntosh, 2005, p. 48). Te Huia (2016) affirm that people “operating from a marginal Māori profile are unlikely to see value in their Māori identity or in te reo Māori as their view of being Māori is clouded by discrimination and poverty” (p. 20). Marginality can twist personal views of identity and emphasises negative outsider perceptions. Institutions and structures can continue to duplicate and embed deprivation within Māori communities.

A difficulty associated with forced identity is that negative perceptions might become internalised and normalised, however, a positive recognises that, “through sustained collective action and activism change is possible” (McIntosh, 2007, p. 7). Whitu’s experiences in a mainstream statutory organisation meant he was often called upon because of his te reo Māori knowledge and experiences and was often put into roles, for which he was not qualified, without consultation:

I was finding myself in roles like Kaitakawaenga for the TEI, Māori counsellor ... as I was doing it [study journey]. I hadn't even qualified, and I was doing these Māori roles, and they called me a lecturer at Polytech, senior lecturer and I hadn't even finished my degree. But it also helped Māori to get through.

Whitu was able to see the positive aspect of being put into these roles due to assumptions about his identity and grasped the opportunity to utilise this positioning to help other Māori coming through the education system. This is an example of leading out transformational change for Māori, out of a forced identity marker and further illustrates how identities are always in a process of becoming.

Whitu extends this narrative into his experience as a student on placement which saw him doing more intensive work than what his perception of student placements were. He related this to his skills of engaging with Māori and suddenly he was given the 'too hard basket' cases:

Then you start to find out any too hard basket, which is Māori, you found yourself in. You go to social work, you go and do your training you go to do your profs [placement] at CYF and youth justice, and you find you are actually not a student anymore – you've got a workload, and you're looking and going "What is this? Oh, it's the too hard basket!" You are told, "Māori that have been dis-enfranchised with us as workers and now their kids are in trouble so would you go along?" I said, "How many students do you send to do that?"

Whitu goes on to discuss his first week on placement as a student social worker. There was a Mihi Whakatau for mana whenua visiting the agency and the organisation had planned for a speaker however the mana whenua wāhine had seen Whitu:

It was a Mihi Whakatau. She sat on the pae and H [mana whenua representative] is not a subtle person, quite an imposing person, and I am sitting there as a student after the first week and H is coming in and all the managers from the site are there ... and then go in and a Rarotonga woman matatau te reo Māori, nonaia, from where she is from, I suppose and H went, "No, no! I am not talking to that one! Where's Whitu?" and I am like down the back going "Huh?" She must have seen me, and she went, "No, no! Whitu - Haere mai! Haere mai e noho ki taea! I will speak with him on your fulla's behalf" and it was my first week in there and I was like "Oh man!" I know what H was doing and she was

not subtle that way with organisations that made blunders. Whatever you do, just don't put a person that speaks our language to the side because it is more than just speaking the language and she said that to them. She holds nothing back.

In the above narratives, Whitu's identity was forced through being put into some roles automatically, without consultation, however in this last narrative, he was overlooked by the organisation because he was a student and should have been considered as the *whaikōrero* as he had the knowledge, skillset, and expertise in *te ao Māori*. Therefore, his forced identity was that of a student rather than someone who has cultural expertise. These examples of forced identity provided an opportunity for Whitu to emerge, not only as a leader, but also to lead out transformational change through claiming back a *tangata whenua* identity within mainstream organisations. Forced identity acts as a key enabler for Māori solidarity and emphasises, "the struggle to find a legitimate place in our own land, to address our past and design our futures relies on our being absolutely aware of the conditions of our present societal structure and our ability to determine positive change" (McIntosh, 2005, p. 50).

Fragmented identities

Van Meijl (1999) identified fragmented identity as the space between an ideological view of one's identity and the actual lived reality of one's identity. In a study involving Māori students in a *marae*-based training course the students identified ideological criteria for Māori identity such as, speaking *te reo Māori*, knowing *tikanga* and having Māori knowledge however most of the students in the study felt they did not 'measure up' to the markers that they had identified. The students were unable to merge their own "Māori ethnicity with a traditional identity" (Van Meijl, 1999, p. 69). The markers for fragmented identities include people who are recovering a Māori identity and have a disjointed sense of self.

Rima discusses being able to take her *te ao Māori* with her in other *mahi* however discloses a tension in the mainstream organisation that she works in now:

So, I know because I've been to [iwi service] as well when I did placement there. I was able to take *Te Ao Māori* fully with me. I also did a placement at the Youth Residence, they encouraged that as well ... I take my practice too when I go to the homes with the kids and with the *whānau*. It is just within W

[current mainstream organisation] itself it's not as open as it could be, although they say we are and blah, blah, blah!

This is an example of fragmented identity because Rima's view of her own Māori identity is strong, and she sees that she should be able to be that identity in her mainstream work. This is particularly relevant because her organisation has policies on Treaty of Waitangi and practicing biculturally however Rima challenges the notion of the organisation being as open and committed to biculturalism as they say. Again, this is another example of how identity is always in a process of becoming because Rima is constantly adjusting her identity in different settings and contexts.

In the following narrative Rua shares a story of working alongside fragmented whānau who have lost connections to te ao Māori and what it means to be Māori. She highlights that urbanisation has been one of the factors that has caused this fragmentation and clearly sees her role as a social worker is to help reconnect people:

I could see urban[isation] – it's just taken a big toll on our families ... and sometimes that's part of the domestics – they've lost connections, they don't know who they belong to, and so it's about connecting, about re-connecting that whānau back to, if not their whenua, because I say to some whānau go back and have a look at your marae, go and take a drive and even if you drive by and just have a look, and when you get there you say I belong, I belong here because you do, it didn't stop because your grandfather left. Your grandfather comes from there ... acknowledging how urbanism started and you know because it's sad – our young parents don't know where they belong ... you're wanting them to reconnect and you're just trying to stop the violence and the arguing. Sometimes it is about the disconnection.

For many kaimahi, a big part of their mahi is helping whānau who have become fragmented to be whānau, hapū and iwi connected, for them to develop a feeling that they have a place to belong. The mahi of Māori social workers is imperative in reconnecting marginalised whānau as part of a pathway to whānau ora.

Finalised identities

Finalised identities extend on McIntosh's (2005, 2007) Māori identity markers. This is where Māori are type-cast into a static role and/or identity. Being in that role may

become intolerable for them to remain in a place and they choose to leave rather than be held in that finalised identity.

Tekau mā toru shares a narrative of how her organisation, a statutory social work agency, negatively type-casts clients and whānau tarring the whānau with an unchangeable brush suggesting a finalised identity:

These two tamariki – huge boundary issues ... She [social work colleague] said “they’re Māori but I don’t think they should be here” ... as soon as she said the name well, I know these children’s whakapapa ah? I am absolutely appalled that even still we haven’t, we really didn’t explore whānau, not at all, do you want to know why? We already tarred the whānau with this brush. I haven’t said that out loud but we get involved with whānau so the Mum had a history with us as a child in care, and the Dad is in jail for abusing Mum, so we’ve tarred [them], these children will never go back because of these parents and yeah and that’s fucken bullshit for me but I have to be careful because I know the whakapapa, I’m not the social worker and I’m trying to support the social worker – she has been pretty amazing so I said to her when I leave I will be doing some advocacy for this whānau from another avenue, at least I’m going to push it.

Tekau indicates that the children’s whānau had been finalised as being dysfunctional. Finalised identities do not entertain the possibility of transformation, growth, or change. Tekau mā toru identifies the dilemmas of being able to effect change whilst still working in this organisation but sees that if she is not a part of the organisation, she can advocate more effectively for this whānau. She ended up leaving the organisation.

The markers of fixed, fluid, forced, fragmented, and finalised identity have been explored in this section. As mentioned earlier, it is not the intent to utilise these markers to categorise kaimahi but to support them to recognise the markers and reflect on how they can move themselves and the whānau they work alongside forward. In the continual process of becoming and being a Māori social worker, identity continues to shift and change, particularly as we take on new learning and knowledge and start to apply that knowledge. Many of the kaimahi in this research had worked in the field of social work for over fifteen years and they certainly were not the same social workers who began their careers. In their working lives, their identity had transitioned and developed and views they held at the beginning had changed considerably. The

examples provided in this section illustrate how Māori identity can adapt and change over time in relation to place, processes of individual identity reclamation, and political action. This reinforces that the journey of becoming and being a Māori social worker is an evolving process that has no finite, tangible end point. Next, we look at kaimahi Māori becoming effective social work practitioners through utilising the art of social work to engage with whānau they work alongside.

Hau Tangata: Becoming effective in the art of social work

The art of social work is constantly evolving because social workers are in process of becoming and being as there is ongoing learning in practice. Social workers reflect and analyse constantly as their identity and sense of self is disrupted forcing them to position themselves within dilemmas. The theory of becoming is therefore an active concept, hence becoming a social worker is always in the process of being actioned and enacted in the practice of social work. It is more than gaining knowledge and skills as it is a “trajectory of identity formation, much of which is a tacit process” (Brown et al., 2020, p. 994). Becoming and being a social worker is a lived experience that is reliant on the practitioner being reflective and familiar with their own values and how this will impact their social work (Gee & Barnard, 2020). For a new professional ‘becoming’ is a defining concept that recognizes that working lives are ongoing journeys and processes of learning (Goh, 2019, Scanlon, 2011). In the process of becoming a social worker, the student “learns how to develop appropriate identities as a practitioner” (Gherardi & Perrotta, 2014, p. 139). The process of becoming reaches the ‘practice turn’, where learned knowledge becomes knowing and a professional identity is formed. Transitions and changes in the life course highlight turning points on the path of growth (Reeves, 1999). For kaimahi in this research becoming a social worker is a period of transition, moving from the learning of the theory of social work into being a social worker and the actual doing of social work. However, being tangata whenua kaimahi means they are also in continual process of becoming and being Māori and living and enacting from Māori spaces. The Māori social work space is claimed in this section.

Māori social work

As previously stated in this research, Māori social work practice has been developed upon a strong foundation of Indigenous knowledge, theories, and values that are

founded on Mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori practices (Hollis-English, 2015). Kaimahi develop and create Māori models of practice to work alongside whānau Māori and need to continually develop their cultural knowledge to integrate concepts of identity, theory and tikanga into their practice (Hollis-English, 2015). There are many models in social work practice founded in te ao Māori worldviews, that are often emancipatory, decolonising and expressions of tino rangatiratanga whilst being grounded in te taiao and having an oranga/hauora focus, all important components of Māori social work.

The lived experience

Māori social workers come into social work with their lived and felt experiences (Cavino, 2016) from being a member of a whānau. Eruera (in Cree, 2013) highlights the importance of identity, culture, and the critical role of life experiences and learning for social workers stating, “Looking back, growing up in a family where voluntary and community work were an everyday part of our life, it isn’t surprising that I moved into social work” (Eruera in Cree, 2013, p. 80). For many kaimahi in this research their own life experiences enabled them to be able to connect with whānau they were working alongside because they had travelled a similar path and saw themselves in the people they worked alongside.

Rua: When I started working here that made me reflect more on my life and sometimes you listen to families and even though you are focussed on what they are saying, you know you are crying inside because that’s your story ... I think my life experiences have contributed to how I practice because I’ve been an abused kid.

Tekau mā toru: I could have easily been that Mum, from what I had experienced in some of my childhood and especially the abuse from my Mum ... and I knew that addiction was covering a whole lot of trauma ... that’s how I’ve tried to work with, especially Mums, I’ve tried to draw out the good things about them and also relaying to them the need to address this stuff that’s hidden and I know because I’ve had stuff hidden.

Waru: Being able to recognise whether it’s working with women who are in abusive relationships, being able to recognise some of those signs and have an insight into that ... and knowing also the psychological state that women will

be in at that time in terms of some of the shamefulness and feeling like they're to blame and that cycle of bullshit that goes with it ... and that comes from experiencing it and knowing it.

These three narratives all outline that identity is always in a process of becoming for the kaimahi, particularly when drawing on one's own life experiences. Rua's use of her own story of abuse in practice, Tekau mā toru's description of how her identity is being re-enacted in the everyday settings of her mahi, and Waru's recognition of how her experiences and knowing impact on her understandings of what is going on for her client illustrate that identity is always in the process of becoming. Māori are often over-represented in lower socio-economic areas and Māori social workers often mirror this experience (English et al., 2011). Because many kaimahi Māori have had similar lived experiences as the whānau they work alongside, they are able to take their own lived experiences to work in empathetic ways with whānau. In the process of becoming and being a social worker, kaimahi can connect deeply with whānau through shared similar lived experiences.

Māori social work theories and models are founded from mātauranga Māori and are, "influenced by one's experiences of being connected to a whānau, hapū and iwi, and being indigenous" (Hollis-English 2015, p. 6). Kaimahi bring their own experiences of growing up in whānau into their social work practice, but in the process of becoming an effective practitioner they are constantly reflecting on these experiences and how they can assist others on their change journeys.

Intuition and practice wisdom

Intuition and practice wisdom in social work has been explored and intuition can be the result of years of personal and professional experiences and prior learning (Chu & Tsui, 2008; Kirkman & Melrose, 2014). Several kaimahi discussed that their life experiences had given them an intuition and that they might get a 'gut feeling' about situations. Tekau mā tahi described her intuition as helping her to analyse, rationalise and see things that other people do not. Rima describes it as "I have gut feelings and I follow my gut, and I bring them in because I see what's really happening". However, Rima elucidates that her gut reaction about people is not understood by her Pākehā bosses:

Sometimes I feel that because when I was younger, and the stuff that happened to me, when I meet a person I can get a gut reaction that does that and when I

say I'm not really sure I'd be like, "Boss I get this feeling that I can't trust this person because he's been there, he's done that, and I kinda know that from my gut", [their reply is] "Well you know, maybe it's because you haven't dealt with your past!". I have dealt with my past!! ... then later on it comes out that he will admit it, because I get him to a place where he's good, and he admitted it, and she was like "Oh my god you were right!" and so some of my bad stuff that has happened to me in my past because of my gut reaction and that, I find that my Pākehā bosses don't actually understand and I find that the hardest thing for me.

This narrative demonstrates that Rima can work with her intuition and gut feelings born from her lived experience, however her bosses discount this knowing therefore inhibiting her on her journey of becoming an effective social worker.

In te reo Māori intuition is translated as Rongoā-manawa and instinct is translated as Rongoā ā puku (personal communication with Deacon Fisher, 21st February 2023). Rongoā manawa being founded and experienced from the physical heart and Rongoā ā puku being found and experienced in the stomach and gut. Both terms relate to Rongo, the God of peace. Māori intuition has also been discussed in literature. Melbourne (2000) states that Māori intuition is present when describing Māori worldviews. Linzey (1990) refers to Māori intuition with regards to the whare whakairo having a living presence as an ancestor for Māori and that this is different from a "European educated way of thinking" (p. 49). Fraser (1991) notes that Māori customary and traditional knowledge is not given recognition and that "Māori intuition has been overridden by western science" (p. 90). Fraser (1991) utilises the example of when a claim by Te Ātiawa to the Waitangi Tribunal spoke of "the tangata whenua were complaining of "sick mussels" which could be crushed underfoot well before pollution of the reefs at Motunui was regarded as a serious problem" (p. 90). Winkelmann (2013) advises the social work profession that social work needs to be "informed by evidence rather than just gut instinct" (p.85) however both personal and professional intuition and instinct is born of lived experience. Kenney (2009) outlined in her research that midwives' knowledge and evidence base is founded on the "art of midwifery practice" (p. 10) and that using informed intuition is one of the key elements utilised in their practice. Kenney also shares that childbearing women have, "personal and private ways of

knowing” in relation to their pregnancies and may refer to this as intuition. This intuition can be based on previous experiences of birthing for the pregnant women.

Furthermore, Armstrong (2014) highlighted that sex workers rely on their gut instincts or a sixth sense to make decisions regarding possible clients and those workers did not rely on gut instinct by itself but on other factors such as how people present and the physical environment. Narratives that link intuition to tikanga Māori as well as professional and personal experience suggest that it has a role within social work practice. Rima’s use of intuition and ‘gut instinct’ is informed by her life experiences however is not understood by her manager. Managers and organisations need to be supportive of social workers who have lived experience and have done the hard mahi of facing their own pain and vulnerabilities, to enable them to work effectively alongside others. Hollis-English (2012a) recognises that non-Māori managers can ‘stifle’ Māori social work practice through not understanding tikanga and not being open and supportive to Māori processes” (p. 211). Becoming a social worker requires the balance of knowing and understanding your own story, alongside other’s stories, and constantly reflecting on these stories and how they change and develop our identity.

Social work tools to aid connection

On the journey to becoming a Māori social worker, kaimahi need to base their theory and knowledge on te ao Māori worldviews, whilst also practicing from tikanga Māori to effectively engage with whānau. Cultural practices are important in the formation of identity (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Participants in this research live out Māori cultural practices in their mahi including utilising engagement skills, karakia, Āta whakarongo, kai as a connector, whanaungatanga, whakapapa, and manaakitanga.

Engagement with whānau

Being able to engage and connect with whānau is imperative in social work and for kaimahi becoming and being Māori social workers, this encompasses meeting people at their level, being able to speak their language and viewing whānau as experts of their own lives. Kaimahi were adamant that engaging with whānau was critical in first ensuring an effective starting point for the mahi, and then in maintaining the relationship:

Rima: At mahi I get the most violent of the gang ones, and I’m easy to walk in there because when I walk in, I’m just me, “Chur bro, how you?” and get with

them at their level ... and just sit there and talk with them, and get to know them, because that's what you have to do – you can't judge them from a piece of paper, I can get all the referrals and they're – oh violence, oh you know! It's like “so what's it in your world cos you're the expert, I'm not”,

Whitu: I think it is how you treat people, so how you kōrero to people, how you treat people as being themselves and not going on anyone else's kōrero, that there is a history and a belonging that's in their story that connects to you somehow.

Engaging effectively with whānau is about building relationships with them and as reiterated above the starting point of this process is critical. The utilisation of karakia is discussed next.

Karakia is essential

Opening hui with karakia should be seen as essential and not just a formality or a tick box exercise, particularly when working alongside whānau Māori:

Tekau: The Co-ordinators in the past would always ask the whānau “How would you like to start today?” and I remember saying to my colleague, because she was one of them that did that, and I said “Why do you do that? Because when we go to the marae, karakia is a must and you don't get asked if you want one, you just start one.” I always ask whānau, “Is there anyone who would like to give karakia? Otherwise, I will do it” so it becomes natural so if you ask our people if they want karakia, they're not used to being asked that, everything begins with karakia, why are we asking? Lead it!

Karakia is the gateway to inviting tūpuna into the space. This recognizes the ā wairua aspect of social work, particularly when working alongside whānau. Tekau outlines this further:

With whānau I explain to them the importance of karakia towards the outcome and then I always praise them for their karakia, their karakia has helped, so they are understanding the power of it. Karakia also invites ā wairua into the room, it won't come in otherwise. As I said to my colleague, “If you don't do karakia, they [tūpuna] won't come ... and they are a powerful force that we don't tap into. Why do we go into our wharenuī? Cos they are there, a karakia – must!!

Have you ever been into a wharenui where you never get a karakia – come on, start thinking, stop this white train, this prayer thing!”

Āta whakarongo: The art of listening and hearing the kōrero

For kaimahi who grew up with kaumātua and pakeke, they saw that the skills and learnings acquired from their old people taught them how to build relationships and engage with whānau, specifically through the art of listening and emphasised the importance of being able to do this in social work practice:

Tekau: I learned to listen, and I listened well and so I know that I listen well because I still hold the information that she [grandmother] gave me so I learned how to listen to whānau and hear their story. It didn't matter what was written about them, I knew I would get the history, you name it whatever, I was always able to listen – never judge them, unconditionally. I went into whānau to hear their stories and was always very precise about writing that story the way they told me – their words, not mine!

Iwa: Being raised with my grandmother's philosophies have supplied me with the things I need to work with whānau.

For kaimahi becoming Māori social workers it is imperative that they can really listen to whānau and hear what is being said. Pohatu (2004) outlines the importance of Āta as a tool to create safe space (āhurutanga) and to negotiate boundaries utilising respectful relationships. Lipsham (2012) outlines Āta whakarongo as being able to listen with reflective deliberation through “giving space to listen and communicate to the heart, mind and soul of the speaker, context and environment” (p. 33). The art of listening to whānau is imperative in social work.

Kai as a connector

Many kaimahi discussed the whanaungatanga and manaakitanga practices of breaking bread with whānau as utilising kai as a tool to connect and lighten things either before or after the business part of the visit:

Toru: So, mine is just kai. Some of the whānau you are working with haven't been fed or anything, well you normally can tell. Before you actually engage and do the things, it is “How are you? Come and have a kai!”, we have a kai,

and they know, I bless the food and we just start there ... but you know kai is a powerful tool to sort of lighten the thing before you go into your business.

Rua: Let's make a plan and the big part is getting an engagement, getting that foot in the door anyway possible and the way was through utilising kai as a tool.

Whā: I offer a cup of tea, that's what we did at home – that's a natural thing.

Penetito (in Wepa & Wilson, 2019) states that Māori like to do things together, to meet and strengthen their social bonds to each other, to participate in games that challenge and unite, to share food, stories, and histories, and to remember those no longer in the world of light (p. 4). The sharing of kai is more than being a hospitable host but an exchange of our humanity (Tusasiirwe, 2019; Mafileo, 2019). Kaimahi reiterated the importance of food as a tool for connection however some shared that their colleagues at work often had no understanding of the concept of sharing food:

Toru: My peoples [at work] do not understand that concept. I said I don't know which box it fits in – the contract or what name you are going to give it, but this is part of my whakawhānaungatanga for the people ... I will just go and get us a kai, go by the beats.

Another kaimahi discussed the significance of food being a connection to identity, memories and tūpuna for her father whilst in hospital:

Waru: It was not an environment for him, conducive to him healing so we took up his food, cos he wouldn't eat the food. That's another thing, Māori won't eat hospital food because their food connects, and people forget the importance, especially with Māori going into hospital. Their food is their connection to their identity and their memories and their tūpuna and who they are and taking up boil up and fry bread and corned beef and whatever he wanted and having meals with him and being able to do that was 80% of the healing.

Kai as a connector assists kaimahi in connecting with whānau at a human level beyond the hospitality responsibilities. Becoming a Māori social worker involves effectively utilising kai as a connector and seeing past the boundaries of hospitality, but to the concepts of reciprocity and the sharing of stories that happen within the sharing of kai space, which can be an expression of love and can connect us as human beings.

Whanaungatanga and Manaakitanga

Māori social work is guided by Māori principles and ways of doing things, particularly making connections, building whanaungatanga, utilising whakapapa in whānau relationships and expressing manaakitanga (Hollis-English, 2012a; Walsh-Mooney, 2009). Whanaungatanga as a tool to engage whānau includes finding out about whakapapa and where people are from. It is usually done early in the initial stages of working alongside whānau and is vitally important. Whānau are the heart of Māori communities and can be whakapapa (genealogical) or kaupapa (shared purpose) whānau. Whānau are a key source of whanaungatanga (connection), aroha (compassion), manaaki (caring) and tautoko (support), particularly in times of need (Wepa & Wilson, 2019, p. 1). Whanaungatanga aspects of networks and relationships were identified as important in aiding whānau to overcome adversity (Waiti and Kingi, 2014). In social work connections are made through whakapapa and kaimahi utilise whakapapa to start the initial building of relationships with whānau, which often has established responsibilities and obligations.

Tekau: And the ā wairua always I check No hea? – where they are from and just knowing that they have whakapapa, they have tūpuna, they have ā wairua, there are people with them, they belong to a bigger family.

Rua: I am teaching these young ones about whakapapa and that connection that they have and when they tell me that they are from that marae we have that conversation, and that is the difference when working in tikanga Māori.

Whakapapa is pivotal to Māori identity and connects everything genealogically with the universe's creation and ancestor descent (Hikuroa, 2017; Marsden, 2003; Roberts, 2013). It is essential that kaimahi explore whakapapa connections in their mahi alongside whānau as it is the integral connections of whānau that determine obligations and responsibilities to each other and the collective (Wepa & Wilson, 2019).

Manaakitanga is more than sharing of kai together. Manaakitanga encompasses manaaki ki te tangata and is about taking care of and looking after people. For kaimahi becoming social workers there is an obligation to care for, look after and take care of whānau.

Two kaimahi outline how they instigate these concepts in their practice and how it requires a reciprocity from them as workers:

Tekau: Before we get down to the nitty gritty, we start to do whanaungatanga ... it is natural to me. Trying to find a link is natural to me, so it is about us as people, rather than you the client, I'm the worker and I need you to tell me everything, I try to encourage that sharing communication with each other.

Whā: One of the tools that I have when I go out or if I sit with a whānau – the first thing is whakawhanaungatanga – Ko wai koe? Nō hea koe? Where are you from? Oh, I am from Ngati Porou, oh my grandmother's from there so you know I share a bit of me ... but that is one of the tools of the trade is using those concepts of whanaungatanga, manaaki, so manaaki is simply getting a glass of water or offering them a biscuit or pulling up a seat.

In social work the concepts of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga connect to SWRB Competency 1 (SWRB, n.d.) and the ANZASW Ngā Tikanga Matatika (ANZASW, n.d.) so it is imperative that social workers in Aotearoa have a solid understanding of, and know how to live out, these concepts effectively in their practice. As stated above by the two kaimahi who have shared how they practice, it requires social workers being in reciprocal relationships with the whānau they work alongside, that is, that they share their own whakapapa and stories when necessary to assist in building a strong, working, effective relationship with whānau. This ties into one of the key arguments from this research that states that Māori have always been social workers because of the natural practices of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, tika, pono me aroha. On the journey of becoming a Māori social worker it is essential that kaimahi embrace these tools of connection for the mahi. The next section considers self-care in social work and some of the challenges that require kaimahi to be self-caring.

Hau wairua: Becoming self-caring in social work

Psychological practice hazards of social work

Social work is often a challenging field to work in and it is vitally important for social workers to take care of themselves holistically. Norcross (2000) emphasised the importance of recognizing the “hazards of psychological practice” (p.710) and when there are demands on practitioners it is important that they develop specific self-care strategies that help them remain well in the work (Spruill et al., 2004). Ruwhiu et al. (2008) reiterate the importance of, “caring for the healers”. From a te ao Māori lens

self-care is viewed holistically and Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985) is often applied as it covers all aspects of well-being utilising te taha tinana, te taha wairua, te taha hinengaro me te taha whānau framework.

Becoming and being a social worker requires that practitioners prioritise technologies of the self (Foucault, 1984) because the worker is the tool in the social work interaction (Weld & Appleton, 2014). Foucault (1984) highlighted the tension between knowing yourself and taking care of yourself and outlined that we see taking care of ourselves as an immorality, as a means of escape from all rules and because our morality insists that the self is that which one can reject. It is imperative that social workers learn how to self-care, and they are rendered useful if they can do this effectively. If they cannot, they become less useful and are at risk of burn out (Maslach et al., 1996) and compassion fatigue (Figley, 1995). Some of the hazards and hindrances for kaimahi are discussed next.

Hindrances in the becoming a social worker journey

For kaimahi working in mainstream organisations many worldview differences, dilemmas and boundary issues were disclosed. Māori practitioners have experienced a variety of environments, some that are supportive of tikanga Māori and some that are not (Hollis-English, 2015). Kaimahi working in mainstream social work highlighted that the environment is often not supportive of tikanga Māori. Some of the identified issues encompass the ongoing battle with authority and continual tokenism. Time constraints were also identified as barriers to being able to work respectfully and effectively. Kaimahi talked about managers not understanding a Māori social work worldview, while being involved as a whānau member within the organisation where kaimahi worked provided dilemmas and boundary issues for kaimahi. Other issues included the challenges of holding confidential information and knowledge about people within their own communities, having a focus on the negative aspects of life because of the ‘grime’ of the work, and there was the possibility that kaimahi could be related to the clients and whānau coming through the service. All these hazards and hindrances impact on the journey of the kaimahi becoming effective social workers.

Kaimahi working in statutory organisations have often highlighted the continual and ongoing battle with authority and tokenism which is a prevalent issue in Aotearoa social services (Hollis-English, 2012a). Tekau discusses this further:

I guess a negative aspect would probably be the continual battle with authority, the continual tokenism, you know our tīkanga, there are so many new words that is coming in, we've got the new framework, Toka Tūmoana, the continuous observing that we have these kupu. Toka Tūmoana is beautiful but it's not policy, so it's still just tokenism, and it can get thrown out in the next government. Nothing in policy, nothing in the Act ... Apparently the child is still whakamana te tamaiti – nothing's changed, just the kupu!

Whā has worked in the statutory system of child protection for over thirty years and has seen a lot of changes over that time and has misgivings about the more recent changes:

Our language has changed ... It is challenging because this organisation, it is person by person, office by office ... They may want to, but they don't know how because they're still trying to get their head around the language that they don't live. So, people on the weekend have nothing to do with the Te Ao Māori world, ah? But Monday to Friday they must put that in their basket when they are going out so it's not a natural thing, so they struggle with the words you know ... Well, I think the organisation has tried throughout my 30 years to try and put a bicultural flavour into social work ah? ... Yes, but nothing in their education or mine, and I am 61, actually prepared people for that ... So, our organisation has always tried from Pūao te Ata Tū to turn some thinking around. It hasn't because it's been isolated – well that is my theory – it has been the government agents that's been isolated.

For these two kaimahi Māori working within Oranga Tamariki there have always been many dilemmas and boundary issues they have had to navigate however within the new transitioning environment these very experienced social workers have misgivings as to whether the changes will be effective for whānau Māori. Both kaimahi may need to face challenges about whether they can continue to work in this system and environment. Whilst changes have been initiated and are currently happening in this space, through the adoption of a Māori centred framework, Te Toka Tūmoana, Tekau still has doubts that the organisation is on the right track. Te Toka Tūmoana is a bicultural approach, spearheaded by Child, Youth and Family (CYF), now Oranga Tamariki, and is a bicultural model for working alongside whānau Māori and shifting the statutory social work space into Māori-centred practice (Oranga Tamariki, n.d.). It

is grounded in Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840), Pūao te Ata Tū (1988) and the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act (now Oranga Tamariki Act) (1989) (Oranga Tamariki, n.d.). Te Toka Tūmoana is a taonga gifted to Oranga Tamariki however considering the kōrero from Tekau and Whā, there is doubt as to whether the entrenched systems of statutory organisations are able to enable the full growth and development of such a taonga and in fact, inhibits it from becoming the true taonga it was meant to be. The next section considers self-care as a strategy to manage ‘brown face burnout’.

Brown face burn out and strategies of self-care

Burn out (Maslach et al., 1996) and compassion fatigue (Kapoulitsas & Corcoran, 2015) were discussed in relation to social work in Chapter Two. For kaimahi becoming and being Māori social workers, brown face burn-out (Hollis-English, 2012b, 2016; Moyle, 2014) can become a reality. Brown face burn out is the result of Māori social workers being overworked by the “cultural expectations and supplementary responsibilities placed on them because they are Māori” (Moyle 2014, p. 57). In addition to their social work responsibilities, kaimahi Māori may be expected to carry out kaupapa Māori roles for the agencies and organisations that they work in. Kaimahi may also take on additional responsibilities to ensure Māori whānau accessing their services are receiving appropriate cultural support. Self-care is imperative for kaimahi on their becoming a social worker journey to ensure they can continue in the mahi. Kaimahi discussed how they take time to self-care and look after themselves. These strategies included working from home (the data for this research was collected prior to Covid 19 pandemic lockdowns where working from home became the norm for many kaimahi). It also included taking care of the tinana and kaimahi physical needs – exercise and walking featured prominently and included walking with colleagues, hill walking, walking dogs, while three kaimahi found swimming helped them to self-care. Kapoulitsas and Corcoran (2015) emphasised the importance of physical activities in self-care suggesting that walking, meditating, exercise, and maintaining healthy lifestyles was important for social workers’ stress relief. Ono outlines how meditation and journaling help her to relax and deal with the stress of the mahi:

I am a deep thinker and with that I think you can over-think and get quite tired in your mind so being quite aware of my thoughts is really important for me and I have little rituals like meditations, like journaling and that’s the sort of stuff that is self-care to me – it’s like checking in with kinda what’s going on in my

head ... I think you can get so busy rushing around doing stuff, you don't know what's going on until you get home.

From a systems perspective some organisations supported kaimahi in getting out and physically taking care of themselves or doing things that will help them look after themselves and kaimahi really appreciated this:

Tahi: Often-times you will hear the manager go, "Shut the office down and go home or go for a swim or go for a walk, look after yourself". They are awesome!

It is important that organisations create and provide supportive environments for kaimahi as it strengthens their capacity to be an effective worker (Slattery & Goodman, 2009) and encourages worker resilience. Resilience is significant in helping workers deal with stress and the role of workplaces in promoting resilience is significant (Kapoulitsas & Corcoran, 2015). Other ways that organisations can provide support to kaimahi is through providing appropriate external supervision.

Supervision

Kaimahi identified external supervision as being imperative for their wellbeing and self-care. Good supervision helps kaimahi to stay focussed on their mahi. Effective and positive supervision has a significant role in reducing compassion fatigue and shaping worker resilience (Kapoulitsas & Corcoran, 2015, p. 21). Two kaimahi who worked for Oranga Tamariki valued external supervision so much that they paid for it themselves as their organisation would not fund external supervision.

Tekau: Supervision – I have external, I have always had external.

Tekau mā ono: External supervision is great for the mind and that is driven [funded] by me ... you need good supervision! ... so, to keep myself safe I go externally.

It is imperative that statutory organisations provide external supervision for their social workers. There needs to be a separation away from line management supervision (which focusses on managerial responsibility, practice and workload issues, organisational accountabilities, and performance markers). A supervisor, independent of the organisation, providing unfettered supervision would serve kaimahi better through enabling them to reflect on and improve their practice. Kaimahi within the

organisation should not have to pay for this independent, external supervision as it should be provided by statutory organisations.

Kaimahi also discussed regular peer review supervision and bicultural supervision as being helpful in their mahi. However, while bi-cultural supervision was supported by her organization Tekau mā tahi suggests that accessing appropriate support for bicultural supervision was difficult:

Tekau mā tahi: I can access bicultural supervision ... but who? Who would I talk to? Who knows this work? Who is going to be able to handle the information that we give them? ... It's gotta be the right person!

Workers need strong support systems that facilitate open kōrero about their practice experiences in safe environments and the external supervision space enables this to happen. It is imperative that Māori social workers have access to Kaupapa Māori supervision to ensure their cultural needs are being addressed. Mainstream supervision in New Zealand has 'othered' cultural, bicultural, and Kaupapa Māori supervision and discounted these from being clinical or professional supervision (Elkington 2014, O'Donoghue, 2010). Eruera (2012) highlights that Kaupapa Māori supervision has a te ao Māori worldview. Kaupapa Māori supervision provides Māori supervisees with a Māori supervisor and the supervision can be a form of tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake. In this space te ao Māori practice is the norm, is a safe space for Māori, grows Māori resilience, and pursues wellbeing and can provide healing. Kaupapa Māori supervision recognises that supervision can happen in alternative spaces in te tai ao, for example, beside te pā harakeke or at a marae (Walsh-Tapiata & Webster, 2004). There are many models of Kaupapa Māori supervision in Aotearoa (Wallace, 2019) and a similarity across the models includes being grounded in te taiao (environmental world), a focus on Oranga/Mouri ora (wellness and wellbeing), as well as wairua, and are 'for Māori, by Māori, with Māori' (tino rangatiratanga). For kaimahi Māori, kaupapa Māori supervision is imperative. All this aids kaimahi to continue to work effectively in their social work practice.

Grounding self in Te Taiao

From a te ao Māori perspective, our wellbeing is connected to the wellbeing of the environment, so it makes sense that kaimahi keep themselves grounded and go to te taiao to be healed, rejuvenated, and reinvigorated. Ruwhiu et al. (2008) unpack the

importance of wairua being regularly accessed to assist in healing practices and mauri ora levels of wellbeing being grounded in all spheres of reality i.e., natural (te ao turoa), human (he tangata) and spiritual (te ao wairua). For the following kaimahi, becoming a Māori social worker who is grounded in Te Tai ao is imperative:

Ono: Being grounded is really important for me. If I am not grounded, I just don't make good decisions ... so being out in nature is important ... I try and get out for a walk as much as possible ... I will actually drive down to the river during the lunch break and eat my food down there and honestly wearing bare feet. I am just pushing the boundary of where I do that because I just feel more comfortable and more kinda centred when I do ... it really does work.

The importance for kaimahi to return to their ūkaipō and turangawaewae allowed them to be rejuvenated, replenished, and healed, particularly from mahi they experience as overwhelming.

Rima: When I am overwhelmed with work stuff I go back home to N., to my whāngai whanau, they are buried there and that's where I will just lay and talk with them for the day and I feel really good walking in my water there, walking on the land bare feet ... that's what I do!

Tekau mā tahi: My whānau base, my real turangawaewae, my whānau homestead. And that is one thing that my mother always encouraged is that she always said ...to see the place as somewhere that you need to heal you. She said, "If you ever feel like you need to come home, just to be, and to feel ... if it just helps you to recharge your batteries".

For kaimahi becoming and being Māori social workers our connection to the whenua, our ūkaipō, our mouna, our awa, our tūpuna needs to be strong. We are mana whenua in our own rohe and tauwiwi when working in other areas. It can be a form of trauma being away from our own rohe and working in other rohe. For kaimahi it is imperative that they reconnect to their own mana whenua regularly to stay well in this mahi. In practicing this, they can be stronger in their journeys of becoming effective social workers.

Pitopito Kōrero: Two modern day pūrākau of becoming journeys

In te ao Māori pūrākau are our artefacts that share narratives of becoming. The pūrākau of Te Wehenga whereby Papatūānuku and Ranginui were separated by their children transitioned the world from darkness and not knowing to a world of light and knowing (Te Ao Marama). Te Wehenga moved the universe into the new stage of Te Ao Mārama and here human life was created (Rangiwai, 2018). As already discussed, the pūrākau of Pukeonaki to Taranaki is a narrative of becoming. The pūrākau of Hine-titama becoming Hinenui Te Pō was outlined further by Pearse-Otene (2021) as a “deliberate act of resistance and autonomy” (p. 105) whereby she chose not to be a victim and reasserted her mana by rejecting whakamā and gifting it back where it belonged with her father Tane. This is a pūrākau of “survival, healing and transformation” (Pearse-Otene, 2021, p. 105). Similarly, the kaimahi in this research who had grown up in violence, challenge and adversity have had the opportunity to reclaim parts of themselves and place whakamā where it belongs, and transition and become whatever they chose to become, in this instance social work practitioners who can work with others who have travelled a similar pathway. There are synergies between our traditional pūrākau and present-day stories, particularly with the emphasis on the journey of being and becoming.

There are two pitopito kōrero outlined below that were gifted by kaimahi who both had significant experiences that forced their journeys of becoming. Pūrākau assist in utilising stories to understand our lives and find meaning in them (Lee, 2005, 2009), just as the sharing of stories helps us to make sense and give meaning of our own lives and may assist others on similar pathways. Both pitopito kōrero demonstrate strength and resilience and highlight that despite adversity we can come out the other side of life experiences wiser and more able to tautoko others on their journeys. The first kōrero relates to Tekau mā whā’s journey becoming a social worker through the lived experience of being in youth gangs and intentionally not taking the becoming a gang member pathway. The second kōrero is a powerful example of identity that is forced on Tekau mā rua by circumstance and confirms that identities are not static but change over the life course.

Pitopito Kōrero Tekau mā whā: The gang lived experience: the pathway to education or the pipeline to prison

The ‘redemption self’ of Tekau mā whā was discussed earlier in this research because of his growing up in challenge and adversity, being in youth gangs and how these formative experiences enabled him to work effectively alongside at-risk youth. This pitopito kōrero encompasses the narrative of him not becoming a gang member, instead becoming and being a social worker, and how his past influences his practice. He outlines that his choice of not joining the adult gang gave him more options in life:

Me not joining the gang gave me options, because soon as I patched, I’d be in a difficult situation because it would be hard to get out versus me telling a dad “maybe you should get out of the gang” you know that would be a bad move. I remember times where I’m going for boarding [school] applications to get a young person off to Te Aute or that [other school] ... there’s quite a report I have to do and the worse it is, the better the chances but then they [application administrators] will come back and say, “Why doesn’t Dad leave the gang?” so then I have to say to them “Well I don’t think you understand the gangs, when you patch, you patch! In the old days if you joined the army and you didn’t want to anymore, you were a deserter, same thing, and he [gang member] would have put him and his family at more risk by doing that. So, Dad’s not going to get out of the gang.

Tekau mā whā reflected on how his growing up around gangs and being in youth gangs’ impacts on his mahi now as a social worker:

I guess my growing up with gangs, and being in youth gangs, you know, that impacts my practice, more in the way I suppose that I have an understanding of it. I can talk to a gang member about what is going on, we can talk about where they are heading ... when I am talking to a Dad about what we are needing to do to make sure his young fulla can stay in education, and it’s hoped that he can go to college and finish and get a job.

Tekau mā whā recognises that for many whānau they have not been able to be good role models in their families because they did not have positive role models growing up and sees it as an inter-generational problem:

I can pretty much forecast where we are going to go but if they are assaulting, stealing, doing whatever ... even the heartiest, you know a lot of the time when these fathers are not role-modelling the right stuff, is they haven't been role-modelled to either so it is that generational stuff ... I can be straight-up with some of these guys, like "sorry bro but you're pretty fucked but let's work on your young fulla and see if he can be the next one to break out of this so they all want the best, no-one wants their kid kicked out of school, no-one wants their kid taken off them into care.

Walters (2016) research focussed on the protective factors and resilience of young people who had experienced whānau violence and highlighted that resilience relies on "connections with others" (p. 19). Identified internal resources of young people having resilience includes "inherent qualities, having an understanding of whānau violence, having dreams, hope for the future and goals, and self-belief in their abilities, having a significant person in their life, having a strong positive Māori identity and having a wairua connection" (Walters, 2016, p ii). Tekau mā whā had learned the importance of connections with others growing up and particularly how gang connections worked. Because of his knowledge of local gangs and the gang hierarchy, he was able to access the hierarchy if needed:

Sometimes I go to the gang's hierarchy, if one of their members is being a little bit naughty and not listening to the Police, not listening to CYF, and not listening to me, and they need to do something to make sure their kids don't get uplifted. I will go to a senior member of their gang, if I know them, and usually it's, "How do you fullas feel about your members' children being put in government care?" and they don't want that and I say "well one of them is going to be, it's gonna happen unless you can have a talk to them", and then that fulla when I go to see him next time, he will be like, "you went to see so and so" and I go "have you got your kids inside", "yep", "well that's why I went because they weren't gonna be here".

For Tekau mā whā the boundaries in the mahi are very clear. He may decide to not report seeing a bong but will report on the necessary child abuse issues if they arise:

If I go into a home and I see a bong, I don't note that I'm going to report to CYF or whatever. I might say something like "Hey bro you probably need to put that

away” but they know I’m not gonna make a huha because I know for a fact that I can do a whole lot of stuff about that bong, and nothing happens, and I just lost the trust. I will never work with that guy again. He will go around and say, “He’s a nark!”, but I am, for child abuse for example, if anything is going on I will say “Bro, I’ve got to do this” – anything that’s gonna hurt them [children].

He has also been called in to support whānau when children have been uplifted:

I have also been in to support gang members when their children are gonna be uplifted and I have gone to support. I get a call from families, and I just go, I drop tools and go.

Tekau mā whā believes he has the trust of the gangs in his area, can influence where the young people end up and emphasises the importance of giving youth opportunities through education:

I think I have got the trust of a lot of the gang fullas around town. Obviously, I don’t promote gangs. I try to get them to give their kids opportunities through education. I might say “Bro let’s get him through school, he might come out a lawyer, you’ll have your own lawyer and all this, you might have your own doctor that can stitch you up when you’ve been stabbed or whatever” and they all laugh at it, and they think that’s a good idea. What that does ... if they’re going to be a lawyer or a doctor, their goal of being in a gang is actually long gone, you know, they’re not gonna do it. They can make choices but if you don’t give them that pathway to education, then there is really only one way and that’s a pipeline to prison.

Tekau mā whā has thought about quitting his job however the gangs heard and did not want him to quit:

There were times when I’ve thought of quitting, you know, I’ve thought driving a truck will be better than this ... all of these, battling government agencies, battling with the whānau, battling with the youth and I had members of gangs catch wind of it and I would go “I’m over this, I’m out” and then I’ve had someone come to a school to see me and say “are you finished?” and I will say “I’m considering it” and then they will say “Who is going to help us?”

Tekau mā whā believed that his choice of not becoming an adult gang member gave him more options in life and this led to him becoming the person he is today. Just as iwi Māori are resilient and have protective factors that have ensured the survival of their race and language, so to do Māori social workers. Walsh (2002, 2007) highlighted that the ability to be flexible and adapt to challenges encourages resilience. Tekau mā whā was able to adapt to challenges in his life, which led to his resilience, which has helped him shape new possibilities of becoming journeys for not only himself, but also the children of patched gang members. Waiti's (2014) doctoral research recognised education as being "a protective factor and coping strategy for adverse life events" (p. 132). In his mahi as a social worker, Tekau mā whā recognises the importance of education as being the pathway away from the pipeline to prison for many of the young people he works alongside. He works with the whānau of these young people to dare dream of a different dream for their children. Tekau mā whā utilises his connections and networks in his mahi and is strong in his Māori identity. Tekau mā whā is a resilient survivor of his upbringing and can show a different way forward for other young people and their whānau.

Pitopito Kōrero: Tekau mā rua: Despite adversity we wake up to the dawn of a new day

Tekau mā rua shared the most significant experience that she has drawn on in her social work practice was the sudden loss of her adult daughter eleven years ago. At the time of her daughter's passing, Tekau mā rua was in social work training, as well as working for an iwi service. Becoming the mother of a child that has passed illustrates the way identity is always in process. The loss has heavily influenced her practice and she identified it has made her mindful and insightful in realising that small things can be big issues to others. Through this experience Tekau mā rua learned the importance of a strong support network and finding courage to talk.

Tekau mā rua states that a loss of this magnitude makes you more intuitive:

It makes you even more in tune, or intuitive towards other whānau who don't necessarily come and say, "hey by the way we've had this loss". You receive the quality of that whānau, whatever they bring, and so that really also made me very mindful about that, that everyone from all walks of life have all these qualities that you don't even know about when they come into your space. It

also made me very clear about there is small stuff that just can trip people over. I might think “well you haven’t been through what I’ve been through so what are you going on about?” but it really did make me mindful that there are still smaller things that are very big to others, and just being respectful around that.

Tekau mā rua also outlined the importance of having good support networks and finding courage to be able to talk through identifying creative ways to enable kōrero to come through:

It really influenced the importance of support networks – in our situation well for me anyway, my ability to kōrero, and it hasn’t really been an issue throughout my life, I’ve found courage to talk, but I had to learn that wasn’t the case for all our whānau and so you’ve got to find creative ways that enable kōrero to come through ... Knowing the people in your whānau – who may not necessarily have gone through what you’ve been through but can provide whatever support is needed at that time, in that moment and you need the ones basically to give you a bit of a tohetohe as well cos I could have quite easily just thought, “That’s it, I’m over - stuff study and stuff that!” but there was that one person that actually wouldn’t allow that to happen for me.

Tekau mā rua had lived insight into grief and loss and how it can present in different forms for different people:

Just recognizing that grief presents in different ways and how we grieve is way different – so how T [partner] and I grieve, oh my Gosh – that was so different! ... and where he could just withdraw himself from any responsibility ... I gained an understanding on how and why couples separate, especially with a loss of a child ... oh my gosh yes because he could go off and have a few beers and I didn’t drink, I didn’t smoke, and I didn’t want to be crying and howling all the blimmen time, so what could I do?

Tekau mā rua discussed being able to draw on the loss and look for the positive aspects that come from it:

Being able to draw on the loss and find the positive things that came out of it, which didn’t happen straight away but there was, well like the study, it enabled me, to keep bringing me through to the future at that time.

And finally, she shares that despite adversity, there is a new dawn to every day:

Despite adversity, we wake, we wake up to a new dawn every day, you know, and what are those things that enable us to do that, and you know there is a beautiful whakataukī about the moon, ‘As sure as the moon rises, so will you’. Which I love, and I think that has been another positive influence is that keep returning to what we know – our practices... I love whakataukī!

This philosophy of Tekau mā rua ties into resilience (Ungar, 2008, 2012) and the strengths perspective (Saleebey 1996, 2002) which argues that people have strengths and resources that can be “forged in the fires of trauma” (Saleebey, 1996, p. 299) however can also be “sources of challenge and opportunity” (Saleebey, 2002, p. 14). Tekau mā rua was able to draw on the experience of loss and grief, find the positive aspects, and steer a way through the adversity to a position of well-being (Walters, 2016). Masten and Coatsworth (1998) describe resilience as “manifested competence in the context”. Durie (2006) acknowledges that for Māori to thrive and prosper resilience needs to be built through being taught the wairuatanga, kotahitanga and whanaungatanga values from elders. For Tekau mā rua, who spent the first few years of her life being raised by her kuia, and being immersed in te ao Māori learnings, this was perhaps where resilience and strengths were birthed within her and then grew from that place. This pitopito kōrero speaks of her ability and courage when faced with a parent’s worst nightmare – the death of a child, her experience of journeying through this experience and her own journey of becoming, without her daughter. The next part of her becoming journey involved how she has taken that experience and applied it into ways of working alongside whānau in her mahi. This resilience and positivity are a testament to her unique character and may have been the result of her grandmother’s influence for the first few years of her life.

The four kaimahi who grew up with grandmothers in the first years of life seemed to have developed strengths and resilience that has assisted them on their journeys of life and social work mahi. It is this strong foundation in te ao Māori that highlighted the importance of connection with whānau, hapū and iwi, with tikanga, with te taiao, with Atua, and the role modelling of community work and working with others. The grandmothers were strong community members who always served their communities with aroha and manaaki, and this is what was role modelled to these tamariki who

would one day become effective social workers, not only being able to work effectively with whānau they journey alongside but also effectively living out their own journeys of becoming.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined the notion and process of becoming from a te ao Māori perspective and for the kaimahi involved in this research, the notion and process of becoming a social work practitioner. Māori theories of becoming are part of our whakapapa and are ancient, recognizing that we are in a continual process of a cycle of life and death as we transition through stages and dimensions. Becoming a social worker is a process of beginning, becoming and being and has no finite end. Historically the pivotal markers of identity for Māori were centred around whakapapa, whānau, hapū, iwi, whenua, and te reo Māori however, due to colonisation, marginalisation and urbanisation Māori have been disconnected from being Māori. This disconnection is the case for some kaimahi, and it is imperative that kaimahi can connect to their identity of becoming and being Māori first, before becoming a social worker, because the mahi of Māori social workers is to reconnect marginalised whānau. Kaimahi need to connect to their own whānau, hapū and iwi. The markers of fixed, fluid, forced, fragmented, and finalised identity have been explored in this section with the intent to aid Māori social workers to identify and recognize these markers and reflect on how they can move themselves and the whānau they work alongside forward. In the continual process of becoming and being a Māori social worker, our identity continues to shift and change, particularly as we take on new learning and knowledge and start to apply that knowledge. Hau Tangata explored how kaimahi became effective in the art of social work and particularly how the kaimahi lived experiences influence their practice. Kaimahi can connect deeply with whānau through similar lived experiences. Some of the tools needed to engage successfully with whānau Māori were explored and include engaging with whānau, karakia, Āta whakarongo, using kai to connect with whānau, and utilising whanaungatanga, whakapapa and manaakitanga in practice. Kaimahi lead out Māori processes in mainstream organisations recognising that if they do not do this, Māori processes may not happen and kaimahi want to ensure whānau Māori utilising their service are getting appropriate care and support.

Hau Wairua focussed on kaimahi becoming self-caring in social work because they are particularly susceptible to brown face burnout. Organisations need to create and provide supportive environments for kaimahi. Access to appropriate supervision, particularly Kaupapa Māori for kaimahi, is essential and statutory organisations should fund external supervision for social workers. It was imperative that kaimahi be able to ground themselves in te tai ao and return to their ūkaipō regularly to be replenished and uplifted as this aids in the process of becoming a social worker.

Two pitopito kōrero were presented as examples of pūrākau informing our narratives of becoming, taking learned knowledge to a state of knowing in the mahi. Both kaimahi have brought their lived experiences into their practice as social workers, again reiterating that kaimahi can deeply connect with whānau through shared lived experiences, emphasising their commitment to becoming an effective social worker who can bring about change for whānau on their own becoming journeys.

Key arguments from this chapter affirm that because of the natural practices of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, tika, pono me aroha, Māori have always been social workers practicing kaimahi ā whānau (this argument is developed in the following chapter). Another key argument, that adds new knowledge to the Māori social work literature, is that kaimahi bring their lived experiences to their social work practice confirming that even though kaimahi may have grown up in challenge and adversity, they have cultivated resilience that enabled them to not only survive trauma but go on to thrive and flourish in their lives. A third argument is that the process of becoming a social worker for kaimahi has no definitive end point and operates alongside the process of becoming Māori. It is imperative that kaimahi connect first to their identity of being Māori and are connected to their own whānau, hapū and iwi because the mahi of social work involves reconnecting marginalised whānau.

The next chapter will expand upon the idea that Māori have always been social workers through bringing the whānau voice of kaimahi to the research.

Wāhanga Tuaiwa: Whānau Chapter: “I am We”: The whānau voice in the research

*Ko Taranaki te mouna,
Ko Taranaki te iwi,
Ko Taranaki te tangata.
Ko te puna i heke mai ai te tangata,
E kore e pau te ika unahi nui.*
Taranaki is the mountain,
Taranaki is the tribe,
Taranaki is the eponymous ancestor
The spring from which we all flow
We will never be overcome; we are the scales of the great fish.

(Buchanan, 2018, p. 126).

Introduction

It is important to capture the kaimahi whānau voice in this research because kaimahi are part of the whānau collective. Wilson (2016) states that whānau “are the fabric of any Indigenous community and society” (p. 32). The section titled, “Kaimahi ā whānau and having social workers in whānau” introduces the first theme Hau Whānau and considers whānau as the first social workers in Aotearoa, practicing kaimahi ā whānau, alongside exploring whānau perspectives of having social workers within whānau. The section titled ‘Oranga ā whānau’ brings together theme two Hau Wairua and considers the factors of whānau wellbeing and wellness. He Whāriki Haumarū, comprises mātāpono that assist in whānau wellbeing, is developed in this section. The threads of this Whāriki offer examples of how kaimahi ā whānau networks operate within whānau, hapū and iwi.

A key argument presented in this chapter is that tangata whenua have always been social workers practicing kaimahi ā whānau because of the natural practices inherent in mātāpono and the collective nature of Māori processes. Whānau find it helpful having social workers in their whānau and draw on kaimahi knowledge, skillsets, expertise, and networks as these skillsets were often inherent in kaimahi as children and recognised by whānau.

To strengthen the argument that tangata whenua have always been natural social workers, the Parihaka peace movement is presented, and an argument made that Parihaka was the first documented community development model and form of Māori

social work in Aotearoa. The Whāriki Haumaruru model outlines the key threads needed for *oranga ā whānau* with the argument presented that these values and practices are how natural social work has always operated in whānau, thus affirming that *tangata whenua* have always been social workers. The professionalisation of social work may be disrupting and inhibiting these natural forms of social work in Māori communities therefore it is important that professional social workers engage with and work alongside *kaimahi ā whānau* networks. The arguments presented in this chapter relating to *Parihaka* and *kaimahi ā whānau* are new contributions to the social work literature.

Theme One: Hau whānau: Kaimahi ā whānau and having social workers in whānau

Māori have always been social workers; it is inherent within them through the natural practices of *whanaungatanga*, *manaakitanga*, *me rangatiratanga*. These *ngā mātāpono* are utilised in connecting and building relationships and are similar to the engagement and rapport building techniques that are taught in social work training and necessary in practice (ANZASW, n.d.; SWRB, n.d.). For Māori, particularly those immersed in *te ao Māori*, growing up around the *marae*, and having knowledge of the different roles involved in this environment, as *tamaiti*, as *rangatahi*, as *pakeke*, as *wāhine*, *tāne*, and *kaumātua*; these were foundational skills implanted and nurtured within them. This skillset crosses over easily into the social work practice space.

The importance of learning how to look after and take care of people was emphasised by Whānau 2 and particularly as these skills were role-modelled by the grandparent generation:

W2: Toru: We would be with our grandparents and then on the porch we would see ... those hitchhiking people. She'd [kuia] yell out to them and say, "Come and have a cup of tea, come and have a cup of tea!" and then she'd put on a spread [kai] and welcome them in and ask them where they are from, how are they, did they want to use the shower or anything like that and they'd come in for a cup of tea and she'd feed them (Kaimahi).

This is an example of the grandmother reaching out to people who were not from their small rural community and offering *manaakitanga*, *whanaungatanga* and connection. These are the foundational skills of social work, thus emphasising the argument that Māori have always been natural social workers. This *korero* is an example of social

working with strangers, however Māori have always had whānau networks to keep their own whānau safe.

Whānau network social work: Keeping our own tamariki safe

Historically and pre-colonisation, within iwi and hapū, whānau roles were well defined and distinct, and whānau looked after the safety of their whānau. Whānau was a network that extended beyond the nuclear family unit (Mum, Dad, and children) and has been described as, “the key to the health and wellbeing of Māori” (Kara et al., 2011, p. 101). Tamariki and whānau health and wellbeing were the focus for all members, as is the focus of social workers today. Taonui (2010) outlines that in our whānau and hapū histories there was an absence of violence against wāhine and mokopuna because they were held in high esteem (FVDRC, 2017) and any violence against them was seen as transgressions against whakapapa (Kruger et al, 2004; Mikaere, 1994) as well as “a breaking of tapu” (FVDRC, 2017, p. 22) and not tolerated. Inimate partner violence was also deemed as a crime against the victim’s whānau, and was dealt with quickly utilising a collective response (Grennell & Cram, 2008; Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002; TPK 2010; Pihama et al., 2003). Whānau, hapū and iwi had their own systems of keeping their members, particularly tamariki, safe reinforcing the concept that Māori have always been social workers because child safety is a primary focus of contemporary social work.

The women in whānau, including Nannies and Aunties, have often been practicing kaimahi ā whānau, and in more contemporary times, still are. Within Māori communities there has always been a whānau network with a focus on keeping tamariki safe. One whānau member felt that in her Māori community her mother and aunties were the kaimahi ā whānau because they were always there to help out whānau and would often take tamaiti/tamariki into their own homes to be cared for. There was no need to call authorities as the whānau would step up and do what was needed:

W5: Our mum was a [kaimahi ā whānau] social worker. My aunties were [kaimahi ā whānau] social workers ... I mean that’s when you’re talking about a generation of wāhine toa, that’s when our mums were right in there, right in amongst it. If tamariki were in danger, it wasn’t about you going to the authorities type of thing, it was all whānau network ... they had those strong wāhine networks in each rohe they could tap into, and whakapapa was a real

biggie ... When a tamaiti came their way, it was always - whose tamaiti? and then they would do the linkages to whoever the tamaiti was and from there they would network out to that whakapapa – those links within the whakapapa. “We have this tamaiti, dah de dah, this tamaiti is yours, this whānau is struggling” and that’s how that social network worked. They didn’t have what we have today which is a lot of models ... it was whanaungatanga (Whānau member).

This whānau member goes on to explain that this lay form of social work was an inbuilt mechanism and was inherent and flowed through whānau members:

W5: It’s just a built-in mechanism I think [Indigenous social work] for Māori ... my grandmother was really well known for saving so many tamariki in her day and then of course that flowed through my Mum of course who did the same thing with all my aunties and again it just flowed down, it just flowed through the whakapapa. The only one with the ticket [social work degree and registration] though of course is S [sister].

One whānau member discussed how his mother had always been social working for him all his life and the shift into social work training was a natural progression for those skills that she had honed advocating for him. Social work became a blending of the work that the kaimahi was already doing in her life, supporting, and advocating for her own children with special needs.

W1: U: It’s just like, how do you say it? A blending really ... She’s always taken me to the hospital, social working is normal, taking me to my appointments and things like that – that’s just Mum ... Mum is probably good at that naturally. She’s never tried to bowl her ways [be authoritative], she’s always trying to you know, maybe this way is better ... It definitely suits her cos she’s always that upfront sort of woman, you know. Chest out, chin up! (Whānau member).

There is Indigenous social working that goes on in Māori communities, that includes not only taking care of tamariki, mokopuna but also the elderly and those who are unwell:

W5: I do have my place in the whānau ... I’m the one that moves around, I’ve nursed a few of my aunties and nannies to their moe nga roa but that’s my role,

pretty much ... you will always take care of your own and the thought of any of our loved ones ending up in old people's home is just not even an option ... all our nearest and dearest have been nursed by ourselves and kept by ourselves. Of course, with the networks! (Whānau member).

W2: Toru: We used to walk to church because she [mother] would stop in and go and see our relatives that didn't make it to church, and she'd go in and ask them are they okay and she'd see, and she'd clean up and make a takakau (bread) put the thing in and go. And then we'd get home and [she would] put something together and then once my uncle comes back with the car then she'll send him down to give to that one and drop this off for the other house (Kaimahi).

These systems of whānau support are comprised of organic Indigenous networks that ensure that all in the village or community or iwi or hapū are being checked on, monitored, and assisted if and as necessary, without a big fanfare. This is the Māori way of looking after and taking care of others – through expressions of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. These natural social work skills suggest that Māori have always been social workers.

Kaimahi ā whānau and lay knowledge

The importance of lay knowledge in developing socially appropriate health promotion practices has been ascertained (Springett et al., 2007) and the relationship between lay knowledge and expert scientific knowledge has been explored (Henderson, 2010). Often evidence-based practice is privileged over lay knowledge (Springett et al., 2010). Popay and Williams (1996) identified that, “the incorporation of lay knowledge can contribute to understanding of lay theories”. Lay expertise is “partial and based upon experience acquired in everyday life (Henderson, 2010, p. 4) however Prior (2003) questions if it is possible to have lay expertise. Lay expertise can be seen as a valued addition to expert knowledge however “privileging expert, scientific knowledge ... [can] potentially undermine clinical practice (Henderson, 2010, p. 5).

Lay knowledge has a place in practice, and it is essential that social workers utilise professional and lay knowledge. Scourfield and Pithouse (2006) examined the intersection of lay and professional knowledge in social work practice through research on a United Kingdom child protection team and note that privileging professional knowledge over lay judgement is the outcome of evidence-informed practice in social

work. They outline that the relationship between professional and lay knowledge is complex and that the ‘discursive interaction’ between the two “may both intertwine and remain apart with both fitting a particular discourse which has currency in the culture of the social work office” (p. 324). Scourfield and Pithouse (2006) note that “many social work practitioners (unlike doctors or lawyers) would not be unhappy to assert that much of what they do is based on a more common-sense theorising about the lives of people they encounter” (p. 328) and in social work, practice wisdom draws on the social worker’s common sense rather than social work knowledge. Geertz (1993) identified the characteristics of ‘naturalness’, ‘practicalness’ and ‘accessibleness’ (alongside others) to describe common sense. These are the attributes that Māori draw on in living out local Indigenous values and principles that align to social work.

There is problematic binary opposition in the language used to describe lay and professional social work which might imply that registered social workers are the legitimate actors within this field and that their professional knowledge and practice are privileged. To disrupt this problematic binary opposition between professional and lay social work within Māori communities, I have chosen to use the term *kaimahi ā whānau* which may be interpreted as *kaimahi* Māori working within *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* networks and their practice is informed by *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* knowledge. As stipulated at the beginning of this research, the term utilised for social worker in this research is *kaimahi*, therefore utilising the term *kaimahi ā whānau* for the natural social workers in Māori communities keeps the language used on a par with each other.

Māori have always been social workers living out social work values and principles. This form of *kaimahi ā whānau* goes on in Māori communities and is further explained by Whānau 5 when she states that although her sister has the certificate in social work, in her *whānau* they are all *kaimahi ā whānau* because they are living social work:

W5: I believe that within my *whānau* we are all social workers, just not with a certificate, just not without the academia that comes with that, I mean we live it! Well social workers in the instance that we are connected to *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* and extended *whānau* ... because the struggle is real out there ... and it’s not until you really get in there, and when you’re a part of it, I suppose in a way to be able to sit down and welcome your *whanaunga* in, and sit down and have a *kai* and that kind of like opens up the *tatau* for want of a better word, to

be able ... to release and there's always a time to release ... People come in, of course you are going to break bread, and whatever kōrero comes out so that for me is social working, is to be able to sit there and listen and allow someone just to empty out (Whānau member).

W5 discusses the concept of natural social work as being able to welcome and connect with people first, make them comfortable, then enabling the kōrero to happen, and facilitating a 'release' in the telling of the kōrero, through sharing kai together. There is a naturalness, a practicalness and accessible nature to this method, which is grounded in a common-sense approach (Geertz, 1993). She goes on to emphasise that within community we must support and enhance the 'natural social workers':

W5: Oranga Tamariki say we need more social workers. We've got this package for more social workers and for me, No! We do not need more social workers! We need to be able to enhance and nurture the natural social workers, to allow them to do what they do. I mean we need to be able to look at why these things happen, why is this violence happening? How did this drug get in? But not with you the social worker, [but] with you the whānau that need the awhi, you know, talk – tell your story, why can't you let go? Why is it holding you so tight? (Whānau member).

W5 reiterates the importance of 'natural social workers' within community and how necessary they are for Māori communities. However, the professionalisation of social work, and the requirement for social work registration in order to practice, may prevent these 'natural social workers' being recognised as a vital resource and/or becoming social work trained. The privileging of professional/expert knowledge over lay knowledge has the potential to impact on whānau Māori through disrupting kaimahi ā whānau networks. Whānau ora navigators – Kaiwhakaaraara – utilise whanaungatanga as the foundation of their mahi employing naturalistic approaches to overcome barriers and become enablers of whānau (Savage et al., 2017). The framework of Whānau ora utilises "Indigenous knowledge to promote culturally safe and responsive practice that effectively enhances the health and wellbeing of whānau" (Rissetto, 2021, p. i). The Whānau Ora Navigator approach has been identified as a "key example of an integrated whānau centred approach, supporting seamless access to health and social services" (Savage et al., 2017, p. 5). There is freedom to work alongside whānau in naturalistic

ways that are not constrained by western constructs of support (Boulton & Gifford, 2014; Savage et al., 2017). There is evidence that Whānau ora navigators are having a significant impact in working alongside whānau, particularly those with complex needs (Savage et al., 2017). Key features that ensure the success of Whānau Ora include “the flexibility and enhanced responsiveness of the approach in addressing the needs of whānau, as well as the way in which Whānau Ora has enabled connection with services for whānau who have previously been less engaged with mainstream providers (Smith et al., 2019, p. 517). Whānau Ora navigators utilise the ways and tools from te ao Māori, for example whanaungatanga, to effectively engage with whānau Māori and help move whānau towards their dreams and aspirations (moemoeā). Our communities do well having lay social workers walking alongside whānau (Cherrington, 2020) however, as mentioned earlier, the professionalisation of social work may eventually restrict these natural forms of social work from happening. The next section considers the professionalisation of social work.

Professionalisation of social work

The professionalisation of social work has made it hard for kaimahi ā whānau to continue to work in communities through some social workers not recognising this mahi as vital and necessary. The Social Workers’ Registration Act 2003 mandated that people practicing as social workers needed to be registered with the Social Workers’ Registration Board (SWRB) from February 2021. As reiterated in the Te Haerenga o te awa chapter, an issue for redemptive workers, who are often already working in NGOs, is that they may not be able to commence formal social work training due to past criminal convictions (Radak, 2016) because of the SWRB ‘Fit and Proper’ policy which excludes people with ‘backgrounds of interest’ (Eketone, 2015). Eketone (2015) believes that social work needs more Māori men however the exclusionary policy can keep people with lived experience out whilst “only allowing in people who conform to certain middle-class-type backgrounds” (p. 1). For the natural social workers in communities, it is important to ensure they are supported and nurtured to continue to provide essential services to whānau Māori because they are unofficially often doing this vital mahi anyway.

Following the passing of the Social Workers Registration Legislation Amendment Bill in February 2024, the government has extended the experience pathway for social work registration to February 2026. The experience pathway is a registration pathway for

people who have been working as a social worker for several years but do not have a recognised social work qualification. The experience pathway is provided for under Section 14 of the Social Work Registration Act (SWRB, n.d.).

A precedent for the replacement of traditional knowledges and practices through disciplinary professionalisation in Aotearoa may be identified in relation to midwifery. The professionalisation of midwifery began in the early 1900s via the Midwives Act (General Assembly of New Zealand, 1904) and the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 which drove traditional midwifery practices underground. Kenney (2009) emphasised that this was the beginning of Eurocentric control of childbirth practices as it became illegal to practice as a midwife without certification from a physician, and Tohunga were curtailed from actively participating in childbirth. Kenney (2009) notes that despite this legislation, her great grandmother Frances Donovan continued to practice traditional birthing care for Māori whānau on the Kapiti Coast and ran the risk of imprisonment. Subsequently her grandmother Nancy, who was knowledgeable regarding rongoā as well as being skilled in childbirth, also risked going to prison by practicing traditional birthing care. Because of the naturalistic supports in te ao Māori and the processes based on Indigenous worldviews and knowledge, it is imperative that the lay social work in Aotearoa continue and not be restricted by the recent turn towards professional registration.

Next, a case exemplar from Parihaka confirms that Māori have always been social workers and practiced kaimahi ā whānau.

Tohu Kakahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai at Parihaka

Māori have always looked at innovative ways to move forward. An exemplar of this is the peace resistance movement that was established at Parihaka. Parihaka was a pan-tribal pā set up in 1866 by Te Whiti o Rongomai and his uncle, Tohu Kākahi (Buchanan, 2018). It could be argued that Parihaka exercised social work values and founded a social justice movement around transformational change at a time when war had been prevalent and Taranaki land was being wrongfully confiscated. The leaders adopted non-violent, peaceful ways to resist the confiscation of Taranaki land and the impact of colonisation. The practices utilised at Parihaka that align with social work include non-violent resistance to land confiscation, teaching of peace, building a strong community through the sharing of work and gardening, and taking care of and looking

after all who came to be a part of the movement – many of whom were refugees from the land wars and/or confiscations of land in other districts. Hohaia (2001) states the movement was “a political, social and spiritual force ... they were fighters for Māori governance and stood against the land grabbers” (p. 12). Hond (2013) asserts that Tohu and Te Whiti “integrated biblical teachings and principles of non-violence with traditional community values and the assertion of Māori authority in response to the confiscations of Taranaki land by the government” (p. 138). Taapakimarae was the ancient forum of peace utilised at Parihaka and the passive resistance movement flourished. Tohu and Te Whiti were the pioneers of not only a peace movement, but a social justice and community development movement later adopted by Gandhi and Dr Martin Luther King (Neilson, 2009). Hond in Buchanan (2018) states “What separated Parihaka from other forms of resistance ... was not any underlying difference in objective or ideology but simply a difference in method or strategy” (p. 45). These strategies included non-violence, peace, authority to self-determine, sustainability, community development and helping others.

However, on 5th November 1881, 1500 police and volunteers led by Native Minister John Bryce invaded Parihaka Pā (Buchanan, 2018). This invasion and te Pāhua o Parihaka (plunder of Parihaka) is one of the most shameful events in New Zealand’s history. Taranaki iwi and hapū hold historical accounts in their moteatea and waiata of these events. The mōteatea ‘Muri Ahiahi’ is a “traditional chant that acts as an historical record through which to recall critical events in the lives of people ... it is also a forensic record of crimes committed against the women and children of Parihaka” (Cameron et al, 2020, p. 1). Our tūpuna Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi were wrongly arrested, and imprisoned in the South Island and no trials were conducted. Buchanan (2018) states that, “In the days that followed, police and soldiers raped women, stole family heirlooms, destroyed crops, pulled down homes and sacred buildings, and evicted fifteen hundred residents. For the next five years armed troops occupied Parihaka” (p. 8). Te Pāhua is one example of the intergenerational impact of historical trauma events upon our people (Cameron et al, 2020; Pihama, 2018). The violence of such events is remembered in our whānau, hapū, iwi and communities. Recent research provides some understanding of the intense pain suffered by and remembered intergenerationally by our people” (Pihama, 2018, p. 3).

Other movements that were forms of Māori social work came later, for example, neighbouring hapū sheltered Māori impacted by the Tarawera eruption in 1886 and facilitated their recovery through the gifting of land (Forsman, 2016). Rua Kenana also emerged “as a prophet and faith healer of the ‘Māori Millennium’ from at least May 1906” (Stephens, 2001, p. 444). He led the establishment of a new community settlement built at the feet of Maungapohatu during 1907-1908 (Binney, 1983). The Parihaka peace resistance movement was an example of a pacifist, socially just and community development model whereby the leaders Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi exercised social work values that led to transformational change, as opposed to war and violence. The examples of Māori community support identified in this section emphasises the argument that Māori have always been social workers and that the whakapapa of contemporary kaimahi professional practice may be traced back to the Parihaka peace resistance movement.

Māori have always been natural social workers and lived out social work values. This informal network often utilised the women in whānau; the grandmothers, mothers and aunts who worked to keep tamariki safe through operationalising existing whānau networks and values inclusive of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, me rangatiratanga. These systems are still thriving in some whānau today. There is a strong argument to enhance and nurture the natural social workers in Māori communities, hapū and iwi and ensure that the professionalisation of social work does not inhibit this from happening. The next section considers what it is like for whānau to have social work trained whānau members within the whānau collective.

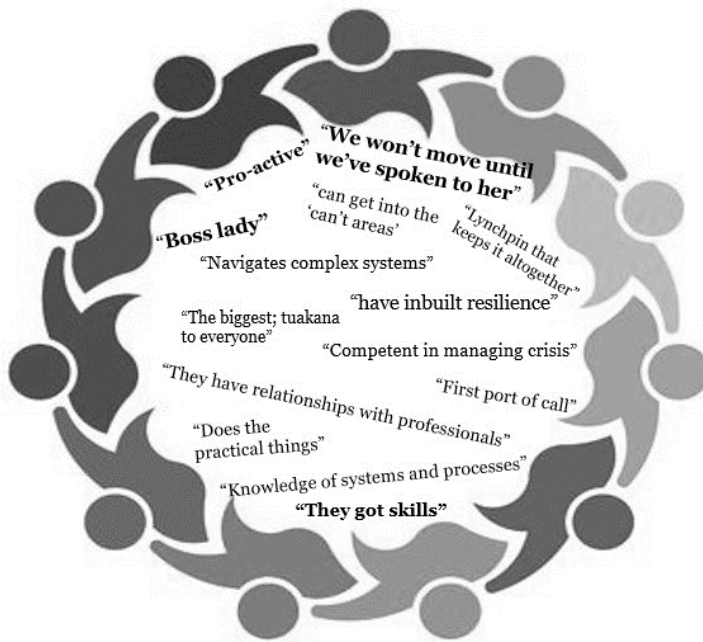
Whānau stories regarding social workers and social work

For kaimahi who have trained as social workers, it is important to gather the stories of their whānau members as to what it is like having trained social workers in whānau. This section considers the whānau perspective of having a social work trained whānau member in the whānau. Kaimahi roles in whānau are explored first and then whānau share how they draw on their kaimahi knowledge, skillset, and resources. Finally, negative views of social work among whānau are explored however these views generally changed once their whānau member became a kaimahi. Generally, there is a lack of literature on social workers and their families of origin, therefore I have delved into other fields of practice for literature regarding helping professionals and their

families. This research contributes new knowledge to social work literature through exploring the link between social workers and their families of origin.

Primary socialisation can heavily influence career choices and professional development because “Induction into a caretaking role occurs in the family of origin through personally significant life experiences in taking on the care of others and taking care from others” (Lackie, 1983, p. 309). We have our beginnings in our family of origin – psychologically, psychically, and emotionally and “the impact of these primordial roots is deep and pervasive and continues to play an important role in the present” (Hovestadt et al., 1985, p. 287). Many people are unaware of the extent to which their behaviour is controlled and influenced by unresolved family problems (Williamson, 1978). Both Elmslie (2004) and Bowen (1978) posit that it is essential for students and therapists to gain a sound understanding of their family-of-origin issues in order to not become caught up in triangular relationships in therapy. Bowen (1978) further advocated that counsellor’s interactions with clients were consistent with learned patterns from parents and that few trainee counsellors have resolved their own family of origin experiences and that this needs to be addressed in counselling training. Intense self scrutiny is a part of this process and many students question their own family background and re-evaluate their up-bringing in that process. As a result of Bowen’s positioning many counsellor training programmes include family of origin work (Catherall & Pinsof, 1987; Corey & Corey, 1993; Winter & Aponte, 1987). Social work programmes often include family of origin work as well, in that student social workers need to consider how their primary socialisation experiences might influence their social work practice. The gaze is now reversed from social workers reflecting on their growing up experiences to the whānau of social workers reflecting on having relatives who are social workers. Next whānau discuss kaimahi roles in whānau and a picture depicting these roles is presented.

Whakaahua 6: Whānau views of kaimahi



Kaimahi roles in whānau

Whānau were asked about roles that their social work whānau member held in their whānau. One whānau commented that “She is the boss lady!” (Whānau 3). Another whānau member (Whānau 6) commented that their kaimahi was the “lynchpin that keeps it all together”. Whānau outlined that their kaimahi are practical in crisis situations, are navigators and accessors of services, are innovative resolvers of problems, can get into areas that the whānau cannot access, and that their kaimahi has an inbuilt resilience. Elmslie (2004) reported that family members who affirmed trainee counsellors with supportive comments enabled the trainees to feel validated as a person and in their profession choice. Often the family of origin had respect and pride for their trainee family member in choosing the profession and were able to acknowledge the difficulties in learning counselling, reinforcing the family belief that the trainee is well suited for counselling. The families had feelings of satisfaction and pleasure in their trainee’s achievement. This is similar for the whānau of kaimahi who were positive about their social work trained family member.

One whānau member talked about their kaimahi having a tuakana role in their extended whānau even though there were cousins older than the kaimahi:

W5: She is the biggest, she’s tuakana and not only for us but also for my extended cuzzies, who are older than her, and they still come back to her.

This emphasises the importance that whānau place on having social work trained members in whānau and the contribution they make to the collective of whānau. The next theme identifies the specialised skillset, knowledge, and access to resources kaimahi provide to their whānau.

'They got skills': Drawing on kaimahi knowledge, skillset, and resources

May (1994) posits that people come into the helping profession “due to their family of origin experiences” (p. 299) and that psychotherapists often came from conflicted family backgrounds and chose helping professions to deal with this conflict. Kaimahi growing up in challenge and adversity had similar experiences and were able to find ways through their conflicted family backgrounds and developed knowledge, skillsets and resources to cope. Many whānau recognised the specialist knowledge, skillset, and resources that their kaimahi held and discussed how they draw on that skillset.

W6: He [Kaimahi] has got a lot more resources now and obviously has learned a few more skills from it and techniques and things but he's always been good like that.

W5: If they [whānau] need anything or any knowledge or need to know anything about it - she is the first point of call because we all have that respect for her that she's done that journey in that realm.

Whānau 4 found their kaimahi sister very helpful during their father's time in hospital and was able to get things done. Their kaimahi sister was able to assist them to have regular hui to ensure they, the whānau, were able to be proactive in the care of their Māori father and to manage visitor dynamics:

W4: A: I think K's expertise like when we were at the hospital with Dad, then she actually was quite proactive in saying to me and N [sister], right we need to go away and have a hui, just us girls, so that we took control ... she was able to facilitate those kind of situations ah? Probably better than us.

Whānau 4 were adamant that because of their kaimahi sister their father got a higher standard of care, and that the kaimahi was able to guide and assist them in being able to articulate what their father's needs were:

W4: N: At one stage I was getting kind of shitty with the nurses because I couldn't understand why they wouldn't let him [Dad] go for a walk outside or

something, and so I rang K and she said, “Oh just say this!” and she basically told me what to say and I said it to the nurses and the nurses eyes went big and then they ran away and then came back and said “yes you can take him outside” ... I knew that for his wairua and everything, he is a man of the earth – he needed to ... be outside and touch Papatūānuku and stuff, but I didn’t know how to say that in that [medical] environment but K knew exactly how to say it so that they would understand it.

Having kaimahi with knowledge of systems and processes was very helpful for whānau, particularly if they wanted to sort something quickly:

W6: He will have a relationship with a cop or something that he knows that he can ring ... he’ll be able to quickly get a trespass thing [order] because they know T and say “this is what you need to do” instead of having to go through other processes ... yeah but it’s a quicker route ... T has through his social work stuff by going to the source rather than having to go through these whole channels.

Whānau shared that their kaimahi would often be competent in managing crisis situations and sorting out the practical aspects of what needed sorting:

W6: We had a crisis ... so he will step in and put all the practical things in ...and things have happened, and you know crises, death and suicides and things like that. But he will get in and do that practical thing.

Next the benefit of having a social work whānau member who can navigate and access systems is explored.

Navigating and accessing systems

Whānau outlined the advantages of having a social worker in the whānau. These include having people in whānau who know how to access and navigate complex systems easily,

W4: N: Since K has been a social worker, so we have had some quite traumatic events but actually K’s skills as a social worker ... have helped us through that because she has been able to navigate the systems for us, she has done it for me, for my health ... it’s the how you get people on board part, you know, so it’s those skills.

W4: B: she knows the system ah? so she knows where to go. And she also obviously has become expert at how to support people in a way that's not intrusive.

Many whānau talked about turning to their social work whānau member during their own family crisis and trauma, particularly through mental health issues:

W4: N: She has definitely got the social work stuff and also helped with family through suicide and stuff so because she has been able to help ... and helped to explain what was going on and that it couldn't be stopped, no one did put wraps around this and this is what is happening in someone's mind that is that does that, yeah, so that's been awesome.

W4: A: One thing for me personally is that I have a son with a drug and alcohol addiction and he's also a survivor of sexual abuse, and when I found out about it and I contacted her and she was like "You need to get help" ... I needed a lot more professional help and right there, not over the phone, so you know, well those kind of things.

Being able to navigate and access systems was a skill that whānau recognised in their kaimahi whānau member, particularly when they realised there are 'can't areas' that whānau find hard to access but their kaimahi can:

W5: It might not be face-to-face, it might be just based around information seeking, and that is her, that's the 'can't areas', she's the one that will go into those areas that we don't go in to and she seeks and finds the information in there, or what direction we can go and what we can do.

Kaimahi are valued and essential to whānau decision making processes. Whānau Five outlined the importance of their kaimahi input in whānau decision making and that if the kaimahi is not available, they will wait to speak with her before making decisions:

W5: When she's not available ... we won't move until we speak to her ... her direction is paramount for us, for all of us.

Next the benefits of being able to seek advice and guidance from their social work whānau member is discussed.

Seeking advice and guidance as a professional

Two whānau members commented that they would contact their social work whānau member for advice or guidance professionally in their own work:

W4: B: But professionally, because teaching has changed so much ... teachers have become more aware of the fact, and socially that social component in relationships is so important, but K's been, I can ring her and over many years she has been able to tell me how to access help for kids and also about, and professionally, the difference between supporting and enabling ... she's helped with that kinda stuff.

W6: For me, it is to do with my own work, so we quite often deal with the same people, and we're very good with confidences around that but I can off-load to T about some of the challenges with my work.

The whānau of kaimahi were positive about having a social work trained whānau member and often accessed the kaimahi for their specialist knowledge, skillset, and ability to tap into resources. They found it very beneficial having a social worker in the family because the kaimahi whānau member provides practicality in crisis situations, can navigate and access services, are innovative problem solvers, and are able to get into areas that whānau cannot get into. The negative view of social work is explored next.

Whānau negative views of social work

Public perceptions of the profession of social work are often negative and the profession has frequently been undervalued (Costello, 2004). Staniforth et al. (2022) highlighted that early literature challenged whether social work constituted a profession. Ideas that contribute to negative views of social work include the media portrayal of social work and social workers and the stigma associated with child welfare (Staniforth et al., 2022). Davenport and Davenport (1997) report that the public view social workers as “child snatchers, ineffective do-gooders, fuzzy thinking liberals, parasites on the public purse, (or) self-serving bureaucrats” (p. 1). The public perception of social work is often gained from negative media portrayals of social work (Mitchell, 2017) and the media adds to a misleading narrative of how the profession is viewed by people, even though people often have no personal experience of the profession (Legood et al., 2016). Duthie et al. (2013) highlighted that Aboriginal people hold negative views of social

workers. In this research some whānau held negative views suggesting that all social workers took babies away from their parents and worked for the Department of Child, Youth and Family Services (CYFS) (now Oranga Tamariki), and in essence were like the Police:

W2: Husband: I was actually negative ... so when she did join social work I thought “Oh whatever! You are just going to take babies off them! ... I said, “Hey you take kids off parents, are you going to take my kids away from me?” You know that was my belief!

W2: Son: Oh, I just thought they were part of CYFS and uplifting kids, yeah because that is what you see in the movies and that’s what I was led to believe.

W1: I was thinking that for me, I kind of sort of saw them like a policeman and I don’t always see policemen as a good thing. So, I kind of saw them as the people who took whānau away.

Mitchell (2017) shared that there is a lack of knowledge regarding what professional social work actually is, as well as an absence of value given to those in the social work profession. A lot of whānau members did not actually know what social work involved until their whānau member started social work training:

W2: Husband: I didn’t know what a social worker did, she talked to me about it, but I did not understand what she said, I mean what is a social worker, what do they do? ... But now I can understand what a social worker is and does.

Whānau shared that they have a better understanding of what social work is now that they have a social worker in their family and see it as a positive thing where their kaimahi whānau member can help others:

W1: son: but since my Mum is now a social worker, actually she is doing a good job but now I’ve got a fair understanding of what her job role entails ... helping family members, you know distraught family, and broken up families and she’s trying to help them, you know, lead them to the right path.

It is imperative that whānau and the general population be educated regarding what social work is and what social workers actually do. Staniforth et al.’s (2022) research highlighted that public education is needed in terms of social work and this should be

spearheaded by social workers as well as professional bodies and involves social workers “having confidence in themselves and the profession and being able to portray this in various ways. It was about them speaking out and taking control of their image” (p. 253). The public having more positive views of social work would benefit the whole profession, particularly in terms of social services being well resourced and funded. Mitchell (2017) explains that when professions are undervalued, they may not receive the same resourcing as a more valued profession might be given and, “when making the decision to cut budgets or fund programmes it is important for the wellbeing of the social service programs that they are valued and held in high prestige in order to retain and gain the most resources possible” (p 56) as well as public respect. This research concurs with Staniforth et al. (2022) that the public needs to be informed about what social work is and what social workers actually do and this needs to be led out by professional bodies and social workers themselves.

Although whānau initially did not understand what social work was, and may have held negative views about social workers, once their whānau member became a kaimahi they had a clearer understanding of what was involved in social work and were more positive about it. The next section considers whānau wellness and wellbeing.

Theme Two: Hau Wairua: Oranga ā whānau: Whānau wellness and wellbeing

This theme considers the strength and capabilities of whānau through challenges and testing times, and how they can navigate this space to a place of whānau wellness, wellbeing, and healing. Initially whānau wellness and wellbeing are explored, then a whāriki, He Whāriki Haumarū, is introduced and the underpinning foundations and threads of this whāriki are explored.

Whānau wellness and wellbeing

Lawson-Te Aho (2010) reiterates that wellbeing for whānau is related to collective wellness and underpinned by Māori cultural values. Whānau have the capacity to heal and make themselves well through utilising ngā taonga tuku iho passed down from our tūpuna and having the opportunities to share their own whānau stories. Pihama and Smith (2023) outline that ora is both a noun and a verb therefore a naming of wellbeing alongside an action of being well. They contend, “To aspire to live in ora is to aspire to live in wellbeing in all parts and dimensions of our lives and our world ... oranga refers

to wellbeing, health and living and encapsulates the essence of ‘ora’: to be well, to be healthy, to be alive, to have vitality” (Pihama & Smith, 2023, p. 2). This section, *oranga ā whānau*, focuses on whānau wellness and wellbeing and incorporates kaimahi and whānau views, because *te ao Māori* approaches to *oranga* should be collective as opposed to individualised. Wellbeing for whānau Māori needs to be measured in Māori terms and concepts, particularly when conducting research with Māori participants. This research sees it as essential to capture whānau stories regarding how they see whānau wellness for themselves.

Whānau wellbeing is pivotal to improve hapū and iwi wellbeing (Durie, 2001), is the foundation of Māori development (Cram, 2014), and can be considered complex however at a base level is simply about happy and healthy whānau (Tibble & Ussher, 2012). It encompasses the wellbeing of the collective whānau unit, is founded on Māori cultural values, and has the belief that whānau Māori are pivotal in their own healing processes. *He Whāriki Haumarū* as a foundation for *oranga ā whānau* is introduced next.

He Whāriki Haumarū

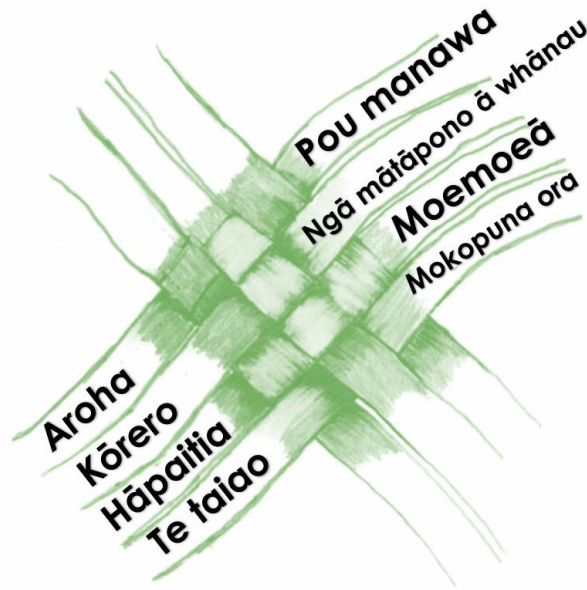
One whānau talked about a concept of having a whānau safety net and that this whānau safety net guarantees that the whānau members are always there for each other and that whānau members can reach out for support as they need. I view this concept more as a whāriki and visualise it as being there on the ground to support whānau if they fall. The whāriki is woven tightly together by eight essential threads including: *Aroha*, *mokopuna ora*, *ngā mātāpono ā whānau*, *te taiao*, *hāpaitia*, *pou manawa*, *kōrero* and *moemoeā*. Knowing the whāriki is there can give you confidence to do more and push yourself further. The connector for *He Whāriki Haumarū* is *whakapapa* because *whakapapa* connects whānau. Ono shares:

It is becoming more important for me to get connected with whānau and my *whakapapa* cos that’s their [children’s] *whakapapa* and so that they can have more of a positive relationship with whānau ... But that’s wellness, isn’t it? Being confident in who you are and grounded in who you are.

Previous models have been developed in Aotearoa that consider whānau wellbeing and flourishing. Kingi et al. (2014) developed a framework that helped accelerate flourishing in whānau that included six markers of wellbeing; whānau heritage, whānau

wealth, whānau capacities, whānau cohesion, whānau connectedness, and whānau resilience. They elaborate that the framework “equates flourishing with Mauri Ora – spiritual robustness, cultural engagement, emotional vitality, positive thinking, high levels of energy, participation in activities and events and an ability to enter into sustainable and rewarding relationships” (2014, p. 32). When whānau have the knowledge that they have a whāriki they can push into new areas of thinking and flourish. The role of whānau is recognised as an essential aspect of wellbeing for Māori (Elder, 2017) and whānau are important vehicles for their own healing and change (Wilson, 2016). Kara et al. (2011) developed the Te Korowai framework which highlighted seven interconnecting themes, including tūāpapa (foundation and vision), whanaungatanga (relationships), uara tu (guiding values), huarahi (pathway of the individual), oranga and hauora (health and wellbeing), mana tangata (empowerment), rangatiratanga (self-determination) and whakarurhau (safety). These themes represent whānau wellbeing and wellness that tie into the threads underpinning He Whāriki Haumarū of 1) Aroha - loving relationships, 2) Mokopuna Ora, 3) Ngā mātāpono ā whānau - shared whānau values and beliefs, 4) Te Taiao, 5) Hāpaitia – whānau happiness, unity, and connection, 6) Pou Manawa - whānau resources and resilience, 7) Kōrero - clear communication, and 8) Moemoeā - whānau aspirations. This last thread focuses on the aspirational goal of advancing whānau forward. Each of these components create a solid foundation for a whāriki while illustrating how kaimahi ā whānau is operationalised within whānau. The diagram below depicts the eight threads of He Whāriki Haumarū that will be explored in the remainder of this chapter.

Whakaahua 7: He Whāriki Haumarū



Aroha - loving relationships

Aroha and loving relationships are key components of the whāriki. Elder (2020) portrays aroha as primordial and a “deeply felt emotion and a way of thinking that encompasses love, compassion, sympathy, and empathy... comes from somewhere deep within us, and all around us, an inexhaustible source, a divine wellspring” (p. 4). Barlow (1991) describes aroha as “a sacred power that emanates from the gods” (p. 8). Unsurprisingly, the foundation of the whāriki is aroha and loving relationships and the practice of mahi aroha is the lived-out expression of aroha within the whānau. Cram (2021) defines ‘mahī aroha’ as being part of Māori cultural identity and having a sense of self-worth. In practicing mahi aroha mana is reciprocated because upholding the mana of others enhances our own mana. In Cram’s research (2021, 2020) mahi aroha was the driving force that Māori community workers practiced in the COVID 19 pandemic lockdown of 2020. Moeke-Maxwell et al. (2019) identify that whānau are pou aroha (care stalwarts) and utilise the term in their research regarding whānau providing end of life care for their loved ones. Pou aroha in this research can describe the pou in whānau that practice the lived-out expressions of aroha that keep He Whāriki Haumarū strong for all members.

Many whānau in this research reiterated the importance of love, respect, and being able to be your authentic and genuine self in whānau:

Tekau mā rima: I think it is something that each whānau decide for themselves ... whānau wellness is having good, loving relationships, everyone having the respected right to celebrate their own mana ahua ake within the whānau, so unconditional love – to be yourself, to get the support to achieve the best that you can. Yeah, to have a safe harbour! (Kaimahi)

Tekau mā rima encapsulates the importance of love and loving relationships as a foundation to provide a safe haven so that whānau members can feel supported to do the best that they can. The whāriki creates that safe harbour which means that it is safe to reach out when you are not good and get support from within the whānau:

W4: M: Just talking to them and knowing ... I know they are there for me; there is that big whole family safety net that you are not alone, and you need to reach out. I have had moments when I've been quite low and stuff but knowing that I'm safe with my family, I've been able to reach out and get support that way and plus they are intuitive – they know when something's up ... we can talk to each other about it, and we will go to the ends of the earth to figure out or help or try and fix it (Whānau member).

He Whāriki Haumarū provides a solid, safe, and secure foundation of love and loving relationships and is likened to having a safe harbour. This provides whānau members with the knowledge and security that they are supported and can reach out for help as needed. Kaimahi ā whānau networks utilise mahi aroha in practice. The importance of mokopuna ora for whānau wellbeing is discussed next.

Mokopuna Ora

Mokopuna ora is essential for the Whānau Kupenga in that whānau are focussed on the wellbeing and flourishing of mokopuna. Many participants of this research talked of the value they place on tamariki/mokopuna and that wellbeing for whānau is focussed on the mokopuna wellbeing. This connects with Cram's (2012) view that tamariki/mokopuna, "belong to whānau, hapū and iwi, and as such responsibility for raising children is shared beyond the bounds of their immediate family" (p. 6). Walker's (1990) also viewed that the fundamental role of whānau is to grow and nurture mokopuna as they are the future of Māori communities.

For W5 the importance of mokopuna was accentuated:

Tamariki are very, very important! Mokopuna are very, very important! The value of learning about a mokopuna when a mokopuna is born and seeing the wonders come out of the mokopuna on its own is another one of the values ... where you allow the moko to be the moko and you see whatever blossoms out of them (Whānau member).

The grandparent-mokopuna relationship was seen as critical and necessary by participants in this research. The grandparent-mokopuna relationship is vital to not only the mokopuna but the whole whānau (Cameron et al., 2013). Grandparents play a significant role in maintaining “oversight of whānau health and wellbeing” (Smith, 2008, p. 262) and have considerable influence in tamariki/mokopuna lives. Kuia and kaumātua were revered as being the head of the whānau, the vessels of knowledge and wisdom holders, and had a role in tending to, nurturing, and mentoring the young (Metge, 1995; Walker 1990; Wilson 2016). Tamariki/mokopuna were heavily influenced by kuia and kaumātua and were regarded as treasures (Pere, 1982). Cameron et al. (2013) also highlights that grandparents were fundamental in “showing aroha to tamariki” (p. 19). The role of being a grandparent was brought up by children of the kaimahi in the sense that the children valued their kaimahi parent being in this role.

W1: Nan! It’s just like what you know, it’s what my grandfather taught me, and it’s probably what taught her [mother], just playing with the kids ... but that’s a given, that’s what happens in generations (Whānau member).

For many of the kaimahi and their whānau in this research, the expression of whānau wellbeing is connected to the health and happiness of the mokopuna.

Rua: Happy mokos, happy! you know because I look at my mokos and they’re happy! (Kaimahi).

Tekau: Multitude of mokopuna, safety and the caring of mokopuna is what is an indicator [of whānau wellbeing] for me. I would have to say it is flourishing mokopuna ... watching them grow and become young people and then adults ... guiding them, teaching them, being with them, being there for them ... taking the time with them (Kaimahi).

Iwa outlined that being with her mokopuna was an opportunity to teach and mentor them about what is important in life, teaching them about turangawaewae, and how to look after te taiao:

We will go and do the gardening or go and get plants and plant things, all the things that are important to me, because while I'm doing that, I'm usually talking to them about things ... So taking them back down to U [town] – it's about showing them where I used to live, where I grew up, the beach, what you do at the beach, how you respect Tangaroa, what not to do, the plants you connect with, what you can't eat, what gets thrown in the seaweed, showing them the fishing that goes on at U – all that, and letting them know that they can come back to here if they ever wanted to, they need to know these names so people know who you are from. All of that – that is what matters! (Kaimahi).

For Iwa, it is important that her mokopuna know where they are from, how to care for te taiao, grow vegetables, and catch kai, in order to ensure wellbeing (Pihama et al., 2023). By teaching her mokopuna these values she is assisting them to be responsible for their own wellbeing. As mentioned in Te Kāhui Mouna chapter, Iwa was raised by her grandmother, and these were values that were instilled in her through that kuia-mokopuna bond. These teachings provide a strong foundation for mokopuna to have a secure Māori identity which in turn leads to positive outcomes. Kaimahi ā whānau networks acknowledge the importance of mokopuna ora. The next thread focusses on ngā mātāpono – whānau values and beliefs.

Ngā Mātāpono ā whānau - Whānau Values and Beliefs

Whānau values and beliefs are also part of He Whāriki Haumarū. Kaimahi in this research identified the values of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, rangatiratanga, tika, pono me aroha as taonga tuku iho passed down from tūpuna and the whānau of kaimahi reiterated these values. Māori whānau are dynamic (Bradley, 1995) as well as diverse and connected by a shared language, marae, and knowledge (Durie, 2003). He Whāriki Haumarū has the ingrained values and beliefs that were taught, often by parents and grandparents, that were handed down to their children and are now being handed down to the next generation.

W5: I suppose I can honestly say that's been the values of our parents really come out ... I would have to say the heart of the whole journey was my mother and father and being true to what they have instilled in us ... and then we come back to the beliefs again, the values that are instilled within you (Whānau member).

W4: Everyone is on the same page in terms of their values and beliefs too, and I think that's ingrained in the whānau anyway, everyone kind of has the same values and beliefs ... we can just be normal around each other, there's no pomp and ceremony and all that sort of crap (Whānau member).

Whānau 4 goes on to explore that when growing up with similar values and beliefs that whānau will often have a common focus and common goals:

Common focus - when you've got the same kind of beliefs and values then you've got that kind of, whether it's spoken or unspoken, you've got a common goal, you are aiming for the same thing (Whānau member).

The nature of whānau functioning as outlined by Durie (2003), highlights the importance of recognising how whānau operate and the need for different approaches to address diverse whānau dynamics. In the Kōrero Mai E Te Whānau research report, the importance of natural whānau leadership roles, responsibilities and obligations was acknowledged with the idea promoted that “everyone has a role to contribute to whānau leadership and development. Whānau leadership also includes mentoring and role modelling those positive values and attributes of whānau” (Te Puni Kokiri, 2012, p. 29). With the Whāriki whānau are aware that they have a role and have a part to play in the whānau:

W3: R: when we are altogether it is a combination of everyone. K: it is everyone ... everyone just does their part! (Whānau members).

The thread of shared whānau mātāpono are lived out and practiced in kaimahi ā whānau networks. The next thread to be discussed is the connection to te taiao.

Te Taiao

Te taiao is another important component of He Whāriki Haumarua as connection to the land, environment, and waterways are vital to the wellness and wellbeing of whānau Māori (Pihama & Smith, 2023). Raumati and Pihama (2021) suggest that connection to te taiao is crucial to our continuing intergenerational wellbeing and healing. If the land, waterways, sky, and environment are well, we as humans are well. This connection to te taiao is founded on “belonging to the land rather than owning it” (Hond et al., 2019, p. 45). Māori healing models seek to “address relationships to te taiao and whenua” (Pihama et al., 2023, p. 218). Hond et al. (2019) elaborated that historically

Māori were attached to the whenua through their whakapapa and the land connected them with identity and wairua which is foundational for oranga from a collective perspective. We are the whenua and the whenua is us; we are the awa and the awa is us; we are the mouna and the mouna is us.

Participants in this research emphasised the importance of te taiao to them, particularly in remaining grounded.

Ono: The ngahere is really important to me and so taking my kids out there and having that experience and how that makes them feel being out there into spaces that contribute to wellness ... being connected to our land is about whānau, that connection is hugely important – that is whānau wellness (Kaimahi).

Tekau mā tahi: I go home to recharge my batteries and part of that going home to the homestead is that you just walk across the paddock ... go for a wander around the beach ... that particular beach is where we grew up as kids, it's always had that effect on me. I mean I like the bush and stuff too so I often ring the kids and say shall we go for a walk? This is whānau! (Kaimahi).

W5: The value of te pu taiao, the value of your river, it's the value of the land ... one of the greatest things that they [parents] instilled in me is to be who I am, and they allowed us to flourish, however we flourished (Whānau member).

Whānau Five outlines the importance to te taiao in the process of our flourishing as human beings and in our healing. Taiapa and Moewaka-Barnes (2023) share that, “The whenua supports all aspects of human life, from air, food, and water to opportunities to be physically active and participate in society ... whenua can heal and be healing.” (p.308). The thread of te taiao emphasises that our human wellbeing is connected to the wellbeing of te taiao and kaimahi ā whānau networks recognise this. Next whānau happiness, unity and connection is contemplated.

Hāpaitia – Whānau happiness, unity, and connection

The thread of happiness, unity and connection was key in the whāriki. Tibble and Ussher (2012) acknowledged that whānau wellbeing was complex but in the simplest form it is about happy and healthy whanau. Many participants in this research recognised that whānau wellbeing is linked to whānau being happy:

Tekau mā whā: Whānau wellness would be happiness. If a family is happy, who am I to say you are living your life wrong ... because if there was really bad shit going on, there wouldn't be happiness, well it would be fake ... If there is happiness there, then for me that would show that there's good well-being! (Kaimahi).

Toru: There is two words – like 'striving' and 'happy' ... Just to be able to strive for whatever, still have dreams, you know, to have dreams and to be happy whatever that looks like (Kaimahi).

W4: A: I think when, because we laugh a lot together and with our extended whānau as well, we all get together still, and I think those good times get you through the shit times! (Whānau member).

MacGeorge et al. (2011) emphasised the importance of social support and connection in managing tensions in families and that social support is inclusive of actions and information that help members to feel cared for through receiving comfort from others when they need. Whānau 4 relate happiness with laughing and having good times together making the point that these good times strengthen whānau to be able to manage more challenging times. Tekau mā whā also emphasised the importance of whānau being united, particularly through both the good times and the challenging times:

If you are talking about Mauri ora – you are talking about the wellbeing of the whānau. I think if a whānau is united, then you are going to be strong in anything, you are going to be strong in good times and in bad times, so unity ... unity within a family (Kaimahi).

Whānau is the crucial foundation of Māori society and societal growth (Metge, 1995; Pihama et al., 2003). Although whānau may have some internal raru going on, the importance of uniting together is imperative. Each whānau has its own mana and if the whānau mana is tarnished, it is the responsibility of all members to unite together to rebuild and maintain it (Metge, 1995; Pere 1982). Thereby, the whānau unit will band together even if they have internal arguments between themselves as “members of a whānau are often prepared to make personal sacrifices to uphold the mana of their group” (Pere, 1982, p. 33-34). W4 highlight the significance of sticking together and supporting the whānau:

W4: Blood's thicker than water kinda thing ... you should always tautoko your whānau and have their back ... that's how we were raised (Whānau member).

Tibble and Ussher's (2012) study emphasised the importance of whānau connectedness. They explored the whānau unit as the fundamental block of Māori society, highlighting that whānau are kinship groups that are the key source of Māori wellbeing and connectedness. Having opportunities to connect with whānau regularly was seen by kaimahi and whānau as being essential to whānau wellbeing as it brings the whānau together and grounds them as a whānau. Getting together and sharing fun and food with each other were also identified as ways of keeping whānau connected.

Tahi: All getting together and having fun ... we will have barbeques, we will go swimming, and we will have kids playing out here ... whānau well-being is getting together (Kaimahi).

Tekau mā ono: It's actually like all of us being whānau, you know? Feeling good about each other, feeling good within our system, I call it system – within our family, being reliable for each other ... looking after each other ... yeah just being together, connected, because even when we are not together, we're still connected (Kaimahi).

Tekau mā ono makes the point here that when whānau connect and are together it feels good and everyone feels supported, they know they can rely on each other and that they will be looked after with that connection being there even when the whānau are away. This focus on connection ties into Whitu's kōrero from Te Kāhui Mounga: Whānau Mouri Ora chapter about how growing up around the marae gave him a strong sense of identity and an understanding of his place in the world, and that the marae is a part of him, and he takes the marae with him wherever he goes in life. Similarly, the Whānau Kupenga concept determines that for whānau members, even though they may not physically be with their whānau, their whānau are always still with them because of this whānau connection. Next pou manawa is explored as a thread of He Whāriki Haumarū.

Pou Manawa - Resources and Resilience

Recognising that whānau have resources and are resilient are also key components to the whāriki. Whānau have the coping mechanisms, strategies, resources, and resilience that can make them well and thrive. Brown (2018) evaluated the coping mechanisms and strategies that Māori and Pacific whānau utilise in overcoming health system

barriers stating that Māori and Pacific whānau values, skills and power were often under-valued and under-estimated however “collectively, whānau have the expertise and resources that can sustain them in daily life and particularly when one of their members is under threat” (Brown, 2018, p. iii). Smith et al. (2019) posit that whānau can take control of doing things for themselves through “building whānau resilience, and the skills and resources of members to manage their own affairs without interference from others” (p. 505). Elder (2017) indicated that whānau is an imperative aspect of Māori wellbeing and that whānau resources need to be accessed to promote whānau wellbeing (p. 27).

He Whāriki Haumarū recognises that whānau have the resources to make themselves well. This was emphasised by W5 who had innovative and creative thinking around how to help move whānau forward:

W5: It always comes down to really having the resources to make ourselves well when we are unwell, really and what does that look like. I have always seen it that we need to go back to the marae, we need to build things around our marae ... places where they can come and stay and they can get clean and bring all your whānau, bring your wahine, your tamariki, your mum, your dad and whoever, you all come and come and stay for a bit and come and live at the marae.

This research has already stated that whānau Māori are resilient and able to overcome challenge and adversity. When people are exposed to adversity, resilience can propel individuals through to a position of wellbeing (Ungar, 2015; Walters, 2016) with the ability to thrive (Cooper, 2012). Moving from an individual perspective of resilience to a collective perspective of whānau resilience, Durie (2006) acknowledges that for Māori to thrive and prosper adversity needs to be reduced and resilience needs to be built. Boulton (2013) states that resilience is not an innate quality but acquired through surviving a hard upbringing and suggests that it is this resilience that assisted Māori to endure the devastating impact of colonisation. Whānau members in this research identified resilience for themselves and their kaimahi whānau members and attributed this strength to overcoming adversity through surviving a challenging upbringing.

W6: I have got a very strong resilience and I think that’s what has kept me through all of what we have gone through because I am looking after the two

boys, getting Mum committed so many times, dealing with all that terrible stuff ... but it's this resilience that I've got, and T [kaimahi brother] has got the same resilience, and he has always wanted to work with helping kids and so have I - it's almost like this parallel thing. I don't know whether it has come from just seeing the kids in our neighbourhood, when we were teenagers, they would always run to our place because it was a safe house. We would look after them ... and Thursday was pay day, so all the parties, and the little baby next door suffocated in the bed because the parents just put all the kids in the bed and went to the pub, and one lost his eye and you know, and so they just came to us. ... That is what T has got in him, and he's got that resilience and I can see we were all brought up mish-moshed in this ... and so I think we feel it's our goal and our role to make sure that everyone is propped up without dragging us down too much ... I probably wouldn't be the person I am if I hadn't had that life with him (Whānau member).

For W6 it was the connection between herself and her kaimahi whānau member that built protective factors and grew whānau resilience. Family resilience is a new and emerging research area where the spotlight moves from an individual's ability to foster resilience to a family's ability to "adapt to risk and adversity by drawing on protective factors and resources from individual family members, as well as the wider community and/or the way the family functions" (Walters, 2016, p. 16). Te Puni Kōkiri (2010) highlighted that whānau resilience is when whānau can overcome or endure challenge and adversity. Walters (2016) identified that whānau with strong resilience had "greater access to natural resources such as whānau, friends, marae and other culturally significant places as well as greater education and knowledge" (p.19). For W6, she and her kaimahi brother both went on to further their education, he becoming a social worker and she becoming a mental health nurse. In Waiti's (2014) research on whānau resilience, education was identified by several whānau as being "a protective factor and coping strategy for adverse life events" (p. 132). W6 believes that her kaimahi brother had a very strong sense of justice and fairness which equated to an inbuilt resilience for him:

W6: He's just got such a strong sense of justice and fairness and that came through in some of the stories around the freezing works, being with the union but then ending up working alongside these kids that are probably not the easiest

kids to work with but he just has the knack and that's what's needed to help these kids ... and I find it interesting just looking at the resilience and the sense of your moral compass, is this fairness. He could have quite easily gone off the path because it was just there. It's not that he would have wanted any of that – it's just that it was such a terrible environment ... he could have easily had it. And I just think in him you have this inbuilt resilience (Whānau member).

Walsh (2002, 2007) emphasised that the ability to be flexible and adaptable to challenges encourages resilience. Whānau 5 identifies a te ao Māori mātāpono of resilience being Pou Manawa. She explains that you are a pou but your manawa is open and the manawa directs your pou toko and that there is a flexibility to adapt within this that can encourage resilience.

W5: I would probably call it [resilience] pou manawa ... [you] had to be solid, but the manawa was open, you sort of feel it because even though you are a pou in this instance ... the manawa is always left open so that you can kind of like gauge for want of a better word, where you have to be, when you can soften ... yeah, you have to be and it's pretty much the manawa directs how your pou toko is going to pretty much direct you.

This explanation of pou manawa as resilience demonstrates that flexibility and ability to adapt to challenge encourages resilience. Kaimahi ā whānau networks recognise that whānau have resources and are resilient. Next kōrero as a thread of He Whāriki Haumarū is outlined.

Kōrero – Clear communication

For He Whāriki Haumarū, communication is key. Whānau need to be able to communicate and kōrero with each other. The importance of being honest and truthful was emphasised and helped whānau navigate turbulent times. Koerner and Fitzpatrick (2012) highlight the importance of family communication patterns. The ability to clearly communicate through talking was emphasised by several whānau and having processes in place to kōrero helped, as well as being able to 'have your say' and 'take time out':

W3: Husband: Talking about it helps. I mean actually talking, not yelling! It might take a few turns and twists and things, but it gets there so it eventually works out ... in order to keep the family well is the way we speak, once you yell

and then it starts escalating to something but if you calm it, calm the fam, calm the family! (Whānau member).

W2: Husband: We have to sit down, open up with a prayer and then we can have a talk and make the time for each other to make it better and have good outcome to solve the problem ... we have a hui together – that’s our time and then have a talk about it (Whānau member).

W2: Son: ... another thing is like talking about it and just getting it off your chest and what is that saying? A problem shared is a problem halved (Whānau member).

Whānau emphasised that it was okay to have raru with each other, but it was important to find ways to come back to communication to work through:

W3: Husband: We do butt heads quite a lot but eventually ... we get over it, we end up getting over it and smoothing out the wrinkles. So, it comes back to you being able to have that chat, have the kōrero. Yep, try not to let anything close in or block in and just try and let it all out. Stop being stubborn! (Whānau member).

W4: Waru: So whānau wellness to me is really around clear communication – that’s key because when we stop talking to each other, and we have, there’s been times when we’ve been estranged from each other, that’s when the whānau is unwell (Kaimahi).

The importance of taking time out and giving each other space was noted by many whānau.

W4: N: We don’t judge each other, like everyone in their own time and in your own way, you know where we are if you need us ... she will get over it, but we understand that you need time to sort it yourself (Whānau member).

W2: Husband: Sometimes, if I talk to her and I get angry I just have to go out and go the gym and have a workout. Or I just go to the park and have a walk because we live next to the park until I come back and she [wife] says “you alright?” and we talk (Whānau member).

W5 outlined the significance of teaching mokopuna how to kōrero and communicate their needs and to not be afraid to do this:

I see wellbeing in my mokopuna, their laughter alone, them being able to communicate and not being afraid because they are very confident little beings which I purposefully did. I wanted them to be talkers so that very early to be able to grasp kōrero because those things from the past where you are told to shut your mouth - no, no, no!! I need you to be able to kōrero and that is wellbeing for me, right there, that they are able to say when they're hurting, when someone has hurt them or they're happy ... the confidence is there to kōrero and not being afraid, no fear! (Whānau member).

Many whānau outlined the importance of kai to whakatau and whakanoa, particularly following raru.

W5: We hammer it out! pretty much, we hammer it out ... and once it is out, it's out and then we break bread ... to whakatau yep, whakanoa, yep all of that, it's a big part! (Whānau member).

W2: Daughter-in-law: Whānau wellness is being together, working together as a family, coming together, and having a good feed. Brings out everyone's convos, you know?

Allowing each other time and space, then coming back together to kōrero, and utilising processes that enable that kōrero to flow are essential for whānau to communicate clearly, and then having kai to whakatau and whakanoa assisted that process. Kaimahi ā whānau networks honour the importance of kōrero to communicate clearly and utilise processes that ensure this happens in practice. Next the thread of moemoeā is explored.

Moemoeā - Whānau aspirations are supported and achieved

Moemoeā and whānau aspirations are a vital thread to the whāriki as they focus on whānau moving forward. Whānau centred practice (Te Moananui-Makirere et al., 2014) ensures that the focus is on whānau driving and controlling the processes that will ultimately benefit the whānau, and this principle was adopted in the development and writing of Whānau Ora policy. As mentioned earlier in this research, Whānau Ora is an innovative approach to Māori health that “empowers whānau as a whole and devolves to whānau members self-determining processes to improve their cultural,

social, and economic wellbeing” (Smith et al., 2019, p. 505). Lawson-Te Aho (2010) considers that the focus on whānau in social policy recognizes that changes in individual Māori wellbeing can happen through focusing on the collective of whānau and vice versa. Whānau Ora outlines the vital role that whānau, hapū, iwi and communities have in facilitating whānau wellbeing. Under the Whānau Ora structure, the role of government agencies and services is primarily to support the achievement of the aspirations of whānau with outcomes focused on collective wellbeing (Te Moananui-Makirere 2014). Te Moananui-Makirere et al. (2014) assert that whānau can positively affect and lead out their own change journeys to wellbeing and that, “transformation for whānau must be informed and sustained by whānau themselves” (2014, p. 10). Eruera and Ruwhiu (2016) also support this concept of whānau rangatiratanga by reinforcing the idea that whānau leadership, whānau-oriented strategies and whānau decision-making are the way forward for mokopuna. This component of the Whāriki ensures that everyone in whānau is supported to reach their goals and aspirations and achieve their potential:

Tekau mā toru: Whānau wellness to me is that everyone in that whānau, like for me, my tamariki and mokopuna, are being supported to achieve their potential ... supporting them to achieve whatever they wanted to do, achieve their potential, and contributing constructively and honestly to society (Kaimahi).

Tekau mā rima: To have support for new, daring initiatives to get to be who you are ... to be able to do the things that you love as well as doing the things that you need to do, fostering kindness and generosity and an awareness of how we look after Papatūānuku and how we ensure the Kaitiakitanga for our coming generations (Kaimahi).

Durie (2011) advises that “Indigenous health will be advanced by dedicated approaches to family wellbeing that avoid fragmentation, focus on positive strengths, and lead to positive outcomes for family members and family as a whole” (p. 8). He Whāriki Haumarū illustrates how kaimahi ā whānau operate among Māori by providing a solid foundation for whānau to not only be supported but to dare to dream and reach aspirations so the whole whānau can achieve oranga ā whānau. Kaimahi ā whānau networks recognise the moemoeā of whānau.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has affirmed that Māori have always been practicing kaimahi ā whānau because embedded in the natural practices of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga are the social work values that TEI are attempting to teach to social work students. There are also natural systems of whānau support that ensure that the whole village and community are looked after, the safety of tamariki prioritised, and that no-one is left behind. This chapter argues that the Parihaka peace resistance movement was one of the earliest forms of a social justice movements in Aotearoa and that Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi were pioneers of social and community work, as well as innovative thinking. There is a strong argument to enhance and nurture kaimahi ā whānau within Māori communities because these networks have always operated. The professionalisation of social work may inhibit kaimahi ā whānau networks in communities therefore it is imperative that registered social workers do not replace or disrupt these existing networks but continue to develop relationships with and support kaimahi ā whānau networks to achieve oranga ā whānau for whānau, hapū and iwi.

The whānau of kaimahi were positive about having a social work trained whānau member and often accessed the kaimahi for their specialist knowledge, skillset, and ability to tap into resources. Although whānau initially did not understand what social work was, and may have held negative views about social workers, once their whānau member became a kaimahi they had a clearer understanding of what was involved and were more positive about social work. An argument was presented that whānau and the general population need to be educated about social work, and this needs to be led out by professional bodies and social workers themselves. Oranga ā whānau considered whānau wellness and wellbeing and He Whāriki Haumarua was unpacked with the key threads of aroha, mokopuna ora, ngā mātāpono ā whānau, te taiao, hāpaitia, pou manawa, kōrero, and moemoeā outlined. Kaimahi ā whānau networks have operationalised these threads as ways of working alongside whānau, hapū and iwi to encourage oranga ā whānau. This chapter contributes new information to social work literature through capturing information about Māori social workers and their whānau, locating the historical origins of Māori social work in the events at Parihaka, developing an understanding of how kaimahi ā whānau operates within whānau, hapū and iwi, and presenting He Whāriki Haumarua model. The next chapter provides the conclusion to the thesis.

Wāhanga Tekau: Conclusion

E tau nei ki runga i a tātou katoa te wairua o ngā mātua tūpuna.

Let the spirit of our revered ancestors embrace us.

Dr Te Huirangi Waikerepuru
(Opai et al., 2022, p. 59).

This final chapter considers the overall research question and objectives, summarises the key findings and notes the implications, relevance and contribution to the social work field. Next, a reflection on the unique methodology utilised within this thesis is presented, followed by the research recommendations, a discussion of the research limitations, and suggestions for further research.

The research question asked, how do Māori social workers' experiences of their own whānau influence their social work practice alongside other whānau? There were four key objectives developed to assist in answering this research question. 1) explore and document kaimahi experiences of growing up in their own whānau, 2) enable kaimahi to reflect on their social work training journey and the TEIs where they trained, as well as the influence whānau had on their training journey, 3) document kaimahi lived experiences of connecting their own whānau experiences to their social work practice in becoming a social worker, and 4) include whānau perspectives of social work, whānau wellbeing and overcoming and managing challenge and adversity.

The rationale for this study emphasised that even though there is growing literature on Māori social work, Māori social workers, as well as Māori models of practice within the field of social work, there is very limited research in social work, and allied professions, that considers social workers in the context of their own families in general, and particularly Māori social workers and their whānau. This study has addressed this gap through investigating how kaimahi experiences of growing up in their whānau influence their social work practice whilst also capturing the whānau perspectives on having a social worker in the whānau. Moreover, this research illustrates how kaimahi professional practice is influenced by their primary socialisation while capturing whānau views on kaimahi ā whānau. This research contributes new knowledge and information to social work in four ways – methodologically, theoretically, empirically/analytically, and professionally.

The key findings from the research are discussed next.

Key Findings

The seven key findings from Te Kāhui Mounga ki te Toka Tūmoana research focus on lived experience, racism, becoming, support for kaimahi, whānau views, historical practice of kaimahi ā whānau and oranga ā whānau. Each of these findings are discussed below.

Kaimahi bring their lived experiences to social work

Findings connected to lived experience relate to Research Objective One, which explores kaimahi experiences of growing up in their own whānau. There are two streams of participants in this research – one group of kaimahi who grew up immersed in loving, safe home environments, often with a strong foundation of te reo Māori and tikanga – Whānau Mouri Ora. The second stream included kaimahi who had grown up in challenge, adversity, and unsafe home environments – Whānau Mouri Noho. The Whānau Mouri Ora aspect of this research emphasised that kaimahi who grew up immersed in love with caring, protective adults focused on, and surrounding them, viewed whānau as a social structure of safety and protection for children. These kaimahi bring their solid foundation of whānau, hapū and iwi, as well as knowledge of tikanga and te ao and te reo Māori to their social work practice. The Whānau Mouri Noho aspect of this research emphasised that kaimahi who grew up in challenge and adversity were able to foster resilience that enabled them to not only survive trauma but go on to grow, thrive and flourish in their lives. These kaimahi bring their lived experience to social work which enables them to deeply connect with whānau they work alongside. These findings reiterate that “our whānau are our first teachers and knowing ourselves is key to knowing others” (Te Moananui-Makirere et al., 2014, p. 14) and this philosophy is essential for the practice of social work. For both cohorts ngā mātāpono; values and beliefs, learned and modelled to kaimahi in their childhood formed a solid foundation for life, and kaimahi social work practice. These values were inclusive of the natural practices of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, tika, pono, me aroha. These natural practices facilitated the original argument presented in the thesis that Māori have always been social workers and is discussed more comprehensively in Finding five.

Racism continues in mainstream TEIs and supports for Māori students are crucial for success

The theme of racism relates to Research Objective Two which enabled kaimahi to reflect on their social work training journey and the TEIs where they trained, as well as the influence whānau had on their training journey. Māori social work students in mainstream TEIs face adversity and challenge, including racism, in that environment. Racism faced by Māori students can be based on “unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping” (Machpherson in Tipa, 2021, p. 46) and the dominant student group are the main contributors to this racism (Mayeda et al., 2014). Institutional racism can be difficult to address (Oda & Rameka, 2012) however in order for Māori students to be successful in academia, TEIs need to recruit Māori staff who have strong cultural knowledge (Curtis et al, 2015), are role models for students and can navigate the systems of the TEI because participants in this research identified that supportive Māori staff help Māori students achieve. It is also important that students access other supports, such as culturally safe spaces, other Māori students, inclusion of culturally appropriate Indigenous content in the curriculum and relevant teaching practices (Theodore et al., 2017). These factors will support Māori students to continue to achieve in TEI environments.

Becoming a Māori social worker has no finite end

Analysis of participants’ narratives using theories of becoming connects to Research Objective Three which documented kaimahi lived experiences of connecting their own whānau to their social work practice in becoming a social worker. Māori theories of becoming are ancient, part of our whakapapa, and recognise that we are in a continual cycle of life and death as we transition through stages and dimensions (Makereti, 1938; Marsden in King, 1992; Royal, 2003, Te Rangi Hiroa, 1949). Becoming a social worker is a process of beginning, becoming and being and has no finite end. The pivotal historical markers of identity for Māori were centred around whakapapa, whānau, hapū, iwi, waka and te reo Māori (Makereti, 1938; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Te Rangihiroa, 1948; Walker, 1990) however, due to colonisation, marginalisation and urbanisation, many Māori have become disconnected from being Māori, and this is often the experience for kaimahi training to be social workers. It is imperative that kaimahi Māori connect to their identity of becoming and being Māori, before or whilst on their social work training journey. It is helpful if kaimahi are connected to their own whānau, hapū

and iwi because the mahi of social work involves reconnecting marginalised whānau. The identity markers of fixed, fluid, forced, fragmented, and finalised were explored in this research with the intent to aid kaimahi to identify and recognize the situational impacts of these markers and reflect on how they can move themselves and the whānau they work alongside forward. The research extended McIntosh's (2005, 2007) three markers of identity (fixed, fluid, forced) through incorporating fragmented (Van Meijl, 1999) and finalised identities. The identification of identity markers in practice provides new knowledge to social work theory.

Organisational support for kaimahi Māori is imperative

Findings related to organisational support also connect to Research Objective three. Participants described the strategies that they used to relax and prevent brownface burnout (Hollis-English, 2012a, 2016; Moyle, 2014), a term utilised when Māori social workers are overworked by the cultural expectations and supplementary responsibilities placed on them within mainstream organisations because they are Māori. Kaimahi identified self-care strategies of connecting to te taiao, gardening and physical activities. Participants also identified that organisations need to create and provide supportive environments for kaimahi Māori through access and funding of appropriate supervision, and providing opportunities for and encouraging self-care strategies.

Whānau views of social work is positive

Whānau views of social work connects to Research Objective Four which included whānau perspectives of social work, whānau wellbeing and overcoming and managing challenge and adversity. The whānau of kaimahi were positive about having social work trained whānau members and often accessed the kaimahi for their specialist knowledge, skillset, and ability to access resources. Although whānau initially did not understand what social work was, and may have held negative views about social workers, once their whānau member became a kaimahi they had a clearer understanding of what was involved and were more positive about social work. There is a strong argument that whānau, as well as the general population, require further education regarding what social work is and what social workers do, and this needs to be led out by professional bodies and social workers themselves. This concurs with Staniforth et al.'s (2022) argument that social workers need to speak out and take control of their image.

Māori have always been social workers practicing kaimahi ā whānau

This research affirms the argument that Māori people have always been social workers and practiced kaimahi ā whānau because of the embedded natural practices of ngā mātāpono such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga. These are the social work values that TEIs are attempting to teach to all social work students. There are also natural systems of whānau support that ensure that the whole village and community are looked after, particularly the safety of tamariki and those in need.

Another key argument from this research identified the Parihaka peace resistance movement as an exemplar of the earliest social justice movement in Aotearoa and the first documented framework and model of Māori social work. Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi were pioneers of social and community work, as well as innovative thinkers. An argument to enhance and nurture kaimahi ā whānau within Māori communities was presented because whānau social work networks have always been operating in te ao Māori. The professionalisation of social work may inhibit kaimahi ā whānau in communities therefore it is imperative that registered social workers do not replace or disrupt kaimahi ā whānau networks in Māori communities. Social work needs to continue to develop relationships with support and strengthen kaimahi ā whānau to achieve oranga ā whānau for whānau, hapū and iwi.

He Whāriki Haumarū operationalises oranga ā whānau

The theme of oranga ā whānau is related to Research Objective Four. Oranga ā whānau evaluated whānau wellbeing and He Whāriki Haumarū was unpacked with the key threads of aroha (loving relationships), mokopuna ora, ngā mātāpono ā whānau (whānau values and beliefs), te taiao, hāpaitia (whānau happiness, unity, and connection), pou manawa (resources and resilience), kōrero (clear communication), and moemoeā (whānau aspirations) identified. Kaimahi ā whānau networks have always operationalized these threads as ways of working alongside whānau, hapū and iwi to encourage oranga ā whānau. The knowledge that this Whāriki exists is enough to propel whānau into wanting and doing more, safe in the knowledge that He Whāriki Haumarū will be there to support them if they fall.

This research has contributed to new information to both the general and Māori social work literature through researching Māori social workers alongside their whānau and capturing the information presented above. The implications, relevance and

epistemological and methodological contributions to social work are presented in the next section.

Implications, relevance, and contribution to social work

There has been limited research in social work and allied professions that considers practitioners in the context of their own families, particularly Māori social workers in the context of their whānau. This gap has been addressed by this research as whānau voices have been captured. Documenting the growing up experiences of kaimahi and noting how these experiences impact on social work practice is helpful, particularly as there were two different streams of participant cohorts in this research – the Whānau Mouri Ora cohort and the Whānau Mouri Noho cohort. These lived experiences are brought into the kaimahi social work practice.

Specifically, this research contributes new knowledge and information to social work in four ways – methodologically, theoretically, empirically/analytically, and professionally.

1. Methodological – *Mai to Kāhui Mounga ki te Toka Tūmoana* and *Ngā Hau o te Mounga* frameworks were developed specifically for this research and contribute to social work literature. A reflection on these methodological frameworks is discussed in the next section.
2. Theoretically – the theory of becoming a Māori social worker discussed in *Wāhanga Tuawaru: Te Toka Tūmoana* is new theoretical contribution to social work. The extension of McIntosh's three markers of identity (fixed, fluid, forced) to include fragmented and finalised identities contributes new knowledge for social work theory.
3. Empirically/Analytically – this research is innovative because it captures the whānau voice of kaimahi regarding social work and social workers. Whānau have strongly affirmed that tangata whenua have always practiced kaimahi ā whānau in whānau, hapū and iwi. Whānau also affirmed that having trained social workers in whānau is positive and these kaimahi are utilised for their skillset, knowledge, expertise, and networks by whānau members and they will often seek advice, guidance and direction from the kaimahi because they can access and navigate complex organisational systems.

4. Professionally – this research contributes to the profession of social work arguing that the origins of Māori social work in Aotearoa were birthed at Parihaka in the 1860s. Other movements that were forms of Māori social work came later, for example, local support provided to Māori impacted by the Tarawera eruption in 1886 (Forsman, 2016) and Rua Kenana’s teachings (Stephens, 2001) and establishment of a new community settlement built at the feet of Maungapohatu during 1907-1908 (Binney, 1983).

Reflections on Methodology

This study utilised Kaupapa Māori theory, incorporating Mātauranga Māori, alongside Mātauranga-a-iwi and the use of pūrākau as the foundation and framework. Mātauranga Māori gives efficacy to the utilisation of pūrākau, whakataukī and Taranakitanga (Taranaki specific knowledge) within this thesis to reconnect with tūpuna (ancestral) ways of knowing and being. The utilisation of Taranakitanga in this research, was rationalised first because the researcher is uri o Taranaki, but more importantly this research argues that the pioneers of Māori social work in Aotearoa originated in the Parihaka peace resistance movement and the teachings of Te Whiti o Rongomai and his uncle Tohu Kākahi.

Pūrākau as methodology connected this research to Māori worldviews, with the utilisation of the framework *Te Kāhui Mouna ki Te Toka Tūmoana* developed specifically for the thesis. This pūrākau framework was divided into four underlying themes for the research framework that reflect the journey of Pukeonaki becoming Taranaki Mouna (see the pūrākau at beginning of this thesis). The four phases of the framework included: -

1. Te Kāhui Mouna - Pukeonaki growing up in Te Kāhui Mouna.
2. Te tohi – the conflict experienced by Pukeonaki that lead to his departure from Te Kāhui Mouna.
3. Te haerenga o te awa - depicts the journey of Pukeonaki to the west coast.
4. Te Toka Tūmoana - Becoming Taranaki — Pukeonaki settles in the west and becomes Taranaki.

The utilisation of the pūrākau framework was effective in this research as the four phases were connected to the four phases of the kaimahi journey. First, the kaimahi journeys of growing up in whānau (Te Kāhui Mouna), perhaps experiencing

challenge, conflict and/or adversity (Te tohi), then the kaimahi journeys of social work training (Te haerenga o te awa) and finally becoming social workers (Te Toka Tūmoana) – the actual lived practice; therefore, the data analysis/discussion chapters were structured and named into this framework.

This thesis also utilised an extension of this Mounga pūrākau structure, *Ngā hau o te Mounga framework*, to organise the five data analysis sections. This Hau framework sits well with the overall Mounga framework of this research and the pūrākau of Pukeonaki ki Taranaki. The emphasis was on hau as Pukeonaki was also known as Pukehaupapa (Hohaia, 2001). Hau is the winds, the breath that comes from Tāwhirimātea, who is one of the sons of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. *Ngā hau o te Mounga* framework consisted of eight components that were used to organise the findings/data analysis sections into distinct groups and give structure to the presentation of the results. *Hau Tangata* (the breath of humanity) is positioned in Wāhanga Tuarima and discussed people in relationship to each other in terms of sharing of resources and kai. Wāhanga Tuawaru unpacked how kaimahi are effective in the art of social work. *Hau Whānau* (the breath of whānau) is placed in Wāhanga Tuarima, and contemplated kaimahi growing up experiences within whānau, while Wāhanga Tuawhitu, outlined how kaimahi growing up experiences drew them to social work training and education including how whānau supported that journey, Wāhanga Tuaiwa identified whānau as the first social workers through practicing kaimahi ā whānau. Hau Whānau affirms that when tamariki grow up immersed in love with caring, protective adults, whānau was viewed as a social structure of safety and protection for children. *Ngā hau e whā* were the four winds of change: hau kotahi and hau rua being headwinds, and hau toru and hau whā being tailwinds. *Ngā hau e whā* are situated in Wāhanga Tuaono, whereby the headwinds consider challenge and adversity in kaimahi growing up experiences, and the tailwinds consider the resourcefulness and resilience of kaimahi and ways that propel whānau forward.

Ngā hau e whā features again in Wāhanga Tuawhitu with the headwinds outlining challenge, negativity, and adversity kaimahi experienced from their own whānau on the social work education journey, and the tailwinds representing the positive aspects that whānau provided on that journey. *Ngā hau e whā* emphasises that kaimahi who grew up in challenge and adversity were able to foster and grow resourcefulness and resilience that enabled them to not only survive trauma but go on to grow, thrive and

flourish in their lives. *Hau Pakiaka/Mātāpono* (the breath of roots, values, and beliefs) is placed in Wāhanga Tuarima; outlining the grounding, values and beliefs that were instilled in kaimahi growing up, while Wāhanga Tuawhiti asserts that values and beliefs learned and modelled in childhood form the solid foundation for life, particularly te ao Māori values of manaaki ki te tangata, whanaungatanga, rangatiratanga, tika, pono and aroha. These mātāpono are the foundation for kaimahi social work practice.

The hau associated with Te taiao were utilised in the following chapters. Wāhanga Tuarima utilised *Hau whenua* (breath of the land) and encompassed the wellbeing of the whenua and the link to people, the importance of māra kai, and nurturing a reciprocal relationship between whenua and tangata. *Hau moana* (breath of the sea), evaluated the relationship between tangata and the moana and how this connection was nurtured for kaimahi in their growing up experiences. *Hau awa* (breath of the river) is utilised in Wāhanga Tuawhiti and focussed on kaimahi stories of coming into social work. *Hau wairua* (an Indigenous Spirituality) is in Wāhanga Tuarima and considers the wairua side of te taiao, specifically the ohm of Papatūānuku, Wāhanga Tuawaru focussed on kaimahi becoming self-caring in social work, and Wāhanga Tuaiwa; evaluated whānau wellbeing and wellness – oranga ā whānau.

The utilisation of the *Mounga framework* and *Ngā hau o te Mounga framework* in this thesis has connected the research to Taranakitanga and to a te taiao view of the world. This is an Indigenous perspective that reinforces the reciprocal relationship between humans and the environment. Next recommendations from this research are presented.

Recommendations

There are seven recommendations from this research.

1. *Assist Māori social work students to connect to their Māori identity*

It is impertive that kaimahi Māori can connect to their Māori identity of becoming and being Māori first, before becoming a social work practitioner because the mahi of social work involves reconnecting marginalised whānau. TEIs need to ensure that they can assist their Māori students to connect with their Māori identity journeys.

2. *TEIs need to recruit Māori staff who have strong cultural knowledge, are role models for students and can navigate the systems of the TEIs*

Supportive Māori staff in TEIs help Māori students to achieve and are positive role models for them. It is also important that students access other supports, such as culturally safe spaces, other Māori students, inclusion of culturally appropriate Indigenous content in the curriculum and relevant teaching practices.

3. *Organisations need to provide and fund Kaupapa Māori and external supervision for kaimahi*

Organisations need to create and provide supportive environments for kaimahi Māori, who are susceptible to ‘brown face burnout’ (Hollis-English, 2012b, 2016; Moyle, 2014). Many kaimahi in this research discussed extra responsibilities placed on them by mainstream organisations because they are Māori. A recommendation from this research is that organisations provide access to appropriate Kaupapa Māori supervision for Māori social workers as well as the option of external professional supervision because kaimahi highly valued the role of independent supervision to enhance their practice. Organisations also need to fund these supervisions to ensure their commitment to best practice of their social workers. Currently many kaimahi working in statutory agencies fund this supervision themselves.

4. *Further education regarding social work for the public*

As Staniforth et al. (2022) proposed it is essential that the general population need to be educated regarding what social work actually is and what social workers do and this needs to be led out by professional bodies and social workers themselves. A recommendation from this research is that professional bodies and social workers prepare and organise public relations information on social work.

5. *Development of a Māori work force and skillset for the profession*

There is a need for Māori social workers to work alongside whānau Māori, therefore it is essential to develop a Māori work force and skillset. The NGO study awards were a more favourable option compared to scholarships for Māori students as it ensured the security of their employment whilst they studied. Students also had the advantage of already working in the social work field and

could integrate their practice back to theory quite effectively (Yeung et al., 2016, 2020). A recommendation from this research is that there needs to be programmes, like the NGO study awards, that would assist in the development of a Māori workforce in Aotearoa because these types of awards had tangible, positive outcomes for the profession, Māori people and their communities.

6. *Enhance and nurture the natural social workers in Māori communities*

The professionalisation of social work may inhibit kaimahi ā whānau in Māori communities therefore a recommendation from this research is that registered social workers need to continue to develop relationships with, and support and strengthen the natural social workers already practicing kaimahi ā whānau in Māori communities. Through working together oranga ā whānau can be achieved for whānau Māori.

7. *Government should support applicants with lived experience to become registered social workers*

An identified issue for some helping professionals wanting to study social work is that because of past criminal convictions and possible lingering ties to previous gang networks, they are often not able to commence social work training (Radak, 2016). This could be due to SWRB ‘fit and proper’ policy which often excludes candidates with criminal offences or ‘backgrounds of interest’ (Eketone, 2015). Another recommendation from this research supports Eketone’s (2015) and Radak’s (2016) positioning that government should support the utilisation of the valuable knowledge of applicants with lived experiences and look beyond the ‘black and white’ view of applicants with backgrounds of interest. The reality is that there are many Māori working in the community who are making valid contributions to organisations and communities, are already doing this mahi, just not as registered social workers, and do bring their lived experiences with them which can benefit others. Eketone (2015) posits that social work is a profession touting change therefore people with lived experiences are the people who can assist others enmeshed in those worlds and on similar journeys.

The study limitations and recommendations for future research are discussed next.

Study Limitations and Future Research

The limitations of this study include:-

- 1) Of the 16 kaimahi participants in this research, there was only two kaimahi tāne. It would be beneficial to have more tāne represented in future studies to capture the tāne voice in social work, particularly Māori social work. This is a reflection of the social service industry where there continues to be fewer men represented in the social work profession. However, the whānau voice research did capture the tāne voice effectively with five of the eleven whānau participants identifying as tāne.
- 2) The majority of kaimahi participants were 50+ years of age. Whilst this demographic brings knowledge, wisdom, depth, and breadth of experience to the research, it would be advantageous to capture more younger participants' views who might provide a different perspective, particularly if they do not have the whānau role of mātua or kuia/kaumātua.
- 3) Within the whānau voice research, it would have been good to acquire the previous generation's views such as, parents/aunties/uncles of kaimahi. The partners, adult children, and siblings' voices were captured but not the older generation. This gap is a reflection of the older 50+ age group of the kaimahi participants, with many of them no longer having that generation of whānau in their lives.
- 4) A research opportunity also exists to widen the research to capture non-Māori social workers and see how their growing up experiences impact on their social work practice.
- 5) Extending this research internationally to other Indigenous researchers and their communities in order to capture Indigenous social worker voices alongside their families' voices could also be a potential project for the future.

The Final Word

The intent of this research was to ascertain how Māori social workers growing up experiences impact on their social work practice. However, as mentioned in the

Introductory chapter, the initial theme for this mahi was around whānau healing. The notion that whānau have cultural strength and resilience is seen as a decolonising approach that assists with progressing whānau from being ‘broken’ and ‘dysfunctional’ (or in a state of Mouri Noho), to being self-healing, functional and thriving (or in a state of Mouri Ora). This research study was about moving whānau on a road to recovery that facilitates mending, curing, and healing (Kruger, 2017). Another element of this research captured kaimahi well-being and the well-being of whānau – oranga ā whānau. Here, it is the hope that this research will assist kaimahi in being strong, resilient social workers with others, and assist whānau in becoming and being self-determining and self-healing on their road to recovery through healing.

E kore a Taranaki e ngaro, he harakeke tongai nui nō roto Waiwiri.

Taranaki shall not perish; it is like the self-sustaining flax of Waiwiri.

(The flax plant is nourished by the dead leaves that fall around its base).

(Mead et al., 2004, p. 30).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Panui

HE PANUI

Talk To That Mounga: Māori Social Workers' Experiences Of Their Own Whānau And How This Influences and Impacts On Their Social Work Practice

Ki ngā kaimahi o ngā hau e wha ...

- Are you a Māori social worker?
- Are you or have you worked in the Social Services for over three years?
- Have you and your whānau overcome challenge and adversity?
- Are you and your whānau willing to talk about your experiences of whānau and how this might impact on your social work practice?

If you have answered yes to these questions, I would like to meet with and interview you for my research. If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me and I will send you further information.

Please forward this panui onto anyone you think may be interested in taking part in this Massey University Human Ethics Committee approved research.

Researcher: Andrea (Ange) Makere Watson
School of Social Work,
Massey University,
Palmerston North
Email: a.m.watson@massey.ac.nz
Ph: 06) 951-8026 or 027-3934-770

Appendix 2: Letter to ANZASW

5th October 2018

Fiona Scott
ANZASW
DX Box WX33484,
CHRISTCHURCH

Tēnā koe Fiona,

Ko Ange Watson tāku ingoa. I am currently planning to undertake research for a thesis for completion of a PhD at Massey University. This research has Massey University Human Ethics Committee Approval. The title of my research is: Talk to That Mouna: Māori social workers experiences of their own whānau and how this influences and impacts on their social work practice.

As part of the recruiting of Māori social work practitioners (kaimahi), I would like to post an advertisement in the ANZASW newsletter. I have attached a copy of the panui. I also attach information about the research I will be undertaking.

As I am a member of Manawhenua (the only remaining ANZASW Roopu in the country), I will attend tangata whenua hui to discuss the research and hand out information.

I would appreciate your support with this. If there are any queries or areas you need clarification with, please contact me on 0273934770 or a.m.watson@massey.ac.nz.

Thank you for considering my request.

Ngā manaakitanga,

Andrea (Ange) Makere Watson
Supernumerary/Assistant Lecturer

Appendix 3: Information Sheet

Talk to That Mounga: Māori Social Workers Experiences of Their Own Whānau and How This Influences and Impacts on Their Social Work Practice

Information Sheet

Ko Taranaki te mounga
Ko Waitara te awa
Ko Tokomaru te waka
Ko Te Ati Awa te iwi matua
Ko Andrea (Ange) Makere Watson au.

Tēnā koe,

My name is Ange Watson and on my father's side I am Māori from Taranaki, and on my mother's side I have a mix of English, Scottish and Irish heritage. My working life includes being a social worker, a Team Leader of social workers, and a Practice Leader of a large non-government organisation. Currently I lecture for the School of Social Work at Massey University and have a supervision/consultancy practice.

This research is being undertaken as fulfilment of the requirement for a PhD.

What is the Research about?

This research will focus on Māori social work practitioners' own experiences of their whānau and how this impacts on their social work practice. This study hopes to capture each practitioner's lived experience and unique perspective of whānau and will be guided by Kaupapa Māori. My plan is to interview 10 - 15 Māori practitioners and their whānau.

Invitation to Participate

If you agree to participate in the research, you will be asked to sign a consent form and we will discuss a suitable time and venue for an interview to take place.

The criteria to participate in this research are:

- that you are a social worker,
- you identify as Māori,
- you have at least three years social work experience
- you and your whānau have overcome challenge and adversity
- that you and your whānau are happy to talk about your own experiences of whānau and how these experiences impact on your work as a social work practitioner
- and that you reside in New Zealand.

Interview Process

There are two parts to the interview process. The first part is an interview with the kaimahi by themselves. The second part is a whānau hui with the kaimahi and members of their whānau. During the interview you and your whānau will be asked questions about your personal experiences of whānau and how these experiences impact on your practice. No discomfort is anticipated for you; however, this could be a sensitive topic and if you start to feel discomfort, the interview can be stopped and you will be offered time out and/or support. Interviews will be audio-taped, and the content will be transcribed by myself and then sent back to you and your whānau for checking. You can then send back the transcript with changes you might make, along with a Release of Transcript form indicating that you have made the changes and that you give permission for your views to be used in the research. Whānau will receive a summary of the transcript of the whānau hui.

Data will be kept until the project has been finalised and upon examination of the research, you will be sent the audio tape and edited interview transcript back if you want these, otherwise the tape will be deleted. Any information on a computer can only be accessed by me with a password.

The only other people to view this information will be my four supervisors.

Your identity will be confidential, and you may select a pseudonym.

You and your whānau will be invited to attend a hui to be presented with the findings of the research. Attendance at this hui will identify the participants involved in the research to each

other and individual contributions may be shared. If you choose not to attend this hui, a summary of the findings will be sent to you.

Participant Involvement

For the social worker it is anticipated that the research will require approximately 5 hours of your time.

- Approximately 3 hours for the social worker interview, then the whānau hui, and to read and sign the consent form.
- 1 hour to read the edited transcription of the interview and make changes.
- 1 hour for hui to present findings (if you choose to attend).

For the whānau of the social worker it is anticipated that the research will require approximately 3-4 hours of your time.

- Approximately 1.5 to 2 hours for whānau hui, and to read and sign the consent form.
- 1 hour to read the summary of the transcript of the whānau hui.
- 1 hour for hui to present findings (if you choose to attend).

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

My Supervisors for this research are: -

Dr Awhina English
School of Social Work
Massey University
Private Bag 11-222
Palmerston North
PH: 06)3569099 extn 83503
Email: a.english@massey.ac.nz

Dr Suzanne Phibbs
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Professor Meihana Durie
Te Pūtahi a Toi
Massey University
Ph: 06)3569099 extn 83270
Email: m.k.durie@massey.ac.nz

If you have any questions regarding the research, please contact myself or my supervisors.

Ange Watson
School of Social Work
Massey University
Palmerston North
PH: 06)3569099 extn 85026 or 0273934770
Email: a.m.watson@massey.ac.nz or awatson@korukonnectionz.org

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application SOB 18/52. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics).

Appendix 4: Participant Consent Form

Talk to That Mouna: Māori Social Workers Experiences Of Their Own Whānau And How This Influences and Impacts on Their Social Work Practice

Participant Consent Form

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

I am aware that I can withdraw from the research at any time up until the commencement of the data analysis.

Signature:

Date

.....

Full Name printed

.....

Kaimahi

Whānau Member

(Circle one)

Appendix 5: Authority for Release of Transcripts Consent Form

**Talk To That Mounnga: Māori Social Workers Experiences Of Their Own
Whānau And How This Influences and Impacts On Their Social Work
Practice**

Authority For Release of Transcripts Consent

(This form will be held for a period of 5 years)

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and ammend the transcript of the interview(s) conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used in reports and publications by the researcher Andrea (Ange) Makere Watson arising from the research.

I understand that all identifying information will be removed from the transcripts prior to publication of interview extracts.

Signature:

Date:

.....

Full Name printed

.....

Kaimahi

Whānau member *(circle one)*

Appendix 6: Human Ethics Notification Letter



MASSEY
UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŌREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Date: 27 September 2018

Dear Ange Watson

Re: Ethics Notification - **SOB 18/52 - Talk to that mounga**

Thank you for the above application that was considered by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: **Human Ethics Southern B Committee** at their meeting held on **Thursday, 27 September 2018**.

On behalf of the Committee, I am pleased to advise you that the ethics of your application are approved.

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Craig Johnson', written over a vertical line.

Professor Craig Johnson
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise

Massey University, Private Bag 11 222, Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand T 06 951 6841; 06 951 06840 E humanethics@massey.ac.nz; animaethics@massey.ac.nz; gtc@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 7: Interview Schedule and Patai for Whānau Hui

Talk to that Mounga: Māori Social Workers Experiences of Their Own Whānau and how this impacts on their social work practice

PART ONE: Kaimahi

PARTICIPANT:

Background Information:

TANE / WĀHINE

AGE RANGE:

20-30

30-40

40-50

50+

IWI AND HAPŪ AFFILIATIONS:

SOCIAL WORK QUALIFICATION:

TERTIARY EDUCATIONAL FACILITY:

HOW MANY YEARS EXPERIENCE AS A SOCIAL WORKER?

WHAT TYPE OF SERVICE DO YOU WORK FOR CURRENTLY?

E.g., NGO/Statutory Government/Iwi Service/Kaupapa Māori Service

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF WORK YOU DO WITH WHĀNAU

CURRENTLY? E.g., Family Whānau Work/ A&D/Mental Health/Care and Protection/Management

WHAT TYPE OF SERVICE/S AND FIELDS HAVE YOU WORKED FOR IN THE PAST?

ARE YOU A REGISTERED SOCIAL WORKER?

Questions:

Whānau (Te Kāhui Mounga)

1. Who was in your whānau when you were growing up?
2. Where are you placed in your whānau (matamua, pōtiki etc)?
3. What roles have you had in your whānau?
4. Who were you close to? Who were you not close to?
5. What was your personal experience of whānau growing up?
6. How was conflict managed in your whānau?
7. How were good times and successes celebrated?
8. What values and beliefs were instilled from childhood?
9. What values and beliefs have you instilled in your own children, your mokopuna?
10. What were your biggest learnings about being part of a whānau?
11. What would you change, if anything, about your childhood?
12. Who has inspired you most in your whānau?

Social Work Training (Te haerenga o te awa)

13. Tell me the story of why, how and what got you into social work?
14. How did growing up in your whānau affect your decision to become a social worker?
15. Was your whānau involved in your decision to undertake social work training? In what way?
16. What sort of whānau support did you receive from your own whānau whilst undertaking social work training and education?
17. Were aspects of Te Ao Māori and tikanga a significant part of your social work education? If not, once qualified, what process did you go through in bringing te Ao Māori into your social work practice?
18. Were you able to bring your Te Ao Māori worldview into your social work training safely and comfortably?

Social Work Practice (Te Toka Tūmoana)

19. How does your own experience of whānau, and knowledge about whānau strengths, impact on your social work practice? Give specific examples.
20. Have there been times when your own experiences from your own whānau have not worked effectively in your work alongside clients/whānau?

21. What would your whānau say about you being a social worker? Do they see it as helpful or not helpful for the whānau?
22. What dilemmas does being a social worker provide for you within your whānau?
23. Are there boundary issues for you being part of a whānau and being a professional social worker?
24. What are the positive aspects of being a social work trained whānau member?
25. What are the negative aspects of being a social work trained whānau member?
26. In your social work experiences have you noticed differences in being able to practice from a Te Ao Māori worldview in different organisations? Are some organisations more open to allowing you to practice from a Te Ao Māori worldview?
27. How do you look after yourself (self-care)?
28. What is whānau wellness to you?

PART TWO: Whānau Members in Whānau Hui

Please note: Kaimahi is the social worker in your whānau

What are your relationships to the kaimahi?

How does your whānau celebrate the good stuff and successes?

As a whānau what values and beliefs do you hold?

Prior to your whānau member becoming a kaimahi, what are the whānau stories regarding social workers and social work (i.e.. Negative/positive)

Have the whānau stories changed regarding social work and social workers since the kaimahi has become social work qualified

Is it helpful or unhelpful having a whānau member who is a trained social worker? In what ways is it helpful or unhelpful?

How have the whānau drawn on the expertise of kaimahi?

What roles does the kaimahi have in the whānau and how has the whānau influenced these roles? E.g., Have certain whānau guided or steered the kaimahi into these roles?

How does your whānau get through the testing times (crisis times)?

What helps?

What hinders?

What would make it better

Is the kaimahi involved in managing whānau crisis situations? If so how does that process work?

How does your whānau manage conflict?

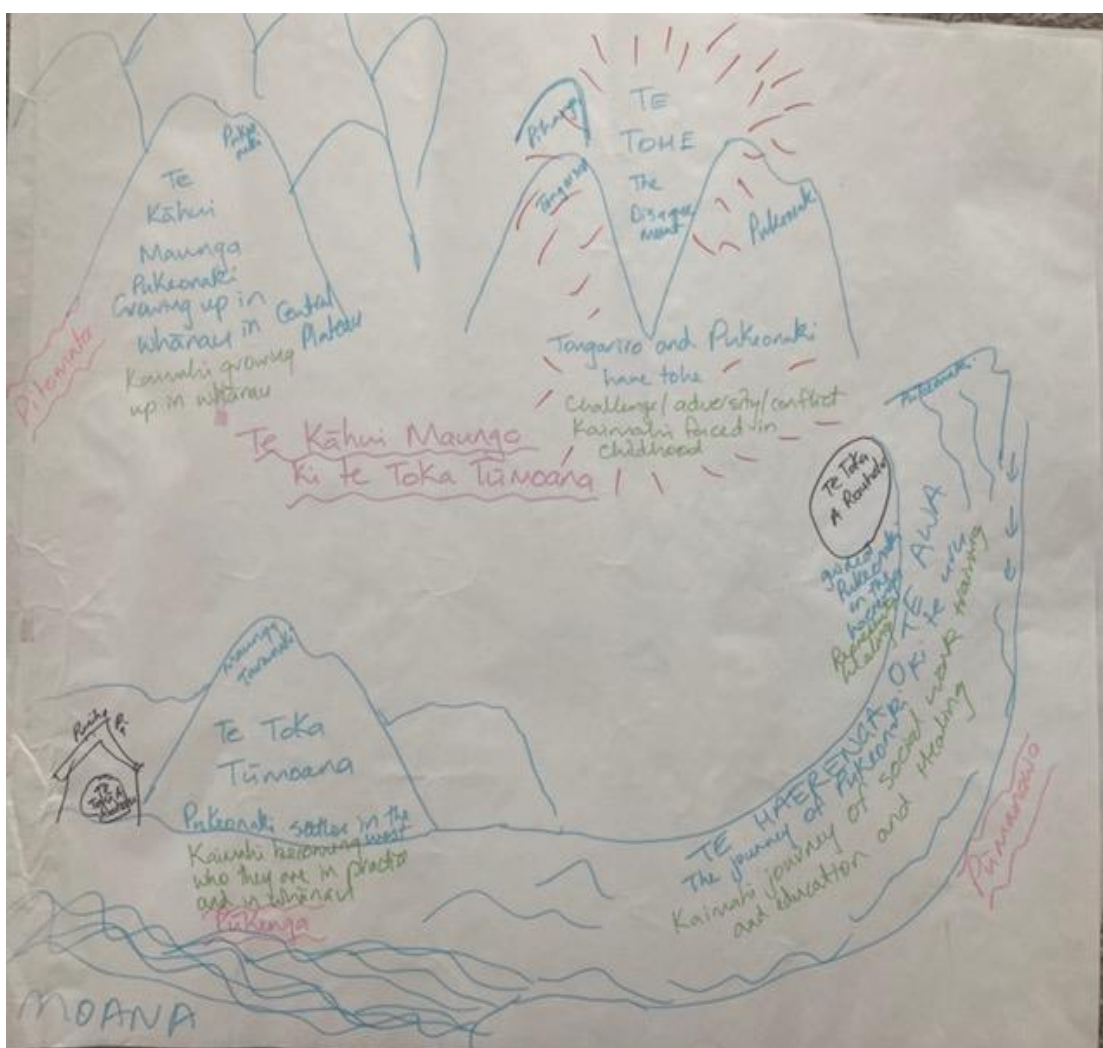
Has that changed since your whānau member qualified as a kaimahi?

What is whānau wellness to this whānau?

Is there anything else anyone would like to add?

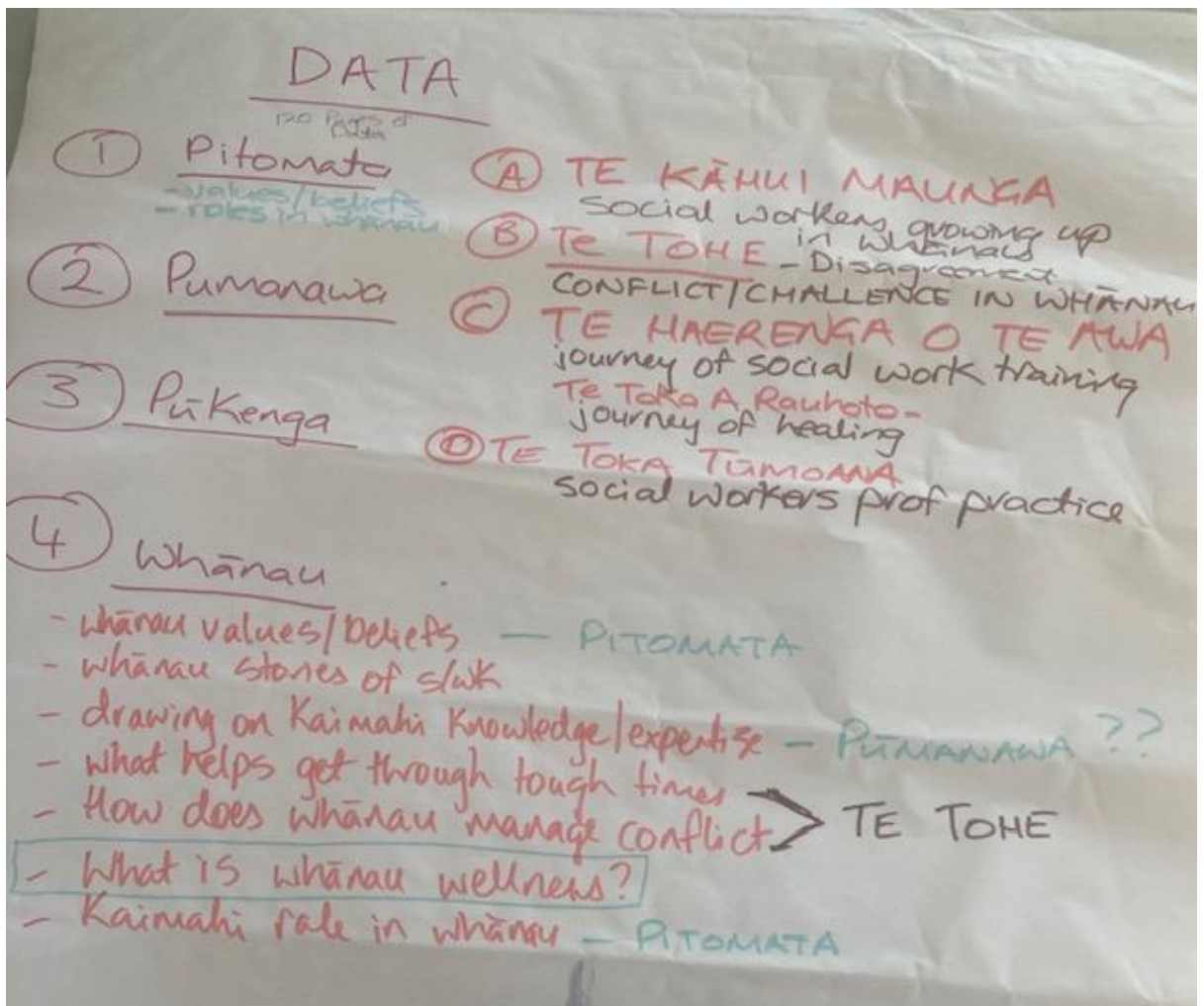
Appendix 8: Mind map of Te Kāhui Mounga ki te Toka Tūmoana framework

This mind map was the final visual representation of the Mounga framework that I wanted to depict the stages of the research. It outlines these stages and how they integrate with the structure of the research, therefore Te Kāhui Mounga represents kaimahi experiences of growing up, Te Tohe represents challenge and adversity kaimahi faced in childhood, Te haerenga o te awa represents kaimahi journeys of social work training and Te Toka Tūmoana represents kaimahi becoming social work practitioners.



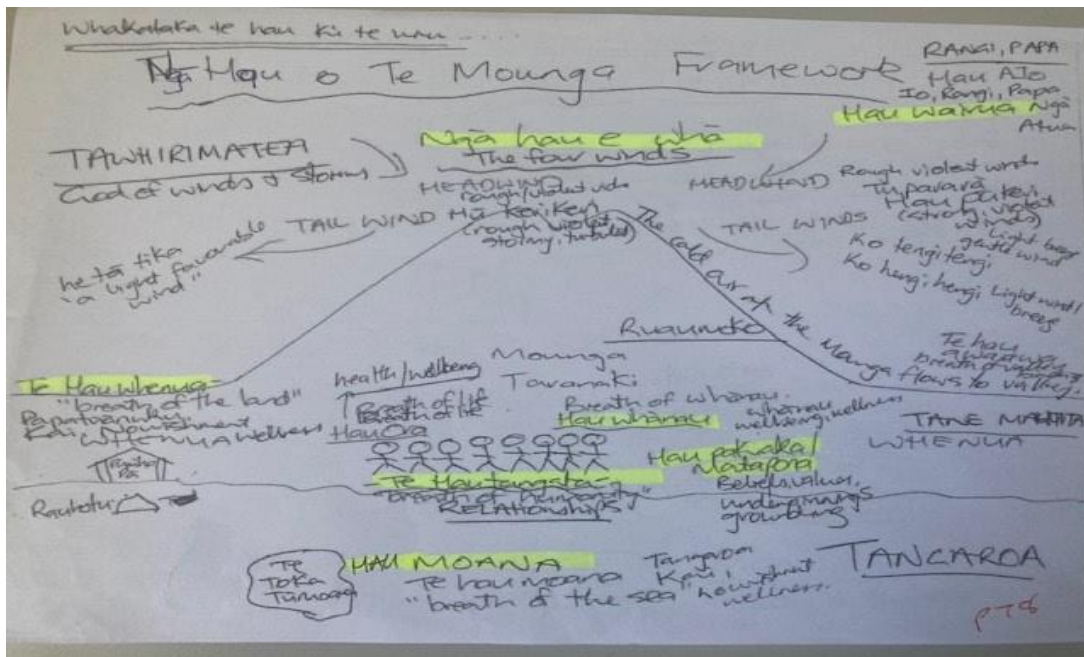
Appendix 12: Mind map of three Ps structure of collating data

At one stage of the research journey, I considered utilising the terms pitomata, pūmanawa and pūkenga to structure the data. However, eventually I decided to use the Mounga framework and the terminology/kupu from the Mounga framework.

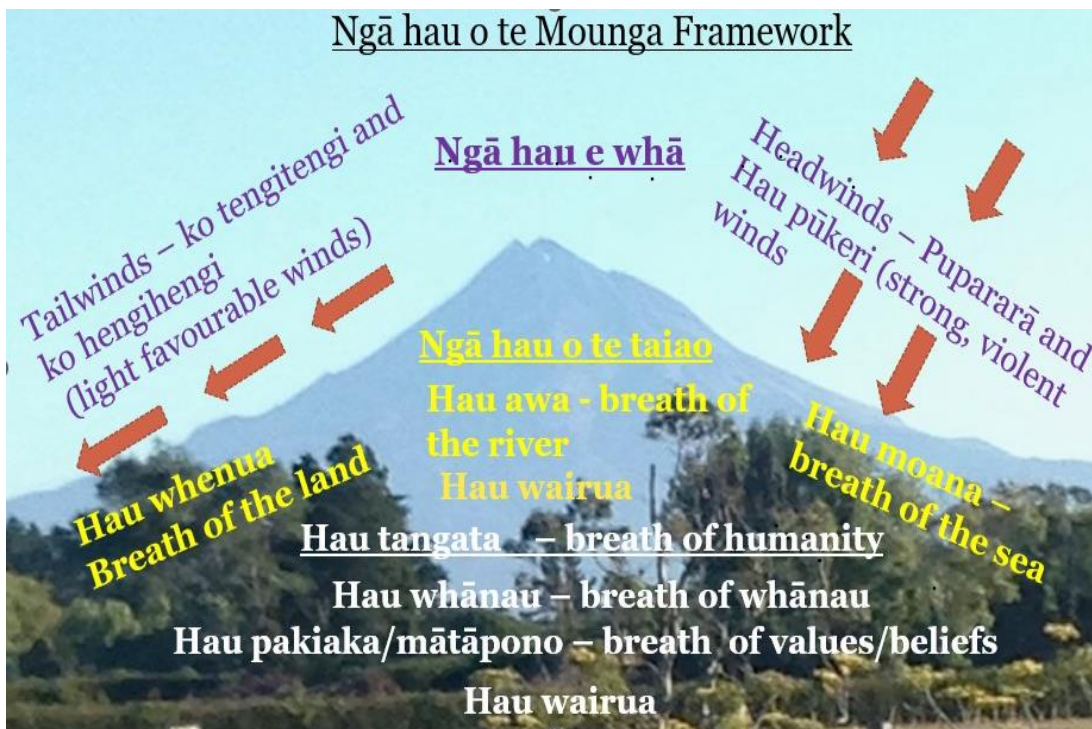


Appendix 13: Ngā Hau o te Mounga Framework

This was my first draft of Ngā Hau o te Mounga framework which organised the data analysis sections.



This is the framework utilised in the thesis.



Karakia Whakamutunga

Ki runga, ki raro, ki roto, ki waho

Rire rire hau,

Paimārie!



(Photograph of Taranaki Mouna taken by author on 2/3/2019)