

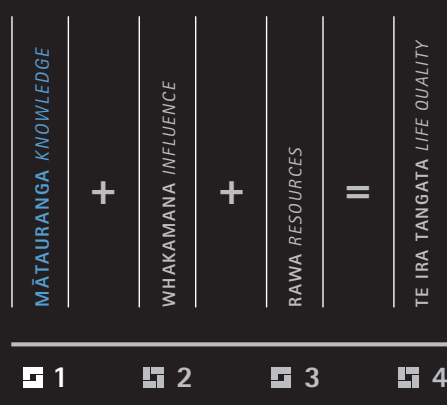


Te Puni Kōkiri
REALISING MĀORI POTENTIAL

WHĀNAU ORA

Arotake Tūkino Whānau
Literature Review on Family Violence

REALISING MĀORI POTENTIAL



The framework above identifies three key enablers that are fundamental to Māori achieving Te Ira Tangata (improved life quality) and realising their potential. All our written information has been organised within these three key enablers or Te Ira Tangata.

1	Mātauranga – Building of knowledge and skills. This area acknowledges the importance of knowledge to building confidence and identity, growing skills and talents and generating innovation and creativity. Knowledge and skills are considered as a key enabler of Māori potential as they underpin choice and the power to act to improve life quality.
2	Whakamana – Strengthening of leadership and decision-making.
3	Rawa – Development and use of resources.
4	Te Ira Tangata – The quality of life to realise potential.

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FOREWORD

Tēnā rā koutou katoa

E te hunga e whai wāhi ana, e takahi nei i te ara ki te whāngai i ō tātou whānau Māori, tēnei te mihi ki a koutou. Ka tau mai ki ngā kanohi ora, tēna koutou katoa.

Levels of family violence within New Zealand have become an increasing focus of community concern and government commitment. Māori are over-represented in family violence statistics and despite years of investment and some measure of success at a local level, Māori communities, in particular, acknowledge that violence against their own members is unacceptable.

As well as providing advice to Government, Te Puni Kōkiri's sits on the Family Violence Taskforce supporting the development of an evidence base to validate culturally distinct approaches to eliminating family violence. We also lead the Family Violence Māori Research Agenda project.

The Māori Research Agenda supports Māori approaches to eliminating family violence and provides information on the efficacy of culturally distinct approaches. This contributes to government's knowledge on ways to eliminate family violence within Māori communities and inform future planning of policy and research work programmes and potential investment decisions.

This literature review forms part of the Māori Research Agenda.

It highlights the paucity of research on uniquely Māori approaches to reducing family violence. Existing literature has largely focused on evaluating programmes rather than providing an evidence base to generate new knowledge. It is clear that new approaches are required if this urgent issue is to be genuinely and effectively addressed. This review therefore supports the utilisation of Māori values, practices and approaches as a framework to both reverse family violence within Māori communities and support Māori towards whānau ora.

This is a valuable academic work that makes a significant contribution to existing knowledge on family violence. Te Puni Kōkiri expects that this review, as part of the Māori Research Agenda, will contribute towards more opportunities for Māori to improve life quality for themselves, their whānau and their communities.

No reira

Ngā manaakitanga a te Atua kaha rawa ki a koutou katoa.

Leith Comer
Chief Executive

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Whānau violence is considered of epidemic proportions.

- There must be zero tolerance to whānau violence.
- Understanding the difference between whānau violence and family violence is critical.
- Definitions of family violence for Māori must include a wider understanding that all forms of violence on whānau constitutes family violence for Māori.
- Key elements to the term whānau violence as defined by Māori practitioners are transgression of tikanga and transgression against whakapapa.
- Whakapapa and whānau are central to relationships and therefore we need to ensure that programmes and interventions include whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori community responses.
- Western frameworks of family violence are failing Māori.
- Historical evidence indicates that within Te Ao Māori whānau violence was not acceptable.
- Whānau violence must be contextualised within the history of violence within Aotearoa.
- Colonisation is viewed as inherently violent and as a result of colonisation Māori whānau suffer violence daily.
- Colonisation has undermined whānau structures and relationships within whānau including gender relationships.
- Western approaches to whānau violence have not curbed the epidemic of whānau violence.
- Tikanga Māori provides a conceptual framework through which whānau violence can be addressed.
- Kaupapa Māori models are critical to making change in the current context related to whānau violence.
- Literature focused on family violence for Māori is minimal.
- Most literature drawn upon in regards to family violence for Māori is generic and the key elements that are relevant to the area are drawn out.
- A consolidated approach to developing a research strategy in the area of family violence for Māori is urgently needed.
- Each of the key points noted in this review need to be investigated from a Kaupapa Māori approach and with specific focus on family violence for Māori.
- Adequate resources to research and investigate each of the key points outlined in the existing literature is required.
- A clear gap in the research relates to identifying at which point family violence for Māori became a significant issue and traditional methods were marginalised as a process of dealing collectively with the issue.
- Undertake research related to specific iwi in terms of family violence and how those iwi and hapū engaged with the issues within their own tikanga.



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- Kaupapa Māori research is now required in regards to the implementation and practice elements of interventions such as this. There is a need for research that is independent of contractual requirements be undertaken with the key objective being one of identifying the critical practices and approaches that Māori practitioners and providers use in order to implement the conceptual framework.
 - Develop a number of targeted longitudinal studies from a Kaupapa Māori base across the sectors and within whānau that provide an overall picture of the wellbeing of whānau.
 - A survey of Māori practitioners and providers in terms of defining research priorities should be undertaken to inform a research strategy.

INTRODUCTION

This introduction outlines the key tasks to undertake “a review of the relevant national and international literature on Māori and family violence.” This piece of work is ultimately aimed at Te Puni Kōkiri setting a research agenda for family violence and will enable them to identify the research priorities in this area, the gaps and the potential areas of exploration. This will help them get a sense of the landscape. The literature review is aligned with the three case studies of Māori approaches to family violence. The literature review, cases studies and a one-day meeting with Te Puni Kōkiri and family violence experts will form the basis of a summative report to Te Puni Kōkiri.

SCOPE

The initial tasks required to complete the literature review included:

- Identifying and reviewing existing literature reviews that are relevant to the issue of Māori and family violence;
- Identifying and reviewing any other relevant and recent family violence literature ;
- Identifying and reviewing international and national literature on indigenous people and family violence;
- Identifying Māori and indigenous frameworks in the family violence area;
- Identifying and analysing key messages, themes and information gaps in the literature; and
- Identify areas for further investigation.

METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve the above tasks within the allocated timeframe the research team set about identifying key relevant literature in the field of Māori and family violence and focused on the initial review of the 10-12 core documents which formed the basis of the Literature Review. The core documents were reviewed to identify: (1) the core themes/areas covered in these documents; (2) gaps or areas not covered in the literature; (3) and other articles or reports noted in these documents that appear to warrant further consideration. As a part of the review process the Family Violence Clearing House provided a list of abstracts, including journal and newspaper articles, in relation to family violence. Not all of this literature was directly relevant to Māori. An initial review of the abstracts was undertaken and documents that appeared to have relevance to Māori and or indigenous people and family violence were sourced.

With regard to international literature, the Amokura literature review (one of the core documents) provided an extensive list of international literature in relation to indigenous peoples and family violence. It was initially intended to identify relevant literature noted in this



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review and seek to source those that appeared to warrant further consideration. In addition, there were two articles from Canadian sources amongst the core documents and others that could have been sourced in relation to first nations peoples and family violence issues and programmes.

Due to time constraints it was the view of the research team that this review should focus on family violence for Māori and therefore the task related to indigenous models is not included in this review.

CONTEXTUALISING FAMILY VIOLENCE FOR MĀORI

Overview: To understand the complexities of family violence for Māori it is necessary to provide a discussion of the context and the state of family for Māori in Aotearoa. This section provides an overview that indicates that Māori are without a doubt over represented in family violence statistics. This is not a 'new' fact but is one that we must be cognisant of, in order to understand the urgency that is expressed in terms of dealing with the issue.

Family violence has recently been referred to as an 'epidemic'.¹ Reports highlight that Māori are disproportionately represented in the statistics for family violence in New Zealand.² Recent statistics for whānau violence note:

Half of all children killed by caregivers are Māori.

Seven times more young Māori women and four times more Māori children are hospitalised from an assault compared to Pākehā women and children.

Forty-nine percent (49%) of Māori women experience partner abuse at some time in their life, compared with 24% of Pākehā and 23% of Pacifica women.³

As a part of broadening the information base related to family violence and Māori a literature review and annotated bibliography has been developed through the Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium.⁴ This work forms a strong foundation for developing research and practice in the field. The review section of the Amokura report focuses on material related to six 'priority' areas, these being:

- *Violence and Māori;*
- *Violence and indigenous;*
- *Violence and early intervention and prevention;*
- *Violence and youth;*
- *Violence and practical activity based models; and*
- *Violence and traditional healing.*

1 Kruger, T., Pitman, M., Grennell, D., McDonald, T., Mariu, D., Pomare, A., Mita, T., Maihi, M., Lawson -Te-Aho, K., (2004) *Transforming Whānau Violence – A Conceptual Framework*, Second Edition, Wellington

2 See Balzer, R., Haimona, D., Henare, M., Matchitt, V., (1997) *Māori Family Violence In Aotearoa*, A Report Prepared for Te Puni Kōkiri, Wellington; Lievore, Denise and Mayhew, Pat (with assistance from Elaine Mossman) (2007) *The Scale and Nature of Family Violence in New Zealand: A Review and Evaluation of Knowledge*; Crime and Justice Research Centre & Centre for Social Research and Evaluation, Victoria University of Wellington; Erai, M., Pitama, W., Allen, E., & Pou, N., (2007) *Literature Review & Annotated Bibliography*, Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium

3 *Reporting Domestic/Family Violence*, Guidelines for Journalists, http://www.areyouok.org.nz/files/test/resources/ReportingViolence_guidelines.pdf

4 Erai et.al. (2007) op.cit.



In establishing the severity of the issue of family violence, Amokura highlight that on a global level approximately 520,000 people die annually as a result of interpersonal violence. To put that in terms that are completely understandable they write:

That means approximately 1,400 deaths every day – the equivalent of three long-haul commercial aircraft crashing every single day, week in and week out, year after year.⁵

Furthermore, within our national context, the review clearly locates Māori as being disproportionately affected by family violence. In the Ministry of Social Development Report 'The scale and nature of family violence in New Zealand: A review and evaluation of knowledge' a range of data is provided that indicates the nature of family violence for Māori:

There is fair consensus that Māori are substantially over-represented as both victims and perpetrators of violence in families/whānau. Evidence includes the 2001 NSCV, which had a Māori booster sample, and the 1996 WSS.

- *The NSCV showed lifetime prevalence of IPV was much higher for Māori women (49%) than for New Zealand European (24%) or Pacific women (23%).*
- *In the WSS, 52% of Māori women reported experiencing at least one form of IPV during their current relationship – nearly double the rate among non-Māori (see table A.2 in appendix 1). This is not solely violence by Māori men, as many of the women had non-Māori partners. The highest risks were among Māori women with recent partners rather than current ones.⁶*

Fiona Cram and Suzanne Pitama⁷ in their paper titled 'The Interface between Violence and Whānau', also highlight the grim negative statistics in regards to Māori wellbeing. Māori are the most likely to die early; be unemployed; be imprisoned; be homeless; suffer mental illness; collect a welfare benefit (except for the old age pension which no-one lives long enough to collect). These issues are not new. They are issues that were raised over twenty years in two key reports, (i) 'Pūao Te Atatū' and (ii) The Royal Commission on Social Policy.⁸ Both reports challenged a nationwide failure to respond to appropriately to the issues facing Māori people.

Māori communities acknowledge that violence against their members is unacceptable and a major concern, and a number of iwi have established their own mechanisms for dealing with the issue of whānau violence.⁹ Cram and Pitama¹⁰ make the assertion that "one way to facilitate a reduction in family violence is the resourcing of intervention and prevention programmes that work with whānau." The need for resourcing is essential in regards to intervening in the intergenerational impact of family violence within whānau Māori.¹¹

5 ibid.:

6 Lievore, Denise and Mayhew, Pat (with assistance from Elaine Mossman) (2007) *The Scale and Nature of Family Violence in New Zealand: A Review and Evaluation of Knowledge*: Crime and Justice Research Centre & Centre for Social Research and Evaluation, Victoria University of Wellington: 55

7 Cram Fiona and Pitama, Suzanne (1997) *The Interface Between Violence and Whānau* – Draft Working Notes 9.22.97 International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Research. University of Auckland, Auckland

8 Pūao-te-Atatū (Day Break) (1986) Māori Advisory Unit Report 1985., Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, Wellington; The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988), Government Printer, Wellington

9 For example The Amokura Family Violence Prevention Strategy in Taitokerau and the Kahungunu Violence Free developments including the Whakamoe Patu: Lay Your Arms To Rest project. <http://www.kahungunu.iwi.nz/index2.html>

10 Cram and Pitama (1997) op.cit: 1

11 Research highlights that there is a high risk of continuing Family Violence when children witness violence see Maxwell GM. Children and family violence: the unnoticed victims. Wellington: Office of the Commissioner for Children; ((1994)). <http://www.mincava.umn.edu/documents/nzreport/nzreport.html> and Martin, J, J Langley and J Millichamp (2006) "Domestic violence as witnessed by New Zealand children". The New Zealand Medical Journal 119.

This assertion has been made in a number of key reports in the area.¹²

This review has been developed to scope out literature in the area of family violence and Māori that can support future developments and research in the field. What is clear in the literature is that in order to fully comprehend the reasons for why we find ourselves in the current 'epidemic' state in relation to family violence we must investigate our traditional view on family violence and the historical events and acts that brought about change in those views. The following section seeks to provide some insights into those areas.

Summary: This section has provided a general comment on the severity of the issue of family violence for Māori. We have chosen not to labour the statistics as the numbers and extent of occurrences of family violence are well documented both in formal reports and through more informal daily ways such as the media. What is critical is that we understand that family violence has reached epidemic proportions in Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities.

¹² Key reports in the area of Family Violence for Māori highlight a need for further work to be done in the area, these include: Balzer, R., Haimona, D., Henare, M., Matchitt, V., (1997) *Māori Family Violence In Aotearoa*, A Report Prepared for Te Puni Kōkiri, Wellington; Kruger et.al (2004) op.cit.; Balzer et.al (1997); Erai et.al. (2007) op.cit.





TRADITIONAL VIEWS OF FAMILY VIOLENCE FOR MĀORI

Overview: Across a range of sectors there has been the assertion that traditional knowledge provides us with the means by which to conceptualise approaches to engaging with issues currently facing Māori people. This section outlines a range of sources that assert that family violence for Māori was unacceptable within Te Ao Māori and that responses to violence within whānau was a collective response on the part of whānau and hapū.

Early work undertaken by Moana Jackson¹³ in relation to the Justice system notes that in order to understand the current experiences and positioning of Māori we must understand our history. Jackson notes that such a conceptual framework is clear within the following whakataukī:

*'Ngā hiahia kia titiro ki te timatatanga, ā, ka kite ai tātou te mutunga:
You must understand the beginning if you wish to see the end'.¹⁴*

This whakataukī articulates the notion that what happens within a particular present context does not exist within a vacuum, but is a result of the past. This is also clearly articulated in the substantial work undertaken by the Māori working group that produced the 'Te Hinatore' report for the Ministry of Justice.¹⁵ A part of understanding our history is understanding how our people viewed family violence.

Leading Māori academic, Mason Durie has argued that within Te Ao Māori whānau violence was not acceptable.¹⁶ In his book *Mauri Ora*; Mason Durie¹⁷ makes the point that:

There is no historical support for claims that traditional Māori society tolerated violence and abuse towards children and women, or that some members of the group were of lesser value than others. An unsafe household demands a whānau response and, as an immediate priority, an assurance that safety can be provided – elsewhere if not at home. Then, safety guaranteed, the way is clear to embark on a journey which will relieve hurt, restore healthy relationships, and, in the process, strengthen personal and group identities.

Kuni Jenkins and Glenis Philip-Barbara stress the collective response that prevailed where violence or abuse within whānau occurred. They note that there were direct ways in which both the perpetrator and the victim[s] were dealt with. This is summarised as follows:

Our collective history as Māori people is full of accounts that

13 Jackson, M. (1988) *The Māori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective: He Whaipaanga Hou*, Study Series 18, Department of Justice, Wellington 1988:23

14 *ibid.*:23

15 Ministry of Justice (2001) *op.cit.*

16 http://www.ssc.govt.nz/upload/downloadable_files/Health_-_Report_on_Family_Violence-free_Hapū_-Marae.pdf

17 Durie, M. (2001) *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Māori Health*. Oxford University Press. Auckland: 208

demonstrate the abhorrence of our society to violence in the whānau. Committing acts of violence on your own blood, kin, children, lovers, parents or grandparents was not commonplace.

Our histories speak of people acting with mana in their responses to violence and abuse – of whānau and hapū moving in to support their women. Our histories speak of the great lengths to which violators would go to restore their mana – mana they had diminished through their own actions. In some instances their mana was never restored and they were left bereft, without the love and support of their whānau. Perpetrators of whānau violence could be disavowed, thrown out to sea or the forests to live in isolation. Violent and abusive acts were considered dangerous to the well-being of the collective group and were dealt with accordingly.

The dignity and mana of the person who had been violated and the ever-present support of the collective is important in our cultural framework. Retribution for violence and abuse could be exacted with the support of whānau and hapū – in fact appropriate action was required in order to restore balance.¹⁸

In her article 'Whakatipu Tamariki', Margie Hohepa reflects on a discussion with her father, Pat Hohepa, in regard to issues of discipline for tamariki, again noting the collective responsibility lies with the whānau as a whole. She writes:

I talked to my dad about Māori disciplining our children harshly, physically. As usual, he didn't directly respond to what was eating at me. Instead he talked about how kids in the valley would take off over the ranges if they felt they'd been hard done by. And sometimes other whānau would come down and deal to whoever. What he told me said that children weren't seen as belonging only to those who directly made them, their parents. They belonged to the wider whānau. They belonged to the hapū, they belonged to iwi. And they could call on any of those to protect their rights and their safety, and to seek retribution if they were mistreated.¹⁹

Stephanie Milroy²⁰ also notes that in pre-colonial Māori society acts of violence were viewed as transgressions upon the whole whānau or hapū, and therefore community intervention was a key element in terms of both prevention and intervention. Milroy notes that the traditional Māori view of whānau violence remained for some time into the early 1900's. She provides the following example as evidence that:

The traditional Māori view was that violence towards your wife was an affront to her and her whānau, to be punished and compensated accordingly. These values held sway even into this century. In Ruātoki in the 1920s there was an instance of a wife who was beaten by her husband. She returned to her own people to complain of what had happened. They came as a group to Ruātoki and asked for the husband to be given over to them to be dealt with. The people at Ruātoki, who were whānau to the husband, could not give him up because of the familial responsibility that they owed to him. In the end the children of the marriage were given to the woman and her whānau and compensation

18 Jenkins, K. & Philip-Barbara, G. (2002) *Mauri Ora: Māori Womens Stories*, Huia Publications, Wellington: 8

19 Hohepa, M. (1994) op.cit. 45

20 Milroy, S., (1996) *Māori women And Domestic Violence: The Methodology of Research and the Māori Perspective*, Waikato Law Review, http://www.waikato.ac.nz/law/wlr/special_1996/2_milroy.html#fn00



of 5,000 pounds was paid, an absolutely huge sum for a tiny community in those days. The man who had caused all the trouble was then dealt with by the Ruātoki community and required to repay them as best he might.²¹

In her paper 'Māori Women: Caught in the Contradictions of a Colonised Reality' Ani Mikaere²² also highlights traditional consequences. She states:

Instances of abuse against women and children were regarded as whānau concerns and action would inevitably be taken against the perpetrator.

Assault on a woman, be it sexual or otherwise, was viewed extremely seriously. The Māori community was swift to intervene and punish violence against one's partner through processes of muru and/or utu²³. The collective perception was that the punishment would act as a deterrent against violent acts.

In line with these assertions of collective responses to acts of violence the 'Te Hinatore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse into the Māori World' report also highlights that individual rights "were indivisible from the whānau, hapū and iwi welfare".²⁴ The 'Te Hinatore' report outlines a number of key concepts and protocols within Te Ao Māori that informed practices for collective responses to transgressions such as family violence or abuse. The cultural constructs of Mana, Tapu, Utu and Muru are noted as key to understanding Māori views and approaches to acts such as family violence.²⁵

Research undertaken by Balzer et al, for Te Puni Kōkiri, reinforces the notion that the response to family violence for Māori was a collective one.²⁶ This, they argue, is the outcome of all relationships being defined through whakapapa and whanaungatanga. Individuals, therefore, are linked through whakapapa to their whānau, hapū, iwi and environment.²⁷ As a result of these interrelationships, any violence towards a member of a whānau or hapū was considered violence against the collective whole. The result being that there would be a collective response.

Glenis Philip-Barbara and Kuni Jenkins argue that a range of stories provide an understanding that whānau violence was not tolerated within traditional Māori society.²⁸ In research undertaken for the Refuge Foundation, Glenis Philip-Barbara and Kuni Jenkins explore the story of Niwareka as an example of this. They write:

Kōrero pūrākau provide us with ways of reviewing and reconnecting our actions of today with the actions of our tupuna. The story of Niwareka and Te Mataora is a reminder to Māori women of the power we have to take action when confronted with abusive behaviour. After being mistreated by her partner, Niwareka returned to her people at Rarohenga. In returning to her whānau, Niwareka brought her abuse into a wider context of accountability making it impossible for Mataora to isolate her and continue his mistreatment.

When Mataora followed Niwareka to Rarohenga he was confronted by her whānau. Niwareka's father, Uetonga, made it clear that any act of

21 ibid.:15

22 Mikaere A. ((1994)) *Māori Women: Caught in a Colonised Reality*, Waikato Law Review, [www.waikato.ac.nz/law/wlr/\(1994\)/article6-mikaere.html#fnii:2](http://www.waikato.ac.nz/law/wlr/(1994)/article6-mikaere.html#fnii:2)

23 for indepth discussion of these processes refer Ministry of Justice (2001) op.cit.

24 Ministry of Justice (2001) *Te Hinatore ki Te Ao Māori: A Glimpse into the Māori World. Māori Perspectives on Justice*. Wellington:40 Future references to this report will be as 'Te Hinatore'

25 ibid. These constructs are discussed in more depth in the section related to Māori Models.

26 Balzer et.al., (1997) op.cit.:21

27 ibid.

28 Jenkins, K & Philip-Barbara, G (2002) op.cit.:8

violation on his daughter was effectively an act of violation against all of Rarohenga. After much kōrero and negotiation Niwareka decided to forgive Mataora; the violent behaviour had been challenged and the whānau knowledge of the abuse freed them both to get on with their relationship and leave the mistreatment behind them.

In the Niwareka narrative we see that she is active in her relationship with Mataora. It is because of Niwareka that her relatives are lenient with Mataora. Niwareka's brother, Tauwehe seeks to keep his brother-in-law close and asks him to live in Rarohenga rather than return to his world with his sister. Tauwehe is explicit in warning Mataora that he is aware of the presence of evil deeds, which prevail in the world that Mataora came from. Tauwehe and Uetonga relent for their love of their sister and relative, Niwareka. Niwareka is gifted knowledge of tā moko and because of her Mataora is able to return to the upper world with the knowledge intact.²⁹

It is not only Māori that assert that family violence was not acceptable in Te Ao Māori prior to colonisation. Elsdon Best³⁰ also explores the sacred narrative of Niwareka. In his version it is also evident that Niwareka took the initiative to return to her own people after being mistreated. Best notes that when Mataora sought out Niwareka, her whānau were reluctant for her to return with Mataora saying "is it the custom of the upper world to beat women?"³¹

A number of reports such as the Ministry of Health documentation related to 'Family Violence Free Hapū and Marae Initiatives' also assume such a position, with one of the goals being to:

Promote understanding that whānau violence within hapū is not accepted in the traditional Māori world.³²

Given the strong assertions that family violence was not tolerated within Māori society and in instances where forms of violence were perpetuated there was a collective cultural response, it is necessary to explore the reasons which underpin the changes that occurred within Māori society that have brought us to a place whereby family violence is now considered 'epidemic'.

Summary: In order to gain an understanding of many of the Kaupapa Māori models currently being developed in the area of family violence for Māori it is important that we look to how our tupuna traditionally viewed and responded to the issue of violence within whānau. Evidence of this is available to us through a number of sources including pūrākau, such as that related to Niwareka and Mataora. Furthermore, within te reo Māori and tikanga Māori we see terms and concepts such as whakapapa, whanaungatanga, mana, tapu, muru that indicate that familial relationships within Māori society were critical to our survival and there were processes by which to facilitate those relationships. This section has provided evidence that violence within whānau was not an acceptable practice and that in the instances that this did occur the response was a collective one.

29 *ibid.*

30 Elsdon Best (1924) *The Māori As He Was*, Polynesian Society, Wellington: 47

31 *ibid.*: 48

32 *ibid.*



COLONISATION: UNDERMINING TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICES

Overview: In order to understand the current context of family violence for Māori we must have an analysis of historical influences. This section provides a discussion of the impact of colonisation upon traditional knowledge and practices. It is argued in the literature that the suppression of te reo and tikanga Māori is a part of the overall process of colonisation and oppression of indigenous peoples. It is noted that processes of fragmentation are central to colonial imperialism and that the fragmentation of whānau was a key act of undermining Māori social structures. This section highlights that colonisation is an act of violence upon all whānau Māori and therefore is a form of family violence for Māori.

Research in the area of family violence for Māori has indicated that in order to respond effectively to the issue at hand we must have a analysis of, and means to deal with, the impact of colonisation.³³ This is not a new assertion rather it is one that has been made continuously by a range of academics and experts, both Māori and non-Māori for over 40 years.³⁴

The documentation for the 'Family Violence Free Hapū and Marae Initiatives' notes that in order to achieve their aim of bringing about change in terms of family violence the initiatives are promoted as "rebuild[ing] traditional Māori strengths in preventing and intervening in family violence in the modern context".³⁵ The following section explores some of the literature that highlights that the current state of family violence 'epidemic' can be transformed through drawing upon a Māori traditional knowledge base.

It is argued by a wide range of authors that colonisation has been instrumental in the breakdown of relationships and is a major influence in the regards to how whānau now operate.³⁶ Stephanie Milroy writes:

In pre-colonial Māori society, a man's home was not his castle... Different social dynamics operated to those that now operate in society in general, including the Māori community. That change is a direct result of

33 Kruger et.al; (2004) op.cit.; Erai et.al. (2007) op.cit.

34 Rangihau, John. (1975) 'Being Māori' in King Michael (ed) Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On, Hicks Smith & Sons/ Methuen N.Z. Ltd. Auckland; Jackson, M. (1988) The Māori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective: He Whaipanga Hou, Study Series 18, Department of Justice, Wellington; Smith, L.T. (1999) Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples, Zed Books, London; Walker, R. (1987) Ngā Tautohetohe: Years of Anger, Penguin N.Z. Ltd., Auckland; Walker, R. 1990 Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou: Struggle Without End, Penguin Books, Auckland; Walker, R. (1996) Ngā Pepa a Ranginui: The Walker Papers, Penguin Books, Auckland

35 Report 4.1 Family Violence Free hapū and marae, Appendix One, Ministerial Review of Targeted Policies and Programmes, http://www.ssc.govt.nz/upload/downloadable_files/Health_-_Report_on_Family_Violence-free_Hapū_-Marae.pdf. Refer also Ministry of Health (2002) Te Rito, New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy, Wellington

36 Smith, L.T. (1992) *Māori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wāhine*, in Middleton, S. and Jones, A. (eds) Women and Education in Aotearoa 2, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, pp33 – 51; Pihama, L. (1993) *Tungia Te Ururua Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu O Te Harakeke: A Critical Analysis of Parents As First Teachers*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland; Simon, J. (ed) (1998) *Ngā Kura Māori: The Native Schools System 1867–1969*, Auckland University Press, Auckland; Pihama, L. (1998) 'Reconstructing Meanings of Family: Lesbian/Gay Whānau and Families in Aotearoa in Adair, V. & Dixon, R. (eds) *The Family In Aotearoa New Zealand*, Addison Wesley Longman New Zealand Ltd, Auckland, pp179–207

*colonisation... Colonisation has led to the destruction of the traditional Māori way of life. Yet Māori women are imbued with both the Pākehā system and its values and remnants of their own values, which are now unsupported by the urbanised society in which most Māori now live. The issues that therefore arise for Māori women are complex and difficult.*³⁷

Moana Jackson argues convincingly that the social position that Māori find ourselves in today is a direct result of the history of Māori/Pākehā contact and relations. He states:

*Like all histories it has been a mix of good intentions, and bad, of understanding and incomprehension, of justice and injustice. It is essentially the history of a power relationship in which the dominant Pākehā culture and its structures have excluded Māori institutions and values from the processes of social organisation and authority. The effect of that relationship has been to bequeath an uncertain and often unhappy legacy to its beneficiaries.*³⁸

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The impact of colonisation is multi-levelled in regards to whānau and whānau relationships. Linda Tuhiwai Smith discusses colonisation as a process of fragmentation.³⁹ She discusses fragmentation in relation to "principles of disordering" that are encoded in both colonialism and imperialism.⁴⁰ Fragmentation is in this sense a key feature in the alienation of indigenous peoples and the disordering of all aspects of our being. She writes that fragmentation is a systematic process that occurs under colonialism operating through multiple sites. Fragmentation culminates in processes of re-presentation, disordering, disruption, renaming and reclassification of indigenous systems and worlds.⁴¹ These 'principles of disordering' were then implemented through a range of colonial practices through sites such as education. One example of this can be found in the 'disordering' and 'disruption' of Māori approaches to children.

A case in point may be seen in early documentation regarding disciplining of children. Historical documentation tells us that upon contact early missionaries were astounded that Māori children were so indulged by all generations of a whānau and hapū and actively sought to have our people adhere to the religious doctrine "He that spareth his rod hateth his son"⁴². Native School's inspectors were also disturbed by the fact that Māori children would refuse to attend if they were disciplined and that such a response was even condoned by their whānau.

*Corporal punishment and an over-rigid discipline have done much to drive away many children from the schools. A punishment, which to us would appear by no means harsh, would to a native seem cruel and excessive. As native parents never inflict chastisement upon an offending child, our summary mode of dealing with young delinquents must seem strange and tyrannical. It would not be unwise in future to pay some little deference to their feelings in this subject.*⁴³

With such ideologies being imposed through schooling from its earliest beginnings it is little wonder that ideas that Māori 'have always hit our children' or that it's okay to 'smack with love' or that smacking is 'good for the children' began to prevail within our communities. Māori

37 *ibid.*:15–16

38 *ibid.*:23–24

39 Mead, LTR. (1996) 'Nāa Aho o Te Kakahu Mātauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Māori in Education' Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Education Department University of Auckland, Auckland

40 Mead, LTR. 1996 op.cit.:64

41 *ibid.*

42 Proverbs 13–24 Bible. King James Version

43 Review of Inspectors of Native Schools, 1862 pg 35 cited by Hohepa, M (1994) 'Whakatipu Tamariki' in *Te Pua volume 3, Number 2*, Te Puawaitanga, Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau, Auckland



educationalists have clearly articulated the assimilatory nature of education in this country.⁴⁴ Notions of christianising, civilising and assimilated operated hand in hand throughout the schooling of Māori children and contributed significantly to the undermining of traditional knowledge and structures for whānau, hapū and iwi.

Māori academics such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Kuni Jenkins and Leonie Pihama⁴⁵ have argued that schooling was instrumental in the reconstruction of gender roles within Māori society. A key intention in the imposition of colonial structures and ideologies was the idea that a crucial part of the civilising agenda was the replacement of Māori structures, in particular knowledge of whakapapa, whānau, hapū and iwi. Missionaries were central to the process of importing colonial notions of 'family' to Aotearoa. These contributed significantly to the redefining of the roles and status of Māori women, particularly through the system of missionary schooling.⁴⁶ The colonial nuclear family was promoted within Māori communities as 'the model' of civilisation.⁴⁷ Pihama further highlights that the consequence of the impact of colonial western ideologies has been the fragmentation of whānau. In her doctoral research 'Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices. Mana Wāhine As A Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework' Pihama surveys a wide range of Inspectors reports for the Native Schools System and argues that ideological assertions of dominant Pākehā gender beliefs were imposed upon Māori children, whānau and communities through the schooling system. A specific focus was the instilling of gender roles that reflected a nuclear family structure.⁴⁸

Such a process has operated to undermine Māori structures and consequently weaken traditional educational systems that were dependent on the whānau concept. As a unit the nuclear family isolates Māori families from each other and from the nurturing, knowledge and support provided within those structures.⁴⁹ The impact of the nuclearisation of whānau is noted in the 'Te Rito' report as follows:

The privatisation of whānau relations within a nuclear family model effectively removed for the majority of Māori fundamental mechanism of support, responsibility, obligations and accountability. What happened in a private individual home now became the 'business' only of those who lived within those four walls. The eyes of the whānau were removed, the obligation to our collective well-being became increasingly difficult to sustain and as the Pākehā legal system took more and more control, the mechanisms of communal accountability declined.⁵⁰

Providing in-depth analysis regarding the reconstruction of gender roles and the position of Māori women is provided by Ani Mikaere in her thesis 'Tikanga Colonised'.⁵¹ Mikaere argues assertively the role of colonisation and Christianity in the disruption and 'disordering' of gender relations and in particular the diminishing of the role and status of Māori women within Te

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- 44 Simon, J. (ed) (1998) op.cit; Simon, J. & Smith L.T. 1990 *Policies on Māori Schooling: Intentions and Outcomes*, A joint symposium presented at the ANZHEs conference, University of Auckland, Dec 6-9; Simon, J. & Smith, L.T. (eds) (2001) *Civilising mission?: Perceptions and representations of the Native Schools system*, Auckland University Press, Auckland; Smith, G.H. (1990) *Taha Māori: Pākehā Capture*. In J. Codd, R. Harker & R. Nash (Eds.), *Political Issues in New Zealand Education*. Dunmore Press, Palmerston North; Smith, Graham Hingangaroa. (1997) *The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis*. Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland
- 45 Smith, L.T. (1992) op.cit.; Jenkins, K. (1992) 'Reflections on the Status of Māori Women' in Smith, L.T. (ed) *Te Pua 1*, Te Puawaitanga, Auckland, pp 37 - 45; Johnston, P. & Pihama, L. (1995) 'What Counts as Difference and What Differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference' in Irwin, K., Ramsden, I. & Kahukiwa, R. (eds), (1995) *Toi Wāhine: The Worlds of Māori Women*, Penguin Books, Auckland, pp 75 - 86
- 46 Binney, J 1968 *Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall*, George, Allen & Unwin, Auckland
- 47 Smith, L.T., (1992) op.cit.; Simon (1998) op.cit; Pihama (2001) op.cit.
- 48 Pihama L., (2001) *Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices. Mana Wāhine As A Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland. This quote includes a reference to John Hislop, Secretary, Education Department, Wellington, 4 June 1880, *AJHR H-1f*, Government Printer, Wellington
- 49 ibid.
- 50 Pihama, L., Jenkins, K., & Middleton, A. (2003). *Te Rito Action Area 13: Literature review. Family violence prevention for Māori* research report. The Ministry of Health and Te Rito Māori Advisory Committee, Wellington: 24
- 51 Mikaere, Ani (1995) *The Balance Destroyed: The Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori*, Unpublished Master of Jurisprudence thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton

Ao Māori. The introduction of colonial gender ideologies has been a significant factor in the undermining of Māori women's status across all sectors of society.⁵²

Balzer et.al. further highlights links between colonisation; the loss of te reo Māori; the suppression of Māori knowledge and tikanga; issues of identity; the imposition of western beliefs and practices; and acts of violence within Māori whānau, hapū and iwi: ⁵³

*We make links between the denigration of mana Māori, isolation from ancestral land and cultural practices, the disintegration of social and political structures and the imposition of western ideologies and practices that play a major role in redefining the position of Māori in the world.*⁵⁴

In her thesis 'Whānau Whakapakari: A Māori-Centred Approach To Child Rearing And Parent-Training Programmes' Averil Herbert also highlights the impact of colonisation as follows:

*In essence, the transition from a dominant to a minority culture describes a change from collective sub-tribal groups based on hapū structures living within a subsistence but socially sophisticated society (Papakura, 1986/1938), to a contemporary structure of smaller family or whānau groups who have experienced the effects of introduced diseases, marginalisation, and loss of land and resources. Policies of exclusion and assimilation over 160 years have resulted in a Māori population with poorer health and lower education indicators, lowered life expectancies and over-representation in lower socio-economic classes compared to non-Māori (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1986). Moeke-Pickering, Paewai, Turangi-Joseph, and Herbert (1998) have described the impact of these changes and the necessity of recognising Māori development needs in psychological research and practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand.*⁵⁵

The impact of colonisation on whānau Māori has been clearly articulated within the area of Māori wellbeing for some time. Manuka Henare⁵⁶ stresses the impact of the breakdown of whānau and wider Māori support in regards to Māori wellbeing. Henare also emphasises that the breakdown of traditional structures such as whānau led to the removal of a key element in the process of intergenerational knowledge transmission.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the highly regarded Pūao-Te-Atatū report notes:

*The history of New Zealand since colonisation has been the history of institutional decisions being made for, rather than by, Māori people. Key decisions on education, justice and social welfare, for example, have been made with little consultation with Māori people. Throughout colonial history, inappropriate structures and Pākehā involvement in issues critical for Māori have worked to break down traditional Māori society by weakening its base-the whānau, the hapū, the iwi. It has been almost impossible for Māori to maintain tribal responsibility for their own people.*⁵⁸

52 Balzer et.al. (1997)

53 Balzer et.al. (1997):7

54 Pihama L., (2001) *Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices. Mana Wāhine As A Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland. This quote includes a reference to John Hislop, Secretary, Education Department, Wellington, 4 June 1880, *AJHR H-1f*, Government Printer, Wellington

55 Herbert, A.M.L. (2001) *Whānau Whakapakari: A Māori-Centred Approach To Child Rearing And Parent-Training Programmes* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University Of Waikato, Hamilton: 13

56 Henare, Manuka (n/d) 'Te Tiriti Te Tangata Te Whānau: The Treaty, The Human Person, The Family' in *Te Aro Whānau: Family A Cornerstone of Māori Mental Well-being*, Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand, Auckland pp26-34 (This publication is not dated)

57 *ibid.*:31

58 The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee 1988 *Pūao-Te-Ata-Tu*, The Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for The Department of Social Welfare. Wellington

In his paper titled 'Mental Health: A Case for Reform', the late Māori Marsden took a broader view on colonisation on the wellbeing of Māori, linking the impact of colonisation to social disorders, of which we can consider family violence a part.⁵⁹ The impact of colonisation on Māori wellbeing generally has been well documented.⁶⁰ Keri Lawson-TeAho draws the relationship of colonisation to behavioural issues:

It has been suggested that additional risk factors including "cultural alienation, the impact of history through intergenerational modelling and behavioural transfer, and confusion over identity" are unique to indigenous people, and apply to Māori.⁶¹

Furthermore, Lawson-TeAho highlights the impact of colonisation on the formation of identity and wider implications in terms of the validity of Māori knowledge and processes. Lawson-TeAho argues that colonisation, as a political act, assumes 'cultural superiority and the right to dominate.'⁶² Therefore central to colonisation is a need to suppress indigenous and minority group perspectives in order to replace those with dominant group belief and political systems. The result of such a process has been that many Māori:

... struggle to maintain an identity as Māori and to have access to the institutions of Māori culture which provide strength and a source of psychological, spiritual, cultural and physical well-being for themselves, their families, and the broader social networks of which they are an integral part. A further outcome is that Māori realities are not considered to be valid when weighed up against dominant cultural realities.⁶³

In the document 'Transforming Violence – A Conceptual Framework' the second Māori Taskforce on whānau violence describe colonisation as follows:

Colonisation is an extreme form of violence. The power to enforce and legitimate particular forms of violence (land alienation, punishment for speaking te reo Māori), and render as illegal efforts by Māori to protect themselves from these types of violence (passive resistance, isolation), means that Māori exist inside a constant dichotomy.⁶⁴

Mason Durie⁶⁵ notes that whenua, tūrangawaewae, whānau, reo and marae are key cultural institutions that have been undermined through the process of colonisation and which for many Māori creates an alienation from sources of wellbeing. Gay Puketapu-Andrews refers to this as 'cultural abuse' and notes that colonisation not only alienates our people but also creates a context whereby identity itself can become problematic:

Knowing who you are has always been an integral aspect of life for Māori. This involves having knowledge of our whakapapa and includes not only knowing our recent ancestors but also linking back to our original tūpuna and our tūrangawaewae. Whakapapa is what gives a Māori the right to identify as Māori. It is most commonly our whānau to whom we look for this. The cultural abuse of Māori over the last 154

59 Marsden, M. (2003) *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*, edited by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki:87

60 Durie, Mason. 2001 *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Māori Health*. Oxford University Press, Auckland (N.Z.)

61 Lawson-Te Aho, K. (1998) A review of evidence: A background document to support Kia Piki te Ora o te Taitamariki, Te Puni Kōkiri, Wellington op.cit: 5.

62 ibid.:14

63 ibid.

64 Kruger, T., Pitman, M., Grennell, D., McDonald, T., Mariu, D., Pomare, A., Mita, T., Maihi, M., Lawson-Te-Aho, K., (2004) *Transforming Whānau Violence – A Conceptual Framework*, Second Edition, Wellington:11

65 Durie, M.H. (1985) 'Māori Health Institutions' in *Community Mental Health in New Zealand*, Vol. 2, No. 1 July 1985, pp. 63-69

years has severely affected our sense of identity.⁶⁶

References to the impact of colonisation has also been noted in recent Ministry documents. The Te Rito New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy notes that analysis of theories of violence show no single causal factor rather is a part of many a complex set of interacting factors. The report then identified the following factors:

- *Systemic and environmental variables, such as inequality, patriarchy, the impact of colonisation, and discrimination.*
- *Variables, such as power imbalances/ differences and personal/ psychological characteristics/ traits/attributes.*⁶⁷

The inclusion of a statement in regards to colonisation within a government document in such a way may be considered what Di Grennell calls “a politically risky discussion”.⁶⁸ However, such an argument has been made by a diverse range of commentators, academics and researchers.⁶⁹ Colonial ideologies of cultural genocide, assimilation and integration have provided the underpinning for many policies developed in regard to Māori people and issues.⁷⁰ The impact of such policies have, on the whole, maintained the marginalised and subordinate position in Aotearoa.⁷¹ As a result there has been a movement across a range of sectors such as health, justice and education to develop ways of intervening in the impact of colonisation through reclaiming traditional knowledge.

Summary: The impact of colonisation on Māori society has been well documented. Colonisation, as a process, is premised fundamentally on the oppression of indigenous peoples. It is argued in the literature that colonisation has fragmented Māori society on multiple levels. The suppression of te reo and tikanga Māori has led to an undermining for Māori knowledge and practices.

Colonial ideologies related to gender, relationships, childrearing practices have all had significant impact on how we conduct our lives. Key cultural institutions such as whānau, hapū and iwi, marae, tūrangawae and our relationships to those things have been systematically undermined, through land confiscations and the imposition of a range of colonial policies. The outcome of such a process is the gradual breakdown of these structures and an increased sense of dislocation of Māori people from our whenua, reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori, including traditional knowledge and responses to family violence. A key point made is that colonisation itself is an act of violence against whānau Māori. The impact of such violence is evident in terms of Māori ill health, behavioural changes and the rise in issues such as family violence within our communities.

66 Puketapu-Andrews, G. (1997) 'Kōrero Āwhina: Counselling' in (eds) Te Whaiti, P., McCarthy, M., Durie, A., *Mai I Rangiātea: Māori Wellbeing and Development*, Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books Auckland:72

67 Ministry of Health (2002) Te Rito, New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy, Wellington:9-10

68 Grennell, D., (2008) Whānau Liberation, An Unpublished Presentation to Otago Medical School.

69 for example; Jackson, Moana (1998) 'Research and The Colonisation of Māori Knowledge' in Te Pūmanawa Hauora, (1999) Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp 70-77; Jenkins, K. (1992) 'Reflections on the Status of Māori Women' in Smith, L.T. (ed) Te Pua 1, Te Puawaitanga, Auckland, pp 37 - 45; Johnston, P. & Pihama, L (1995) 'What Counts as Difference and What Differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference' in Irwin, K., Ramsden, I. & Kahukiwa, R. (eds), (1995) Toi Wāhine: The Worlds of Māori Women, Penguin Books, Auckland, pp 75 - 86; Mead, LTR, 'Ngā Aho o Te Kakahu Mātauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Māori in Education' Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Education Department University of Auckland, (1996); Smith, Graham Hingangaroa (1997) The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis. Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland; Salmond, A. (1991) Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Māori and Europeans 1642-1772, Viking, Penguin Books, Auckland; Walker, R., 1990 Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou: Struggle Without End, Penguin Books, Auckland; Walker, R., (1996) Ngā Pepa a Ranginui: The Walker Papers, Penguin Books, Auckland

70 for example: ideologies of cultural genocide appear regularly through the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives from 1847 onwards.

71 Walker (1996) op.cit.





TRANSFORMING REALITIES WITH TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE

20

Overview: This section explores processes by which traditional Māori knowledge has been drawn upon to develop frameworks for change for whānau Māori. Kaupapa Māori initiatives have been developed across a range of sectors drawing upon traditional sources as a means by which to conceptualise models that have a strong cultural foundation. It also provides insight into the significance of cultural frameworks such as 'whakatauki' 'pūrākau' and 'kōrero tawhito' as mechanisms through which the transmission of traditional knowledge has been maintained. It is through these processes that mātauranga Māori provides values, protocols, concepts and understandings that are able to support the development of Māori frameworks and models.

Recently there has been the development of Kaupapa Māori frameworks across sectors that include elements of decolonisation within their work, in order to enable people to understand the impact of assimilation and loss of lands and te reo etc as a means by which to come to terms with their current social, economic, political and cultural context.⁷²

In education, for example, frameworks such as that of 'Te Aho Matua' in Kura Kaupapa Māori have been developed in order to support and affirm the identity of whānau Māori within an educational context, that for over 150 years mitigated against tikanga and te reo Māori.⁷³ As an educational framework, 'Te Aho Matua' draws upon tikanga Māori to develop a Kaupapa Māori philosophy of education that serves the needs of Māori children. As such it is a clear example of how tikanga Māori can inform our social practices.⁷⁴

Tuakana Nepe⁷⁵ emphasises that Kaupapa Māori knowledge is distinctive to Māori society because it has its origins in the metaphysical. Kaupapa Māori she states is a "body of knowledge accumulated by the experiences through history, of the Māori people".⁷⁶ For her, this knowledge form is distinctive to Māori in that it derives fundamentally from Māori epistemologies that include complex relationships and ways of organising society. She argues that this distinctive nature of Kaupapa Māori is seen in the ways in which Māori conceptualise relationships:

The concept of the relationship between the living and the dead; life and death; the Māori concept of time, history and development; the relationships between male and female; individual and group; and the implication of such relationships for social power relations. These

72 Cram, F., & Pipi, K, (2001) Iwi/Māori provider success: pilot project: summary research report of interviews with successful iwi/Māori providers collaboration with Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare, Wellington School of Medicine, The University of Otago. IRI, University of Auckland, Auckland

73 Nepe, Tuakana (1991) *E Hao ne e tēnei Reanga: Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna, Kaupapa Māori, An Educational Intervention*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

74 ibid.

75 ibid.

76 ibid.:4

knowledge types and their functions are the content and product of the interconnection of the purely Māori metaphysical base and Māori societal relationships.⁷⁷

The 'Te Hinātore' report provides substantial evidence for, and examples of, the ways in which within Te Ao Māori we are provided with the knowledge, processes and practices through which to conceptualise, frame and create interventions that can be used across a range of sectors and issues within society. This is further asserted by those working in the field of family violence for Māori, as highlighted in the Amokura Report where it emphasises that traditional concepts and practices can inform us in terms of engaging these issues:

Drawing on the wisdom of our tūpuna and traditions is not to return us to a mythic past or golden age – our people have always adapted to new circumstances and experimented with new technology. Rather it is to understand and be guided by the symbols, values and principles that can enhance our capacity to live together peacefully as whānau and communities. Our capacity for resilience as an indigenous people is fed and nourished by our language, traditional practices and oral traditions. Dr Bruce Perry argues that 'traditional ways are permeated with empirically derived wisdom' and advocates adherence to the practices of indigenous peoples for the intergenerational transmission of knowledge and raising of children. He advocates for community and collective approaches to community building to ensure that family, child rearing and relationships do not become the exclusive domains of experts and specialist programmes.⁷⁸

Such an approach is not new. Māori have for many years advocated that tikanga Māori provides a basis for understanding our current context and that within tikanga exists frameworks for both analysing and transforming our current realities. In a recent documentary titled 'Te Taonga o Taku Ngākau' a range of Māori people knowledgeable in tikanga commented upon the position of Māori children within whānau, the role of tikanga in regards to the wellbeing of our children and the impact of colonisation on Māori childrearing practices. In discussing the place of Māori children within whānau, Rose Pere states:

He taonga te mokopuna, ka noho mai hoki te mokopuna hei puna mō te tipuna ka whakaaro tātou ka noho mai te mokopuna hei tā moko mō te tipuna ana he tino taonga rā tona. He mokopuna rā tātou, he mokopuna anō hoki ngā tipuna. (Interview Rangimarie Rose Pere)⁷⁹

The paramount position of Māori children is further affirmed by Pat Hohepa:

Mai rānō tēnā i tau ai a ko ēnā ngā tino taonga o te whānau o te hapū ko ngā tamariki ko ngā mokopuna. E pēhea hoki e haere tonu ai te whakapapa mehemea kāore rātou. (Interview Pat Hohepa)⁸⁰

Those interviewed state emphatically that the evidence for such a belief can be found within tikanga Māori and is articulated through a range of sources including such things as waiata mōteatea and whakataukāi:

Kei roto katoa ngā kōrero mō tēnei mea o te tohi, mō ruapukenga mō ngā whakaaro ka whakatō ki roto i ngā tamariki mehemea ka akohia ērā me

77 *ibid.*:5

78 Grennell, D., (2006) *Amokura Indigenous Innovations* <http://www.nzfvc.org.nz/acan/papers-presentations/PDFs/Wednesday-15-2-06-11am/Resilience/Grennell-Di.pdf>

79 Māori And Indigenous Analysis Ltd., (2008) *Te Taonga o Taku Ngākau*, A Documentary for Māori Television, Auckland

80 *ibid.*



te mārama ki ngā kōrero, ataahua. (Interview Kaa Williams)

Ko te kōrero kei roto i te oriori Popo ko taku kumara hai waiū mō tama, he hohonu tērā whakaaro i te mea hoki ra ko tērā mea te kumara he uaua ki te whakatipu, me āta, me āta anō te tangata i mua i te whakatipuranga i te kumara, kia tika te oneone, kia tika te mārama, kia tika te wāhi whakatipu ai i te kumara, kia tika anō i te whāngai i te kumara i a ia e tipu ake ana, a tōna wā hoki rā ka noho hai taonga. (Interview Hone Kaa)

Ko tētahi mō te whakatipu aahua rite nei ki te rākau e puta mai ana i te whenua. Ko to whakapikotanga i te rākau ka tipu pera mehemea ko to hiahia kia tupu ataahua te rākau kei a koe te mana. Nā ko ēnei tamariki āhua rite nei ki te pepi rākau e tupu ake ana māu e tiaki, mau e atawhai, mau e poipoi mehemea ka whatia e koe kua ngaro te tamaiti. Nō ko ēnei ngā mea hei titiro. (Interview Pat Hohepa)

Ko te whakataukī – Ehara taku toa i te toa taki tahi engari taku toa i te toa taki mano. I te mea ehara mō tētahi ki te tiaki i tētahi pepi engari mō te katoa me te katoa e tipu tika tipu ora te tamaiti. (Interview Margie Hohepa)

Ko tētahi e kī nei au ki ngā tamariki o te kura, ki ngā kotiro he mokopuna koe nā Hinetitama waiwai ana ngā karu i te tirohanga atu. A kei roto i tērā ka whakamārama au ki ngā kōtiro te ataahuatanga o te wahine. He tapu koe i te mea ko koe te whare tangata. (Interview Keri Pewhairangi)

Each of these interview extracts provide insight into the knowledge that our tupuna have handed down to us in regards to the precious place of Māori children within Te Ao Māori. What each of these commentators show is that there is a body of traditional knowledge that provides us with guidelines and protocols for whānau and in terms of the ways in which we operate within our wider relationships with each other. The principles which underpin the development of Kaupapa Māori frameworks and models through which we can engage issues such as family violence within our whānau, hapū and iwi can be found in early documentation.⁸¹

A process of analysis and discussion of waiata mōteatea, whakataukī, pūrākau, manuscripts and other sources of traditional knowledge would bring to the field an invaluable resource to support work being undertaken in the field. Recently Amster Reedy has highlighted the role of oriori in the practice of handing knowledge through the generations:

The feats of our ancestors show us that there is no mountain too high, and no sea too far to sail. Māori were, and remain, a proud, independent people. The practice of oriori encourages a life-long pursuit of learning and provides a unique experience of ritual for the whole whānau.⁸²

Jenny Bol Jun Lee argues that pūrākau are a form of storytelling or narrative that is grounded within kōrero Māori. It is a form that has been used by Jenny Bol Jun Lee, and she describes pūrākau as follows:

Pūrākau literally refers to the base (pū) of the tree (rākau). According to Wiremu Doherty (2002), a native speaker of Māori, and someone who grew up in the heartland of the Urewera ranges of Tūhoe, pūrākau is about recounting experiences. He explains the relationship between telling stories and trees in this way; "Native trees lived for hundreds

81 Ngata, A.T. (1985) *Ngā Mōteatea Part II* Polynesian Society, Wellington.

82 This was reported on TV3 news and in the Massey News Online at [http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/about-us/news/article.cfm?marticle=Māori-lullabies-subject-of-phd-research-21-07-\(2008\)](http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/about-us/news/article.cfm?marticle=Māori-lullabies-subject-of-phd-research-21-07-(2008))

of years. In their lifetime they held all their experiences, felt through their branches and leaves, at the base". It is significant that 'story telling' derives its meaning in Māori language from words that relate to the *rākau*, since the imagery of trees often reflect our cultural understandings of social relationships, our inter-connectedness with each other and the environment. For instance, 'ngāhere' (bush) literally means *ngā* – the land here – ties, or binds, all trees and vegetation were inter-related. *Kauri*, the most majestic native tree, can be read as two words 'ka uri'. Uri translates to 'descendants' (Doherty 2002). Our understandings of *pūrākau* in relation to the trees, show the importance of 'stories' in Māori culture, it signals the way in which story telling was viewed as central in the connecting, nurturing, sustaining and flourishing of our people.⁸³

Sources such as *pūrākau* are identified within the 'Te Hinātore' Report⁸⁴ as 'Kōrero Tawhito'. Kōrero Tawhito "provide models for human behaviour"⁸⁵ and are a mechanism by which *tikanga* Māori is maintained intergenerationally. The authors note:

Kōrero tawhito are one of the origins of tikanga Māori. Kōrero tawhito illustrate the world's evolution and Māori have extracted their tikanga from kōrero tawhito and adopted the principles to create the Māori legal order. The term for Māori custom is tikanga, which is derived from the word tika. Tika can cover a whole range of meanings, from right and proper, true, honest, just, personally and culturally correct or proper to upright. Tikanga does not denote a static set of rules. Several aspects of Māori "customary society and philosophy, provided the framework for a distinctive set of values and norms that collectively constituted the Māori legal order." The whole Māori legal system was based on values, and being a values based system Māori adhered to principles rather than a set of rules.⁸⁶

Traditional knowledge forms in the form of *mātauranga* Māori are relayed through a wide range of forms. Rapata Wiri notes that *mātauranga* Māori provides a distinct Māori epistemology and ways of knowing and draws upon a range of both verbal and non-verbal forms for its expression. Rapata highlights the complexity of definitions of *mātauranga* Māori and its multiple elements as follows:

Māori epistemology; the Māori way; the Māori world view; the Māori style of thought; Māori ideology; Māori knowledge base; Māori perspective; to understand or to be acquainted with the Māori world; to be knowledgeable in things Māori; to be a graduate of the Māori schools of learning; Māori tradition and history; Māori experience of history; Māori enlightenment; Māori scholarship; Māori intellectual tradition.⁸⁷

In identifying non-verbal forms of *mātauranga* Māori Wiri also highlights some examples as; *whakairo*, *rāranga*, *hangarau*, *hanga* *whare*, and verbal forms as: *whakapapa*, *kōrero*, *whakataukī*,

83 Lee, J. 2005 *Ngā Tohutohu: A Pūrākau Approach to Māori Teacher Narratives*, A presentation to TEFANZ Conference, September 2005; The earlier discussion related to *Niwareka* and *Mataora* is one example of *pūrākau* as a process of knowledge transmission.

84 Ministry of Justice (2001) op.cit.:6

85 *ibid.*:27

86 *ibid.*

87 Wiri, R. (2001) *The Prophecies Of The Great Canyon Of Toi: A History Of Te Whāiti-nui-a-Toi In The Western Urewera Mountains Of New Zealand*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland: 25



waiata, kupu whakaari.⁸⁸ It is through these forms, and others, that Māori knowledge is passed through the generations. Therefore it is a return to these forms as sources of knowledge that many Māori are now turning to in order to frame Māori models to transform key issues such as family violence.⁸⁹ Before moving to a discussion of Māori models in the area of family violence we must first outline some key definitions that to date have defined the field.

Summary: For the past 25 years there has been a resurgence in the development and implementation of Māori initiatives that are based upon and affirm te reo and tikanga Māori. These developments have been instrumental in the development of Kaupapa Māori frameworks across a range of sectors such as education, justice, and health. These frameworks are grounded on the notion that te reo and tikanga Māori are both valid and legitimate, and provide us with both the conceptual understandings and practices to bring about change for Māori. This section highlights that within te reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori are cultural templates upon which contemporary developments can be based. These templates are passed down through the generations through mechanisms such as pūrākau and other forms of kōrero, including kōrero tawhito, mōteatea and whakataukī, amongst other forms. Within these knowledge forms exists the evidence for us to identify the values, concepts, protocols and processes that can inform our current work.

88 Rapata defines these as whakairo – carving, rāranga – weaving, hangarau – technology, hanga whare – house building, and verbal forms as; whakapapa – genealogy, kōrero – oral narratives, whakataukī – proverbs, waiata – song, kupu whakaari – proverbial sayings. I would add that the term whakairo in its wider sense relates to the process of making shape.

89 For examples of Māori Providers creating transformative programmes based on tikanga Māori refer to the Iwi and Māori Provider Success report – International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, The University of Auckland (2002)

DEFINING FAMILY VIOLENCE FOR MĀORI

Overview: In order to understand family violence for Māori it is necessary to gain insights into how the field is defined. This section outlines a number of key definitions in the area of family violence and provides critique of the limitations of such definitions for Māori. It also outlines Māori perspectives on what constitutes family violence for Māori and in particular the argument that there is a need to broaden definitions to include an analysis of wider historical, social and political influences.

The 'Te Rito, New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy' defines family violence more specifically in regards to the actual behaviours and actions. The definition provided in the strategy is as follows:

Te Rito, New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy (Ministry of Social Development 2002) defines family violence as encompassing a broad range of controlling behaviours, commonly of a physical, sexual and/or psychological nature and which typically involve fear, intimidation and emotional deprivation. It occurs within a variety of close interpersonal relationships, such as between partners, parents and children, siblings, and in other relationships where significant others are not part of the physical household but are part of the family and/or are fulfilling the function of family.

In addition, the strategy lists commonly recognised sub-groupings of violence in families/ whānau. These are:

- *Child abuse/neglect (abuse/neglect of children by an adult) spouse/partner abuse/intimate partner violence (violence among adult partners)*
- *Elder abuse/neglect (abuse/neglect of older people aged approximately 65 years and over, by a person with whom they have a relationship of trust) parental abuse (violence perpetrated by a child against their parent)*
- *Sibling abuse (violence among siblings).*

Because of the dearth of information about parental abuse and sibling abuse these issues are not discussed in this report.⁹⁰

The legal definition of family violence is framed through the Domestic Violence Act 1995 and is

90 Fanslow, J. (2005) Beyond Zero Tolerance: Key Issues and Future Directions For Family Violence Work In New Zealand, Research Report 3/05 Families Commission, Wellington



named as domestic violence. The act provides the definition as:

3. *Meaning of "domestic violence"---(1) In this Act, "domestic violence", in relation to any person, means violence against that person by any other person with whom that person is, or has been, in a domestic relationship.*

(2) *In this section, "violence" means:*

(a) *Physical abuse*

(b) *Sexual abuse*

(c) *Psychological abuse, including, but not limited to:*

(i) *Intimidation*

(ii) *Harassment*

(iii) *Damage to property*

(iv) *Threats of physical abuse, sexual abuse, or psychological abuse*

(v) *In relation to a child, abuse of the kind set out in subsection (3) of this section.*

(3) *Without limiting subsection (2)(c) of this section, a person psychologically abuses a child if that person:*

(a) *Causes or allows the child to see or hear the physical, sexual, or psychological abuse of a person with whom the child has a domestic relationship, or*

(b) *Puts the child, or allows the child to be put, at real risk of seeing or hearing that abuse occurring;--- but the person who suffers that abuse is not regarded, for the purposes of this subsection, as having caused or allowed the child to see or hear the abuse, or, as the case may be, as having put the child, or allowed the child to be put, at risk of seeing or hearing the abuse.*

(4) *Without limiting subsection (2) of this section*

(a) *A single act may amount to abuse for the purposes of that subsection*

(b) *A number of acts that form part of a pattern of behaviour may amount to abuse for that purpose, even though some or all of those acts, when viewed in isolation, may appear to be minor or trivial.*

(5) *Behaviour may be psychological abuse for the purposes of subsection (2) (c) of this section which does not involve actual or threatened physical or sexual abuse.*

This definition provided a broader notion of what constitutes violence to previous legal definitions, thereby acknowledging the impact of psychological abuse, sexual abuse and on children who witness violence.⁹¹

91 Cram, F., Pihama, L., Jenkins, K., Karehana, M., (2002) *Evaluation of Programmes for Māori Adult Protected Persons under the Domestic Violence Act (1995)*, The International Research Institute for Māori And Indigenous Education, The University of Auckland, Auckland

A further legal definition is provided by Jane Fanslow in regards to the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act:

The Children, Young Persons and Their Families (CYPF) Amendment (No. 121) Act 1994 defines child abuse as "the harming (whether physically, emotionally or sexually), ill treatment, abuse, neglect, or deprivation of any child or young person".⁹²

Drawing on the US National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN), Fanslow also provides a range of definitions related to various forms of family violence.⁹³

The US National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) defines child abuse and neglect as, at minimum (NCCAN 2005):

- *Any recent act or failure to act on the part of a parent or caretaker which results in death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse or exploitation*
- *An act or failure to act which presents an imminent risk of serious harm.*

Physical abuse is physical injury (ranging from minor bruises to severe fractures or death) as a result of punching, beating, kicking, biting, shaking, throwing, stabbing, choking, hitting (with a hand, stick, strap or other object), burning or otherwise harming a child. Such injury is considered abuse regardless of whether the caretaker intended to hurt the child.

Sexual abuse includes activities by a parent or caretaker such as fondling a child's genitals, penetration, incest, rape, sodomy, indecent exposure and exploitation through prostitution or the production of pornographic materials.

Emotional abuse is a pattern of behaviour that impairs a child's emotional development or sense of self-worth. This may include constant criticism, threats or rejection, as well as withholding love, support or guidance. Emotional abuse is often difficult to prove and, therefore, Child Protective Services may not be able to intervene without evidence of harm to the child. Emotional abuse is almost always present when other forms are identified.

Neglect is failure to provide for a child's basic needs. Neglect may be:

- *Physical (e.g. failure to provide necessary food or shelter, or lack of appropriate supervision)*
- *Medical (e.g. failure to provide necessary medical or mental health treatment)*
- *Educational (e.g. failure to educate a child or attend to special education needs)*
- *Emotional (e.g. inattention to a child's emotional needs, failure to provide*

92 Fanslow, Jane (2005) Beyond Zero Tolerance: Key issues and future directions for family violence work in New Zealand. August (2005). A report prepared for the Families Commission:14

93 refer also Saltzman, Linda E., Fanslow, Janet L., McMahon, Pamela M., Shelley, Gene A. (1999) *Intimate Partner Violence Surveillance, Uniform Definitions And Recommended Data Elements Version 1.0* http://www.cdc.gov/ncipc/pub-res/ipv_surveillance/00_Preliminary_Matter.htm



- Psychological care or permitting the child to use alcohol or other drugs).

NCCAN (2005) also advises that these situations do not always mean a child is neglected. Sometimes cultural values, the standards of care in the community, and poverty may be contributing factors, indicating the family is in need of information or assistance. When a family fails to use information and resources, and the child's health or safety is at risk, then child welfare intervention may be required.⁹⁴

Looking at other definitions of family violence, The Families Commission Report on Elder Abuse provides the following definition in regards to the elderly:

For the purposes of this research project the definition used by New Zealand Age Concern Elder Abuse and Prevention Services was adopted. Age Concern New Zealand (Age Concern New Zealand Inc, 2005) says that elder abuse and neglect is usually committed by a person known to the victim and with whom they have a relationship implying trust. A person who abuses an older person usually has some sort of control or influence over him/her. Family members, friends, staff in residential facilities or anyone the older person relies on for basic needs, may be abusers. According to Age Concern New Zealand, four main types of elder abuse occur:

Physical abuse: the abuser may inflict physical pain or injury or use force on a victim.

Psychological/emotional abuse: behaviours by the abuser which cause the victim anguish, stress or fear.

Financial abuse: such as the illegal or improper exploitation and use of funds or other resources.

Sexual abuse: such as threats, forced engagement in sexual activity or exploitation of the inability to consent to sexual activity.

This definition is widely accepted and used in New Zealand. It was ratified at the National Strategic Research Planning day in 2006 as the agreed definition of elder abuse and neglect (Age Concern New Zealand Inc, 2006).

Where formal definitions such as those noted provide the parameters within which family violence is considered it is also important to acknowledge the influence of both common-sense every day explanations and deficit approaches in informing the 'general public' and shaping peoples beliefs and understandings of family violence.

For example, reductionist views that place the origins of family violence as being about race⁹⁵ or genetics seek to minimise the reasons underpinning family violence for Māori. The media also have a significant influence on how people come to understand critical issues within our society.⁹⁶ This is highlighted by Di Grennell:

⁹⁴ Fanslow op.cit.:14

⁹⁵ The construction of the notion of Māori as a 'warrior race' has been promulgated as 'proof' of Family Violence being inherent to Māori culture. For example refer Pihama, L. 2001 From Once Were Warriors to carrying The Piano: The Decontextualisation of Māori Image in Film, A Keynote Paper to Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific Special Interest Group, American Education Research Association Conference, Seattle

⁹⁶ For example the feature film 'Once Were Warriors' became viewed as a universal representation of the lives of Māori whānau. Refer Pihama, L. (1995) 'Once Were Warriors - Some thoughts' in Northwest, Dunedin Art Gallery magazine, Dunedin

Within the violence discourse Māori are rendered both hyper visible and invisible. If we pause for a moment we can bring to mind the names and faces of women and children victims of intimate partner violence and child abuse. Are most of the faces and names you recall Māori? While it is true that Māori are disproportionately represented as both victims and perpetrators of this violence, media representation would suggest that Māori are the only victims and perpetrators. High profile tragedies are seized on by misinformed commentators who denounce Māori leaders and make reference to the 'brown under classes'.⁹⁷

The ways in which cases of family violence are constructed can create a context where people's views of issues are shaped by limited understanding of what are presented as causal links.⁹⁸ This is explained with some clarity in the report 'Violence Against Children: Domestic Violence and Child Homicide in New Zealand' as follows:

If child abuse were a "Māori" problem, we would expect to see it only within Māori families. However, it occurs in communities the world over. Family violence, sexual abuse of women and children, high levels of drug and alcohol abuse, poverty and high levels of crime occur in other highly stressed communities. Aboriginal communities, Native American communities in Canada and the US, and African-American communities in the US are all grappling with these problems. At present Australia is going through the same soul-searching as New Zealand in respect of its Aboriginal people. The same arguments for and against government intervention in Aboriginal families and communities are being aired, and the same lack of consensus is evident. Child abuse is not, therefore, a function of race or genetics, but rather a function of whatever those communities have in common. The other chestnut that will surely be dragged out for cracking is welfare. The fact that the Kahui family were on benefits did not escape anyone's attention, and for many the link between welfare and child abuse is a causal one. The argument goes: people on welfare abuse their spouses and children, take drugs and are lazy. Ergo, if we cut welfare they will get jobs, start cleaning their teeth and become responsible, caring citizens. A similar line of reasoning is that welfare makes people dependent. Therefore they are lazy and abuse their spouses etc. If they weren't dependent they would clean their teeth etc. These arguments ignore the fact that family violence "knows no boundaries" as one of the speakers at the vigil observed. All child abuse does not occur in beneficiary households, nor do all beneficiaries abuse their children. Moreover, the evidence suggests that when work is available, "dependent" beneficiaries get jobs, even if the pay is not much better than a benefit. Among beneficiaries with illness and disabilities there are many who would prefer to work but are unable to get jobs. They depend on the state for income, albeit reluctantly. It is difficult to believe that abolishing or cutting welfare will stop anyone taking their frustrations out on their spouses and children. Furthermore, this reasoning in no way explains the domestic violence that occurs in well-off households – indeed it renders it invisible.⁹⁹

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97 Grennell, D., (2008) op.cit.:3

98 Refer also to www.areyouok.org.nz Reporting Domestic/ Family Violence Guidelines For Journalists

99 Wynd, D., (2006) Violence Against Children: Domestic Violence and Child Homicide in New Zealand, Child Poverty Action Group (inc): pp 3-4



Within the various mainstream definitions of family violence the focus remains one of a nuclear family context and there is no provision within the definition to recognise broader constructions of violence that impact upon Māori whānau. Some definitions such as those provided in the 'Te Rito' Strategy continue to equate family and whānau as if they are the same thing. This is not the case. Leonie Pihama has noted, in her critique of the Parents As First Teachers Programmes, that family and whānau must not be seen as the same. She writes:

The dominant group construction of what constitutes a 'family' fails to accommodate the varied ways in which Māori people have located themselves within a whānau structure. The term whānau is used within PAFT, however it is on the whole juxtaposed to the term family and is employed within a limited definition constructed by the dominant group. The concept of whānau does not equate to the nuclear family concept used within PAFT. Whānau may be generally interpreted as 'extended family' consisting of up to three or four generations and was the basic social unit "under the direction of kaumatua and kuia" (Henare 1988). Whānau structures provide for a system of accountability and responsibility. It is a structure through which Māori societal and cultural norms may be reinforced and acts as a resource through which to obtain support, knowledge of the world and to receive necessary values and belief systems essential to both the individual and the society.¹⁰⁰

The difference is also stressed by participants in the research by Tai Walker titled 'Whānau is Whānau'. In discussing the difference between family and whānau one participant stated:

"Family and whānau were from two different worlds", "I don't believe the same rights and responsibilities exist within family as they do within whānau. The rights and responsibilities of a whānau are more of a priority than in a family. The rights and responsibilities in a family will happen not because you're part of the family but because of your make-up as an individual, and those rights and responsibilities you feel as an individual contributing to that family. In whānau they are implicit and clearer. For me whānau is a wider concept because of that connectedness to hapū and iwi, whereas family I don't think has that strength and genealogy".¹⁰¹

Kruger et. al. note that the defining element for whānau is whakapapa however a range of social policy developments have redefined whānau in ways that do not acknowledge the unique definition of whānau as whakapapa based. They note:

In many of the social policy statements on whānau violence, whānau and family are used interchangeably. Social policy does not make the distinction between whānau and family and in fact using these terms synonymously in social policy indicates that they are either not well understood or viewed as the same constructs with different languages used to describe them. The focus of this report is on whānau violence. While the Taskforce recognises the diversity of 'whānau' and that many Māori do not identify with whakapapa or kin based whānau, all Māori

100 Pihama, L., (1993) *Tungia te Ururua, Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu o te Harakeke: A Critical Analysis of Parents as First Teachers*, RUME Masters Theses Series Number 3, University of Auckland, Auckland:57

101 Walker, Tai *Whānau is Whānau* (2006), Blue Skies Report No. 8/06 Health Services Research Centre, Victoria University, Wellington

*have whakapapa. It is the consciousness, acceptance and practice of it that differs.*¹⁰²

The inability for western definitions to cater for Māori experiences is also noted in relation to the Domestic Violence Act. In discussing issues for Māori in regards to family violence, Lievore et. al. highlight that the Act is based upon the western nuclear family and does not provide for wider whānau structures:

*Although the Domestic Violence Act 1995 adopts a broad definition of family relationships, most research on family violence reflects the conjugal, nuclear family orientation of European New Zealand, or at best includes single-parent families. There is little discussion of differences associated with the role of whānau or other extended family forms. In some cultural contexts, particularly for Māori and Pacific peoples, family/whānau structure will play an important role in the breadth of violence experienced, in interpretations of what constitutes violence, where the boundary lies between discipline and violence, and in disclosure and help-seeking decisions.*¹⁰³

Furthermore, Cram et. al. highlight that the Act fails to acknowledge the impact of violence upon whānau Māori through acts of colonisation and institutional racism. They write:

*The Domestic Violence Act 1995 is also a piece of legislation written to fit within a broader western legal schema. Its applicability and usefulness to Māori therefore remains limited, as a Māori philosophical position on violence in general, and violence within families in particular, differs greatly from generally-accepted western positions. The Domestic Violence Act 1995 attempts therefore to legislate for a problem that is prevalent among Māori communities and families and yet fails to recognise its own inclusion as part of a greater mechanism of continuous violence perpetrated upon Māori people within a colonised Aotearoa.*¹⁰⁴

This was stressed in the 'Te Rito Action Area 13 Literature Review' where key informants identified the need for Māori to move beyond the western models that "failed to provide for Māori":¹⁰⁵

*I am totally convinced that current western models, western approaches to dealing with domestic violence is faulted and runs short for Māori people. They may very well be proven to be effective with Pākehā people, but it does not work I know that for myself in seeing it in operation... There are certain people you can go to and there are certain people you can't. It's got nothing to do with qualifications in a western way.*¹⁰⁶

This was also noted in the report 'Evaluation of Programmes for Māori Adult Protected Persons under the Domestic Violence Act 1995' by a counsellor for Māori Provider Tū Tama Wahine, who raised the issue of 'tauwiwi', 'monocultural' organisations failing to provide to Māori women. She argued strongly for Kaupapa Māori programmes to be provided:

... which Māori see the world experience? There are differences, for example, a tauwiwi programme will focus, say on, inequality on men and

102 Kruger et.al. (2004) op.cit.:12

103 Lievore (2007) op.cit.:56

104 Cram, F., Pihama, L., Jenkins, K., Karehana, M., (2002) Evaluation of Programmes for Māori Adult Protected Persons under the Domestic Violence Act (1995), The International Research Institute for Māori And Indigenous Education, The University of Auckland, Auckland:4

105 Pihama et.al. (2003) op.cit.: 12

106 ibid:12



women, where a Māori programme is going to include decolonisation, the inequality between tauwi and Māori in this country, so straight away, if that's not there, then there's a whole piece missing from the analysis of violence. Tū Tama Wahine¹⁰⁷

In working with Māori children in the area of family violence the tumuaki Māori of Early Childhood Development stated that it important that their programme 'He Taonga Te Mokopuna' be designed within a Kaupapa Māori framework:

It means we can specifically focus on things we know will work for us as Māori, and will be acceptable to us as Māori. We are well aware of the different levels of comfort different Māori may sit with in terms of identifying as Māori; therefore we adopt a very sensitive approach to incorporating tikanga according to that comfort level. Overall however, our objective is to portray the positive aspects of being Māori and to convey to whānau that traditional Māori interaction as whānau is based on care and respect for ourselves and for others, beginning from the absolute uniqueness of each child within the whānau.¹⁰⁸

In the evaluation of the He Taonga Te Mokopuna programme the caregivers clearly voiced their belief that the Kaupapa Māori approach was important to their children, highlighting that having a Māori facilitator enabled the children to talk about being Māori with ease. Caregivers noted that this would not have been the case for their children had they been in a programme with Pākehā facilitation. Furthermore, it meant that the children could explore with the facilitator their identity as Māori children and be affirmed in that.¹⁰⁹

It is also identified in the Amokura review that Māori women's experiences of family violence do not necessarily reflect those of mainstream descriptions of family violence due to the historical, cultural, economic and social context within which whānau Māori are located:¹¹⁰

Finally, there are many texts, from a range of disciplines that provide examples of Māori frameworks for theorising violence. These are essential as markers of difference between Western European models and indigenous ones, and for maintaining a focus on the broader social justice agenda of how race, and racism, shape notions of 'crime', 'guilt' and accountability.¹¹¹

This contention is also made by a number of other key reports related to Māori health and wellbeing and also Māori experiences of education, health and justice. In the area of family violence there has been a strong assertion by Māori providers for the urgent need to view violence within whānau within a wider context of socio-political experiences.¹¹² The Taskforce advocated strongly in this manner noting:

If whānau violence interventions continue to be delivered from a Pākehā conceptual and practice framework that isolates, criminalises and pathologies Māori individuals, nothing will change.¹¹³

107 Cram, F., Pihama, L., Jenkins, K., Karehana, M., (2002) *Evaluation of Programmes for Māori Adult Protected Persons under the Domestic Violence Act (1995)*, The International Research Institute for Māori And Indigenous Education, The University of Auckland, Auckland:20

108 Cargo, T., Cram, F., Dixon, R., Widdowson, D., Adair, V., (2002) *Evaluation of Programmes for Children under the Domestic Violence Act (1995)*, The International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education and Centre for Child and Family Policy Research, The University of Auckland. A report commissioned by The Ministry of Justice and Department of Courts, Wellington:77

109 *ibid.*:80

110 *ibid.*:11

111 Erai (2007) *op.cit.*:12

112 Cram *et.al.* (2002) *op.cit.*

113 Kruger *et.al.*, (2004) *op.cit.*:4

What is clear in the existing literature is that western frameworks are based upon Pākehā assumptions in terms of family violence. For example, the Taskforce discuss the assumption that "severing ties" and isolation from a perpetrator provides a form of closure for women however for Māori women where whanaungatanga and whakapapa are linked in complex ways these are often not the 'answer' rather there requires a collective education of the whole whānau to deal with the issue.¹¹⁴

What is clear from such an analysis is that there is a need to ensure that definitions of family violence for Māori must be provided that deliberately and consciously engage the wider social, economic and cultural context within which we find ourselves and be framed within a kaupapa Māori framework that is grounded upon tikanga Māori.¹¹⁵ Defining family violence for Māori is particularly important in order to contextualise the ways in which programmes are developed to respond to what has been termed an epidemic.¹¹⁶ The second Māori Taskforce on whānau violence makes the following observation to that effect:

*Whānau violence is understood by this taskforce to be an epidemic because of the magnitude and serious nature of it for whānau, hapū and iwi and the way in which it is collectively spread and maintained. Whānau violence is intergenerational and directly impacts on whakapapa. It has taken several generations of learned behaviour and practice to entrench whānau violence as the most devastating and debilitating of social practices. It will take time for whānau violence to be unlearned.*¹¹⁷

In determining the definition and construction of family violence for Māori the Taskforce also argue that approaches to family violence and whānau violence are not the same, in fact the responses are often diametrically opposed. Whānau violence is defined in regards to a transgression of tikanga Māori, they note:

The Taskforce understands whānau violence as the compromise of te ao Māori values. Whānau violence can be understood as an absence or a disturbance in tikanga. Tikanga is defined by this Taskforce as the process of practicing Māori values. The Taskforce believes that transgressing whakapapa is a violence act and that Māori have a right to protect (rather than defend) their whakapapa from violence and abuse.

In defining whānau violence in such a way the Taskforce are highlighting the need for significant broadening of the current dominant definitions of what constitutes whānau violence. The Taskforce is advocating a definition that is inclusive of tikanga Māori and which acknowledges that all violence against whānau is whānau violence.¹¹⁸ A definition that includes the notion that all forms of transgression towards whānau, including colonisation, is whānau violence also advocated by others.¹¹⁹ Manuka Henare¹²⁰ in Cram and Pitama¹²¹ extends the traditional definition of 'abuse' to include 'constitutional, legal and ethical' abuses, thereby including wider social, economic and political transgressions towards whānau as acts of whānau violence. In examining a range of Māori models taken from programmes operated in the area of family

114 *ibid.* :19

115 *ibid.*

116 Kruger, T., Pitman, M., Grennell, D., McDonald, T., Mariu, D., Pomare, A., Mita, T., Maihi, M., Lawson-Te Aho, K., (2004) *Transforming Whānau Violence – A Conceptual Framework*, Second Edition,

ibid.:9

117 Kruger et. al. (2004) *op.cit.*

118 Jenkins, K. & Philip-Babara, G., (2002) *op.cit.*; Pihama et.al. (2003) *op.cit.*

120 Henare Manuka (1995) 'Te Tiriti, te tangata, te whānau: The Treaty, the human person, the family'. In *Rights and Responsibilities*. Papers from the International Year of the family symposium on rights and Responsibilities of the Family held in Wellington, 14–16 October (1994). Wellington: International Year of the Family Committee in association with the Office of the Commissioner for Children: 16 cited in Cram and Pitama (1997) *op.cit.*

121 Cram and Pitama (1997) *op.cit.*



A decorative Māori pattern, likely a koru or similar motif, is positioned on the left side of the page. It features intricate, flowing lines in shades of teal and grey, creating a sense of movement and depth. The pattern is partially obscured by the page number and the text area.

violence and Māori these broader more encompassing definitions clearly inform the way in which the Māori providers have shaped their approaches.

Summary: In dealing with any serious social issue within society there is a need for clear definitions of the area which serve as a starting point from which understandings, explanations and response are developed. In the area of family violence for Māori it has been argued that existing definitions of what constitutes family violence have been based upon Pākehā understandings of 'family' and 'violence' within those family structures. There are a small number of key definitions of family violence within policy and legislation in this country. None of those definitions are currently broad enough to encompass fully the realities of whānau. The definition of family is based upon a nuclear model, this is not a definition that encompasses the complexities of relationships within whānau. Equally, none of the current dominant definitions include analysis of violence such as colonisation or racism, which are issues that are hugely significant in the life experiences of many whānau. It is clear that definitions of family violence for Māori need to be more fully debated by Māori, including analysis of the terms 'Family Violence for Māori' and 'Whānau Violence' in order to provide a clear definition that will support developments in the field.

MĀORI MODELS

Overview: Māori providers in the area of family violence have been developing Kaupapa Māori approaches to programme delivery. This section provides an overview of a number of Kaupapa Māori based programmes. It outlines key elements, values and concepts that underpin the programme developments. It is argued in the literature that Pākehā programmes have failed to make change for Māori and that Kaupapa Māori models provide an opportunity to transform the current context of family violence for Māori.

What is clear from the literature reviewed is that what underpins whānau violence is much more complex than such simplistic deficit reasoning and therefore approaches to transforming whānau violence need to engage with the range of issues at hand. The Taskforce provide an overview of the Project Mauri Ora programme which is a direct outcome from the work of the Taskforce itself.

MAURI ORA

The conceptual framework has an overall goal of wellbeing or as the framework is named 'Mauri Ora'. This relates to wellbeing in a holistic manner which encompasses wairua, hinengaro, ngākau and tinana. Similar approaches have been used for some time in the health sector in particular the Tapa Wha model developed by Mason Durie.¹²²

The Taskforce outlines a two-tiered framework that consists of three fundamental tasks and three elements. These are outlined as follows:

We have described three fundamental tasks to be carried out when analysing and approaching violence as:

- a) *Dispelling the illusion (at the collective and individual levels) that whānau violence is normal and acceptable*
- b) *Removing opportunities for whānau violence to be perpetrated through education for the empowerment and liberation of whānau, hapū and iwi*
- c) *Teaching transformative practices based on Māori cultural imperatives that provide alternatives to violence.*

There are three elements to this framework for bringing about a transformation from violence:

- a) *Te ao Māori (the Māori world), which includes six cultural*

122 Durie (2001) op.cit.



constructs to be applied as practice tools. They are whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana

- b) *Te ao hurihuri (contemporary realities), which describes contemporary influences that prohibit or undermine the practice of cultural constructs from te ao Māori. The most significant of these is colonisation and its associated outcomes. The ability of Māori practitioners to critically analyse the impacts and outcomes of colonisation is critical*
- c) *A transformative element which applies cultural constructs from te ao Māori and takes into account environmental and contextual interference and influences from te ao hurihuri.*

The key tasks (i) dispelling the myths: (ii) removing opportunities: and (iii) teaching transformative practices point to the tasks to be undertaken by the provider/ facilitator and the expectations in terms of processes within the programmes. These tasks are essential in terms of creating a process whereby participants are able to understand and have an understanding of the broader context of colonisation, racism, myths related to the role of culture in whānau violence and issues pertaining to the continuum of violence etc. to enable a clearer understanding of underpinning conditions and reasons for such violence both within and upon whānau. Processes of removing opportunities link directly to notions of safety and protection for all whānau members, and providing analysis and education whereby the opportunity for violence and abuse is eliminated. Finally, the task of transformative practice is a key element within Kaupapa Māori approaches.¹²³ Providing alternatives to violence enables a process of transformation and therefore highlights the intervention element within the programme.¹²⁴ This is highlighted as follows:

The transformative process for empowerment and self-realisation relies on demystifying illusions held by the perpetrator, victims and their whānau. This involves a process of displacement through education and the replacement of violence with alternatives. The transformative process includes contesting the illusions around whānau violence, removing opportunities for the practice of whānau violence and replacing those with alternative behaviours and ways of understanding. Te reo Māori, tikanga and āhuatanga Māori are all conduits for transformation from whānau violence to whānau wellbeing.¹²⁵

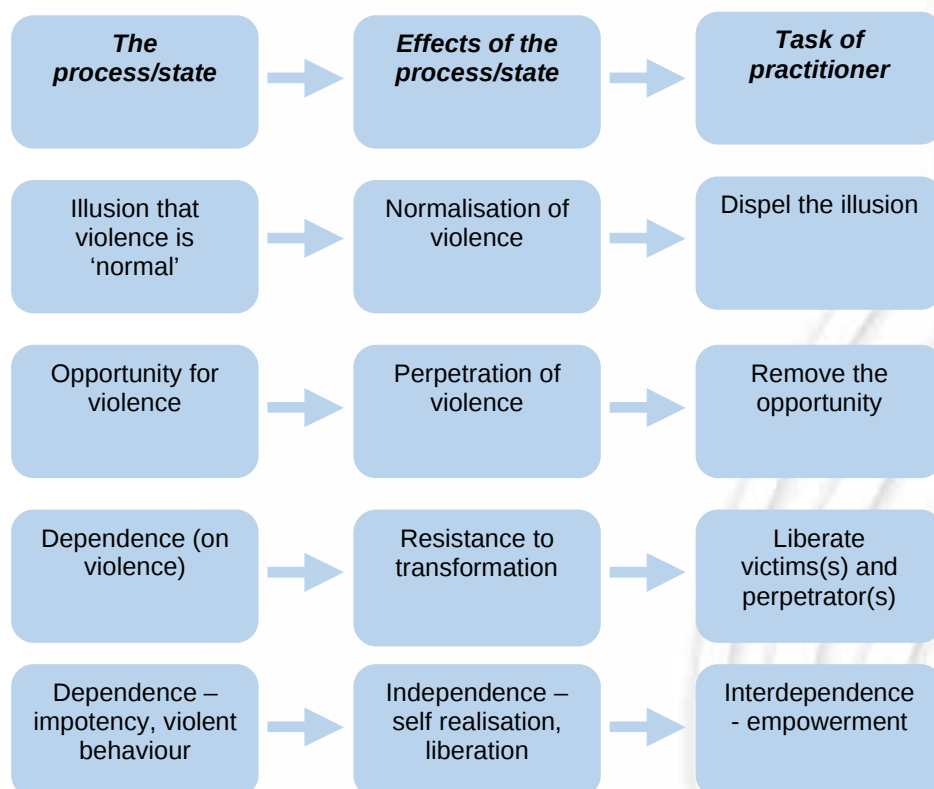
The Taskforce asserts forcefully that these fundamental tasks provide a clear process for engaging with whānau violence.

This is highlighted diagrammatically as follows where the tasks of the practitioner are shown alongside processes or states that are intrinsic to whānau violence:

123 Smith, G.H. (1997); Pihama (2003); Cram, F., & Pipi, K. (2001)

124 Kruger et al (2004)

125 ibid.



37

What this diagram highlights is the way in which processes and states associated with whānau violence can be intervened in through practitioners undertaking the key tasks of Project Mauri Ora.

Alongside the task oriented elements the Taskforce also identified three elements for bringing about a transformation from violence, those being (i) te ao Māori; (ii) te ao hurihuri; and (iii) transformative elements.

The following table highlights a further breakdown of these elements:

Element	Description
Te Ao Māori	Includes six cultural constructs as practice tools: • Whakapapa • Tikanga • Wairua • Tapu • Mauri • Mana
Te Ao Hurihuri	• Colonisation • Violence continuum • Powerlessness • Abnormalisation • Criminalising Māori processes • Redefining gender/western feminist frameworks
Transformative Elements	• Education for empowerment • Education for self-realisation • Providing alternatives to violence • Education of the collective • Māori practitioners as educators • Māori practitioners as exemplars



Where the tasks clearly relate to intentions and expectations of the Māori practitioners, the elements reflect more content and process related aspects of the programme. What is clearly stated by the Taskforce is the acknowledgement of the diversity of deliveries in the area and the need to not be overly prescriptive. What is provided is a framework which practitioners and providers can utilise to develop their programmes in the area. The framework is based on the experiences and expertise of Māori people who have worked in the area of family violence for Māori over many years and therefore is based on what are considered sound principles and best practice for Māori.

Two evaluations undertaken in relation to programmes provided under the DVA (1995) also provide insight into programme models used by Māori organisations working in the area of whānau violence. In the 'Evaluation of Programmes for Māori Adult Protected Persons Under the Domestic Violence Act 1995' two Māori programmes are discussed in some depth. One programme provided by Tū Tama Wahine in Taranaki outline the following key elements in their programme.¹²⁶

TU TAMA WAHINE

TABLE 2.1 PROGRAMME FOR MĀORI ADULT PROTECTED PERSONS AT TŪ TAMA WAHINE

Whakarurutanga: Tiaki Tinana, Tiaki Tamariki	Safety for women and children
Te Aotūroa: Tāhuhu Kōrero Whānau	Generational family patterns
Te Whakapūranga o ngā Tūkino	Cycle of violence
Ngā Tikanga mō ngā Tamariki	The impact of adult violence on children
Te Aotūroa: Kōrero Tūturu	The impact of assimilation on Māori women
Te Aotūroa: Ngā Āhuatanga i Puta Mai	The impact of assimilation on Māori men
Te Aotūroa: Ngā Whakaaro o te Whanaunga	Family value systems
Te Aotūroa: Tūkino	Tangata Power and control in the family
Mana Wāhine	Women's power and prestige
Mana Wāhine: Wāhine Tiaki Tangata	Māori women's power and prestige – caring for ourselves and others
Mana Tāne: Tāne Tiaki Tangata	Māori men's power and prestige – responsibility for the safety, care and protection of the family
Te Wānanga Whakamutunga mo te Whānau	Social safety – social networks

Each of these elements are described in some depth within the report and what is clear is that the tasks outlined for each of the sessions within the Tū Tama Wahine programme link directly to the key tasks determined by the Taskforce. The underpinning philosophy of the Tū Tama Wahine programme also espouses the need to ensure that elements of tikanga Māori inform both the content and approach of the programme.

The programme run by Tū Tama Wahine is a Kaupapa Māori programme that is multi-levelled in terms of the approach and which seeks to provide participants to "develop internal and whānau strengths" that "are powerful means by which to enable protection".¹²⁷ A number of key outcomes were identified by participants that relate directly to the notion of transformation that is advocated in the 'Mauri Ora' programme, these being:

- Enabling women with information, education, support and empowerment to ensure protection;

¹²⁶ Cram et.al. (2002):21

¹²⁷ ibid.:29

- Supporting women in their development of a sense of empowerment;
- A sense of whānau development that has positive impacts on how they see their situation;
- A building of knowledge and self esteem;
- An ability to self-reflect on their own situation; and
- An ability to challenge things within their situation.¹²⁸

Tū Tama Wahine staff talked in some depth during the evaluation about the importance of a Kaupapa Māori approach to this programme and family violence more generally. Key to that approach is the analysis of history and pre-colonial processes of engaging violence in order for participants to understand Kaupapa Māori ways of dealing with domestic violence. The place of Māori relationships and issues of the position of Māori women and Māori men within Te Ao Māori, and the subsequent impact of colonisation on those areas is also critical to gaining an understanding of current issues. The impact of the sessions on colonisation are clearly noted by participants, as shown by the following example:

That was a major kaupapa, and I was lucky to have been in that course when [the facilitator] had presented colonisation and assimilation... You could see from te ao kōwhatu that the faces were proud, they wore korowai and that whakarangatira i a tātou anō. And then when you saw the pictures through colonisation, they wore Pākehā stuff and their kanohi were sad. They were in a world that they didn't want to be in, and that was clearly seen. And that made a good effect on those of us that were in that world that we didn't want to be in. A comment that I had made through that situation was, the mamae is still there from colonisation. The loss of land, the loss of mana, the bringing in of waipiro, the abuse, the physical whakaiti, all that stuff. A comment that I made at that time is the mamae was still here, but we've got mana, we've just gotta grab it with both hands and hold on tight and don't let anyone take it away from us.¹²⁹

In working with Māori women as protected persons, Tū Tama Wahine ensures that those women have access to knowledge that supports them as wāhine Māori, their identity and their cultural needs. One key element of that is the incorporation of an understanding of the role of Māori women within Te Ao Māori, through an understanding of tikanga Māori. The evaluation notes that within the programme the practitioners highlight that archival documentation indicates that relationships within Te Ao Māori were based "on fundamental belief in mana, tapu, noa and associated tikanga Māori concepts".¹³⁰ One programme facilitator noted:

In all those early written reports the women and children were fearless; I've read them. The only way you get fearless women and children is by raising them in a culture where women and children are loved and respected. That's the only way. You do not get fearless women and children through raising them in a violent manner and that's the evidence. That has to be put across in any programme. Otherwise how can they face the truth about what's happened, they'll never face it. That there are historical things that need to be undone, need to be corrected. (Tū Tama Wahine staff member interview)

This historical and tikanga knowledge is shared within the programme so that participants are able to come to understand that Māori women have a particular status in Te Ao Māori, and that violation of that status is a transgression of that status:

¹²⁸ *ibid.*29–30

¹²⁹ *ibid.*:31–32

¹³⁰ *ibid.*



There's just things that have got to be talked about, the effects of violation on mana and tapu. That's got to be included in the whole package. Things are put across; the violation of the wairua is spoken about. Even looking at key factors and words of our society, breaking it down and what they mean and how they co-relate, so that people start to get a new respect for the beauty of the language. How can you have those sorts of words in the language and not have it reflected in society or in the people. The true picture has to be put across. There's got to be an analysis of colonisation, a structural analysis on society now, and the state we're at now and how come. And I think the cultural signposts have got to be put out really clearly. The stories, the whakapapa that show that violence was not acceptable, that rape was not acceptable, that incest was not acceptable... these are the signposts that say that. This is like a doctor's prescription, this story says this, and so the re-interpretation of all those things needs to happen, from a woman's perspective actually. (Tū Tama Wahine staff member interview)¹³¹

TE WHARE RURUHAU O MERI

The second Adult Protected Persons programme evaluated is run by Te Whare Ruruahu o Meri and is based upon the organisation's mission statement which is:

'Recognising the need to stop domestic violence where-ever and when-ever it arises. To be violence free'.¹³²

This is complemented by the following whakataukī which provides the basis for understanding and developing the healing process:

'Mā te whakaatu ka mōhio. Me te mōhio ka marama. Mā te marama ki mātau. Mā te mātau ka aroha.

By wisdom comes understanding, by understanding comes light, by light comes wisdom, and by wisdom comes love and everlasting compassion'.¹³³

The programme too operates from a Kaupapa Māori base with the programme including the following elements:

- Whanaungatanga
- Taha Wairua
- Taha Hinengaro
- Taha Tinana
- The nature of domestic violence historically, socially and culturally
- The Domestic Violence Act
- Support networks
- Impact of domestic violence
- Journeys of understanding and contemplation
- Problem solving, strategies for dealing with situations in an affirming way
- Understanding of the nature and effects of domestic violence within families and the cycle of violence
- Applying strategies and understanding from the programme
- Identify any other complications that may affect their everyday living and whānau such as drug and alcohol abuse

131 *ibid.*:58

132 *ibid.*:69

133 *ibid.*

- Safety for whānau
- Understanding possible behavioural and attitudinal change in respondents after educational programmes
- Relationship management
- Non-violent problem-solving strategies within relationships.¹³⁴

As with the Tū Tama Wahine programme, Te Whare Ruruhau o Meri included a range of mechanisms by which participants come to understand their situation, beginning with tikanga Māori and understanding the historical, social and political context that influences the current nature of domestic violence.

The elements of transformation are also evident throughout the programme, again as is advocated within the 'Mauri Ora' project. Other elements noted in the evaluation that are woven within the fabric of the programme are:

- Caring for people, nurturing whānau
- Aroha tētahi ki tētahi
- Providing an holistic approach that is inclusive of whānau
- Ensuring empowering, affirming approaches
- Self-reflection
- Promoting lifestyle changes
- Independent thinking.

Through the evaluation of the Tū Tama Wahine and Te Whare Ruruhau o Meri programmes the evaluation team constructed a table of broad 'Key Principles' that could be utilised in evaluating programmes for Adult Protected Persons under the Domestic Violence Act 1995.¹³⁵

These are shown in the following table:

KEY PRINCIPLES		
Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga	Kaupapa Māori Solutions	Individual and Collective Healing
Ako Māori: Māori pedagogy	Kia ōrite i ngā raruraru o te kāinga: mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties	Priority given to participants' safety
Taonga tuku iho: cultural aspirations	Kaupapa: Collective Vision	(Tino) Rangatiratanga – relative authority
Providers (facilitators, counsellors) are Māori	Support Māori cultural aspirations	Participants are listened to and not judged
Providers have appropriate skills and training	Holistic approach including taha wairua, taha hinengaro, taha tinana	Women share their experiences with others
Culturally safe use of te reo me ōna tikanga	Consultation with whānau, hapū, iwi	Affirmation, empowerment and choice
Matching providers and participants	Access to mātauranga Māori	Building self esteem
Code of ethics and standards	Manaakitanga – support and care	Sense of community and shared responsibility
Sense of equality between provider and participants	Social, political, historical and gender analysis of domestic violence	Recognition of Mana Wahine, Mana Tane, Mana Tamariki
Valuing of nurturing and mutually-respectful relationships	Acceptance of and respect for the client as a whole person	Whānau support of extended family structure and an emphasis on connectedness
	Supporting women in the legal system	Objective of restoring balance

¹³⁴ ibid.:75-76

¹³⁵ ibid.:124



HE TAONGA TE MOKOPUNA

The evaluation of the Domestic Violence Programmes for Children¹³⁶ provides a discussion of the programme 'He Taonga Te Mokopuna' a programme run by Early Childhood Development. As is the case with the Tū Tama Wahine and Te Whare Ruruhau o Meri programmes this programme has been developed from a Kaupapa Māori base.

Key goals within the programme align to the objectives of the Domestic Violence Act and include the tikanga concepts tika, manaaki, tū pakari, tū tangata, mana aoturoa, whakamana, mana reo, ngā wehenga/ ngā ngaronga, te whānau whānui and whakanuia te whānau. These can be summarised as follows:

- *Tiaki*: stress and implement safety and protection strategies
- *Awhi Manaaki*: developing social skills and improve their skills in social relationships
- *Tū Pakari*: develop a sense of normality and healthy self-esteem
- *Tū Tangata*: understanding of events and their role in events prior to protection order
- *Mana Aoturoa*: understanding events, changes and options after the protection order
- *Whakamana*: develop strategies for non-violent conflict resolution and anger management
- *Mana Reo*: expressing feelings
- *Ngā Wehenga, Ngā Ngaronga* : dealing with issues of separation or loss
- *Te Whānau Whānui*: building support networks
- *Whakanuia te Whānau*: strengthening bonds between child and whānau or caregiver.

In discussing the development of the programme, Huhana Rokx notes that its philosophical underpinnings were based on the principles and strands of Te Whāriki, the national early childhood curriculum statement. Te Whāriki has been developed as a bicultural curriculum statement for the Early Childhood Sector with clearly defined Māori strands outlined throughout the document.¹³⁷ The key strands in Te Whāriki are described by Rokx as:

Ngā Honotanga – the programme acknowledges children learning through responsive and reciprocal relationships with people, places and things. Therefore the programme includes resources (people and material) and situations that contribute directly to the positive self esteem and ongoing safety of each child.

Whānau-Tangata – the wider world of children's family and community is an integral part of children's learning. Safe members of each child's whānau and community are included in the programme to contribute directly to that child's positive self esteem and ongoing safety.

Kotahitanga – the programme methodology reflects the holistic way children learn and grow. Programme facilitators are experts in child development and bring about learning situations that acknowledge each child's development physically, socially, emotionally, spiritually, cognitively and intellectually.

Whakamana – children are empowered to understand and practice effective personal safety skills and strategies.

The tikanga Māori concepts of tiaki tamariki, mana wahine, mana tane, whanaungatanga, taha wairua, taha hinengaro, taha tinana and other cultural concepts provide a foundation for the

136 Cargo, T., Cram, F., Dixon, R., Widdowson, D., Adair, V., (2002) *Evaluation of Programmes for Children under the Domestic Violence Act (1995)*, The International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education and Centre for Child and Family Policy Research, The University of Auckland. A report commissioned by The Ministry of Justice and Department of Courts, Wellington.

137 Early Childhood Development, July (1999) *He Taonga Te Mokopuna: The Child is a Treasure*, Presentation to 'Children and Family Violence Effective Interventions Now' Conference. [www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/\(1999\)/family_conference/author_23.html](http://www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/(1999)/family_conference/author_23.html)

programme as required under the Domestic Violence Act 1995.

Rokx outlines the approach of ECD to tiaki tamariki as being based upon whakapapa and the place of tamariki Māori within whakapapa. This positions Māori children within the collective and regards communities then as having obligations to their children. In tikanga terms she notes:

In other words, as the physical embodiment of tipuna, bringing together the mana, wairua, mauri, ihi, wehi, tapu of generations long-gone, and linking with generations to come, children were assured of safety and nurturing within whānau and hapū structures.¹³⁸

This view of tamariki Māori is one of both nurturing and protection of our children. The approach also ensures that Māori children are able to see themselves as a part of their wider whānau. Other key elements that support the overall intent of the programme include:

- Aroha
- Manaakitanga
- Mana Atua
- Mana Whenua
- Mana Tangata
- Mana Wahine.

Each of these tikanga concepts contribute to the empowerment of the children to come to understand what has been happening within their whānau context; to demonstrating unconditional love in order to support transforming relationships for the children; demonstrating care for the child; the adult providing an environment which is appropriate and interesting; demonstrating concern for the overall wellbeing of the child; instilling in the Māori child a sense of belonging; instilling in the Māori child the knowledge and belief that he/she is important and valued; and positive portrayal of mana wahine, the female element, as an important learning aspect for the Māori child.¹³⁹

Atawhaingia Te Pā Harakeke is another example of a programme that is informed by tikanga Māori. Atawhaingia Te Pā Harakeke is a kaupapa based programme that has also been developed by Early Childhood Development.¹⁴⁰ The programme has been developed 'by Māori for Māori' and is "whānau, hapū and iwi focused".¹⁴¹ The underpinning philosophy of the programme is described as follows:

Atawhaingia Te Pa Harakeke is a holistic whānau centred framework. The programme takes its name from the Māori image where the harakeke (flax plant) is used to symbolise the interdependency of the basic family unit within the wider whānau network. The philosophies of the programme are based on the belief that Māori parents desire the best for their whānau but may lack knowledge and/or positive practices caring for themselves and their children.¹⁴²

ATAWHAINGIA TE PĀ HARAKEKE

The Atawhaingia Te Pā Harakeke programme was originally delivered as a programme to male inmates in prison and was seen to have the potential for long term positive impacts on the inmates. The evaluation of the prison based programme notes that there is a 'high

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

¹³⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ International Research Institute for Māori And Indigenous Education (IRI) (2003) *Atawhaingia Te Pā Harakeke: Narrative Report*, Auckland

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*:iv

¹⁴² *ibid.*:1



likelihood' that the programme would have a long-term impact on those men that attended, with the positive impact being a reduction in the level of family violence and therefore in the transmission of such behaviour through generations.¹⁴³

The evaluation document 'Evaluation of Parenting Programmes in Christchurch Women's, New Plymouth, and Rimutaka Prisons'¹⁴⁴ describes the programme as taking "participants on a journey, forwards and backwards in their lives".¹⁴⁵ The programme they note is positive and affirming about being Māori and enabled the male inmates to work through their own experiences in their lives in order to understand their own parenting. As with the evaluation of the Adult Protected Persons programmes the evaluators for the prison programmes provide a summary of what they consider to be 'principles of good practice', a key point made was "that the programme is Māori, based on Māori concepts, values, beliefs, practices and processes".¹⁴⁶ This observation was made alongside a range of principles in relation to the programme and facilitators that acknowledged that within the parameters of the programme philosophy there was flexibility with the programme context and content to meet the needs of the participants. In regards to principles in relation to the facilitators good practice included; the facilitators being Māori with a strong identity and sense of whānau; that facilitators were experienced and knowledgeable of parenting practice and child development; that there was a balance in terms of male and female facilitation; and that there were inductions for facilitators into the prison and also appropriate supervision for them.¹⁴⁷ As with the DVA programmes the fact that the programme had a Kaupapa Māori approach was seen as a key element in its success.

In the Best Evidence Synthesis report 'The Complexity of Community and Family Influences on Children's Achievement in New Zealand' ¹⁴⁸ Huhana Rokx is cited in regards to the family violence programmes she was involved with whilst working at Early Childhood Development. The report notes:

Rokx (1997) identified a range of formal parent support programmes¹⁴⁹ intended to support Māori parenting that have been developed for different localities. She argued that the success of such programmes is dependent upon:

- *The role of Māori in initiating and providing the programmes*
- *The extent to which the programme is founded on the real needs of Māori parents*
- *Responsiveness to the inter-relatedness of whānau, wider whānau and whakapapa links*
- *The extent to which the programme exemplifies communication processes that work for Māori and enable informed choices for Māori parents, rather than imposed solutions.*

143 Department of Corrections (1999) Evaluation of Parenting Programmes in Christchurch Womens, New Plymouth and Rimutaka Prisons, Wellington : viii

144 Young, P., Nikora, L., Morrison, L., Ave, K., Hungerford, R., Hutchings, L., Simonsen, H., (1999) *Evaluation of Parenting Programmes in Christchurch Women's, New Plymouth and Rimutaka Prisons*, Prepared for Department of Corrections, Wellington

145 *ibid.*:iv

146 *ibid.*:vii

147 *ibid.*:viii

148 Rokx, H. ((1997)). Manaakihia te pa harakeke: Nurturing the family - a Māori woman's story. *Childrenz Issues*, 1(2), 17-20 cited in Biddulph, Fred, Biddulph Jeanne & Biddulph, Chris (2003) *The Complexity of Community and Family Influences on Children's Achievement in New Zealand: Best Evidence Synthesis*, June (2003), Ministry of Education, Wellington

149 E Tipu E Rea in Wabuiomata and Whakatane (Māori Women's Welfare League)
Te Awhina Family Support in Hokitika (Māori Women's Welfare League)
Tipu Ora in Rotorua (Māori Women's Welfare League)
Awhina Mātua and Atawaingia Te Pā Harakeke (Early Childhood Development Unit)
Parents as first Teachers Māori Programme (Waipareira Urban Trust)

The Atawhaingia Te Pā Harakeke has developed into a training programme for those delivering programmes in the He Taonga Te Mokopuna and/or Hakuitanga, Hakorotanga programmes and is now delivered under the Ministry of Education.¹⁵⁰ It is noted on the Ministry of Education website that the fundamental underpinnings of the programme remain the same.¹⁵¹

The promotion of healthy non-violent relationships is also seen in material related to the Family Violence Free Hapū and Marae initiatives highlight a number of key elements in their approach. Although there is little information available on these initiatives the aim is to provide knowledge about whānau violence and support appropriate mechanisms in terms of intervention. Those mechanisms, it is noted, are developed through traditional Māori mechanisms such as the concepts of whanaungatanga, respect for women and children and their place in whakapapa and the development of intervention processes that are based on notions of restorative justice and "restoring the balance of whānau".¹⁵² These initiatives also promote whanaungatanga as ensuring the strengthening of whānau. Whānau development then is promoted as a means by which to achieve well-being. The central goals in the Family Violence Free Hapū and Marae initiatives are to:

- *Promote understanding that whānau violence within hapū is not accepted in the traditional Māori world*
- *To enhance whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori abilities to provide safety and security for all members of the hapū and in particular tamariki and mokopuna*
- *Promote healthy relationships between wāhine and tāne within whānau and hapū.*¹⁵³

DYNAMICS OF WHANAUNGATANGA

The Dynamics of Whanaungatanga programme (DOW) is another example of a programme that draws upon tikanga Māori as a basis for developing understandings about relationships between people and as a source of strengthening links through notions of mana tangata, mana whenua and mana atua.¹⁵⁴ The DOW programme has been shown diagrammatically as follows:

150 Cram et.al. (2003), op.cit.

151 http://www.teamup.co.nz/earlyyears/parenting/Ideas+and+support+for+parents/Support+for+parents.htm#Atawhaingia_Te_Pa_Harakeke

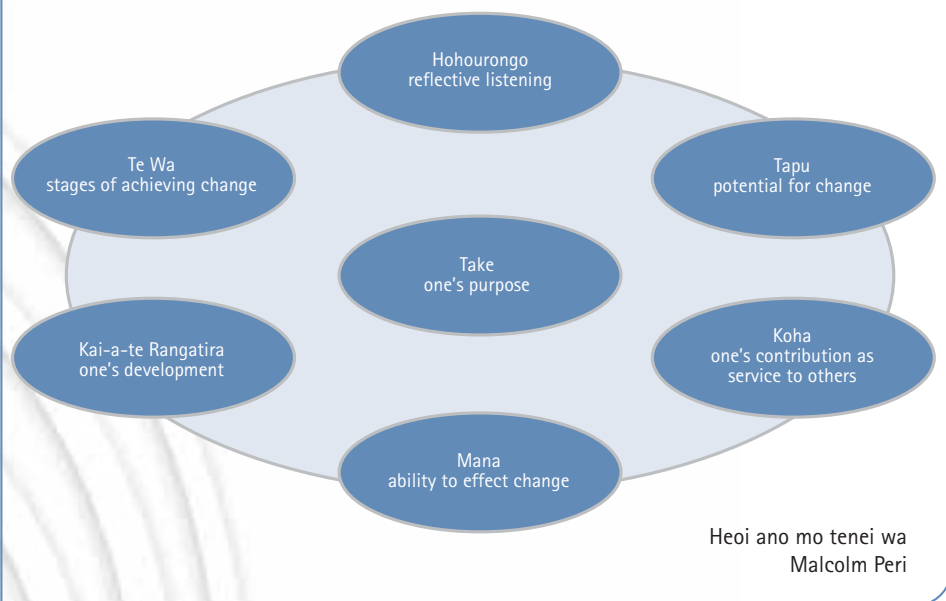
152 *Report 4.1 Family Violence Free hapū and marae*, Appendix One, Ministerial Review of Targeted Policies and Programmes, http://www.ssc.govt.nz/upload/downloadable_files/Health_-_Report_on_Family_Violence-free_Hapū_-Marae.pdf

153 *ibid.*

154 Peri, M., (1999) *The Dynamics of Whanaungatanga: Te Ao o Te Tangata Workshop*, Presentation to 'Children and Family Violence Effective Interventions Now' Conference, July 4-5 (1999), Wellington, [http://www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/\(1999\)/family_conference/index.html](http://www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/(1999)/family_conference/index.html)



THE DOW FRAME Te Ao o Te Tangata



In the Dynamics of Whanaungatanga model, Pā Tate¹⁵⁵ focuses on fundamental principles which might assist the restoration of healthy relationships within whānau. As a part of that development the notion of 'abuse' is framed within Māori concepts as 'an addiction to the violation of Tapu'.¹⁵⁶ Alongside that, he positions whanaungatanga as a restorative framework for addressing the violation of tapu. Tate develops his view of whanaungatanga in line with the notion of 'to birth the collective'.¹⁵⁷

The framework itself begins from the institution of tapu as consisting of three interwoven principles of tapu (i) relating to being; (ii) relating to value – linking atua, tangata and whenua; and (iii) relating to restrictions. Whanaungatanga, then, related to 'te tapu o te tangata' and relationships are seen and mediated through that lens.¹⁵⁸

Furthermore, tapu is viewed as 'being with mana' whereby mana is the very being of a person whose dignity is sourced directly from descent from atua and therefore greater spiritual power is affirmed as the source of all tapu and mana and as such is determined as the basis of human existence. The implication of this is that to abuse a part of the whānau is in essence to abuse the whole.¹⁵⁹ The notions of tika¹⁶⁰, pono¹⁶¹ and aroha¹⁶² are considered integral to tapu and are critical in both the acknowledgement of tapu and also to the process of dealing with violations or transgression of tapu.

In Pā Tate's work breaches or violations of tapu are addressed by understanding the dynamic of Te Wā (time, cycles). Tate describes it as a journey consisting of stages "... put into place to address, enhance or re-address the tapu of people."¹⁶³ It enables all to move along that journey. What is required in terms of dealing with violations of tapu is a clear process of engaging and dealing with the issue. What is clear in this process is that violation of tapu does not just pass but must be addressed, that is a focus of this process. What is also clear is that time does not govern the process but that within the construct of Te Wā is that the fulfilment of the process is attained when tapu is fully possessed and can no longer be violated. In essence that takes

155 Tate, Pā (1993) Unpublished paper titled presented to a Māori Community Workshop. *The Dynamics of Whanaungatanga*. This training workshop targeted Māori, in the first instance, working with whānau, hapū and iwi.

156 *ibid.*

157 *ibid.*: 1

158 *ibid.*:1

159 *ibid.*

160 Defined as 'what is right and proper'

161 Defined as integrity, faithfulness to tika and aroha Tate 1993 op.cit.:2

162 Define as "having a regard for oneself that makes one seek ones own well-being":*ibid.*: 3

163 Tate (1993) op.cit: 5

whatever time is required. The idea that a process will take 'as long as it takes' is not one that is easily accommodated within the current system however it is a particularly Māori notion and is clearly articulated in terms of notions such as 'mā te wā'. Where the general concepts of this programme are outlined in workshop material there is little indepth writing provided and it is our view that the full depth of this programme is not covered in this overview. This is important to note as a number of key Māori providers in the area of family violence for Māori undertake the dynamics of whanaungatanga workshops as a part of their own training.

In the report "Te Rito Action Area 13 Literature Review: Family Violence Prevention For Māori Research Report" interviews were undertaken with twelve key informants, all of whom are Māori and all work in the area of family violence for Māori. The key informants were asked to talk about what they saw as important elements in terms of prevention and intervention in whānau violence.

All key informants identified the impact of colonisation in the disruption of whānau and Māori societal structures and stressed that programmes for Māori must be grounded within tikanga Māori. One key informant states that in dealing with perpetrators an imperative for a Māori intervention approach is the element of manaakitanga, including the exchange of kai. This is a process of reintroducing some fundamental values in the process.

Key informants were in agreement that Māori concepts and values play a critical role in making change in the area. One informant noted that every Māori person should have access to traditional teachings and values. In regards to prevention he notes:

Prevention?... safety and manaaki to the family. The importance of whanaungatanga, the importance of tapu and noa, the importance of te whare tangata. All the values that we have in our Māori society that keep you straight and on the side of engagement, and aroha...(TRFV1)¹⁶⁴

In his view Māori clients needed to explore traditional concepts of whakapapa and wairua. A part of that was the process of 'dispelling the myths' as noted in the 'Mauri Ora' programme. Understanding colonisation and our context as Māori is central to that process as too is the process of understanding the ways in which certain realities are constructed. One key informant discussed this in terms of the creation of an 'illusion' on the part of perpetrators. This is outlined in the report as follows:

... the illusion is a fantasy of the perpetrator's imagination and that once that fantasy is dispelled then the perpetrator is exposed. At that point then, those working in the field of intervening and preventing violence have a chance of warning victims of how to dismantle the opportunities that perpetrators need to carry out their violations. The construction of 'illusions' by perpetrators must also be seen in light of earlier comments regarding societal frameworks. Perpetrators operate within a context of societal power relations which in turn support and affirm such actions. The informant goes on to say:

"the illusion must be identified, must be confronted and it must be dismantled and replaced by a [different] reality". (TRFV6)

Another interviewee talked about effective prevention "by using Māori descriptors in relation to how equality and personal autonomy should be a feature within the whānau".¹⁶⁵ He stressed the need to recognise the uniqueness of each person within the whānau. As a process of effective prevention:

164 Pihama (2003) op.cit:90

165 ibid.:91



... the work we're doing now, changing a lot of those concepts and talking about equality where we go back to mana tane, mana wāhine, mana tāngata, what does that mean. Because if you have the right concept around that then everybody has their own autonomy, their own tino rangatiratanga, they have got their own uniqueness and we still use that to work as a whānau. (TRFV1)¹⁶⁶

Furthermore, boundaries that are grounded within Māori concepts are viewed as part of effective prevention. For example tika, pono and aroha are noted as processes that determine boundaries and behaviours between people.

The collective responsibility and accountability of the whānau was also noted as a key practice that provides the potential for effective intervention. One key informant stated:

Everybody in the whānau knows about responsibility and accountability back to the whānau... if you get the women saying he's safe, well then the programmes working, and that's an effective programme. It's all about a lifestyle change, about how can we support each other. (TRFV1)¹⁶⁷

Other informants also saw whānau and hapū as key intervention groups in whānau violence and that links with other Māori organisations such as Te Kōhanga Reo need to be made in order to put "in place the foundation or the building blocks to long-term prevention".¹⁶⁸

Collective responsibility also opened opportunities for people to talk about what is happening for them. Key Informants noted that violence was easily perpetrated because it was "hidden within the community and by the community". That way violence was able to follow its rampant pathway.

The only way to prevent it was noted by two key informants as follows:

We've got to expose it in our community. ... we need to set up some pou, some principles within our community, within our area... we have got to undo all the things that are... the habits. (TRFV3)¹⁶⁹

...Violence needs to be brought out in front, out of the cupboard. We should be doing things about the reality of domestic violence and what it does to us as a people. We don't have enough of that focus... teachers in education are putting away the issue of the child that's a behaviour problem and not looking behind the problem and saying why is this child like this and having good resourcing going into intervention programmes like SES and other providers who are working with behaviour management. (TRFV4)

Key informants were clear that in order to make the issues more visible and to actively intervene and prevent family violence for Māori there is a need for strong educational programmes and promotions. A part of that would be to draw on the profile of known Māori people and to ensure access to good role models and mentors. The notion of role modelling and mentoring also applied to the actual programmes themselves. The promotion of good models is not however restricted to the 'known' Māori face but needs also to include diverse models and shows the interconnectedness of whānau from mokopuna, tamariki to tupuna and our links to the whenua and tūrangawaewae as whānau, hapū and iwi. The concept of whanaungatanga was highlighted as a central concept.

166 *ibid.*:91

167 *ibid.*:92

168 *ibid.*

169 *ibid.*:97

Those interviewed in the report stressed that the size of the problem far exceeds the resources and number of people who are trying to make change in the area. This raises a key issue of resources and prioritising this issue. It was made clear that it is critical to have people with the skills of being able to work alongside families in crisis, those people need to be well trained and must understand the situation in order to provide good advice to those whānau in need.

As with the other programmes discussed in this review the key informants involved in the Te Rito project advocated strongly that family violence is not a Māori traditional concept. They each talked about various tikanga that need to be incorporated into programmes to highlight this point and to also provide guidelines for dealing with family violence. The role of Māori women and Māori men in whānau is one such area. Informants noted the status of Māori women and the relationship to the whenua:

... for me a really simple statement on a programme against violence it really has to be about elevating the status of Māori women within our own society because the very thing that keeps us oppressed is the denigration of our women and our children. Not just in terms of our daughters but in the denigration of Papatūānuku. I just think if we are going to do a programme it is not just about saying to him, 'don't hit – stop hitting her' but it's saying to her 'you are worth our lives' basically because 'without you we do not have a life'. Without Papatūānuku we do not have a life. It is just an integral part of the continuation of humankind... Because if we don't do that we end up focusing on the 1-on-1 like the dysfunction within the relationship, she's got a flappy mouth, he's a drunkard, they're poor. It's not that but it's about our own self-hatred. It's about our own belief in us being less than what we are! ... (TRFV8)¹⁷⁰

The significance of such a discussion is that family violence transgresses and denigrates not only the individual but the whole of our Te Ao Māori. Programmes therefore need to ensure that there is a link to our traditional values. This requires both a revitalisation of our own knowledge bases and as one informant notes "we have to have the mechanisms in place to allow us to be able to operate in other ways, and to re-learn it. We have to re-learn it."¹⁷¹ The report emphasises the key informants' views that traditional whānau was about "protecting the mana of children" as our tamariki hold the mana of our tupuna and of future generations.¹⁷²

With overwhelming agreement those interviewed were of the view that:

*Programmes run by Māori for Māori would incorporate Māori images, Māori concepts, Māori language, Māori ideals in order to deliver the cultural emphasis that they are seeking.*¹⁷³

This is without doubt the finding of the Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau violence. The Taskforce report that in order for intervention to take place in the current context of whānau violence there must be a shift in mainstream definitions and approaches. As noted previously it is clearly evident in the existing literature surrounding Māori models and programmes that a Kaupapa Māori approach is taken and is deemed the most appropriate in terms of engaging the issues of family violence for Māori.

Summary: The literature in the area of family violence for Māori and whānau violence outlined in this section provide a range of examples of approaches taken to programmes and Māori

170 ibid,
171 ibid.: 98
172 ibid.
173 ibid.:99



models and frameworks. What is overwhelmingly clear is the consistent approach taken by the programmes/models in terms of the key elements that are required. Each of the programmes/models takes a kaupapa Māori approach. That is, they are grounded within te reo and tikanga Māori and have a strong analysis of the wider historical, social, political and cultural context which whānau Māori find themselves in. There is a consistent critique of the inability of Pākehā programmes/models to make change for Māori and that Māori defined, controlled and delivered programmes/models provide an opportunity to create change in the area of family violence for Māori.

Key traditional Māori values and concepts appear throughout the literature, these include:

Whānau	Taha tinana
Whakapapa	Te whare tangata
Wairua	Interconnectedness of whānau from mokopuna, tamariki to tupuna
Hinengaro	Whenua
Ngākau	Tūrangawaewae
Tinana	Tika
Tikanga	Pono
Tapu	Manaaki
Noa	Tū pakari
Mauri	Tū tangata
Ihi	Mana aoturoa
Wehi	Whakamana
Mana	Mana reo
Mana wahine	Ngā wehenga/ ngā ngaronga,
Mana tane	Te whānau whānui
Mana tamariki	Whakanui te whānau.
Mana atua	Aroha tētahi ki tētahi
Mana whenua	Aroha
Mana tangata	Manaakitanga
Whanaungatanga	Te Ao Māori
Taha wairua	Abuse as violation of tapu
Taha hinengaro	Whānau violence as transgression
	Tangata as physical embodiment of tipuna

Each of these values and concepts (amongst others) combine within the programmes to make a holistic approach. What is clear is that these values and concepts are not merely discussed as a part of the programme/model content but are also a part of the overall process undertaken by the practitioners, providers and participants. The programme/models themselves are driven by these values and concepts.

Alongside these values and concepts is the inclusion within the programmes of what may be generally viewed as educational elements that include an awareness of the wider context within which whānau Māori are located, and an analysis of the impact of the various aspects of that context. A key area is that of an understanding and awareness of colonisation and the impact thereof upon whānau Māori, te reo and tikanga Māori and how we relate within whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities.

Within the programme/models there are a range of terms and concepts that are used in relation to this aspect and these include:

Dispelling the myths	Myths related to the role of culture in whānau violence
Te Ao Hurihuri	Continuum of violence
Colonisation	Demystifying illusions
Racism	Assimilation
Powerlessness	Inter-generational violence
The nature of domestic violence historically, socially and culturally	Criminalising Māori processes
Abnormalisation	Disruption of whānau and Māori societal structures
Redefining gender/western feminist frameworks	
Gender roles	

The notions of transformation and empowerment are also critical within the literature. These notions are based upon a fundamental belief that the current 'epidemic' of family violence for Māori and whānau violence can be changed. They are notions that also affirm intervention on the part of the collective whānau, hapū and iwi, and on supporting the development of independence. Again, a range of concepts and approaches are discussed and these include:

Removing opportunities for violence	Enabling women
Teaching transformative practices	Ensuring empowering, affirming approaches
Including transformative elements	Supporting women in their development of a sense of empowerment
Liberate victims(s) and perpetrator(s)	Developing a sense of whānau development that has positive impacts
Interdependence – empowerment	Building knowledge and self esteem
Education for empowerment	Self-reflection
Education for self-realisation	Ability to challenge things within their situation
Providing alternatives to violence	Understanding and contemplation
Education of the collective	Problem solving, strategies
Māori practitioners as educator	Identifying other complications
Māori practitioners as exemplars	Relationship management
Social networks and social safety	Promoting lifestyle changes
	Independent thinking

Each of these concepts/values/ knowledges are included consistently within the literature related to these programmes/models. Where the terms or phrases differ between programmes the fundamental approach and knowledge bases is seen consistently. What is also clear is an underpinning belief that knowledge is power and provides all involved with the power to understand their situation and that of their whānau as a whole. Collective understanding is vital and therefore working within a structure of whānau is extremely critical to the success of these programmes/models. The whakatauki referred to by Te Whakaruruhau o Meri sums up this position succinctly.

*'Mā te whakaatu ka mōhio. Me te mōhio ka marama. Mā te marama ka mātau. Mā te mātau ka aroha.'*¹⁷⁴

Where the programme content is central to making change for those participating in the programmes/models, it is also evidently that the overall structure of the organisation providing the programmes/models is also significant. The literature indicates that Kaupapa Māori





approaches are the most appropriate means by which to engage with family violence for Māori. This means there must be clear Māori involvement and control. This is in line with the previously stated view that:

...the programme is Māori, based on Māori concepts, values, beliefs, practices and processes.

The ongoing failure of Pākehā programmes and models to make any significant change in the current 'epidemic' of family violence for Māori and whānau violence indicates that to ignore these developments would be to the detriment of whānau Māori.

DISCUSSION

This literature review has been undertaken as a part of a wider research project undertaken by FEM 2006 Ltd to support Te Puni Kōkiri setting a research agenda for family violence and enable them to identify the research priorities in this area, the gaps and the potential areas of exploration. This research follows ten years after similar research was undertaken to set priorities in the area of family violence for Māori.¹⁷⁵ The point must be made that although there is a growing body of knowledge and literature in the area of family violence for Māori there is in fact a very small amount of material that is focused on either family violence for Māori or whānau violence. This is clear when one surveys the existing literature and the same material reappears consistently.

More recent literature reviews such as that undertaken by Amokura¹⁷⁶ also indicate that the gaps in research are significant. Each of their identified 'priority' areas, these being: violence and Māori; violence and indigenous; violence and early intervention and prevention; violence and youth; violence and practical activity based models; and violence and traditional healing, all require in-depth research attention. A further area that is identified in other materials published by Amokura is that of the concept of 'collective responsibility'.¹⁷⁷

Exploring the work of Mimi Kim and the 'Community Engagement Continuum', Amokura note:

*This report articulates a gap in New Zealand based literature, and perhaps our theorising, about how to expand beyond anti-violence programmes, and activate a transformation within communities.*¹⁷⁸

This review affirms that to date there is no literature or research in the area of family violence for Māori that focuses on these issues, however the concept of Collective responsibility through whakapapa and whanaungatanga are raised continually by Māori working in the area. This is clearly an area of research that needs to be given priority in that whānau and collective responses are seen as key in intervening and transforming our current experiences of violence within and against our whānau.

As noted in the introduction this review does not include any discussion of indigenous models. This is clearly another area of focus that would benefit Māori in the area. There is a growing

175 Balzer et.al. ((1997)) indicate that one objective of their report was also to identify some research priorities in the area. This was followed by a more substantive piece of work that was also to set research priorities however there limited focus was given to Māori needs in the area: refer Family Violence Unit, social Policy Agency & Social Policy Branch, Te Puni Kōkiri ((1998)) *An Agenda For Family Violence Research*, Wellington

176 Erai et.asl. (2007) op.cit.

177 Amokura (2006) *Tiketiki: Work Carried Out To The Highest Integrity*, Tai Tokerau

178 *ibid*:7., for further information refer Kim, Mimi ((2005)) *The Community Engagement Continuum: Outreach, Mobilization, Organizing and Accountability to Address Violence Against Women in Asian and Pacific Islander Communities*, Asian and Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence, Oakland, C.A. This research is available online at the following URL: www.apiahf.org/apidvinstitute/PDF/Community_Engagement_Report.pdf



indigenous literature and models, however aside from some discussion provided in the Amokura Literature Review¹⁷⁹ and by Balzer et.al¹⁸⁰ there is very little comparative research undertaken.

Throughout the literature related to family violence for Māori and Māori programmes the following points have emerged consistently:

- Whānau violence is considered of epidemic proportions
- There must be zero tolerance to whānau violence
- Understanding the difference between whānau violence and family violence is critical
- Definitions of family violence for Māori must include a wider understanding that all forms of violence on whānau constitutes family violence for Māori
- Key elements to the term whānau violence as defined by Māori practitioners are transgression of tikanga and transgression against whakapapa
- Whakapapa and whānau are central to relationships and therefore we need to ensure that programmes and interventions include whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori community responses
- Western frameworks family violence are failing Māori
- Historical evidence indicates that within Te Ao Māori whānau violence was not acceptable
- Whānau violence must be contextualised within the history of violence within Aotearoa
- Colonisation is viewed as inherently violent and as a result of colonisation Māori whānau suffer violence daily
- Colonisation has undermined whānau structures and relationships within whānau including gender relationships
- Western approaches to whānau violence have not curbed the epidemic of whānau violence
- Tikanga Māori provides a conceptual framework through which whānau violence can be addressed
- Kaupapa Māori models are critical to making change in the current context related to whānau violence.

What is missing however is a clearly developed research strategy that enables indepth research to be undertaken from a Kaupapa Māori approach to each of these key areas. Much of the literature remains generic and there is very little that is targeted specifically to issues of whānau violence or family violence for Māori. The ways in which the area is described is a clear example of this. Where there is some reference to the limited definitions in the area of family violence there is no significant work undertaken in regards to Māori views and approaches to defining or naming the field. The interchangeable use of the terms 'Family Violence for Māori'; 'Māori Family Violence' and 'Whānau Violence' are further evidence of this need.

As noted previously, this review is based upon existing literature, however that literature remains limited. Each of these areas identified requires focused research and exploration. Recent research undertaken by Jane Fanslow for the Families Commission stated that there remains a dearth of research undertaken in regards to family violence and Māori, as a result there was virtually no reference to Māori within her report.¹⁸¹

It is worth noting that much of the research that does exist is in the form of evaluations and therefore has been undertaken as a part of a programme contracting process and not for the specific intention of gaining knowledge and information about the area per se. Having said that those reports are invaluable in gaining insights into the key elements within the models and programmes currently being practice by Māori practitioners and providers.

There remains however a need for a clear research strategy to be developed in the area of family violence for Māori that includes the exploration of each of the key points outlined in this

179 Erai et.al. (2007) op.cit

180 Balzer et.al. (1997) op.cit

181 Fanslow op.cit.

summary. Four significant gaps in the existing literature and in terms of research in the field may be identified broadly as follows:

Identifying at which point family violence for Māori became a significant issue and traditional methods were marginalised as a process of dealing collectively with the issue. We can see from the small amount of literature currently available that even up to the early 1900s tikanga Māori and traditional processes prevailed in terms of dealing with transgressions such as violence within whānau. There is no research that indicates at which point family violence for Māori became more prevalent within our communities.

There is little research and literature related to specific iwi in terms of family violence and how those iwi and hapū engaged with the issues within their own tikanga. Given the growth in hapū and iwi initiatives in the area of family violence there is a need to support hapū and iwi to undertake research that is more particular to their own people.

There is a growing body of knowledge being shared amongst Māori in terms of conceptual approaches to family violence for Māori. The Taskforce work and development of the Mauri Ora framework is a clear example of this. Research is now required in regards to the implementation and practice elements of interventions such as this. Often the 'success' or 'best practice' elements are documented through evaluations processes that are more often than not tied to provider contracts. There is a need for research that is independent of contractual requirements be undertaken with the key objective being one of identifying the critical practices and approaches that Māori practitioners and providers use in order to implement the conceptual framework.

A final area that requires attention is that of the long term experiences of those that participate in the range of Kaupapa Māori initiatives such as Mauri Ora. This would include a number of targeted longitudinal studies across the sectors and within whānau including (but not confined to):

- Long term outcomes for Māori victims of violence in regards to their healing and life opportunities etc
- Long term outcomes for Māori perpetrators of violence in regards to their healing, life changes and life opportunities
- Long term outcomes for Māori children and other whānau members who witness violence in regards to their healing, future relationships and life opportunities
- Long term outcomes in terms of the wellbeing of whānau who have experienced whānau violence.

These examples could be undertaken within whānau and would therefore give an overall picture of the wellbeing of whānau as a whole and the individuals within the whānau.

It would be also be worthwhile commencing the process with some form of survey of Māori practitioners and providers in the field to ascertain other areas of priority. Amokura CEO, Di Grennell, calls in to question the inadequacy of the resources made available for Māori to investigate family violence for Māori:

How can it be when Māori are so disproportionately represented that there was insufficient time or expertise to include us? How can it be that recommendations for future action can be made, recommendations that will impact on us without our involvement?¹⁸²



This statement is affirmed by the reference to cultural approaches made by Jane Fanslow:¹⁸³

*This report is written from a Pākehā/white western cultural perspective, and draws primarily from published literature developed in that cultural tradition. Specific discussions of alternate cultural perspectives on family violence are not included because they are outside of the author's area of expertise and the timeframe for this report precluded obtaining additional expertise.*¹⁸⁴

What is clear is that there is an urgency in the area of family violence for Māori for more indepth research and resource development to be undertaken. Work such as that undertaken by Māori practitioners and providers is focused upon seeking whānau wellbeing however that is being undertaken with limited resources and with very little access to research and literature that is directly relevant to their work. In 1997 Balzer et. al. noted that "the long term effect of unrestrained violence on the whānau, hapū and iwi will ultimately lead Māoridom along a path of self destruction".¹⁸⁵ Just over ten years we are told that whānau violence is "an epidemic".¹⁸⁶ The urgency is clear.

183 Fanslow, J. (2005) op.cit.

184 Fanslow, J., (2005) op.cit.8

185 Balzer et.al. (1997):33

186 Kruger et.al. (2004) op.cit.

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