An Indigenous Kaupapa Māori Approach: Mother's Experiences of Partner Violence and the Nurturing of Affectional Bonds with Tamariki.

Alayne Hall

Ngāti Whātua, Te Rarawa, Tainui

A thesis submitted to

Auckland University of Technology

In fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

2015

Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences

ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Alayne C. Hall

WHAKAIHI: DEDICATION

This doctoral thesis is dedicated to my hard working parents.

To my father Raymond Vincent Hall

You have upheld the family motto and remained steadfast

"Ne cede malis" – Yield not to adversity

(From Virgil: Aeneid)

Thank you for giving me the will and determination.

To my humble and loving mother

Makareta Reremoana Toko Mikahere

You have joined the multitudes that have gone before us, one day we will all be

gathered with you. Thank you for giving me heart and so much more.

Thank you both for giving me life.

NGĀ MIHI: ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Te mea tuatahi: E Te atua nananei nga mea katoa
To the creator thank you for all things seen and unseen

A mother's story is always a child's story. To the unspoken participants in this study, our pēpī, tamariki, and mokopuna Māori - thank you for being the inspiration for change – we hope to make a positive difference in your lives and to the babies who are yet to come. My deepest gratitude and many thanks to the twelve Māori mothers who have participated in this study, for making yourselves available to share with others what you have learned. Your strength and determination will be the source of strength and determination for many and this endeavour would not have been possible without your willingness to participate. Kotahitanga ki roto i te wairua – joined as one in spirit creating better futures for our tamariki, mokopuna Māori and for each other.

I am sincerely appreciative to my academic supervisors. My indebtedness to Professor Jane Koziol McLain is immense; it is so difficult to put into words all you have done for me. Your encouragement and support helped me overcome and work through the most testing times. Thank you for seeing in me what I could not. Your knowledge, skills and expertise have assisted me to initiate my untapped potential and exercise this for the benefit of others. I am deeply grateful for your aroha, manaakitanga, patience, guidance and warm support – Arohanui ki a koe. Thank you Dr Mihi Ratima for recognising my aptitude and encouraging me to take up the PhD challenge in the first instance. I am thankful to both yourself and Hinerau Ruakere for supporting me with those initial and important steps. My thanks and gratitude is extended to Dr Sue Crengle. I appreciate your willingness to supervise and mentor me through the beginning stages of this journey, you helped me lay the foundations and set a path for an important way forward. Thank you Dr Lily George firstly, for agreeing to fulfil the responsibilities formerly held by Dr Crengle; together your combined contributions have supported my academic development. Secondly, your editing skills and professionalism have helped me hugely and I am so appreciative; again thank you for working your magic

My thankfulness and appreciation to those organisations who have made this PhD endeavour possible by providing the important financial support to enable the ambitions of this study to come to fruition. The Health Research Council of New Zealand's *Māori*

me throughout this academic voyage. To Nada, Waimirirangi and Kaio, your manaakitanga and aroha has been solid from start to finish and a pillar of strength unmatched. I am humbled and forever grateful for everything you have done and made possible through your continuous support -thank you cuz! My sincere gratitude to Bunny and Ruka who got to hear all the highs and lows of academic and whānau life. Thank you for your gentle patience, open ears, aroha and guidance. To Tara, Eli and Ryla I am indebted to you all for your unconditional and unwavering love and support; I cannot thank you enough. Lastly, to Enid I could never have imagined that you would not be with us at the end. How could we forget your compassion, kindness, laughter and support. Your beauty will always be felt and remembered in our hearts – Hoki atu koe ki te kaihanga (You have returned to the creator).

Finally, to my darling daughter Tiana - you have walked this journey and endured like no other without fuss or bother. Thank you for taking the little and big steps with me unafraid and always so faithfully. Thank you for your kind and sweet heart, forgiveness when I got it wrong, aroha, encouragement and endless patience. I hope this mahi (work) encourages a pathway for knowledge, strength and wisdom for you and our future generations.

Taku toi kahurangi, ka nui taku aroha ki a koe - My precious jewel, my love for you knows no bounds.

WHAKARĀPOPOTO: ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the important relationship dynamics between Māori mothers and their tamariki (children) when exposure to partner violence is experienced. The research is contextualised within a Kaupapa Māori methodology where Indigenous qualitative methods provide the foundations for theorising and researching. The study investigated twelve Māori mothers' experiences of partner violence, and the fostering of affectional bonds with their tamariki. The context for examining the interface between these two conditions included a Mana Wāhine approach and Pūrākau - a Māori narrative story-telling process where Māori mothers shared their experiences of partner violence and mothering. The pūrākau provided the main source of data from which *Te-ata-tu Pūrākau* emerged as a newly developed Indigenous analysis method.

Attachment theory provided useful insights concerning the nature in which affectional bonds develop between a young child and their primary caregiver, most often the mother. In this study whakapapa is fundamental to whānau, hapū and iwi, providing the cultural construct for understanding the way in which affectional bonds are developed and fostered in Māori kin based groups. Attachment theory is contrasted with Māori understandings that have a primary focus on whakapapa (genealogy) and *Tūhonotanga* as two important concepts for understanding the nature of Māori relationships. The women who participated in this research study experienced different levels of disconnection from traditional Māori society where the break-down of traditional values contributed to their sense of mournfulness, mistrust, disillusionment, confusion, cynicism and a deep longing for healthy relationships. Some of the findings from this research are consistent with what we currently know about violence against women and children. Principally the pūrākau have revealed the need to develop healing pathways that validate core values that underpin a secure Māori identity, where Mana Wāhine and Mana Tangata provide the platform for positive relationship building.

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS AND TERMS

ahi kā	those who keep the home fires burning, those who have the right to occupy the land
āhua	feature(s), aspect(s); shape, look, nature of a person
āhua Māori	particular character, aspect that is relative to being Māori
āhuatanga	likeness, characteristics relative to the circumstances
ako	to learn, capacity to learn
ao	world
Aotearoa	New Zealand
aroha	kindness, affection, love, compassion, process of giving positively, having regard for oneself and or others.
atawhai	to show kindness to
atua	deities, gods
awa	river, channel, gully
awhi	help / helpful
āwhina	help, assist
hāhi	faith, religion
haka	vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words
haka pōwhiri	a ceremonial dance of welcome
hāngi	earth oven; food cooked in earth oven
hapū	sub-tribe(s) that share a common ancestor
harakeke	flax
hari	dance, sing
haukāinga	home; true home
hauora	health
Hawaiki	traditional homeland of the Māori
hei mātau	a neck ornament fashioned after the design of a fishhook
hei tiki	a tiki (neck ornament) that is worn by both female and male and is regarded a heirloom
hinengaro	mind
Hine-te-iwaiwa	Māori goddess who presides over childbirth and the art of weaving
hoa tāne	husband
hui	meeting
iwi	tribal kin group; nation

kahupo	blind, blindness
kaiako	teacher, tutor
kaiāwhina	helper, assistant
kaikaranga	person making a ceremonial call of welcome.
kaikōrero	speaker, orator
kaimahi	worker, staff
kaimoana	sea food
Kaipara	a harbour in the northern North Island of NZ
kairangahau	researcher
kaitiaki	guardian, minder; custodian over natural resources
kaitiakitanga	guardianship; cultural and financial guardianship; accountability
kanikani	to dance
kanohi	face, eye(s)
kanohi kitea	to be a 'seen face', face to face
kapa haka	a row/team/group performing haka/waiata/poi
karakia	prayer(s); chant(s) and incantation(s)
kaumātua	elder(s)
kaupapa	topic, basis; guiding principles
kaupapa Māori	Māori based topic/event/enterprise run by Māori for Māori
kauri	a native forest tree of Aotearoa
kawa	professional practice, ethical practices, protocols
kete	basket made of flax strips
kete whakairo	decorative basket
koha	gift, token, pledge
kōhanga reo	pre-school based on Māori language and culture
kōrero	speak, talk, discuss; discussion
korerorero	discussion
kōrero tawhito	ancient story
koroua male	elder
korowai	traditional cloak
kotahitanga	unison/unity
kōwhaiwhai	painted scroll ornamentation - commonly used on meeting house rafters
kuia	female elder
kupu	word, anything said

kura	school; red; precious
māhakitanga	humility
mahi	work
mahi whakairo	to carve; carving
mana	prestige, status, authority, influence, integrity; honour, respect
mana	motuhake autonomy, independence, authority
mana whenua	authority over land and natural resources, tribal estates
manaaki(tia)	show respect or kindness; entertain; care for
manaakitanga	respect; hospitality, kindness; mutual trust, respect and concern
manuhiri	visitor(s)
Māoritanga	the very essence of being Māori
marae	tribal meeting grounds; village common
marae ātea	village forecourt, village gathering point
mātakitaki	gaze, watch, inspect, examine
mātāwaka	original canoes; founding settlers, kinsfolk from original canoe
mātauranga	knowledge, tradition, epistemology
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
mate	monthly cycle, menstruation, period
mātua	parents
mātua-tīpuna	forebears
maunga	mountain
mauri	life essence, life force, energy, life principle
mauri ora	knowing who we are, overall health and wellbeing
moana	sea, ocean
mokemoke	lonely, solitary; homesick
moko	refer to tā moko
mokopuna	grandchild
mōteatea	lament, song, chant
Ngā atua	In reference to the influential Māori Gods
Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga	
	The National Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement
noa	not sacrosanct, having no restrictions/prohibitions; free from tapu
oriori	lullaby
pā	home, fortified village

pā	a term used for a row of weaving
pā harakeke	a collection or plantation of flax; the material and process of weaving
Pākeha	a person of predominantly European descent
pakiwaitara	legend
papakāinga	village, homestead
Papatuānuku	Papa for short: the name given to the Earth Mother
pēpī	baby
pōwhiri	to welcome; welcome ceremony
puna mātauranga	source of knowledge
pūrākau	ancient legend, myth
rangatahi	youth
rangatiratanga	self determination, autonomy, the right of Māori te be self-determining
rangimaire	peaceful, quiet, settled
Ranginui	Rangi for short: the name given to the Sky Father
raupatu	conquest, confiscation
reo	language
ringawera	kitchen hand, kitchen worker
rohe	area, region; boundary
rongoā	natural/herbal remedies; medicine
rūnanga	council of collective hapū established to manage the affairs of the iwi
tamariki	children
Tāne	a son of Ranginui and Papatūanuku; God of Forests
tāne	male(s)
tangata	person(s), people
tangata whenua	Indigenous people of the land, first people of the land
tangi	to cry/mourn; mourning rituals
tangihanga	funeral, rites for the dead
taonga	precious; an heirloom to be passed down through the different generations of a family;
taonga pūoro	Māori musical instrument(s)
taonga tuku iho	traditions, knowledge, treasures handed down by ancestors
tapu	sacrosanct, prohibited, protected, restricted
tautokotanga	supporting
Te Ao Māori	Māori worldview

Te Atua	God
Te Puni Kōkiri	Ministry of Māori Development
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te tuakiritanga,	the inner being
tūhonohonotanga	interconnectedness
Te whare tangata	the house of humanity in reference to the female womb.
tiaki	care for; give guidance
tihē	method
tika	true, authentic; right, correct
tikanga	customs and practices
tikanga Māori	Māori customs and practices
tinana	body
tino rangatiratanga	self-governing; having absolute independence and autonomy
tipuna/tupuna	ancestor
tīpuna/tūpuna	ancestors; ancestral
tohu	preserve
tohunga	expert, skilled, learned
tuahine	sister (to a brother)
tuakana-teina	elder-younger sibling of same sex
tūhonotanga	connections, affiliations, joining, link, attachments
tukutuku	ornamental lattice work on interior walls of a wharenui or meeting house
tungāne	brother (to a sister)
tupuna awa	ancestral river
ūkaipōtanga	recognition of origins
urupā	burial ground, cemetery
wahine	female
wāhine	females
wai	water
wairua	spirit, soul; attitude
wairua Māori	Māori spirit, soul
wairua rangimarie	spiritual calmness
wairuatanga	recognition of the spiritual dimension
waka	canoe
wero	challenge

whaea	mother, aunt
whaikōrero	formal speech, oratory
whakahīhī	arrogant, conceited
whakairo	carve, engrave
whakairo upoko	carved head with protruding tongue
whakaiti	to belittle, ridicule, mock
whakamā	shy; ashamed/shame(d)
whakapapa	genealogy, ancestry, familial relationships; unlike the Western concept of genealogy, whakapapa crosses ancestral boundaries between people and other inhabitants in the natural world
whakapapa Māori	Māori genealogy
whakatauki	proverb
whakawehenga	separation, to set apart
whakawhanaungatanga	
	kinship, links, ties; facilitating a more open relationship then mere researcher and researched; network of interactive links
whakawhitiwhiti kōrero	
	discussion
whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro	
	consultation
whānau	family; nuclear/extended family
whānau ora	family health
whāngai	the introduction of new strips in weaving likened to the whāngai concept of fostering, adopting a child
whare	house
whare tipuna	ancestral house
wharepuni/wharenui	meeting-house
whāriki	woven mat
whatu	twining (as in weaving)
whenua	land
whenua	afterbirth

TE HUARAHI: TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables:

Figures:

WĀHANGA TUATAHI: CHAPTER ONE - AN INTRODUCTION

Māori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as 'Other' by white patriarchies and white feminism. As women, we have been defined in terms of our differences to men. As Māori, we have been defined in terms of our difference to our colonisers. As both, we have been defined by our difference to Māori men, Pākeha men and Pākeha women. This socioeconomic class in which most Māori women are located makes the category of 'Other' an even more complex problematic.
(Tuhiwai-Smith, 1992, p. 33)

1.1 Research Aims and Objectives:

There are warranted concerns regarding violence in our communities, and as a population group Māori are disproportionately over-represented, with Māori women most likely to experience violence from people known to them (Ministry of Social Development (MSD), 2006, 2011). The destructiveness of violence affects whānau ora (family health) where early exposure in childhood has long-term consequences, for example, influencing relationship patterns and psychosocial outcomes (Dobbs & Eruera, 2010, 2014; Murphy, Paton, Gulliver & Fanslow, 2013; Thornberry, Knight & Lovegrove, 2012). The aim of this PhD endeavour was to investigate Māori mothers' experiences of partner violence and the interconnecting link between such violence and the developing affectional bonds with their young tamariki (children).

In this research I attempted to understand the complexities of the embodied experiences of Māori mothers and the fostering of affectional bonds with their tamariki when partner violence is prevalent within the whānau (family) home. The well-being of Māori women and their children is critical to the establishment of healthy Māori whānau and therefore healthy Māori communities. For Māori, our day-to-day lives are constructed within a bi-cultural reality where the tensions between cultural values, beliefs and lifestyles often exist within a male-dominated hegemony. These tensions are enacted as inter-related societal issues that contribute to existing power imbalances that are frequently re-enacted in our inter-personal relationships. When mothers live with the threat of being beaten and abused by their partners, their children are at immediate risk of suffering and pain due to imminent harm and the forced unavailability or compromised principles of nurturance and care. In many instances children become the targets of

domination and control as an all-powerful perpetrator exercises overbearing rage and dictatorship (Groves, 2002).

One point of this thesis is to deepen our understanding of intergenerational patterns of violence within contemporary Māori whānau homes, with the overall aim of developing effective Indigenous prevention and intervention strategies that will reduce whānau violence Moffit & Caspi, 2003). In an attempt to increase understanding, attention is given to the mother-child spatial and affectional interactions when exposure to violence during the early years of life is experienced. The consequences of inter-personal violence can have both long and short-term effects including depression, suicidality, alcohol and drug abuse, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety problems, relational and personality difficulties, and other trauma responses, along with physical injuries (Briere & Jordan, 2004; Campbell, 2002; Dillon, Hussain, Loxton & Rahman, 2013).

This Kaupapa Māori research attempts to answer the following question: *In what ways does partner violence influence Māori mothers' ability to nurture affectional bonds with their tamariki?* I wanted to better understand the task of mothering under challenging and at times life threatening circumstances through the lens of Māori mothers. Examining the ways in which familial and cultural factors influence the misuse of power in relationships provides an opportunity to look at how affectional bonds are fostered within Māori homes. The perceptions of mothers who have personally experienced partner violence while parenting their young tamariki provided the main source of data for this research.

This thesis brings together several associated aspects to draw attention to the existing bi-cultural realities that influence the lives of contemporary Māori mothers and their tamariki. Te reo Māori (Māori language) is used throughout this thesis and translated in the first instance only. A glossary of kupu Māori (Māori words) and terms is provided in the first section of this thesis to assist the reader with Māori terminology. I use both Māori and English words interchangeably throughout this thesis, for example whānau/family, tamariki/children, wāhine/women to reflect the way in which Māori and English are integrated into everyday use within many Māori families. Likewise the research participants are Māori women and mothers and therefore I presuppose that it is no longer necessary to specify their ethnicity hereafter, or distinguish between the dualities of their gender roles.

1.2 Chapter Summaries:

In an effort to understand the nature in which affectional bonds are fostered and intimate relationships are formed, a review of the literature concerning attachment theory is presented in the first section of Chapter Two. Section two of the same chapter follows on with a review of the literature relevant to healthy attachment development. I present attachment literature primarily for academic and clinical consideration. The thesis is not intended to privilege attachment theory or alternatively, to dismiss useful aspects of this theory. It is intended to orientate Māori toward prevention and intervention approaches that consider the important nature of early childhood emotional development, socialisation and the impact violence has on the mother-tamariki (child) relationship.

Chapter Three discusses three main interrelated issues relevant to partner violence and exposure to violence. Firstly, an overview of the current state of knowledge concerning the issue of violence and victimisation rates for Māori women and tamariki and Māori responses to whānau violence is presented. Linking Māori mother's experiences of partner violence and the implications for her and her tamariki involves a critical reflection of the wider societal systemic issues of authority and control. I therefore discuss some of the influencing societal antecedents and health determinants that enable and maintain inequitable relationships and unhelpful institutional dogmatism. Secondly, violence is frequently associated with trauma, and the burden of liberating whānau from violence therefore often involves a process of transformation through healing. Chapter Three includes a discussion on western notions of trauma, Indigenous perspectives on historical trauma and introduces whakapapa trauma as a relevant discourse. Thirdly, a growing number of Māori models that add to the kete (basket) of effective practice orientate practitioners towards Māori interventions. Chapter Three adds to these Indigenous developments presenting a discussion concerning Māori psychological perspectives on hinengaro, pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi and kahurangi.

This thesis is positioned within a Kaupapa Māori epistemology where methodological and theoretical principals are discussed throughout Chapter Four. The thesis draws upon the growing body of Māori literature and adds new perspectives concerning Mana Wāhine and Pūrākau. Secondly, while I have located the thesis within Kaupapa Māori, the provision of most services to Māori in Aotearoa are established upon western theoretical perspectives and empirical research. The research paradigms that

govern research practice have often excluded Indigenous knowledge, perpetuating the hegemonic influence of control.

Two Māori ethnographic descriptions detail the nature in which important social connections and bonds are formed and these are presented and discussed in Chapters Five and Six. In Chapter Five a whakapapa (genealogy) framework provides the conceptual base for understanding whānau, hapū and iwi relationships. Chapter Six provides further insights into a traditional whānau-centred secure child rearing practices, viewed through Rose Pere's (1995, 1988) *Te Wheke* framework.

Chapter Seven follows on from the discussions concerning attachment, whakapapa and Te Wheke presenting *Tūhonotanga* (attachment, connectedness) as a beginning point for the construction of a healthy and secure Māori relationship framework. In contrast to attachment theory, I present *Tūhonotanga* as an emerging idea for theorising Māori notions for fostering early affectional bonds and whānau relationships. An ancient and traditional *Oriori Karakia* (prayer song/chant) sometimes referred to as a lullaby is presented entirely in te reo Māori (Māori language) to provide an authentic description for all Māori whānau, hapū and iwi to draw upon. The conceptual workings of *Tūhonotanga* as a developing idea are understood through the composition of Tuhotoariki's *Oriori Karakia* composed for his nephew, Tūteremoana. According to Reedy (2009), Tūteremoana's Oriori was generally considered as an *Oriori Karakia*. This is when Oriori were composed and recited with the patterns, rhythms of moteatea (chant), and karakia tawhito (old prayer) incantations interlaced throughout the verses. The Oriori highlights a deeply sacred and traditional way in which affectional bonds were initiated for infants through sacred preparedness prior to the birth of an expectant infant or at the time of birth.

Population-based research, international reports and New Zealand reports indicate that men most often perpetrate abuse and that most victims are women in their childbearing years (Buchanan 2008; Family Violence Death Review Committee, (FVDRC) 2014, MSD, 2011). There is a plethora of information and studies that repeatedly indicate that men are the predominant aggressor in their relationships with women (Murphy, et al., 2013). Māori men behave similarly with reports indicating higher interpersonal violence rates than non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2010). This thesis therefore works from the understanding that partner violence is a predominantly male gendered issue and is consequently positioned within Mana Wāhine (Mikaere, 2011; Murphy, et al., 2013).

Chapter Eight discusses Mana Wāhine as both theory and methodology (Pihama, 2001) which is then followed by subsections outlining *Ngā huarahi – Methods, Ngā tikanga whitiwhiti kōrero* – Discussion on ethical issues. The discussion concerning methods is expanded further by introducing Māori concepts of time, *Ā Te Wā* and *Mā Te Wā* important elements in the dialogue that follows concerning Pūrākau (narrative, storytelling), a Māori research interview method. Chapter Eight also introduces *Te-Āta-Tu Pūrākau* a newly developed analysis framework created to reflect the key messages embodied within the Pūrākau.

Chapter Nine is dedicated to the mother's in this study where ten excerpts taken from their personal pūrākau detail their lived experiences of partner violence. The analysis framework *Te-Āta-Tu Pūrākau* is applied to each of these excerpts to seek deeper meaning and to demonstrate its applicability as a research analysis method. These excerpts are followed by an additional five excerpt themes, where a summary of the key messages arising from each of the themes is presented. My original intentions were to present the pūrākau in greater fullness to reflect the complexity and difficulty of real life experiences. However, it became necessary to edit the pūrākau as the task of including fuller transcripts and applying the analysis framework to twelve pūrākau became unworkable within the limitations of this PhD endeavour. In an attempt to convey the original intentions of this study, I have included a fuller transcript of one mother's experiences in Appendix D. The reader is encouraged to engage with the additional pūrākau in a manner that respects the participant's experiences. The Pūrākau are presented as ten different excerpts and five further excerpt themes to exemplify the embodied and typified experiences of the research participants.

Frequently many studies investigate partner violence as a separate discourse from tamariki, failing to capture the co-existing circumstances of mothers and children (Murphy, et al., 2013). Chapter Ten goes to some length to weave together a discussion informed by the many issues that were revealed through the Pūrākau, as reported by the twelve mothers in this study. The complexities of partner violence and the links between the maltreatment of Māori mothers, their tamariki and the detrimental effects on the developing affectional bonds are highlighted in these discussions.

The research set out to meet the aspirations of Māori by placing Māori at the centre of the research project. The task of mothering in violent relationships and the fostering of affectional bonds are explored within the contemporary context of Māori whānau, hapū and iwi day-to-day life. Exploring systemic influences is essential to the development of

interventions and strategies that will inform and support future health orientated choices within Māori families.

1.3 Te Tiriti o Waitangi - The Treaty of Waitangi:

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori assert their rights to protect and practice their cultural values and beliefs as Indigenous tangata whenua (people of the land). Te Tiriti o Waitangi, signed in 1840, details the nature of the relationship between tangata whenua and the British Crown (Orange, 2004a, 2004b, 1992). Te Tiriti proclaims an association of equal partnership primarily between hapū groups and the Crown. Since the signing of Te Tiriti there have been numerous attempts to invalidate the agreements of the constitutional document by successive governments, civil war and legislation designed to alienate and marginalise Māori aspirations (Durie, 1998a; M. Jackson, 1993). However, by the latter half of the 20th century, the breaches of Te Tiriti/The Treaty were recognised, as was the terrible impact on Māori. The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 recognised the need to ameliorate those impacts and provide redress, as well as the legal prominence of the Treaty, which is now widely accepted as a precept for ethical research in Aotearoa, New Zealand (Cram, 1993; Durie, 1998a; Health Research Council of New Zealand (HRC), 2010; Ratima, 2001).

1.3.1 Principles of the Treaty:

Three broad principles embedded within the Treaty are those of partnership, participation and protection (Durie, 1998a). Health research conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand is of consequence to Māori. It is therefore recommended that the principle of partnership implicit in the Treaty should be enacted through the formation of research partnerships between non-Māori, host institutions and Māori communities so that they are responsive to Māori health needs, and Māori research development (HRC, 2008). One of the outcomes sought from this research is to reduce whānau violence by developing early interventions that are applicable across a range of settings, and for these reasons, I formed collaborative partnerships with several individuals and groups. These partnerships include Waka Oranga (National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners), cultural and clinical supervisors, and members of my rangahau whānau (Māori research advisory group) who all helped to guide the development of this research. The principle

of participation within the context of this study refers to the rights of Māori to be involved in research that is relevant and acceptable to Māori whānau, hapū and iwi. Finally, as a further enactment of Treaty principles, the rights of Māori wāhine in our many roles should be protected, as should our tamariki.

1.3.2 Treaty of Waitangi and Mana Wāhine:

Figures from the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuge (NCIWR, 2013) indicate 20,000 women and children required support from Women's Refuge in 2013 and for the period 2012-2013, 76,000 safe beds were provided for women and their children. The NCIWR 2013 statistics do not provide ethnic specific indicators, however their figures from 2006 indicate that 42% of women and 51% of children utilising their services were Māori; an alarming statistic given Māori comprise only 15% of the total population. While these figures are worrying, they also indicate that Māori women seek protection for both themselves and their children, demonstrating their aptitude to engage with social support agencies. Given the prominence of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the principles of participation and protection embedded within it, responses from both Māori and non-Māori are required to ameliorate the abusive behaviours of men upon Māori women and their children.

Sykes (1994) considered the position of Māori women under the Treaty of Waitangi, suggesting, "the rights of Māori women guaranteed under the Treaty have never been addressed nor actively protected through legislation since 1840" (p. 15). As a continuation in the quest to preserve the rights of Māori women, those such as Donna Awatere and Paparangi Reid lodged the 'Mana Wāhine' claim with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1993, with the support of Lady Rose Henare and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hine (Hutchings, 2002). According to Sykes (1994), "because Māori women constitute over 50% of Tangata Whenua [people of the land] there must be equal representation in all areas of decision making in the future" (p. 15). It has been more than two decades since the Mana Wāhine claim was put before the Waitangi Tribunal (Hutchings, 2002; Sykes, 1994), and to date there has been little progress made.

Iwi leaders in rūnanga and political parties are well aware of the social issues and problems that confront and challenge Māori. However, the status and relevance of Māori women is often overlooked and the importance of their roles minimised within a male patriarchal system where Western and religious influences have strongly influenced

contemporary Māori communities (Herbert, 2011). The patriarchal system has been pervasive, influencing Māori men and their behaviours and as decision-makers for whānau, often marginalising Māori women in the process. Māori mothers need to be supported to take the lead as decision-makers for the well-being and nurturance of our tamariki, and not be dislocated from the importance of their role as women, mothers, sisters, aunties and nannies. As decision-makers we need to be protected and endorsed by the men in our lives to do so. As Professor Mason Durie (1998b) has stated, it is a "tragic waste of much needed skill, energy, and commitment to deny Māori women their rightful place in iwi/Māori decision-making" (p. 93).

The issue of fair and equal partnership remains as an on-going struggle for Māori women when confronted with the realities of male bias. The relevant discussions concerning male bias, male dominance and control are both numerous, nuanced and a hotly debated issue throughout Māoridom. Regardless, these debates have not deterred Māori women who actively participate across all sectors, particularly in Māori health and education, advocating strongly at all levels for healthy Māori lifestyles (Herbert, 2011; Hutchings, 2002; Jenkins, 2011; Mikaere, 2011; Pihama, 2001; Te Awekotoku, 1991; Tomlins-Jhanke, 1996; L.Smith, 1992). This is not surprising when Māori women are well placed to understand the personal and familial circumstances and disadvantages of whānau. If we accept that tamariki are our taonga (treasures), then the principle of protection is paramount for Māori women and children when addressing whānau violence. In keeping with Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the embedded principles of partnership, participation and protection, the approach taken in this research privileges Kaupapa Māori.

1.3.3 Treaty of Waitangi and Māori Research:

This research study took place within a Māori community so that the research would be of benefit for all Māori to draw upon. I have attempted to provide insights into the contemporary lives of Māori women who have experienced partner violence and explore the overlap between their violence trauma experiences and the conditions that this establishes for the nurturing of relationships with their tamariki. I began discussions with reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi so that the recognition of whānau violence is considered in the broader context of partnership. This is where both Māori and non-Māori have equal access to the benefits of society that includes research opportunities and the

opportunity to undertake research that is consistent with a Māori methodology (HRC, 2010; Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell, Smith, 2010).

The acknowledgement of Kaupapa Māori approaches to research has prompted the rise of Māori-specific research methods. This PhD research endeavour acknowledges previous Māori research approaches; for instance *Atawhaingia Te Pa Harakeke: Nurture the family* (Rokx, 1998) which considers the effects of colonisation on Māori child-rearing practices and whānau systems. This current study also assumes that processes of colonisation have contributed to the systematic breakdown of traditional values and beliefs resulting in a distorted normalisation of whānau violence. The overall approach that will inform this research is founded on Kaupapa Māori epistemology, including a Mana Wāhine methodology incorporating qualitative methods, which I describe in the following subsections.

A strong feature of Kaupapa Māori research is concerned with the empowerment of Māori as both the researcher and the research participant (L. Smith, 2012). According to Ratima & Ratima (2003), this requires the integration of Māori worldviews. This thesis endeavour adds to both the development of Kaupapa Māori as an Indigenous epistemology and the positioning of Mana Wāhine as a relevant methodology and theoretical lens. The research methodology, Mana Wāhine, utilises a Kaupapa Māori philosophical approach that provided the overarching guidelines for the development of this thesis. The research is consistent with a Māori inquiry paradigm situated within a unique Mana Wāhine Māori theoretical framework.

Kaupapa Māori research is a Māori methodology that is consistent with a global and even broader context, that is, Indigenous research methodologies. Indigenous research methodologies seek to position Indigenous experiences within an Indigenous context and to re-claim, legitimise and critically reflect upon these experiences to generate new knowledge and solutions so that our people and our communities benefit from the research (Durie, 1998b; G. Smith, 1990, 2003; L. Smith, 2012). The application of the partnership, participation and protection principles in the research environment comes with dual responsibilities to both the Māori community and the University academic community where research rigour is a requirement of both. Managing these requirements is often a challenging task, particularly when there are numerous relationships to hold and where kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) engagement is the preferred form of interaction in building these relationships (Bishop, 2010; Pihama, Jenkins & Karehana, 2002; Pohatu, 2013; L. Smith, 2012).

The impetus for seeking support from the Māori community sits within Kaupapa Māori where cultural values, procedures and protocols are embedded. I have worked to achieve this by maintaining and upholding numerous relationships with professional peers and colleagues. I have approached this study by ensuring that I remain engaged with Māori communities as well as maintaining collegial relationships within the Pākeha research community, and thus acknowledging the importance of partnership arrangements and collaboration with non-Māori researchers (HRC, 2010).

1.3.4 Whakawhānaungatanga - The Nature of Reciprocity and Relationships in Māori research:

Relationships are a core and essential component of whānau, hapū and iwi interactions, and Kaupapa Māori research values these connections (Pohatu, 2013). Māori relationship building is grounded on concepts of reciprocity, mutuality and exchange where mutual benefit is gained by active participation (Pohatu, 2013; Tate, 2012). Throughout this PhD endeavour, there have been numerous relationships to up-hold. They have included the assistance and guidance from academic supervisors both Māori and Pākeha, clinical supervisors, again both Māori and Pākeha. My professional identity has been fostered within *Waka Oranga* (National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners) and the *New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists* (NZAP). This has been a mutually beneficially arrangement where the bi-cultural development of these organisations have benefitted as a consequence of this doctoral research pursuit. As a founding member of *Waka Oranga* I have been appointed to up-hold *Waka Oranga Rūnanga* (Governing council) responsibilities and NZAP council responsibilities where a bi-cultural relationship has been forged and formalised between these existing organisations. This is based upon a willingness to acknowledge Māori as tangata whenua (people of the land) and Pākeha as tangata Tiriti (people of the Treaty). This organisational phase of development will need on-going educational support in order that members of both organisations have a better understanding of this partnership model.

Reciprocity in Māori research is about sharing knowledge and skills with Māori advisors, kaumātua and organisations that support your research. For example, members of the *Mana Wāhine Taumatatanga Trust* were consulted and assisted in the design of this research, resulting in sound guidance and practical support. In return I was approached to provide clinical and therapeutic support to a Māori boarding school that

was confronted with the issue of youth suicide. This required an immediate, interim, and a longer term response in order to prevent, contain and manage suicide risk within the Māori student community. My approach included the application of Indigenous models of health such as Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 2001) and an 'Educaring approach' to healing (Atkinson, 2007, 2008).

I have participated in marae activities such as wānanga and whānau events as a participant, educator and facilitator. In the past year I have been appointed as a board member for Whaiora Marae, an iwi-a-iwi (pan-tribal) urban marae based in Otara, South Auckland. The responsibilities involved with rūnanga, council, board and professional practice activities are one way of ensuring that Māori interests are represented and protected. It has been and no doubt will continue to be a challenge to maintain and hold these numerous and diverse relationships.

It is also pleasing to see that these values are promoted as a requirement of ethical conduct into health research in universities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand (HRC, 2010). Upholding Māori values and principles of engagement in the Māori research environment can be a rewarding and valuable experience where longer term professional and community relationships are formed. This investment requires the honouring of time, space and place - an important consideration for Indigenous researchers and research institutions that often determine research timeframes.

As a Māori psychotherapist and as a fledgling researcher I have shared my clinical and Indigenous healing skills with whānau and tangata whaiora (people seeking wellness), and worked to ensure that my approach is adaptive, responding to the contemporary realities of Māori lifestyles (Durie, 1998a; Hall, 2012; Pohatu, 2013; Pouto-Morice & Woodard, 2011). My story is both unlike and like that of many other Māori and Indigenous professionals, where various relationships and lines of accountability need to be managed and maintained. This can be particularly challenging when there are few Indigenous practitioners available in a specific discipline where a critical Indigenous mass seems hard to imagine.

1.4 Positioning of the Researcher:

It is crucial to have some idea of where you stand in the theoretical literature on your topic, so that you know how to position yourself in relationship to your research participants. Are you an insider, an outsider, or a fence sitter in relation to the people you are working with?
(Rountree & Laing, 1996, p. 111).

This work emerges from events in my own history that have shaped and influenced my thinking on many levels as a Māori woman with diverse ancestral links, including those to Europe. I identify primarily as a Māori woman with Pākeha ancestry, with maternal affiliations to the Taitokerau and Tainui tribes of Aotearoa. I also understand that the word 'Māori' was constructed as a response to Pākeha arrival to indicate a person of the ordinary or usual native New Zealand race (Williams, 2000). Therefore being 'Māori' is an acknowledgement of my distinct native or Indigenous whakapapa (genealogy). By no means does this repudiate my Pākeha whakapapa or other influences that have shaped who I am as an individual and as member of a much wider whānau collective. Asserting my 'Māori' whakapapa is a much more conscious choice to seek relationship equity as tangata whenua, Mana Wāhine and a minority within a Pākeha dominant society. Moewaka Barnes (2000) states, "It is ironic that the concept of Māori, arising from its meaning of ordinary, is now seen as the other" (p. 14).

Like many Māori women, I both struggle with and celebrate our diversity, recognising that Māori families and communities are now fixed within a Pākeha ecology, inextricably linked to British imperialism and colonialism (L. Smith, 1999). We are also a group who share cultural ideals and behaviours peculiar to Māori women alone. In order to better understand what has shaped the way in which Māori women are mothered and therefore mother, it is important to take into account historical events, social conditions, past and present political environments. In this research, I therefore examine the mothering practices of Māori women when faced with the challenges of mothering in a challenging and vicarious context. The voices of Māori women while parenting in the context of partner violence are examined throughout this thesis.

This investigation has been generated by a number of personal life events, to include a personal history of family violence, work experiences, exposure to both Māori and Western training modalities including my training in Child Psychotherapy and as a registered psychotherapist. As a practitioner, I have worked in a number of community

settings over the past 20 years that include the public health system and non-government organisations with both Māori and non-Māori men, women and children who present as clients for a range of reasons. However many of the presenting issues are directly related to forms of abuse and violence in the family home and unresolved early childhood experiences, which unavoidably result in discussions concerning earliest childhood difficulties.

Heise, (1998) argues, "…theories of violence have been strongly influenced by either disciplinary biases of psychology, sociology, and criminology or the ideological and political agendas of feminist activists" (p. 262). To add further, Heise (1998) contends that the focus is on individual explanations for violence; for example violence occurs due to poor impulse control or psychopathology or social and political explanations such as gender-power inequalities. For these reasons Heise (1998) contends that many theories concerning violence have been constructed from a disciplinary bias with a strong tendency toward advancing single-factor theories and in doing so the values of a collectivist approach, enjoyed by many cultures around the world, is reduced to an ethos of narrow explanations that advance a particular discipline. Triandis (2001) definition of collectivist approach incorporates the following characteristics:

> In collectivist cultures, people are interdependent within their in-groups (family, tribe, nation, etc.), give priority to the goals of their in-groups, shape their behaviour primarily on the basis of in-group norms, and behave in a communal way…People in collectivist cultures are especially concerned with relationships…collectivists prefer methods of conflict resolution that do not destroy relationships (e.g., mediation), whereas individualists are willing to go to court to settle disputes (p.909).

Triandis (2001) contrasts the characteristics of collectivism with individualism with the following statement:

> In individualist societies people are autonomous and independent from their in-group; they give priority to their personal goals over the goals of their in-groups, they behave primarily on the basis of their attitudes rather than the norms of their in-groups, and exchange theory adequately predicts their social behaviour (p. 909).

In Aotearoa O'Hagan, Reynolds and Smith (2012) contend that overall New Zealand, compared with the USA, is less individualistic as a country and that "Māori have a very collectivist worldview" (p. 57).

Heise (1998) promotes an ecological approach that captures systemic forces that interact with the decisions people make at a social and personal level as an alternative. More recently, and in the on-going challenge to eliminate violence, Montoya and Agustín (2013) acknowledge that while violence against women is a universal problem, women who are differently situated have different experiences. Montoya and Agustín (2013) argue that the universal framing of violence has greatly influenced the movement of violence against women however, also cautions the universalising approach stating:

> While the universalizing approach has been pivotal in both mobilization and agenda setting, scholars and activists have noted its limited utility in addressing the specific policy needs of battered women from diverse backgrounds and circumstances. (p. 3)

Montoya and Agustín (2013) maintain a position that warns against further forms of oppression, challenging the embedded assumptions of the "phenomenon of culturalization" (p. 1) apparent in the European Union within the anti-violence movement. The need to identify and highlight the differences between inclusionary and exclusionary intersectional practices is strongly argued, particularly when the privileging of white or cultural majority women exacerbates the obstacles for women of colour. Montoya and Agustín (2013) assert:

> intersectional practices that incorporate the different experiences and needs of women in productive ways and problematic exclusionary approaches that create and exacerbate dichotomies between cultural "insiders" and "outsiders'…is crucial for constructing solutions that help rather than hinder the most vulnerable group of women. (p. 3)

The presumption that the researcher must be positioned within a particular theoretical edifice stagnates the encouragement of ideas concerning family violence for reasons addressed by Montoya and Agustín (2013) as the tendency toward universality

and culturalisation. Addressing the widespread issue of violence is a multifaceted and complicated phenomenon that requires people to make a difference. Practitioners in the family violence workforce have been encouraged to think differently about the approaches utilised to date in order to practice more effectively (Family Violence Death Review Committee (FVDRC), 2014). I believe I have always advocated for the unique place Māori have as tangata whenua and for interventions that recognise and reflect the lifestyles of people who live here in Aotearoa New Zealand. The issue of family violence for Māori must recognise the interplay between historical, cultural, social, interpersonal and situational factors. As a developing researcher, I bring with me all that my whakapapa, education and sociocultural experiences have given me. In doing so, the ideology that supports discipline biases as described by Heise (1998) remains, as a secondary concern and I remain comfortably intact to utilise those constructs that frame partner and domestic violence in a manner that is most useful for Māori.

1.5 Overview of Baseline Concepts:

1.5.1 Partner Violence:

For the purpose of this research study I define '*partner violence*' as the use of any behaviour within a personal partnered relationship that is physically, emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually destructive and harmful. The violent behaviours can involve one or more forms of physical aggression, psychological abuse, sexual violation and coercion, economic control and spiritual degradation. Intimate partner violence is often defined as a broad range of controlling behaviours that characteristically involve fear, intimidation emotional deprivation within a diversity of close personal relationships (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2014; Fanslow & Robinson, 2010; MSD, 2002, 2006, 2008a). In this study I have used the term 'partner violence' 'family violence' and 'whānau violence' to define a broad range of abusive and controlling behaviours.

1.5.2 Attachment:

'*Attachment*' in this instance refers to the theories of John Bowlby (1969), the London-based psychiatrist and psychoanalyst recognised as the founder of attachment theory. The broad principles of attachment theory are centred upon a self-regulating and mutually interacting system. This system develops firstly between an infant and a primary

attachment figure, mostly and commonly, the mother. The development of affectional bonds and early childhood experiences are influenced by environmental factors and is considered fundamental to the quality of emotional development. Developments in attachment theory provide us with good information about early childhood emotional development and parenting practices (Belsky, 1984; Campher, 2008). The literature abounds with numerous and well advanced studies regarding attachment and what is considered acceptable (Ainsworth, 1974, 1985; Bowlby, 1969, 1973a; S. Goldberg, Muir & Kerr, 2000; Hennighausen & Lyons-Ruth, 2010). However, more often these studies are positioned within a dominant Western discourse and seldom questioned as to their efficacy for those of other cultural mores (Carlson, 2003; Oppenheim, Sagi, & Lamb, 1988; Takahashi, 1986; Van IJzendoorn, 1990).

1.5.3 Cultural Attachment Practices and Beliefs:

The growing diversity of cultural groups within Aotearoa continually influences the way our society is shaped and the way in which Māori retain our close interactions. Māori traditional practices and tribal culture are subject to Western influences and mono-culturalism brought about by Pākeha cultural values. The emergence of other population groups not only highlights differences in attachment beliefs, it also draws attention to the similarities concerned with raising emotionally secure children (Oppenheim, Sagi, & Lamb, 1988; Takahashi, 1986). Attachments are formed in relation to a child's significant caregivers and facilitated within their immediate environment. Intentionally, those factors that influence Māori attachment beliefs, values and practices will feature with greater prominence within this thesis allowing for both traditional and contemporary Māori experiences of secure bonding and attachment.

1.6 Summary:

The introduction chapter postulates the aims and objectives of this research and brings together the discussion points put forth in this thesis. It orientates the reader toward the content of this study while specifying underlying assumptions and explaining baseline concepts discussed throughout this thesis. As the researcher, I position myself in a manner that encompasses who I am both personally and professionally, recognising all the attributes I bring to this discussion. Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the embedded principles of partnership, participation and protection provide the starting point for this research

undertaking. More broadly, the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi are grounded here in Aotearoa New Zealand, recognising the relevance to social science research, health and education (Tudor & Grinter, 2014). This thesis is positioned within Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Māori research. The following chapter turns our attention toward attachment theory as an important early childhood developmental consideration. Understanding how early relationships develop is a critical discourse for anti-violence intervention programs.

TE WĀHANGA TUARUA: CHAPTER TWO
THEORIES OF ATTACHMENT

The struggle to understand the parent-child bond touches us deeply because we intuitively sense that our first relationships hold many clues to how we've become who we are.
(Karen, 1998, p. 3)

2.1 Section One – Attachment Theory:

2.1.1 Introduction:

This section examines the main tenets of attachment theory, which will be considered and discussed within the context of partner violence. Attachment theory is interested in the very early development of relationships and is a key element of psychological and emotionally well-being. Future predictions about behaviour, psychological, emotional and relational prospects are informed by understanding the quality of the earliest attachment relationship. Earlier attachment theory research focused primarily on the mother-infant dyad, however it is now generally accepted that young children have the propensity to form multiple attachments. This can include parents (biological, foster, adopted), grandparents, siblings, aunts and uncles, and alternate caregivers (e.g. child-care workers) (Howe, Brandon, Hinings & Schofield, 1999). Here, attachment theory is used to examine the dynamics of abusive relationships and offers a convincing theoretical perspective of how people learn to relate to others and the world around them. Our earliest experiences of connection have shown to influence us in terms of how we understand ourselves, our expectations of others and the types of relationships we develop later in life (Fraiberg, 1980; Spitz, 1965).

2.1.2 Origins of Attachment Theory:

In 1949, the World Health Organisation (WHO) commissioned John Bowlby to compile a mental health report following concerns for children made homeless during World War II. Subsequent observations of children placed in homes during WWII led Bowlby to conclude that trauma experienced early in life, including loss of parents or emotionally insufficient connections with caregivers, had the tendency to predispose a

child to future relationship problems and difficulties developing and maintaining relational and affectional bonds (Bowlby, 1973b). Bowlby would go on to develop his thinking further to describe in detail the process involved in forming significant relational bonds to another in a trilogy of works. These works were developed and published between 1969–1980 under three titles *Attachment*, *Separation*, and *Loss* (Bowlby, 1969; 1973a; 1973b; 1980). Bowlby had trained as a psychologist, psychiatrist and psychoanalyst prior to producing theories concerning attachment.

Primary and secondary drive theories postulated by psychoanalysts and social learning theorists (Freud, 1957; Sears, Macoby, & Levin, 1959) did not convince Bowlby that a young infant's relationship with his or her mother materialised through maternal feeding of the infant. Mainstream psychoanalytic thought during the 1930s and 40s suggested that food was the primary drive and the personal relationship sometimes referred to as 'dependency', was the secondary drive (Pearce, 2009). Hunger drives satisfied by the pleasure of feeding did little to explain the nature of an infant's emotional bond, particularly when animal studies showed that they "became attached to parents that did not feed them" (Cassidy & Shaver, 1999, p. 3). Likewise, systematic observations of human infants would make clear that babies were able to form attachments to people who did not feed them (Ainsworth, 1967; Schaffer & Emerson, 1964). Influenced by Darwin's evolutionary theories, ethology, developmental psychology, cognitive sciences and control systems theory, Bowlby went on to develop his attachment ideas further.

2.1.3 Evolutionary Perspectives on Attachment:

In keeping with evolutionary ideas, Bowlby considered that genetic selection favoured attachment behaviours because they increased the probability of child-mother proximity, which in turn improved the chances of protection and provided survival advantage. These advantages included feeding, social interactions, adaptation to the environment and survival from predators. Bowlby (1982) believed that behavioural systems, including attachment, had a sole purpose - "the ultimate outcome to be attained is always the survival of the genes an individual is carrying" (p. 56).

Cassidy (1999) summarised Bowlby's suggestions in her conclusions with the following:

In the environment of evolutionary adaptedness, infants who were biologically predisposed to stay close to their mothers were less likely to be killed by predators. This is referred to as the biological function of attachment behaviour. Without protection from predators, feeding is not necessary, and learning cannot take place. Because of this biological function of protection, Bowlby considered infants to be predisposed particularly to seek their parents in times of distress. (1999, p. 5)

From a Darwinian perspective, the inclination to seek proximity is a behavioural adaptation to the environment and a human characteristic which continues throughout the lifespan, in contrast to a belief associated with an immature state that needs to be outgrown (Cassidy, 1999). Attachment theorists would consider that survival of the species is aided by the emotional bond formed between an infant and a caregiver. The human propensity to develop emotional ties is a key to understanding human relatedness with others, a young child's development, concepts of self and life experiences (Pearce, 2009).

2.1.4 Biological Foundations of Attachment:

Bowlby hypothesised that attachment was a biologically evolved phenomenon. He considered that attachment was essential to the survival of an infant, driven by a need to stay in close contact (Cassidy, 1999). This innate quality to maintain close proximity to one's caregiver increases the likelihood that an infant child will survive, particularly in their state of absolute dependence (Bowlby, 1969; Davis & Wallbridge, 1981; Winnicott, 1984). The biological foundations of attachment theory include a number of "attachment behaviours" (Bowlby, 1969), each with a specific aim of increasing proximity. Bowlby postulated and described a control-system that was emotionally driven, providing a signalling mechanism. Signalling behaviours include smiling and vocalizing to alert the mother to the child.

Heightened levels of anxiety are experienced by the infant when the infant perceives too much distance between themselves and their caregiver. Aversive behaviours by the infant, such as crying to convey unsatisfactory experiences, either internal or external, serve to bring the mother to her infant in order to terminate dissatisfaction. The infant will seek to regain closer proximity to their caregiver by crying, looking for them, and moving towards the caregiver by following and approaching to gain

closeness. The anxiety experienced by the infant provides a forewarning that their caregiver is too far away.

Bowlby believed that attachment behaviours are instinctive and an infant will evoke behaviours to attain desirable proximity. The behaviours are activated by the infant when any condition perceived by the infant seems to threaten the achievement of a desired proximity to their caregiver, such as separation, insecurity and fear. Essentially Bowlby considered the primary goal of attachment was to ensure the survival of the infant through closeness to adults who can provide for their needs (Bowlby, 1969, 1982; Cassidy, 1999).

2.1.5 The Attachment Behavioural System:

Bowlby borrowed the concept of the behavioural system from ethology, considered a topic of biology concerning the scientific study of animal behaviour. Bowlby adapted the concept into the "attachment behavioural system" to describe the manner in which human behaviour leads to a foreseeable outcome. In contrast to primary or secondary drive theories, attachment was no longer considered a by-product determining that children have the predisposition to become attached regardless of their physiological needs (Cassidy, 1999). Empirical evidence supported Bowlby's ideas and further studies would show that infants become attached to abusive mothers, dispelling the pleasure associations made with feeding (Ainsworth, 1967; Bowlby, 1956; Harlow, 1962; Schaffer & Emerson, 1964). The behaviours may include crying, smiling, vocalizing, following or approaching, however the infant will determine the behaviour most useful at any given moment. The infant is able to gain greater proximity to mother or caregiver as the child grows, thus developing greater variety and capacity to attain the desired goal.

The goal, according to Bowlby, is to achieve a behavioural homeostasis similar to a physiological homeostasis, where the physiological system seeks a state of equilibrium, e.g. blood pressure and body temperature. The behavioural system seeks to achieve a proximity state, where a preferred distance from mother is maintained. The central nervous system is thought to organise both the physiological control system and the behavioural system (Bowlby 1969, 1982; Cassidy, 1999). The behavioural system is understood to operate in relation to a number of interrelated biologically based systems.

In particular, Bowlby emphasised the importance of the exploratory behavioural system and the fear behavioural system to the attachment system of young children. According to Bowlby (1969) when the exploratory and fear systems are activated the

attachment system is also activated. Features of the attachment survival goal include proximity seeking, separation, protest, and a secure base from which to explore.

2.1.6 Secure Base:

The secure base was first explained by Ainsworth (1963) following her observations of young children in their first year of life, and refers to the caregiver the child turns to when distressed. A secure base promotes the likelihood of survival, providing protection if needed by the infant and the starting point from which to explore. The secure base is somewhat confusing in that it does not necessarily provide a secure attachment; the emphasis is on survival. According to Holmes (2001), the concept of the secure base "seemed to have limited application to adults until it was realized that the secure base can be seen not just as an external figure, but also as a representation of security within the individual psyche" (p. 7). The interaction between the caregiver-child secure base experiences, according to Holmes (2000), encompasses three domains: (1) a set of behaviours activated by threats; (2) a response to those behaviours by the caregiver; and (3) a psychological state that is the end result of those behaviours.

2.1.7 The Caregiving System:

The caregiver system describes a set of parental behaviours which specifically promote proximity and comfort in relation to the infant or child's real or potential danger (Cassidy, 1999). Bowlby described the urge to care for and protect children as biologically based and interrelated with the behavioural system of the young child. At the same time, Bowlby viewed individual differences in parenting as developing largely through learning. The significant set of behaviours in the caregiver system involves retrieval, calling, reaching, grasping, restraining, following, soothing and rocking (Bowlby, 1969, 1982). Interactions between caregiving systems can be activated for differing purposes and responses and can include various interactions including playful interaction from a child's father or feeding activity with the child's mother. Following through with Bowlby's thinking, Cassidy (1999) suggested that the:

> child's attachment system can be relatively deactivated; attachment behaviours are
> not needed because the parent has assumed responsibility for maintaining

proximity. If the caregiver system is not relatively activated, then the child's attachment system becomes activated, should the context call for it. (p. 10)

The caregiver system can be activated by a number of internal or external factors. Internal factors can include physiological factors that include the presence of illness, a weak immune system, hormonal imbalances as well as psychological perceptions including cultural beliefs. External factors will include the infant state and wellbeing, the conditions within the environment, including whether there are dangers present or the presence of hostile others or whether the environment is familiar or unfamiliar. The activation of the caregiver system has serious implications for the absolutely dependent infant who cannot survive without the assistance of the caregiver. Cassidy (1999) suggests that this explains one of the reasons why the mother's leaving is especially distressing to a child and particularly likely to activate attachment behaviour.

2.1.8 The Exploratory System:

A member of Bowlby's research team, Mary Ainsworth, contributed greatly to his early theoretical formulations on attachment theory. Ainsworth's (1963, 1964, 1967, 1972, 1985) naturalistic observations and studies of mother-infant interactions influenced discussion concerning the interplay between the exploratory system and the attachment system. The systems are thought to be corresponding yet mutually inhibiting. The child progressively learns about their environment through exploration whilst maintaining proximity to their attachment figure. According to Ainsworth (1972), "the dynamic equilibrium between these two behavioural systems is even more significant for development (and for survival) than either in isolation" (p. 118). When the attachment state is contented, the exploration system is activated; equally when the attachment system is activated, exploration is reduced.

Attachment is thought to promote exploration and the objective is to maintain "attachment exploration balance" (Ainsworth, Bell & Stayton, 1974). Bowlby (1973a) expressed the importance of both the physical presence of the attachment figure and also the young child's belief that the attachment figure will be accessible if needed. It is the caregiver who provides the secure base from which the infant is able to explore their immediate environment when they feel assured that their caregivers are available and close enough to provide help if needed (Bowlby, 1973a).

2.1.9 The Fear System:

The fear system is also thought to be closely linked to the behavioral system. For Bowlby, the biological function of the fear system, like that of the attachment system, is protection. It is biologically adaptive for children to be frightened of certain stimuli. Without such fear, survival, according to Bowlby, and reproduction according to modern evolutionary perspectives, would be reduced. Activation of the fear system generally heightens activation of the attachment system. In contrast, activation of the exploratory system can, under certain circumstances, reduce activation of the attachment system. As any parent knows, providing a novel set of keys can temporarily distract a baby who wants to be picked up, as long as the infant's attachment system is not intensely activated. Like the exploratory system, the fear system is also thought to be intertwined with the attachment system. When the fear system is activated, the infant's attachment system is activated and attachment behaviour and attachment system increases. Young children are more likely to seek protection from their caregivers increasing their likelihood of survival.

2.1.10 The Role of Context:

The circumstance in which a child determines the desired degree of proximity to the mother is thought to vary under different conditions. Bowlby considered that the attachment system would become active when danger or stresses were present in the child's surroundings. The conditions the child experiences which include illness, fatigue, hunger or pain can activate proximity-seeking behaviours or conditions related to the environment which include any threatening cause or stimulus such as violence. The importance of the mother's positioning becomes very important to the child. The intensity of the stimulus intensifies the activation of the attachment system where the child requires contact with the mother to terminate the threat. Bowlby (1979) referred to this as using the mother as a "safe haven" (p. 130) to return to.

2.1.11 The Role of Emotion:

According to Bowlby (1979), emotions are strongly associated with attachment:

> Many of the intense emotions arise during the formation, the maintenance, the disruption, and the renewal of attachment relationships. The formation of a bond

24

is described as falling in love, maintaining a bond as loving someone, losing a partner as grieving over someone. Similarly, threat of loss gives rise to sorrow; whilst each of these situations is likely to arouse anger. The unchallenged maintenance of a bond is experienced as a source of joy. (p. 130)

When an infant is predisposed to experiences that are congruent with positive emotions in relation to an attachment and sadness with its loss, the infant may actively work to maintaining healthy attachments throughout their life. The desire to maintain relationships also contributes to reproductive health, vigour and gene survival.

2.1.12 The Role of Cognition:

Bowlby (1969, 1982) anticipated that the regulation of the attachment behavioral system involved cognition and drew upon cognitive information theory to expand his thinking. Bowlby considered that developing infants and young children had a growing cognitive ability to form mental representations of their attachment figures, the self, and the environment. The formations of mental representations are established essentially on experiences. This point differs from Freudian ideas that placed an emphasis on the role of fantasies. Bowlby referred to these representations as "representational models" and as "internal working models." The models enable the individual to make anticipated plans about the future. The internal working model is twofold in that it relates to the infant's perception of self and the infant's perception of others, and is therefore able to relate their understanding to future relationships. According to Cassidy (1999), "The child is thought to rely on these models, for instance, when making decisions about which specific attachment behavior(s) to use in specific situation with a specific person" (p. 7).

If the child experiences their caregiver and their environment as safe, responsive, nurturing and protective, they develop an internal working model of themselves and others founded upon these experiences. Optimal experiences encourage positive mental representations and the child comes to believe that they are lovable and their caregivers can be trusted. Similarly the young child comes to understand that their environment is predictable, safe and reliable which in turn informs their general view about the world as a safe place in which to live.

Exposure to opposing experiences in the child's early life and divergent experiences of caregivers such as unresponsive, unavailable, inconsistent, or not

protective, can encourage an internal working model of self and others based upon these experiences of parental failure. In this context, the child forms an internal working model that perceives himself or herself to be unlovable, poorly behaved. The child perceives other's abilities to maintain a stable and nurturing relationship as unreliable and the world around them as mistrusting.

Bowlby (1982) concluded that trauma experienced early in life, including loss of parents or emotionally insufficient connections with caregivers, had the tendency to predispose a child to future relationship difficulties. Attachment theory offers compelling ideas concerning the benefits of encouraging the formation of secure relationships in which Bowlby (1982) states "the ultimate outcome to be attained is always the survival of the genes an individual is carrying" (p. 56). When considering the discussion thus far, we can anticipate problems arising for Māori when we consider the origins of attachment theory and the close association with evolutionary perspectives on attachment. It would seem, and rather ironically that evolutionary perspectives concerning the 'survival of the fittest' threatens the very thing we strive to protect which is ─ our continued survival. To this Gilligan (2001) adds:

> Worse yet, we have now achieved, through a deliberate effort, the technological ability to kill everyone on earth, thus becoming the first species in evolutionary history to be in danger of bringing about its own extinction ─ unless we can increase our ability to prevent violence far more effectively than we have for the past four thousand years. (p. 7)

The complexities of our contemporary society are challenging for both young and old where communication technology, global markets, the politics of politics, environmental changes and military regimes; to name a few, are occurring at an accelerated rate and are filtered into our homes on a daily basis. It is therefore not surprising that these continuous changes can overwhelm the most informed and secure members of our society. Māori children are growing up in some of the most challenging circumstances where the nature of home life is becoming increasingly unpredictable due to the violence they bear witness to, partly as a consequence of structural changes in our society.

2.2. Section Two - Healthy Attachment Development:

2.2.1 Introduction:

This section follows on from the discussion concerning attachment theory providing a short introduction to healthy attachment development followed by an introduction to the formation of attachment patterns and the way in which these are formed in early childhood. Providing an outline of four accepted categories of attachment, I introduce these two themes as a precursor for understanding attachment disorders. These introductions lead into discussions concerning attachment disorder particularly where the attachment organization exhibits aggression and aggressive behavior. From this we can contextualise how individual patterns of attachment are formed in relation to experiences with caregivers and understand better how early exposure to whānau violence affects healthy emotional development. This overview then leads onto a discussion concerning attachment disorders particularly where early childhood exposure to violence and distressing situations creates emotional damage in Māori children with lasting effects into adulthood. I will draw upon attachment literature from other theorists such as Winnicott (1945); Cassidy and Shaver (1999); S. Goldberg, Muir and Kerr (2000); and Pearce (2009); while including Māori and health science literature.

2.2.2 Healthy Attachment Development:

The basic assumptions of attachment theory as described in this chapter are based upon a self-regulating and mutually interacting system. The attachment relationship is explained as a genetically anchored, biologically performed phenomenon activated after birth to specific attachment figures. The attachment relationship operates as a survival function for the child (Bowlby, 1969). Attachment theorists consider that an infant is not born with attachments already made to its primary caregivers. This particular relationship materialises over time and is achieved through a series of stages in the first two years, solidifying by three years of age. Delaney (1994) summarises the work of John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth concerning attachment development, illustrating stage appropriate behaviours in Table 1 below.

During the stages of healthy attachment development, the baby learns through repeated experiences that the primary attachment figure will provide reliable and consistent care. The relationship develops into a special bond that results in the young

child accessing and or maintaining safe proximity to their clearly identified individual most commonly the mother. Through this process the child learns about relationships and emotional connectedness. The child's development, concept of self, their perception of themselves and the world around them are mediated through their first relationships and their early life experiences.

Table 1: Stages of Attachment Formation

Stage	Time	Observable Features
Pre-attachment	Birth to 3 months	The infant orients to the sound of the caregiver's voice, reflexively reaches to be held, tracks the caregiver visually, but smiles reflexively and indiscriminately.
Recognition / Discrimination	3-8months	The infant begins to differentiate between the primary caregivers and others. Smiles are based on recognition, and the infant scans the caregiver's faces with excitement. The infant shows distress when caregivers leave the room, smiles at, and greets them after brief separations.
Active Attachment	8-36 months	During this stage in which the primary attachments are actively developing, the infant demonstrates a clear preference for the primary caregiver or caregivers and a corresponding wariness towards strangers, or 'stranger reaction'. The infant crawls or walks away from their caregivers to explore their environment, though they frequently check back to their caregiver's face, either by returning to their caregiver or visually touching base with him or her. The child explores without anxiety. Once mobile, the child seeks hugs and otherwise seeks temporary reunions with their caregiver before resuming their exploration of their environment. Such temporary reunions are referred to as 'emotional refuelling'.
Partnership	36 months onwards	In this sage attachment solidifies. The child expresses their needs verbally and begins to negotiate conflicts and differences with their caregiver.

(Source: Delaney, 1994, in Pearce, 2009, p. 21).

2.2.3 Attachment Patterns:

The formation of attachment patterns were first formalised using a laboratory playroom procedure known as the 'Strange Situation'. A small research group led by Ainsworth (Bell & Ainsworth, 1972), who was a key and instrumental member of Bowlby's research team, developed the procedure. This study, sometimes referred to as the Baltimore study, would become the cornerstone of attachment theory. The 'Strange Situation' drew upon Ainsworth's (1967) previous and first empirical study on attachment in Uganda. The 'Strange Situation' procedure was designed to replicate Ainsworth's Ugandan findings in the United States. I will comment further on Ainsworth's cross-cultural comparative studies later in this chapter.

In the laboratory setting, a mother and her twelve-month-old child are introduced to the laboratory playroom, where an unfamiliar adult joins them shortly thereafter. The stranger begins to play with the baby and while engaged in play the mother leaves the room briefly and then returns. A second separation occurs, during which the baby is left completely alone. Finally, the stranger and the mother return, with the whole experimental procedure taking approximately 20 minutes to complete. The baby's interactions with both mother and stranger and the baby's reactions to separations and reunions were studied in order to formulate the following attachment patterns; secure, insecure-avoidant, and insecure-ambivalent.

The Strange Situation procedure described three parent-infant interactions where the parent's influence on the quality of the infant attachment status was shown to be significant (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall 1978; Main & Cassidy, 1988). However, as attachment studies increased, a smaller group of cases became noticeable in that they were much more difficult to classify according to Ainsworth's original three categories. Crittenden (1985) had observed a pattern of behaviours that were a combination of avoidant/resistant, however with additional features that were unusually difficult to classify. Similarly, Radke-Yarrow and her colleagues (Radke-Yarrow, Cummings, Kuczynski & Chapman, 1985) had noted through clinical observations a set of behaviours that appeared to be unclassifiable.

Additionally, Mary Main and Judith Solomon (1986) found that some infants could not be classified according to the Strange Situation categories particularly when infants and young children had experienced overwhelmingly frightening situations. This led to further inquiries where Main and Solomon (1986, 1990) undertook a review of a

large cohort of "unclassifiable" tapes resulting in a fourth category. Consequently, a fourth category was later added to Ainsworth's trichotomy of attachment patterns. Main and Solomon (1990) describe the discovery of a fourth attachment pattern as Insecure-disorganised/Disoriented attachment. The three primary attachment categories described a set of behaviours that represented organised strategies for managing attachment arousal; conversely, the Insecure-disorganised/dDisoriented category represented an apparent unorganised alternative for managing attachment relationships. Noticeably investigations discovered connections between unresolved parent trauma, infant maltreatment and fear as the antecedents for the insecure-disorganised/disoriented category. Further enquiries (Crittenden, 1990,1992; Hesse & Main, 1999, 2000; Main, 1993; Main & Solomon, 1990) have confirmed that young children who experienced maltreatment or forms of highly frightening parental conduct were seen to present with behaviours that are consistent with disorganised-disorientated attachment.

2.2.4 Cognitive Development:

A comprehensive and important developmental pathway needs to be mentioned here to help contextualise attachment processes. Jean Piaget's theories on cognitive development describe four stages of normal intellectual development which are:

- Sensorimotor: Birth through ages 18-24 months;
- Preoperational: Toddlerhood (18-24 months) through early childhood (age 7);
- Concrete operational: Ages 7 to 12 years;
- Formal operational: Adolescence through adulthood.

Piaget (1952, 1971) recognised that children can move through each stage at different ages as noted above and that some children may demonstrate features of more than one stage at any given time. Piaget (1952) contended that cognitive development always progressed in these four stages. Each stage must be achieved in a sequential order thus providing the basic building block for the next stage of intellectual understanding and ability. Attachment and cognitive processes gradually develop simultaneously through the infant's experiences with their world.

Winnicott (1945) raised three important questions: 1) how early do important things happen?; 2) Does the unborn child have to be considered?; and 3) At what age after

conception does psychology come in?. Winnicott (1945) contended that "if there is an important stage at five to six months, there is also an important stage round about birth" (p. 139). Winnicott's reasoning was due to the great differences noticed in pre-mature or post-mature babies.

The development of a child's attachment occurs in relationship to another person and within the context of a facilitating environment (Winnicott, 1945). Several important emotional and psychic phenomena develop simultaneously during the early phases of child development. The nature of the child's early experiences provides the important foundations for human relatedness, when children learn to be in relationship with others and the natural world around them. The young child begins to distinguish between 'what is me' and 'what is not me' through interactions with mother, significant family members and with objects in their environment. The development is most noticeable between five and six months when the baby begins to interact with objects both playing and experimenting with these. The behaviour involves clasping an object putting it to the mouth and after further opportunities and inquisitive practice, this behaviour is followed up with the deliberate dropping of an object for experimentation.

2.2.5 Attachment and Violence:

A critical review of the literature indicates there is ongoing concern both nationally and internationally regarding issues related to domestic violence and the effects of violence in our communities. It is widely accepted that family violence is an issue affecting the lives of far too many New Zealand families and one which continues to be an on-going concern for Māori (MSD, 2002, 2008b). It is also accepted that healthy early attachments and attachments with primary caregivers, most often mothers, is fundamental to good childhood development (Bowlby, 1988). Bowlby (1969, 1973b) regarded interpersonal anger as a conflict surfacing from frustrated and unmet attachment needs. Escalating frustrations operate as a form of protest behaviour where the primary aim is to regain contact with the attachment figure. Bowlby (1969, 1977) concluded that unmet attachment needs and threats or separations from attachment figures triggered powerful emotional responses such as anger, rage, terror and grief. Fostering secure attachments is important for brain development, psychological and emotional growth as well as social engagement and security (Egeland & Erickson, 1999).

The development of secure attachments is essential for a growing infant and young child. Exposure to maltreatment, physical abuse and traumatic factors associated with domestic violence can have lifelong mental health implications (Fonagy, 2008; McGee, 2000). In the absence of effective intervention for domestic violence, reactive-attachment disorder is likely to develop (Greenberg, Speltz & DeKlyen, 1993; Lyons-Ruth & Jacobvitz, 1999).

Māori children's repetitive exposure to whānau violence coupled with the quality of their developing attachment experience will have implications for the way in which they behave as children and as adults later on in life (Moffit, Caspi, Harrington & Milne, 2002; Erikson & Egeland, 1987). According to Becker-Weidman (2006), "such children are at risk of developing disorganised attachments" (p. 148). Symptoms can include acting-out behaviours, often viewed as disruptive in social settings such as classroom situations, dissociative symptoms, anxiety and depression. Furthermore, children with attachment disorders are often violent and aggressive and have the potential to develop a range of psychological and personality disorders throughout adolescence and adulthood (Prino & Peyrot, 1994; Robins, 1978; Schreiber & Lyddon, 1998). These disorders include oppositional defiant disorder, conduct disorder, antisocial personality disorder, narcissistic personality disorder, borderline personality disorder, and psychopathic personality disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

An understanding of early childhood attachment difficulties and the complex ways in which violence hinders this development may help to provide explanations for the over-representation of Māori in mental health statistics and penal institutions. It would appear that literature concerning attachment theory and domestic violence is only recently beginning to emerge (Buchanan, 2008; Gerhardt, 2006; Windom & Wilson, 2015) despite the developments in child maltreatment in neurobiology (Perry, 2009; Schore, 1994, 2001) that explain the impacts of violence on the developing child. Shedding new light on the effects of violence trauma on Māori maternal parenting patterns is crucial, as women with children are three times more likely to suffer the adverse effects of domestic violence than women without children (Humphreys, 2007a). As victims of whānau violence, Māori women, like many other battered women, often suffer multiple violent events yet continue to parent under these circumstances. It is therefore important to understand maternal parenting behaviours during times of stress to help strengthen interventions that will serve to protect Māori women and their tamariki.

International studies indicate that battered mothers experience greater levels of stress (Edleson, Mbilinyi & Shetty, 2003). Interestingly this does not necessarily translate into diminished parenting. When faced with severe stress, battered mothers may provide greater nurturing and protection to their children to compensate for the violent events (Edleson, Mbilinyi & Shetty, 2003). This raises questions regarding the behaviour and the ability of Māori women to act as emotional buffers for their children and the potential for Māori women to seek support within their community and within their whānau, hapū and iwi links. Further studies point out the impact of domestic violence on women's mental health and the effects of depression (Abrahams, 1994, 34, 2000). Humphreys (2007a) suggests that perpetrators of domestic violence disable women physically and mentally, rendering mothers emotionally unavailable to their children. In addition, Humphreys (2007b) argues that domestic violence is therefore an attack on mothers and their children.

2.2.6 Attachment and Neuroscience:

According to Perry (1998), "There is no more specific "biological" determinant than a relationship…it is the primary caretaking relationships of infancy and childhood that determine the core neurobiological organization of the human individual" (p. 126). Bowlby (1977) believed that "attachment behaviour is held to characterize human beings from the cradle to the grave" (p. 203). The years of immaturity-infancy, childhood and adolescence are significant developmental years. Bowlby (1973) asserted, "Whatever expectations are developed during those years tend to persist relatively unchanged throughout the rest of life" (p. 235). He expressed these expectations as internal representation or working models of self. This occurs during our most formative years when experiences related to our environment are internalised to form a perception one has of one's self and the world around them. Exposure to partner violence and experiences of child abuse and neglect have the propensity to create a working model of self that is negative, fearful, anxious and a belief that the world is unsafe (Bowlby, 1973, 1977).

Attachment theory has paved the way for many practitioners who work directly with young children in therapy bringing attention to the importance of the early emotional environment. According to Turp (2006), "Babies both shape and are shaped by the world of relationships into which they emerge" (p. 305). Attachment theory brought new light to what we now know about personality development of parental love, affection,

responsiveness and sensitivity. Developments emerging from the field of neuroscience have added a new dimension to brain development and the aptitude of genetic and environmental factors. Advancements in brain scanning equipment enabled neuroscientist and psychotherapist Allan Schore (1994) to challenge the misconception concerning genetics and nature where everything before birth was attributed to genetics and everything after birth is environmental in nature. Schore's (1994) investigation provided the neurology of attachment formation and the impacts of violence trauma on the developing brain of young children. Drawing on Schores's (1994) investigations, Mitrani (2001) states:

> The emotional state of the mother during the pre-, peri-, and post-natal periods of the infants' development has a profound impact on the baby's and later the adult's capacity for love and work, regardless of its own constitutional limitations. (p. 306)

Schore (1994) confirmed that the genome continues to unfold after birth. This finding is significant showing the gradual brain development through and after pregnancy where the infant brain at one year comprises more genetic material greater than at birth. He has highlighted how large parts of the brain and neural pathways only come into effect near the end of the first or during the second year of life. Schore (1994) established that while the genes are pre-set to encode proteins, the intricacies of the pathways that are forming are dependent on experiences in early relationships. The quality of the relationships and the surrounding environment during the first two years interacts with the structure of the infant brain. Experiences of love, joy, and happiness release hormones that promote growth whilst negative, hostile and gross deprivation leave black holes where emotional and intellectual functioning occurs in the brain. New capabilities in scientific advancement have made it possible to provide a visual map of activity in the brain enabling technical measurement of corresponding emotional experiences (Gerhardt, 2006).

Gerhardt (2006) discusses why love matters as a crucially important factor in personality development. Developments in neuroscience confirm what psychotherapists have known about the interaction of early experiences, emotions and psychological tendencies. A mother's physiological patterns and biochemical systems interact with her baby in utero influencing the baby's physiological system. Gerhardt (2006) utilises

neuroscience evidence to highlight how the stress hormone cortisol crosses the placental barrier and influences foetal brain development. Partner violence is hazardous to both the mother and her unborn child, elevating stress levels for both. According to Gerhardt (2006), "this means that [the mother] can pass on – by non-genetic means her own over sensitised stress response to her baby" (p. 67). Elevated cortisol levels and physiological stress created by fear and violence trauma creates a series of problematic difficulties for both mother and child. The baby's physiological and emotional systems are adversely affected, hampering the baby's ability to be easily soothed when distressed and easily reactive and anxious.

Caspi and Moffitt (2006) stress the importance of integrating neuroscience and gene-environment interactions for better understanding how child maltreatment stimulus encourages both aggression and depression. Earlier research by Caspi, McClay, Moffitt et al, (2002) studied a sample of male children from a birth cohort of 1,037 children from the Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Study. The study was interested in determining "why some children who are maltreated grow up to develop antisocial behaviours, whereas others do not" (p. 851). They hypothesised that the metabolizing enzyme monoamine oxidase A (MAOA) genotype had the potential to moderate the influence of childhood maltreatment on important neural pathways that are associated with antisocial behaviour. According to Caspi, McClay, Moffitt et al, "Maltreated children with a genotype conferring high levels of *MAOA* expression were less likely to develop antisocial problems" (p. 851). Lower levels of MAOA expression found in a cohort of males at age 26 who had experienced severe childhood maltreated were seen to correspond with antisocial behavior.

Perry (1998) challenged the notion that children are resilient, questioning their ability to readily recover from adversities and therefore capable of returning to their original position following negative experiences. Informed by neuroscience and the examination of child maltreatment through a neurodevelopmental lens, Perry (1998) argues that children are malleable in nature, capable of being adaptable, influenced, controlled, shaped and formed by circumstances. Breaking cycles of violence is linked to experiences in childhood and the manner in which these experiences influence brain development. Furthermore, Perry (1998) suggests that the etiology of violence is heterogeneous or varied in that there are those factors that "predispose people to violent behaviour, and those that result from exposure to violent behaviour" (p. 126). Various or

differential impacts of violence will determine how the child's brain develops. Perry (1998) notes further that:

> Under all circumstances, however, the organ that allows the child victim to adapt to any violent trauma is the brain, just as the brain is the organ for the origin for the violent behaviours of the victimizer. How is it that the very neurobiological adaptations that allow the child to survive violence may, as the child grows older, result in an increased tendency to be violent? (p. 127)

Perry's (2009) neurosequential model describes a hierarchy of brain function and organisation. The structure of the brain involves four interacting aspects to include the brainstem, midbrain, limbic and the cortical, with each aspect having its own function. The brain is firstly, controlled from the brainstem or the simplest aspect where blood pressure, heart rate, body temperature and the fight/flight/freeze responses are organised. Sensory-motor development occurs at the midbrain level to include coordination and movement, appetite, sleep regulation and arousal. The development of these functions is use-dependent. The important functions of the limbic region include emotional development and reactivity, sexual behaviour, affiliation and attachment. The highest and most complex aspect of the brain is the cortical where the ability for concrete and abstract thought develops along with the ability to self-regulate. Each stage builds upon the other from the simplest brainstem functions through to the higher more complex cortical level. Perry's (1998) neurosequential model discusses how exposure to traumatic violence during early childhood has the propensity to create disruptions and deficits in neurodevelopment. According to Perry (2002), persistent exposure to violence activates unsettling brainstem activity in the developing infant brain. When this occurs, development that is more complex is stilted, increasing the likelihood of an impulsive, reactive, and violent child, adolescent and adult.

McCaleb and Mikaere-Wallis (2005) have adapted Perry's neurosequential model with corresponding Māori concepts to represent each sequential developmental level where the brainstem corresponds with wairua rangimarie (spiritual calmness); midbrain corresponds with tino rangatiratanga (autonomy); limbic corresponds with whanaungatanga (kinship ties) and cortical corresponds with ako (capacity to learn). Adapting the four neurosequential domains with Māori concepts, enables Māori to

develop interventions that align with our understanding of healthy relationships and the important role adults and parents have in early childhood brain development.

2.2.7 Grappling with Aggression:

Throughout human history we have grappled with violence in a disconnected manner, ignoring and sanctifying the most aggressive and murderous acts. The many forms of destruction and aggression have included severe forms of cruelty and torture, beheading, execution through state sanctioned hangings, gassing and electrocution. The most bizarre and abhorrent act of violence was the practice of cannibalism. Like many predecessors, our tūpuna (ancestors) engaged in cannibalism, once a widespread human practice throughout the world and thought to be continuing in some isolated and remote regions. It has only been in recent human history, possibly in the past one hundred years, that we have begun to question and intelligently examine our human propensity to act and behave violently (Kahr, 2008). We have questioned and examined the ideology that violence begets violence (Widom, 1989). Perry (1998) suggests that life was characterised by danger for thousands of generations where many of our sociocultural practices were brutal, violent and the world was unpredictable. Modern history reflects our propensity for violence and brutality where according to Perry (1998):

> modern history is characterized by increasingly efficient, systematic, and institutionalized violence (e.g., the Inquisition, slavery, the Holocaust, the Trail of Tears). Men were, and men remain, the major predators of vulnerable humans (typically women and children). The profound impact of domestic violence, community violence, physical and sexual abuse, and other forms of predatory or impulsive assault cannot be overestimated. Violence impacts the victims, the witnesses, and ultimately, us all. (p. 125)

The issue of grappling with aggression is a complex matter, and groups throughout the centuries have shown that the human species are innately violent. This characteristic has enabled us to survive and fend against nonhuman predators, however it has done little to keep ourselves safe from each other (Perry, 1998). A future without violence involves to a large extent, an ability to embrace humanity, a willingness to modify our violent

behaviours and an understanding of our relationship with violence (Kruger et al, 2004; Perry, 1998).

2.2.8 Conflating Māori Concerns: The Warrior Gene Fiasco.

I now turn to the issue of violence in Māori society and some insights into Western attitudes toward Māori. Māori have and continue to remain concerned by the alarming rates of violence and attitudes toward Māori women and tamariki. Mead (2003) reports:

In the 1980s and 1990s a disturbing amount of evidence was brought to light concerned with the abuse and sanctity of the individual: neglect of children, family violence, sexual abuse of children, assault of women, and murder of women. There were appalling cases of violence towards children by adults who exhibited no awareness or acknowledgement of or respect for the individual and their place in Māori society. Nor is it any better in the treatment of women. Was it always like this? Or has there been further erosion of Māori values and cultural norms? Or are there other reasons? How does concern for the well-being of the individual member of the hapū compare with the warlike nature of society at large? (p. 36)

However, Māori concerns are often overshadowed by unhelpful and long held views that distort the experiences of our people. Highly emotive language and conflating ideas by early British settlers to Aotearoa New Zealand coupled with Christian ideology depicting Māori as savages served to contrast Māori negatively while promoting Christians as happy civilised folk (Petrie, 2015). For Māori, the issue of grappling with violence and aggression has continuously occurred within a context of sensationalism. For example, unhelpful suggestions such as the "Warrior Gene Hypothesis" (Lea & Chambers, 2007) did little to alleviate long-held beliefs and assumptions that Māori are war faring, cruel and genetically predisposed to violence with inferred assumptions of 'other' as civilised. Once again, Māori are depicted as natural-born fighters despite earlier scientific and recent scientific evidence disputing such claims.

According to Perry (1997) "A common error in examining the "neurobiology" of violence is to presume a neurobiological trait, a biochemical marker…which may be altered in "violent" populations suggests a genetic difference. Nothing could be further from the truth" (pp. 125-1260). Perbal (2013) disputes Lea and Chambers' (2007) claims

with the assumptions that correspond with negative stereotypes concerning violence and Māori. Perbal (2013), having reviewed the scientific rigour of the research claims made by Lea and Chambers (2007), the possible journalist sensationalism and the current concerns regarding the over-representation of Māori as both perpetrators and victims of violence, concluded the following:

> Firstly, Lea and his colleagues overvalued their results….It is obviously pseudoscience and their conclusions show a lack of vigilance and scepticism about their results. Secondly., they did not take the importance of Caspi's paradigmatic research on the interactions between genes and environment for violence seriously enough….The New Zealand researchers did not take sufficiently into account research studies done on social and cultural determinants of violence and it is their responsibility for having said too little about post genomic gene-environment interaction effects. (p. 387)

Perbal (2013) went on to highlight the lack of humility made by Lea and his research team towards his research participants, the generalisation of the results to include the entire Māori population, despite not having the evidence to support such claims. Perbal went further to explain that it was a mistake to not take seriously the context "in which the study their study appeared and the dangerousness and banality of racial stereotypes. Though that kind of controversy is a hundred years old, they clearly showed a lack of knowledge of the history of genetics" (p. 387). Perbal dismissed Lea and Chambers's assertions that the media were to blame for any controversy surrounding the warrior gene claim and the link with Māori people as well as questioning their ethical responsibilities to the research participants. Finally, Perbal stated: "in my opinion it was the scientists who lacked humility, made several errors, and provided the material for the controversy" (p. 387).

This current study is interested in developing Indigenous interventions that will reduce violence in our communities. Whānau violence is often the end product of a sequence of events, at a time when adults have the greatest influence on tamariki development. The role whānau, hapū and iwi have when partner violence is identified within the family home is therefore important. The questions raised by Mead (2003) provide some of the important questions concerning what is normative in a Māori cultural

context. However, the Māori cultural context is no longer governed by its own traditional lore as noted by Mead (2003) in this next statement:

> While acknowledging the tenuous nature of life in traditional society it is quite plain that within the hapū and the whānau there were rules of behaviour to adhere to, and if these rules were trampled upon there were dire consequences. However acts of behaviour are today no longer controlled by tikanga Māori alone. These are almost totally matters for the law of the land. (p. 36)

For these reasons, mātauranga Māori and Pākeha knowledge must inform each other. In violent relationships, research findings have identified possible links between attachment styles, family violence, and child aggression (W. Goldberg & Easterbrooks, 1984). The connection between disorganised attachment styles and aggression at age five appear higher when levels of partner violence and disharmony are higher (W. Goldberg & Easterbrooks, 1984). The impact of physical violence on Māori mothers and their relationships to their tamariki has a pervasive effect. There is clear evidence that highlights the association between insecure attachment styles and disorganised attachment styles. Disorganised attachment styles have a higher propensity for violent and aggressive behaviours in young children where the violent behaviours are likely to carry through into adulthood. With women, insecure attachment styles are associated with relationship instability where insecure attachment becomes a consequential predictor (Main & Weston, 1982; Weston, 2008). Examining how our earliest relationships develop in cultural terms may provide solutions that prevent whānau violence in Māori communities.

It is well known that children, regardless of ethnicity, are frequently raised in families or homes that have more than one caregiver (Sagi et al., 1995). Pere (1988) describes her childhood interactions with more than one caregiver such as aunts, uncles and cousins engaging with her on a regular and consistent daily basis. Infants are often born into families where parental figures and primary caregivers are interacting and engaging with a number of children. Similarly, these children are interacting with caregivers, siblings and others; through these interactions, multiple attachments are established. Understanding how healthy relationships are fostered through a Māori whakapapa social system and early childhood development in a Māori whānau and hapū system, as described by Pere (1988), is important.

Wider societal factors that impinge upon this system simultaneously increase the propensity for violence to occur. Reducing risk factors in Māori whānau is critical to the prevention of violence and the long-term consequences. Accumulated risk serves to reinforce risk where violence becomes a perpetuating cycle within whānau systems and communities. The insights gained from attachment theory have contributed vastly to our understanding of emotional and cognitive development. Attachment theory and the basic assumptions of early childhood development are now being informed by exciting developments in neuroscience where mental processes are grounded in neural processes. Neuroscientists have discovered the connection between the brain and its responses to the environment to include the damage created as a consequence of negative experiences (Grawe, 2007). We now know much more about the way in which violence alters the developing brain, where according to Perry (2009) "The child and the adult reflect the world in which they are raised. Moreover, and sadly, in today's world, millions of children are raised in unstable and violent settings. Literally, incubated in terror" (p. 125).

2.2.9 Culture and Attachment Theory:

Bowlby's key research assistant, Mary Ainsworth, helped to develop and formulate attachment theory based on her prior interests on security theory and naturalistic observations of mothers and their infants (Bretherton, 1992). Security theory proposes, "that infants and young children need to develop a secure dependency on their parents before launching out into unfamiliar situations" (Pearce, 2009, p. 15). As mentioned previously, the first of Ainsworth's studies were observations of Ugandan mothers and their babies, which for me raised questions about the reliability of her observational interpretations as she was working outside of her own cultural context. The issue of cross-cultural reliability and the validity of the 'Strange Situation' as a valid procedure to measure the quality of attachments across cultures became a hotly debated issue during the 1980s. This led to a number of studies where Bowlby and Ainsworth's universality hypothesis of attachment were tested. Few attachment studies address the issue of ethnicity or take into account cultural context, and empirical researches in the field have focused much more on universal laws.

Ainsworth's studies have been commended for her meticulous attention to detail and the studies that followed used the same methodological procedure to understand cross-cultural differences. The studies were carried out in Japan (Takahashi, 1986), Israel

(Oppenheim, Sagi & Lamb, 1988), Sweden, (Lamb, Hwang, Frodi & Frodi, 1982), West Germany (Grossman K, Grossman K.E, Spangler, Suess & Uzner, 1999), Africa (Kermoian & Leiderman, 1986) and the Netherlands (Van IJzendoorn,1990). Parental behavioural systems varied across cultures with some of the findings suggesting that the 'Strange Situation' procedure may not be a valid instrument for measuring attachment quality across cultures. For instance as Brazelton (1977) pointed out, among the Mayan Indians in Mexico, mothers rarely serve as play-mates for their infants but are quite available and responsive as caregivers. Within a particular culture, one mother may be a readily available attachment figure, yet stodgy and inept as a playmate; another mother may be comfortable in interactions with her children only in her roles as teacher or coach when attention is focused on a task or skill, and may be uncomfortable with attachment-related interactions (Bretherton, 1985; Cassidy, 1999). Main (1990) draws our attention to new methods of assessment, in light of cross-cultural studies and differences in attachment organisation. Additionally, Minuchin (2002) considers cross-cultural perspectives and the implications for both family therapy and attachment theory. Tangaere (1997) introduces Māori human development theory where kaumatua (elders) pass on knowledge to following generations. I suggest that these interactions also seek to protect and foster, secure and important whānau relationships.

While Bowlby acknowledges that young children have the propensity to form a number of attachment relationships, his early attachment work focused primarily on the mother-infant dyad which he used to describe the dependency relationship and the way in which emotional development occurs between a primary caregiver and a child. I need to add at this point that it is now generally accepted that children form multiple attachment relationships and the hierarchical idea has been fleshed out to give more weight to ideas relating to multiple attachments (Howes, 1999). Steadily the literature is gaining support for a much more integrated model of attachment.

It is now widely accepted that attachment relationships are essential to healthy growth and development, however attachment theory is lacking in understanding cross-cultural and cultural attachment research. It would appear that this area of interest is largely uncharted territory (Wolfgang, Pradeep & Beate, 2005). Pearce (2009) defines the 'attachment figure' as:

> someone who provides physical and emotional care, has continuity and
> consistency in the child's life, and who has an emotional investment in the child's

life. This can include parents (biological, foster, adopted), grandparents, siblings, aunts and uncles, and alternate caregivers (e.g. child-care workers). (p. 13)

This definition is clearly based on a singular attachment figure, thereby supporting the hierarchy theory and Bowlby's ideas concerning monotropism. This is where a singular person is considered to be the primary caregiver, usually the mother where the mother-infant dyad became the accepted attachment model.

There are several far-reaching consequences with this idea. Firstly sole mothers and infants would not have survived the past centuries without a supportive social system (Hrdy, 1997). The issue of partner violence often forces women into single parenting roles where the support and effectiveness of the wider social system becomes crucial to the quality of the developing bonds between mothers and their children. Secondly, the monocultural assumption embedded within the monotropic bond overlooks the multi-caregiver arrangements that exist in cultures such as that in Israel where the kibbutzim method of child rearing remains as a common practice.

Atwool (2006) raises the issue of whakawhānaungatanga in the Māori context as one possible concept for understanding cultural variables in the attachment discourse. A New Zealand study conducted by Reese and Farrant (2003) investigated the *Social Origins of Reminiscing* and the degree to which attachment relationship contribute to the function of reminiscing. The findings from this research were inconclusive concerning the Māori dyads, as the researchers were unable to conduct a formal analysis of the Māori data. Attachment theory has been utilised in the New Zealand context by Scragg, Reeder, Wong, Glover, and Nosa (2008) to investigate relationships between parental smoking and adolescent smoking however, this study does not specifically address the issue of attachment. Averil Herbert's (2011) *Whānau Whakapakari* is a Māori-centred approach to child rearing and parent-training that confirms the importance of whānaungatanga (family connections), whakapapa (genealogy) and awhinatanga (support/considerate support) as core Māori values that support Māori child rearing practices. Herbert's research led to the development of two culturally adapted parent-training programmes to include Matuatanga (Parenting) Relationships Model and the Matuatanga Values Model. The development of these models makes a great contribution to the building of whānau capability and understanding whānau-centred approaches.

A whānau-centred approach is synonymous with what is sometimes described as whānau-ora. Respectively they are considered culturally grounded and holistic where the

primary focus is on the well-being of the whānau (Te Puni Kokiri, 2015). Whānau-ora and whānau-centred approaches are intended to improve, according to Te Puni Kokiri, "the wellbeing of whānau as a collective, without losing sight of individual needs. Whānau aspirations and challenges are seen through whānau eyes " (p. 18).

To date there have been no studies undertaken by Māori to investigate attachment through a Kaupapa Māori or Mātauranga Māori lens. In the absence of any available literature, I would suggest that within a Māori context we can expect to see 'attachment figures' where the arrangement is much more horizontal rather than hierarchical. Here I argue that a collective parenting approach does not dismiss the idea of a central care-giving figure such as the mother-infant dyad, rather a bi-lateral arrangement operates where physical and emotional care is continuous, consistent and supported by the mutually significant other or others. It is also important to clarify that this research does not attempt to engage in the immense task of culture and attachment; rather this investigation appreciates that attachment needs to be mindful of a particular cultural context. In the absence of attachment theory, I am curious to know more about the fostering of emotional bonds with tamariki and traditional approaches that will support healthy development. Whānau engagement is about relationships, different cultures will have their own language, and behaviours to describe what attachment theory has come to articulate.

2.3 Summary:

Attachment theory gives us an important frame of reference for understanding how early childhood experiences deeply shape the nature of our interpersonal relationships. Attachment theory tells us that 'securely attached' children will seek closeness when threatened, yet they are free to explore their world when held within the safety of a sensitively attuned significant other, usually the mother. The 'ambivalent child' is anxiously clingy, and the child is distressed by the unpredictable nature of the attachment relationship. The 'avoidant insecure child' will loiter in the shadows of close proximity appearing disinterested, in a compromised position yearning for closeness and yet fearful of any potential harm that closeness brings. The 'disorganised/disoriented child' is often confused and unsure conflicted by attachment arousal where closeness is feared due to unsafe experience and yet safety in others is desired. The prospect of closeness and intimacy for the 'disorganised/disorientated child' presents as a constant

and perpetual state of frustration. Neuroscience confirms the importance of establishing positive early childhood experiences and the benefits for the developing brain during the first two years. To date there is no current research undertaking that investigates attachment from a Māori perspective and the links with the negative effects of partner violence on mothering. This presents as a serious gap in the literature.

In the following chapter, I review the literature concerning the current state of knowledge regarding wāhine Māori, tamariki and mokopuna Māori and violence. Māori responses to whānau violence, a psychiatric and a psychodynamic perspective on Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and an Indigenous perspective on historical trauma are also discussed. This examination then leads into a discussion about whakapapa trauma past, present and future before considering a Māori ecological system founded upon Papatūanuku (mother-earth) and Ranginui (sky-father). I introduce pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi and kahurangi as a dialogue that will orientate practitioners toward an Indigenous framework for understanding health from an ecological perspective.

TE WĀHANGA TUATORU: CHAPTER THREE ADDRESSING WHĀNAU VIOLENCE & TRAUMA

There is nothing in the Māori world that promotes and encourages the idea of whānau violence. None can point to an ideological belief that talks about women being lower in the social order. Mana tangata is female in nature. Life itself is symbolised by women. Hence the terms like te whare tangata where humankind originates from.
(Kruger, et al, 2004, p. 9).

3.1. Introduction:

As a population group, Māori are more likely to be victims of violent crime (Cunningham, Triggs & Faisandier, 2009). Māori women and Māori children are more likely to experience interpersonal violence within domestic situations compared with non-Māori (MSD, 2006). Additionally, Māori women, infants and children are identified as a high-risk group who are more likely to experience the socio-economic factors related to the increased risk of death from child maltreatment. The MSD (2006) notes that:

> Children and young people have a need for, and an entitlement to, safety and security in which to grow and develop. Abuse or violence is the ultimate failure to provide this. (p. 104)

The over-representation of Māori children who present to child welfare services in Aotearoa (MSD, 2015,2012, 2011, 2010, 2008, 2006), and disparities in recorded rates of death from maltreatment, indicates a need for research that will inform measures to address these issues.

This study is concerned with the cumulative psychological and emotional health effects interpersonal violence can have on Māori women and their tamariki. According to King and Turia (2002), violence within the whānau was not the norm for traditional Māori society. This view generates several underlying messages. Firstly, the process of colonisation and European domination have influenced and disordered traditional Māori whānau systems. Secondly and as a consequence, family violence is now an accepted norm within contemporary Māori society for too many. Kruger et al, (2004)

acknowledges that violence pre-existed prior to colonisation, and concluded the following:

> Violence pre-existed like mauri and mana. The trick of life is managing them. Each one of us is capable of violence and great compassion. We live amongst dualities. The Māori view is not to deny that violence cannot or does not exist. The issue is what is our relationship with it. Saying it does not exist is not helpful. (p. 13)

In the following sections, the current state of knowledge according to Police statistics (New Zealand Police, 2015), the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) (NCIWR, 2014) and the Family Violence Death Review Committee (FVDRC) (2014), is investigated. The next section deals primarily with figures according to the Child Youth and Family (MSD, 2015), New Zealand Police (2015) and FVDRC (2014). This section discusses Child Abuse and Neglect (CAN) and the overlapping associations with caregiver relationships, partner violence, whānau violence and the connections with tamariki Māori. Also presented is a discussion concerning violence and Māori with a view of understanding better our relationship with violence. Victimisation rates for Māori women and their tamariki are explored by reflecting on earlier New Zealand literature and the recommendations made by the second Taskforce on Whānau Violence (2004). Māori responses to whānau violence in Aotearoa are discussed, in order to understand better some of the current efforts Māori are making to address whānau violence.

The discussion moves to regarding partner violence and whānau violence to the diagnosis of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder from a psychiatric perspective and again from a psychodynamic perspective. Partner violence and whānau violence are closely associated with trauma and the aim here is to present two perspectives on the diagnosis of trauma. Traumatic events happen for women, children and men of all ages where the effects of overwhelming experiences have psychological and physiological consequences that can become intergenerational and lasting (Widom & Wilson, 2015). Next is an investigation of trauma from an Indigenous viewpoint to include literature from Native American Indian and Aboriginal Australian perspectives. There is an increasing body of knowledge concerning Historical Trauma theory and this discussion is extended to

include an understanding of 'whakapapa trauma'. The final section looks intensely at four often misunderstood Māori concepts – pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi, and kahurangi – as a potential starting point for the development of Māori psychological approach.

3.1.1 The Current State of Knowledge:

The prevalence of partner violence in Aotearoa New Zealand continues to be a major health concern for women and children in particular for Māori women and their tamariki (Fanslow, 2005; Fanslow & Robinson, 2010).

- *New Zealand Police Data Sources:*

Family violence indicators released in 2015 show that Police are attending to more family violence offences; however, fewer cases are being resolved. During 2014 New Zealand Police investigated 101,981 family violence incidences where 62,923 investigations recorded were linked to children aged between 0-16, with a minimum of one child impacted at each incident (New Zealand Police, 2015). While Police investigated 101,981 family violence incidences in 2014, only 37 percent of these investigations resulted in a recorded offence showing a decrease from 47 percent in 2008. Applications for protection orders throughout 2014 were 5,118 with 4733 made by women representing 89 percent compared with 493 representing 9 percent made by men.

The total figure for 'male assaults female' recorded violations during the 2014 period were 7163 with a significant 6103 breach of protection order offences recorded for the same period (New Zealand Police, 2015). Figures indicate that 82 percent of the 7163 recorded 'male assaults female' offences were resolved compared with 93 percent having been resolved in 2008. Intimate partner violence (IPV) indicators suggest that in their lifetime 1 in 3 women, representing 35.4 percent ever-partnered New Zealand women have experienced either physical and/or sexual violence. The figure increases from 35.4 percent to 55 percent when psychological and emotional abuse are included. In 2014, the data shows that the New Zealand Police recorded seven homicides perpetrated by an intimate partner where reports indicate that five victims were women and two were men (New Zealand Police, 2015). In the same year, there were almost 2000 sexual violence offences with a reported 1,888 sexual offences recorded against an adult over 16 years of age. In 2014, Police issued 13,000 Safety Orders representing on average 36 Police Safety Orders per day (New Zealand Police, 2015). The issue of family violence and IPV

continues to be a major concern where campaigns that encourage the reporting of family violence are confronted by policing constraints that challenge their ability respond adequately and effectively.

Police estimates indicate that they are working with a relatively small percentage of family violence incidences representing an approximate 13-20 percent of all reported incidents and it is therefore important to view Police figures alongside key sector groups (New Zealand Police, 2015).

- *National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges Data Sources:*

Information drawn from Women's Refuges that are affiliated to the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) recorded a staggering 78,161 crisis calls for the 2013-2014 period. Additionally 5,198 women accessed advocacy support services and a further 2,794 women and children's lives were disrupted where the need for safe housing was required. The average length of stay for the 2013-2014 period was 26 days compared with 24 days for the 2012-2013 period (NCIWR, 2014). Women who predominantly accessed support from NCIWR throughout the 2013-2014 period, ranged in age from 17-46+ years with a smaller 2 percent cohort of under 17 year old young women. Higher utilisation rates for women aged between 26-35 years were recorded, representing 30 percent, followed closely by the 17-25 year age group representing 25percent and 36-45 age group representing 23 percent of all women requiring NCIWR support. The percentage of women requiring support in the 46+-age range represented 14 percent of the total overall figures.

- *Family Violence Death Review Committee Data Sources:*

The FVDRC operates under the Health, Quality & Safety Commission and to date has released four reports that provide a systematic review of the social sector to include governmental and non-governmental agencies and individuals that respond to family violence. The following information sourced from FVDRC (2014) is based on the fourth report and reflects a four year period from 2009 to 2012. The report is extensive and the reader is encouraged to view the report for specific and greater details.

All Deaths:

- 47 percent of all homicides were family violence and family violence related deaths
- 139 people died from family violence and family violence related homicides an average of 35 per year…
- 40 percent of all deceased lived in the most deprived 20 percent of residential areas. (p. 32)

The figures for all deaths reported from 2009-2012 indicate that almost half the reported homicides were related to family violence. These figures explain the seriousness of family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand and the relationship between family and fatality as an outcome of IPV. The FVDRC (2014) found that half of the IPV deaths happened when a planned or actual separation occurred. Disturbingly, 44 percent of all IPV deaths were reported as 'overkill' cases. The term 'overkill' is defined by the FVDRC (2014) as "Using violence far beyond what would be necessary to cause death. Overkill encompasses multiple stabbings, severe prolonged beatings and/or multiple violent methods (for example, strangulation, sexual violence and stabbing)" (p. 14). There was an obvious history of abuse in the relationship in more than half the IPV deaths. Women were predominantly (93 percent) the abused and men were (96 percent) identified as the abusers in the relationship. Compared with non-Māori, Māori were 2.5 times more likely to be the offenders of IPV and 2.8 times more likely to be the deceased in an IPV death.

A total of six Māori women are reported as the offenders in the death event and they were also identified as "the primary victim in the relationship with the deceased" (p. 33). The FVDRC (2014) recommends the need to pay closer attention to family violence and to educate family, whānau and friends about the seriousness and potential dangers of family violence.

37 Child Abuse and Neglect deaths:

Child Abuse and Neglect (CAN) is also referred to as child maltreatment, and is defined by the FVDRC (2014) as "all forms of physical and emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect and exploitation that results in actual or potential harm to the child's health, development or dignity" (p. 13). Physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect and negligent treatment, emotional abuse and exploitation and psychological abuse are

identified as the five subtypes of CAN. A review of the FVDRC (2014) report reveals that 78 percent of all CAN deaths involved children under the age of five years. Just over half (51 percent) of these children died from fatal inflicted injuries. Several issues appear to be particularly interesting indicating, "Men were more likely to kill children by fatal inflicted injury" (p. 33) and "Women were more likely to kill children by neonaticide, filicide/parental suicide or fatal neglectful supervision" (p. 33). Almost half (46 percent) of all children killed were known to Child Youth and Family.

There is deep concern for both Māori and Pacifica children who are reported as more likely to die from CAN. Figures indicate that tamariki Māori are 5.5 times more likely to die as a result of CAN than any other ethnic group. The correlation between the deaths of tamariki Māori and Māori adults as perpetrators of these crimes is also serious with Māori adults identified as 4.9 times more likely to be the offender. The FVDRC (2014) examines the relationship between adult and child deaths unearthing some concerning connections between violence and children. The Committee found that of the 37 Child Abuse and Neglect (CAN) deaths 2009 to 2012, a caregiver killed most children. A further breakdown of The FVDRC (2014) findings reveals the nature of the caregiver relationship to the child:

- For 15 (41 percent), this was their mother;
- For 8 (22 percent), this was their father;
- For 9 (24 percent), it was their step-father or their mother's ex-partner;
- For 3 (8 percent), it was a female caregiver;
- For 2 deaths the offender in the fatal assault was unknown but must have been a family member. (p. 89)

While mothers often provide the protective factors for their tamariki when partner violence is present, it is both a sobering and an alarming realisation that tamariki can also suffer the ultimate and most extreme consequence of violent and neglectful maltreatment at the hands of their mothers. However, children are more frequently maltreated by male perpetrators to include fathers and step-fathers. These findings are consistent with Doolan's (2004) study of child homicide, which indicates that children are more likely to experience fatal maltreatment by their mothers or by a family member than by those outside of the family. When reviewing the FVDRC (2014) report there were strong links

with overseas investigations (Cavanagh & Dobash, 2007) indicating that children are more likely to be killed by step-fathers. According to the FVDRC (2014), "Many abusive step-father are possessive and extremely jealous. Children who are not the biological children of the mother's partner are a constant physical reminder to the abusive partner that 'his woman' has had sexual relationships with other men" (p. 90). International studies by Daly and Wilson (1998, 2007) have shown that step-children suffered higher rates of abuse, neglect, exploitation and higher rates of death by a step-father.

Children Exposed to IPV and CAN deaths:
- 77 children were present when an adult or child/ren was killed;
- 111 children and young people usually lived in the household where the death occurred and are likely to have been exposed to at least some, and often many, of the repeated episodes of family violence that preceded the fatal event;
- 240 surviving children have been affected by exposure to fatal family violence. (p. 32)

When family violence results in a fatality there are always consequences for tamariki who have witnessed the death of a whānau member and/or lost a parent. Secure and safe placement issues must be prioritised as well as appropriate on-going therapeutic support. Factors that need considering also include the child/ren's ability to understand what happened, any misunderstandings the child/ren may have about the fatality, issues concerning loss, mourning, separation and trauma. The FVDRC (2014) recommends that:

> All child survivors of a family violence homicide involving a biological parent, caregiver or sibling should be considered vulnerable children and therefore have access to…a comprehensive assessment of their needs (health, safety, wellbeing and educational) and appropriate follow up. (p. 95)

This is endorsed with a strong recommendation to firstly consider whether there are any current care and protection issues.

Arguably, and of most concern is the startling reality in Aotearoa New Zealand is that women requiring support from partner violence are typically in their child- bearing years. The link between IPV and CAN is of deep concern where tamariki Māori are

identified as at greatest risk of death when whānau violence occurs. Government agencies such as the New Zealand Police, Ministry of Justice, Department of Corrections, Child Youth and Family, Ministries of Health and Education have a key role in reducing family violence.

3.1.2 Tamariki Māori and Mokopuna Māori:

In 2013-2014, Child Youth and Family received 146,657 reports of concern. Of these, 54,065 were deemed to require further action, leading to 19,623 findings of abuse or neglect. In 2014, NZ Police recorded 10 homicides of children and young people under 20 by a family member. In 2013, 54 children aged 16 years or under were hospitalised for an assault perpetrated by a family member. Between 1 in 3 and 1 in 5 New Zealand women and 1 in 10 men report having experienced child sexual abuse. 1 in 5 female and 1 in 20 male secondary school students report having experienced unwanted sexual contact in the last 12 months (New Zealand Police, 2015).

There has been increasing concerns and irritation expressed across Aotearoa New Zealand from the public, whānau, hapū, iwi and important sector groups such as Office of the Children's Commissioner (OCC), The Child Poverty Monitor, NCIWR, KidsCan, The Māori Women's Welfare League, and FVDRC regarding the welfare of vulnerable children and the extent of child abuse and neglect. Passionate advocates for children have urged past and current governments to do more to protect our most vulnerable population, which led to New Zealand's Vulnerable Children's Act (VCA) 2014. The VCA (2014) sets out government priorities for vulnerable children and child protection policies and together the Ministry of Social Development and the Ministry of Education administer the act. The VCA (2014) makes provisions for improving the well-being of vulnerable children throughout the whole of their lives with a list of seven measures to include "protecting them from abuse and neglect" (p. 5) and "strengthening their connection to their families, whānau, hapū, and iwi, or other culturally recognised family group:" (p. 5).

Most recently, the Children's Commissioner released their report State of Care 2015, *What we Learnt From Monitoring Child, Youth and Family* (OCC, 2015). The need for children to remain connected to their birth family/whānau and the opportunity to engage in quality relationships with caregivers, social workers and the ability to have a say about the decisions that affect them stood out the monitoring report as a common

theme for all children interviewed (OCC, 2015). Delivering culturally appropriate care for mokopuna Māori stood out as a point of difference from other children who came into CYF contact. The report suggests that cultural capability is not given sufficient priority across all CYF sites: "Positioning indigenous cultural identity as a strength can provide a foundation from which children can build resilience" (p. 25). This point is emphasised in light of the existing context in Aotearoa New Zealand where 58 percent of the care and protection population are Māori, and that Māori young people make up 68 percent of young people in residential care. The report indicated inconsistencies across CYF sites regarding the delivery of culturally responsive services to Māori (OCC, 2015). Furthermore, Māori staff were frequently left to provide oversight of culturally appropriate practice leaving Māori staff with additional responsibilities on top of their current workload. There was no acknowledgement of the additional work and there were concerns reported regarding the lack of access to formal cultural supervision. The report also acknowledged the recent efforts by CYF to building Māori cultural capability by employing two principal advisors (Māori) who have led a new initiative to establish an Indigenous and Bi-cultural Principled Framework to reinforce CYF's work with mokopuna Māori coupled with Te Potae Kohatu Māori, a national Māori governance group.

The OCC (2015) were unable to ascertain if children were better off as a result of CYF contact due to limited evidence and this is unsatisfactory. The report recommends that more is needed to track and measure outcomes for vulnerable children. It also highlights the disturbing concern that children are removed from families when abuse and neglect has been substantiated and some of these children are re-abused while in state care. Overall, the OCC (2015) recommends the need for better CYF outcomes, better cross agency collaboration and better accountability. The Minister of Social Development appointed the Modernising CYF Expert Panel at the time that the OCC's (2015) report was underway. The Public Services Association (PSA) (PSA, 2015) was quick to respond noting that the Expert Panel lacked representation from practitioners, non-government organisation leaders and experienced advocates for carers and children. Furthermore, the disregard for child welfare and family violence researchers along with spokespeople for Māori and Pasifika communities was alarming. Some of the findings from the CYF (Rebstock, Bush, Dunlop, Leahy & Poulton, 2015) report are discussed hereafter.

CYF (2015) define child abuse and neglect as a set of "behaviour that causes physical or emotional harm to a child or young person. Such behaviours may be intentional or unintentional and can include acts of omission (i.e. neglect) and commission (i.e. abuse)" (p. 31). According to CYF (2015), they received 61,000 notifications as a result of care and protection concerns and on average almost one in five children will come to their attention by age 17. The CYF (Rebstock et al., 2015) interim report indicates that many of the children referred to them are repeat referrals and are therefore already known to CYF. CYF (Rebstock et al., 2015) have reported that children and young people who have had contact with their services have worst outcomes as they move into young adulthood by age 22.

Of great concern is the over representation of Māori children where six out of every 10 children in CYF (2015) care are identified as Māori. Māori children are more likely to be seen by CYF by age five representing approximately 57 per cent of all children. The figures are deeply troubling particularly when 30 percent of all children born in Aotearoa New Zealand are Māori. Many of the children referred to CYF (Rebstock et al., 2015) are living in high need families that experience deprivation, poor health, adverse backgrounds, single parent families and mothers who are identified as having mental health needs. Furthermore, in almost 70 percent of all cases, there was a history of family violence, 36 percent of parents came to the attention of CYF (2015) when they were children and 37 percent of parents had served a prison sentence before the birth of the child for whom a notification had been made. Again, Māori children are disproportionately represented as a particular cohort in the high needs families. Clearly, Māori children are negatively over represented experiencing disadvantages unlike any other population group in Aotearoa New Zealand.

According to Rebstock et al. (2015) "The unavoidable conclusion is that the wider child protection system is not currently effective at preventing harm, and nor is it adequately addressing the factors that cause children to be re-victimised" (p. 31). This has led me to believe that there is a high tolerance for Māori suffering and pain and our tamariki and mokopuna Māori are enduring the worst of this. An on-going challenge for the elimination of violence in the lives of tamariki Māori, rest in the hands of adults who must ensure their safety. Partner violence affects a mother on multiple levels endangering both herself and tamariki. In these situations, they are highly likely to require

interventions initiated by extended whānau members, friends, neighbours and supports outside of their own home environment.

The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study examines the association with childhood maltreatment and later life health and well-being and is one of the largest studies to date (Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015). A significant amount of literature and research confirms the links associated with interpersonal partner violence and child maltreatment whether through physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, and or neglect (Anda, Felitti, Walker, Whitfield, Bremner, Perry, Dube & Giles, 2006; Corso, Edwards, Fang, & Mercy, 2008; Schofield, Lee & Merrick, 2013). The data sources confirm that tamariki Māori are most at risk of child abuse and neglect and death caused by inflicted fatal injuries.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, *Reconceptualising Family Violence* (FVDRC, 2014) and *Transforming Whānau Violence* (Kruger et al, 2004) are two suggested approaches that consider the need to understand better interacting factors and to dispel the illusion that whānau violence is normal. When we think about violence trauma and injury, we must make a serious case for tamariki Māori who are negatively over-represented in child abuse and neglect cases and as victims of fatal brutality. Current statistics suggest that we are challenged to increase trauma-informed approaches for tamariki Māori and to have these prioritised. Developments in neuroscience affirm what Māori understand as concepts of awhinatanga (considerate support) aroha (loving regard) and manaakitanga (enriching support) as positive culturally defined concepts that help to establish healthy, safe and secure tamariki. Furthermore, we must keep our tamariki Māori and mokopuna Māori at the centre of our efforts to transform whānau violence and not miss opportunities to enhance the quality of their lives.

3.1.3 Violence and Māori:

New Zealand studies (Fergusson & Horwood, 1998; Fergusson, Boden & Horwood, 2006) supports international evidence (Anda et al., 2006) documenting the negative effects of violence on children and their development. Fergusson and Horwood (1998) emphasise the importance of considering broad perspectives that encompass the wider social family context when addressing issues of family violence and children. Given this emphasis, it is important that this current research investigate the dynamics between Māori families exposed to domestic violence and their relationships with

extended families and tribal affiliations. Furthermore, a critical analysis of structural inequities that disenfranchise Māori and the relationships of power, domination and privilege must undergo both scrutiny and change so that a positive violence free life trajectory is established (FVDRC, 2014; Cram, 2011).

According to the MSD (2006):

We all need to take responsibility for preventing the abuse and neglect of children, violence between partners, the abuse and neglect of older people, violence by children against their parents and violence between siblings. We also need to get better at identifying what works to prevent family violence and what does not. (p. 12)

The *Mauri Ora* framework developed by the Second Māori taskforce on Whānau Violence (Kruger et al, 2004) describes three fundamental tasks and three elements in the framework that will help to bring about transformation from violence. The tasks are:

- Dispelling the illusion (at the collective and individual levels) that whānau violence is the norm;
- Removing opportunities for whānau violence to be perpetrated through education for the empowerment and liberation of whānau, hapū and iwi;
- Teaching transformative practices based on Māori cultural imperatives that provide alternatives to violence. (p. 5)

The elements of the framework provide guidelines that address wellbeing at a whānau, hapū, iwi and individual level. The task of stopping violence and reducing the reverberating effects of whānau violence involves the reestablishment of traditional structures, an understanding of contemporary influences and transformation. Kruger et al, (2004) describes these elements as:

- Te ao Māori (the Māori world), which includes six cultural constructs to be applied as practice tools. They are whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana;
- 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;

- 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. (p. 5)

There is a strong association with poverty and deprivation as was noted by the FVDRC (2014) where they indicated that 38 percent of IPV deaths happened in the most deprived residential areas. National and international reports indicate that deprivation and poverty are associated with higher rates of violence in our society (FVDRC, 2014; Wilkinson 2000). Those who experience deprivation are more likely to be negatively over-represented in health and crime statistics (Statistics New Zealand, 2015; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010; Wilkinson, 2000). In Aotearoa New Zealand Māori are more likely to be living in the most deprived areas, experience economic hardship, more likely to experience racial discrimination and live in crowded houses (Ministry of Health, 2015). Living in crowded housing situations may account for the higher rates of interpersonal violence experienced by Māori (Ministry of Health, 2015). Together these social issues increase and escalate the probability for violence to occur.

3.1.4 Victimisation Rates for Māori Women and Tamariki – Kei muri:

I have included a brief discussion here to provide a snapshot of the recent past concerning victimisation rates for Māori women and their tamariki. I provide this discussion as it is known (FVDRC, 2014; MSD, 2015; Office of The Children's Commissioner, 2015) that whānau violence and issues of abuse and neglect for tamariki Māori are rarely one-off incidences and the process of restoring and improving outcomes are likely to require time and effort. With this understanding, it can be argued that the figures presented hereafter relate to whānau who continue to require on-going support for their experiences of family violence.

In New Zealand 90% of partner homicides are reportedly committed by men against their female partners or ex-partners (King & Turia, 2002). The MSD (2006) found that:

women who had been abused or threatened with violence by a partner at some time during their adult life was markedly higher for Māori women (49 percent) than for European women (24 percent) and Pacific women (23 percent). (p. 107)

Māori women are identified as a high-risk group who are more likely to experience the socio-economic factors related to the increased risk of death from child maltreatment.

Furthermore, 87 suicides per year during 2000-2004 were recorded, indicating an occurrence rate 49% higher for Māori than non-Māori. Notably, partner violence is also linked with increased risk of suicide in women. Meadows, Kaslow, Thompson and Jurkovic (2005) found in their study a link with partner violence and suicide attempts in a group of economically, educationally and socially disadvantaged African-American women. Meadows et al (2005) found that those women with low levels of hopefulness were more likely to have attempted suicide than those women with higher levels of hopefulness. One of the protective factors for suicide is the ability to manage disputes in nonviolent ways (McLean, Maxwell, Platt, Harris & Jepson, 2008).

Homicide rates for Māori recorded during the same period were 3.5 times more likely than non-Māori (Robson & Harris, 2007). While this research does not intend to specifically focus on suicide or the deliberate act of killing oneself, it is noted to draw attention to the development of violent patterns of behaviour within the Māori population.

It is also important to recognise the concerns Māori have when viewing statistical information. These concerns are linked to the limitations and undercounting of official health statistics particularly where the collection of ethnicity data is irregular. Inconsistencies and poor ethnicity data collection have the potential to misinform health and policy decision makers (Robson & Reid, 2001). Statistical indicators suggest a need to produce more in depth knowledge and analysis of Māori patterns of behaviour when violence becomes a precursor to mortality. We know that partner violence represents a severe risk of trauma for Māori women and their tamariki with long-term consequences for unresolved trauma. Solutions for overcoming overwhelming traumatic events for Māori whānau must be responded to in a timely fashion. Marans (2014) states:

The long-term consequences of unresolved trauma or of the failure of recovery from trauma are well established across the literature and we know a greater deal about frequent long lag between traumatic events and intervention time when we

are able to work with those adult patients whose character difficulties and fundamental impairments stem from extensive trauma histories. (p. 352)

It is important that whānau-centred approaches (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015) do more to ensure that whanau-centred services are tailoring interventions that go beyond short-term behaviour modification to address intergenerational difficulties. Whānau violence has serious impacts for Māori where Māori experience poor health outcomes as a consequence. Reid and Robson (2007) suggest that "Māori have a different profile of health" (p. 22) where a population approach creates an indistinguishable barrier btween existing disparities and inequities. Reid and Robson (2007) suggest further that interventions begin with an acknowledgement of difference with "…the need to treat people differently to achieve equal outcomes" (p. 22).

3.1.5 Māori Responses to Whānau Violence in Aotearoa:

The *Amokura Family Violence Prevention Strategy* is a Māori initiative addressing family violence from a whole population approach throughout the Tai Tokerau (Northland) region of New Zealand. This approach is mandated by seven tribal authorities with the establishment of the Tai Tokerau Iwi Chief Executives Consortium (Grennell & Cram, 2008). According to Grennell and Cram (2008), "The emphasis is on Māori frameworks and collective responses to whānau violence prevention that advocate for zero tolerance of violence" (p. 2). The *Amokura Family Violence Prevention Strategy* and the Tai Tokerau Iwi Chief Executives Consortium emphasise the importance of considering broader perspectives. These perspectives encompass a wider social family context when addressing issues of family violence and children in Māori communities. *Tatau Kahukura Māori Health Chart Book* (MSD, 2010), *He Korowai Oranga* (King & Turia, 2002), *Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy* (MSD, 2002), *Transforming Whānau Violence – A Conceptual Framework* (Kruger et al., 2004), *Are You Okay* (MSD, 2008a) *E Tū Whānau Ora, Programme of Action for Addressing Family Violence* (MSD, 2008b) all focus on Māori health and the importance of working to reduce the harmful effects of violence in our community. *Matiro Whakamua* (Families Commission, 2011) is an aspirational document where important messages from strong Mana Wāhine speak of their desires for improved Māori health and well-being. Again the

issue of violence is raised as a concern and the need to provide safe home environments for our tamariki to grow up in is a central theme.

Increased rates of violence and a number of high profile cases involving Māori whānau and tamariki prompted a National Summit of Māori leaders to gather at Hopuhopu and Tūrangawaewae Marae in April 2008. Discussed in length were concerns regarding the high levels of violence experienced by Māori and demands to have Māori solutions to transform the grim effects of violence within whānau. Iwi leaders were challenged to take action within their respective rohe (areas), to reclaim and rebuild the mana (prestige) of whānau.

Dame Tariana Turia, retired Member of Parliament, former co-president and founder of the Māori Party (political party) and long-term advocate on social justice issues for Māori (Selby, 2005), is instrumental in developing party policies that focus on building whānau strength and eliminating violence (Māori Party, 2014). In her role as Associate Minister of Social Development, Dame Turia supported efforts to transform and address the serious impacts of violence within whānau, to include *Achieving Intergenerational Change: An Over-arching Integrated Whole-of-Government Approach* (MSD, 2010; Māori Party, 2014). Continued efforts led to the establishment of *The Māori Reference Group* for the *Taskforce for Action on Violence Within Families*. This in turn led to the launching of the first phase of *E Tu Whānau 2008-2013*, where widespread consultation with Māori whānau, iwi leaders and practitioners helped to formulate an initial framework (MSD, 2008b). This first phase was then followed by a second phase *E Tū Whānau Programme of Action for Addressing Family Violence 2013-2018* (The Māori Reference Group, 2013) . The *Campaign for Action on Family Violence* (the Campaign) utilised the power of mass media to raise awareness and change attitudes towards violence such as 'Are you Ok' and 'It's not OK' were launched. Māori interest groups actively participated in this crusade in an attempt to reduce society's tolerance of family violence (MSD, 2008a). A commissioned report concerning beliefs about violence within families indicated positive changes in public attitudes as a result of the campaign efforts (McLaren, 2010).

E Tū Whānau Programme of Action for Addressing Family Violence (The Māori Reference Group, 2013) have identified the need for 'Kahukura' to advocate for role modelling change and success. The concept of 'Kahukura' was first introduced by kaumātua at the Iwi Leaders Forum at Waitangi in 2011 to metaphorically describe the

behaviour of the kuaka (godwit birds). This is where lead birds (Kahukura) provide a route for smaller groups within the flock to follow: "The Kahukura provides the impetus for movement and change – as they move they gather their own 'flock' around them and, in doing so, other leaders emerge" (The Māori Reference Group, 2013, p. 9).

E Tū Whānau 2013-2018 introduces a framework for change that incorporates a 'Programme of Action' identifying and detailing goals and objectives in five areas to include: 1) Effective Leadership; 2) Changing attitudes and behaviour; 3) Ensuring safety and accountability; 4) Effective support services; and 5) Understanding and developing best practice. The 'Programme of Action' continues to advocate for an approach that is committed to the following:

- Māori-led solutions grounded in tikanga and based on whānau strength;
- Responsibility and accountability for positive change from iwi, government and whānau;
- Community discussion and action, led and modelled by Kahukura (community thought leaders). (The Māori Reference Group, 2013, p. 2)

E Tū Whānau recognises that family violence is multi-layered and complex and will therefore require a long-term commitment towards transformational change.

Concerns have been raised by Māori (Kruger et al, 2004) regarding limited studies carried out in this field by Māori researchers that are based on Māori concepts and research processes. The need for Māori to undertake research that concentrates on the association between violence, trauma and the impact on early childhood attachment patterns is crucial to the on-going development of Indigenous therapy and intervention strategies. A Kaupapa Māori approach provides a unique opportunity to investigate culturally specific parenting experiences of Māori women who have mothered in environments over-shadowed by the threat and constraints of violence.

Ruwhiu, Asby, Erueti, Halliday, Horne and Paikea, (2009) challenge all tāne Māori (Māori men) to make a real and positive difference to the strengthening and re-building of family relationships and their challenge to tāne Māori is clear:

Too often, we Tāne Māori say all the right things about reducing domestic violence, too often we Tāne Māori rely on band-aid lip service strategies to deal

with preventing domestic violence; too often we Tāne Māori just don't do enough to make positive healthy real change happen for whānau. (p. 3)

The initiative by Ruwhiu et al. (2009) provides an effort of hope for a "Ara humarie" (humble pathway) (p. 42) to explore tāne Māori life stories and experiences concerning violence.

This research helps to fill a knowledge gap in our understanding of whānau violence and the repercussions of this on Māori mothers and their ability to foster healthy affectional bonds with their tamariki. This is particularly important when considering the vital role parents have in shaping the development of children and nurturing the future aspirations of Māori. Māori women have challenged Māori men and Māori male leadership to examine their attitudes and relationships towards Māori women (Glover, 1995; Te Paa, Koopu & Kirby; cited in Melbourne, 1995). In essence, this Kaupapa Māori research is a responsive attempt to address interpersonal violence and to make a positive contribution to the lives of Māori women and their tamariki when faced with the life threatening health challenges of whānau violence. This study is worth undertaking given the high prevalence rates of whānau violence in Māori families. Key reasons for undertaking this study are to promote secure and healthy whānau relationships, develop new knowledge that will promote the reduction of whānau violence, and develop interventions that will protect the childhood development of Māori children.

3.2. Trauma and Māori:

Briere (2015) states that trauma, according to Western psychology, is defined as "an event that involves actual or threatened death, injury, or other threat to physical integrity, commonly resulting in great emotional distress" (p. 11). Violence is a disturbing ordeal resulting in traumatic experiences that can have long-lasting impacts. Mothers who are traumatized and under the control of a violently feared person, often cannot act of her own free will and change the circumstances in which she and her children live. I begin this discussion on trauma firstly by outlining the seriousness of traumatic events. Secondly, I discuss the predominant approaches utilised in the mental health field before broadening this dialogue to include historical trauma and Indigenous perspectives.

Human responses to psychological trauma differ from person to person with some people who develop long lasting effects while others do not (van der Kolk, 2003). In

terms of Battered Women's Syndrome and whānau violence, van der Kolk suggests that traumatic events resulting from a family member whom the victim is dependent upon for security such as economic support, is significant for the victim. In these instances, the victim's trauma experiences increase dependency upon the family member and the attack is likely to increase paralysis in important decision-making processes (van der Kolk, 2003). The Ministry of Women's Affairs (2012) stresses the importance of preventing sexual revictimisation, suggesting that sexual violence against women is not necessarily a single episode. Chronic exposure to violence and stressful events over the lifespan has been known by trauma experts to account for emotion-focused coping methods such as problems with alcohol and substance abuse.

3.2.1 Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder – A Psychiatric Perspective:

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptomology is described by the American Psychiatric Association's diagnostic criteria taken from the DSM-5 (2013, pp. 145-146). To qualify for a DSM-5 diagnosis of PTSD, eight conditions must be met:

1) Exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury or sexual violence;

2) Intrusion symptoms associated with the traumatic event(s);

3) Persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the traumatic event(s);

4) Negative alterations in cognition and mood associated with the traumatic event(s);

5) Marked alterations in arousal and reactivity associated with the traumatic event(s);

6) Duration of the disturbance is more than one month;

7) The disturbance causes clinically significant distress or impairment; and

8) The disturbance is not attributable to physiological effects of substance abuse. (pp. 143-146)

The eight criteria apply to adults, adolescents and children older than six years with a corresponding criteria set out for children younger than six years. The DSM-5's classification of PTSD does not consider how people process events, nor does it consider previous life history and length of exposure to traumatic event(s).

65

3.2.2 Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder – A Psychodynamic Perspective:

Unlike the DSM-5, the Psychodynamic Diagnostic Manual (PDM) considers that PTSD is a consequence of psychic trauma, and is therefore, a subjective experience that influences personality patterns and disorders. The PDM (2006) emphasises that PTSD is only one set of outcomes of psychic trauma. The PDM puts forward the notion that PTSD constitutes a spectrum of complex and multifaceted conditions, where different levels of adaptive interference are experienced, and where individuals will have different meanings respectively. The PDM (2006) also considers that certain subjective experiences may be shared by others such as fear of injury and death, dissociation and numbness. Horowitz (1976) also identified eight common subjective experiences that follow severe psychic trauma:

1) grief or sadness;

2) guilt about one's angry or destructive impulses;

3) fear that one will become destructive;

4) guilt about surviving;

5) fear that one will identify with the victims;

6) shame about feeling helpless and empty;

7) fear that the trauma will be repeated; and

8) intense anger directed toward the source of the trauma.

Furthermore the internal experience of psychic trauma is likely to influence personality development and functioning. According to the PDM (2006):

> psychodynamic clinical observations have also emphasised the importance of individual meaning of traumatic experience, and the fact that psychic trauma may constitute an organiser in the mental sphere. Traumatic memories have been found to change over time. (p. 101)

Main and Hesse (1990) discuss the notion of parental unresolved traumatic experiences, the nature of frightening parental behaviours and the relationship with infant disorganised attachment outcomes. Unresolved violence trauma in women has the propensity to negatively influence the quality of the attachment relationship between a mother and her child.

3.3. Historical Trauma Theory:

Historical trauma theory offers new insights for understanding traumatology, trauma responses and the on-going development of trauma theories (Evans-Campbell, 2008). Leading this relatively new scholarship in their seminal work is Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart and Lemyra De Bruyn (1998) where together they delineate the literature on Jewish Holocaust survivor experiences to understand better the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Brave Heart (2003) defines historical trauma as the "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences" (p. 7). Brave Heart and De Bruyn (1998) suggest that the high rates of social problems experienced by American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIAN) are "primarily the product of a legacy of chronic trauma and unresolved grief across generations" (p. 56), which contributes to social pathology. Distinctions between historical trauma and historical trauma response are also noted by Yellow Horse Brave Heart (1999, 2003). To this she considers the characteristics of historical trauma response as a 'constellation of features' that react or relate to historical traumatic events.

Historical trauma is the term often used by communities to describe the negative psychological, emotional, spiritual and physical impacts historical events have had on a group of people. The group may identify through ethnicity, nationality or religious affiliation where numerous traumatic events have disrupted the functionality of individuals and communities with longer term impacts affecting more than one generation. For this reason historical trauma is also referred to as collective trauma, intergenerational trauma and multigenerational trauma (Evans-Campbell, 2008). Historical trauma theory is gaining momentum with Indigenous peoples providing a context for discussions concerning the transmission of trauma over successive generations (Brave Heart 2000; Brave Heart & De Bruyn, 1998; Brave Heart, Chase, Elkins & Altschul, 2011; Denham, 2008; Duran, 2006; Duran & Duran, 1995; Walters, 2007).

One distinctive characteristic of historical trauma is the diabolical nature of destructiveness that transpires as a consequence of multiple trauma experiences. The deliberate destruction of Indigenous communities and societies through land loss, culture and lives results in what Brave Heart and De Bruyn (1998) describe as a "long legacy of chronic trauma and unresolved grief across generations" (p. 56). The PDM (2006)

considers several implications for consideration that include the individual differences in the processing of trauma, distinctions between catastrophic or shock trauma, and cumulative or strain trauma and how traumatic experiences change over time. Response to trauma varies also with a person's mental and physical state, personality, resources, and the effect of previous trauma history. Denham (2008) acknowledges the variations in the way people experience trauma and transmit these experiences intergenerationally. Denham (2008) discusses the need to illustrate these variations and offers alternative suggestions that examine resilient responses in the historical trauma discourse.

Freire (2000) discussed racism, oppression and internalised oppression. Jones (2000) expands these ideas further developing a framework for understanding racism on three levels to include institutionalised, personally mediated and internalised. Historical trauma offers an opportunity to broaden our focus and the way in which we think about trauma across time. Accumulative factors, trauma transmission and collective distress are aggravated by continuous forces of racism and oppression. The issue of racism and ethnicity is a critical factor in Aotearoa New Zealand, adding to the complexities of whanau violence and discrimination (Reid & Robson, 2007; Spoonley, 1988). Thus far, the literature concerning historical trauma makes the point that a range of significant historical stressors and cumulative loss are linked to contemporary conditions that have exacerbated social conditions.

The persistence of unresolved trauma across generations can occur "through a myriad of mechanisms from biological to behavioural" (Walters, Mohammed, Evans-Campbell, Beltran, Chae & Duran, 2011, p. 180). As a quickly emerging theory, historical trauma researchers are challenged to further examine both theoretical and empirically the extent to which historical factors become embodied (Walters et al., 2011). Walters et al, (2011) investigate the link between historical trauma through ecosocial theory and the indigenist stress-coping model to better understand the concept of embodiment and those mechanisms involved with transmission of trauma.

The concept of embodiment and transmission of historical trauma is a growing scholarship. Kellerman (2001) discusses four psychological approaches that describe the transmission of intergenerational trauma to include psychodynamic, sociocultural and socialisation models, family systems and biological processes. Psychodynamic theory considers the unconscious, repressed and unintegrated nature of trauma experiences and the introjection of adult behaviour in the adult-child relationship. Sociocultural

explanations consider the impact of the immediate environment where social learning theories consider that children learn vicariously through observation and the quality of contact with parents and caregivers. Family systems theory focusses on casual associations with communication styles and patterns of behaviour between generations. Family dynamics are noted where the extent to which certain behaviours become enmeshed and embedded within the family system. Biological approaches hypothesise transmission through predisposing genetic or biological risk factors (Denham, 2008; Kellerman, 2001). Integrating these four domains to understand how the transmission and the embodiment of trauma occurs is a constructive way forward.

3.3.1. Historical Trauma Theory - An Indigenous Perspective:

There have been a number of efforts made to understand the prevalence rates of violence and trauma within Indigenous communities to include Aotearoa New Zealand where family violence, Māori child abuse and homicide rates have increased disproportionately (Atkinson, 2002; Bopp, Bopp & Lane, 2003; Kruger, et al., 2004; Koziol-McLain, Rameka, Giddings, Fyfe & Gardiner, 2007; Lawson Te Aho & Liu, 2010; Milroy, 1996; Pihama, Jenkins & Karehana, 2002; Robson & Harris, 2004; Taonui, 2011, 2012; The Māori Reference Group, 2014; Wilson & Webber, 2014). Causal associations, which include non-combatant killings, apartheid-type laws, dispossession from land and depopulation through introduced diseases, are all forces of colonisation experienced by Māori in Aotearoa (Durie, 1998a, 2001; Taonui, 2012). These unfavourable eternal forces were sustained and are argued here as internalised traumatic experiences that descended through our whakapapa lines in an omnipresent fashion. Thus, environments of melancholy, mistrust, fear, rage and aggression are created.

Māori commentators such as Mikaere (2011) and Taonui (2011) have often argued that the increased levels of violence in Māori whānau, hapū and iwi have their roots in the harmful effects of colonisation, which is not say that we did not experience conflict with each other. Critical discussions have also noted the relevance of the on-going nature of the collective trauma experiences and casual associations with a number of detrimental factors to create an accumulation of often sustained and enduring trauma. One approach for explaining increased rates of violence within the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island group is the concept of 'Cultures in collision', leading to "physical violence: invasion, disease, death and destruction" (Atkinson, 2002, p. 59).

Liu, Lawson-Te Aho and Rata (2014) suggest that Indigenous psychology (IP) is a growing global movement that enables First Nations people the opportunity to be self-determining in the articulation of cultural healing approaches. For these authors the foundations of IP are founded upon liberation psychology where they report:

> In our view, IP among First Nations was birthed in what could be termed liberation psychology (Fanon, 1967; Friere, 1970, 2000), a political protest movement against injustice and a search for knowledge to upset or transform unjust power hierarchies. (L. Smith, 1999, p. 145)

The concept of 'cultural healing' for Indigenous and First Nations people involves the recognition of generations of injury and suffering as a consequence of damage caused by colonisation (Liu, Lawson-Te Aho & Rata, 2014).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, historical trauma theory is gaining growing interest within the Māori research community (George et al., 2014; Pihama, Reynolds, Smith, Reid, Tuhiwai-Smith & Te Nana, 2014; Wirihana & Smith, 2014).The subsequent impact of holocaust survivor experiences provided the main impetus for understanding trauma as a collective experience (Brave Heart & De Bruyn, 1998). However comparisons with the Jewish holocaust experience and Māori experiences of colonisation have created controversy in Aotearoa (Pihama et al., 2014). Co-Leader of the Māori Party, MP Tariana Turia, received "a stern warning" (The New Zealand Herald, 2000) from the Prime Minister, Helen Clark, for the following comments to the NZ Psychological Society Conference at Waikato University on 29 August 2000:

> I understand that much of the research done in this area has focused on the trauma suffered by the Jewish survivors of the holocaust of World War Two. I also understand the same has been done with the Vietnam veterans. What seems to not have received similar attention is the holocaust suffered by indigenous people including Māori as a result of colonial contact and behaviour. (Turia, cited in The New Zealand Herald, 2000)

Historian James Belich (1996) had previously questioned the accuracy of records that account for Māori population decline, social and cultural disintegration. Belich

suggests, "decline was unevenly spread across space and time, and it may have 'crippled' particular Māori communities in particular periods. But overall it was not crippling impact, still less fatal impact" (p. 178). Belich (1996) suggested that there exists an "enduring myth of fatal impact" (p. 178) that perpetuates the belief that Māori were a dying and crippled race.

However, the important links between Māori depopulation, disease and dispossession have been documented by Māori scholars (Durie, 1998b; Robson & Harris, 2004; Robson & Reid, 2001; Taonui 2011, 2012), based upon the most reliable records available. Despite the prevailing controversies, Māori researchers are beginning to embrace historical trauma theory as a modality for healing. George et al, (2014) draws upon historical trauma theory to inform their work with Māori women's experiences of incarceration, linking historical experiences with contemporary experiences. George, et al.(2014) embraces historical trauma theory as the foundations for intervention and a narrative approach towards healing. According to George et al., (2014):

> Historical trauma theory provides a useful and significant way in which to understand indigenous experiences that have led to an array of negative outcomes such as high rates of incarceration. Use of such theory is not for the purpose of re-casting ourselves as victims, but instead for the purpose of finding self-determined solutions to the ills which challenge our lives, while also critiquing societal ideologies and policies which contribute to the continuation of such challenges. (pp. 193-194)

The harmful and detrimental impacts of historical trauma are collective and communal, leaving what Atkinson (2002) explains as 'Trauma Trails'. In a similar vein to Māori experiences, Atkinson's (2002) traumagram traces six-generations of sexual abuse trauma and physical violence trauma amongst Australian Aborigines, effectively linking present-day trauma to historical events.

Māori well-being and healing, according to Wirihana and Smith (2014), is "a sophisticated process founded on the basis of spiritual knowledge" (p. 201). The absence of spiritual knowledge and practices may account for disproportionate rates of violence within Indigenous populations. As a healing discourse, historical trauma theory orientates Indigenous people toward cultural identity, cultural connectedness and the re-claiming of

spiritual connectedness in a manner that most theories concerning trauma do not. International and Indigenous researchers are expanding their understanding of historical trauma theory and the links between current health disparities.

3.3.2 Whakapapa Trauma - Kei Mua, Te Wā, Kei Muri – Past, Present, Future:

When discussing violence trauma within an Indigenous Māori context, the previous history of the whānau member or members cannot be overlooked. Utilising those processes associated with a whakapapa construct to include the ordering of events across generations, similar experiences emerge highlighting patterns of familial behaviour. Atkinson's (2002) traumagram informs the process involved in analysing emerging patterns and themes through and across generations. When a pattern or patterns of high risk behaviours such as family violence, drug and alcohol abuse, sexual abuse, or suicide become evident through successive generations, whakapapa transference has occurred. This is when the original source of the trauma is transmitted layer upon layer, linking trauma from the past through a set of behaviours creating intergenerational transference.

As described previously by Brave Heart (2003), historical trauma is the "cumulative, emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences" (p. 7). Therefore trauma can be understood to have a whakapapa; this is where unresolved trauma remains nested in the whānau system, where underlying difficulties in everyday whānau life remain in the collective unconscious realities of whānau, hapū and iwi life. Notably, the experiences of Indigenous people and people regarded as having lower status such as women, may experience trauma responses (Brave Heart, 1999, 2003; Briere & Scott, 2006; Denham, 2008) on a daily basis, triggered by circumstances such as social maltreatment and institutionalised racism (Jones, 2000). Trauma is manifested and inflicted upon whānau members in the form of physical violence, sexual violence, drug dependency, suicide and loss, and the withholding of love and affection. From this perspective, trauma remains embedded within the whānau system until such time that the patterns of behaviour can be corrected through intervention.

Whakapapa trauma (intergenerational trauma) is unresolved trauma that has been transmitted and passed on through the whānau system generation after generation. The original trauma was significant involving many and often repetitive forms of abuse,

including cultural invasion and seizure of political power (Freire, 2000; Mikaere, 2011) that led to displacement, abandonment, illness, poverty, marginalisation, resulting in the inability to fully participate and engage in a rapidly changing environment. The imposition of patriarchy, disregard for collectivism, the impact of Christianity on tikanga, and unequal power imbalances, have led to the breakdown of traditional Māori systems where Māori women had equal status alongside men. Appropriately contextualising the experiences of Indigenous peoples is important in terms of the healing approaches with which we engage. The Indigenous experience is not the same as that for non-Indigenous people who have not been affected by colonisation processes. Therefore, standard causality based on highly western driven research-based trauma treatment approaches fail to account well enough for differing experiences.

Neuroscience has made the connection between early life experiences and the associations with violence, and attachments. In the absence of specific and advancing neuroscience, Māori understood the importance of love and care as observed by William Colenso (1865):

> Their love and attachment to children was very great, and that not merely to their own immediate offspring. They commonly adopted children; indeed no man having a large family was ever allowed to bring them all up himself uncles, aunts and cousins claimed and took them, often whether the parents were willing or not. (p. 30)

We understood the responsibility of collective care as an important nurturing and protective factor. Neuroscience affirms what we have implicitly known and has confirmed that the "major modifier of all human behaviour is *experience*" (Perry, 1998, p. 125, original italics). In the following section, I describe a dynamic constellation of psychological and emotional states as one potential therapeutic starting place for the development of Māori theorising.

3.4 A Māori Orientation Towards Hinengaro: Pōrangi, Wairangi, Haurangi, Kahurangi:

3.4.1 Overview:

These conceptual ideas concerning pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi and kahurangi are my own formulations based upon the teachings of Paraire Huata (1946-2014) and endorsed by him (Personal communication, February, 2012). They have been published previously (Hall, 2012) and are intended to orientate practitioners toward an Indigenous framework for understanding health from an ecological perspective. Sadly, Paraire passed in May 2014, and in my last communications with him (January, 2014) he was, as ever, the encouraging and supportive teacher. In an acknowledgement piece (see Manning, 2014) to Paraire, his unique approach to teaching and the ownership of knowledge is articulated.

Paraire incorporated pūrākau as a teaching method, and I will always remember and miss my teacher and mentor. With Paraire's blessings, I have taken these concepts and positioned them within a health discourse, developing my thinking during the course of this PhD study. Although I have published the following discussion elsewhere (Hall, 2012), I consider it important enough to reproduce in full here. The article was taken directly from the development of this PhD work and therefore sections 3.4.2 - 3.4.6 are taken directly from the 2012 article. Lastly, an acknowledgement to Paraire:

Kua hinga te tōtara nui te poutokomanawa o te iwi: The giant totara has fallen, the pillar of the people.

I was re-introduced to the concepts of pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi and kahurangi by Paraire Huata, during a series of excellent marae-based wānanga (traditional lore-based educational learning) throughout the 1990s. Paraire was a man of many talents with a background in teaching and training in the mental health fields of counselling and social work. Paraire was passionate about therapeutic interventions and approaches that are uniquely Māori and has contributed greatly to the development of Māori health practitioners. Thus, for me, pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi and kahurangi were transformed from mere words to huge concepts of meaningful significance.

3.4.2 Papatūanuku and Ranginui: Ecological Considerations:

Māori concepts such as those under discussion have great depth of meaning and are strongly influenced by the spaces between Papatūanuku (Earth Mother) and Ranginui (Sky Father). The concepts of pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi and kahurangi are drawn from the natural and spiritual worlds that inform our humanness or, more specifically, our psychological and sensory perceptions. These concepts, however, have been negatively misrepresented and etched into the minds of Māori and non-Māori alike to take on meanings, which are much more associated with madness and craziness. If we deconstruct this discourse, we will find that at the most basic level each word has embedded within it several meanings. Furthermore, if we were to circumnavigate all the tribal groupings in Aotearoa, we would, no doubt, find a number of definitions.

This is for several reasons; here I mention two. Firstly, a traditional Māori analysis of the world was strongly shaped by the natural world and metaphysical world. In earlier days, Māori were much more engaged with their immediate environment and, thus, any self-reflection on or analyses of these concepts would have been informed by the natural surroundings of our tupuna (ancestors) (Tau, 2002). Secondly, some of our responses have been influenced by our engagement and contact with Europeans. The process of colonisation challenged us to think outside our own cultural domain and consider the perspectives of others. In terms of colonisation, Tau (2002) stated:

> It was because of culture clash that people thought about how people thought. And this is, I think, the great thing about colonisation: placing all the moral issues aside, imperialism required us to think and ponder the meaning of the world outside our (Māori) episteme. (cited in Nairn, Pehi, Black & Waitoki, 2012, p. 173)

At this point I would like to add that there is a body of knowledge concerning *Te Kauwae Runga* which focuses on the many dimensions of celestial Māori lore, whereas *Te Kauwae Raro* focuses on terrestrial lore. These teachings were promoted within Māori places and spaces such as whare-wānanga (houses of teaching and learning). To explain further, pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi and kahurangi are concepts which sit within both *Te Kauwae Runga* and *Te Kauwae Raro*.

3.4.3 Pōrangi:

Pō-rangi: 'pō' refers to the night sky and the variant shades of darkness, while 'rangi' refers to the sky or the upper regions and the variant shades of light associated with weather patterns and movements throughout the day which reflect periods of time. When joined in union, the opposing differences of night and day combine and the meaning transforms to resemble the transient state that is characteristic of both the evening dusk and the dawn of a new day. These states are considered one of the most vulnerable times during human homeostasis, due to the reorganisation of the mental and physical state as the shift occurs from either a restful, sleep state to awakening, or from an energised state to a relaxed and eventual sleep state. Karakia (prayer/incantations) are considered necessary during these times in order to assist in regulating the transition from the predisposing vulnerable condition to a state of equilibrium. The amalgamation of the contrasting and variant shades of darkness and light merge to form the nexus point of vulnerability and perplexity.

If we continue with Māori rationalism, I would suggest that the language used to describe various human traits and behaviours is evoked by observations and interactions with our immediate environment and their important elements. The inspiration reflected back to us through the onset of a new day and a new dawn is indicative of the many psychological transitional states experienced as pōrangi. For a Māori dictionary reference, Williams (2000) referred to 'pōrangi' as follows:

1. Hurried. 2. Headstrong, wrong-headed. 3. Having the mind fully occupied, distracted. 4. Beside oneself, out of one's mind, mad. 5. Wander. 6. Seek. (p. 293)

Exploring relational concepts concerned with space, time, distance, interstices, and merged moments is celestial wisdom contained within *Te Kauwae Runga*, providing an approach consistent with an endeavour that seeks meaning through unconscious and conscious states.

3.4.4 Wairangi:

Like pōrangi, wairangi is also a concept that is concerned with the transient state of psychological and sensory perception informed once again by environmental forces of

76

distance and space. As with pōrangi, wairangi has several meanings embedded within it. Williams (2000) has provided three descriptions for wairangi of which the first two are relevant to this discussion. Wairangi is described as "1. Beside oneself, excited, infatuated. [and] 2. Foolish" (Williams, 2000, p. 476).

With regard to wai-rangi, 'wai' refers to the water elements while 'rangi' sits within the domains of Ranginui (Sky Father) and the light of day. At first glance wairangi could be mistaken to mean 'water-sky'; however as we have seen with pōrangi, the supposition is to be found in the union and the merging of the natural elements. Therefore, 'wairangi' speaks of the merged and undifferentiated psychological state consistent with what is seen by the naked eye as the distant space, more commonly known as the horizon. When we look towards the horizon it is difficult to know where each - water and sky element - begins and ends. It is only through a process of engagement with and a movement towards wairangi that we begin to see a differentiated state and what lies beyond the horizon. Perhaps you can envisage and experience this state as you engage with this dialogue, taking note of any stirrings within the unconscious state as you draw nearer to the horizon of consciousness.

The divergent states associated with wairangi intersect when we distance ourselves from the metaphorical horizon of consciousness; however, it is made much more potent and vibrant when we interact with it and find enlightenment. From a Māori naturalistic observational perspective, wairangi brings the existing relationship between *Te Kauwae Runga* and *Te Kauwae Raro* into connectedness where both celestial and terrestrial knowledge are bound. Wairangi is a condition shaped by our environment, fluid in nature and therefore requires a process of engagement in order to explore possibilities that will manifest and emerge (Hall, 2012; Reedy, 2009).

3.4.5 Haurangi:

Similarly and in this context haurangi, like pōrangi, is also transient in nature and both are connected to what is understood to be ārangi - unsettled or perturbed. As described previously, one of the many meanings of pōrangi relates to 'mad' when used in the right context, and for the purpose of this discussion we can discover the meanings embedded within haurangi. In this instance, hau as in hau-rangi provides a meaning associated with atmospheric conditions connected with rangi and may include those effects which reside in the domain of Ranginui such as breath, wind, moisture or dew. As

we know, the conditions are ever changing and include both life-giving elements such as air that gives us vitality of life. At a very basic level, therefore, haurangi is concerned with life and the continuously changing character of life itself as reflected back to us by the surrounding elements. In keeping with Williams (2000), three relevant interpretations are provided that include "1. Mad, deluded. 2. Exasperated, furious [and] 3. Drunken." (p. 14). If we consider the third interpretation we have to also consider that alcohol was introduced to Māori society and Māori did not have a history of making and consuming alcohol prior to European contact (Ministry of Health, 2009). Therefore we can presuppose that initial observations made by Māori of Pākeha drunkenness would have been observed as bizarre and strange behaviour. To this I would like to add a fourth dimension which is relevant to this discussion.

3.4.6 Kahurangi:

Kahu-rangi in this instance refers to a covering, or what is visible on the surface, and, again, rangi is connected to both the celestial realm of Ranginui and terrestrial realm of Papatūanuku. 'Kahu' is a Māori word that indicates and helps to describe a particular covering or surface, for example kahu-kiwi, a korowai (cape) covered in kiwi feathers. There are many ways in which 'kahu' is utilised in the Māori language, and following on from one of William's (2000) examples, "Te kahu o te rangi" (p. 84) is interpreted as 'the blue sky'. If we are to be informed by mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) in terms of psychological perspectives, then kahurangi references a particular conditioning in that what is presented on the outside serves to mask a deeper, more unsettling mental process which remains irresolute. It is therefore the task of the healer to assist in bringing stability to the conflicting ideas or ambivalence which vacillate between uncertainty and certainty.

This may be beginning to sound familiar and in making connections with Freud's ideas concerning the ego and its defence mechanisms. While it may appear that I am attempting to draw parallels, however, I am not. What I am suggesting is that, prior to European contact, our worldview was configured in a different way and greatly influenced by our natural environment. The mind or psychological functioning was not a process executed or delivered by neurons or brain activity, as we understand it today. It involved emotional understanding and awareness that was seated and centred deep within the puku (stomach) region.

Mātauranga Māori is not dissimilar to the knowledge systems of other Indigenous cultures worldwide when considering aspects of the psyche. Jung (1933) revealed his preparedness to view his European culture through the lens of primal cultures. On one of his many travels Jung recorded this encounter with a Pueblo Indian Chief, Ochwiay Biano:

> For the first time in my life, so it seemed to me, someone had drawn for me a picture of the real white man....This Indian had struck our vulnerable spot, unveiled a truth to which we are blind. (cited in Dunne, 2000, p. 67)

In this, albeit brief discussion, I have attempted to convey and describe to you a dynamic Māori personality psychic constellation, based on pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi, and kahurangi. I would like to see a more in-depth discussion take place in other literature so that a richer understanding prevails between us and in the therapeutic space, and I look forward to making a further contribution to this discussion in the future.

3.5 Summary:

The over-representation of Māori as both victims and perpetrators of violence is a serious concern for Māori. This chapter has shed light on the nature of partner violence and the connections to tamariki. It examines the efforts Māori are making towards reducing family violence in our communities and improving outcomes for Māori women and tamariki. Interpersonal violence can have both short and long-term costs with traumatic consequences. I have discussed trauma from a Western perspective and introduced Historical Trauma as a theoretical perspective that is very meaningful for Indigenous people. The Historical Trauma literature has informed my theoretical thinking concerning Whakapapa Trauma providing a starting point for further development. The discussions concerning pōrangi, wairangi, haurangi and kahurangi are intended to advance Māori approaches to healing with the intention of increasing practitioner capability in the counselling and therapy domains. The following chapter is dedicated to explaining Kaupapa Māori epistemology and the philosophical underpinnings that anchor this study to Aotearoa New Zealand.

TE WĀHANGA TUAWHA: CHAPTER FOUR KAUPAPA MĀORI EPISTEMOLOGY

Māori epistemological and ontological perspective has validity and legitimacy since it is based on a worldview that continues to exist and is experienced by real people. At the centre of that view is Māori knowledge, language and culture.
(Tomlins-Jahnke 1996)

4.1 Introduction:

This thesis first came into sight from a growing interest in understanding how past experiences influence behaviours in the present. My growing interest was stirred initially by my own experiences that unsurprisingly began in childhood, carrying through into adulthood. The desire to explore lived experiences was cultivated in educational pursuits in both the Māori world and Pākeha world where Mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori development occurred alongside western-focused training such as psychotherapy. Mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori both refer to Māori knowledge; the distinguishing difference is that the former is based upon traditional knowledge while the latter reflects the values of traditional knowledge in the development of new knowledge.

From my own perspective, psychotherapy complements the philosophical underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori in that the core tenets of both doctrines are founded upon whakapapa, whānau and essentially, relationships. However, divergent ideas exist within this discourse where Kaupapa Māori approaches are founded upon collective principles while in general psychotherapy is more inclined toward the individual experience. According to Poutu-Morice (2011):

> The need for a Māori psychotherapy is relatively obvious to anyone who is Māori. The purpose of a Māori psychotherapy is no different from the purpose of Pākeha psychotherapy for Pākeha [non-Māori of European descent] or tau iwi [non-Māori]. However, as long as psychotherapy remains monocultural, it will remain unable to meet the needs and aspirations of Māori practitioners and Māori clients. (p. 15)

Psychotherapy is interpersonal in nature, describing the process involved in treating psychological and emotional distress and their root causes. Trauma therapy is one of the many reasons why practitioners choose psychotherapy as a treatment modality.

The current socio-cultural context of Aotearoa New Zealand privileges a dominant Western-focused discourse that is reflected in our training institutions and health services. Māori whānau along with Māori health professionals have felt frustrated by the limited recognition of Māori views that capture the lived experiences of Māori (Durie, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005). For some time Māori have been the subject of research, however our ability to determine research 'by Māori for Māori' (L. Smith, 1999, 2012) has been a developing crusade since the mid-1970s. Māori workforce deficit issues in both the health and research environments have limited the availability of high quality Māori-specific research. Māori have responded positively addressing work force deficit issues, integrating Māori frameworks into the workplace and generating new knowledge through research endeavours (Durie, 1999; G. Smith, 2003, L. Smith, 1999, 2012).

In Aotearoa there is very limited research conducted 'by Māori for Māori' that investigates interpersonal violence, violence trauma and the intergenerational manifestation of violence. However where research is available, the violence literature recommends awareness-raising among whānau, hapū and iwi, adopting a zero tolerance to violence (Pouwhare, 1999), while incorporating Māori values and concepts (Leahy, 20099). Jackson, Cram and Seymour's (2000) investigations into violence and sexual coercion in high school students, suggests a greater need for intervention and prevention programs that educate young people to learn constructive ways of dealing with anger and strong emotions. Grennell and Cram (2008) encourage a violence-free stance as a platform for Iwi Consortium groups to promote and work from within their respective tribal boundaries. Furthermore, a combination of research, education and promotion, professional development and training along with advocacy are recommended as an approach to reducing violence for Māori whānau, hapū and iwi (Grennell & Cram, 2008). Grennell and Cram (2008) also endorsed the Mauri Ora framework developed by the Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence (Kruger, Pitman, Grennell, McDonald, Mariu, & Pomare, et al, 2004) as an appropriate framework for Māori.

As discussed in Chapter One, Māori are over-represented as both perpetrators and targets of violent behaviour, increasing the risk for trauma exposure and major traumatic stress. Typically and in any discourse there are often divergent ideas, and for this reason

it is important that appropriate solutions for Māori are founded upon Māori approaches. The ontological impetus embedded within the research question for this study and the way in which data was collected, analysed and interpreted, derive from philosophical theories entrenched in a Māori epistemology. This research concerning Māori mother's experiences of partner violence and the fostering of affectional bonds with their tamariki is located within Kaupapa Māori epistemology.

4.2 Philosophical Underpinnings - Kaupapa Māori - An epistemology for research:

Kaupapa Māori research is founded on tikanga Māori providing the doctrines from which a uniquely Māori epistemology informs and guides the research. When contemplating kaupapa and tikanga, it is through the understandings such as those of Marsden (2003) that meaning is inspired and inferred within this research. Marsden understands kaupapa in the following way:

> Kaupapa is derived from two words, kau and papa. In this context 'kau' means 'to appear for the first time, to come into view', to 'disclose'. 'Papa" means ground or foundation. Hence, kaupapa means ground rules, first principles, general principles. (p. 66)

When examining tikanga, Marsden (2003) considers that 'Tikanga Māori' translates as 'Māori custom', providing the following description and meaning:

> Tikanga means method, plan, reason, custom, the right way of doing things. Kaupapa and Tikanga are juxtaposed and interconnected in Māori thinking. When contemplating some important project, action or situation that needs to be addressed or resolved, the tribe in council would debate the kaupapa or rules and principles by which they should be guided. (2003, p. 66)

Māori leaders have engaged with and questioned the ability of Western research paradigms to provide positive solutions for Māori and have argued about the applicability of these paradigms within a cultural context (Durie, 1998b; Ratima, 2001; L. Smith, 1999; Te Awekotuku, 1991). A prevailing sense of mistrust and wariness of western research

practices stems from their on-going interpretations of Māori reality, which have tended to misrepresent Māori and produce negative findings. The notion of validity and reliability which underpin western methodologies and philosophy have privileged the observers' lens and often failed to capture the lived experiences of Māori as the observed (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; L. Smith, 1999). Discontent generated from these past experiences of western research has led Māori to draw their own conclusions through their own epistemology (L. Smith, 1999, 2012).

Kaupapa Māori is a self-determining approach to research where the aspirations and desires of Māori are premised within the cultural norms that include spiritual dimensions. The positivist tradition of logic, reasoning and objectivity dismiss the core values and beliefs Māori have in regards to spirituality which is implicit and taken for granted within a Māori view of the world (Marsden, 2003). Tomlins-Jahnke's (1996) critique of the scientific positivist approach includes the assumption of the 'value free inquiry' and the contradiction posited in this judgment, adding that "Basic imperatives include the primacy of behavioural language and method, the elimination of metaphysical terms and any unverifiable statements relegated as unscientific and therefore meaningless" (p. 39).

A positivistic methodology restricts and rejects Māori customary practices, reducing cultural norms into black or white categories which have notions of negative and positive attached to them. The task of unpacking this value-laden discourse will no doubt reveal the dynamics of power and control and the way in which mechanisms in society contribute to partner violence where coercive and abusive power prevails. Bishop and Glynn (1992) suggest that the positivist position leans towards a social pathology form of investigation. The powerful positioning of a positivist methodological approach does little to reinforce and legitimise a Māori epistemology.

To demarcate the differences between ontology and epistemology, Shorter-Gooden (2002) suggest that "culturally sensitive scholars are exploring cultural differences in what different groups constitute as knowledge and truth, that is their ontology, and in their beliefs about how one gains knowledge, that is their epistemology" (p. 130). Crotty (1998) emphasises the importance of describing the epistemology embedded within a theoretical perspective and the chosen methodology and methods. According to Crotty (1998), epistemology is "a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know" (p. 3). For this research, the strength of a Kaupapa Māori

epistemology is in its relevance to the way in which prospective Māori research participants experiences are shaped by cultural forms of representation (Silverman, 2001).

Importantly Kaupapa Māori epistemology challenges the positioning of power when considering research issues and the dominance of traditional individualistic research approaches (Bishop, 1996). In the pursuit of self-determination, sovereignty and protection of Māori knowledge, Pihama et al (2002) define Kaupapa Māori as "Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices" (p. 38). Consequently I have opted to uphold a Kaupapa Māori epistemology to direct this research given that the researcher and research participants are Māori and that the research is based predominantly on a Māori worldview (Royal, 2012).

Kaupapa Māori research encourages a social consciousness concerning issues of injustice and of social change while recognising the importance of Māori language, values, history and Te Ao Hurihuri (contemporary realities) (L. Smith, 1999, 2012; Walker, 2004). L. Smith (1999) contends that Kaupapa Māori approaches to research are based on a number of assumptions, which include the following:

- The research involves Māori and Māori knowledge is valid and legitimate;
- Tikanga Māori (ethics, principles, and philosophies) provides the foundations and scope that informs the Kaupapa Māori approach to research;
- The research undertaken with or about Māori is beneficial to the researched and makes a positive contribution to Māori aspirations.

The idea that Kaupapa Māori research is undertaken 'by Māori, with Māori, for the benefit of Māori' has been hotly debated amongst Māori researchers. Some debates have centred on generalised statements that can be problematic such as claims that Māori people are best qualified to undertake research with Māori. Walker (1996) raises the issue regarding the appropriateness of Māori writers, questioning levels of understanding concerning tikanga Māori and whether the skill sets necessary for scholarship are upheld. Viewpoints have included opinions concerning the attributes of Māori researchers, gender, age, whakapapa, knowledge of tikanga, the degree of involvement in Māori communities, tribal differences, and collaborations with other Māori and/or Pākeha. For many, just being Māori is not enough. Also debated is the degree of Pākeha involvement

or whether Pākeha can be involved at all (Bishop, 2010; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Durie, 1998a; Irwin, 1994; Pihama et al, 2002, G. Smith, 2000; L.Smith,1999; Walker, 1996).

Furthermore, there are existing parallels found in qualitative research which appear better suited to Māori concerns regarding research methodologies (Van Manen, 1990). Critical theory, participatory action research and feminist theories embrace ideologies that help to capture the complexities of people's lives and their social reality. Kaupapa Māori is much more aligned to critical theory traditions (Carr & Kemmis, 2003/2005) and the qualitative data collecting techniques promoted by feminism which are participatory, interactive and inclusive of the participants.

The works of Freire (2000) have also assisted Māori to develop Kaupapa Māori as an emancipatory and empowering approach that seeks to strive for social justice. To resolve the issues of violence in Māori communities requires the willingness for non-Māori to actively participate in this change. A critical consciousness concerning the unequal distribution of power coupled with an understanding of the negative influences of colonisation on Māori health and wellbeing requires a positive Pākeha response.

When examining the position of Kaupapa Māori methodologies alongside western principles of research, Moewaka-Barnes (2000) suggests, "The need to define discuss or explain its existence in itself serves as a reminder of the power of colonisation" (p. 13). Māori are encouraged to undertake innovative research through participation in transformative change. (L. Smith, 1999, 2012). While the accompanying philosophies embodied within Kaupapa Māori allow for transformative change, Ratima (2003) maintains that Western methodologies can be adapted and applied alongside Māori approaches in ways that are consistent with a Māori inquiry paradigm. This may include face-to-face or kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interviewing techniques, and focus groups or hui (gathering/meeting) set up with the intention of discussing a single purpose.

4.3 Kaupapa Māori Research Methodology in Practice:

This current study sought to honour and therefore manages the various concerns raised by Māori regarding Kaupapa Māori research. Primarily this involved a process of self-critique, consultation with appropriate koroua and kuia [elders], consultation and accountability to an appropriate Māori organisation or roopu, engagement with whānau, hapū and iwi representatives. This research took place within the context of an academic environment and it was important to ensure that appropriate academic guides/supervisors,

mentors and peers were supporting my progress. Throughout this study I wanted to work with the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi weaving through the important principles of partnership, protection and participation, utilising processes that were helpful and pragmatic.

Since childhood I have been raised to believe that the head is one of the most tapu [sacred] parts of the human anatomy for several reasons, however in this context I discuss one. Chiefly this is due to the positioning of the brain, the powerhouse of operational thought and knowledge. Overall, I wanted to move this research forward in a deliberate fashion utilising my Māori and Pākeha whakapapa influences to guide me through this research process. I worked to achieve this with the support of my Pākeha and Māori academic supervisors, and again with my Māori and Pākeha clinical supervisors, braiding together the benefits of Western and Māori knowledge. This approach requires a willingness from both Māori and Pākeha to engage bi-culturally, respecting differences and managing the inevitable tensions that arise when power differentials exist.

Throughout this PhD endeavour, I have attempted to undertake research that is culturally appropriate by recognising and upholding the importance of Māori philosophy and cultural values. Irwin (1994) asserts that culturally safe Kaupapa Māori research involves mentorship from kaumātua. From the outset, I have had the blessings and guiding support of kaumātua, Haare Williams of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki and Tuhoe tribes. Haare pioneered Māori radio becoming a well-known Māori broadcaster and kaumātua for organisations such as South Seas Film and Television. Haare has a wealth of community experience and he has been honoured for his contributions to Māori education, Māori development, language revitalisation as well as his contributions to the development of Māori psychotherapy in Aotearoa. Haare has been instrumental to many iwi where he has had an important and significant role in recording, collecting and archiving the oral histories of past iwi leaders These recordings have been significant oral evidence in the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal hearings and claims process. Haare is also an artist, a poet, a loving grandfather and father where his gentle and guiding Mana Tāne attributes have inspired me. It is through Haare's wise guidance that I have gained a greater sense of appreciation for the importance and power of storytelling. I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to draw upon his wisdom throughout this PhD journey.

Hinewirangi Kohu Morgan is a woman of many talents who has an active interest in pursuits that promote Mana Wāhine and traditional Māori parenting practices. Among

many things she is an artist and poet, and her musical talents make her one of few Māori wāhine steeped in the practice of playing and making traditional Māori flutes such as koauau, putatara and pūkāea, all various flute and wind instruments. Hinewirangi is a member of the International Indian Treaty Council and a founding director of the Māori Women's Center advocating for women and children experiencing domestic violence. Hinewirangi is currently involved in delivering Māori therapeutic programmes at Waikeria Prison and interventions based on Te Pa Harakeke (Rokx, 1998), a Māori family violence intervention program. Hinewirangi is inspirational. Her personal journey has been one of deep sadness, hurt and pain and her Mana Wāhine spirit has seen her overcome these challenges, transforming her personal ordeals into stories of healing. Hinewirangi has risen with dignity and now sings, writes and parades in the symbols of her identity. Together kaumātua Haare Williams and kuia Hinewirangi Kohu Morgan provide the guidance and importantly maintain the balance between the male and female energies that nurtured this study.

As my female mentor, guide and kuia, Hinewirangi Kohu Morgan encouraged me to participate in marae-based wānanga [education, learning] that involved a series of ten weekend lessons over a two year period. These lessons were steeped in Māori philosophy and are central to the foundations for cultural identity. As a Māori PhD student, I opted to engage in both a Māori traditional learning system and Western pathway to scholarship. This was to ensure that the integrity of tikanga positioned within Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine is privileged, and as a Māori researcher I commit to the ethos embedded within Kaupapa Māori epistemology.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua (TRONW) has supported this endeavour also (see Appendix F). TRONW endorsement came about through a presentation given to the elected Board of Trustees' representatives. This is where I arranged to meet with the Board in their Whāngarei office, and I provided an overview of my research interests. The verbal feedback given by board members was pleasing, as was the acknowledgement of Ngāti Whātua in the research process. *Te Roopu Pounamu Awhina* (see Appendix G) and *Waka Oranga* (see Appendix H) have also endorsed this research undertaking. Both organisations provided Māori peer support, professional training and development advocating for Māori counselling and psychotherapy practices.

4.4 Summary:

The emergence of Kaupapa Māori research is an attempt by Māori researchers to gain tino rangatiratanga [self-determination] with transformative research, while maintaining control and autonomy over knowledge considered relevant and legitimate to Māori (Ratima, 2001; L. Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori is an Indigenous approach to research that is unique to Māori. As with any ethnic group, Māori will no doubt continue to present a range of views and opinions concerning the affairs of Māori. These views and opinions will continue to be debated within a cultural context that struggles to retain cultural authenticity from internal and external critics. Indigenous research approaches set out to explain Indigenous people's experiences from Indigenous people's perspectives. Kaupapa Māori provides a research platform that enables Māori the opportunity to seek solutions to Māori difficulties that will advance our future. The research is 'by Māori for Māori and with Māori' (L. Smith, 1999).

This chapter sets in place the philosophical foundations. It defines Kaupapa Māori as a distinctly Māori driven discourse that is relevant in our day-to-day lives and as a valid self-determined research methodology. Kaupapa Māori research brings together philosophical rationalisation, theory, critical thinking, logic, ethics and metaphysical truth-seeking ideals that are validated through our survival and existence (G. Smith, 2003). It provides the opportunity for Māori to critically examine, discuss and theorise our experiences of the world through a unique Māori lens. Kaupapa Māori is a pragmatic approach where the richness our cultural mores are expressed and transferred into the research environment. Māori women have continued to be proactive and determined when confronted with adversity. Kaupapa Māori research shifts the attention away from managing adversity to seeking solutions for our people. Kaupapa Māori research is about people and the environments that we live in. In the following chapter I describe the way in which Māori identity is organised through a social system.

TE WĀHANGA TUARIMA: CHAPTER FIVE - WHAKAPAPA: A SOCIAL SYSTEMS CONSTRUCT

Without whakapapa whānau, hapū, and iwi would not exist.
(Kruger, et al, 2004, p. 11)

5.1 Introduction:

This chapter examines the social organisation of Māori and the way in which Māori identity is established and organised. A whakapapa construct provides a view of how Māori identity is organised through a social system (see Figure 1, p. 87). The complexities of this system require a greater focus on detail to fully appreciate the dynamics of the interacting system and the way in which attachment relationships are formed and nurtured. Selected literature has been reviewed which examines and describes the association between whakapapa, whānau , hapū, iwi and the specific roles required of individuals to uphold this unique system.

The literature draws from a number of reputable sources that include prominent Māori leaders from Te Taitokerau - the northern tribes of Aotearoa New Zealand. In doing so this appropriately contextualises knowledge concerning the construction of whakapapa from an insider (L. Smith, 1999) perspective in that the selected authors are drawn from within my own whakapapa construct. The literature also originates from anthropological studies which were conducted in Te Taitokerau by both Māori and non-Māori anthropologists. Lastly the literature also draws upon the growing contributions made by numerous well-respected and for the most part Māori writers who provide explanations concerning the richness of Māori custom, tradition and ritual (e.g. Barlow, 1991; Grace & Kahukiwa, 2000; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Walker, 1996). These combined contributions are in keeping with a well-known Māori proverb: *Nāku te rourou nau te rourou ka ora ai te iwi - With your basket and my basket the people will live*.

To appreciate more fully the constructions of Māori identity, it is necessary to view this through a progressive system rather than a stationary traditional social system as this would fail to recognise the adaptations Māori continually make in order to respond to an ever-changing world. However, contemporary Māori whānau systems can only be understood in the full context of history, cultural values and colonisation processes.

I have configured the whakapapa system through a series of concentric circles (see Figure 1 below) to emphasise the interconnectedness at the micro level through to the wider macro level. *Te Ira Tangata* represents the individual who is born into a set of pre-existing relationships. *Te Ira tangata* recognises both the shared biological and unique characteristics of an individual that derive from Io Matua Kore (The parentless one/creator). *Whānau* represents immediate family members and those people who maintain regular and constant proximity to the individual. This can include aunts and uncles, grandparents, cousins and siblings. The *Hapū* level signals the increased size of the whānau system, where the resources of the whānau are no longer sufficient to sustain the needs of all members. The hapū level is an indication that relationships have become extended, requiring the break away of one or more whānau groups in order to establish and relocate themselves elsewhere within the boundaries of the tribe. The hapū level represents the extended relationships where contact with the individual is less frequent and yet relevant. It can include second and third cousins, aunts and uncles and mātua tūpuna. Iwi represents the collective system in its entirety. This is where the all the hapū groups are aligned to create an amalgamated front under one identified name.
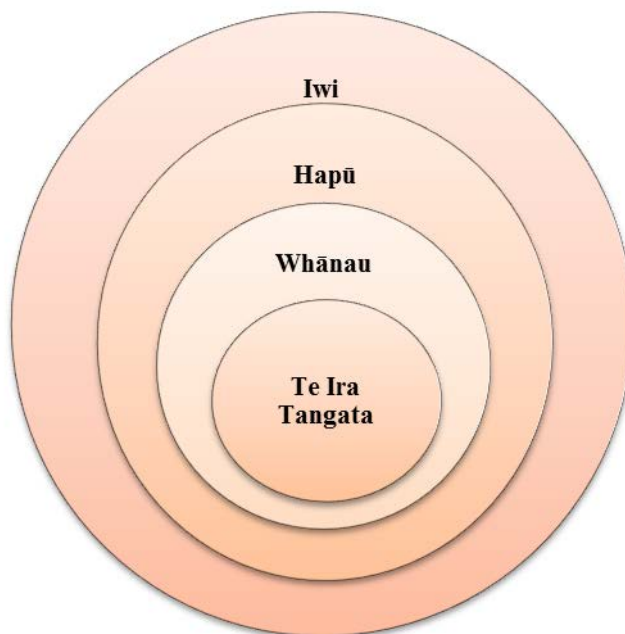
Figure 1. Whakapapa: A Whānau Social Systems Construct (Hall, 2013, p. 147)

The whakapapa whānau social systems construct also includes the philosophical beliefs and values that help to maintain a healthy structure to include spiritual, social, biological aspects where the individual contributes to the collective and the collective to the individual. The following discussions bring further insight to each of the parameters within the whakapapa whānau social systems construct.

5.2 Whakapapa – Back to the Beginning:

A fundamental cornerstone in Māori philosophy is the belief that everything both seen and unseen has a whakapapa – a genealogy or history. This view is central to traditional Māori lore and as a cultural imperative, as Barlow (1991) states:

Whakapapa is the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time. The meaning of whakapapa is 'to lay one thing upon another' as, for example, to lay one generation upon another. Everything has a whakapapa: birds, fish, animals, trees, and every other living thing; soil, rocks and mountains also have a whakapapa. Man [sic] also has a genealogy. Whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things. (p. 173)

Evolutionary theory purports that life on earth originated and evolved from a universal common ancestor. Charles Darwin (1859) expressed the views concerning common ancestry, in his ground-breaking book *The Origin of Species*, wherein he considered that all life forms derived from only one progenitor that was not of human form. To this Darwin states, "Therefore I should infer from the analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from some primordial form, into which life was first breathed" (1859, p. 484).

However, according to Marsden (2003):

Genealogy as a tool for transmitting knowledge pervaded Māori culture. Every class and species of things had their own genealogy. This was a handy method for classifying different families and species of flora and fauna, of the order in which processes occurred and the order in which intricate and prolonged activities or ceremonies should be conducted. (p. 61)

91

The tenets of evolutionary theory, which have informed theories on attachment, express a single whakapapa origin for all life forms, unlike that which is described by Marsden (2003) above where each species has their own whakapapa.

Barlow (1991) classifies the whakapapa of Māori in four distinct ways that include cosmic genealogy, genealogy of the gods, genealogy concerning the precursors of human life form, and the genealogy of the canoes which arrived here in Aotearoa from Hawaiki. Hereafter I draw upon representations of whakapapa which are offered by several respected Māori authors and commentators who illustrate and describe the characteristics of whakapapa.

5.2.1 The Central Tenets of Whakapapa:

Prior to the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1769, Māori tribal boundaries had been defined through relationships and events such as warfare. Māori social structures were organised into distinct groups and tribes were based on canoe ancestors and genealogical descent lines. The discovery of land by ancestors, cycles of birth, death and burial, the shedding of blood spilt in defence of land and sustenance derived from land and waterways, established communities and influenced the way in which Māori people and tribes identified themselves (Walker, 1996). Through the relationship Māori people established with Papatūanuku (Earth Mother) and Ranginui (Sky Father), Māori came to see this relationship as a joining with the land and literally viewed themselves as the people of the land (tangata whenua). From this perspective, Māori can be seen as being symbiotically attached to the land (Walker, 1996). The dimensions of this symbiotic relationship are examined in more detail within an attachment and psychopathology perspective outlined in a later chapter.

The common Māori language (with tribal dialectal differences) captures this symbiotic relationship with Papatūanuku. The Māori language can be described as a language of dualities: for example, hapū means 'sub-tribe' and 'to be pregnant'; whānau means 'family' and 'to give birth'; and whenua means 'land' and 'afterbirth' (which was always returned to Papatūanuku for burial). From the mountains, rivers and lakes, ancestors and canoes, today some 40 iwi (tribes) and hundreds of hapū (sub-tribes) derive their identities. Following the example by Walker (1996), the expression of identity is

captured in the formal introduction of myself where the symbiotic relationship between people and land is acknowledged:

> Ko Maunganui te maunga/Maunganui is the mountain,
>
> Ko Kaihu te awa/Kaihu is the river,
>
> Ko Rongomai Te Ariki te tupuna/Rongomai Te Ariki is the ancestor,
>
> Ko Mahuhu ki te Rangi te waka/Mahuhu ki te Rangi is the canoe,
>
> Ko Te Uri o Hau te hapū/Te Uri o Hau is the hapū,
>
> Ko Ngāti Whātua te iwi/Ngāti Whātua is the tribe.

In contrast to the conventions of measuring hours and periods with instruments and tools, Māori measurement is concerned with past time and future time. Walker (1996) describes the Māori philosophy regarding time, which has significance when viewing the backdrop, and historical factors, which have shaped Māori experiences. In Māori philosophy, there were dimensions to time - past and future. According to Walker (1996):

> The past is designated mua, and the future termed muri. Both had double meanings; mua also meant 'in front of', or 'ahead'. This means the past is conceived of as being in front of human consciousness, because only the present and the past are knowable. Muri, designating the future, also means 'behind', because the future cannot be seen. Thus, the individual is conceptualised as travelling backwards in time to the future, with the present unfolding in front as a continuum into the past. (pp. 13-14)

It is important to understand that a Māori social system is interactive in that one cannot exist without the other and at the heart of this system is procreation, the act of begetting and bringing forth young. Although the importance of whakapapa is considered an imperative principle to an individual's functioning, enquiry was guarded (Walker, 1996; Mead, 1997, 2003). The custodians of whakapapa were often restrained and cautious when the transmission of whakapapa knowledge was queried. This reticence and restraint provided a protective factor should the information be unwittingly exposed to profanity and misuse. Hirini Moko Mead (2003) articulates whakapapa in the following statement:

Whakapapa is a fundamental attribute and gift of birth. It is the social component of the ira, the genes. A child is born into a kinship system which is already in place and has been for many generations. Every individual is a beneficiary of two whakapapa lines, the mother's and the father's. Sometimes a child can only claim the whakapapa of only one parent. This single whakapapa line is sufficient to define a place within the hapū of that one parent. Whakapapa provides our identity within a tribal structure and later in life gives an individual the right to say, 'I am Māori". (p. 42)

In addition, Mead's (2003) explanations provide a commentary on the importance of birth order in relation to expected patterns of deciding precedence and leadership. To this, he adds:

One's whakapapa is affected by a number of the principles outlined earlier. The order of birth is important: the mātāmua [eldest] is accorded more mana [prestige/authority] than others. It is also affected by the tuakana/teina principle which is also the order of birth. The older sibling has priority over the younger and this principle works its way down to the last born, known as the pōtiki. This person is often treated the same as a mātāmua. Whakapapa is also affected by the ahi-ka principle: one has to be located in the right place and be seen often in order to enjoy the full benefits of whakapapa. (pp. 42-43)

One of the most important functions of whakapapa was knowledge transmission and the association with major social and political interests. Correct descent lines determined membership by whakapapa affiliation and any entitlements to tribal assets and resources, which continues today. According to Mead (2003):

Correct whakapapa is the key to eligibility to interests in tribal lands, to education grants, to attend certain tribal ceremonies, and to be accepted as tangata whenua at the local marae. With it come some responsibilities to play a part in the life in the hapū and iwi. Whakapapa is also the key to membership in the hapū of the parents, to one hapū or several. Whakapapa legitimises participation in hapū

affairs and opens doors to the assets of the iwi. It provides a right to be buried in the local urupa [cemetery], a right to succeed to land interests of the parents and a right to claim membership in the hapū….In short, whakapapa is belonging. Without it an individual is outside looking in. (p. 43)

Mana Whenua (authorised people of the land) status acknowledges the connection made through whakapapa to whenua and the authority to exercise control and chieftainship in tribal areas. Equally, Mana Tupuna (authority accumulated by ancestors) is handed down the descent line from one generation to the next, binding together relationships with ancestors which is rooted in the land and surrounding environment of the kinship group. Barlow (1991) asserts:

It is through genealogy that kinship and economic ties are cemented and that mana or power of a chief is inherited. Whakapapa is one of the most prized forms of knowledge and great efforts are made to preserve it. All the people in a community are expected to know who their immediate ancestors are, and to pass this information on to their children so that they too may develop pride and a sense of belonging through understanding the roots of their heritage. (p. 174)

The discussion on whakapapa is a critical cultural phenomenon that continues to go through cycles of change as connections and relationships are no longer limited to Māori. Māori whakapapa is now merged with many non-Māori descent lines that will influence the way in which Māori whakapapa values are upheld or regarded. Māori are no longer tied to whenua in the same way that our ancestors have been, especially since the great majority of our people are urban-based, and these disconnections to both whānau and whenua have and will continue to shape our responses to the needs of Māori whānau (Walker, 1996).

Māori lifestyles are diverse (Durie, 1998a; 2001) where our interactions with greater societal and international forces now influence the choices Māori whānau make for themselves. For some, these interactions may have created isolation from important socio-cultural experiences in childhood that can lead to uncertainty about their own Māori identity in adulthood. However, Māori who have been well grounded in their whakapapa Māori, are well aware that whānau who whakapapa to iwi have obligations to protect and

care for whānau. Whakapapa is instrumental to whānau, hapū and iwi, and without it we would not have a future overtly connected to who we are as Māori individuals and groups.

5.2.2 Te Ira Tangata:

From the whakapapa discussion, we can see that the foundations are based upon the four genealogical classifications described earlier by Barlow (1991) as the following:

- Cosmic genealogy;
- Genealogy of the gods;
- Genealogy concerning the precursors of human life form;
- Genealogy of the canoes which arrived here in Aotearoa from Hawaiki.

The whakapapa or genealogy classifications embody the depth of knowledge concerning Māori traditions and characteristics unique to the culture. There is no attempt here to describe the profundity of each classification, but rather to understand the genealogy concerning the precursors of human life form. It seems important that a whakapapa construct with people at its core, describes the connection between the spiritual and human realms and the interrelatedness between each of the important dimensions. McCarthy (2009) discusses the importance of spirituality and cultural safety as an important consideration for Māori health and health practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand. I have yet to encounter a Māori health model that fails to emphasise the importance of spirituality that connects us to the celestial heavens and all that exists within the universe.

Te Ira Tangata is the body of Māori knowledge, which describes both our human and spiritual nature. Our pūrākau or traditional narratives tell us that it was Tāne, the son of our primordial parents Ranginui and Papatūanuku, who set his parents apart from their enduring embrace so that there could be light, growth and new life. Ranginui would remain forever as Sky Father where the sphere of celestial gods has dominion. Papatūanuku became the Earthly Mother where Tāne would generate new life. It is through the separation narrative where we take wisdom from the emotional and psychological stirrings of our primordial parents. A vestige from Papatūanuku is the ability for women to bear children, and from her legacy Māori understand and

acknowledge the capabilities of wāhine as whare tangata (womb, uterus, house of humanity), venerated for creating life.

Tāne went in search of the female aspect upon his earthly mother, Papatūanuku, in his attempt to create mortal beings. Guided by Papatūanuku, Tāne was directed to her pubic area where he was told to form an earthly woman from the sacred red clay called kurawaka. Achieving this task required the assistance of Iho Matua, the most supreme of all the gods, and in time Hine-ahu-one was formed and given the breath of life. In Tāne's quest to produce mortal life he joined with Hine-ahu-one where both the male and female elements conceived and created Hine-titama (Dawn Maiden), the first human life. Tāne, suffused in *Te Ira Atua* (godly aspects), obtained *Te Ira Tangata* (human aspects) in his formation of Hine-ahu-one, the first woman. In turn, the coupling of Tāne and Hine-ahu-one gave birth to Hine-titama and thereafter the multitudes of humankind (Grace & Kahukiwa, 2000; Walker, 1975). It is through this whakapapa story that we come to understand and believe that we possess both human and spiritual aspects. I was reminded of these things in my wānanga lessons whilst under the tutelage of Sam Rerekura that we are therefore "partially divine" (S. Rerekura, personal communication, August 28, 2010).

For Māori, it was god-determined that the first mortal being was female (Hine Titama), unlike Christian belief where man (Adam) was created first and persuaded by the deceptions of Eve to partake in the forbidden fruit – i.e. knowledge. To continue with the human life whakapapa story, we find that Tāne went on to procreate with his daughter Hine-titama. Unaware of Tāne's evasive deception and upon inquiry, Hine-titama discovers that Tāne is both her husband and father. Driven by both anger and shame Hine-titama leaves Tāne, deciding instead to seek refuge in the long night – Te Pō – where she resolves to prepare an afterlife for her children once their earthly journey is completed and becomes Hine-Nui-Te-Pō. Once again we see the significance of the female role as both the nurturer of life and death. Tupara (2013) discusses traditional Māori pregnancy and birthing practices linking these to ngā atua Māori (Māori Gods). *Te Ira Tangata,Te Whare Tangata (The House of Humanity) and Ngā Atua Māori* help to explain the spiritual threads that connect human existence with transcendent celestial existence.

To this day, the whakapapa creation story remains in the hearts and minds of Māori as the explanation for human life. It dates back in time to a place where the benefit of hard science had not begun. I refer here to a quote used earlier that it was Darwin who stated in 1859 - "Therefore I should infer from the analogy that probably all the organic

beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed" (p. 484). Fittingly Tāne and Hine-ahu-one's firstborn was named Hine-titama, referring to the space between night and day where the dualities combined to form the new dawn. I believe that it is in this earthly space between night and day where the potentiality to develop new and transformative Māori knowledge exists.

5.2.3 The Central Tenets of Whānau:

A review of the literature concerning whānau was undertaken by the Families Commission/Komihana ā Whānau in 2010 (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). This segment draws upon this report and wide-ranging literature regarding the construction of whānau (Best, 1952; Buck, 1949; Durie, 2001, 2003; Firth, 1959; Hohepa, 1970; Kawharu; 1975; Metge, 1995, 2001). According to Lawson-Te Aho's (2010) findings, the prevailing views espoused within the literature states:

> The two pre-eminent models of whānau from the literature are whakapapa (kinship) and kaupapa (purpose driven) whānau. Whakapapa whānau are the more permanent and culturally authentic form of whānau. Whakapapa and kaupapa whānau are not mutually exclusive. Whakapapa whānau will regularly pursue kaupapa or goals. Whereas kaupapa whānau may or may not have whakapapa connections. These two whānau models construct whānau identity differently but the intent of both models is to contribute to the achievement of whānau ora by means of building and strengthening bonds of kinship and giving effect to the collective practices of whanaungatanga (extended whānau support). (p. 24)

The characteristics of a traditional whānau system are based upon whakapapa to include a group of people who descend from a kinship line. From this perspective, whakapapa whānau share a mutual DNA pattern determined by a common ancestor or ancestors and are united by this bond. Variations to the definition of whānau have also been explored by Metge (1995) which date back to pre-European Māori usage and include the following five definitions:

98

- For a set of siblings, brothers and sisters born to the same parents but excluding the latter.

- To refer to all the descendants of a relatively recent named ancestor traced through both male and female links, regardless of where they are living or whether they know or interact or interact with each other.

- Descendants of a relatively recent named ancestor who act and interact together on an ongoing basis and identify themselves as a group by symbols such as ancestors' name. The criteria for membership are descent plus active participation in group activities. These groups exist independently of members who move in and out of active participation. Where in classical times members of a whānau of this kind lived and worked together as one household for much of the year, nowadays they are commonly distributed among several households.

- A group consisting of descent group core with the addition of members' spouses and children adopted from outside, a collection of parent-child families who act and interact together on an ongoing basis under a common name. The criteria for membership are descent or connection by marriage, adoption and active participation in group activities.

- Descent groups of greater genealogical depth, to hapū and iwi. (pp. 52-53)

Metge (1995) also describes the way in which whānau has taken on new meaning, describing these as:

- The small family consisting of one or two parents and their children.

- A group which is not based clearly on descent but is made up of kin related in a variety of ways, who act and interact for common ends, identifying themselves by a common name and model themselves on the whānau as extended family.

- Māori who would normally apply the word to a group of limited size stretch it elastically when it suits them to do so.

- To greet or refer to an assembly of people of like mind and interests gathered for a common purpose.

- Increasingly whānau is being used...for an ad hoc action-group mobilised on behalf of a particular person to support him or her in a testing situation: a job interview, a public speaking engagement, taking up a new appointment, appearing

99

for trial before a court or disciplinary committee. Sometimes those in attendance all belong to a single whānau descent group or extended family, often they are a mixture of members from at least two, and increasingly they include non-kin, Māori and Pākeha friends and colleagues. (pp. 54-56)

The definitions highlight two descriptors of whānau as purported by Lawson-Te Aho (2010) - a collective of people connected through a common ancestor (whakapapa) or as the result of a common purpose (kaupapa) or ngā kaupapa (purposes) (cited in Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015). Representations of whānau and the metaphorical use of the term would suggest that Māori identity is diverse and not entirely shaped by shared attributes, DNA patterns, or a common heritage (Durie, 2001; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005). The literature thus far indicates that the construct of whānau has a wide variety of meanings, and as Taiapa (1995) indicates, is frequently used interchangeably as 'family' and 'whānau'. However, Taiapa (1995) questions the interchangeable use of the term 'whānau' that can be seen in various social policy documents appearing to have the same meaning as 'family'. Taiapa cautions that misunderstandings resulting from the interchangeable use of whānau/family can be problematic when western cultural constructions based on the nuclear family system is used to guide policy and decisions concerning Māori. The breadth in which the term whānau is used indicates how the term shifts between meanings and can therefore create confusion amongst those unaccustomed to a Māori-constructed discourse. Recognising the purpose for what the term whānau is intended will be determined by the context in which it is used and appropriateness. Metge (1995) states:

Not only do Māori use the word whānau with this wide variety of meanings, but they frequently shift between different meanings, often in a single sentence, just as English speakers do with family. This causes no problems when both parties are aware of what is happening, as in conversations between kaumātua of similar age and experience. But if one party is unable to follow these shifts in meaning he or she is likely to become confused, jump to the wrong conclusion and respond inappropriately, with potentially disastrous results. (p. 58)

The Families Commission Whānau Reference Group (2009) concluded that family and whānau are not the same, distinguishing family as a subset of whānau. Further to this the Second Māori Taskforce for Whānau Violence Prevention (2004) reported:

In many social policy statements 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....While the Taskforce recognises the diversity of whānau, and that many Māori do not identify with whakapapa or kin based whānau, all Māori have whakapapa. It is the consciousness, acceptance, and practice of it that differs. (p. 12)

The prevailing view espoused within the literature clearly affirms that the meaning of the word whānau is rooted in pre-European contact, and that while changes have occurred, whakapapa whānau continues to remain the most culturally authentic (Barlow, 1996; Durie, 2001; Kruger et al, 2004; Lawson-TeAho, 2010; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Walker, 1996).

5.2.4 Hapū Connections:

Hapū are extensions of whakapapa whānau that were formed when whānau increased in size. According to Metge (2004):

The tribe was made up of a number of tribal sections called hapū, each of which controlled a defined stretch of tribal territory. Like the tribe, the hapū was a descent-group defined by descent from a founding ancestor through both male and female links and distinguished by his [her] name The hapū operated as a group on many more occasions than the tribe, especially with regard to land use, the production and use of capital assets such as large canoes and meeting-houses, and the entertaining of visitors Though the term is commonly translated as 'sub-tribe', hapū were often subdivisions of sub-tribes and even sub-sub-tribes. (p. 5)

As whānau increased in size, they would often separate off from their current hapū to form another, and in time multiple hapū developed to form sub-divisions of iwi. When a hapū grew too large for effective functioning the people would separate out into new areas to establish themselves independent of the previous hapū. This was necessary to ensure survival as overpopulation threatened food stocks and valuable resources.

It also served to manage tensions growing within the hapū where the chief would direct a course of action, as noted in Metge's (2004) findings above. Some of its members broke away under the leadership of one of the chief's sons or younger brothers and established themselves independently, either on part of the original territory or land acquired by conquest or occupation, sooner or later acquiring a new name. Remembering their origin, minor hapū formed in this way often joined forces under the original name for large-scale undertakings (Metge, 2004, p. 6). Hapū and whānau remain influential in our everyday experiences for many Māori today as this is where childhood socialisation and cultural knowledge is developed. Hapū are Māori community systems where sanctions and community policies were enacted.

5.2.5 Iwi Connections:

The largest grouping within a Māori whakapapa system is the iwi configuration which consists of several or many hapū. In general, each iwi varied in population size and contained members connected by whakapapa descent lines. At the time of European contact, Māori society and cultural structures were established and the population was organised into approximately 50 tribal iwi (nations). Each iwi operated as an independent political unit and occupied territories demarcated by environmental markers such as mountains and waterways. The possession of land dates back to the arrival of the first paramount chiefs who captained the waka (canoes) which departed from the homeland Hawaiki. Most often iwi were designated titles according to their founder or derived from a significant event in their history. Leadership responsibilities were included at each level of the whakapapa system, and as Barlow (1991) states, "An Ariki or paramount chief is the leader of the tribe" (p. 33). Leadership lines were distinguished at each level of the whakapapa system, according to Barlow (1991), in the following way:

- Tribe – Ariki;
- Sub-tribe – Rangatira;
- Extended family – Kaumātua. (p. 33)

An iwi could also include slaves captured in war, spouses belonging to other iwi and subordinates seeking protection (Metge, 2004, pp. 4-5). Iwi nationhood involved the

formation of a number of sub-tribal groupings originating from a collective of whānau kinship groups.

Following a traditional perspective, Barlow (1991) tracked changes in the Williams' *A Dictionary of the Māori Language* noting that in earlier versions 'iwi' translated as 'bone' or 'tribe'. Barlow observed that in 1917, the Williams edition continued to translate 'iwi' as 'bone'; however 'tribe' had changed to 'nation' and 'people'. According to Moorfield's (2003) Māori dictionary, 'kōiwi' is translated as human bone or corpse, and the 'waka kōiwi' refer to the burial chest for the bones of the deceased.

Mead (2003) relates the concept of bones as an important metaphor for strength. Furthermore he discusses the importance of bones in terms of physical structure pivotal to human form and strength. To the contrary, 'iwikore' literally means 'no bones' whilst 'iwi tuaroa' means backbone or spine. Reports suggest that the association between iwi and bone have not changed through the passage of time. When considering a traditional perspective, the formation of iwi rests on the strength of whakapapa, including bones of tupuna buried within the whenua, together creating ancestral bonds to strengthening the overall social system. Mead (2003) provides a synopsis of these associations, stating the following:

> The social unit that is larger than the whānau is the hapū, which consists of several whānau or birth units that are bound together through common ancestors. The iwi is the next plank of the system. It consists of several hapū. The word 'iwi' may refer to bones, to one's relatives. What is left of members of the iwi are their bones which are usually buried in caves or in the ground. This cultural practice also creates binding relationships with the land. Thus pregnancy, birth, the placenta, the umbilical cord and bones (hapū, whenua, pito, iwi) become enmeshed in the concept of whenua, as land. (p. 270)

A Māori worldview therefore considers that humankind is an integral part of the natural system in which the interconnectedness of living organisms are compelled to maintain a balanced and mutually beneficial relationship for sustenance and regeneration. This interconnectedness with Papatūanuku, Earth Mother, is a living reality as it is for the young infant who requires the nourishment and nurture from the mother's womb to the

breast; Papatūanuku provides the integral life support system for the existence of humankind. Marsden's (2003) profound wisdom attests to this in the following:

> Papatūanuku was the personified name for Mother Earth and whenua, the common name....Whenua was the term both for the natural earth and placenta. This is a constant reminder that we are of the earth and therefore earthly. We are both born out of the placenta and therefore human. As the human mother nourished her child on the womb and then upon her breast after the child's birth, so does Mother Earth. Not only does she nourish humankind upon her breast but all life animals, birds, trees, plants. Man [sic] is part of this network and the other forms of life are his [sic] siblings. They share with each other the nourishment provided by Mother Earth....Man [sic] is the conscious mind of Mother Earth and plays a vital part in the regulation of her support systems and man's duty is to enhance and sustain those systems. (pp. 68-69)

In the same way in which many hapū were brought together through whakapapa ties to form an iwi, an iwi could be united through marriage. Through the union of marriage iwi relationships were sealed giving rise to a much more powerful political movement and voice for the united tribes. Barlow (1991) illustrates how marriage arrangements could strengthen an iwi:

> Before the colonization of Aotearoa, the following groups were separate tribes: Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Kahu, and Te Aupouri. Nowadays they tend to be linked together under the one grouping of Tai Tokerau or sometimes as Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu. Tribal unity comes through lines of descent. One of the reasons for combining these five tribes under the name of Tai Tokerau derives from the relationship between two ancestors, Kairewa and Waimirirangi. The marriage of these two prominent people has cemented the connection among these tribal groups. Waimirirangi was an especially famous Ngāpuhi chieftainess and the following song was composed relating her connections to the above-mentioned groups:

Ko Waimirirangi ra te kuini o Ngāpuhi   Waimirirangi the queen of Ngāpuhi
E takoto mai ra ki roto Hokianga   Who is interred in Hokianga

Nana i kauhora ki roto Tokerau	It was she who mothered
E rima ngā iwi e	The five tribes of the Tai Tokerau
Ngāpuhi Te Rarawa e tu mai nei	Ngāpuhi and Te Rarawa side by side
Ko Ngāti Whātua kei runga Tamaki	Ngāti Whātua at Tamaki (Auckland)
Ka huri whakararo ko Ngāti Kahu nui	And in the Far north Ngāti Kahu
Me te Aupouri e-e	And Te Aupouri. (pp. 32-33)

Today the role of iwi as a vehicle for whānau health development and Māori development has been debated widely by Māori and by government. The Families Commission report presented by Lawson-Te Aho (2010) acknowledges the importance of iwi as political vehicles and as a voice for whakapapa whānau stating:

> One of the political roles of iwi is to work alongside the Crown and its agents (government agencies) to maintain the whakapapa based relationships and through that, to exercise their status as mana whenua or holders of the mana, external influence, prestige and power in a given tribal area....However, iwi have certain obligations to whānau as determined by whakapapa, whereas the Crown and its agencies have a different set of obligations to whānau under articles one and three of the Treaty of Waitangi. (p. 10)

5.3 Summary:

A whakapapa construct recognises the shared attributes of a particular group of people with common tribal orientations. Whakapapa is an acknowledgement of one's existence through genealogical links. It also encompasses an understanding that individuals within the whakapapa system can maximise their social and cultural knowledge for the advancement of the whole whānau. The key to advancing understanding and helping those who harm and violate women and their children through aggressive acts is to understand the interacting collective subtleties of whakapapa. Exploring the various aspects of whakapapa assists whānau to be better positioned to engage and advocate more clearly from a collective strength and wisdom concerning violence in whānau systems. Māori are no longer a purely tribal people in modern day New Zealand however.

TE WĀHANGA TUAONO: CHAPTER SIX - TE WHEKE

The Creator, the great parent, the Supreme Influence, is of the utmost importance.
The Creator, the most powerful influence we have,
is recognised as the beginning and the ending of all things...
(Pere, 1988, p. 15)

6.1 Introduction:

In this chapter I examine Dr Rose Pere's cultural framework which outlines the knowledge attitudes and behaviours associated with a Māori and Tuhoe-specific view on development. Pere (1988) describes the development of an individual within the context of whānau that is conveyed through symbolism, namely *Te Wheke* the octopus, where she provides the following explanations for the various body parts:

- The body and the head represent the individual/family unit;

- Each tentacle represents a dimension that requires and needs certain things to help give sustenance to the whole;

- The suckers on each tentacle represent the many facets that exist within each dimension;

- The eyes reflect the type of sustenance each tentacle has been able to find and gain for the whole;

- The intertwining of the tentacles represents a merging of each dimension. The dimensions that have been mentioned need to be understood in relation to each other and within the context of the whole, because there are no clear-cut boundaries. (Pere, 1988, p. 15)

Te Wheke is a useful framework for understanding how Māori children develop in a traditional Māori environment. Pere brings to the forefront views on childhood and child-rearing practices and how Māori children grow up to be competent healthy adults. To continue, Pere makes special reference to each of the eight tentacles which represent: wairuatanga (spirituality), mana ake (uniqueness), mauri (life force), ha a kore mā a kui mā (the 'breath of life' from forebears), taha tinana (the physical side), whānaungatanga

(the extended family), whatumanawa (the emotional aspect), hinengaro (the mind) and waiora (total well-being). The following sub-headings give an account of Pere's (1988) explanations for each of the eight dimensions she references, followed by a more in-depth discussion.

6.2 Explanation of Tentacles:

6.2.1 Wairuatanga (Spirituality) – Tentacle One:

As it has been for Māori from the time of antiquity to our current time and beyond, our philosophy remains a way of life. In keeping with this Māori maintain a belief that all matter was created and that a supreme being is responsible for this creation. Everything that exists within and between the realms of Papatūanuku (Earth Mother) and Ranginui (Sky Father) is imbued with wairua (spirit). With regard to wairuatanga Pere (1988) stated:

> The closest I can get to the creator is to retain and uplift the unique identity he has given me. The worldview of the Māori is that people are the most important of all living things in the physical world, because we believe we are in the image of the Creator. We do not support the Darwin theory and do not classify ourselves as belonging to the animal kingdom. The sacred seed of life and the sacred river of life are from the Creator. (p. 15)

For Māori the importance of wairuatanga (spirituality) cannot be stressed enough and is an absolute given which requires sustenance and attention for the spiritual development and nurturance of the individual and family (Barlow, 1991; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1988). Traditionally, spiritual development was exercised and transmitted on a daily basis through numerous karakia (incantations) recited by Māori experts and forbears. When discussing wairua and wairuatanga, Mead (2003) raises the notion that the embryo and the foetus have wairua implanted by the parents and nurtured in the mother's womb. Wairua remains dormant until such time that it is activated during the foetal stage of development ordinarily when the eyes have formed. To this Mead adds:

> This is probably the reason why many Māori mothers talk to their developing, yet-to-be-born babies. They believe the baby can hear what they are saying and

107

becomes bonded to their voices. We have to accept that a child is born with a wairua and this wairua became a part of their existence as a person from the time the foetus developed eyes (p. 55).

The distinction between wairua and mauri, which I discuss further in this chapter, is that mauri is considered the life principle that is ever-present and actively bound to an individual and all matter such as plants, stones, animals. Mauri is extinguished when the life system concerned ceases to work or when a person dies and interred. Similarly, wairua is bound to each human being respectively, however unlike mauri, wairua is able to detach from the body and return. Wairua is attached to a specific human being and continues to exist long after the person is deceased (Mead, 2003). While the wairua is immortal, it is subject to attack through various hazards, negative energies and sorcery. According to Mead (2003), "The wairua of a person was subject to damage through the bad deeds of other people such as abuse, neglect, violence and the wizardry of sorcerers" (p. 55). While Mead (2003) considers that the practice of sorcery is not so prevalent in this contemporary context, he does suggest that the modern world has its own dangers that jeopardises and threatens our health and well-being. To this, he adds "robbery, violence by strangers, drugs, domestic violence, rape and being made redundant are examples. Illness and injury can also damage the wairua of a person and weaken it" (p. 55).

Wairuatanga, as a core and fundamental belief struggles against with a modern scientific outlook where increasingly rationalistic and intellectual debates have become the centre for all understanding concerning human development. This scientific exclusivity holds the major power of persuasion, rejecting the integral component of a Māori philosophical worldview. Consequently, many of our approaches to preventing violence and healing from trauma are persuaded by intellectual and academic affairs. Kruger (et al., 2004) discusses the importance of validating Māori practice models stating: "Māori practitioners have been seeking the right and space to develop their own practice models for the prevention of whānau violence without having their practices mutated by legislation, policy, funding or a foreign paradigm and pedagogy" (p. 14). The lack of recognition of Māori practice models by legislative policies makes it very difficult for Māori to successfully access public funding to reduce whānau violence.

Today, some of our basic values are no longer a way of life for Māori families who are disconnected or have been excluded from the opportunities, which promote tikanga and allow for spiritual growth and development. The disconnection experienced and the compromise of Te Ao Māori values is one explanation that accounts for whānau violence; Kruger (et al., 2004) state: "Whānau violence can be understood as an absence or a disturbance in Tikanga" (p. 10). One of our great Māori philosophers, tohunga [specialist], and healer, the Reverend Maori Marsden (2003) states:

It is also obvious that the Māori does not, and never has accepted the mechanistic view of the universe which regards it as a closed system into which nothing can impinge from without. The Māori conceives of it as at least a two-world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual, and the spiritual (which is the higher order) interpenetrates the material physical world of Te Ao Mārama [the world of light and being]. (p. 20)

In light of the discussion concerning the existing tension, where wairuatanga is omitted from western conceptualisations of violence, I now turn to early psychoanalytic thinking concerning spirituality. Freud and Jung both regarded as great psychoanalyst parted ways in their respective conceptualisations and theories. One of their main and well-debated differences was Jung's radically distinctive concept of the unconscious where he asserted that at the depth of our psyche is a connection with nature (Falzeder, 2012). According to Jung (1976):

The psychic depths are nature, and nature is creative life. It is true that nature tears down what she herself built up - yet she builds it once again. Whatever values in the visible world are destroyed by modern relativism, the psyche will produce their equivalents. (p. 215)

In Jung's (2006) discussions concerning the 'philosophical and the psychological approach to life', he points out the existing conflict between scientific fervour and faith-based beliefs, stating that "The rupture between faith and knowledge is a symptom of the split consciousness which is so characteristic of the mental disorder of our day" (2006, p. 73). In psychiatric terms, an individual who presents with personality features

characteristic of a split consciousness can manifest further to a diagnosable pathological disturbance such as schizophrenia. Jung did not accept that the abundant supposition that independent personalities could become entirely different or changed when detached from the primitive self or the collective unconscious aspects that connect us all to nature and each other. According to Kruger (et al., 2004):

> Pathology is anti-whakapapa because it reduces the 'perpetrator' to an individual entity divorced from the collective responsibilities and mutual obligations that are attached to functional whakapapa. The focus on individual pathology will produce models that are orientated towards individual 'victim blaming' treatments and 'removal of the offending individual' from the whanau, hapu iwi and cultural context in which whanau violence occurs. (p. 13)

From one psychoanalytical perspective, Jung considered that our souls as well as our bodies are a combination of individual elements that were all already present in our ancestors. Each new individual psyche is therefore an endlessly and varied recombination of age-old components (Sabini, 2005). Seeking solutions for whānau violence is a matter of whakapapa and therefore a focus on the nature of our early childhood relationships brings to the forefront the important connection that tamariki have with their mothers and their tupuna.

In light of humanistic philosophies and based upon hard scientific methods, Marsden (2003) summed up his views on evolutionary ideas as:

> Evolution is a movement from lower to higher forms. Natural selection, which purports to explain automatic and natural processes of evolution on the basis of 'survival of the fittest', produces a 'dog eat dog' mentality in politics/economic and life in general. (p. 92)

Wairuatanga is a traditional Māori belief central to the development of Māori tamariki [children], pakeke [adults], and kaumātua [elders]. The transmission of this knowledge occurs, ideally, within the whānau, hapū, and iwi context. Wairuatanga is the bedrock of Māori society and in a similar fashion is shared by many other Indigenous cultures around the world. Eduardo Duran (2006), a Native American Jungian analyst and Karina Walters

(2007), a proponent of historical trauma, suggest that violence trauma is an indicator of spiritual distress. One of the main divisions between Māori philosophy and hard science is that for the latter, metaphysical (i.e. non-verifiable) convictions and beliefs are shunted from solving the problems confronting Māoridom today such as violence in Māori families.

This is not to say that we should abolish intellectual understanding, however it is to appreciate that the most promising solutions for Māori, at the very least must not undermine the foundations of our belief system. Together intellectualism and wairuatanga produce wisdom and understanding.

6.2.2 Mana ake (Uniqueness) – Tentacle Two:

In a Māori context, there exists an understanding that while a child is a member of a wider family, there is also an awareness that each child is born with her or his unique characteristics. Mana ake acknowledges this uniqueness as an individual characteristic of mana, and to this Pere (1988) adds, "As long as humanity has existed, there has never been anyone who is exactly the same as anyone else" (p. 15). The concept of mana ake is not limited to the individual and is extended to describe the unique characteristics of a family unit. According to Pere (1988):

> If a family receives sustenance which gives them a positive identity with their 'mana' intact, then that family will have the strength to pursue those goals and those assets that can uplift them. A balance has to be kept between individual and group endeavour. My elders only gave me guidelines to help me through life because they had the utmost respect for my 'mana ake' – my absolute uniqueness. (pp. 15-16)

Pere's beliefs concerning 'mana ake' make several points that direct us to the innate qualities and inherited nature of a child. The innate qualities are unique to the child while the inherited shared attributes may reveal a shared set of beliefs and behaviours or family traits recognisable to both the family and others.

Unique and individual differences are described by developmental psychologists Thomas, Chess and Birch (1970) as a set of constitutionally based structures that are concerned with temperament and temperamental differences. In their New York

111

longitudinal study in the early 1950s which focused on temperamental qualities and adjustment, Thomas, Chess and Birch (1970) developed a set of nine temperament traits to characterise variations in a child's behavioural style. The behavioural styles can help to differentiate between behavioural problems of conduct and normal styles of behaviour. Generally most people consider that children are both a product of their experiences and their biological inheritance.

From a Māori perspective, mana ake is a spiritually-derived source, whereas temperament is a set of inborn traits. The corresponding view of each perspective is that the child's unique traits underpin the child's personality, which in turn influences the child's approach to learning about the world around her or him. As Pere's (1988) remarks suggest, mana ake is an enduring personality characteristic, and when recognised and understood caregivers are able to respond and guide the development of the child accordingly. Pere's comments also suggest that the child caregiver relationship is not one-sided and that the child's own sense of mana ake influences the caregiver's responses. In keeping with Pere's thinking, caregiver responses to babies and young children are likely to change in order to accommodate the unique differences of each child.

6.2.3 Mauri (Life Principle/Force/Wellbeing) – Tentacle Three:

In regards to mauri, Pere (1988) discusses the importance of this life supporting principle; however, the intricate details of this concept are less obvious in her description as follows:

> If great importance and support is given to the mauri of each individual in the family, in time the individual, the family, will appreciate the mauri in other people, the mauri of mountains....The mauri of the language and the mauri of everything else that has been mentioned is very important to the family unit and the way it can withstand negative influences. Respect for the natural environment and conservation are important aspects of the whole. (p. 16)

To elaborate further, mauri is concerned with both the life principle and spiritual principle, and is the element that brings these two aspects into one phenomenon. Barlow (1991) reports that everything has a mauri including people, all forms of animal and plant life and all living things which are permitted to exist within their own realms. Mauri

allows for differences in creation such as that of a fish from a tree to exist within their respective spheres. Barlow provides the following saying to highlight his thinking:

He manawa ka whitikitia, he mauri ka mau to hono. Ko te hunga mate kua wehe koutou i te hono, kōkiri wairua ki te tihi o mauri aitua. Ka tareparepa mai te mauri ora ki te ao; ka tareparepa atu te mauri mate ki tua o te aria.

The heart provides the breath of life, but the mauri has the power to bind or join. Those who die have been released from this bond and the spirit ascends the pinnacle of death. (1991, p. 82)

Barlow (1991) writes further that "The mauri enters and leaves at the veil which separates the human world from the spirit realm" (p. 83). In Barlow's description of mauri, we can see that the spiritual element continues, hence the reason Māori consider wairua and mauri to be an important aspect of the human condition.

The Second Taskforce on Whānau Violence (Kruger, et al., 2004) developed the *Mauri Ora* framework, where the overall vision of the framework is identified as achieving mauri ora (wellbeing) for "whānau, hapū, iwi and within that, individual Māori" (p. 15) . Mauri Ora is one of many Māori concepts that is intrinsically linked to wairuatanga that conveys the wellness or wellbeing of the collective and individual. Within the context of partner violence Kruger (et al., 2004) maintains: "Violence damages the mauri ora of both victims and perpetrators. It creates dis-ease and imbalance which results in a state of kahupo, which can be described as having no purpose in life or spiritual blindness" (p. 15). I expand the discussion on mauri further in this section emphasising concepts of Mauri as important Māori health imperatives.

Pohatu (2011) encourages the reintroduction of Māori knowledge for understanding human socialising patterns and mauri as a concept for understanding wellbeing. Pohatu (2011) has lead the way in the development of cultural templates creating a conceptualising template for understanding three distinct aspects of mauri defined as *Mauri Moe*, *Mauri Oho* and *Mauri Ora* (see Pohatu, 2011 for greater detail). The three distinct aspects of mauri, are considered to be proactive states, each with their own 'states of being' and corresponding explanations (p. 1). To expand the intended goals of mauri, Pohatu (2011) considered three important takepū (principles) to be applied with the mauri template and these include:

- Tihē and its potential as a cultural method of recognising and proclaiming states of mauri;

- Te tuakiritanga, (the inner being) as sites that track and filter the flow of wellbeing (mauri-ora);

- Te tūhonohonotanga (interconnectedness) with its insights, in constructing and supporting what Māori regard as crucial to wellbeing.

These examples demonstrate how mauri-ora are applied, sites where messages, patterns and interpretations reveal angles for analysis and use in activities. Cultural markers and cultural templates help to frame issues that are pertinent to people and their relationships. The template developed by Pohatu (2011) enables the opportunity for analysis to occur where important messages, patterns, interpretations and activities can be encapsulated.

6.2.4 Hā a Koro mā a Kui mā (the 'breath of life' from forebears) - Tentacle Four:

Māori have always been interested in preserving the past through oral tradition and continue to do this through a combination of traditional methods such as waiata (song) and written record keeping approaches. Whilst the medium for preserving traditional knowledge and custom has grown, we continue to reconcile the experiences of the past with our current and future circumstances. As we steadily make our way into the 21st century, Māori continue to be bonded to our genealogies that legitimise our journeys across generations, time and space. In her own account, Pere (1988) acknowledges the preservation of heritage through our forebears:

The 'breath of life' mentioned here relates to the heritage that has come down from Māori forebears. Sustenance from knowing one's own heritage in depth is important. A basic belief is that one's own heritage in depth is important. A basic belief is that one's future is linked up with the past, so that if the heritage is firmly implanted then the member of the family will know who and what they are; the unique identity that they are will remain intact. Families who have had their heritage transmitted to them have a strong central core that can enable them to become universal people. (p. 16)

114

Māori culture has not remained frozen in time, it does however move through time and continuously interacts and transforms with each generation. Likewise, the character of Aotearoa New Zealand continues to change and respectively various aspects of our Māori traditions change. *Hā a koro mā a kui mā,* as described by Pere (1988), describes the relationship between these transitions in our heritage. The important connection between the preservation of our past with our future is transmitted through the knowledge of our forebears or elders who have inherited and acquired this in the same way.

With regard to child-raising practices, the underlying belief expressed is the idea that children represent the new thread or feather to be woven into the existing fabric of the korowai (cloak). Metaphorically the korowai provides the sheltered covering both embracing and protecting the child whilst absorbing the responsibilities of kinship and heritage. As discussed previously, mana ake or the unique characteristics of the child are to be appreciated within the context of the wider whānau and tūpuna. Metge (1995) noted the following in her studies concerning Māori child raising practices:

> The first principle is that children are to be valued not only for their own sake as unique individuals but also as the uri (descendants) of recent tūpuna (grandparents and great-grandparents), as links in lines of descent that stretch from the beginning of time into the future, and as nodes in the kinship network which connects living individuals and groups. They are frequently described as taonga, treasures given by God and the ancestors, to be held in trust and cared for, as members of whānau, hapū and iwi and as inheritors of ancestral names and gifts. (p. 140)

In a Māori context, Māori children are raised and socialised according to a custom that recognises that the child is born into a number of relationships that extend beyond the responsibilities of the birth parents to include kuia and koroua (male and female elders).

6.2.5 Taha Tinana (The Physical Side) – Tentacle Five:

In regards to the physical aspects, Pere (1988) establishes all that is needed to sustain physical wellness and bodily requirements that include suitable food, appropriate shelter, appropriate clothing, varied types of recreation and physical activity, and everything pertaining to physical survival. Pere (1988) states:

The body is regarded as sacred and requires a set of disciplines. The head is regarded as the most important part of the body and has its own set of restrictions, 'tapu', particularly in women ─ the sacred 'Houses of Humanity'. Tremendous respect is given to the body and the way one should apply it, and use it. A mother cherishes and nurtures her child in the womb, and when one is old enough to take over the responsibility of his or her own body, then this cherishing and nurturing must continue. As a child and a grandchild I remember from my many parents and grandparents. They taught me to adjust and to accept change ─ to think things out for myself. They taught me to realise that my physicalness as a human being would be a constant challenge for me. (pp. 16-17)

As in this example highlighted by Pere and as with many cultures, Māori culture values certain human traits, which are promoted by adults as qualities for children to learn. The scene for learning these values are within the safety of a functional and healthy whānau system. Pere illustrates that in some instances the values are subtle and less obvious and emerge as developmental and physical changes occur over time to coincide with the growing child. However, on other occasions the values are crystal clear, as noted by Pere regarding the sacredness of the body particularly the importance of the female essence and her ability to provide the house for humanity.

6.2.6 Whānaungatanga (The Extended Family) – Tentacle Six:

Whānaungatanga is the dimension that acknowledges an individual's connection to their own whānau (immediate family) and to extended family and relatives. Through Pere's (1988) illustrations, we are able to gain insight into Māori child-raising practices which are absorbed into the context of whānaungatanga. Pere speaks of the importance of both the male and female gender, and the responsibilities they have in providing the primary support roles to each other and the whānau system. To this Pere (1988) adds:

whanaungatanga is based on the principle of both sexes and all 'generations' supporting and working alongside each other. Families are expected to interact on a positive basis with other 'families' in the community to help to strengthen the

whole. Families receive sustenance for this dimension when they feel they have an important contribution to make to the community they live in. (p. 17)

Community can be described as the convergence of similarities and ideas brought together by a group of people for the benefit of the group, purposefully generated for the common good, and intentionally united by this purpose (Kraemer, 1996). Whānaungatanga is an explicit form of community distinguished by whakapapa; historical and genetic connections. The cultural context provides the variable between a western influenced view on parenting and a Māori view on parenting. Metge (1995) highlights the Māori view on child-raising, stating that:

When a whānau functions as a unity, adult members describe each other's children as 'ā mātou tamariki' (the children of us many), as distinct from 'ā māua tamariki' (the children of us two), and take an active interest in their raising. (p. 134)

In keeping with a Māori perspective on whānaungatanga, Pere (1988) also stresses the importance of whakapapa (as discussed in Chapter Five) and extends her dialogue to include adopted children within the family system:

Genealogy, 'whakapapa', is an important part of whānaungatanga. It is the basic right of the child to know who his or her natural parents are, even if he or she is adopted out. The spirit of the child among other dimensions begins from conception and relates to the child's forbears. A basic belief of the Māori is to expose a child to his or her kinship groups as soon as possible and throughout the whole of his or her lifetime. The extended family is the group that supports the individual through crisis or anything else of consequence. Kinship identity is most important. Affection, physical warmth d closeness of members of the kinship group is encouraged and fostered. (p. 17)

Pere's (1988) explanation illuminates the importance of the extended family, particularly as a source of collective strength which is necessary for the maintenance of a whānau-based community. Importantly, whānaungatanga provides a key set of gradually occurring attachment relationships in which the child begins his or her first steps towards

socialisation. Both the immediate whānau and the extended family are held together through whakapapa ties to form the whānaungatanga bonds:

> Traditionally men and women who did not produce children of their own could foster a relative's child or children. Some of our most famous ancestors and Māori people of more recent times did not produce any issue of their own, but were still regarded as most outstanding leaders and tribal parents. The concept of matua whāngai - 'foster parents' - is becoming prevalent throughout Māoridom again. Today some of us extend whānaungatanga across the world community, e.g. I have been adopted by a Cherokee family and am addressed and known as White Eagle. (Pere, 1988, p. 17)

6.2.7 Whatumanawa (The Emotional Aspect) – Tentacle Seven:

The essential goal of child rearing is to ensure that children grow up to become fully functioning and mature adults. Emotional development occurs when children are encouraged by adults to express and communicate their emotional world. In this sequence, Pere (1988) discusses the importance of the emotional aspects of children and the role of parents in developing an environment that nurtures this growth:

> Sustenance and an understanding of emotional development in the individual, and the family as a whole, is considered important. Children are encouraged to express their emotions so that the people who are involved with the parenting know how to support, encourage and guide the children. Crying for joy or sadness by both sexes is regarded as natural and healthy by the Māori. This form of expression is not regarded as a weakness. Emotional involvement and interaction are regarded as important meeting points for human beings. Creativity, which is innate in each person, can often be developed through this aspect of total learning. Human emotion is still one of our most powerful forms of body language, and the Māori, among other Polynesians, acknowledges it in a very positive way. (pp. 17-18)

The reality for many Māori parents is the difficulties in raising emotionally healthy children in a very burdensome society where the pressures of life are becoming increasingly stressful. Learning to identify, name and articulate feelings encourages better

communication skills. This approach is used as an intervention strategy in many anger management programmes with both adults and adolescents. Whilst most parents love their children, an inability to adequately convey feelings may account for the violence that occurs in intimate Māori relationships. Children who are deprived of emotional sustenance are deprived of the opportunity to develop satisfying relationships with others.

6.2.8 Hinengaro (The Mind) – Tentacle Eight:

Similarly, psychological development is just as important as emotional growth, and also needs to be encouraged and nurtured. There are many naturally occurring biological and physiological processes that influence the way people think about themselves. Furthermore the way people think about their children or children in their communities has a lot to do with their beliefs and the way in which they are socialised within their families and communities. Pere (1988) approaches the significance of the hinengaro to the developing child from her own experiences of childhood:

> Approaches of learning that arouse, stimulate and uplift the mind are very important. My immediate forebears believed in the aristocracy of the mind and despised anyone who tried to tamper with the mind. The mind if nurtured well knows no boundaries, and can help one to traverse the universe. Intuitive intelligence in encouraged and developed in some individuals to a very high degree. There is a strong belief in exercising and using all of the degree. There is a belief in exercising and using all of the senses on a regular basis. First-hand experiences are most important to the whole notion of learning. Thinking, knowing, perceiving, remembering, recognising, abstracting, generalising, are all processes that refer to the intellectual activities of the 'hinengaro'. Emotional activities, such as feeling, sensing, responding and reacting, are all processes of the hinengaro. There is no doubt in my 'hinengaro' that intuitive intelligence has helped me to remain fairly intact in myself as a total person. (p. 18)

Positive cognitive reinforcement encourages children to develop thoughts and to seek answers to the many mysteries of life that can only be foreign to a young child. From this perspective an infant behaves in a manner that is not unlike the mind of a curious scientist who is intent on figuring out the complexities of the world around them. The

task of the parent is to facilitate this immense learning process creating an environment in which the parent reflects back to the child the culmination of its own life experiences.

6.2.9 Waiora (Total Well-being) – The Eyes:

In Pere's (1988) final analysis, she encapsulates her thoughts concerning the rewards of having the experience of a healthy whānau experience. Equipped with a secure sense of identity Māori are better able to manage the many challenges of life when cultural values and practices are positively reinforced:

> If each symbolic tentacle receives sufficient sustenance for the whole, then the eyes of the individual and the symbolic family unit will reflect total-well-being. 'Waiora' is my definition of total well-being as shared with me by my elders. If people from the wider community wish to help Māori face up to the challenges confronting them in today's world, then I feel that some cognisance must be given to the philosophy that I have tried to share with the limitations of English as my second language. As a human being I have the right to seek enlightenment, to extend my own mauri, my life force, in every possible way. I have many limitations, but the influences on my early childhood in Ruatāhuna (my birth place) and Waikaremoana make me strive to go forward… I remember one of my elders saying that if I stood tall, my ancestors would also stand tall. I can respect and appreciate other cultures, including other traditions, because of the way I felt about my own. I am learning to understand my own culture by comparing it with others and I am proud to be able to share and contribute something that is from my own heritage. While humanity has many universals, the Māori people have their own unique contribution to make to the fellowship of people. (Pere, 1988, pp. 18–19)

Interestingly, the concept of Waiora relates to the ability to see beyond the interacting whānau social system. From this perspective the attainment of total well-being includes the ability to be enlightened and informed by all past and present experiences where the mind, that is symbolically represented by the eyes, is able to see with greater clarity. *Te Wheke* appreciates that every Māori child enters the world with both wairua and mauri, that must be developed, nurtured and protected by whānau in order achieve

total well-being and continue to prolong whakapapa well into the future. Pere's recollections speak strongly to the significance and importance of koro mā and kui mā, the life lessons they impart and importantly the key role they have in the lives of tamariki and mokopuna Māori.

6.3 Summary:

Pere's insights provide a great source of information and essentially reinforce Bowlby and Ainsworth's theories concerning attachment. There is a link here where a sense of psychological and emotional security is fostered by the foundations of a secure experience in childhood. As Bowlby (1988) suggests, proximity-seeking behaviours are activated when a child perceives the threat of danger and seeks out the safety of a secure base; ordinarily this is the mother. When the child has experienced through repetition that the primary caregiver or mother is able to provide protection and safety, the emotional states of the child are regulated. These experiences are internalised positively and referenced later in adulthood. In essence, we are better equipped to be self-determining, to face the challenges of life with fortitude knowing that our secure base is firmly etched within our minds. For Māori the secure base resonates with the concept of 'haukainga'; in brief this is considered to be the true home of Māori where our relations lived in the past and continue to reside within the territories of our whānau, hapū and iwi.

As a Mana Wāhine model, the symbolic aspects of *Te Wheke* are not highly complex, providing an uncomplicated way in which to understand that the circumstances of early childhood are improved when a child is fostered in an environment that supports intellectual, social, spiritual and emotional growth. Pere (1988) has described the cultural and social parameters of a uniquely Māori home environment. Further to this are the strong philosophical underpinnings of wairuatanga essential to Māori health and development. In the following chapter I discuss *Tūhonotanga* as a uniquely Māori system of whānau relationships that contribute to the healthy growth and development of a Māori child. This discussion is considered within the context of *Oriori Karakia* (prayer chant, song), a uniquely Māori child rearing practice of dedication.

TE WĀHANGA TUAWHITU: CHAPTER SEVEN - TŪHONOTANGA

Ko te tūhonotanga ki te whaea, ko te rauru tēnā; ko te pito e mau nei ki te tamaiti, ka kīia tēnā ko te pito; ko waenganui ko te iho tēnā. The attachment to the mother is the 'rauru'; the end fixed to the child is called the 'pito'; and in the middle is the 'iho'.
(Moorfield, online dictionary)

7.1 Tūhonotanga – Towards a Māori Attachment Theory:

This chapter introduces *Tūhonotanga* as a developing idea towards an emergent Māori attachment theory and as such this chapter is shorter in length. The chapter provides an overview of factors necessary to describe connectedness and the nature in which emotional bonds and secure attachments are fostered from a Māori perspective. It begins with an understanding of whakapapa as a social systems construct as detailed previously in Chapter Five. It is positioned here to provide a further dimension to the discussion concerning *Te Wheke* as a framework for understanding those aspects that encourage a secure and healthy Māori identity and the nature in which culture contributes to attachment.

Tamariki are vital links in the whakapapa chain providing continuity of life from one generation to the next, ensuring that rejuvenation and renewal continue. Tamariki are inseparable from their whānau where their existence is dependent on a shared hierarchy of adults, older siblings, aunts, uncles and cousins in their whakapapa chain. As shown below, Tuhotoariki's oriori (lullaby) (Reedy, 2009; Roa, 2011) shows us that the healthy continuation of whakapapa and the fostering of emotional bonds and connectedness are contemplated well in advance to the arrival of a baby. With clarity of vision, Tuhotoariki's oriori lays the foundations for a much anticipated renewal of life and as such the joy of life is celebrated with the birth of a baby. When a baby is held in the hearts and minds of whānau and welcomed with joyful anticipation, we begin the process of creating a nurturing and facilitating environment for healthy growth and development. Eruera and Ruwhiu (2013) describe tiaki mokopuna as the customary childcare practice, whilst Kiro (2013) describes Ngā mātua as cultural customary parenting practice.

For Māori the process of developing a healthy and secure attachment relationships begins prior to conception. It requires a psychological holding and belief in the minds of

whānau that the rejuvenation of whakapapa and the continuity of life eventuates in the birth of a baby. Williams (2000) suggests that the term 'oriori' is not confined to lullaby and can include a chant, song. Williams (2000) puts forward the notion that oriori were used for a wide range of purposes with the use of the term "whakaoriori" (2000, p. 241) to capture the versatility of oriori. Extending further on this notion, I suggest that oriori are soothing and rhythmic prayer chants or songs for babies. Tuhotoariki's *Oriori Karakia* sets in place a plan for the momentum for growth towards emotional, psychological, physical and spiritual development. Tuhotoariki was under no illusion that the world is without difficulty and was steadfast in defining the conditions in which the baby can grow without hindrance. Oriori help to nurture the progression of a baby's development form conception, birth and beyond welcoming and preparing them for their life's journey. Oriori are more than lyrical prayer chants or songs, they are a special ceremonial dedication to foster the emotional and psychological growth of a baby. The baby is securely held in the hearts and minds of all the whānau members.

7.2 Tuhotoariki's Oriori:

Tuhotoariki's Oriori is an ancient traditional oriori that is said to have been composed more than 500 years for a young baby called Tūteremoana (Reedy, 2009). *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana* (The oriori of Tūteremoana) is promoted as a framework for investing in whānau by Ngāti Porou scholar Amster Reedy. Reedy (2009) encourages the revitalisation of Oriori to promote good parenting practices and healthy spiritual, psychological, emotional, physical, and the social development of babies through to early adulthood. The following is a written account of *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana* presented in the form of mōteatea (chant) given by Dr Raukura Roa (University of Waikato) at the World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education (WIPCE), 14-18 August 2011 in Cusco, Perú. It contains the first six verses of Tūteremoana's Oriori. According to Reedy (2009), an additional two verses were added at a later stage. Reedy (2009), suggests that *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana* was taken to several whānau and hapū where eventually the Rawhiora tribe in Tolaga Bay added the seventh and eighth verses. While these additional verses have great merit I have not provided them here, choosing instead to uphold Tuhtoariki's original composition. Further to this, I have chosen to provide an English interpretation in Appendix F rather than in this chapter, as the English interpretation provided is but one translation. It is my preference to work with the interpretations put

forward by Amster Reedy at the *Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga* Symposium presentation in 2009, and I will refer to his work later in this discussion.

Tuhotoariki's Oriori: Te Oriori mō Tūteremoana

This is Tuhotoariki's Oriori. He was a chief of the Ngai Tara tribe. It was composed for his brother's descendant Tūteremoana, and is a karakia for a ceremony dedicating the child to achieve the ultimate in life skills. The first verse recognises the child birth, while the second urges the child to grow to be a worthy warrior. The third verse tells the child to labour industriously in the gathering of food and other activities essential to the continued good health of the body. The fourth directs the child's thoughts towards acquiring sacred lore pertaining to Io Matua. The song concludes by reminding the child to be responsible, honest in all his intentions and actions as set out in the lore of the sacred house of learning.

1. Nau mai e tama, kia mihi atu au

I hara mai rā koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata

I roto i te āhuru mōwai

Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pōuri

Ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a Tānenuiarangi

I te one i Kurawaka

I tātaia ai te Puhi-raki

Te hiring matua, te hiring tipua

Te hiring tawhitorangi e

Ka karapinepine te pūtoto

Ki roto te whare Wahiawa

Ka whakawhetū tama i a ia

Ka riro mai a Rua-i-te-pupuke

A Rua-i-te-horahora

Ka hōkai tama i a ia, koia hōkai Rauru-nui

Hōkai Rauru-whiwhia

Hōkai Rauru-maru-aitu

Ka mārō tama i te ara namunamu

Ki te taiao

Ka kōkiri tama i a ia

124

Ki te aotūroa, e tama e!

2. Haramai e tama, whakaputa i a koe
Ki runga ki te tūranga matua
Mārama te ata i Ururangi
Mārama te ata i Taketake-o-rangi
Ka whakawhenua ngā hiringa i konei e tama e!
Haramai, e mau tō ringa ki te kete tuauri
Ki te kete tuaea, ki te kete aronui
I pikitia e Tānenuiarangi
I te ara tauwhāiti
I te Pumotomoto o Tikitiki-o-rangi
I karangatia e Tānenuiarangi ki a Hurutearangi
I noho i a Tongnuikāea
Nāna ko Pārāweranui
Ka noho i a Tāwhirimātea
Ka tukua mai tāna   whānau
Titiparaurangi, Titimatanginui, Titimatakakā
Ka tangi mai te hau mapu
Ka tangi mai to rorohau
Ka eketia ngā rangi ngahuru mā rua i kōnei
E tama e!

3. Haramai e tama
I te ara ka takato i a Tānematua
Kia whakangungua koe ki ngā rākau matarua
Nā Tūmatauenga
Ko ngā rākau tēnā i patua ai
Tini o Whiro i te Paerangi
Ka heke i te Tāhekeroa
Koia e kume nei
Ki to pō tangotango, ki te pō whāwhā o
Rūaumoko

E ngunguru i Rarohenga

Ka waiho nei hei hoariri mō Tini o Tānematua

I te ao tūroa

I konei, e tame, ka whakamau atu

Ki te Pitoururangi

Ki a Tumatakakā, ki Tūmatatāwera

Ki a Tūmatahuki, ki a Tūmataurauwiri

Hei whakamau i te pono whakahoro kai

Nō Hinetitama

Na ka waiho nei hei tohu ki a Tānematua

Ka whakaoti te pūmanawa o Tāne I konei

E tama e!

4. Haramai e tama, puritia i te aka matua

Kia whitirere ake ko te kauwae-runga

Ko te kauwae-raro

Kia tāwhia, kia tāmaua, kia ita i roto

I a Rua-i-te-pūkenga

I a Rua-i-te-horahora

I a Rua-i-te-wanawana

I a Rua-i-te-matua-taketake-a-Tāne

Nau mai e Tūteremoana!

Kia areare ō taringa ki te whakarongo

Ko ngā taringa

O Rongomaitahanui

O rongomaitaharangi

O Tūpai-o-rangi

Kia whakaawhia ia Puke-hau-one

Ka hoka Hinerauwharangi i konei i a ia

Kia taha mai Ahuahu

Ahua Pukenui, āhua Pukewhakakī

Nau, e Rongomaraeroa!

Koia te ngauru tikotikoiere

Te Maruaroa o te mātahi o te tau

Te putanga o te hine, e tama e!

5. Whakarongo mai e tama

Kotahi tonu te hiringa

I kake ai Tāne ki tikitikiorangi

Ko te hiringa i te mahara

Ka kitea i reira ko Io matua-te-kore anake

I a ia te Toi-ariki, te Toi-uru-tapu

Te Toi-uru-rangi, te Toi-uru-roa

Ka whakaputa Tāne i a ia te waitohi

Na Pūhaorangi, Na Ohomairangi

Te wai whakaata

Na Hinekauorohia

Kauorohia ngā Rangitūhāhā.

6. Haramai e tama, whakapau ō mahara

Ko ngā mahara o Tāne-matua

I tokona ai ngā rangi ngahuru mā rua kia tūhāhā

I tangi ai te piere, i tangi ai te wanawana

Ka tangi te ihiihi i konei e tama

Ka toro te akaaka rangi

Ka toro te akaaka whenua

Ka tupea ki te wehe-nuku rangi, ki te wehe-nuku-atua

Ka karangatia Tāne ki te paepae tapu i a Rēhua

I te hiku mutu o rangi

Ka turuturu i konei, Te Tawhitorangi

Te Tawhito-uenuku, Te Tawhito-atua

Ka rawe Tāne i te hiringa matua, i te hiringa taketake

Ki te ao mārama

Ka waiho hei ara mō te tini

E whakarauika nei, e tama e! (Roa, 2011)

Tūhonotanga is one way of describing the important connections people have with each other and the various roles whānau members have within the whānau system. Oriori karakia are compositions that give insight into the traditional Māori parenting practices, the connections whānau have to each other, the manner in which young children were nurtured and the philosophies embedded within the culture. In preparation for Tūteremoana's journey in life, we see that his uncle Tuhotoariki has composed a loving Oriori for him. In this example we learn that Tūteremoana's place within the whānau and hapū is securely held by his extended relatives.

7.3 *Tūhonotanga - Understanding Connectedness and Affectional Bonds through Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana:*

Tūhonotanga is a uniquely Māori way of maintaining important connections and links to each other. The oriori reveals the importance of preparing for each individual child and the importance of extended whānau who are actively involved in caring for babies from the time of the child's conception. *Tūhonotanga* is a close system of relationships that helps to foster an environment for a securely attached Māori child. *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana* provides the guiding tenets for connectedness and the healthy development of affectional bonds.

Firstly it is important to consider the immediate environment and I share my own thoughts and personal experiences as taught to me by own mother, who worked as a mid-wife in the hospital maternity wards and as a well-qualified mother of eight children and a great many nieces and nephews. Oriori karakia were delivered and recited during the stages of pregnancy, the various phases of labour through to the eventual birth of the baby. The recital of oriori karakia are intended to support mother and child through each phase of pregnancy and when labouring is most intense. As mentioned, oriori karakia are versatile and can be revisited and recited through to early adulthood. The mood and atmosphere will vary according to the developmental stage of the child, however oriori karakia are reverent, soothing and respectful and delivered without harshness. In keeping with the traditions of mōteatea, oriori karakia are recited in soft reverberating tones with intonations upward and downward so that important messages are modulated and flow into each other seamlessly.

Returning here to Reedy's (2009) understandings of *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana*, I discuss the important key messages and sentiments expressed in the verses. The first verse:

> Nau mai e tama, kia mihi atu au
>
> I hara mai rā koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata
>
> I roto i te āhuru mōwai…

The boy is welcomed and greeted into the world. Reference is given to the way he was fostered and sheltered through pregnancy and made incarnate personified, alive, and acknowledged for ascending through labouring pains. The child is forewarned that life's journey can be difficult with challenges to over-come and the need to be prepared for these. The first verse reflects Māori philosophical ideas for achieving wellness, the celebration of birth and the responsibilities of parents and whānau to nurture the child well.

The second verse:

> Haramai e tama, whakaputa i a koe
>
> Ki runga ki te tūranga matua
>
> Mārama te ata i Ururangi
>
> Mārama te ata i Taketake-o-rangi…

Again the child is welcomed and encouraged to free himself from his parental abode. He is encouraged and introduced to his spiritual aspects (wairuatanga) and taken on a journey of spiritual knowledge. He is encouraged to appreciate ngā Atua (gods), our celestial ancestral Atua who cleared the pathway for terrestrial life. In this verse he is introduced to the three baskets of knowledge that contain sacred, ancestral and life's knowledge.

The third verse:

> Haramai e tama
>
> I te ara ka takato i a Tānematua
>
> Kia whakangungua koe ki ngā rākau matarua
>
> Nā Tūmatauenga…

129

Again the child is welcomed forth, and in this verse he is introduced to the Atua of martial arts so that the child is encouraged to learn the skills of protection, self-discipline, self-sufficiency and independence. The underlying messages here, according to Reedy (2009), is important for parents and adults to teach and equip your children to manage themselves from a young age. This encourages the child to grow up with an assured self-confidence where dependency on others and unprovoked hostility towards on others is unnecessary.

The fourth verse:

> Haramai e tama, puritia i te aka matua
>
> Kia whitirere ake ko te kauwae-runga
>
> Ko te kauwae-raro…

Again the child is welcomed and encouraged to learn the philosophies of his people. Reference is made to *Te Kauwae-Runga* (upper jaw) and *Te Kauae Raro* (lower jaw) knowledge. For Māori, upper jaw knowledge relates to the philosophy of the culture while lower jaw knowledge relates to practice and the application. According to Reedy (2009), "if you get the philosophy right, you get the practice right. Why people do what they do is more important than what they do" (2009). In this verse the rituals and karakia are recited to formerly name the child.

The fifth verse:

> Whakarongo mai e tama
>
> Kotahi tonu te hiringa
>
> I kake ai Tāne ki tikitikiorangi
>
> Ko te hiringa i te mahara
>
> Ka kitea i reira ko Io matua-te-kore anake…

The child is encouraged to take heed, and to listen carefully to the importance of this message. In this verse the importance of acquiring knowledge is emphasised and re-iterated. The acquisition of knowledge is considered to be a pursuit of the utmost importance and as such is sanctified and endorsed with further karakia and ritual. As a child of chiefly lineage, the responsibility of achieving this is pinnacle to his development.

The sixth verse:

> Haramai e tama, whakapau ō mahara
> Ko ngā mahara o Tāne-matua
> I tokona ai ngā rangi ngahuru mā rua kia tūhāhā…

Again the child is welcomed and acknowledge for ascending the highest peaks as shown and gifted to him by his uncle throughout the oriori karakia where he is privileged to foresee what lies ahead of him in the journey of life. When the time comes, the child will be encouraged to take up the mantle of leadership and share all that he has learnt for the betterment of his people. He is encouraged to devote his energies to helping his people and reference is made to the celestial parents Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūanuku (Earth Mother) where the important decision was made by the great Atua Tāne-Mahuta, to separate his parents so that others would benefit from this difficult deed. The additional seventh and eighth verses that were later added reflect the importance of understanding important landmarks as identity symbols and the importance of relaying whānau and hāpu pūrākau to tamariki.

Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana is purposeful in its intentions for both the child, parents and whānau members. It sets a clear vision for the child's journey in life and relays the importance of understanding the philosophical underpinnings of the child's cultural values and customs. It encompasses the importance of reciprocity in relationships and encourages the child and whānau the significance of remaining connected to each other. The oriori karakia encourages the child to live a principled and respectful life, and to manage one's aggressions in a disciplined manner. *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana* infuses the child's heart, body, mind and spirit with the core and principled values of culture and affixing his identity to the land (Reedy, 2009; Roa, 2011).

The process of becoming attached in a traditional Māori worldview is both like and unlike that as proposed by attachment theorists. Affectional bonds are nurtured with parents, primary caregivers, grandparents and any whānau member who is immediately invested in the child's welfare creating communal bonds. *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana* repeatedly alludes to the presence of men and the significance of actively involved fathers and uncles as paternal nurturer's of the child. Tuhotoariki demonstrates this through action and thought as detailed in his Oriori Karakia composition. Additionally, Pohatu

131

(2011) discusses *Tūhonohonotanga* (interconnectedness) as a concept that compliments a Mauri framework and an important whakapapa framework. *Tūhonohonotanga* elaborates on the importance of interconnectedness and active engagement that supports the mind, heart, soul, inner thoughts and emotions.

Attachment theory has informed the way in which relationships are fostered in the very early years of development, and for Māori these attachments are fostered through a dynamic whakapapa system of *Tūhonotanga*. Composing oriori for tamariki and mokopuna is a traditional practice that helps to ensure that babies are protected and safeguarded within a hierarchy of attachments where emotional bonds are secured throughout the life span. A key and fundamental difference between the traditions of attachment theory and a traditional Māori understanding is the prominence of spirituality as a philosophical and utmost paramount custom. *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana* is testament to the embodied spiritual practices of a traditional Māori attachment process.

7.4 Summary:

Reedy (2009) and Roa (2011) have both promoted *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana* as a healthy framework for hauora tamariki (children's health) and hauora whānau (whānau health). This chapter has reviewed Oriori Karakia as a precursor for the development of a healthy Māori attachment model. Oriori Karakia recognises the important relationship threads that are intertwined through a well-established whānau network of relationships. *Tūhonotanga* reflects this sophisticated understanding at both a celestial and terrestrial level and as such differs from western theories concerning attachment. *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana* provides the foundations for understanding the connections a developing child has to their whānau members highlighting the inclusion of men and women from both the whānau and hapū. Each member has an important and significant role to play in nurturing the child. The following chapter is dedicated to Mana Wāhine theory and methodology where the underpinnings for understanding embodied experiences of wāhine Māori are understood. *Tūhonotanga* attempts to understand better the interconnectedness within a traditional framework for tamariki Māori.

TE WĀHANGA WARU: CHAPTER EIGHT - MANA WĀHINE THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

'Mana Wāhine Māori' – reclaiming and celebrating what we have been, and what we will become. It is not a re-action to males, and their violence against us; it is a pro-action, a determining of ourselves as Māori women, with authenticity and grace.

(Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 11)

8.1 Introduction:

Underlying this research is violence and abuse perpetrated against Māori women and their young children. Through the pūrākau of the wāhine, I have explored adult relationships, particularly how the abuse in one relationship impacts on the developing mother-child relationship. Pihama (2001) argues that "Mana Wāhine theory is a theoretical framework that provides for a Kaupapa Māori analysis that focuses on issues that directly impact on Māori women" (p. 233). Māori women who experience partner violence are not a homogeneous group, and likewise nor are the men who abuse them. If interventions and administrations of care and protection are to be practical, then one-dimensional explanations of cause and effect become inadequate (Shipway, 2004). Therefore, the construction of partner violence must take into account the cultural context of women and children who experience violence within their homes. L. Smith (1991) suggests that "Addressing Māori issues 'from a Māori women's perspective' in a systematic way is part of a wider attempt to develop (possibly) a new set of strategies to deal with the subtleties of ongoing oppression" (pp. 37-38).

8.2 Mana Wāhine as Theory:

This research is situated here in Aotearoa New Zealand and is concerned with a Māori discourse which focuses on the effects of abusive partner behaviour on the development of Māori mother's ability to foster affectional bonds with their young tamariki. The rationale to ground this research in Mana Wāhine methodology is not for romantic appeal or cultural attractiveness, but rather more accurately for its ability to

133

contextualise the experiences of Māori women from a historical, cultural, political and contemporary standpoint. Pihama (2001) states:

> The intention is therefore to indicate that Mana Wāhine theory can provide a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework that engages issues from Māori women's viewpoints and in doing so engage issues as they impact specifically on Māori girls and women. (p. 233)

Analysing and articulating the influence of violence on the lives of Māori women and their children requires a sensitive approach that does not engage in further forms of subjugation. Freire (2000) puts forward the notion that education (knowledge) can be twofold: used in a fashion that either oppresses or liberates, domesticates or emancipates, controls or frees. In order to better understand and advance the development of this study, qualitative methods that are culturally appropriate were utilised. According to Linda Smith (1993), Mana Wāhine Māori accommodates a range of viewpoints and analysis and importantly, provides the capacity for the complexities of relationships Māori women have to one another and their whakapapa. Furthermore, Mana Wāhine positions Māori women in relation to non-Māori and other Indigenous women.

8.3 Mana Wāhine as Methodology:

In the milieu of this thesis, the positioning of Māori women and their children, whānau, hapū and iwi are appropriately contextualised within Mana Wāhine methodology. Mana Wāhine methodology has informed the research in that it encapsulates traditional Māori values and beliefs. These values are essential to understanding the interacting dynamics Māori women have concerning tikanga and as nurturers of whānau.

Māori women who are accustomed to traditional practices help to explain traditional methods that address perpetrator behaviour. Māori women who hold traditional knowledge have inadvertently become beacons of knowledge and wisdom for Māori women both within and outside of their own tribal regions. For example, Rose Pere (1988) discusses traditional penalties for perpetrators of assault, including insult and rape to women and highlights interacting whānau dynamics in the following way:

For example, a woman of Tuhoe-Potiki had her back badly injured by her third husband. Her kinship group, one of whom was the 'head' of one of her hapū, declared the husband 'dead'. This punishment was worse than physical death because he was completely ignored and boycotted by the whole community, including his own immediate family. Children persecuted and abused him because he was a 'non-person' and when he finally died he was buried without ceremony. (p. 9)

This example illustrates one Māori woman's experience and the response from her kinship group in relation to the violent behaviour of her husband. The illustration provides a traditional template that may help to guide strategies for the collective good of whānau, hapū, and iwi representatives elected authorities in our communities. Importantly the illustration highlights the mechanisms required to uphold a healthy whānau system when violence against Māori women occurs.

The call for diversity in methodologies, especially in the investigation of families, from out of the Western dominant context is a growing theme in social science research (Graham-Bermann & Edleson, 2001). Diversity in methodologies allows minority population groups such as Māori the opportunity to take into account their own perspectives without the bias or assumptions of researchers imposing their own constructions (Cohler, Stott, & Musick, 1995). This also raises questions concerning the position of Māori in society today and the notion put forward by Durie (1999) regarding the diverse cultural worlds in which Māori live. According to Durie (1999), "No society is static nor can culture be frozen in time, no matter how attractive the past might look" (p. 214). In the celebration of our diversity, Māori continue to hold fast to ancient knowledge often illustrated in many of our proverbs and aphorisms as "he taonga tuku iho" (treasures passed down) while continuing to advance and participate in the task of generating new knowledge.

Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine theories and methodologies set the parameters that enable Māori women the opportunity to critique and analyse their experiences as women. In this study, the collective experiences of Māori women are understood through qualitative processes. Mana Wāhine methodology is a knowledge system that is beneficial for the organisation of people informing us about the way in which certain activities are carried out. This study intentionally pursued the experiences of contemporary Māori

women in their roles as mothers and nurturers of tamariki and the challenges of doing this while caught in the cycle of violence and abuse. To honour our contemporary realities, both Māori and Western knowledge was stitched together to convey the veracity of Māori lifestyles.

The words in the following waiata (song) are often used in kai kōrero (speech making). Symbolically the tui (stitch bird) represents the bringing together of many threads to provide both the fabric and korowai (cloak) that adorns the shoulders of the recipient. This study draws inspiration from the labours of the little tui:

Whakarongo Ake Au:

Whakarongo rā	I listen
Whakarongo ake au	I listen, where up high
Ki te tangi a te manu	Its cry rings out
E rere runga rawa e	A bird flies
Tui, tui, tui, tuia	Sew, stitch, bind it together
Tuia i runga	From above
Tuia i raro	From below
Tuia i roto	From within
Tuia i waho	From outside
Tui, tui, tuia	Sew, stitch, bind it together
Kia rongo te ao	During the day
Kia rongo te po	And the night
Tui, tui, tuia	Sew, stitch, bind it together
	(Composer: John Tapiata)

The methods and theories developed in this study have privileged mātauranga Māori (traditional knowledge) together with Pākeha knowledge. This Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine approach is supported by Pūrākau; a narrative method of collecting data. This has enabled development of *Mā Te Ata Tatāri Pūrākau*, a narrative analysis method that includes concepts concerning *Ā te wā* and *Mā te wā*.

8.4 Ngā Huarahi - Methods:

When considering the research question, "In what way does partner violence influence Māori mother's experiences and the nurturing of emotional bonds with their

tamariki (children)?", it was important to ensure that the methods encapsulate the experiences of Māori women and that these experiences were contextualised within theories of Mana Wāhine and Kaupapa Māori. Cultural ways of operating acknowledge interconnectedness, Māori potential, Māori control, collectivism and Māori identity as essential elements of a Kaupapa Māori approach (Ratima, 2001). According to van Manen (1990):

> A research method is only a way of investigating certain kinds of questions. The questions themselves and the way one understands the questions are the important starting points, not the method as such. (p. 1)

My approach to the research appreciates that the research question has been framed in such a way that recognises that tamariki grow and develop within the context of their whānau. The research set out on an inspiring endeavour to seek solutions that will benefit our youngest and most vulnerable by seeking solutions from women who mother our tamariki. This statement recognises that birth mothers are not necessarily the women who nurture our tamariki through life. The task of mothering is often a shared experience and one where ngā whaea whāngai (fostering mothers) engage in the mothering role in the absence of the birth mother. CYF (2015) findings suggest that tamariki Māori are growing up in whānau that are dangerous environments where crucial development occurs within the first three years of a baby's life. The first three years of development are pre-verbal where our pēpī (babies) are absolutely dependent due to their immaturity. For these reasons, the pathway forward is to seek solutions from those mothers who speak for them, when violence in the home intersects with the need to nurture.

8.4.1 *Pēwheatanga - Intentional Seeking - Participant Recruitment:*

In the first instance, participants for this study were drawn from the researcher's hapū, iwi, collegial relationships and professional links within the counseling and psychotherapy community. *Pēwheatanga* describes an intentional seeking of information that will assist in finding answers to an unresolved situation or phenomenon. *Pēwheatanga* is an approach that is similar to purposeful/purposive sampling, where the research participants are identified as rich information sources regarding the research topic (Patton, 1990). Purposive sampling allows for the researcher to hand-pick

participants whose personal experiences and expertise are relevant to the research aims. Patton (2005, 1990) suggests that purposeful sampling provides a perceived richness as a data source and coverage of the range of issues being explored.

Snowball sampling provided the opportunity for the recommendation of potential research participants to suggest and identify other potential research participants within my own network. In respect of snowball sampling, Bryman (2004) reports that "the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others" (p. 100). The snowball sampling technique is comparable to the concept of 'whanaungatanga' (family relationships) where relationship ties extend beyond the immediate 'whānau' system, and is utilised as an acceptable way of making and forming connections with others. *Pēwheatanga* and whanaungatanga helped to identify the Māori mothers who engaged as research participants in this study. Twelve Māori mothers participated in this study and I provide a background discussion concerning the research participants later in this chapter.

8.4.2 Ngā Patapātai - Interview Procedures:

When considering appropriate methods for interviewing Māori women, I drew upon my own experiences as a Māori woman and as a person with inside knowledge of cultural nuances and peculiarities. To begin and upon the completion of formal greetings, it is important to remain humble in your approach and delivery of any kōrero (talk) or korerorero (discussion). Creating an atmosphere of mutuality and affinity will enhance the likelihood of self-disclosure and responsiveness. Indications of what may be perceived as Pākeha dominant ideals such as structured interviewing techniques and prescribed interview schedules can be viewed as tools that serve to disadvantage Māori aspirations when utilised inappropriately. Therefore, it is preferable to conduct the interviews in a less structured style in order to illicit the interviewee's point of view.

Bryman (2004) advises that in qualitative research "the aim is to get at the perspectives of those being studied. Consequently, the approach should not be intrusive and structured" (p. 352). The interviews was therefore formulated within a tikanga Māori interview style, providing a culturally appropriate fit that encouraged the Māori women to convey what they see as relevant and important to them in relation to the research topic. Benham (2007) cautions also that an Indigenous narrative approach must be mindful of

delicate tensions concerned with age, time, power and space. According to Benham (2007):

> The storyteller/recorder, therefore, must employ a variety of strategies to elicit conversation among the respondents and cultural experts (usually elders) in order to guide the process of meaning making. (pp. 520-521)

A conversationally-based dialogue between the researcher and research participants is akin to the concept of reciprocity which is a highly valued Māori cultural principle. I intended to conduct the participant interviews in this manner while incorporating an open-ended interview approach which focuses on the topic of interest. To support this approach, a semi-structured interview guide was developed as an aid to assist the interview process in prompting participants to expand upon their experiences (Krueger, 1994). The semi-structured open ended interview guide was expected to illicit information regarding the participant's perceptions concerning their experiences and the nature of their relationships with their partner, tamariki and whānau.

8.4.3 Kanohi-ki-te-Kanohi - Face to Face:

The kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interviews and group hui were conducted according to Māori protocols where my intentions were made clear prior to the first interview with the research participants. Contact was negotiated through professional peers and links in Māori communities where I undertook the task of meeting kanohi-ki-te-kanohi to explain the research aims. These meetings enabled me to gain access to Māori women whom they had a professional or personal connection to. This approach is consistent with Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine that have guided the qualitative methods utilised in this study.

Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi methods allow both the researcher and the research participant to engage in mutual dialogue that allows for the articulation of communication through verbal and animated forms. The opportunity to express one's self through body language specific to Māori, for example wiriwiri (an expression of life-force), was taken into account. This approach provided the opportunity for me to make important connections concerning the research topic with the women. I anticipated that each kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interview would take between 60-90 minutes and these were conducted in a venue suitable to and preferred by the research participant.

8.4.4 Ngā Rangahau Pātai - Research Questions:

The research questions were designed to elicit as much information as possible to avoid 'yes' or 'no' responses for example: Can you tell me something about your partner's violence and your experiences? Designing open-ended questions encouraged women to elaborate further as their pūrākau unfolded. When I wanted the questions to reflect specific experiences and to elicit specific 'yes' or 'no' answers, I used closed questions; for example - Are you in a relationship currently? A questionnaire guide was developed to aid in the interview process acting as a prompt for myself as the researcher.

8.4.5 Hui Katoa - Gathering Together:

Bryman (2004) notes that "The focus group offers the researcher the opportunity to study the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of a phenomenon and construct meanings around it" (p. 348). One of the issues this research intended to explore was the role of whānau, hapū and iwi when partner violence had been identified in the family home. It was important that the research participants were afforded the opportunity to discuss whānau, hapū and iwi issues within the hui before putting their collective thoughts forward. The hui interviews (akin to focus groups, but utilising tikanga Māori) provided the opportunity to better understand how meaning is collectively constructed and to ensure that the voices and perspectives of whānau, hapū and iwi were in some small way replicated through the hui interview process. The hui group approach provides a dynamic which differs from the individual kanohi-ki-te-kanohi method, where interest in the way individuals interact and respond to other people's views and opinions can be observed and noted.

From the pool of 12 Māori women, there were eight participants who participated in the hui group interviews. The eight women were divided into two smaller groups of four with the interviews conducted separately from each other. The constraint of having to limit the number of participants in a group interviewing situation is supported by Bryman (2004) suggesting that "Focus groups take a long time to arrange and a long time to transcribe the recordings that are made. It is likely that students will not be able to include as many focus group sessions for projects or dissertations" (p. 351).

8.4.6 Manaakitanga - Sharing the Caring:

In designing the research process for the participants, I had a responsibility to ensure that the women were able to access appropriate support following the interviews. This important consideration was designed to help mitigate and allay any stressful experiences that may have resulted as a consequence of their participation in the research. It was important to identify whether the women had their own supports available to them and to provide this if necessary. Informed by *Ā te wā* and having considered how best to manage the various levels of stress during the interview phase it was important to plan ahead.

Three free counselling sessions were made available to all the research participants through the AUT University Health, Counselling and Wellbeing Centre. I believed that where possible it was important to engage the services of a female Māori counselor with expertise in whānau violence, and I was aware that this option was available through the university. I believed that this consideration would help to provide a Māori-specific cultural fit in that the research participants received the benefits of meeting with a safe Māori counsellor, while maintaining the integrity of a Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine research project. I approached the female Māori counsellor from the AUT University Counselling Services and after explaining the research intentions with her, she was very happy and willing to offer her support to the research project.

On one , I invited the counsellor to join with me in order to introduce herself to some of the women who were to participate in one of the smaller group interviews. This exercise proved to be very valuable to the research participants and the counsellor. Meeting with the counsellor kanohi-ki-te-kanohi enabled the counsellor the opportunity to introduce herself and her expertise more fully to the research participants. I believe that this helped to facilitate more trusting relationships with the research participants, myself as the researcher and the counsellor. It also provided a much more meaningful experience of the counselling support offered in that this was a real person with real passion and belief in her counselling work and not some unknown abstract figure sitting in a foreign building within the university campus. To reiterate the counsellor did not participate in any of the interviews, and met with the research participants prior. I believe that this framework of engaging the research support people with the research participants was appropriate to this Kaupapa Māori research.

8.5 Ngā Tikanga Whitiwhiti Kōrero - Discussing Ethical Issues:

8.5.1 Ngā Wāhine Rangahau – Managing Confidentiality and Anonymity:

From the outset the choice of confidentiality concerning name disclosure was discussed with each of the research participants, allowing the participants the opportunity to maintain their independence and assert their own tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) in terms of name disclosure and their personal desire to either protect personal names or have these revealed. Participants indicated their preference to not identify themselves and have their comments attributed to their real names within the text of the research. I have used Māori pseudonyms in the context of this thesis and tribal affiliations to replace actual research participant names.

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the Māori mothers who participated in the interviews for this study and to present some of their experiences and reflections. While contemplating how I would approach describing participants, I considered providing a bio-sketch of each research participant where I would then provide details concerning the histories and individual circumstances respectively. However, given the relatively small geographical nature of Aotearoa and Māori as a population group, while also taking into account demographic details, it seemed likely that this approach had the potential to jeopardise the anonymity of the research participants and expose them to potential risks.

Additionally I also needed to consider the generous nature of the Māori mothers who shared much about themselves, their tamariki, whānau and their intimate relationships through their korero pūrākau (narratives) and how best to maintain their privacy. Upholding anonymity presents as an interesting dilemma, particularly when the descriptive nature of the korero pūrākau threatens to undermine the obscurity of the story-teller thereby revealing the participants identities. The issue of maintaining anonymity was also coupled with further restrictions. It has not been possible for me to present each respective pūrākau in full detail as relayed to me through the individual korero pūrākau of the participants. To do so will require much more time and resource available to me through this PhD endeavour and I am therefore limited by the constraints of this undertaking. In order to manage this quandary, I have chosen to address and manage the issues using three approaches.

Firstly, the korero pūrākau of each research participant have been manifested and personified through their whakapapa markers and to their respective hapū and iwi links.

I have, therefore, opted to introduce the Māori mothers in this study according to their whakapapa ties as identified by themselves through their own pepeha (introduction). I have chosen this approach so that the voices of these Māori women and their lived experiences of mothering children in the context of violence may be heard by their respective whakapapa whānau and beyond. Secondly, I have opted to introduce the Māori mothers in a discursive manner, providing a broader overview of all the research participants so that certain aspects of their lives remain anonymous while capturing the numerous variables that are associated with their pūrākau. Finally, the korero pūrākau have been edited to provide insights into the personal lives and experiences of the mothers who participated describing the main themes that emerged.

The confines of presenting the pūrākau through emerging themes may have the potential to profoundly affect the korero pūrākau by minimising the importance of contextual social and historical factors within the environment. Therefore, the reader is encouraged to take variable factors into account when reading the pūrākau so that the psychosocial and environmental circumstances of the women are appreciated. The Māori mothers who participated in this research have chosen to remain anonymous and as such will remain shrouded and protected in the mist of their pūrākau until such time that they choose to unveil themselves.

The Māori mothers who participated in this research had whakapapa connections to the following iwi:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Whātua, Tainui, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Awa, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Kahu, Taranaki Tuuturu, Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Whānau-a- Apanui, Te Ati Awa, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki (See Figure 2).
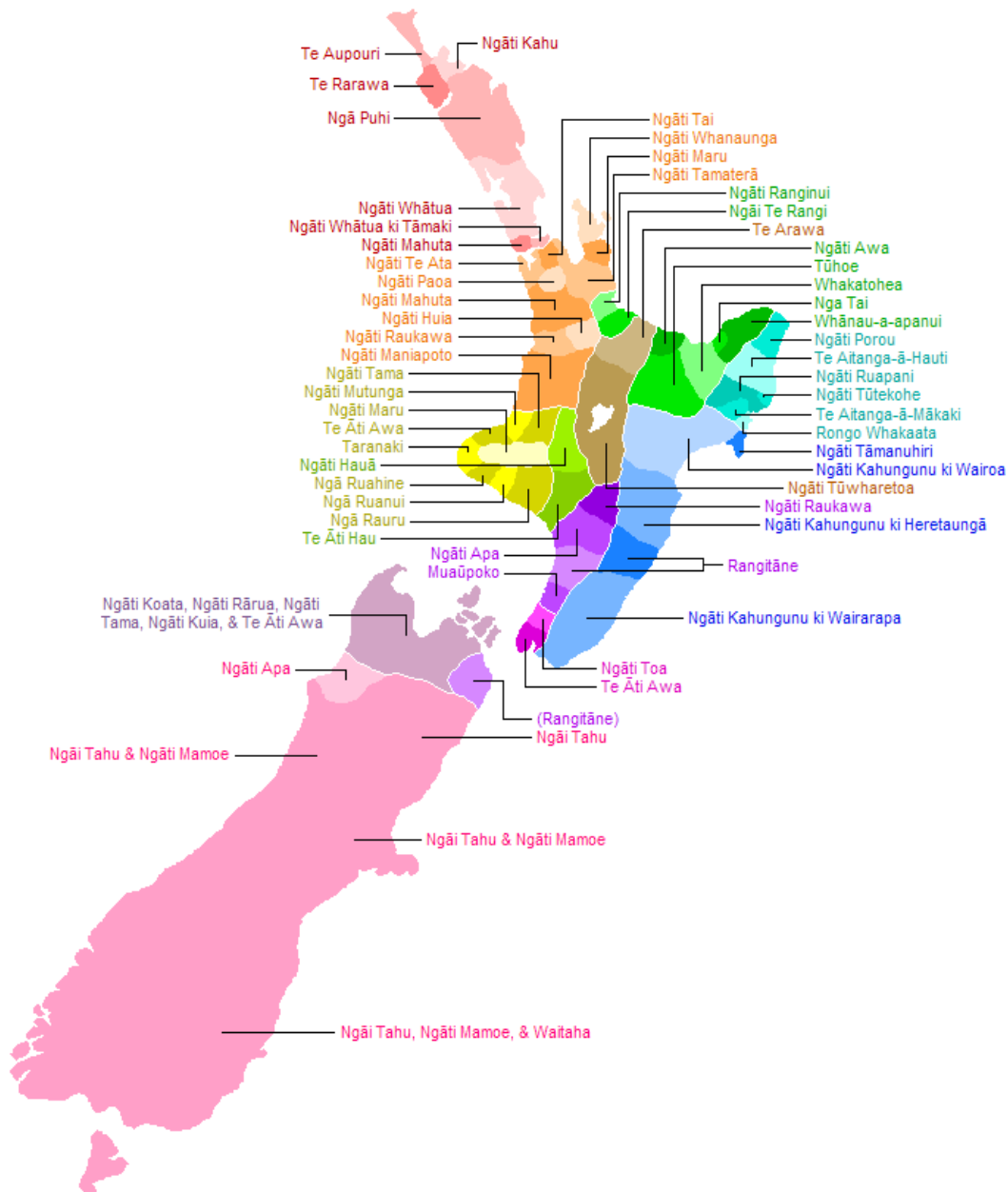
Figure 2: Māori Iwi groupings in Aotearoa.
(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_iwi)

In keeping with the idea that everything has a whakapapa or a genesis, here I introduce the Māori mothers', providing brief details of their histories and circumstances. At the time of the interviews all the Māori mothers were living within the boundaries of Tamaki-Makaurau and the Auckland City region. However, this had not always been the case, with three of the women re-locating from their homes in provincial regions of Aotearoa to Tamaki-Makaurau, and re-establishing themselves after fleeing from their violent partners. These mothers indicated that they remained connected to their marae and

tūrangawaewae, participating in whānau events whenever possible. One mother reported that her husband's occupation often required them to move which eventually took them to Australia. She reports returning to Aotearoa after leaving her abusive husband in Australia following a carefully considered plan, choosing to re-establish herself and her children in Tamaki Makaurau.

Four of the women indicated that they had grown up in the suburbs of Tamaki Makaurau, where for three of the mothers' connections to their respective marae and tūrangawaewae had been maintained, with the remaining two indicating less frequent contact. The Māori mothers who had less frequent contact with their marae and tūrangawaewae also indicated that they would have a degree of difficulty re-establishing these ties, requiring the support of other whānau to help them do this. Two mothers indicated that lifestyle and work related issues influenced their decisions to move to Tamaki Makaurau in search of better opportunities for their tamariki and whānau. One mother in this study did not indicate her reasons for re-establishing herself in Tamaki Makaurau, while another reported that she was not interested in ever returning to the small community that she grew up in due to the many bad experiences, exclaiming that "I hate the place". In total there were twelve wāhine who participated in this research with eleven women identifying as heterosexual. There was one wahine in this study who was in a same sex relationship when partner violence was occurring, raising the issue of women's violence against women.

8.5.2 Neutralising Power Dynamics:

Engaging Māori women's thoughts and experiences through the functional use of kanohi-ki-te-kanohi and hui is an appropriate mechanism for Māori (L. Smith, 1999). Similarly the traditions of qualitative research incorporate interviewing techniques that involve group methods which enable researchers to interview several participants at one time or individually (Bryman, 2004). The function of hui and kanohi-ki-te-kanohi is by no means a new approach and continue to serve as appropriate traditional procedures when bringing people together to focus on issues that are considered important. The hui took place within designated areas appointed by the research participants. The protocols used to conduct the interviews were based upon the spiritual confines of the traditional meeting house or whare tūpuna.

From the outset the research participants were given first option to determine place, time and space. This enabled Māori women the opportunity to gather in a Māori setting which by its very nature acknowledges the collectivism of Māori and in this instance, the voices of Māori women. The utilisation of the traditional meeting house as a preferred venue helps to facilitate a process based upon tikanga and assists in neutralising any power imbalances between the Māori female researcher and the Māori female research participants. An awareness of whānau dynamics and marae protocol are essential to understanding how relationships are maintained in order to neutralise and counter exploitative practices and power imbalances. However, while the women in this study were all open to meeting on the marae, the reality of their daily lives meant it wasn't possible. The meetings took place within Māori places to include a room at Te Whānau o Waipereira Trust an urban Māori health provider, Te Whānau o Hato Petera Trust, Whakaruruhau Centre (an urban Māori pastoral care provider), and in one instance, in the participant's private home. While it was not possible to utilise the marae facilities as first planned, the rituals of tikanga were still upheld in order to minimise power hierarchies.

Benham (2007) draws upon Kaupapa Māori ontology when discussing the importance of indigenising cultural narratives. The concepts of reciprocity, communal accountability, and dialectical processes that are individual as well as collective are shared ways of knowing that are concerned with sacred power. Benham (2007) argues that the main difference between western academic knowledge and Indigenous knowledge is the positioning of power in relationships. Sacred power embodies an acknowledgement that knowledge is passed down through generations and is shared to benefit both the individual and the community. From this perspective Benham (2007) considers the "story telling is both solely personal but is deeply communal" (p. 520).

This proposal seeks to undertake Kaupapa Māori research, and therefore, the Māori worldview is essential to this endeavour. The basis of my personal approach to this research is founded upon Māori philosophy such as that articulated by Maori Marsden (2003) in the following quote:

The route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach. That is more likely to lead to a goal. As a person brought up within the culture, who has absorbed the values and the attitudes of the Māori, my approach to Māori things is largely subjective. The

charge of lacking objectivity does not concern me; the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form of arid abstraction, a model or map. It is not the same thing as the taste of reality. (p. 2)

Marsden (2003) raises the importance of subjectivity and of participating within the culture to understand the experiences and cultural idiosyncrasies. An understanding of the route to Māoritanga being facilitated by a 'passionate, subjective approach' underpins much of Kaupapa Māori research where knowledge is often generated in the spaces between subjectivities in a shared understanding of the world.

8.5.3 Whakatapoko te Wairua Tapu - Entering Sacred Space:

Karakia were recited before proceeding with the pūrākau and upon completion, and in doing so we entered into a spiritual relationship with Atua (Creator) placing ourselves in a sacred and 'tapu' space. Marsden (1992) likens 'tapu' to the Jewish concept of 'sacred' and the 'holy' stating:

The sacred state or condition of a person or things placed under the patronage of the gods. The person or object is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable. No longer to be put to common use. (p. 121)

Barlow (1991) also links 'tapu' with being sacred and set apart, but in the sense of being under the power and influence of the gods. Tate's (2012) definition of 'tapu' encompasses three aspects in his definition:

Tapu is one concept that has three related perspectives. Firstly, tapu is restricted or controlled access to other beings: Atua, tangata and whenua. Secondly, tapu is being-in-relationships with primary being or with other beings, such that the relationships enhance, sustain, restore and empower those in relationship. Thirdly, tapu is 'being', understood as 'being-in-itself'. (p. 45)

From the perspectives of Marsden, Barlow and Tate, the interviews were mediated through an agreed spiritual and relational covenant with Atua and each other so that these

relationships could be enhanced, sustained, restored and empowered throughout the korero pūrākau/story-telling interviews. Managing the spatial and relational elements of the interviews also included taking the time, again through the use of '*Ā te wā'* and *'Mā te wā'* to ensure that careful regard was implemented and considered by engaging the support of others where and when possible. The space was restricted to both myself and the Māori mothers who agreed to participate, so that *Mā te wā'* (in time) others would benefit from the knowledge shared.

  This traditional karakia below shows what is central to a Māori belief system in that our respect for the natural world, resources and elements is what sustains us. For some of us, reciting traditional karakia is a step toward reclaiming our Māori whakapapa and identity. Many traditional karakia have endured and are recited faithfully and ardently. The following is an example:

  Traditional Karakia

Whakataka te hau ki te uru	Cease the winds from the west
Whakataka te hau ki te tonga	Cease the winds from the south
Kia mākinakina ki uta	Let the breeze blow over the land
Kia mātaratara ki tai	Let the breeze blow over the ocean
E hī ake ana te aatakura	Let the red-tipped dawn come with
He tio, he huka, he hau hū	A sharpened air, a touch of frost, a promise of a glorious day.

  Tihei mauri ora!

  Christian karakia and the influence of early missionaries were both welcomed by Māori and a source of tension when our own beliefs were negated (Walker, 2004). Christianity remains a contentious issue for some Māori while for others Christianity is fully embraced Christian beliefs. Māori also position themselves along a continuum managing to hold a traditional and Christian ethos. This is where there spiritual beliefs resemble an Orthodox approach honouring traditional beliefs while embracing the other:

  Christian Karakia

Kia tau ki a tātou katoa	Let us pray

Te atawhai o tō tātou Ariki, a Ihu Karaiti	May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ,
Me te aroha o te Atua	And the love of God,
Me te whiwhingatahitanga	And the fellowship of the
Ki te wairua tapu	Holy Spirit be with you all
Ake, ake, ake	Forever and ever
Amine.	Amen.

Regardless of which karakia was preferred by the wāhine, what mattered most was the acknowledgement of wairua (spirit) as an important and deeply felt worship for spiritual healing and strength.

8.5.4 Ngā Tika o Manaaki - Ethics of Care:

All the kanohi-ki-te-kanohi and hui interviews were audio-taped and recorded along with written notes. The audio-taped interviews were reviewed by myself to ensure that material of a sensitive nature was managed appropriately. While the provision to have the interviews transcribed by a transcriptionist had been made, on completion of the interviews I decided against this. This was due to the sensitive nature of the interviews and the disturbing content which was often painful for women to disclose and for me to hear. The interviews were lengthy and the research participants gave very intimate and descriptive details of the abuse that they had experienced.

My psychotherapy training has taught me the importance of managing over-exposure to traumatic and disturbing client content, where the potential for vicarious traumatisation becomes a concern. My decision not to use a transcriptionist was based on these understandings and a sense of responsibility regarding ethical care. Exercising this discretion was intended to protect an unassuming potential transcriptionist who may not have had the capacity or the necessary supports in place to manage any potential stress resulting from the content of the interviews.

Throughout this PhD endeavour, I have regularly attended clinical supervision. The frequency of clinical supervision increased during the interview collection phase and the level of contact was maintained post-interviews when I undertook the task of transcribing the interviews and throughout the analysis process. To manage my own responses and in particular any consequential vicarious traumatisation, I remained in

regular contact with my clinical supervisor. My Pākeha clinical supervisor provided valuable support in my development as a Māori psychotherapist where together we worked to maintain the useful aspects of Western theoretical knowledge, integrating valuable aspects of Māori knowledge. In terms of Māori knowledge I remained engaged with my Māori psychotherapy peers through *Waka Oranga*, the national collective of Māori psychotherapy practitioners; *Poutokomanawa*; and elders Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan and Haare Williams. Further to this I was also engaged with Māori spirituality classes led by noted theologian and tikanga Māori expert, Pa Henare Tate.

8.6 *Ā te wā', Mā te wā' - A Time honoured process:*

The interview time-frames varied in length, allowing the participants to tell their stories at their own pace without the interference of unhelpful or rigid time constraints. The principles guiding my interview approach with regard to time were positioned within Māori consciousness and Māori notions of *'Te Wā'*. My understanding of *te wā* comes from culturally-centred Māori experiences and taught to me more formally through Māori theology classes which were conducted over a two-year period with Pā Henare Tate. Tate (2012) situates *te wā* within a temporal framework where he reflects on the imagery of hikoi (journey) providing explanations to convey his understandings and to this he adds:

> *'Ā te wā'* is a common phrase meaning that *te wā* is in the future. It is not now. It will come about 'in due course'. In the meantime, the right course of action is to attend to the present moment and the stages that now need to be set in place. The goal will be achieved in due course.
>
> *'Mā te wā'* also means *te wā* is in the future. But the particle 'mā' emphasises 'let it be for' and thus that something will come to pass ─ pass as a consequence of something that is presently being set in place. It can be translated as 'time will tell' or 'allow for time to pass and you will see it come about', (Tate, 2012, p. 212)

'Ā te wā' and *'Mā te wā'* were used interchangeably throughout the pre-interview stages and through the interview processes. I saw it as my responsibility to ensure that the research design worked effectively for the research participants, allowing them to respond in a fashion that enabled them to relay their stories in an honest and sincere manner. Engaging with *te wā* as a Māori method assisted me to maintain the integrity of Kaupapa

150

Māori research while creating spaces for Māori women to engage with a pūrākau story-telling narrative about their experiences. The benefit of utilising *'Ā te wā'* and *Mā te wā'* allowed me to attend to important processes throughout the various stages of the interviews. For example *'Ā te wā'* enabled me to attend to issues such as confidentiality, participant information and consent forms while allowing research participants the opportunity to ask questions and have these clarified before proceeding with any in depth dialogue. It was important to ensure that ethical considerations were observed and to moderate any risks associated with the research. Utilising *'Mā te wā'* as a Māori concept of time enabled the pūrākau story-telling method to occur and unfold from a dynamic spatial position where the spiritual, physical and embodied realities of Māori women's experiences could be held.

The tikanga embedded within *te wā* and transposed through *'Ā te wā'* and *'Mā te wā'* made it possible to transition through moments of time where necessary. Likewise *'Ā te wā'* allowed me to attend to the needs of the group or individuals once we had entered into *'Mā te wā'*, particularly when the stories were filled with anguish and pain. At times I would offer reassurance, tissues, a glass of water or a break if necessary. It was also important to dialogue about comfort levels and whether the research participants' continued participation might serve to compromise the mana of each wāhine. When these important considerations had been attended to we were able to hikoi once again through *'Mā te wā'*.

The nature of the interviews weaved together the lived and embodied experiences, specific cultural and spiritual concepts and the contradictions and tensions that these Māori mothers and their children had to negotiate on a daily and moment-by-moment basis. Again as the researcher I had a responsibility to ensure that the research design was robust enough to create a space to hui in a respectful manner while incorporating the diverse realities (Durie, 2001) of contemporary Māori mothers who had overcome the torment of having lived in violent relationships. As agreed to with the research participants', I began and finished each hui with karakia regardless of whether the hui was an individual one-to-one hui or a group hui. The group participants indicated a preference to complete our hui with waiata before closing with karakia. I believe that the waiata served to unite the women in a single voice, thus allowing for the intermingling and sharing of wairua (spirit), hinengaro and whakaaro (mind and thought) while standing connected as both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau in our lived and shared experiences.

To make comparisons with western time, the individual interviews varied in length with one interview taking approximately 60 minutes while another took just over three hours, with the remaining two individual interviews averaging ninety minutes. The group interviews took just over two hours to complete. As a Māori concept of time, *te wā* embraced and legitimised Māori knowledge against a contemporary backdrop of causative time conceived in Geneva Switzerland. Separating these often conflicting notions of time apart allowed contemporary Māori mothers the opportunity to have their voices heard on agreed terms of reciprocity entered into with both myself as the researcher and for them as the research participants. Making effective use of tikanga Māori and understanding how both the research participant and the researcher enter into a reciprocal space strongly influenced the levels of safety, trust and self-disclosure. I believe that this was demonstrated in both the depth of sharing and the length of time the research participants were willing to commit in order to have their voices heard through their pūrākau story-telling experience.

8.7 Pūrākau - A Narrative Interview Method:

Pūrākau is a form of Māori narrative that originates from a Māori oral tradition prior to the arrival of Pākeha and the establishment of a written language. The transmission and dissemination of Māori knowledge was organised, constructed and expressed through various traditional Māori oratory mediums such as pūrākau. Every aspect of traditional Māori life had to be communicated for survival purposes and imparted through Māori ontology that fashioned the cultural norms and imperatives. The concept of pūrākau is sourced from traditional Māori knowledge and remains an oral storytelling approach that is distinctive and versatile, enabling contemporary Māori the opportunity to communicate the ways in which we relate to the world around us. Pūrākau sit alongside other forms of Māori storytelling approaches that include pakiwaitara, kōrero ahiahi and kōrero parau (Williams, 2000). Further forms of traditional Māori narratives and oratory continue to find expression through moteatea (traditional chants), reciting whakapapa (genealogies), whaikōrero (speechmaking) and whakatauki (proverbs) (Lee, 2005).

Pūrākau also enables the opportunity for Māori to contribute to a growing body of new mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and Indigenous knowledge where relationships and connections to our social circumstances are fostered and shared. Bell

(2006) asserts the legitimacy of pūrākau as a concept originating from Te Ao Tawhito (the traditional world) substantiates pūrākau as a Māori pedagogy. Lee (2009) attests to the versatility of pūrākau and the various forms in which it can be constructed and applied to include the research environment, arguing for the applicability within Kaupapa Māori. Hall (2005), Cherrington (2009) and Karena-Waretini (2012) promote pūrākau in the psychology, psychotherapy and counseling disciplines as a culturally appropriate modality when working with Māori tamariki and whānau. Cherrington (2009) states:

> Indigenous knowledge can include all areas of Te Ao Māori, both traditional and contemporary. The values and beliefs behind tikanga (customs, meanings, practices) and kawa (protocols, ceremonies) are forms of Indigenous knowledge. The reo (language), waiata (songs), whakatauaki and pūrākau are all forms of Indigenous knowledge. (p. 12)

Pūrākau is a traditional storytelling cultural mechanism inherent to Māori where the flow of information is transmitted between people and across generations through personal narratives, and symbolically communicated through Māori forms of art and architecture. Examples include toi whakairo (the art of carving), wharenui (architecture), kōauau (musical instruments), toki (adze - traditional tool), and hue (vessels - gourd/calabash). Pūrākau were and remain an important aspect of the Māori language, providing an essential mechanism for the communication of day-to-day affairs concerning whānau, hapū and iwi. Pūrākau have just as much relevance with modern Māori practices as they did for traditional Māori society, and are embedded in our day-to-day reality, providing historical and contemporary reference points for cultural understanding. As complex, carefully constructed and delivered narratives, pūrākau were the domain of the highly skilled and often associated in both early and contemporary Māori society with learned tohunga (specialists) and chiefly rangatira (leaders) (Bishop, 1996; Dewes, 1975; Lee, 2009; Mead, 2003). However, pūrākau were not reserved for the existing hierarchy or leaders of traditional Māori society; pūrākau provided a platform for all Māori to relay their personal experiences and to convey their unique stories. As the narratives deepen, we can build understanding and learn to grow together, particularly when this engagement is tōna kanohi - in the face of the other.

Before the advent of a written language, all ethnic groups and cultural groups were reliant on narrative accounts with storytelling providing the prologue to the establishment of relationships. Since the time of first contact with Pākeha, however, Māori have engaged with the concept of written language through letters, manuscripts and books, learning to understand the benefits and disadvantages to this new medium (Jenkins, 2011). Māori continue to benefit from written language as a medium for communication and as a storehouse for preserving important Māori knowledge. Furthermore, reading and writing is integrated into contemporary Māori lifestyles to varying degrees where Māori now have greater access to Pākeha knowledge and Pākeha insights into the Māori world.

Until the latter part of the 20th century, these insights were provided largely by Pākeha ethnographers, historians and anthropologists, who have made valuable contributions to the way in which contemporary Māori make sense of our lived reality (e.g. S. Percy Smith (11 June 1840 – 19 April 1922); Elsdon Best (1856-1931); James Cowan (14 April 1870 – 6 September 1943); Michael King (15 December 1945 – 30 March 2004); Dame Judith Binney (1 July 1940 – 15 February 2011); Dame Joan Metge; Dame Anne Salmond; Jeffrey Sissons). However, unease by Māori has highlighted the misunderstandings that can happen when Pākeha interpretations of Māori values, systems and constructs such as pūrākau occur. Walker (2004) raises his concerns regarding the expropriation and transformation of knowledge by colonisers where tribal pūrākau were tampered with to form the basis of Māori myths and legends. The denigration of Māori knowledge, beliefs and values through the re-shaping of Māori narratives and pūrākau has destabilised the foundations of our traditional knowledge.

Similarly, Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) draw attention to the epistemic status of some philosophical frameworks, particularly when narrative representations are degraded. To counter demeaning claims, Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) report:

> In our view, narratives are the form of representation that describes human experience as it unfolds through time. Therefore, narratives are, arguably, the most appropriate form to use when thinking about inquiry undertaken within a pragmatic framework. (p. 40)

Engaging with pūrākau as a cultural tool and research method enables a pragmatic Māori approach that provides a mechanism for discovering meaningful insights into Māori

154

mother's experiences of partner violence while exploring the quality of their emotional relationships with their children in a culturally relevant way. Pūrākau is an important Indigenous Māori construct that values the subjective experience of the storyteller.

Like women from many other cultures, Māori women have a pivotal role in our society and within their various whānau, hapū and iwi communities. As the bearers of past and future generations Māori mothers' stories are the ones that give us the inside view of the complexities of mothering. Māori mothers have numerous, similar and different kinds of pūrākau to tell. The pūrākau contained within this thesis provide explanations concerning the realities of partner violence and raising tamariki in these circumstances. Pūrākau are just as valid as te reo Māori (Māori language) and verbal communication that has survived the passages of time, serving to connect us with the past, present and future. However, te reo Māori has been one of the significant losses experienced by Māori and there have been on-going efforts to revitalise the language (Mead, 2003). Pūrākau is about narratives and story-telling where the expression of one's story in English does not detract from the purpose. The objective is to communicate story in the most effective way available to us. Pūrākau encapsulates a time-honoured tradition equal to many Indigenous cultural narrative storytelling approaches throughout the world and one that resonates with a natural fundamental storytelling humanistic instinct.

8.7.1 Pūrākau Whakamāramatanga:

Several definitions of pūrākau have been sourced, firstly from *Te Aka Māori Dictionary* (www.Māoridictionary.co.nz) where two interpretations are provided that reference pūrākau as "legendary, mythical, myth, ancient legend and story" (Moorfield, 2003). The *Dictionary of the Māori Language* provides six meanings and includes references to ancient, myth, legendary and mythical as in kōrero pūrākau (Williams, 2000). The definition that captures the meaning and ideas relevant to this discussion and the context in which I use the term pūrākau is "Any incredible story" (Williams 2000, p. 312).

I have taken this definition further to incorporate inter-related ideas that are concerned with the origins of pūrākau bringing together the shared whakapapa connections. Moorfield (2003) offers several definitions for 'pū' that include the verb to originate and to blow gently. I consider that these interpretations derive from Hine-pū-te-hue, an admired female ancestor credited as the originator of the soft soothing musical

sounds that are produced by blowing on gourds thus creating musical instruments. In developing an exemplar for Māori performing arts, Royal (2000) applied pūrākau as an appropriate storytelling model. In furthering his ideas and examining the etymology concerning pūrākau, further meaning is arrived at: "the word pū signifies the very first shoot that appears out of a seed whilst grounded in Papatūanuku (Earth Mother) from which the entire tree (rākau) grows" (Royal, 2000, p. 7).

Tāne is celebrated as a great God of the Forest, son of the archetypal parents Papatūanuku and Ranginui (Sky Father), and acclaimed for his many deeds that include the separation of his parents, and as the male progenitor to human life. This explanation is a shortened account of a pūrākau with significant importance. The pūrākau provides a Māori understanding of the creation of the world and the conception of human beings. The creation pūrākau help to weave together the fabric of life showing how relationships are mutually dependent and interconnected.

In keeping with pū and rākau, neither is possible without the kākano (seed) that is rooted within Papatūanuku where under the right conditions it will incubate and propagate in the dominion of Tāne. As the archetypal mother, Papatūanuku remains as the primordial example of the female essence where the conditions for nurturing were determined in the spiritual realm and are therefore intrinsic to the female character. Ūkaipō is an inherent female quality where the literal translation to 'feed from the breast at night' provides the foundations for early development, identity formation and the fostering of whakapapa and tūrangawaewae (homeground, land). The source of sustenance and the ability to nourish are contained within the ū (breast) where the wai-ū (breast milk) is produced. In turn the wai-u is consumed and processed in the pū-ku (stomach). The ūkaipō, then, is the place of deep knowing where the stories from our homelands, upbringing, childhood memories and experiences are recalled (Personal communication, Paraire Huata, 1992).

8.7.2 Kōrero Pūrākau - Talking Storytelling:

Kōrero Pūrākau is a talking storytelling approach that is a distinctive form of mātauranga Māori. Kōrero Pūrākau is positioned within this Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine qualitative research approach, enabling Māori the opportunity to critique and understand our relationships through a dynamic process. Kōrero Pūrākau highlights the importance of talking and utilising language as the transmitter of thoughts and feelings

where stories are interconnected with life span events, episodes, past, present and future (Bryman, 2004; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Pohatu, 2013; Walker, 1978).

The way in which we speak our language must inevitably reflect our past and current experiences, whether conscious or unconscious, and our aspirations for the future. Kōrero Pūrākau therefore brings together a number of interrelated relationships that are continuously evolving through both a traditional dimension and a contemporary context, allowing the storyteller to name what happened, reflect upon what happened offering meaningful hindsight to the journey taken and understanding how one has arrived at a particular moment in time. These deliberate reflections offer solutions to future decisions, opening up the possibility for something new to emerge as connections are made to one's own Kōrero Pūrākau and in the intentional listening and witnessing of someone else's Kōrero Pūrākau. Pohatu (2013) affirms te reo Māori as:

> an important precursor for initiating entry points to deeper understandings of Māori knowledge and cultural practices....Feelings and sentiments underpin cultural theory and reasoning, with language the vehicle that conveys and at the same time assesses practice. (p. 14)

To add, a person who identifies as Māori but who may not be fluent in te reo Māori should not be constrained by their lack of understanding of te reo Māori. The primary notion of Kōrero Pūrākau is to provide the opportunity for the storyteller to talk through and tell their stories in the most fundamental way. The relationship between the storyteller and the listener are dependent on reciprocity where the listener is encouraged to manage their own beliefs and thoughts. Any unhelpful criticism can serve to alienate the storyteller from their experiences of themselves and induce feelings of inferiority that interfere with the process of storytelling. In the absence of te reo Māori, the listener or the observer is encouraged to consider the contemporary realities of Māori and the influencing historical and socio-cultural context of the lived reality of the storyteller.

Kōrero Pūrākau involves the ability to tell and talk our stories in a very pragmatic way, illustrating the storyteller's involvement with the world in which they live. To this Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) add:

if the reality we seek to describe is presumed to be independent of our representations of it, then there is no need to tell the story of how our representation of the world emerged within a stream of experience nor how it returned to that experience. Second, a pragmatic ontology of experience emphasizes continuity. (p. 40)

Kōrero Pūrākau bring together life histories and are therefore important in our understanding of whakapapa as a social construct for understanding relationships and the social circumstances that influence emotional development. L. Smith (1999) states:

Story-telling, oral histories, the perspectives of elders and of women have become an integral part of all Indigenous research...for many Indigenous writers stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further. The story and the storyteller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with people and the people with the story. (pp. 144-145)

The account above alludes to the underlying values and cultural functions of pūrākau as a knowledge source. Justice Eddie Durie's (2005) accounts of whakapapa (genealogy) as a traditional knowledge system illustrates the fundamental philosophical underpinnings for Māori which are interconnected to "a spiritual comprehension of eternity" (p. 48). E. Durie (2005) asserts: "In the context of whakapapa, one is forever a living part of an ever-flowing stream that makes the past and future an intimate part of the present reality" (p. 48). Pūrākau are the significant and incredible consequential stories that are conveyed through Kōrero Pūrākau where all the voice intonations, nuances, body language, and behaviours are essential to the telling of the story. Kōrero Pūrākau can be earnest, highly animated, spirited, lively, somber, sad and sincere portrayals of a person's experiences where the unique personality characteristics of the storyteller remain connected to the story.

8.7.3 Pūrākau Rongoā - Storytelling Medicine:

Pūrākau Rongoā in this instance refers to a Māori therapeutic method used by Māori in social service settings and clinical settings in Aotearoa (Cherrington, 1999;

Cherrington, 2003; Cherrington & Rangihuna, 2002; Hall, 2005). Cherrington (2003) describes her psychology work with tangata whaiora (mental health clients), highlighting the significance of pūrākau as a therapeutic approach utilising 'mahi ā ngā atua' (the deeds of gods) which include discussion and debate about meaning, knowledge and messages embedded in the traditional pūrākau. Tangata whaiora are encouraged to draw from traditional pūrākau in ways that differ or relate to their own personal experiences and stories. Similarly, Hall (2005) utilises traditional pūrākau relating the many deeds of the demi-god Maui to inform her clinical judgments and psychotherapy practice. Pūrākau Rongoā is an appropriate Kaupapa Māori, Mana Wāhine and cross-disciplinary method that have informed the aims of this research.

When discussing the relevance of narratives, S. Goldberg, Muir and Kerr (2000) suggest:

Psychoanalysis is based on narrative. The patient tells the story, and the therapist listens and, tries to make sense of it, to find meaning in its inchoate swirls, to fill in the gaps and lancuane, to shape its eruptions and collapses...Meaning enables separation to occur without irremediable loss. The secure base is never entirely safe. Breaks, gaps, losses are as intrinsic to the rhythm of life as are attachment and connectedness. Narrative bridges these inevitable discontinuities in experience. (p. 34)

Narrative therapy has been an important influence in my professional journey as a practising psychotherapist. My training experiences, with regard to the profession of psychotherapy in Aotearoa led me to be critical of the individualistic nature of the psychotherapy, a discipline that does not accommodate cross-cultural ideas well enough. My professional journey and experiences as a Māori psychotherapy practitioner continually challenges me to integrate knowledge from Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākeha . It has been important that my practise is reflective and conducive to the many Māori whānau that I have worked with. This is to ensure that our cultural ideologies are not lost in the healing process, and that whānau-centred approaches (Te Punu Kokiri, 2015) inform the work that I do with Māori. From this perspective, the identity of the therapist has much to do with the way in which the therapy proceeds and unfolds. Pūrākau provides

an opportunity to integrate ideologies that have specific relevance for a specific population group; that is, Māori.

8.8 Te-āta-tu Pūrākau - A Māori Narrative Analysis Method:

Thus far I have discussed pūrākau as a Māori construct providing definitions of the term, Kōrero Pūrākau as a talking story telling approach, and the application of Pūrākau Rongoā as a legitimate Indigenous therapeutic healing intervention tool, currently used by some Māori researchers, counselors, psychologists, psychotherapists and social workers (Cherrington, 2003; Elkington, 2006; Lee, 2005, 2009). The focus of this discussion is to explain the data analysis method and the process I have undertaken to analyse the Kōrero Pūrākau disclosed to me by the Māori mothers who have participated in this research. I have chosen to use the term *Te- āta-tu Pūrākau* to describe a Māori narrative analysis method, and as yet I have not found any literature that utilises this term nor have I heard the term used in any discussions or wānanga I have attended.

According to Lee (2009), pūrākau are collections of traditional oral narratives that need protecting and understood as pedagogical-based anthology concerning relevant literature today. Furthermore, pūrākau can continue to be constructed within the research context to better understand the experiences of Māori. I hope that my whakaaro (thoughts) concerning *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau* contributes to the continuing development of Māori research methods and within the clinical and social services sector as a construct for critical reflection and interpretation. *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau* is an approach that has similarities with narrative therapy, narrative counseling and narrative analysis. Given these similarities it stands to reason that these will follow through in the analysis process.

Chase (2005) explains the roots of narrative analysis through the Chicago School tradition:

> The tradition of narrative analysis has typically been one that focuses on individual stories, life histories, autobiographies and the lived experiences of particular individuals whose stories serve as the bulk of the empirical material for a study. Known as the 'Chicago School', the tradition allowed the narrative in many ways to speak for itself, but as the field has developed, methods are being pursued that allow for attention to dimensions across narratives, while at the same time not

losing the richness of the various dimensions within narratives. (Chase, 2005, p. 30)

According to Bryman (2004), "With narrative analysis, the focus of attention shifts from 'what actually happened?' to 'how do people make sense of what happened?' (p. 412). The pathways to story-telling appear to be mutually beneficial for diverse cultures with common themes concerning the way in which experiences grow out of other experiences, which in turn lead to further experiences and to an imagined experiential future (Riessman, 1993, 2008).

Lee (2005) considers that the reclamation of pūrākau as an authentic and legitimate research method is integral to the advancement of Māori and Indigenous peoples efforts to 'decolonise methodologies' (L. Smith, 1999, 2012). Advocacy by Māori women (Pihama, 2001; L. Smith, 1993; Te Awekotoku, 1991; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996) stress the importance of seeking theoretical understanding and analysis which is compatible to the experiences of Māori women. To expand upon the concept and importance of Mana Wāhine, Tomlins-Jahnke (1996) states that:

In order to make sense of the reality of Māori women's lives and find relevant ways to explain the nature of Māori women's experiences in contemporary contexts it is necessary to employ an analysis that is grounded in Te Ao Māori. (p. 26)

Bishop (1996) adds to academic discussion concerning pūrākau as a culturally appropriate research tool, signifying that story-telling represents a diversity of truth. Bishop (1996) considers the positioning of power in the researcher/research participant relationship, suggesting that the story-teller retains control. Lee (2005) contends that pūrākau clearly "aligns itself to the tenets of ethical research practice where the power relations embedded in research are brought to the fore" (p. 10). Similarly, Lee takes into account pūrākau methods where the story-tellers story is re-presented to ensure the participants 'voice' remains central and authenticated by the original story-teller.

Dr Ranginui Walker (1975) discussed the importance of ensuring that contemporary society fully appreciate the principles embedded in the 'myth-messages' portrayed in Māori mythology, to ensure they are made clear and easily understood:

161

The validity of myths was not questioned by the Māori until the post-Christian era when they were displaced by the mythology of a new culture. Today 'kōrero pūrākau' has the same negative connotation of untruth as it is only a myth. This is unfortunate, since an analysis of Māori myths will show that even today Māori will respond to the myth messages and cultural imperatives embedded in their mythology….The myth-messages now need to be spelled out to the modern Māori. (p. 20)

Walker (1978) raises the issue of analysis and clarity to ensure that the messages embedded within the 'myth-message' is not reduced to a set of fables and tales that minimises the importance of the real message to be revealed.

In the same manner, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) and Chase (2005) alert us to the importance of applying rigor to the analysis process in order for the narrative to be taken seriously. Chase states:

In what ways is the analysis of narratives made systematic to move beyond the oft-heard charges that is nothing more than 'storytelling' and/or 'journalism'? Efforts over the past few decades have sought to sharpen the ways in which narrative analysis can be used in a more systematic fashion in order to harness the empirical information that is gathered. The tools and methods that have been developed are the function of the types of research questions that have been posed…, the types of narratives that have been gathered and the type of individuals from whom they have been gathered. Narratives can range from short and discrete accounts of well-defined events (at least in terms of timing and duration) to life histories spanning decades of experience. (pp. 31-32)

When discussing Korero Pūrākau, the art of Māori storytelling, Metge (2010) explains how she turned to the work of Claude Levi-Strauss (1963) and his theories of analysis. According to Metge (2010), the anthropological study of myths were greatly influenced by Levi-Strauss during the late 1960s, where the analysis "concentrated on uncovering the timeless, underpinning structure of ideas and logical processes, which work below the level of consciousness to resolve problems (Levi-Strauss, 1963; cited in

Metge, 2010, p. 30). Here however, a pūrākau analysis will draw upon a traditional Māori narrative approach where Māori women's experiences of partner violence are expressed to provide knowledge concerning ways in which partner violence influenced experiences between Māori mothers and their tamariki.

8.8.1 Te-āta-tu Pūrākau:

Te-āta-tu refers to the dawning of a new day that always follows on from a period of darkness. *Ata* often referred to as early morning or the space between darkness and light; it is synonymous with human metabolism where the shift between sleep to awakening occurs. It encompasses an understanding that something new is about to take shape. It also incorporates a period of thoughtfulness and reflection as in wai whakaata – to look at one's reflection. As conveyed in Māori creation pūrākau, the world started with darkness and through eons of time experienced different encounters of darkness from long and drawn out to intensely still and deeply dark before the darkness lessened, eventually arriving at Te Ao Mārama - The World of Light (Walker, 1978). I have chosen *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau* to symbolically represent and describe the shifts that occur through the telling and unfolding of one's pūrākau; that in the telling and sharing, inspiration and understanding are found.

It was important to develop an analysis method that provided a structured approach while capturing the dynamic associations that were unfolding in the pūrākau process. For this reason I have introduced *Poutama* to assist in the analysis process and to capture the different levels of analysis. *Poutama* (levels, steps) is a familiar Māori term that describes more broadly a journeying process and often depicted in the tukutuku panels of the carved meeting house to resemble a stairway or steps. I wanted to develop an analysis process that was easy to follow and readily applicable, and in keeping with this thinking I have simply called the levels of analysis Poutama tahi through to Poutama rima (Poutama [Steps] 1-5).

It was my preference to analyse the written transcripts using a manual pūrākau approach. This allowed me to become familiar with the women's stories and remain engaged with the data. Morse and Field (1995) suggest that qualitative analysis is an involved process that necessitates the need for the researcher to be immersed in and have complete familiarity with the data. This approach enables the researcher to make tentative propositions about associations within the data as they begin to emerge. Māori symbols

and 'colour coding' methods were used to illuminate experiences within the transcribed pūrākau. To follow is an explanation of the poutama levels of analysis.

Poutama Tahi:

First, there is the linear level of the basic structure of the pūrākau – the subject, verb and object of a story – which relates the basic 'facts' as they are understood by the storyteller, and will include the sequential nature of the story.

Poutama Rua:

Second, there is the relational level, in which the pūrākau can reveal relationships between the storyteller and other important people, as well as the chronological, sequential, historical, spatial and otherworldly contextual dimensions that are related to the event that is being recounted. Connections to celestial or spiritual experiences may emerge at this Poutama and materialise in the following Poutama.

Poutama Toru:

Third, there is the emotional level, which conveys the feelings (e.g., love, hate, fear, warmth, coldness, alienation, acceptance, rejection) and subjective understanding of the event as it has unfolded and been experienced by the storyteller (e.g., the sense of who was really responsible and why, what really happened, what features of the story are considered 'right' and 'wrong', etc.)

Poutama Whā:

The fourth poutama describes the analytical level. This is where the researcher adds a layer of meaning to the pūrākau. This can include making associations with pūrākau that have similar messages in the narrative. A Māori qualitative approach that utilises Māori methods such as pūrākau, oriori, waiata and moteatea that describe life events or similar events may benefit from this approach.

Poutama Rima:

The fifth level acknowledges the wairua or the spiritual level of engagement. It provides a space for others who view or interact with the content delivered in the pūrākau. This is where existential relationships develop as a consequence of hearing, seeing and observing

the pūrākau. The reader or audience remains as an unspecified observer and participant through the process of engaging with the material as if by proxy, allowing for further analysis and interpretations and key messages to be heard. More importantly the fifth poutama acknowledges how each person's life is connected to and touched by others through a very special place of knowing and feeling that we call wairua.

8.9 Summary:

Pūrākau and Poutama are two Māori methods that seek to aid and deepen our understanding of the complexities of people's lives and those experiences such as intentional acts of violence that can overwhelm one's sense of equilibrium and challenge psychological, emotional and relational states to such an extent that result in states of depression and post-trauma difficulties. The time-honoured concepts of *'Ā te wā'* and *'Mā te wā'* are concerned with spatial and relational notions that are often unseen and unconscious processes that provide the foundations enable the kōrero (talk) to flow and pūrākau to be told. The depth of story-telling is therefore a reflection of the trust that develops through *'Ā te wā'* and *'Mā te wā'* and the resulting korero pūrākau that are shared.

It remains debatable whether it is truly possible to hear the pūrākau from a non-judgmental position, however, listeners and observers are encouraged to keep an open mind so that any consequential positive or negative judgment one may attach to the pūrākau does not hinder the flow of the storytelling. In the kanohi-ki-te-kanohi setting, a non-judgmental approach helps to facilitate a level of safety that enables the storyteller to kōrero unhindered. The opportunity to externalise a multi-dimensional descriptive account of an event or events in a person's personal history so that we may learn from these is at the centre of the pūrākau method. When the personal stories and pūrākau subject matters are illuminated and made explicit, it is envisaged that they will provide the answers to my research question. As a culturally relevant analysis method, *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau* enables me to 'remove the mist from the myth' so that the central part of the issues can be revealed. Pūrākau provide the opportunity to journey to the heart of the problem where the process of healing can begin through a deepened understanding.

TE WĀHANGA IWA: CHAPTER NINE - NGĀ PŪRĀKAU O NGĀ WĀHINE

9.1 Introduction:

In this chapter, I present the edited Korero Pūrākau interviews undertaken with 12 Māori mothers revealing their experiences of raising their young children in the context of a violent relationship. I have organised the pūrākau in a particular manner that attempts to contain them within the context of this study, while pushing them outside of the dominant academic norms. I have bordered the kōrero in this section in an effort to symbolically portray the four corners of the meeting house where many of our pūrākau find expression. Furthermore, I have included the traditional karakia that were used for the hui interviews in order to assist in portraying the lived experience and to carry us through the kōrero pūrākau.

The Māori mothers who participated in this research had all taken steps to engage in some form of therapeutic intervention to find their way of healing from the enduring abuse experienced in their intimate relationships. The women who participated in the hui interviews came to know each other through their participation in a community-based Mana Wāhine support group programme that provides a range of services to Māori whānau. The women who participated in the individual interviews to my knowledge are not known to each other, and respectively they have remained committed to their healing journeys establishing and participating in much healthier lifestyle choices.

Two approaches have been used to organise and present the Korero Pūrākau. Firstly, and in order to capture the korerorero (discussions) of the two interviews, I have organised the Korero Pūrākau under ten presenting themes. The themes emerged from the pūrākau and these have been presented according to the *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau* analysis method. Respectively the themes are followed by a short discussion point while leaving space for a spiritual reflection, before proceeding on to the next theme. Secondly, I have also included small excerpts from the women's pūrākau to highlight the behaviours they experienced with their tamariki, messages to whānau, hapū and iwi, and final words of wisdom from the mothers. I have not applied *Te-ata-tu Pūrākau* in my second approach and will leave the messages in the pūrākau to speak for themselves.

9.2 Entering Sacred Space:

In keeping with the protocols or research methods utilised during the interview process and to help capture the experience, I consider that we are about to enter "Sacred Space". Entering "Sacred Space" serves to remind the reader that the kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interviews began and finished with karakia, and the experiences detailed in the pūrākau impacted not only on the physical, physiological and emotional bodies of the women, but on their spiritual bodies as well. From this point, the korero pūrākau that follow are pūrākau reported by Māori mothers who tell of their experiences both graphically and sincerely, thus providing insights into their inner world.

Karakia

Whakataka te hau ki te uru	Cease the winds from the west
Whakataka te hau ki te tonga	Cease the winds from the south
Kia mākinakina ki uta	Let the breeze blow over the land
Kia mātaratara ki tai	Let the breeze blow over the ocean
E hī ake ana te ātakura	Let the red-tipped dawn come with
He tio, he huka, he hau hū	A sharpened air, touch of frost, a promise of a glorious day.
Tīhei mauri ora!	

9.3 Pūrākau Excerpts:

9.3.1 Excerpt One: Beloved Person:

9.3.1 Poutama Tahi:
Someone Who is Intensely Loved.

Oh well because I was in love with him, he was my first love. Oh yes give me a dong I'll come back, oh yes give me another one I'll keep running back I love you. I felt useless you know... you know when you're tired and your useless you look at your kids and you think "why the hell am I here? What the hell can I do to get us out of here, there's no support? Where's the support that I need and that's why I stayed in the relationship.

9.3.2 Poutama Rua: Ka Mate Ka Mate! Ka Ora Ka Ora!
Will I Live or Will I Die!

My sister she had come to visit and she was the one who found me, who took me to the hospital rang the police, rang the ambulance and everything. She went back and got the kids. When it gets to the point when you're in a hospital bed and you've got your family standing around you and the doctors says "You're very lucky, you could have died"; that's when I came around to the reality of my life.

9.3.3 Poutama Toru: Repairing the Broken Bonds

For me I'm just trying to get that bond back that I had with my babies. And for him he needs to learn who his kids are, his older ones, because in their eyes he doesn't know them. They saw the hidings and everything and then he decided to leave when they needed him the most. I know he doesn't know them, I can see it; I can hear it in the way he treats my older ones compared to how he treats our baby. He treats her like she's the world, everything revolves around her. My other two are nothing to him, as if they're my kids, but not his.

9.3.4 Poutama Whā: Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated Listening

There are many challenges that are woven throughout this mother's pūrākau where she is left questioning the availability of appropriate support. The idea that women stay in violent relationships believing that there is no available support is an ongoing dilemma for many women with children. Changing these perceptions requires much greater responsiveness from government where ministries such as health, social

development, education and justice move beyond collaboration to a model of integrated support. The existing ideology where the burden of responsibility lies with a mother and her tamariki does not address perpetrator responsibility. Whānau, hapū and iwi can assist by strengthening the supports that enable Māori women and their tamariki to take the first steps toward hauora and mauri ora (health and vitality). Māori initiatives along with non-government and professional organisations require adequate resourcing that is practical and sustainable to address the issue of violence in our communities. Importantly these pūrākau challenge us to develop responses that are appropriate for traumatised Māori tamariki where the bonds of love between a mother and her children can be nurtured once again.

9.3.5 Poutama Rima: Wairua

A Spiritual Reflection

9.4. Excerpt Two: To Break Somebody's Heart

9.4.1 Poutama Tahi: Whaiaipo: Childhood Sweet-Heart

We were college sweet-hearts and his sister was my best mate. I got hapū [pregnant] at the age of 21 and um yeah. Maybe I was naive and didn't realise or couldn't recognise or identify what was violence and what was not violence, but the emotional abuse was definitely there. It was later on after the 12th year that the violence started to come out. We were from two good families...and we thought we knew each other, well we thought we did and that's where we really underestimated that.

9.4.2 Poutama Rua: Driven to Breaking Point

You know there were some instances or situations that I got in and I could have killed him, it got me to the breaking point. I'm not a violent person but having hidings every day, day in day out, going to work trying to put food on the table, trying to care for my tamariki and him. It got me to the breaking point. I'm so glad my older sister and niece were there. There is this thing where he can give me a hiding but don't you dare touch my family, my nieces and my nephews - that's when I broke. I dragged him to my room and I hammered the shit out of him. I'd had enough. I didn't care anymore and when you get to that point in your life... I just went "Oh my gosh, that is not me".... You lose your self-worth.

9.4.3 Poutama Toru: To Cause Somebody Intense
Unhappiness and Suffering

Our love what we knew of love turned to hatred for each other, underlying hatred.
Because of the violation, because I didn't know any better. We were sad and unhappy we
were suffering, nothing I ever did was good enough. All I knew about was trying to keep
my tamariki together keep my tāne (man) at that time; happy and hopefully things would
work out but it didn't.

9.4.4 Poutama Whā: Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated listening

In speaking of her disappointment we learn from this mother's pūrākau that the
violent and abusive behaviours in the relationship have exhausted the love they once had
for each other, thereby establishing that love is unsustainable in an abusive environment.
Initially the intimacy of the relationship may have offered the promise of secure love;
however mounting difficulties and the disappointment of the 'first love' experience did
not prevail.

9.4.5 Poutama Rima: Wairua
A Spiritual Reflection

9.5 Excerpt Three: When the Alarm Bells Ring

9.5.1 Poutama Tahi: Disregarding the Signs

His wife had died in November of the previous year and we got married in May.
I'd heard that he had been abusing her. I had known that throughout her life he was
violent towards her you know, so it was not like I didn't know that he was violent, but I
thought that he had changed his ways.

9.5.2 Poutama Rua: - Denial Hurts - Rebuffing my Judgements

When we were dating, I remember this time when we went out and I wanted to
stay. I was with all my old school mates having a great time and he said, "I want to go
home now" and I said, "Ok you go I'll be alright, my mates will take me home" and he
said, "I'll give you the car and I'll find my own way home" and I said "No, no, you take
your car, my mates will take me home, I'm fine." Anyway he stayed with me so when we
got home he pushed me up against the wall and I um I looked at him and I said to him

"So is this what I've got to look forward to?" and he said, "No, no," and he backed off. So um you know against my better judgment...

9.5.3 Poutama Toru: Possession: Something Owned

From then on we very rarely went out, but it was just like his possessiveness was so great and I was the possession. I wasn't even allowed to hop in the car and go to the shop and buy bread or anything like that. I had to stay in the house. So I think he decided that he didn't want to lose me. He'd already lost his first wife, so he wanted to make me his possession. He was very jealous, very possessive; there was nothing I could do that could make him happy.

9.5.4 Poutama Whā: Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated listening

This pūrākau reveals much more about decisions that are made in the early stages of a new relationship where disregarded warnings signs can have dire consequences. For some, the lure of love is compelling even when alarm bells ring. In this pūrākau we learn that the violent behaviours of another cannot be managed, changed or otherwise by a personal desire to seek after something greater. Perhaps this pūrākau reveals much more about our ability to turn away from and essentially ignore our inner thoughts and feelings.

9.5.5 Poutama Rima: Wairua

A Spiritual Reflection

9.6 Excerpt Four: Violence Dominates and Destroys

9.6.1 Poutama Tahi: His Need to Dominate

We got married at my auntie's place; she's a marriage celebrant. And the next day we came back and the family had put on this little party for us....I'd been to the toilet and when I came out he just grabbed me and threw me up against the wall. He said, "Why are you looking at people? Why are you talking to everyone? You know you should be sitting there with your eyes looking at the ground." I said, "Why would I want to do that?" and he went like this to me with his arm pushed up against my throat and right then my uncle walked in and my uncle was aware of his background. My uncle said to him "Is this what my niece has got to look forward to aye?" He backed off and said, "No, no."

171

9.6.2 Poutama Rua: The Violence Started Straight Away

The beatings started straight away. Anything would set him off, the kids crying or just anything. I learnt very fast not to moan, because if I moaned I'd get my lot, I'd get punched in the face. Quite often I'd have a bloody nose or black eyes things like that and you know, it got to the stage where it was in front of the kids, and the kids would just run out of the room. For the first ten years of my marriage it was constant abuse. You know silly little things would set him off, real stupid little things. Dinner was cooked, the kids were bathed so all he would have to do was get off the truck and come in and have dinner, you know, and that was just the way he liked it to be - like a well-oiled machine, you know. And that's what he demanded of me and that's what he got.

9.6.3 Poutama Toru: Lose heart: Become Discouraged

At first I thought he really loves me...(teary) but it wasn't. He was just selfish and it was always about him, him, him and right through, that lasted through ten years of my marriage. But my uncle was right, because it was the beginning of the end (teary).

9.6.2 Poutama Whā: Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated Listening

Living with violence is a painful experience for mothers and their tamariki. Tamariki flee in fear while their mother is deprived of respect and recognition. A controlling man's need to feel superior is never satisfied. Domination and a regimented routine fall well short of 'Real Love'.

9.6.4 Poutama Rima: Wairua

A Spiritual Reflection

9.7 Excerpt Five: Mātakitaki Tamariki – Children Observe

9.7.1 Poutama Tahi: Mātakitaki Tamariki
"All through their lives they've watched...They saw everything"

In my situation, when I got hidings my babies were small. I had family but they were hardly home so my babies had to watch because there was nobody there for them. All through their lives, they have watched. I'm getting hidings for stuff, you know kai's (food) not cooked properly or the bread's not perfect, or the table's not set properly, I'd get a dong. What made him hit me was the alcohol, and because of his childhood. I got

the everything. But um, I'm slowly getting her to come with me to my courses to get her out of that. We did the hikoi (march) with everybody here, called "It's not Okay to hit" and that hikoi, it must have done something to her because she's [laughs] just an out there girl now. "It's not okay" she says to her friends "to hit - even if you're a woman it's not okay"[laugh]. So those messages are really getting in.

9.7.2 Poutama Rua: A Hikoi for Change

Even today, I don't have a bond with my kids. With my oldest ones they've got this attitude. My daughter, she's my first born; she's got the attitude of her dad, the mouth, the everything. But um, I'm slowly getting her to come with me to my courses to get her out of that. We did the hikoi (march) with everybody here, called "It's not Okay to hit" and that hikoi, it must have done something to her because she's [laughs] just an out there girl now. "It's not okay" she says to her friends "to hit - even if you're a woman it's not okay"[laugh]. So those messages are really getting in.

9.7.3 Poutama Toru: Māma, Pēpī and Tamariki
A disheartening experience

They've seen everything. Because my girl was the oldest she would run toward baby and she would protect baby and she'd just say, "It's okay" and hold her. Yeah, and then when he was finished, he would go back to drinking and the kids they would come to me. They would touch me and start wiping the blood off me....they would clean me up.

9.7.4 Poutama Whā: Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated Listening

Violence against a mother is a destructive and deviant form of violence for both mother and child. Tamariki are forced to bear their pain in silence and to manage the carnage. Unable to contain intolerable pain, the child often inadvertently turns against the mother or risk becoming like her. He or she must identify with the aggressor or risk complete annihilation. Violence breaks the emotional bonds and survival is of the utmost; the ultimate mortification for both mother and child.

9.7.4 Poutama Rima: Wairua
A Spiritual Reflection

9.8. Excerpt Six: Devaluing the Values

9.8.1 Poutama Tahi: Gradually But Surely

You know the selfishness and the controlling was starting to slowly creep in through the eighth and ninth years. Then the physical violence came in to it....our relationship was really rocky when we had our second child.

9.8.2 Poutama Rua: Beliefs and Values De-valued

Because of my beliefs and values because I had a child to this man, you were to stick it out through thick or thin you know. It's not about you anymore; it's about your baby. I was working; I was hapū when I was working. I was trying to follow my family values of sticking together, man and woman. I wanted my children to have parents like I did. Unfortunately that didn't happen.

9.8.3 Poutama Toru: Affairs and Infidelity− Matters of the Heart

I tried to reconcile, had another baby to him, but um at that time I thought you know I can handle the emotional abuse, I can sort that out. I can handle the physical violence; I can handle the emotional abuse. But I could not handle the adultery that he did outside of our home. Through the end of our relationship that's when the violence started getting really, really heavy.

9.8.4 Poutama Whā: Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated Listening

Coming to know our partners is a gradual process, where in time we begin to see more of each other's distinct personalities. In the absence of reciprocity, personal sacrifice is depreciated as an attribute to be exploited. Selfishness knows no limits where infidelity is a hard-hearted betrayal of our values and beliefs. Whānau ideals are blemished and whānau ambitions destroyed by the cruel reality of a controlling partner.

9.8.5 Poutama Rima Wairua

A Spiritual Reflection

9.9 Excerpt Seven: Whakapapa Trauma

9.9.1 Poutama Tahi: Whakapapa - Layer upon Layer
Historical Trauma: An Intergenerational Problem

So many black eyes you know. I was so used to seeing my mum with black eyes and vowed that I would never end up in that situation. We were able to hide our [internal] bruises very well, rather than the ones on our faces. I know that my girl was trying to do that as well hide the bruises and it was like re-living where my mum was, had been, where I was at and watching my girl go through the same thing and how it affected us. Not just emotionally− it's disturbing and it feels like we're doing it on our own. Out of all my babies, out of the three tamariki I have, she was the one who was probably affected the most. In my attempts to protect her, she spent a lot of time with her nanny, with my mum.

9.9.2 Poutama Rua: The Ultimate Betrayal

Um… my daughter….she was…um we were both sexually abused from quite young um before we were five around 4 or 5 years of age and um that is something that she has never forgiven me for. It was something I could never forgive myself for, not being able to protect my baby, and that has been one of our big hang-ups.

9.9.3 Poutama Toru: Breaking the Enduring Patterns

My baby doesn't speak to me today, she's 27 now, and she has just gone through a violent relationship herself. Her tamariki are in CYFs [Child Youth & Family Services] and I can see how it has affected my mokos'. My mum was a battered woman, I saw it happen to my mum and it certainly wouldn't happen to me. But it happened to me and it affected my girl and she has also had that pattern, that cycle. What I am afraid of is that it will reach my mokos. The oldest one is six and she's aware of the domestics, the arguing, mum being hit and of mum being hurt. I hope that we can bridge the gap that we currently have and um have an open door policy, where our love is unconditional for our tamariki.

9.9.4 Poutama Whā: Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated Listening

Whānau are unable to adapt to poor surroundings and the task of nurturing is shunted as a secondary consideration to survival. Intergenerational patterns of early childhood neglect, sexual abuse, and repeated separations remain embedded within the whānau system. The pūrākau approach enables this mother to announce her love for her

own mother, daughter and mokopuna. She reclaims her innermost desire to mother from a place that is now safe enough to do so and in the safety of the hui katoa. The search for unconditional love remains as a beacon of hope.

9.9.5 Poutama Rima: Wairua

A Spiritual Reflection

9.10 Excerpt Eight: Partner Violence a Debilitating Trauma

9.10.1 .Poutama Tahi: Trauma −Kei Mua

We're all sick, we're all sick and tired, and we're all sick and tired of being sick and tired. When you grow up in a whānau like mine where all there is fighting and drinking and then more of the same, what can you do? That to me was normal, but I know I'm not normal 'cause that's not normal. I hated my father for what he did...and in the end I hated my mother for not leaving him. I use to think to myself "what the fuck are you hanging round for, fucken leave him". I remember saying that to her once but nothing changed. I remember the fear in her eyes.

9.10.2 Poutama Rua: Dissociation, a Trauma Response: Te Wā

I couldn't talk about it before but I'm starting to now. It would do my head in. I couldn't stop thinking about it all the time, in the morning, at home, at work, couldn't go to sleep. It was just there all the time in my head, I couldn't get rid of it - the fighting, the screaming and then the quiet...I'd have to take something to get rid of it out my head. The drugs, the alcohol; anything to black it out. I can't stand the sight of blood and the smell of it... ew! It makes me shiver; I hate the smell of it. I'd have to clean her [mum] up when he'd had enough. He'd say "get in here and clean your mother up, who the fuck wants to look at that."

You know, I can't even really remember how we got together; that whole time is like a total blank. It was like waking up one day and there's this man sharing the house with me and we had kids. One day I woke up, I literally woke up! I'm standing there putting a kai on the table and it hit me, I'm looking at my husband and my tamariki thinking shit who the hell are you? It was really bloody scary. I realised that I didn't know who I was anymore....That's what it does to you, that's what all that violence shit does to you. It steals you away and you don't know who you are anymore.

9.10.3 Poutama Toru: Reconciling Trauma −Kei Muri

You know I'm an angry person or I've been an angry person; the help is helping me to get better. Now I can say I love my mum, I feel aroha for her. I didn't get it before but I'm getting it now. I couldn't make sense of it then, I was just a kid; a scared and frightened kid. And then it turned to anger and my anger turned to hate. But now it's different, now I feel aroha and I feel sad. My mum, when the hidings would happen you could see her fear, you could see her freeze up and then she'd weaken. It was like watching a balloon go down, you see all the air going out of it. But you can't talk to her about it, she doesn't know what to say or where to look or she gets all fidgety. So I just leave her alone now, I don't harp on about it anymore, she's been through enough. I know that I am healing, the wounds are healing and that helps me to heal her. Now I just tell her that I love her...that's all I want her to know, is that I love her.

9.10.4 Poutama Whā: Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated Listening

Violence leaves many scars. These experiences can be immobilising on many different levels where emotions and altered states of the mind seek resolution. This pūrākau illustrates that adults who experience early childhood trauma carry their trauma experiences with them throughout life, always seeking to make sense of the unthinkable. This pūrākau shows us that healing from trauma is sometimes a narrative of incoherent swirls. Pūrākau involves making-sense of one's life and this is what matters most. We are not destined to repeat trauma of the past when we can make sense of our lives by uncovering the deeper layers of our whakapapa stories. Te Ira Tangata, the essence of humankind, reminds us that the house of healing is seated within. When we return to the puku, the centre of this knowing, history is no longer our destiny. The process of healing from early childhood and adult exposure to violence and abuse is a hikoi (journey) of hope, restoration, and transformation.

9.10.5 Poutama Rima: Wairua

A Spiritual Reflection

177

9.11 Excerpt Ngā Roimata i te Mamae e Kai Kino –Tears of Instense Pain

9.11.1 Poutama Tahi: Whakamomori: Contemplating Suicide

I got to the stage where I wanted to commit suicide you know [tearful] even though that wasn't going to help. But I felt like that was my best way out [crying]…

9.11.2 Poutama Rua: Aroha- A Child's Response

For me it was my daughter; she said, "Mum, please he's always mean to you. He makes you cry every day. Why don't you find you another boyfriend?"

9.11.3 Poutama Toru: Whatumanawa: Deep Seated Emotions

Yeah, that was it like that night I was thinking, "What am I going to do with all the kids, like how am I going to take them? Where can I take them?, you know." So I thought no I need to leave them with him because I need to sort myself out you know because I was so down. I was so miserable and unhappy I couldn't go on like that and that's why I thought about killing myself (tearful). So yeah, it was my daughter that made me think about what I was doing - a four year old telling me she kept seeing me cry every day.

9.11.4 Poutama Whā Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated Listening

Partner violence can leave us desperately trapped in a cycle of never ending abuse with a gradual descent from depression to suicidal feelings. This mother's pūrākau is a testament to the courage and strength it takes to not act on suicidal thoughts. This pūrākau is a reminder that when we are at our lowest ebb, we must ensure violence does not destroy us completely.

9.11.5 Poutama Rima: Wairua
A Spiritual Reflection

9.12 Excerpt Ten: Partner Violence −Extinguishing Mauri

9.12.2 Poutama Rua: E Tu Mana Wahine – Women Rise Up

Something inside you breaks. Your good will, you know it's wrong but you just don't give a shit anymore. I had to get him down, bring him back to life and then called the ambulance and left him there.

9.12.3 Poutama Toru: He Wairua Whatiwhati –A Broken Spirit

It's actually after that that you think "Oh my gosh, I'm a part of that whether I like it or not." No matter how much I tried to get us to that healing point after ten years. When that person has got you to that point when- your spirit actually breaks, It does because it takes a lot to get to our wairua.

9.12.1 Poutama Tahi: Whakamomori – A Near Death Experience

I hammered him and it wasn't very pleasant. Yeah, beyond caring and I thought well if you're gonna take me down I'm gonna put up a good fight and these ten years are gonna be worth it. It was what he did afterwards that made me feel more guilty about what had just happened. I came back and he's in my garage and he's hung up and that was like, "Nah. Oh no this is to out of hand now it had gotten uncontrollable".

9.12.4 Poutama Whā: Ata Whakarongo: Deliberated Listening

Through this pūrākau we learn that suicide is also a perpetrator's response. Violence leads to poor functioning and unhappy whānau lifestyles. Anger is an emotion, however when expressed through violent and controlling behaviours, it is a toxic mix of negative emotions that leaves both the perpetrator and victim feeling overwhelmed with despair and negativity.

9.12.5 Poutama Rima: Wairua
A Spiritual Reflection

9.13 Excerpt Themes: Mauri Tamariki

9.13.1 Tū Ngā Pihi Tamariki:

When Children Get Angry

She used to have rages that would see her ripping every poster off her walls, ripping her books, smashing pot plants, just rages picking her sores and making her legs bleed. I'm pulling my hair out thinking what's going on for my daughter? At seven years old she wants to run out on the road and get hit by a car because she wants to kill herself. I'm thinking "what the hell, has somebody been abusing my daughter?"

Summary Externalising - Mauri Oho

This pūrākau reveals what can happen when tamariki witness and experience violence in their homes. Woven throughout this pūrākau is a mother's reflection on her child's response to traumatic events. Interpersonal violence affects the mauri of young tamariki, overwhelming their psychological and emotional capacities. Unable to contain and manage her hurts, anger and frustrations this tamaiti must expel and externalise the intolerable fears of her internal world.

9.13.2 He Whētuki Tamaiti - A Child's Trauma.

He just hit some ugly anger and um, he couldn't talk to me, he wouldn't look at me and all his behaviours were telling me that he hid all that ugly stuff inside of him. He would never go to counseling and still won't; he's suppressed it all. He won't go to therapy even though I've tried to encourage him. He reads and I think it helps him to make connections. I think that is his self-therapy that allows him to get closer to me. I'm close to all my children, but I feel closer to him not because he is my favourite but because I know what he has seen. He never had anyone (sadness/tears), like he never had my mum or dad like my girl had.

Summary Internalising - Mauri Moe

This pūrākau helps us to understand how a tamaiti's exposure to horrific violence activates mauri moe. This boy's mother described her experiences of violence as extreme explaining the various forms of physical violence to include brutal beatings, sexual assaults, rape, strangulation, attempted murder and humiliating acts witnessed by her son from early childhood. When language has yet to be developed and the frightening cries of a young child go unheard, the child is subjected to isolation left to huddle in lonely places where cussing and screaming vibrates throughout their young bodies and minds. Eventually when language acquisition is obtained, there are no words to describe what was relatedly seen, heard and witnessed. Violence in the home obscures the needs of children rendering them invisible, destroying their ability to be hopeful, and trusting of adults and the world around them. Internalising and suppressing the unspoken horrors becomes a maladaptive response to trauma. The internal world of the child is haunted by the unspeakable acts of the past.

9.13.3 He Pakanga Taniwha – A Warfaring Taniwha

I'm very worried about it because it might come to a point where he might actually kill his father because he's held it all in, all that pain. His anger's been building and I've tried to take him to counseling. My mum's a spiritual lady and she said that there will be a certain time when he gets older and for me to be ready because that's when he'll blow. So all I do now is just talk I try and talk to him.

Summary - Mauri Oho Rere

This mother's pūrākau speaks to the fears she has for her adolescent son where the longer term impacts of partner violence on tamariki is a domestic and whānau issue. In the absence of his violent father and within a relatively safe home environment consequences are far reaching where a violent imprint resonates in the mind of this mother's son. Harbouring hateful and revengeful emotions can lead to serious injury toward the perpetrator. The trajectory for pent-up childhood aggression places tamariki at greater risk of antisocial and adolescent physical aggression.

9.13.4 Wounded From the Cradle

When my daughter was just a baby, she would rock back in forth in her cot making a humming dull sound. Sometimes she would do this through the night, her father would say, "What's wrong with that kid?" pick up a pillow, and throw it at her to make her shut-up. My daughter saw everything he did to me from that cot. Now my daughter works in forestry she's only tiny and that's what she does, she's is just so super strong and she's only skinny and scrawny but she'll take on anything. Her sister is the same. They are like the men in the house, when they're angry with their men they punch them up. I think that is how the violence affected them, because they always had to protect themselves against their father. My daughter will always say, "Dad, he never liked me. He always used to pick on me". Both girls have had lots of difficulty with drugs and stuff and in their relationships.

Summary - Attachment Gone Wrong

This mother's pūrākau provides insight into the world of the infant where violence is the precursor for an unpredictable, frightening and violent future. The most vulnerable are defenceless babies who are unable to escape or remove themselves from life

threatening situations. From the cradle infant children are abused and terrorised where their basic safety and their developmentally immature vulnerability is unprotected.

The experiences of the infant child have persisted into adulthood where the behaviours described appear consistent with the characteristics of the disorganised/disorientated attachment schema. Chronic fear and extremely scary situations cannot be reconciled with proximity seeking or proximity avoidance and babies are left to self-sooth and to find comfort in their own rhythmic rocking motions. Bowlby (1977) asserted "attachment behaviour is held to characterize human beings from the cradle to the grave" (p. 203). The lifelong trajectory for drug abuse, violence and inter-personal difficulties reverberate in this pūrākau. The baby internalises a pūrākau that says, "The world is unsafe, I am bad and I am unlovable" - the only defence against the aggressor is aggression where the growing child is forced to develop an identity that can defend against harsh physical pain. Drugs and alcohol help to dissociate from the emotional and psychological pain and numb the heaviness of a burdensome past.

9.13.5 Aggravating the Agro - An Adolescent Attitude

You know one of my sons, the second oldest, he is violent. He abuses me, bullies his brothers and sisters, I can see his dad in him, and I've kicked him out. I actually don't want to have anything to do with him at the moment because he's punched holes in my walls. This was just recently and it's all because I don't give him what he wants. I'll say to him, "Geez L---- , you're just like you're father" and he'll say, "Yeah and it's all your fault you bitch." You know that's how he talks to me. I say to him, "Look at yourself L----." And he goes, "Yeah, well if you and Dad hadn't fought so much when we were growing up then maybe I wouldn't be like this." And I say, " I was more the victim than you were L---- and look at me I've made a change, and that's what you need to do." I can't help him he's got to do it himself.

Summary - Violence in Childhood

Exposure to violence during early childhood in domestic situations is the antecedent for unhappy and aggressive children. In a whānau, situation tamariki can become physically aggressive toward each other and are at greater risk of becoming violent adults. This pūrākau provides an example of young male aggression where both his mother and siblings become the immediate targets of anger and rage. Early childhood

182

exposure and repeated experiences of violence in domestic situations increases the likelihood of tamariki becoming aggressive adolescents where violence, antisocial, and oppositional behaviours become a way of life. The long term trajectory for children who have been over exposed to violence in their formative years and who have not had the opportunity to master their aggressive impulses are at greater risk of becoming violent offenders and or victims of violent crimes.

9.13.6 Excerpt Theme Two: Aro-Ha: A Life giving Intention

I used my kids to protect me (crying). I used to make them sleep with me so that he couldn't do things to me, you know. I felt like they protected me because as soon as they hung onto me or clung to me and said "don't dad, leave mum alone" and I would cling to them and so they would be protecting me. So I felt like I used my kids to protect me (crying).

After he did what he did, my babies would cry and we would huddle together. I would hug them and rock them gently to try to settle them. We would sleep together and I would try and quietly sing to them until they fell off to sleep. I felt aroha for them and I felt like a bad mum.

Well for me, every time their father would be violent towards me my kids would always run towards me and hold onto me. They would know when he was about to get violent, they knew all of his niggly signs, and they would come running to me and grab hold of my legs and stand there and look at him.

Anytime something bad happened or their father had just done something, because we never had a car or anything, we would just lie in bed and cuddle each other [yeah, yeah]. We would take care of each other and I would tell them how much I loved them.

Summary - Aroha: A Heart-felt Responses

The pūrākau themes presented above speak to the emotional bonds that are operating between the women and her tamariki. An important theme that emerged from the pūrākau was the desire and ability of mothers to take care of their tamariki and to sooth their pain when violence had affected them. Likewise, tamariki would help to protect their mothers when they could. The reciprocity and positive regard operating

between the women and their tamariki was mutually binding and expressed as aroha. The heart-felt response is to protect and seek both safety and security with each other. Together the mother and child/ren work to build a mutual defence seeking comfort and security in each other's arms.

9.13.7 Excerpt Theme Three: Manaakitanga: A Concept of Care

I used to try giving them things or taking them out or putting them in their room until the police came to take their father away. Afterwards I would want to do something special for them, like take them out or do something that would help take their minds off it [others agree]. Take them bowling or take them to the movies or do something nice to try and take their minds off the violence that just happened.

My sister and I were close sometimes she would come and pick the kids up or we would go over there and stay with her. My sister always worried about us and she would look after us, take care of us, and do whatever she could. We didn't always have money or food or anything and she would always give us what we needed.

I was fortunate that my girl could go to her grandparents. She stayed there most of the time so she had them to protect her but my son he was always with me. My son [tearful], he had no one, he saw everything.

Summary - Manaakitanga

The pūrākau provided descriptive reports of how the women cared for their tamariki and these descriptions were consistent with the Māori concept of manaakitanga. Manaakitanga is the expression of care and the ability to engage in caring behaviours from a holistic understanding. Grandparents or other whānaunga (relatives) would also exercise their ability to manaaki (care for) their mokopuna (grandchildren) and family members. Manaakitanga is the ability to uphold a person's mana and to nurture their well-being. It involves the quality of care and the respect offered to others in order to enhance and uplift the status of a person or group of people. The women expressed their concerns for the basic vulnerability, fear and lack of safety their tamariki had experienced. They exercised their concerns through the concept of manaakitanga.

9.13.8 Excerpt Theme Four: A Message for Whānau, Hapū and Iwi

Our kaumātua, they need to make a stand. They need to go onto the marae and they need to talk to their whānau and their mokopuna. Some of kaumātua may have been abusers themselves at one stage in their lives but hopefully they have learned that it is not okay. The mokopuna do not need to watch their parents fighting and they need to know who they can talk to. The kids need to know that if there is a problem at home they can speak to a teacher about it at school. It's the same thing within the whānau and on the marae, they need to know who they can speak to. It's not about narking, it's about making sure that their lives are going to be secure you know. There has to be that somebody and those people who will protect them.

I think that we need more men to stand up, protect our women, and speak to their men. I see it in the men that we engage with, that they do not want to hear what they shouldn't being doing from a woman because the person they just punched in the mouth was a woman and they need to hear it from their own. I think that we need more support from our men because at the whānau level and hapū and iwi level; all levels Māori men need to talk about their behaviour towards their women and children.

I ended up having therapy with an ACC registered therapist and that really helped me because she had a spiritual element to her therapy and her 'old ones' as she liked to call them. It sounds kooky to people that aren't open to Te Ao Māori, so um, that helped me a lot, like it helped me to put things to rest like my baby that I had terminated. My therapist had something about her, maybe because she was Māori, and understood spiritual things. The alcohol has been no good, especially the influence it has on the whānau. There is this generational pattern that happens between alcohol and violence.

"Get out! Get out! Get that thought out of your head because it's not going to get better" that is why I used to say to myself. That is what you do if you can get your man to go to counselling. At the end of the day he has to want to do it, it can't be court appointed, because it never works and that is what he told me. This is what he said to me "I was the only one who went on my own volition; everyone else was referred by the courts." He went on to say, "The person's got to want to change", and he did not believe any of the men who were at anger management genuinely wanted to change. If they are not prepared to change then they do not deserve to have their wives or children.

185

My parents took us away from our marae, from our people because of the violence and the alcohol and we very rarely went back. My kids are taking an interest now but that disconnection has made it hard to reconnect.

I already spoke to the kids we already talked about things after that event that this was not normal, it is very sick and most of it is. His problem was the alcohol, he just could not leave it alone and then the violence came out - then the drink driving charges and then external pressures that came into the home that were his, and trying to shift that from him was just so hard. I could not do it anymore.

For me I would be looking at, um it sounds cliché, but our kids are our future. But I left those situations because I didn't want them to see that, and for me it was a better decision to be a single parent and at least my kids weren't growing up with violence and being exposed to that and abuse. I didn't want that for my kids. I wanted my kids to have a better outcome.

Drugs and alcohol have played a big part in the violence we see today. Men think they can treat their women like crap when they are on that stuff.

I just want to say that I wish that I had gotten out of that relationship and away from that when my older children were young. Maybe they would not be how they are today. But I've made a change and the younger ones haven't seen what their father did. I got out of that relationship and now I can see the difference between my older children and my younger children. My younger children are happier the older ones have an attitude; they are angry, disrespectful and controlling. I said to the little ones, "This time I'm gonna make sure that you fullas are gonna treat me like how I should be treated, like a mum, not like the way your older brothers treat me." You know, [sighs it is hard.

Summary - Whanaungatanga

The central and underlying messages expressed through theme four resonate with the elements that are promoted through Te Wheke. The acknowledgement of wairuatanga as an important healing element came through in the women's pūrākau. Wairua became the measuring stick for a renewed and revitalised sense of physical and emotional health and therefore wairua was at the core of their healing journeys. The participants expressed through their pūrākau the various approaches they each took to over-come the violence that had affected them. This is demonstrated in their commitment to change and to make healing choices that fostered their sense of well-being.

186

Mana ake is the principle that values the uniqueness of individuals and their ability to make choices that are indicative of the needs that each individual may have. The connection between the life principle and the environment are encapsulated in the notion of mauri and the various aspects of mauri. The women have spoken about the negative aspects of partner violence and the magnitude of violence on the lives of themselves and their tamariki. Mauri is a measure of spiritual, physical, emotional and psychological well-being and a motivator for change.

The importance of *Ha a koro ma a kui ma* echoes with the call for our kaumātua to be much more proactive in their role to send positive messages that challenge our violent men and protect our women and children. Kaumātua are the important link between our tūpuna (ancestors/forbearers) and the current generations and repositories of tikanga knowledge and whānau look to our kaumātua to promote the life giving values embedded in our tikanga.

The pūrākau speak to taha tinana the physical dimensions of health. At this level, men are challenged to manage their aggressive behaviours and to hold each other to account on these matters and uphold tikanga values that challenge male violence and protect women and children. Whanaungatanga is a theme that is represented in the pūrākau and a core concept of whakapapa. The pūrākau highlight the connection between alcohol and drugs as a high risk factor for violent behaviour.

Taking care of our whatumanawa is to restore the balance between the emotional and psychological aspects of ourselves that are damaged through drug and alcohol misuse, violence and trauma so that we can appropriately respond to the emotional and psychological needs of our tamariki. The pūrākau send out a greater call to our collective whānau, hapū and iwi consciousness to prohibit the use of violence against women and children and to protect our tamariki as our future generation. Whanaungatanga means both kinship ties and the responsibility to exercise the right to speak out against violence in order that our collective strength works to uphold the collective mana of our people. Waiora is achieved when we take personal responsibility for our own behaviours and whanau ora is realised when we are collectively unified in our efforts to liberate ourselves from emotional and psychological impediments that create cycles of abuse and trauma.

9.13.9 Excerpt Theme Five: Mana Wāhine Words of Wisdom

Yes it does take time because you have to be wise about how you leave. Because you're not just looking after yourself you're looking after the little ones.

But it is hard; it's hard when you make the first step and then the next step and the next step. It is hard.

If you're in a domestic violent relationship now, don't get to the breaking point because you're going to turn around and do something that you'll regret later on in your life.

Keep telling yourself you deserve better. If you keep telling yourself that all the time it makes it easier to be able to leave. I feel that's what I had to do every day to feel better. I had to say I deserve better, I deserve better, I deserve better. When I'm feeling down - I deserve better - you know that's all I can say.

Get out; it's okay to ask for help. If the person that you ask is not helpful then ask someone else. Keep asking. Ring up one counsellor and if they're not helpful to you, then find another one.

Just know that love builds, it does not destroy or hurt. So just keep it simple and I'll be there if you need me.

Oh definitely find a programme like Mana Wāhine [laughing]; they need to have them all over the place - maraes, communities – everywhere. Or have pilot programmes similar with the same foundations in the different areas so that everybody knows they have a worth, you know like everybody has a role yeah, cause this is really working.
Well I've been separated from the kids dad now for six, seven years, but I'm still having issues with my older boys because I can see that they have got their dad's behaviour. But I feel like being here in this Mana Wāhine, it's really strengthened me heaps.
It is not worthwhile hanging in there if he is not genuine about changing. Then let go of the thought that things will improve without any intervention,

Um, go and look for help, before that breaking point, or else you'll do something to yourself and not think of your baby. This has done a lot for me-a lot.

I believe that you are never going to get out of it until you want to get out of it, I think that no matter how many times other people say to you "Oh get out, your kids deserve better", you're not going to leave until you know inside yourself that I want to leave, I have had enough, and when you make that decision you move on ahead.

It's my wairua, I'm finding my strength. I am I'm really really feeling strong and proud of being a Māori because I've never really been looking at the Māori side of me before.

Summary - Mauri Ora!

Mauri oho signals the point of awakening and transformation. The primary intention is the continual commitment to one's self in the attainment of mauri ora. Through their pūrākau, the women in this research study bear testament to being fully aware of the impacts partner violence has had on their lives and the effects on their tamariki. Their willingness to engage in healing and in the telling and re-telling of their pūrākau clarity of the past with its legacy of hurt, pain and destruction have created a new awareness. This awareness opens up the potential for new and exciting transformative possibilities. The mothers have a renewed energy for the possibilities of parenting their tamariki in a manner that is much more reflective of who they are as Mana Wāhine. They are actively engaged in forging of a secure and secure relationships for both their tamariki and mokopuna. According to Pohatu (2013), "The state of mauri ora like mauri moe however, is never static. It is consistently evolving and so there is never a final and complete state of being" and this makes for a brighter future for these wāhine!

9.5 Chapter Summary:

The risks and consequences of living with partner violence is a real and serious matter for Māori women and their tamariki. The pūrākau excerpts are testament to the safety issues that leave women battered, bruised and beaten to near death. The pūrākau give unmistakable clarity to the connections between the battering of Māori mothers and the vulnerability of their tamariki. The trauma of experiencing violence first hand and witnessing violence first hand has highlighted the need to consider cumulative impacts. The frequency, severity and length of exposure to violence compounds traumatic experiences. The mother's in this study have shared their views concerning the harmful effects partner violence has had on their tamariki. The following chapter is dedicated to understanding the complexities of these experiences.

TE WĀHANGA TEKAU: CHAPTER TEN - HE RARANGA KORERORERO: WEAVING THE DISCUSSION

10.1 Introduction:

This discussion draws upon the realities of Māori mothers' experiences of partner violence and understanding some of the connections with emotional development of their children. This study involved a relational process engaging with pūrākau as a traditional storytelling approach and *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau* as a newly developed Māori analysis method. Employing these Indigenous methods assisted in facilitating trusting relationships between the researcher and the research participants, resulting in an extensive narrative pool of information. As a consequence it was not possible to relay all the korero pūrākau in their entirety due to the limitations of this PhD endeavour. In my attempt to utilise more of the pūrākau content, I have provided further extracts from the pūrākau, incorporating these within this discussion chapter to draw attention to additional aspects of the study. I have also provided a fuller and edited account of one mother's experiences in Appendix 1, in the hope that her pūrākau will somehow honour and reflect the fullness of a mother's journey. However, unlike the previous approach I have not applied *Te-ata-tu Pūrākau*, choosing instead to leave this to the discretion of the reader.

The subjective self-reports of each woman's pūrākau bears testimony to the distinct differences of each mother, suggesting that no two experiences are the same. Ironically, these distinctions also served to highlight similarities where reoccurring patterns, behaviours and themes emerged. For example, the women who participated in the hui interviews related to each other's pūrākau, often agreeing with each other. I have therefore attempted to bring together important themes that have arisen from the pūrākau while respecting that personal experience and perception are subjective and unique. A closing chapter detailing research recommendations, research limitations, future research possibilities, concluding comments and final thoughts, follows the discussion chapter. This chapter brings together the findings from the pūrākau and like the tui, weaves the various threads to form the fabric of this thesis.

10.2 Straddling the Bi-cultural Reality:

Implicit to this research is the understanding that Māori realities are diverse and that Māori live in a bi-cultural reality. This research supported this view where the research participants found themselves having to negotiate their experiences within Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākeha , where the day-to-day realities of life are managed within these two worlds. The research participants' experiences of partner violence highlighted the tensions of the bi-cultural reality; for example:

> *I was never sure where to go, it's confusing sometimes. Like I wanted to go see someone I knew about at the Māori team but I didn't want to go empty handed. That's how we've been raised, I wanted to offer something. Turning up at the Pākeha team made me feel like I was letting my people down, betraying them somehow.*

Maintaining values from Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākeha aroused a sense of confusion, feelings of inferiority, shame and guilt for not knowing how to respond appropriately in a Māori or Pākeha context.

To varying degrees, the wāhine in this study worked hard to maintain and instil those traditional Māori values in the Māori child-rearing practices that were known to them. However, this became increasingly difficult, particularly when they were separated away from their own whānau, hapū and iwi. Furthermore, the pūrākau have revealed that in their partner relationships, Māori women were forced to live according to the views of the Pākeha patriarchal system regardless of whether their partners were Māori or non-Māori. The pūrākau revealed that Māori women found it difficult to approach whānau for fear of possible judgments, a sense of shame and associated feelings of guilt for over burdening the resources of the whānau. The women commonly expressed their experiences as 'whakamaa' (shy, shame, ashamed).

Whakamaa is an emotion that is connected to both shame and guilt where the failure to meet socially accepted values, norms and standards lead to a negative evaluation by oneself or by another or others with long term effects. For example:

> *I couldn't talk to my whānau. I didn't want to burden them with my problems. I've only started taking counseling in the last couple of years, but I refused to speak to a stranger about it. Maybe it is time that we have our own programs or centres. I*

know that they have these in the Pākeha whare's; places where you can go to.
But I think culturally and to be sensitive, we need programs where our Māori
women can step out without feeling like they're going to be judged; a place where
they are going to be safe, especially when we are thinking about our tamariki.

When tensions grew in the partner relationship, mothers found themselves facing the realities and contradictions of the two worlds. Participants were acutely aware of having less power than their Pākeha counterparts, revealing internal tensions that arise through external power imbalances in society. Pākeha ideologies and assimilative pressures had displaced Māori expectations and ideologies that would ensure Māori women had access to appropriate support through the whānau system.

This research has shown that Māori women find it increasingly difficult to maintain cultural integrity in the bi-cultural reality; Māori women worked hard under constant duress to maintain tikanga Māori principles and values. In the absence of available Māori support, Māori women were likely to present to non-Māori support services much later than was needed. The wāhine in this research reported feeling less likely to open up and talk about their difficulties with Pākeha due to incumbent power-imbalances. The stress of managing the bi-cultural realities of Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākeha served to complicate and delay important decision-making processes that would ensure the safety of Māori women and tamariki. This research has found that Māori women had a preference to engage in Māori professional support services for both themselves and their tamariki.

10.3 Emotional Entrapment:

The pūrākau have uncovered and blown the myth that perpetuates a common assumption that women choose to stay rather than leave. Mothers had gone to great lengths to protect and remove themselves and their tamariki from the violence that was occurring in their lives. The pūrākau have uncovered many of the reasons why women remain in relationship with a violent partner. The decision to leave a violent partner was never after a first violent episode, even when leaving was presented to the violent partner by the women, it did not eventuate. Violence coupled with repeated disappointments served to heighten existing levels of fear for mothers and their tamariki. The enduring effects of long-term partner violence, and therefore, compounded trauma eventuated in

mothers feeling "useless", feeling powerless to change their personal circumstances for both themselves and their tamariki. Unsuccessful repeated attempts to leave failed where thoughts about leaving dissolved into unobtainable fantasies. For many of the women in this study, living with a violent partner became a problem to be managed even when serious injuries occurred where urgent medical attention was needed. In these circumstances interventions from significant others such as whānau or health professionals became necessary. Māori women find themselves having to manage their partner's violence when separation is no longer perceived as an option. Entrapment resulting from social inequalities, social isolation, dislocation, lack of immediate resources leaves women trapped where they are left to manage the aggressive behaviours of their partner. This form of entrapment also means that women are left to manage their own pain in isolation rendering them emotionally entrapped no longer able to allow themselves to feel the emotional pain and grief in order to survive repeated ordeals of abuse:

> *I was disconnected, dissociated - when I first learnt that word in therapy it went straight in, it talked to me of all those experiences. Looking back now I think that is where I was all the time, dissociated and disconnected. It was about survival....I had no idea where the children were, I can't remember them (sobbing). I just thought they were in their rooms, that they were okay. It wasn't until I heard my daughter talking about what she saw, like the blood dripping down the walls, that I realised I had no idea where they were.*

In this mother's pūrākau, disconnection and dissociation served as an innate protective mechanism for survival. The fostering of healthy emotional growth in the first three years of tamariki development requires a mother to be emotionally and psychologically available. In this way, she is available as a sensitively attuned mother and free to respond to the needs of her child appropriately. This research has found that violence threatens survival and a mother's ability to nurture her tamariki is severely compromised. The pūrākau have revealed that partner violence, when directed at Māori women, marginalises further an 'ordinarily' marginalised population group, making the even more difficult intensely difficult.

193

10.4 Support-Seeking Behaviours:

The ability for Māori women to live free from partner violence is closely linked to their support-seeking behaviours and the complexities associated with their decisions to leave or live with their violent partner. This was never an easy process for the participants in this research. For all the women there were varying levels of apprehension concerning their support-seeking behaviours. The wāhine have drawn our attention to their experiences of apprehension and mistrust and associated these with positive and negative experiences of Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākeha . Findings suggest that the internal intra-psychic world and the external world are mutually interacting forces. Structural inequities, gender inequalities, and partner violence fostered feelings of inferiority and subjugation that isolated and alienated mothers from accessing support.

The pūrākau have revealed that partner violence and repeated victimisation deterred Māori women from seeking support even when they most desperately needed this. Chronic and repeated victimisation, unresolved childhood hurts, and external forces associated with structural inequalities, eroded any sense of self-worth and self-efficacy. Another finding is that partner violence takes a toll on our emotional capacities and our beliefs about our own self-worth. Additionally, partner violence creates a damaging illusion that debilitates one's capacity to seek support from whānau, friends, and community support agencies.

10.5 Relocation, Isolation and Dislocation:

The mothers in this study spoke about the difficulties concerning their ability to simply get up and leave their violent partners where themes concerning relocation, isolation and dislocation emerged. The idea of leaving was an arduous process arrived at after lengthy deliberation involving some months, years and repeated efforts to protect themselves and their tamariki.

10.5.1 Relocation:

Relocating was not necessarily the first step toward leaving. This often occurred after repeated victimisation where protection orders, engaging the support of whānau or uplifting tamariki to take refuge. These attempts provided temporary relief, however these efforts often failed to keep mothers and their tamariki safe in the longer term:

Finishing the relationship was seriously hard after all we'd been through. I got all the protection orders; he'd been arrested by police numerous times, sent to jail, smashed up my house and broken things heaps of times so making that choice to leave wasn't easy. We left but he followed. I had moved to Auckland and one day I came home and the whole house was smashed up.

Relocation also involved trans-Tasman efforts where the following pūrākau describes one mother's return to Aotearoa. Her decision to leave involved a great deal of planning in order to remove herself and her tamariki from her abusive partner. For her tamariki this also resulted in an abrupt end to peer relationships and important community connections with school and sports clubs:

I think it was when I realised I couldn't do it anymore. I had a plan and I had 24hrs to get the passports through because I couldn't find the passport for my youngest one. We got it through in 12 hours. I also knew that the oldest two would be wild [angry] because we had been in Australia for so long they made a life, they made friends, but that was the only way I could get all the family out.

There are increasing numbers of Māori who move to Australia in search of better opportunities to include the opportunity to leave a violent partner and experience life without whānau violence. There were several reports by women in this study who had contemplated moving to Australia as a relocation option. This research has found that Māori women will go to great lengths to protect both themselves and their tamariki from partner violence.

10.5.2 Isolation:

Due to the nature of partner violence, women were often forced into isolation where abusive partners monitored, dictated and fully controlled their movements, isolating them from important social networks and whānau supports. The following pūrākau reveals the level of control and consequential isolation experienced in this Māori couple's marriage:

That man could control me over the phone. I was never allowed to do things with my family, it was always his family. He would take me to work and pick me up from work. I wasn't even allowed to hop in the car and go to the shop and buy bread or anything like that, I had to stay in the house. I was never allowed freedom; it was about control total and absolute control.

The breakdown of traditional communal Māori lifestyles reduces the ability for Māori women and their tamariki to remain in daily and regular contact with their respective whānau and hapū members. The collective and communal approach provides a level of safety and security for women, men and children where immediate access to whānau support is readily available. The breakdown of the traditional Māori system isolates Māori from other Māori where whānau and hapū help to safeguard each other and shield against the perpetuation of violence in the community. This research has found that partner violence diminishes the right to be self-determining where the freedom to make independent decisions is monitored.

10.5.3 Dislocation:

Violence dislocates whānau from their tūrangawaewae (stomping ground). This form of displacement not only alienates Māori from their usual and proper place of standing, but violence presents as a real threat to the severing of important whakapapa relationships disconnecting Māori from their identity markers:

We'd been brought up in the city and we didn't really go home to where mum was from, so we didn't get to spend time on the marae or around whānau and didn't get to know them that well. There was a lot of alcohol back then and my mum was brought up in horrific violence. When she met my dad they settled in Auckland and very rarely went back.

This research has found that partner violence disconnects whānau from whānau where important whakapapa knowledge maybe severed forever.

10.6 Unreliable and Unpredictable Systems:

Repeated attempts to leave violent partners were often sabotaged by external forces that the women had no control over. System failings occurred such as police not notifying women when violent partners were released from prison, violent partners ignoring restraining and trespass orders, whānau and friends colluding with the perpetrator to find the whereabouts of mothers and their tamariki. Women reported staying in 'safe houses' or relocating to new addresses where their ex-partners still managed to find them. System failures and inconsistencies with community agencies contributed to the women feeling unsafe in their immediate environments. Unsafe communities appeared to be characterised by failures and inconsistencies in the wider system creating unreliable and unpredictable environments that contributed to high levels of fear and anxiety.

The participants reported huge disappointment, including a lack of safety, lack of security and lack of trust that community support systems would keep both themselves and their tamariki safe. Partner violence is an issue of destructive and powerful control where alternative pathways and solutions are required outside of the family home. Tamariki are reliant on adults to create a world that is safe, stable and predictable and are therefore reliant on relationships that will foster secure environments to grow up in. This research has found that partner violence undermines trust and increases insecurities in our personal and external relationships. The research has found that inconsistencies in services and systems set up to protect Māori women and their tamariki are unreliable and unpredictable with their responses. System failings provoke anxieties and insecurities that add to increased risk and whānau tensions.

10.7 Takahia Ngā Tikanga Māori:

The pūrākau revealed that violence occurs in Māori environments, including the marae. The pūrākau highlighted the violation of Mana Wāhine and the violation of tikanga (protocols) and kawa (lore) where violence is not a respecter of traditional values and practices. A detailed incident was relayed where one women's victimisation was witnessed by whānau on the marae following a whānau and hapū event. Her husband's violent behaviours appeared to know no limits, although after a prolonged and severe beating several women attempted to intervene without success. Disgusted by any lack of intervention by male bystanders and her husband's repeated attempts to defile her in front

of his whānau, this mother reported *"Nowhere or no one is sacred anymore, not the marae, the wharenui, the kuia or the tamariki."* Māori women's experiences of partner violence are destructive on many levels; this particular wahine spoke of the depth of her grief, exclaiming that her deepest hurt was on a spiritual level. This research has found that Māori men's violence desecrates important tikanga values and lore while violating the intrinsic mana of wāhine, tamariki, kaumātua, kuia, and ultimately, themselves.

10.8 Extreme Violence:

During the interviews, several women indicated feeling devalued by family violence practitioners where the severity of their experiences appeared to be minimised. The account that follows is provided by one mother who is living with several long-term health conditions resulting from the violence inflicted upon her:

> *Nobody even talks about the extreme violence that can happen, even today. Family violence is not the same as extreme violence, there's a difference man, and nobody talks about that extreme violence.*

The experiences of this mother's pūrākau were also echoed by several mothers in the study, who reported feeling inhibited by the apparent lack of distinction between levels of severity. This mother was able to talk about the benefits and the limitations she experienced in her healing journey where she participated in individual and group therapy. When referring to the group experience she had this to say:

> *With the violence I went through, I was told I could never name that as extreme violence because my experience may have been somebody else's slap. A lady who has always known violence at that level and gets a slap may think this is extreme. So until we start talking about the differences, everybody's going to think it's the same but it's not. My mum and her siblings, they were brought up in horrific violence. A slap is not the same as being beaten to a friggin pulp.*

Extreme violence is likely to increase the severity of trauma experienced and it is important to appreciate these factors in our intervention responses. The pūrākau revealed

a consistent pattern where both the severity and frequency of violence escalated over time where for some mothers the words "ka mate, ka ora!" (will I live or will I die) resonated.

10.9 Whakamomori - Contemplating Suicide:

The pūrākau have revealed that the constant struggle of living with a violent partner can lead to intense feelings. The core whatumanawa (deep seated emotions) were described as hopelessness and depression where the pain was unrelenting, as reported in this mother's pūrākau:

That night I kept thinking about what she was saying - "mum you cry every day." She was only four years old but she could see what he had done to me and I kept thinking "what am I doing?" I got to the stage where I wanted to commit suicide you know, [tearful], even though that wasn't going to help. But I felt like that was my best way out [crying]…

Suicide was also reported as a perpetrator response where one mother in this study speaks of a frightening situation where she found her partner hanging in a room. This research has found that violence can be all consuming where suicide seems like the only way out. The research found that a culture of violence and despair can create the illusion that would have us believe that suicide is the only option available to stop the hurt and pain.

10.10 Culture Matters:

There remains no universal definition of family violence and abuse, suggesting that the social sector, government agencies and researchers are recording, documenting and counting different things (Bopp, et al, 2003). Perhaps the search for a universal definition is an improvident consideration where greater emphasis needs to remain cognisant of the cultural context, values and beliefs. This is where the salient healing solutions remain embedded in the psyche of the collective experiences that belong to various cultural groups:

Oh well it's hard for me to talk to Pākeha, I just feel much more comfortable with my own people. this Mana Wāhine program has been good for me especially the karakia. I need lots of karakia.

Through the women's experiences, we can see that interventions that do not account for cultural variations and are not culturally responsive, fail to appreciate the core values and beliefs that have much to do with the way in which people identify and heal. This research has found that key concepts in Māori culture were fundamental to the healing and personal development experiences for women in this study.

10.10.1 Wairuatanga - A Spiritual Tradition:

Wairuatanga (spirituality) stood out in this research as a fundamental means for explaining Māori and Pākeha ideologies, differences and approaches to treatment and healing. This finding will not be surprising to Māori, however due to the intrinsic nature of wairuatanga, hard sciences continue to dismiss the validity because of unobservable and therefore un-measurable factors. Women in this study experienced overwhelming feelings of warning and foreboding as important premonitions that were attributed to wairuatanga:

I just had this massive feeling something was telling me to get out of there and I just knew I had to listen. I was panicky and shaking and just had enough time to put a few things in a bag for the kids and got out of there. Within half an hour he had arrived at the house, poured petrol around it and set it on fire. He thought we were in there.

The women in this study used wairuatanga as an important measuring stick for well-being, foreboding and understanding how they were progressing in their personal healing journeys. Wairuatanga was acknowledged by the women as an important cultural marker that served to protective, heal, nurture and foster a sense of security. The comments made by this mother resonated with many of the women who participated in this study:

It's my wairua, I'm finding my strength, I am. I'm feeling really really strong and proud of being a Māori because I've never really looked at the Māori side of me before.

Regaining mauri ora (well-being) enabled the women to stay connected to their embodied experiences as Mana wāhine. This reclaimed identity had positive outcomes for both themselves and their ability to engage as sensitive and loving mothers to their tamariki. As discussed, *Tūhonotanga* is about connectedness and this also applies to the spiritual thread that connects *Te Ira Tangata with Te Whare Tangata* and principles concerning *Mauri,* where each aspect is woven together with wairuatanga. Living by traditional Māori values and beliefs as described by Pere (1988) and staying connected with the philosophical underpinnings of a Māori worldview (Barlow, 1996, Kruger, et al., 2004; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003; Pohatu, 2011, 2013; Reedy, 2009) has benefits for whānau. This includes the ability to foster securely attached tamariki Māori.

The beliefs, perceptions, and personal experiences of those women, children, and men whose lives are adversely impacted by violence is a cultural, physical and spiritual matter for Māori and many Indigenous populations. In the absence of partner violence the women indicated an increasing ability to engage with their unique sense of wairuatanga and inner strength. For the women in this study, wairuatanga (spirituality) was experienced as a significant traditional concept that help to foster their well-being and in turn the developmental well-being of their tamariki. Therefore, whānau violence interventions must utilise approaches that differ fron generalised population based approaches in order to transform the violence that occurs in Māori whānau, hapū and iwi for a better outcome and a better future.

10.11 Living with the Physical Injuries:

The mothers in this study experienced severe abuse that has left them with life-long scars that are both visible and invisible. The violence these mothers experienced left them battered, bruised and bloodied, and four women reported the need for on-going managed medical care for injuries sustained. The complaints include on-going lower-back pain, intermittent seizures resulting from repeated head injuries, as well as lower-jaw bone re-alignment and orthodontic care. Psychic and emotional pain is experienced alongside physical pain where the resultant long-term injuries serve as a constant reminder of the traumatic event(s):

I always cover my mouth when I laugh, I don't want people seeing my gummy mouth. I miss my teeth but you learn to manage without them; it's a reminder of where you've been and what you've been through and no matter what, you'll never be the same.

It is important to keep in mind that major physical injuries are long lasting and there are a myriad of ways in which injury is inflicted. In this instance, four women disclosed information about their long-term injuries. However, this is not to say that this was not the case for others; I did not specifically ask whether long-term injuries had been sustained. Therefore it is important to remember that some people may not report events if they are not prompted to do so. Interpersonal and whānau violence can lead to major injury that needs to be considered by family violence practitioners and those responsible for delivering treatment and care. In this mother's pūrākau, dissociation and disconnection serve as an innate protective mechanism for survival:

I don't know how I knew but I did. I knew just before he'd arrive home. There was something in me that knew what to expect. You know it was like I knew what level of violence he was going to use - like if it was going to be a knife, would he be using his fist, would he be using his feet. I always knew if I was going to be raped or beaten, I just always knew. It was survival and because it was a daily thing, every day there was something wrong. I was disconnected, dissociated. When I first learnt that word in therapy it went straight in, it talked to me of all those experiences before. Looking back now I think that is where I was all the time, dissociated and disconnected - it was about survival.

The fostering of healthy emotional growth in the first three years of tamariki development requires a mother to be emotionally and psychologically available. In this way, she is available as a sensitively attuned mother and free to respond to the needs of her child appropriately. When extreme violence is directed at a mother her survival is threatened and her ability to nurture is severely compromised.

10.12 Trauma – Past, Present & Future:

Many of the mothers who participated in this research had experienced trauma resulting from partner violence and early childhood exposure. Studies have shown that people who experience interpersonal trauma are at greater risk of re-victimisation. Particular consideration must be given to childhood trauma and the long lasting effects. Unresolved childhood trauma has the potential to carry through into adulthood where the likelihood of perpetration and victimisation increases. The links between incarceration and our criminal justice population have been attributed to unresolved childhood trauma to include violence abuse and neglect (van de Kolk, 2007). To fully appreciate the effects of partner violence for Māori women and their tamariki is to understand that victimisation is rarely a single episode. A comprehensive assessment of whānau and partner violence will highlight accumulative factors to include current and historical factors.

Many Māori women are dealing with social and educational disadvantages, identity issues resulting from cultural alienation and disconnection, intergenerational experiences of dysfunctional living situations, historical trauma along with an increased likelihood of depressive or low mood. Appropriate intervention and prevention programmes are therefore challenged to heal the root causes of violence trauma and for Māori this requires an emphasis on whakapapa and appropriate cultural responses. This research study has found that trauma has a whakapapa that can be traced back through multiple generations.

10.12.1 Whētuki i Mua - Past Trauma:

In this research I found that intergenerational trauma was evident where past accounts of violence trauma were reported by women in this study. Many of the women spoke of their own challenging childhood experiences where their past experiences surfaced as a consequence of the healing support they were engaged with. For these women the effects of hurtful childhood experiences were pervasive, long-lasting and influential. Participants identified early childhood exposure to trauma, trauma experiences of their mothers, grandmothers, grandfathers and then in turn, their own children. The pūrākau provided a synopsis of the historical context, shedding light on the circumstances surrounding early whānau life. The destructive behaviours of one generation upon the next created home environments where whānau were trapped in

203

cycles of violence and trauma perpetrated more frequently by men. The pūrākau have revealed that unresolved trauma can pass from one generation to the next. When violence trauma remains unresolved, it bolsters a pattern of intergenerational behaviour. Unresolved trauma reinforces violence that contributes to existing levels of violence in Māori whānau, hapū and iwi. When considering these factors we can see that trauma has a whakapapa, and making sense of this incredible whakapapa story is key to resolving the hidden hurts of the past.

10.12.2 Whētuki Te Wā: Present Trauma:

Present trauma resulting from more recent events requires present solutions and responses. It requires access to safe places and safe people to support with the immediate needs of Māori women and their tamariki. In this study, whānau and friends were frequently aware of the violence that was occurring in the home and along with emergency services were more likely to be the first point of contact. This study has found that whānau support is of primary significance where safety and interventions were often mediated through whānau members. Furthermore whānau, both immediate and extended, provided safe havens for mothers and their tamariki.

Whānau played a crucial and major role in buffering and protecting tamariki/mokopuna and their mothers from partner violence. However, the study also found that in some instances, whānau become the targets of perpetrator rage with potentially physically violent consequences. The pūrākau revealed that whānau were not always able to respond adequately due to corresponding circumstances to include, although not limited to, strained relationships, financial hardship, isolation, and existing violence within their own home environment.

In terms of trauma there are several aspects that the pūrākau have highlighted that need to be considered when thinking about managing psychic and emotional trauma. Firstly we need to consider the varying degrees of trauma exposure and the intensity of the traumatic event(s). This will include consideration to the various types of trauma people experience such as historical trauma, shock trauma, infantile, childhood, adult trauma, cumulative factors and a person's response to such experiences (Briere & Scott, 2006). One's ability to overcome traumatic experiences will be dependent on their mental and physical state, personal resources and the access to resources in their immediate environment (PDM, 2006).

10.12.3 Whētuki i Muri - Future Trauma:

Traumatic experiences were a re-occurring theme in many of the pūrākau. In many instances, we cannot control circumstances in our environment such as natural disasters that have adverse effects on people. However, we can minimise and reduce the risk of harm from trauma that is experienced in our inter-personal relationships by removing opportunities for violence to occur (Kruger et al, 2004). We have seen through the pūrākau that whānau violence and abuse was often seen as the norm. Unless the present generation of parents are helped to see the roots of their own pain and to learn how to stop the cycle of abuse, their tamariki will continue to have violence woven through their childhoods. Tamariki will learn that the world is unsafe and mistrusting. In the absence of a safe and protective home environment, tamariki are destined to inherit pūrākau that are distressing and long lasting. Without support, tamariki who live in violent home environments, who do have the opportunity to receive focused therapeutic care to help them to heal from the hurts they have already experienced, are destined to carry this through to the next generation within a few short years and the pain will go on.

10.13 Tū Ngā Pihi Tamariki:

Tū ngā pihi tamariki describes how tamariki get angry. Exposure to violence negatively shaped tamariki Māori perceptions of the world where betrayal, fear, assault and repeated let-downs strongly influenced their ability to trust their important caregivers. Tamariki who were repeatedly exposed to partner violence were more likely to become violent and aggressive teenagers and young adults. The pūrākau indicated similarities between tama tāne (young male) and tama wāhine (young female) behaviour where both male and female counterparts had the propensity to behave with defiance and aggressiveness. As reported by their mothers, behavioural difficulties included oppositional behaviours, disrespect for authority figures, drug and alcohol problems and were more likely to participate in high-risk-taking activities. The pūrākau also revealed that tama tāne and tama wāhine were more likely to enter into abusive relationships themselves and disengage from whānau. This active turning away from whānau served to further disconnect tamariki Māori from extended whānau and important identity markers.

When the mothers in this study made reflective and comparative comments concerning the behaviours of their tamariki, they were able to see that in the absence of

violence tamariki Māori were happier, trusting and less likely to worry. The research has found that tamariki who are exposed to whānau violence are at greater risk of developing behavioural and emotional difficulties. The pūrākau have revealed that tamariki get angry with the aggressor's repeated violent behaviours and angry with their mothers for not leaving. Additionally the pūrākau revealed that mothers often became the unfair targets of aggression from tamariki. In the absence of a safe father figure, the pūrākau indicated that tamariki were more likely to project their hostilities onto their mothers and mothers frequently carried the burden of blame.

10.14 Hauora Tamariki:

Partner violence takes a toll on tamariki health and well-being. Two women in this study reported noticeable differences in their tamariki experiencing increased levels of eczema, asthma and bronchial conditions that were exacerbated by the violence they saw and heard. Furthermore separation from mothers appeared to increase anxiety levels in their tamariki. This is where tamariki would anxiously cling to their mothers when partner violence was imminent. Mothers reported that tamariki had a fear of separating from them, even in the absence of immediate threat, reporting that violence had made their tamariki very anxious. Anxiety is one subset of trauma symptomology where any separation from a safe and reliable caregiver serves to trigger trauma that is unresolved. Tamariki witnessed violence, they saw their mothers' heartache, pain and injuries, and they themselves became the targets of the violent perpetrator or were sometimes caught in the cross-fire:

> *He had his hobnail boots on and she was just a baby, still in a nappy. I will never forget this - he just picked her up and booted her from one end of the hallway down to the other.*

Mothers who sought intervention sooner for themselves and their tamariki were more likely to have favourable outcomes. In the absence of intervention, tamariki Māori were less likely to manage their aggressive impulses, anxieties and worries, often acting out of their earlier experiences. When tamariki Māori had access to supportive whānau such as aunts, uncles, kaumātua, kuia, cousins or interventions from mentors to include positive adults in their community such as teachers, counsellors and coaches, they were

better able to manage their insecurities and conflicts. This research found that many of the Māori mothers had difficulty accessing and knowing where to find suitable healing support for their tamariki in order to manage the effects of violence exposure.

10.15 Tuakana-Teina Relationships:

Tuakana-teina (older/younger siblings) responsibilities were evident through the pūrākau where older siblings took on caregiver responsibilities for their younger siblings. This arrangement is often inclusive of younger cousins in the whānau system also. This Māori caregiving practice is encouraged when, and as, older siblings assume new age-appropriate responsibilities, but this was often a forced necessity in violent households, and a mockery of the philosophy of nurturing and aroha underpinning the concept of tuakana-teina. The tuakana-teina approach served as a protective buffer for younger siblings when violence was happening in the home. This was evident when tuakana rallied younger siblings into a safe room, protecting them and reducing risk from harm. Furthermore, tuakana often cradled their younger siblings, offering comfort and care helping to alleviate anxieties. The tuakana-teina approach continued in the absence of their mothers and/or when violence had rendered them unavailable. Sadly tuakana caregiving responsibilities sometimes extended beyond the sibling relationships. This occurred when partner violence forced older siblings to assume adult responsibilities as primary caregivers to their younger siblings when their own mothers were unable to function due to the extent and degree of violence inflicted upon her.

10.16 Mauri Tamariki:

In the absence of direct interviews with tamariki Māori, we have learnt some basic lessons from the first resource for many tamariki, their mothers. The pūrākau provided valuable insights into the experiences of tamariki Māori who witnessed violence and are exposed to on-going violence within important adult relationships. The security and wellbeing of tamariki Māori is fashioned by the quality of the relationships around them. The Mauri tamariki pūrākau have highlighted some of the difficulties experienced by tamariki Māori when whānau violence occurs. We must also consider that their development as tamariki Māori is likely to happen concurrently with issues such as poverty and poorer housing conditions. These issues are harmful and are further

compounded by the continued exposure to inter-personal violence. The impact of violence on tamariki Māori can be understood through what we know about attachment theory, trauma theory and whakapapa trauma. I have steered away from making any conclusive statements regarding the patterns of attachment based on the pūrākau provided. This would not be recommended in the absence of observational and clinical data concerning the the tamariki. However, based on the information gathered from the pūrākau, behaviours corresponding with patterns of attachment begin to emerge.

Interpersonal violence changes the developmental landscape for all children. Not surprisingly, *Tū Ngā Pihi Tamariki* recongnises that whānau violence disturbs both the psychological and emotional world of tamariki. The pūrākau have highlighted how anger is externalised where behaviours of self-harm, verbal protest, and destruction are witnessed.

He Whētuki Tamaiti draws attention to the internal world of the child. *He Whētuki Tamaiti* highlights both the severity of the violence witnessed, experienced and the harmful effects where tamariki also suffer the consequences of violence trauma. The pūrākau bring to our attention disruptions in the mother-child relationship where the child is unable to seek closeness and security with his mother. The seriousness of violence trauma on infants and toddlers impacts on the development of a secure attachment relationship. When tamariki are living in abusive situations, their childhoods are intensely challenging and they too, are likely to experience traumatisation.

The pūrākau concerning *He Pakanga Taniwha* circumscribes the negative influence that interpersonal violence has on tamariki. Pent up anger and rage fester with negative emotional, psychological, behavioural and social consequences. The perpetuating axiom violence begets violence resonates with the pūrākau concerning *He Pakanga Taniwha.* Difficulties in the adult relationships, discourages the child's sense of self with frustrations, insecurities and fears about their surrounding world. When tamariki are living in abusive situations, their childhoods are intensely challenging and they too are likely to internalise negative beliefs and inherit a template for dysfunctional relationships.

The pūrākau have revealed that tamariki are living with abused mothers in abusive situations where they themselves become the targets of physical and sexual abuse. These sinister forms of violence are severely traumatising for tamariki where the risk of emotional and psychological fragmentation is serious. *Wounded From the Cradle* is a

pūrākau that demonstrates how major adjustment and attachment difficulties occur when partner-violence and child abuse go hand in hand. The long-term consequences for these tamariki are fraught with difficulties. The reports provided by this mother's pūrākau suggest that behavioural features consistent with the disorganised/disorientated attachment schema are apparent in her daughters.

Tamariki and rangatahi initiatives are all dependent on the efforts of adults to ensure that protective factors remain at the forefront of our thinking in terms of planning a future for tamariki Māori. Their mothers have reported less favourable outcomes for tamariki who experienced longer and more intense exposure to violence. Utilising the core concepts of the *Mauri Ora Framework* as described by Kruger et al. (2004) and the *Mauri Cultural Templates* outlined by Pohatu (2011) is a way forward in the development of theories that are helpful to tamariki and mokopuna Māori.

10.16.1 Aroha and Manaakitanga: Love and Care Matters

Positively, the pūrākau have identified two key Māori concepts that were consistently utilised as purposeful protective factors. Aroha and manaakitanga helped to facilitate a caring and nurturing environment and safeguard the women and their tamariki against the partner-violence they were experiencing. Aroha was expressed in action by concerned whānau and through the administration of sensitive care and affection between the mother-tamariki arrangements. Similarly, manaakitanga was actioned by concerned whānau members and this behaviour was also actioned and reciprocated between the mother-tamariki arrangement. Aroha and manaakitanga helped to maintain the existing affectional bonds between tamariki and their mothers and restore the mana and tapu of the women and tamariki who were impacted by partner violence. Despite the multiple tensions that are navigated in their daily lives the mothers in this study actively engaged with our valuable tikanga customs of aroha and manaakitanga. Neuroscience has made the important link between a mother's physiological and biochemical systems and the influence on her baby. Aroha and manaakitanga help to decrease stress levels and protect both mother and baby from further emotional, psychological, and physiological adversity.

10.16.2 Tūhonotanga: Staying Connected

One of the significant cultural findings of this research is the concept of *Tūhonotanga*. *Tūhonotanga* is a Māori imperative for understanding how relationships and connectedness with significant others evolves. When whānau violence is present in the home and when tamariki Māori are constantly exposed to violence, they live in fear. *Tūhonotanga* is about relationships that are purposeful and life sustaining and presents as an opportunity for future development. Culture is central to the birth of a child and Wāhine Māori are the maternal caregivers of this life, Tūhonotanga encapsulates what we understand as Māori to be the important cultural markers for healthy relationships. Further discussions will help to conceptualise and develop a cultural template for a whānau centred approach. *Tūhonotanga* opens up the prospect for the development of a culturally informed Māori template for shaping a corresponding Māori worldview that aligns with attachment theory. Activating this potential opens up a range of possibilities for Māori educators, health professionals and importantly whānau, hapū and iwi

10.17 Do Whānau, Hapū and Iwi Intervene?

In this study I was interested in understanding whānau, hapū and iwi responses to partner violence. Responses from whānau and hapū differed and there were various factors that impacted on their ability to respond. Many of the women reported turning to whānau for support to provide shelter, to care for tamariki temporarily and full-time. Support also included financial assistance, food, clothing and intervening to stop the abuse from reoccurring violence. Whānau support is of primary significance and interventions are often mediated through whānau – parents and grandparents. However whānau may be unable to respond adequately:

> *I think better community support is needed. I couldn't even approach my own whānau without feeling like I was going to be judged or afraid that they would have their own opinions, so no there was no help there or no awhi.*

Inter-whānau conflicts, fear of retribution, drug and alcohol dependency, financial hardships, geographical distances, lack of empathy and interest, beliefs concerning patriarchal rights and privileges were some of the reasons put forward by the women as to why whānau are not forthcoming. All of the women in this study were able to identify

whānau and hapū members who were supportive of them. Manaakitanga was an important positive function of the whānau and hapū system where sharing the caring was critical for tamariki and mokopuna. Aroha (love/sympathy/positive regard) was also highlighted as a positive whānau and hapū characteristic.

The pūrākau revealed that manaakitanga and aroha extended across whānau proved to be beneficial to tamariki and mokopuna. This is where tamariki and mokopuna had come to live more permanently with extended whānau and more frequently with grandparents. Women reported on whānau positively and found that their own sense of whakamaa and self-consciousness prevented them from asking for help, disclosing the partner violence and the extent of their victimisation:

> *I was not brought up in a violent home. Our father was a loving father and I just couldn't bring myself to let him know what was happening. I felt whakamaa for not upholding the whānau values. I thought I let him down.*

The pūrākau also revealed that women living with partner violence also exhausted the support of whānau:

> *I always went to my sister for support. I could depend on her to be there for us. But in the end it got too much for her and she'd just get pissed off. So after a while I stopped going to her.*

In this research it was found that whānau members became exhausted and exasperated by continual patterns of behaviour where women would separate temporarily and then return to their violent partner. This also led to despondency and frustrations where whānau members would turn either against or away from women who repeatedly returned to their violent partners. All of the women in this study turned to whānau for support whenever possible however. Through the whakapapa system of whānau, hapū and iwi, the women identified support and interventions at the whānau and hapū level and were also able to identify when these supports were inadequate.

Disappointingly, another finding was that Māori women were unable to identify how iwi were able to make a difference or intervene when partner or whānau violence was an issue:

Iwi leaders are too busy being heads of heads, I can't think of one time when they have made a difference. When it comes to whānau violence, they're not even there.

The women in this research had mixed feelings about iwi effectiveness, believing that iwi leaders were far too distracted by internal and external power struggles and not forthcoming when it came to addressing and taking seriously the issue of whānau and partner violence.

10.18 Women's Violence: Same-sex Partner Violence

Studies have drawn our attention to violence in intimate relationships, violence against women and children where women and children have been shown to be most at risk within their own homes and at greater risk from male perpetrators (Heise & Garcia, 2002). There are debates concerning the prevalence rates of same-sex partner violence (SSPV) rates and the explanations concerning occurrence of partner-violence appear to transpire for the same reasons of opposite-sex relationships (Fahmy & Fradella, 2014; Heise & Garcia, 2002). How these issues differ across cultures is difficult to know due to limited studies that investigate cross-cultural differences in same-sex partner violence. According to this wāhine's pūrākau, the psychological abuse was reported as most damaging:

We'd spent about 3 years together and when we had been together for about a year, she started being quite psychologically abusive to me. I would feel so bad, I would end up feeling so low that I wouldn't want leave the house....It blew my mind because I was under this false illusion that I'm going to be with a woman now and woman don't do this sort of thing and it was worse [than opposite-sex partner violence]. It was on a whole different level. I couldn't believe it; that just blew my mind.

This wāhine identified similar concerns to those of women in this study. This was in respect to tamariki witnessing violence and the harmful length of exposure to the violence. Levels of physical and sexual violence became increasingly volatile where the abuse in the relationship escalated over time:

She started doing things like choking me, kicking me, holding me so tight that I'd end up with bruises around my arm or my neck or from her ripping my clothes, anything she could do to make me feel like shit. Force herself on me   and do stuff that was just revolting. She was a mongrel.

Features of same-sex partner violence according to this mother's pūrākau appeared to mirror accounts made by the other women in that the abuse of power and the desire to control was not different from opposite-sex relationships. While this is one account of a same-sex partner violence experience, the issue of violence as a damaging and serious health concern is not. This wahine's pūrākau did not allude to issues concerning social exclusion or cultural marginalisation and it is therefore not possible to expand the discussion concerning these issues further. Positively, she was able to end the relationship without fear of retribution and her encounters with counselling services were reported as most helpful.

10.19 An Indigenous Māori Perspective for Understanding Attachment

There are important messages conveyed in the women's pūrākau that carries a strong desire to be both connected to whānau, and the disconnection that occurs when partner violence is prevalent. In this research I have found that the *Mauri Tamariki* themes reflect and are consistent with Bowlby's ideas concerning attachment theory. The links between partner violence and the negative influence this can have on different patterns of attachment identified in childhood endure to parallel patterns in adulthood. In contrast to the security promoted by Māori frameworks such as *Te Wheke* and a Healthy Whānau Systems construct, the disorganised/disoriented attachment schema exists in the pūrākau, precipitated by negative Māori experiences and violence. However, the nature of partner violence for Māori women, Māori tamariki and Māori whānau highlights a particular struggle that is unique to Māori within the landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand. The conflict of belonging as tangata whenua and yet not belonging as disenfranchised and disconnected from tūrangawaewae (place of belonging), presents as a distinctive and pressurised conflict. This conflict is associated with experiences of marginalisation through colonisation processes, forced separation due to partner violence, the normalisation of violence in whānau, hapū and iwi communities where women and

children remain connected to tūrangawaewae at the expense of their own health and well-being and unresolved trauma.

The separation experienced and the desire for connection coupled with the fundamental precepts of Māori connectedness presents as a unique cultural variable in both the attachment discourse and partner-violence discourse. Unmet attachment needs to whenua and tūrangawaewae maybe one way to account for Māori protest behaviour in order to regain connection. Similarly, the powerful surge of frustration, anger and rage provides one explanation for understanding the proneness of male assaultive behaviour directed at their female partner or attachment figure. Furthermore, the creation of attachment theory has its philosophical roots in evolutionary theory and psychoanalytical theory derived from clinical experience. In terms of psychoanalytical theory the foundations are diametrically opposed to Kaupapa Māori and Mātauranga Māori. The founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, was an atheist and a critic of spirituality and religious dogma. Freud was inpatient with and dismissing of believers viewing them as infantile with an inability and or unwillingness to grow up (Hewitt, 2014).

I have yet to see a Māori framework or model that excludes the importance of wairua, a fundamental cornerstone of Māori health and well-being. *Te Wheke* is a symbolic representation of a holistic Māori model providing descriptions of the underpinning values and customs that support healthy growth and development. Chapter Five discusses *Whakapapa as a Social Systems Construct*, detailing the way in which whānau are socially organised firstly, through *Te Ira Tangata* acknowledging our human and individual connection to the spiritual world. Additionally, concepts of Mauri as suggested by Kruger et al. (2004), and Pohatu (2011) provide the important takepū (principles) and cultural methods crucial to wellbeing. The challenge is to bring the divergent philosophical underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori, Mātauranga Māori and Attachment Theory together to inform interventions for Māori, and this will be an interesting challenge. Here I suggest two ways forward in our endeavour to better understand the divergent positioning.

As discussed a critical finding of this research is the importance of *Tūhonotanga*. *Tūhonotanga* contains the parameters of wairuatanga (spirituality) and the function of informing the nature of secure relationships. As a potential framework, *Tūhonotanga* can draw on distinct bodies of knowledge from Te Ao Pākeha and Te Ao Māori for the development of a Māori attachment theory. This enables Māori the ability to privilege,

construct and shape our cultural ideas concerning healthy relationship development in the contested spiritual space. *Tūhonotanga* has the potential to set the parameters for a stronger integration of both whakapapa and wairuatanga. Additionally and to contrast our propensity for violent and therefore unhealthy interpersonal attachment relationships, I propose the need to develop a Māori framework for understanding the impact of separation and disconnection as a predictor for Māori associations with anger, frustration and rage. The use of physical aggression in childhood left un-mastered leaves Māori at risk of not learning to regulate physical aggression. Drawing upon the pūrākau of ngā Atua Māori (Māori Gods) is the concept of whakawehenga (separation) a template for understanding the trauma, anger and rage associated with forced and unwanted separation from our primordial attachment figures Papatūanuku Earth-Mother and Ranginui Sky-Father.

10.20 Summary:

This discussion chapter brings together many of the issues of partner violence for Māori women and their tamariki. Transforming whānau violence requires a personal commitment toward change and effective external responses to support those changes to occur at a personal level. The protection of tamariki is always an adult responsibility however, women as victims of violence are left far too frequently to carry the burden of responsibility. The pūrākau have revealed the complexities of partner violence to include relocation, isolation and dislocation issues, straddling Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākeha , the violation of women on our marae - once the stronghold of Māori identity - increased likelihood of suicide for both victim and perpetrator, trauma effects on the wāhine and their tamariki, intergenerational transmission of violence, increased tamariki risk of behavioural problems and social adjustment difficulties. The concluding chapter presents the research recommendations, limitations and strengths and identifies key issues for future research to bring about change for Māori.

TE WĀHANGA TEKAU MĀ TAHI: CHAPTER ELEVEN – RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS, LIMITATIONS, STRENGTHS, & DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.

11.1 Introduction:

One of the findings of this project is that partner violence has been normalised to such an extent that partner and whānau violence is characteristic of whole communities. Partner violence is widespread where women and tamariki are suffering in their homes and on their ancestral homelands throughout the country. Māori men must take responsibility for their violent and abusive behaviours. Men are passively turning away from other men who batter women, and Māori women are often indefensible in these situations. It is both sad and disturbing to know that violence tears whānau apart from both their private and ancestral homes. Given the over-representation of Māori as both victims and perpetrators of violence and high prevalence rates for drug and alcohol dependency, suicide, imprisonment along with current recidivism rates, there are significant challenges for Māori to think more carefully about how we manage safety in our contemporary Māori context. All whānau must feel safe to congregate and gather on our marae for various hui and gatherings. A collective whānau, hapū and iwi response is required to ensure that our living environments are safe. This will require actions beyond words where interventions are implemented at every opportunity.

11.2 Recommendations:

11.2.1 He Ara Whakarurutanga - Safe Directional Pathways:

Māori must have access to Māori spaces and places, and ensuring safety for all Māori must be a shared and collective priority for whānau, hapū and iwi. The ideology that supports cultural orthodoxy and the revitalisation of a healthy Māori identity as a pathway forward must also seek to identify appropriate role models at the whānau, hapū and iwi level who can advocate and deliver messages of safety. Encouraging Māori to re-connect with their tūrangawaewae, marae, whānau, hapū and iwi requires safe passage. *E Tū Whānau Programme of Action for Addressing Family Violence* (The Māori Reference

Group, 2014) have identified the need for Kahukura to advocate for success and modelling positive change. This research recommends the development of *He Ara Whakarurutanga* (safe directional pathways) to assist Kahukura and Māori whānau, hapū and iwi in responding adequately to whānau violence while remaining safely connected to Māori environments. This will require the development of a comprehensive response plan from whānau, hapū and iwi leaders, in order to move beyond responding to violent incidences and move towards solutions that address the manifestation of the problem.

11.2.2 Creating Pathways for Healing:

Violence against wāhine and tamariki has had devastating consequences; while the bruises eventually faded, the external scars remain as visual reminders and the internal scars are weighted with potential for intergenerational transfer of violence. The harm caused goes far beneath the surface where deeper wounds are lodged. For Māori, there are a set of circumstances which require consideration, and these include the historical colonising context, an analysis of destructive and violent whānau systems and those factors that heighten the opportunity for violence to occur. It is recommended that practitioners and clinicians working in the family violence sector recognise and work to mediate these effects. It also requires the opportunity for Indigenous people to develop suitable healing and intervention programs and to have these implemented and evaluated. Western and evidence-based treatment approaches are constructs that are universally applied and do not consider well enough cultural context and therefore cultural definitions (Ahmed & Webb-Johnson, 1995). There is a major gap in the trauma literature where obvious cultural differences in the healing and therapeutic process are ignored.

Family violence practitioners have been encouraged to change our approach in the way in which we deal with family violence (The Māori Reference Group, 2014). Discussion is encouraged among whānau, hapū, and iwi concerning the place of whakapapa and whānau in recovery and healing programs. The need for Indigenous healing methods to assist in the recovery from trauma is critical to our recovery as Indigenous people. Healing and long-term support for whānau is necessary along with prevention-orientated education programs. Atkinson (2007, 2008) brings both these aspects together in her *Educaring* model. Historical Trauma theory (Brave Heart and De Bruyn, 1998) has engendered a growing interest with Māori health and education researchers (George et al, 2014; Pihama et al, 2014; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). The

Educaring approach (Atkinson, 2007, 2008), Historical Trauma theory (Brave Heart and De Bruyn,1998), whakapapa trauma, pūrākau and *Te-ata-tu Pūrākau* are self-determined Indigenous solutions that can aid in this recovery.

Creating pathways for age-appropriate healing interventions that address the needs of tamariki is critical also, particularly when formative experiences leave an indelible imprint. Urgent action is required to address the existing gap for Kaupapa Māori healing and treatment options for our most vulnerable; Māori tamariki. Training and developing a Māori workforce to respond appropriately is essential to any comprehensive response plan. This research recognises the increasing efforts that Māori are making to turn our family violence statistics around. However, it is of critical concern when wāhine Māori feel unable to trust that their difficulties are taken seriously enough by Iwi leaders and representatives. The wāhine in this study have spoken and their outlook concerning iwi endeavours to prevent violence against wāhine Māori. tamariki and mokopuna Māori is sombre. There is a greater call for iwi Māori leaders to invest more energy into supporting the needs of Māori women and tamariki and to make these changes visible and accessible.

11.2.3 An Oriori for Tamariki & Mokopuna:

Tuhotoariki's oriori (see pages 120-129) is a beautiful example of the way in which tamariki and mokopuna were held in the minds of our tupuna. Encouraging whānau to continue with the practice of creating oriori for tamariki mokopuna is a pragmatic way forward for whānau, hapū and iwi. Reedy (2009) advocates for the revitalisation of *oriori karakia* where they can be easily applied to Māori parenting programs, Māori midwives, rūnanga, and Māori urban authority groups who are well positioned to promote oriori as a child-rearing practice in our contemporary environments. An oriori for tamariki mokopuna promotes the momentum towards healthy growth and development where our babies are destined to positively contribute to our society. Revitalising the practice of oriori as a traditional Māori approach for raising tamariki is a recommendation of this Kaupapa Māori research.

11.2.4 Mauri Whānau and Te Tiriti o Waitangi:

Eliminating violence in Māori communities must fit within a Te Tiriti framework where the principles of partnership, participation and protection help in the development of long-term change for tamariki and mokopuna Māori. Whānau centred approaches and Mauri ora frameworks endorse the concept of a Mauri Whānau (healthy family.) Māori and Pākeha have cohabitated and coexisted alongside each other for many years now, immersed within the fabric of life. There have been turbulent times and times of tranquillity. We have fought with ourselves, fought with each other and fought alongside each other. Together we have created bi-racial and bi-cultural children who need positive experiences of themselves. Te Tiriti o Waitangi provides a template of guiding principles for the foundations of respectful relationships and coexistence in Aotearoa. Combined Matuaranga Māori and Matauranga Pākeha must work to address existing disparities so that equal outcomes for all are enjoyed.

11.2.5 Indigenous Collaborations:

The pūrākau have highlighted the need to consider trans-Tasman relocation efforts as a safety measure. The issue of relocation and their consequential adjustment concerns requires more in-depth consideration and further discussion. Aboriginal and Māori coalitions that investigate trans-Tasman family violence relocation management strategies is a recommended way forward. Trans-Tasman coalitions will inform Indigenous approaches in an effort to reduce violence in Indigenous communities and strengthen South Pacific Programs. Internationally Indigenous populations are working to eliminate violence in our various communities through the development of culturally responsive initiatives. Prioritising collaborations across Indigenous populations will increase culturally appropriate solutions to reduce violence. The complexities of partner violence must take into account existing economic and social disadvantages and inequalities in health, education along with institutionalised racism that have serious consequences for Indigenous people.

11.3 Research Limitations:

Academic and clinical supervisors coupled with collegial support have made this research do-able. I have acquired the external support of Māori mentors to encourage the

development of Kaupapa Māori qualitative research ideals. This research project has been largely an individual effort however, and this has been one of the major limitations of this thesis research undertaking. Whānau, hapū and iwi are about people and communities that come together to form a unique Māori society. By its very nature, Kaupapa Māori research is about collectivism allowing for the opinions of others where the responsibilities and resources are shared for the greater benefit of others. One of the strengths of a collective approach is that it provides a greater resource base from which to draw, knowledge, expertise and wisdom. In the research environment, these characteristics may have provided opportunities to engage further in the pūrākau data collection phase and the analysis method, *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau*. A collective team approach may have insights unseen by myself, engendering additional cohesiveness to capture the fullness of the data. Additionally, the pūrākau were often painful and disturbing and if I were to do anything differently, I would utilise a collective or team approach for reasons as mentioned and to collectively hold the pain and grief.

11.4 Strengths of the Study:

The overall aim of this study was to contribute to the development of effective Indigenous prevention and intervention strategies that will reduce violence in Māori communities. The study has met these aims based upon Kaupapa Māori suppositions where new hypothetical notions add to the Māori and Indigenous knowledge pool. Firstly, we understand better that the transformation of violence in Māori communities begins with a personal story of lived experiences for both the perpetrator and victims of violence. We understand better that difficulties in adulthood are often a consequence of unresolved challenges in childhood and a sequence of events that have their root causes in history. We understand better the connections between partner violence and the resulting impact trauma can have on women and the emotional development of their tamariki. We understand better how healthy affectional bonds are fostered through a deeply ritualised Māori process signifying a very different view from theories on attachment. We understand better the pragmatic versatility of pūrākau in the research environment and as a valid Indigenous Māori healing method. All of these new understandings will go some way to informing practice standards for family violence practitioners.

Secondly, the major strength of this study is the contribution it makes to the development of a new Māori analysis method *Te-āta-tu Pūrākau,* a mechanism for

exploring key themes in narrative approaches such as pūrākau. Historical Trauma theory (Brave Heart & De Bruyn, 1998) along with Atkinson's (2002) traumagram system, have encouraged the conceptualisation of Whakapapa Trauma.

Many talking therapies utilise narrative therapy as an accepted approach in counselling, psychotherapy and psychology and yet little is known about pūrākau. Pūrākau are the way in which Māori have told their stories since time began and must therefore be at the front of any Māori intervention approach that is engaged in talking therapies as a discourse for healing. Pūrākau require a willing story-teller, a willing listener, concepts of time and the ability to make sense of the story told. Te-āta-tu Pūrākau is a newly developed Māori analysis tool that provides a mechanism for understanding and finding meaning in our pūrākau. The story-teller gains further and deeper insights and a growing awareness from which to learn. Together pūrākau and *Te-ata-tu Pūrākau* are Māori intervention methods for positive change. Whakapapa trauma locates the experiences of Māori to Aotearoa New Zealand and in doing so provides a Māori framework for intervention. I believe this study contributes new knowledge that is applicable in the Māori research environment and to the development of healing interventions that will assist practitioners to transform violence in our society.

11.5 Directions for Future Research:

Transforming whānau violence is a priority for Māori, and future research is critical in this transformational development. A specific Kaupapa Māori approach to whānau violence will identify and define interventions that target Māori objectives. Adding Māori content to mainstream family violence programs appears helpful and a slower step toward Māori empowerment, and one step away from conventional measures that have thus far not addressed well-enough the specific realities of whānau, hapū and iwi. There exists a dearth of information in the research literature that speaks to the negative impact violence has on the development of a child. However there are major gaps in the research literature concerning developmental and socialisation processes for tamariki Māori or indeed many Indigenous population groups.

Transforming whānau violence requires a greater understanding of childhood experiences and the nature in which these are fostered. The findings of this Kaupapa Māori research have provided new insights and valuable information concerning the task of mothering in the context of violence and the difficult task of fostering emotional

development with tamariki. This research sought the experiences of Māori mothers as primary caregivers to tamariki Māori, and it must be noted that the mothers who participated in this research had partners who were predominantly Māori but also ethnically diverse.

There is an urgent need to undertake Kaupapa Māori research that focuses on our most impressionable and vulnerable population group - that is, tamariki Māori. Directions for future Kaupapa Māori research must focus on tamariki Māori development as childhood experiences significantly shape the way in which intimate relationships develop. This also includes the need to address tama tane and tama kohine developmental issues to prevent the establishment of insecurities and negative patriarchal attitudes that reverberate into adulthood. It is also important to investigate the cross-cultural relationships between Māori and non-Māori partners with children who share a bi-cultural whakapapa and the tensions that arise because of inherent and gendered power imbalances. One research participant spoke of the violence that was occurring in her same-sex intimate partner relationship. The issue of women's violence against women is an emerging theme in the research literature and this is one area for Māori to investigate further.

11.6 Concluding Remarks:

Throughout this past decade, there have been a number of important reports that have highlighted the devastation violence can have on the lives of people, disrupting the social harmony and the well-being of Māori whānau, hapū and iwi. These reports have included *The People's Report: The People's inquiry into addressing Child Abuse and Domestic Violence* (Wilson & Webber, 2014), *E Tu Whānau! Transforming Whānau Violence* (The Māori Reference Group, 2014), *The White Paper on Vulnerable Children*, (2012), *NZiDep: A New Zealand Index of Socioeconomic Deprivation for Individuals* (Salmond, Crampton, King & Waldergrave, 2006) and the *Family Violence Death Review Committee Fourth Annual Report: January 2013-December 2013* (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2014). Each report outlines a number of recommendations. The issues raised in these important reports represent the concerns of the Māori mothers who have participated in this research study. It is, therefore, not surprising that some of the findings from this Kaupapa Māori research are consistent with the findings of these reports.

This thesis joins with the broader discussions that are currently in the forefront where a greater response from government and their agencies must step up to help address the multifaceted issues that give rise to violence in our environments. Māori whānau, hapū and iwi require much more support in our struggle to eliminate violence.

I believe this study has contributed to the development of Māori theoretical knowledge and the development of Māori interventions. It has examined the literature concerning historical trauma that has informed my ideas regarding whakapapa trauma. The findings from the pūrākau indicate promising developments in the relevance of utilising both traditional and contemporary approaches to Māori education, research and health. The underpinning Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach is steeped in relational processes. This study involved blending traditional knowledge with new Māori knowledge so that relevant contemporary notions inform contemporary lifestyles.

While the findings of this research have revealed new and valuable information on Māori mother's experiences of partner violence and the fostering of emotional bonds with their tamariki, it has also provided insights into the subtleties of Māori women's lives and their personal subjective experiences. The development of the theory now allows for a broader application particularly for the Māori research community, Māori practitioners and contributes to an Indigenous knowledge base. It is thus applicable on both a national level and an international level, a source for Indigenous transformational development.

In this research, I attempted to understand the complexities of the embodied experiences of Māori mothers and the fostering of affectional bonds with their tamariki when partner violence is prevalent within the whānau. It is with this understanding that the potential for new possibilities arise. Formulating cultural templates (Pohatu, 2011) as Indigenous prevention and intervention strategies that will reduce whānau violence are much needed. Over a three-month period, I spent approximately 60 hours talking directly with both the research participants and with kaupapa whānau support people. I spent many more hours developing the analysis method before analysing the data. As a Māori researcher, I wanted to engage in Māori mothers' experiences and invest time and energy in the relationships with key kaupapa whānau support people. The Māori mothers who participated in this research study were incredibly generous with their korero pūrākau. The data collected from all twelve pūrākau culminated in a substantial database of

information. The women who participated in this study no longer live in violent relationships. However, they have become wiser, stronger, and more aware.

This research unearthed a number of findings suggesting that Māori mothers' experiences of partner violence are multifaceted and multi-layered, as highlighted in my discussions. The pūrākau provided an opportunity for the participants to reflect on their past experiences of trauma and the changes they have made in their lives. The mothers who participated in this study identified a number of factors that included the debilitating responses to the violence they experienced. The abuse experienced was to varying degrees and on many different levels from belittling and undermining to extreme physical acts of violence.

Their partners repeatedly abused the mothers in this study over varying lengths of time. The women described their feelings of hopelessness and despair and provided self-reports of their various depressive states. Through professional support the women were better able to contextualise their responses to violence as trauma, as opposed to the negative self-belief they once had of themselves. All of the mothers who participated in the research continue to be remorseful and deeply saddened by the thought that their tamariki suffered. This sense of mourning and sadness prevailed even when their best attempts helped to shield their tamariki.

However, their feelings and reflections now operate from a place of safety where they are better placed to make healthy choices for themselves and their tamariki. The women have overcome the most challenging situations and moved ahead contributing as strong, vibrant Mana Wāhine who participate fully in the opportunities that have come their way. Almost half the women in this study now have professional careers, better lifestyles and contribute positively to all aspects of contemporary Māori lifestyles. Transformation through healing has made the women happier for both themselves and their tamariki and optimistic about a better future for their mokopuna.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a significant document in Aotearoa New Zealand and we are encouraged to acknowledge this principled document. 2015 marks the 175th year since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Māori have come a long way and experienced much in a relevantly short period of time. We must celebrate this enduring journey and move toward a better future for all. I hope to be at the bicentennial celebrations in Waitangi 25years from now, where the fuller recognition of Mana Wāhine and Mana Tamariki as taonga are protected and honoured by our Mana Tāne.

The pūrākau have provided a profoundly rich source of data that will continue to inform our understanding of violence in Māori communities long after the completion of this thesis. In this study, the pūrākau revealed what whānau violence looks and feels like from the subjective experiences of Māori mothers. Positively, the 12 mothers who participated in this research have taken steps to fulfil their personal potential, are much stronger women, available and loving mothers, and determined to create a better future for their tamariki and mokopuna.

> *"Mehemea ka moemoea ahau, ko ahau anake, mehemea ka moemoea tatou, ka taea e tatou.*
>
> *If I dream, I am alone. If we dream, we can achieve together."*
>
> Te Puea He Rangi (n.d.):

TE RĀRANGI PUKAPUKA: REFERENCES

Abrahams, C. (1994). *The hidden victims – children and domestic violence*. London: NCH Action for Children.

Ahmed, T., & Webb-Johnson, A. (1995). Voluntary groups. *Mental health in a multi-ethnic society. London: Routledge*.

Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1963). The development of mother-infant interaction among the Ganda. In B. M. Foss (Ed.), *Determinants of infant behavior* (Vol. 2, pp. 67-112). New York: Wiley.

Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1964). Patterns of attachment behavior shown by the infant in interaction with his mother. *Merill-Palmer Quarterly, 10*, 51-58.

Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1967). *Infancy in Uganda: Infant care and the growth of attachment.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1972). Attachment and dependency: A comparison. In J. L. Gewitz (Ed.), *Attachment and dependency* (pp. 97-137). Washington D.C: V.H. Winston.

Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1985). Patterns of infant-mother attachments: Antecedents and effects on development. *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine, 61*, 771-791.

Ainsworth, M. D. S., Bell, S. M., & Stayton, D.J. (1974). Infant-mother attachment and social development: "Socialization" as a product of reciprocal responsiveness to signals. In M. P. M. Richards (Ed.), *The integration of a child into a social world* (pp. 99-135). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ainsworth, M. D. S., Blehar, M. C., Waters, E., & Wall, S. (1978). *Patterns of attachment: A psychological strange situation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

American Psychiatric Association. (2013). Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorder (5th Ed.). Arlington, VA: Author.

Anda, R.F., Felliti, V.J., Walker, J., Whitfield, C.L., Bremner, J.D., Perry, B.D., Dube, S.R, & Giles, W.H. (2006).The enduring effects of abuse and related adverse experiences in childhood: A convergence of evidence from neurobiology and epidemiology. *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences, 56*(3), 174-186.

Atkinson, J., Nelson, J., & Atkinson, C. (2009). Trauma, transgenerational transfer and effects on community wellbeing: Working together. In N. Purdie, P. Dudgeon, R. Walker (Eds.), *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and mental health and*

wellbeing principles and practice (pp. 135-144). Canberra: The Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing.

Atkinson J. (2002). *Trauma trails: Recreating song lines - The transgenerational effects of trauma in Aboriginal Australia*. Spinifex Press. Melbourne.

Atkinson, J. (2007). Indigenous approaches to child abuse. In J. Altman & M. Hinkson (Eds.), *Coercive reconciliation: Stabilise, normalise, exit Aboriginal Australia*. North Carlton: Arena Publications Association.

Atkinson, J. (2008). Finding our relatedness stories: Psychology and Indigenous healing practice. In R. Ranzijn, K. McConnochie, & W. Nolan (Eds.). *Psychology and Indigenous Australians: Effective teaching and practice* (pp. 103-124). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Atwool, N. (2006). Participation in decision-making: The experience of New Zealand children in care. *Child Care in Practice*, *12*(3), 259-267.

Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture*. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.

Becker-Weidman, A. (2006). Treatment for children with trauma-attachment disorders: Dyadic developmental psychotherapy. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, *23*(2), 147-171.

Bell, H. (2006). *Exiting the matrix: Colonisation, decolonisation and social work in Aotearoa.* (Unpublished Master). Massey University, Palmerston North.

Bell, S. M., & Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1972). Infant crying and maternal responsiveness. *Child development*, 1171-1190.

Belich, J. (1996). *Making peoples: A history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*. Auckland, NZ: Penguin Books.

Belsky, J. (1984). The determinants of parenting. A process model. *Child Development, 55*, 83-86.

Benham, M. K. P. (2007). Mo'olelo: On culturally relevant story making from an Indigenous perspective. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 512-533). California, Sage Publications.

Bishop, R. (2010). Effective teaching for Indigenous and minoritized students. *Procedia-Social and Behavioural Sciences, 7*, 57-62.

Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (2003). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education*. London: Zed Books.

Bishop, R. (1996). *Whakawhanaungatanga: Collaborative research stories*. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.

Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1992). He Kanohi Kitea: Conducting and evaluating educational research. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*.

Bowlby, J. (1956). The growth of independence in the young child. *Royal Society of Health Journal, 76*, 587-591.

Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss. Vol. 1, Attachment*. New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1973a). *Attachment and loss. Vol.II, Separation.* New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1973b). *Attachment and loss. Vol. II, Separation, Anxiety and Anger.* London: Penguin Books.

Bowlby, J. (1977). The making and breaking of affectional bonds. *Journal of Psychiatry, 130*, 201-210.

Bowlby, J. (1979). *The making and breaking of affectional bonds*. London: Tavistock.

Bowlby, J. (1980). *Attachment and Loss. Vol. III, Loss, Sadness and Depression.* New York: Basic Books

Bowlby, J. (1982). *Attachment and loss. Vol. 1, Attachment.* New York Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1988). *A secure base*. New York: Basic Books.

Bopp, M., Bopp, J., & Lane, P, Jr. (2003). *Aboriginal domestic violence in Canada*. Ottawa Ontario: The Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Retrieved from

Brave Heart, M. Y. H., & DeBruyn, L. M. (1998). The American Indian holocaust: Healing historical unresolved grief. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research Journal, 8*(2), 56-78.

Brave Heart, M.Y.H. (1999). Gender differences in the historical trauma response among the Lakota. *Journal of Health & Social Policy, 10(4), 1-21.*

Brave Heart, M.Y.H.(2000). Wakiksuyapi: Carrying the historical trauma of the Lakota. *Tulane Studies in Social Welfare, 21-22,* 245-266*.*

Brave Heart, M. (2003). The historical trauma response among Natives and its relationship with substance abuse: A Lakota illustration. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs, 35*(1), 7–13.

Brave Heart, M. Y. H., Chase, J., Elkins, J., & Altschul, D. B. (2011). Historical trauma among indigenous peoples of the Americas: Concepts, research, and clinical considerations. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, *43*(4), 282-290.

Brazelton, T. B. (1977). Implications of infant development among the Mayan Indians of Mexico. In P.H. Lieberman, S. R. Tulkin & A. Rosenfeld (Eds.), *Culture and infancy: Variations in the human experience* (pp. 151-188), New York: Academic Press.

Bretherton, I. (1985). Attachment theory: Retrospect and prospect. *Monographs of the society for research in child development*, 3-35.

Bretherton, I. (1992). The origins of attachment theory: John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth. *Developmental Psychology, 28*, 759-775.

Briere, J. (2015). Pain and suffering: A synthesis of Buddhist and Western approaches to trauma. In V. Follette, J. Briere, D. Rozelle, J. Hopper, & D. Rome (Eds.), *Mindfulness-orientated interventions for trauma: Integrating contemplative practices.* New York: Guildford.

Briere, J., & Jordon, C.E. . (2004). Violence against women: Outcome complexity and implications for treatment. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 18*, 1-25.

Briere, J., & Scott, C. (2006). *Principles of traumatherapy: A guide to symptoms, evaluation, and treatment.* London, England: Sage.

Bryman, A. (2004). *Social research methods* (Second Ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Buchanan, F. (2008). Mother and infant attachment theory and domestic violence: Crossing the divide. *Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse 5*, 1-15.

Campbell, J. C. (2002). Health consequences of intimate partner violence. . *The Lancet,, 359*(9314), 1331-1336.

Campher, R. (Ed.). (2008). *Violence in children: Understanding and helping those who harm*. London: Karnac Books.

Carlson, V. H. R. (2003). Attachment, culture, and the caregiving system: The cultural patterning of everyday experiences among Anglo and Puerto Rican mother infant pairs. *Infant Mental Health Journal, 24*, 53-73.

Caspi, A., & Moffitt, T. E. (2006). Gene–environment interactions in psychiatry: joining forces with neuroscience. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, *7*(7), 583-590.

Caspi, A., McClay, J., Moffitt, T. E., Mill, J., Martin, J., Craig, I. W., ... & Poulton, R. (2002). Role of genotype in the cycle of violence in maltreated children. *Science*, *297*(5582), 851-854.

Cassidy, J. (1999). The nature of the child's ties. In J. Cassidy, & Shaver, P. R. (Ed.), *Handbook of attachment: theory, research and clinical applications*. New York: Guilford Press.

Cassidy, J., & Shaver, P. R. (Eds.). (1999). *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications*. New York: Guilford Press.

Cavanagh, K.R.E., & Dobash, R.P. (2007). The murder of children by fathers in the context of child abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect,, 31*, 731-746.

Chase, S. E. (2005). Narrative enquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage book of qualitative research*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Cherrington, L. (2009). *Te hohounga: Mai i te tirohanga Māori/The process of reconciliation: Towards a Māori view. The delivery of conduct problem services to Māori*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.

Cherrington, L. (2003). The use of Māori mythology in clinical settings: Training issues and needs. In L. Nikora, M. Levy, & L.W. Waitoki (Eds.), *Proceedings of the National Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium, 2002: Making a difference* (pp. 117-120). Hamilton, NZ: Māori & Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato.

Cherrington, L. (1999). *Narrative approaches to therapy when working with Māori tamariki and rangatahi*. Paper presented to "The Interface of Tikanga Māori and Clinical Psychology Workshop", Porirua, NZ: Te Whare Marie, Capital Coast Health.

Cherrington, L., & Rangihuna, D.M. (2002). *Māori mythology in the assessment and treatment of Māori tamariki (children) and rangatahi (youth)*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Joint RANZCP Faculty of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry Conference and Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services, "Beyond Freud: partnerships and multi-modal interventions for the new millennium". Auckland, NZ.

Child Youth and Family. (2015). *Key statistics and information for media*. Retrieved 24 July from http://www.cyf.govt.nz/about-us/key-statistics/care-and-protection-reports-of-concern-requiring-further-action-and-substantiated-abuse.html

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F.M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Clandinin, D. J., & Rosiek, J. (2007). Mapping a landscape of narrative inquiry: Borderland spaces and tensions. In J.D. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 35-75). London: Sage Publications.

Cohler, B. J., Stott, F. M., & Musick, J. S. (1995). Adversity, vulnerability and resilience: Cultural developmental perspectives. In D. Cicchetti & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental psychopathology: Vol. 1. Theory and methods* (pp. 753-800). New York: Wiley.

Corso, P., Edwards, VJ, Fang, X, & Mercy, JA. . (2008). Health-related quality of life among adults who experienced maltreatment during childhood. *American Journal Public Health, 98*, 1094-1100.

Cram, F. (2011). Poverty. In T. McIntosh & M. Mulholland (Eds.), *Māori and social issues*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Cram, F. (1993). *Ethics in Māori research: Working paper*. Paper presented at the Cultural Justice and Ethics: Proceedings of a symposium held at the Annual Conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society, Victoria University, Wellington.

Crittenden, P. M. (1985). Maltreated infants: Vulnerability and resilience. *Journal of Child of Psychology and Psychiatry, 26*, 85-96.

Crittenden, P. M. (1990). Internal representational models of attachment relationships. *Journal of Infant Mental Health, 11*, 259-277

Crittenden, P.M. (1992). Children's strategies for coping with adverse home environments: An interpretation using attachment theory. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *16*(3), 329-343.

Colenso, W. (1865). On the Māori races of New Zealand. *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, *1*.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. London: Allen & Unwin

Cunningham, C., Triggs, S., & Faisandier, S. (2009). *Analysis of the Māori experience: Findings from the New Zealand Crime and Safety Survey 2006*. Wellington, NZ: Research, Evaluation and Modelling Unit of the Ministry of Justice.

Daly, M., & Wilson, M. (1998). *The truth about Cinderella*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Daly, M., & Wilson, M. (2007). Is the "Cinderella effect" controversial? A case study of evolution-minded research and critique thereof. In C. Crawford, & D. Krebs (Eds.), *Foundations of evolutionary psychology*. Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum.

Darwin, C. (1859). *The origins of the species by means of natural selection*. London: John Murray.

Davis, M., & Wallbridge, D (1981). *Boundary And space: An introduction to the work of D.W. Winnicott.* London: Karnac Books Ltd.

Denham, A. R. (2008). Rethinking historical trauma: Narratives of resilience. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, *45*(3), 391-414.

Delaney, R. J. (1994). *Fostering changes: Treating attachment-disordered foster children*. Fort Collins, CO: Corbett.

Dewes, T. K. (1975). The case for oral arts. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri: The world moves on – Aspects of Māoritanga*. Auckland, NZ: Hicks Smith & Sons.

Dillon, G., Hussain, R., Loxton, D., & Rahman, S. (2013). Mental and physical health and intimate partner violence against women: A review of the literature. *International Journal of Family Medicine, 13*, 1-15. DOI:10.1155/2013/313909

Dobbs, T., & Eruera, M. (2010). *Taitamariki Māori children and whānau: A review of selected literature*. Wellington: Families Commission New Zealand.

Dobbs, T., & Eruera, M. (2014). *Kaupapa Māori wellbeing framework: The basis for whānau violence prevention and intervention*. Auckland, New Zealand: Family Violence Clearinghouse, University of Auckland.

Duran, E. (2006). *Healing the soul wound: Counseling with American Indians and other Native peoples.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Duran, E., & Duran, B. (1995). *Native American postcolonial psychology*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Durie, E. T. (2005). Māori research, ethics and law. In L.T. Smith & M. Walker (Eds.), *Proceedings of Tikanga Rangahau Mātauranga Tuku Iho: Traditional Knowledge and Research Ethics Conference, 2004*. Auckland, NZ: Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga.

Durie, M. (1998a). *Te mana te kāwanatanga: The politics of self-determination*. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (1998b). *Whaiora: Māori health development*. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (1999). Mental health and Māori development. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, *33*(1), 5-12.

Durie, M. (2001). *Mauri ora: The dynamics of Māori health*. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2003). *Nga kahui pou: Launching Māori futures.* Auckland: Huia Publishers.

Durie, M. (2005). *Ngā Tai Matatū.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Egeland, B., & Erickson, M. F. (1999). Attachment theory and research. *Zero to Three Journal*, *20*(2), 1-10.

Edleson, J. L., Mbilinyi, L. F., & Shetty, S. (2003). Parenting in the context of domestic violence. San Francisco: Judicial Council of California, Administrative Office of the Courts. Center for Families, Children & the Courts. Retrieved from http://www.courtinfo.ca.gov/programs/cfcc/pdffiles/fullReport.pdf .

Elkington, J. (2006). *The pūrākau model: A counselling training resource for Te Whiuwhiu o Te Hau Māori Counselling Programme*. Hamilton NZ: Centre for Health and Social Practice, Waikato Institute of Technology.

Eruera, M., & Ruwhiu, L.A. (2013). *Ngā karangaranga maha o te ngākau o nga tūpuna Tiaki Mokopun*a. Retrieved from www.anzasw.org.nz/documents/0000/0000/1482/Tiaki_Mokopuna.pdf

Evans-Campbell, T. (2008). Historical trauma in American Indian/Native Alaska Communities: A multilevel framework for exploring impacts on individuals, families, and communities. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 23*(3), 316-338.

Fahmy, C., & Fradella, H.F (2014). Same-sex intimate partner violence. *The Encyclopedia of Theoretical Criminology.*

Falzeder, E. (2012). Freud and Jung, Freudians and Jungians. *Jung Journal, 6*(3), 24-43. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/jung.2012.6.3.24

Families Commission. (2011). *Matiro whakamua: Looking over the horizon*. Wellington: Families Commission.

Family Violence Death Review Committee. (2014). *Fourth Annual Report: January 2013 to December 2013*. Wellington, NZ: Family Violence Death Review Committee.

Fanslow, J. (2005).*Beyond zero tolerance: Key issues and future directions for family violence work in New Zealand* (3/05). Wellington, NZ: Families Commission.

Fanslow, J. L., & Robinson, E. M. (2010). Help-seeking behaviors and reasons for help seeking reported by a representative sample of women victims of intimate partner violence in New Zealand. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *25*(5), 929-951.

Fergusson, D.M., Boden, J.M, & Horwood, J. (2006). Examining the intergenerational transmission of violence in a New Zealand birth cohort. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 30,* 89-108.

Fergusson, D.M., & Horwood, L.J. (1998). Exposure to interparental violence in childhood and psychosocial adjustment in young adulthood. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 22*(5), 339-357.

Fonagy, P. (2008). Early life trauma and the psychogenesis and prevention of violence. In R. Campher (Ed.), *Understanding and helping those who harm.* London: Karnac Books.

Fraiberg, S. (Ed.). (1980). *Clinical studies in infant mental health: The first year of life*. London: Tavistock Publications Ltd.

Freud, S. (1957). Five lectures on psycho-analysis (J. Strachey, Trans.). In J. Strachey (Ed.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol. 11, pp. 3-56). London: Hogarth Press.

Friere, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

George, L., Ngamu, E., Sidwell, M., Hauraki, M., Martin-Fletcher, N., Ripia, L., Davis, R., Ratima, P., & Wihongi, H. (2014). Narratives of suffering and hope: Historical trauma and contemporary rebuilding for Mäori women with experiences of incarceration. *MAI Journal, 3*(3), 183-196.

Gerhardt, S. (2006). Why love matters: How affection shapes a baby's brain. *Infant Observation, 9*(3), 305-309.

Gilligan, J. (2001). *Preventing violence*. New York: Thames & Hudson Inc.

Glover, M. (1995). *Te Puna Roimata: Māori women's experience of male partner violence - 7 case studies*. Auckland, N.Z: Glover.

Goldberg, W. A., & Easterbrooks, M. (1984). Role of marital quality in toddler development. *Developmental Psychology*, *20*(3), 504.

Goldberg, S., Muir. R., & Kerr, J. (Eds.) (2000). *Attachment theory: Social, developmental and clinical perspectives*. London: The Analytic Press.

Grace, P., & Kahukiwa, R. (2000).*Wāhine toa: Women of Māori myth*. Auckland, NZ: Penguin.

Graham-Bermann, S. A., & Edleson, J. L. (Eds.). (2001). *Domestic violence in the lives of children: The future of research, intervention and social policy*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Grawe, K. (2007). *Neuropsychotherapy: How the neurosciences inform effective psychotherapy*. New York: Psychology Press.

Greenberg, M. T., Speltz, M. L., & DeKlyen, M. (1993). The role of attachment in the early development of disruptive behavior problems. *Development and Psychopathology*, *5*(1-2), 191-213.

Grennell, D., & Cram, F. (2008). Evaluation of Amokura: An Indigenous family violence prevention strategy. *MAI Review, 2,* Article 4.

Groves, B. M. (2002). *Children who see too much: Lessons from the Child Witness to Violence Project*. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press.

Grossman, K., Grossman, K.E., Spangler, G., Seuss, G., & Uzner, L. (1999). Maternal sensitivity and newborns' orientation responses as related to quality of attachment in Northern Germany. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 50*(1-2), 233-256.

Hall, A. (2005). *Cultural identity in the child psychotherapy environment: A Māori perspective*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Auckland, NZ: AUT University.

Hall, A. (2012). Kainga: Healing home with Indigenous knowledge. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand, 16*(1), 19-32

Hall, A. (2013). Ko Rangitoto, Ko Waitemata: Cultural landmarks for the integration of a Māori indigenous psychotherapy in Aotearoa. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand, 17*(2), 139-157.

Harlow, H. F. (1962). The development of affectional patterns in infant monkeys. In B.M. Foss (Eds.), *Determinants of infant behaviour: Volume 1* (pp. 75-88). New York: Wiley.

Health Research Council of New Zealand. (2010). *Guidelines for researchers on health research involving Māori*. Auckland, NZ: Health Research Council of New Zealand.

Heise, L. L. (1998). Violence against women: An integrated, ecological framework. . *Violence Against Women, 4*(3), 262-290.

Heise, L., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2002). Violence by intimate partners. In E.G. Krug, L.L. Dahlberg, J.A. Mercy, A.B. Zwi, & R. Lozano (Eds.), *World report on violence and health* (pp. 87-121). Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organisation (WHO).

Hennighausen, K., & Lyons-Ruth, K. (2010). Disorganization of attachment strategies in infancy and childhood. *Encyclopedia on early childhood development.* (2nd Ed.). USA: Havard Medical School.

Herbert, A.M.L. (2011). Māori perspectives on parenting in Aotearoa New Zealand. In T. M. McIntosh, & M. Mulholland (Eds.), *Māori and social issues* (pp. 67-87). Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers.

Hesse, E., Main, M. (1999). Second-generation effects of unresolved trauma in nonmaltreating parents: Dissociated, frightened, and threatening parental behavior. *Psychoanalytic Inquiry, 19*, 481-540.

Hesse, E., & Main, M. (2000). Disorganized infant, child, and adult attachment: Collapse in behavioral and attentional Strategies. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 48*, 1097-1127.

Hewitt, M. A. (2014). *Freud on religion.* New York: Routledge.

Holmes, J. (2000). "Something there is that doesn't love a wall": John Bowlby, attachment theory, and psychoanalysis. In K. J. Goldberg, & R. Muir & J. Kerr (Eds.), *Attachment theory: Social, developmental and clinical perspectives* London: The Analytic Press.

Holmes, J. (2001). *Search for the secure base: Attachment theory and psychotherapy*. London: Routledge.

Howe, D., Brandon, M., Hinings, D., & Schofield, G. (1999). *Attachment theory, child maltreatment and family support: A practice and assessment model.* Hampshire, Palgrave.

Howes, C. (1999). Attachment relationships in the context of multiple caregivers. In J. Cassidy, & P.R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications* (pp. 671-687). New York: Guilford Press.

Hrdy, S. B. (1997). Raising Darwin's consciousness. *Human Nature*, *8*(1), 1-49.

Hudson, M., Milne, M., Reynolds, P., Russell, K., & Smith, B. (2010). *Te Ara Tika - Guidelines for Māori research ethics: A framework for researchers and ethics committee members*. Auckland, NZ: Health Research Council of New Zealand.

Humphreys, C. (2007a). A health inequalities perspective on violence against women. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, *15*(2), 120-127.

Humphreys, C. (2007b). *Domestic violence and child protection: Challenging directions for practice*. Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse, UNSW.

Hutchings, J. (2002). *Te whakaruruhau, te ukaipo: Mana Wāhine and genetic modification*. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University of Wellington.

Irwin, K. (1992). Towards theories of Māori feminisms. In R. Du Plessis., P. Bunkle, K. Irwin. K, A. Laurie & S. Middleton (Eds.), *Feminist voices: Women's studies texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Irwin, K. (1994). Māori research methods and processes: An exploration. *Sites, 28*, 25-43.

Jackson, M. (1993). Land loss and the Treaty of Waitangi. In W. Ihimaera (Ed.), *Te Ao Mārama: Regaining Aotearoa - Māori writers speak out, Volume 2* (pp. 70-78). Auckland, NZ: Reed Books.

Jackson, S. M., Cram, F., & Seymour, F. W. (2000). Violence and sexual coercion in high school students' dating relationships. *Journal of Family Violence,15*(1), 23-26.

Jenkins, K. (2011). *Traditional Māori parenting: An historical review of literature of traditional Māori child rearing practices in pre-European times*. Auckland, NZ: Te Kahui Mana Ririki.

Jung, C. G. (2006). *The undiscovered self*. London: Signet.

Jung, C. G. (1976). *Modern man in search of a soul*. San Diego, New York and London: Harvest Books, Harcourt Brace & Company.

Kahr, B. (2008). Foreword. In R. Campher, *Violence in children: Understanding and helping those who harm*. London: Karnac Books.

Karen, R. (1998). *Becoming attached: First relationships and how they shape our capacity to love*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Karena-Waretini, R. (2012). Takitoru: From parallel to partnership. A ritual of engagement based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi for implementing sfe cultural practice in Māori counselling and social science. *MAI Journal. 1*(1), 61-75.

Kellerman, N.P.F. (2001). Transmission of Holocaust trauma: An integrative view.

Psychiatry, 64(3), 256–267.

Kermoian, R., & Leiderman, P.H. (1986). Infant attachment to mother and child caretaker in an East African community. (1986). *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 9*(4), 455-469.

Kiro, C. (2013). *'Ngā mātua – Māori parenting - Parenting in tradition and history'*. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-matua-Māori-parenting/1

Koziol-McLain, J., Rameka, M., Giddings, L., Fyfe E, & Gardiner J. (2007). Partner violence prevalence among women attending a Māori Health provider clinic. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health, 31*(2), 143-148.

King, A., & Turia, T. (2002). *He korowai oranga: Māori health strategy*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Health.

Kraemer, S., & Roberts, J. (Eds.). (1996). *The politics of attachment: Towards a secure society*. London: Free Assn Books.

Kruger, T., Pitman, M., Grennell, D., McDonald, T., Mariu, D., Pomare, A., et al. (2004). *Transforming whānau violence: A conceptual framework* (2nd Ed.). Wellington, NZ: Te Puni Kōkiri.

Lamb, M.E., Hwang, C.P., Frodi, A.M., & Frodi, M. (1982). Security of mother-and father-infant attachment and its relation to sociability with strangers in traditional and nontraditional Swedish families. *Infant Behavior and Development*, *5*(2), 355-367.

Lawson Te-Aho. K. (2010). *Definitions of whānau: A review of selected literature*. Wellington, NZ: Families Commission/Komihana a Whānau.

Lawson-Te Aho, K., & Liu, J. H. (2010). Indigenous suicide and colonization: The legacy of violence and the necessity of self-determination. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, *4*(1), 124-133.

Lea, R., & Chambers, G. (2007). Monoamine oxidase, addiction, and the "warrior" gene hypothesis. *Journal of the New Zealand Medical Association*, *120*(1250).

Leahy, H. (2009). *Iwi based violence prevention initiative wins international recognition*. New Zealand Government. Retrieved 11/12/2013, 2009, from http://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/iwi-based-violence-prevention-initiative-wins-international-recognition

Lee, J. (2005). *Māori cultural regeneration: Pūrākau as a pedagogy*. Presentation to Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning International Conference "Towards community and cultural regeneration". Scotland: Stirling.

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *Mai Review, 2,* 1-12.

Liu, J. H., Lawson.-Te Aho, K.., & Rata, A. (2014). Constructing identity spaces for First Nations people: Towards an Indigenous psychology of self-determination and cultural healing. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 26*(2), 143-153.

Lyons-Ruth, K., & Jacobvitz, D. (1999). Attachment disorganization: Unresolved loss, relational violence, and lapses in behavioral and attentional strategies. In J. Cassidy, and P.R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications* (pp. 520-554). New York: Guilford Press.

Main, M. (1990). Cross-cultural studies of attachment organization: Recent studies, changing methodologies and the concept of conditional strategies. *Human Development, 33*, 48-61.

Main, M. (1993). Discourse, prediction, and recent studies in attachment: Implications for psychoanalysis. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 41*, 209-244.

Main, M., & Cassidy, J. (1988). Categories of response to reunion with the parent at age 6: Predictable from infant attachment classifications and stable over a 1-month period. *Developmental Psychology*, *24*(3), 415.

Main, M. & Hesse, E. (1990). Parents' unresolved traumatic experiences are related to infant disorganized attachment status: Is frightened and/or frightening parental behavior the linking mechanism. In M.T.Greenberg, D. Cicchetti, & E.M. Cummings (Eds.), *Attachment in the preschool years: Theory, research and intervention* (pp. 161-182).Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press.

Main, M., & Solomon, J. (1986). Discovery of an insecure–disorganized/disoriented attachment pattern. In T.B. Brazelton, & M. Yogman (Eds.), *Affective development in infancy* (pp. 95–125). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Main, M., & Solomon, J. (1990). Procedures for identifying infants as disorganised/disoriented during the Ainsworth Strange Situation. In M. Greenberg, D. Cicchetti, & E.M. Cummings (Eds.), *Attachment in the preschool years* (pp. 121-160). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Main, M. & Weston, D. (1982). The quality of the toddler's relationship
    to mother and to father: Related to conflict behavior and the readiness to
    establish new relationships. *Child Development*, *52*, 932-940.

Māori Party. (2014). *Family violence*. Retrieved from
    www.Māoriparty.org/policies/family-violence/

Manning, S. (2014). Paraire Huata (1946-2014): A personal appreciation. *Ata Journal of
    Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand, 18*(1), 81-86. New Zealand Association
    of Psychotherapists Inc.

Marans, S. (2014). Intervening with children and families exposed to violence (Part I).
    Journal of Infant, Child, and Adolescent Psychotherapy, *13*(4), 350-357.

Marsden, M. (2003). Kaitiakitanga: A definitive introduction to the holistic worldview
    of the Māori. In T. C. Royal (Ed.), *The woven universe* (pp. 54-72). Otaki: The
    Estate of Rev. Maori Marsden.

Marsden, M. (1992). God, man and universe: A Māori view. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao
    Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga* (pp. 117-137). Auckland, NZ: Reed.

McCaleb, M., & Mikaere-Wallis, N. (2005). Relationship-shaping: Teacher consistency
    and implications for brain development. *The First Years: Ngā Tau Tuatahi. New
    Zealand Journal of Infant and Toddler Education*, *7*(2).

McCarthy, D. (2009). Spirituality and cultural safety. In D. Wepa (Ed.), *Cultural safety
    in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

McLean, J., Maxwell, M, Platt, S, Harris, F, & Jepson, R. (2008). *Risk and protective
    factors for suicide and suicidal ehaviour: A literature review*. Edinborough:
    Scottish Government Social Research.

McGee, C. (2000). *Childhood experiences of domestic violence*. London: Jessica
    Kingsley Publishers.

McLaren, F. (2010). *Reach and retention of the "It's not ok" television advertisements*.
    Wellington, NZ: Centre for Social Research and Evaluation, Te Pokapū
    Rangahau Arotake Hapori.

McLintock, A. H. (1966). Aotearoa. *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* from
    http://www.teara.govt.nz/1966/A/Aotearoa/Aotearoa/en

McWilliams, N. (1999). *Psychoanalytic case formulation*. New York: The Guilford
    Press.

Mead, S. M. (1997). *Landmarks, bridges and visions: Aspects of Māori culture*. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.

Mead, H. M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers.

Meadows,L.A., Kaslow,N.J., Thompson,M.P., & Jurkovic,G.J. (2005). Protective factors against suicide attempt risk among African-American women experiencing intimate partner violence. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *36*(1-2), 109-121.

Meloy, J. R. (1992). *Violent attachments*. London: Jason Aronson.

Memmott, P., Stacy, P., Chambers, C., & Keys, C. (2001). *Violence in Indigenous communities.* Canberra: Commonwealth Attorney General's Department.

Metge, J. (1971). *Kōrero pūrākau: Time and the art of Māori storytelling*. Cambridge: Anthropology Department, Cambridge University.

Metge, J. (1989). *In and out of touch: Whakamaa in cross-cultural context*. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.

Metge, J. (1995). *New growth from old: The whānau in the modern world*. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.

Metge, J. (2004).*The Māoris of New Zealand: Rautahi* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge & Keegan Paul.

Metge, J. (2010). *Tuamaka: The challenge of difference in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press.

Mikaere, A. (2011). *Colonising myths Māori realities: He rukuruku whakaaro* Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers and Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Milroy, S. (1996). Māori women and domestic violence: The methodology of research and the Māori perspective. *Waikato Law Review*, *4*, 58.

Ministry of Health, (2009). Alcohol use in New Zealand: Key results of the 2007/08 New Zealand Alcohol and Drug use Survey 2009. Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand: Ministry of Health.

Ministry of Health, (2010). *Tatau Kahukura: Māori Health Chart Book 2010*. Wellington, NZ: Manatū Hauora/Ministry of Health.

Ministry of Health, (2015). *Tatau Kahukura: Māori Health Chart Book 2010 3rd edition*. Wellington, New Zealand: Manatū Hauora/Ministry of Health.

Ministry of Social Development. (2008a). '*Are you okay' Campaign: Reporting Domestic/Family Violence Guidelines for Reporters*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.

Ministry of Social Development (2008b) *E Tu Whānau Ora, Programme of Action for addressing Family Violence 2008–13*. www.familyservices.govt.nz/documents/working-with-us/programmes-services/ whānau-ora/e-tu-whānau-ora-programme-of-action-2008-2013.pdf

Ministry of Social Development. (2015). *Modernising Child, Youth and Family Expert Panel: Interim Report*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.

Ministry of Social Development. (2006). *Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families: The first report*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.

Ministry of Social Development. (2011). *Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families: Family violence indicators*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.

Ministry of Social Development. (2002). *Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.

Ministry, of Social Development. (2010) *The Social Report*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.

Ministry of Social Development. (2012).*The White paper for vulnerable children: Volume II*: Wellington, NZ: The New Zealand Government.

Ministry of Women's Affairs. (2012). *Lightning does strike twice: Preventing sexual revictimisation*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Women's Affairs. Retrieved from http://mwa.govt.nz/documents?page=2

Minuchin, P. (2002). Cross-cultural perspectives: Implications for attachment theory and family therapy. *Family Process, 41*(3), 546-550.

Mitrani, J. (2001). *Ordinary people and extra-ordinary protections*. London: Brunner-Routledge.

Moewaka Barnes, H. (2000). Collaboration in community action: A successful partnership between indigenous communities and researchers. *Health Promotion International 15*(1).

Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., Harrington, H., & Milne, B. J. (2002). Males on the life-course-persistent and adolescence-limited antisocial pathways: Follow-up at age 26 years. *Development and Psychopathology, 14*(1), 179-207.

Moffitt, T. E., & Caspi, A. (2003). Preventing the inter-generational continuity of antisocial behaviour: Implications of partner violence. In D. Coid (Ed.), *Early prevention of adult anti-social behaviour* (pp. 109-129). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Montoya, C., & Agustín, L. R. (2013.). The Othering of domestic violence: The EU and cultural framings of violence against women. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society, 20*(4), 534-557.

Moorfield, J. C. (2003). *Te Aka: Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary*. Retrieved from http://www.iMāoridictionary.co.nz/Māori-dictionary.cfm

Morice, M. P., & Woodard, W. (2011). Māori psychotherapy and the requirement to register under the Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act 2003. In K. Tudor (Ed.), *The turning tide: Pluralism and partnership in psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 69-76). Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand: LC Publications.

Morse, J.M., & Field, P.A. (1995). *Qualitative research methods for health professionals* (2nd Ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Murphy, C., Paton, N., Gulliver, P., & Fanslow, J. (2013). *Understanding connections and relationships: Child maltreatment, intimate partner violence and parenting*. Auckland, NZ: New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, The University of Auckland.

National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges. (2013). *Women's Refuge statistics*. Retrieved 8/10/2015, 2015, from https://womensrefuge.org.nz/WR/Domestic-violence/Statistics.htm

National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges. (2014). *Annual report: July 2013- June 2014*. Wellington, NZ: NCIWR.

The New Zealand Government, (2015). *Vulnerable Children Act 2014: Public Act 2014 No 40*. Wellington, NZ: The New Zealand Government.

New Zealand Police. (2015). *Police statistics on homicide victims in New Zealand for the period 2007 – 2012: A summary of statistics about victims of murder, manslaughter, and infanticide.* Retrieved 20 July from http://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/homicide-victims-report-2014.pdf .

Office of the Children's Commissioner.(2015). *State of Care 2015: What we learnt from monitoring Child, Youth and Family.* Wellington, NZ: Office of the Children's Commissioner.

O'Hagan, M., Reynolds, P., & Smith, C. (2012). Recovery in New Zealand: An evolving concept? *International Review of Psychiatry*, *24*(1), 56-63.

Oppenheim, D., Sagi, A., & Lamb, M.E. . (1988). Infant-adult attachments on the kibbutz and their relation to socioemotional development 4 years later. *Developmental Psychology, 24*(3), 427.

Orange, C. (1992). *The story of the Treaty*. Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books.

Orange, C. (2004a). *An illustrated history of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books.

Orange, C. (2004b). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods.* London: Sage Publications.

Patton, M. Q. (2005). *Qualitative research*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

PDM, Task Force. (2006). *Psychodynamic Diagnostic Manual*. Silver Spring, MD: Alliance of Psychoanalytic Organizations.

Pearce, C. (2009). *A short introduction to attachment and attachment disorder*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Pere, R. R. (1988). Te wheke: Whaia te Māramatanga me te Aroha. In S. Middleton (Ed.), *Women and education in Aotearoa* (pp. 6-19). Wellington, NZ: Allen & Unwin Port Nicholson Press.

Pere, R. R. (1995). *Te wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom*. Gisborne: Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand Ltd.

Perry, B. (1998). Incubated in terror: Neurodevelopmental factors in the 'cycle of violence'. In J.D. Osofsky (Ed.), *Children in a violent society. New York: Guilford Press 124-149.*

Perry, B. (2002). Childhood experience and the expression of genetic potential: What childhood neglect tells us about nature and nurture. Brain and Mind 3, 79-100.

Perry, B. (2009). Examining Child maltreatment through a neurodevelopmental lens: Clinical applications of the neurosequential model of therapeutics. *Journal of Loss and Trauma, 14*(4), 240-255.

Petrie, H. (2015). *Outcasts of the Gods? The struggle over slavery in Māori New Zealand.* Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press.

Piaget, J. (1952). *The origins of intelligence in children*. New York: International University Press.

Piaget, J. (1971). *Psychology and epistemology: Towards a theory of knowledge*. New York: Viking.

Pihama, L. (2001). *Tihei mauri ora - Honouring our voices: Mana Wāhine as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework*. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland.

Pihama, L., Jenkins, K., & Karehana, M. (2002). *Evaluation of programmes for Māori adult protected persons under the Domestic Violence Act 1995*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Justice.

Pihama, L., Reynolds, P., Smith, C., Reid, J., Tuhiwai-Smith, L., & Te Nana, R. (2014). Positioning historical trauma theory within Aotearoa New Zealand. *AlterNative, 10*(3), 248-262.

Pohatu, T. W. (2013). Ata: Growing respectful relationships. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand, 17*(1), 13-26. DOI:10.9791/ajopanz.2013.02

Pohatu, T. W. (2011). Mauri – Rethinking human wellbeing. *Mai Review, 3*.

Poutu-Morice. M. (2011). Māori psychotherapy and the requirement to register under the Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act 2003. In K. Tudor. (Ed.), *The turning tide: Pluralism and partnership in psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 69-76). Wellington, NZ: LC Publications.

Prino, C. T., & Peyrot, M. (1994). The effect of child physical abuse and neglect on aggressive, withdrawn, and prosocial behavior. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *18*(10), 871-884.

Public Services Association, (2015). *CYF review - let's get real: Key discussion points from the symposium on the CYF Review*. Wellington, NZ: PSA.

Radke-Yarrow, M., Cummings, E.M., Kuczynski, L., & Chapman, M. (1985). Patterns of attachment in two and three year-olds in normal families with parental depression. *Child Development, 56*, 884-893

Ratima, M., & Ratima, K. (2003). Māori public health action: A role for all public Health professionals. Wellington, NZ: National Health Committee.

Ratima, M. (2001). *Kia uruuru mai a hauora*. Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago.

Rebstock, P., Bush, M., Dunlop, D., Leahy, H., & Poulton, R. (2015). *Modernising Child, Youth and Family Expert Panel: Interim Report*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.

Reedy, A. (2009). *Te Oriori ā Tūteremoana – A Framework for investing in whānau*. Presentation at the Critical and Sensitive Research Issues Symposium: Nga Kaupapa Muna - The Unspoken Issues: Violence and Abuse in Our Communities Monday, November 2, 2009. Ngā Pae O Te Māramatanga New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence. Retrieved from mediacentre.maramatanga.ac.nz

Reid, P., & Robson, B. (2007). The state of Māori health. In M. Mulholland (Ed.), *State of the Māori nation: Twenty-first-century issues in Aotearoa* (pp. 17- 32). Auckland, NZ: Reed.

Reese, E., & Farrant, K. (2003). Social origins of reminiscing. In R. Fivush, & C. Haden (Eds.), *Autobiographical memory and the construction of a narrative self: Developmental and cultural perspectives* (pp. 29-48). London: Laurence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park CA, Sage.

Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. California: Sage Publications.

Robins, L. N. (1978). Sturdy childhood predictors of adult antisocial behaviour: Replications from longitudinal studies. *Psychological Medicine*, *8*(4), 611-622.

Robson, B., & Harris, R. (2004). *Economic determinants of Māori health and disparities: A review for Te Roopu Tohutohu it e Hauora Tumatanui (Public Health Advisory Committee of the National Health Committee)*. Wellington, NZ: Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pömare.

Robson, B., & Harris, R. (Eds.). (2007). *Hauora Māori standards of health iv. A study of the years 2000-2005*. Wellington, NZ: Te Roopu Rangahau a Eru Pomare.

Robson, B., & Reid, P. (2001). *Ethnicity matters: Review of the measurement of ethnicity in official statistics - Māori perspectives paper for consultation*. Wellington, NZ: Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare for Statistics New Zealand.

Rokx, H. (1998, September). Atawhaingia te pa harakeke: Nurture the family. Unpublished paper presented at the International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect's 12th International Congress on Child Abuse and Neglect. Auckland, New Zealand.

Rountree, K., & Laing, T. (1996). *Writing by degrees: A practical guide to writing theses and research papers*. Auckland, NZ: Longman.

Royal, T. C. (2000). *Pūrākau: A genre of storytelling*. Retrieved from https://www.charles-royal.com/assets/purakau.pdf

Royal, T. C. (2012). *Māori creation traditions - Creation and the Māori world view*. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/Māori-creation-traditions/page-3

Ruwhiu, L. A., Ashby, W., Erueti, H., Halliday, A., Horne, H., & Paikea, P. (2009). *A Mana Tāne echo on hope: Dispelling the illusion of whanau violence – Taitokerau Tāne Māori speak out*. Whāngarei, NZ: Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium.

Sabini, M. (2005). *The earth has a soul: The nature writings of CG Jung*. Berkley, C.A: North Atlantic Books.

Sagi, A., IJzendoorn, M. H., Aviezer, O., Donnell, F., Koren-Karie, N., Joels, T., & Harl, Y. (1995). Attachments in a multiple-caregiver and multiple- infant environment: The case of the Israeli Kibbutzim. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, *60*(2-3), 71-91.

Salmond, C., Crampton, P., King, P., & Waldergrave, C. (2006). NZiDep: A New Zealand index of socioeconomic deprivation for individuals. *Social Science & Medicine, 62*(6): 1474-1485.

Schaffer, H.R., & Emerson, P.E. (1964). The development of social attachments in infancy. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 29*(3), 1-77.

Schore, A. (2001). The effects of early relational trauma on right brain development, affect regulation, and infant mental health. *Infant Mental Health Journal, 22*(1), 201-269.

Schore, A. (1994). *Affect regulation and the origins of the self: The neurobiology of emotional development*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Scragg, R., Reeder, A. I., Wong, G., Glover, M., & Nosa, V. (2008). Attachment to parents, parental tobacco smoking and smoking among Year 10 students in the

2005 New Zealand national survey. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *32*(4), 348-353.

Schofield, T., Lee, R., & Merrick. M. (2013). Safe, stable, nurturing relationships as a moderator of intergenerational continuity of child maltreatment: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Adolescent Health 53*, S32-S38.

Schreiber, R., & Lyddon, W. J. (1998). Parental bonding and current psychological functioning among childhood sexual abuse survivors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *45*(3), 358.

Sears, R. R., Maccoby, E., & Levin, H. (1959). *Patterns of child rearing.* Evanston Illinois: Row Peterson.

Selby, R. A. (Ed.). (2005). *Walking the talk: A collection of Tariana's papers*. Otaki: Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa.

Shipway, L. (2004). *Domestic violence: A handbook for health professionals*. London: Routledge.

Smith, G.H. (2003). *Kaupapa Māori theory: Theorizing Indigenous transformation of education and schooling*. Paper presented at the Kaupapa Māori Symposium, Hyatt Hotel, Auckland, New Zealand.

Smith, G.H. (2000). Māori education: Revolution and transformative action. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *24*(1), 57-72.

Smith, G. H. (1990). *Research issues related to Māori education*. Paper presented to NZARE Special Interest Conference, Massey University.

Smith, L. (1992). Māori women: Discourses, projects and Mana Wāhine. In S. Middleton & A. Jones (Eds.), *Women and education in Aotearoa*. Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books.

Smith, L. (1993). Getting out from down under: Māori, women education and struggles for Mana Wāhine. In M. Arnot, & A. Weiler (Eds.), *Feminism and social justice in education: International perspectives* (pp. 58-78). London: The Falmer Press.

Smith, L.T. (1999, 2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.

Spitz, R. A. (1965). *The first year of life*. New York: International Universities Press.

Spoonley, P. (1988). *Critical issues in New Zealand society: Racism and ethnicity*. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.

Statistics New Zealand. (2015). *New Zealand Police recorded crime and apprehension tables*. Retrieved 20 July 2015 from http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE7407

Sykes, A. (1994). Constitutional reform and Mana Wāhine, *Te Pua 3*(2), 15-20.

Takahashi, K. (1986). Examining the strange-situation procedure with Japanese mothers and 12-month-old infants. *Developmental Psychology*, *22*(2), 265.

Tangaere, A. (1997). Māori human development and learning theory. In P. Te Whaiti, M. McCarthy, & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai i Rangiatea: Māori wellbeing and development*. Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press.

Taonui, R. (2012). Mana tamariki, takahi tamariki - Māori child pride, Māori child abuse. *Vulnerable Children and the Law: International Evidence for Improving Child Welfare, Child Protection and Children's Rights*, 161.

Taonui, R. (2011). Mana tamariki: Cultural alienation. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *6*(3), 187-202.

Tate, H. (2012). *He puna iti i te Ao Mārama: A little spring in the world of light*. Auckland, NZ: Libro International.

Te Awekotoku, N. (2003). *Ruahine: Mythic women.* Wellington, NZ: Huia.

Te Awekotoku, N. (1991). *Mana Wāhine Māori*. Auckland, NZ: New Women's Press.

Te Puni Kokiri, (2015). U*nderstanding whānau-centred approaches: Analysis of phase one Whānau Ora research and monitoring results*. Wellington, NZ: Te Puni Kōkiri.

The Māori Reference Group. (2013). *E Tu Whānau:Programme of action for addressing family iolence 2013-18*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Social Development.

The New Zealand Herald. (2000, August 31). *What Tariana Turia said - In full*. Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=149643

Thomas, A., Chess, S., & Birch, H.G. (1970). The origin of personality. *Scientific American*, 102-109. Retrieved from http://www.acamedia.info/sciences/sciliterature/origin_of_personality.htm

Thornberry, T. P., Knight., K. E, & Lovegrove, P.J. (2012). Does maltreatment beget maltreatment? A systematic review of the intergenerational literature. *Trauma Violence & Abuse, 13*(3), 135-152.

Tomlins-Jahnke, H. (1996). *Whaia te iti kahurangi: Contemporary perspectives of Māori women.* Unpublished Master's thesis. Palmerston North, NZ: Massey University.

Triandis, H. C. (2001). Individualism-collectivism and personality. *Journal of Personality, 69*(6), 907-924.

Tupara, H. (2011). *Te whānau tamariki – Pregnancy and birth: Birth in Māori tradition*. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-whānau-tamariki-pregnancy-and-birth/1

Tudor, K., & Grinter, C. (2014). Informing consent for the publication of case material: Principles, considerations and recommendations. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand: New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists, 18*(1), 51-65.

Van der Kolk, B. A. (2003). Post traumatic stress disorder and the nature of trauma. In M. F. Solomon, & D.J. Siegel (Eds.), *Healing trauma - Attachment, mind, body and brain* (pp. 168-195). New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (1990). Developments in cross-cultural research on attachment: Some methodological notes. *Human Development*, *33*(1), 3-9.

Van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. New York: University of New York Press.

Walker, R. (2004). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end* (Rev. Ed.). Auckland, NZ: Penguin.

Walker, R. (1975). The relevance of Māori myth and tradition. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri/The world moves on: Aspects of Māoritanga*. Auckland, NZ: Longman Paul Ltd.

Walker, R. (1996). *Ngā pepa a Ranginui: The Walker papers*. Auckland, NZ: Penguin Books.

Walters, K., Mohammed, S., Evans-Campbell, T., Beltran, R., Chae, D., & Duran, B. (2011). Bodies don't just tell stories, they tell histories: Embodiment of historical trauma among American Indians and Alaska Natives. *Du Bois Review, 8* (1), 179-189.

Walters. K. (2007). Indigenous perspectives in survey research: Conceptualising and measuring historical trauma, microaggression, and colonial trauma response. In

J. Te Rito (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Matauranga Taketake: Traditional Knowledge Conference* (pp. 27-44). Auckland, NZ: Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga.

Weston, R. (2008). Insecure attachment mediates effects of partners' emotional abuse and violence on women's relationship quality. *Journal of Family Violence 23*(6), 483-493.

Widom, C. S. (1989). Does violence beget violence? A critical examination of the literature. *Psychological Bulletin, 106*(1), 3.

Widom, C.S., & Wilson, H.W. (2015). Intergenerational transmission of violence. In J. Lindert, & I. Levav (Eds.), *Violence and mental health: Its manifold faces* (pp. 27-45). Netherlands: Springer.

Wilkinson, R.G. (2000). *Mind the gap: Hierarchies, health and human evolution.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Wilkinson, R. G., Pickett, K. (2010). *The spirit level: Why equality is better for everyone*. London: Penguin Books.

Williams, H. W. (2000). *Dictionary of the Māori language* (7th Ed.). Wellington, NZ: Legislation Direct.

Wilson, D., & Webber, M. (2014). *The people's report: The people's inquiry into addressing child abuse and domestic violence*. Auckland, NZ: The Glenn Inquiry.

Winnicot, D.W. (1945). Primitive emotional development. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, 26*, 137-143.

Winnicott, D. W. (1984). *The maturational processes and the facilitating environment*. London: Karnac Books.

Wirihana, R., & Smith, C. (2014). Historical trauma, healing and well-being in Māori Communities. *MAI Journal, 3*(3), 197-210.

Wolfgang, F., Pradeep, C., & Beate, S. (Eds.). (2005). *Culture and human development: The importance of cross-cultural research to the social sciences*. New York: Psychology Press.

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Ethics Approval

M E M O R A N D U M
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

To: Jane Koziol-McLain

From: **Dr Rosemary Godbold and Madeline Banda** Executive Secretary, AUTEC

Date: 24 May 2011

Subject: Ethics Application Number 10/300 **Partner violence and attachments between Māori mothers and their children: a kaupapa Māori approach.**

Dear Jane

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. We are pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) at their meeting on 13 December 2010 and that on 16 May 2011, we approved your ethics application. This delegated approval is made in accordance with section 5.3.2.3 of AUTEC's *Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures* and is subject to endorsement at AUTEC's meeting on 13 June 2011.

Your ethics application is approved for a period of three years until 16 May 2014.

We advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 16 May 2014;

- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 16 May 2014 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this.

When communicating with us about this application, we ask that you use the application number and study title to enable us to provide you with prompt service. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact Charles Grinter, Ethics Coordinator, by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 8860.

On behalf of AUTEC and ourselves, we wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely

Dr Rosemary Godbold and Madeline Banda

Executive Secretary

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Alayne Hall alhall@aut.ac.nz

Participant

Information Sheet

Date

Information Sheet Produced: 04 May 2011

Ko Maunganui te maunga	Maunganui is my mountain
Ko Kaihu te awa	Kaihu is my river
Ko Ngāti Whatua te iwi	Ngati Whatua is my tribal group
Ko Tama Te Ua Ua te marae	Tama Te Ua Ua is my marae
No Kaihu āhau	Kaihu is home

Project Title: Partner violence and attachments between Māori mothers and their children: A Kaupapa Māori approach.

An Invitation:

Tēnā koe, my name is Alayne Hall and I am a registered psychotherapist who is currently a full-time student at AUT University. I'm involved in research which will examine how the emotional bonds or attachment dynamics between Māori women and their young children is influenced by a violent partner. I am currently looking for research participants who are willing to be interviewed for this study. If you are a Māori women who has previously been involved in a relationship with a violent partner while mothering a young child between the ages of 0–3yrs I would like to invite you to participate in my research.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose is to investigate how mother child attachments are shaped when male partner violence against Māori women occurs. The views of Māori women who have personally experienced partner violence while parenting young children will provide the main source of data for this research. This research proposes to analyse the pūrākau (stories) of Māori

women, their experiences of partner violence and the influence this has had on their attachment relationship with their children. This information has the potential to inform intervention strategies that are appropriate to whānau, hapū and iwi. I hope to publish findings of my research in relevant journals or books that target Māori and Indigenous audiences as well as health and educational professionals. I intend to present my research findings at national and international conferences to a similar audience. Your personal details will not be disclosed in any presentations or publications at any time. Upon successful completion of this research study I hope to gain a Doctor of Philosophy degree from AUT University.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

I have spoken with people from my whānau, hapū, iwi and with my professional colleagues in the counselling and psychotherapy community about my research. I have asked if they would be willing to approach someone they know who may be interested in participating in this study and you may recall having a conversation with me or someone else who knows about this research recently. To be considered for inclusion in this research you will need to live within the tribal boundaries of Ngati Whatua, identify as a Māori mother with Māori whakapapa, have parented young Māori children when partner violence occurred, currently 25 years or older and have managed to live two years or more in a violent free intimate relationship. You may be excluded from participating in this research if recalling details of your experiences would be unsafe, if you depend on drugs and alcohol as a coping mechanism, and if you experience significant mental health issues.

What will happen in this research?

If you agree to participate in this study I would like to learn more about your emotional experiences with your child while living in a violent relationship. The interview will be audio-taped and we will start by talking about your attachment relationship with your child. Together we will explore your experiences as a mother both positive and those less positive. I would also like to know something about your child's behaviour during these difficult times. We will move on to talk about the attitudes of your whānau, hapū and iwi and discuss whether they were either supportive or unsupportive when your partner acted violently toward you. We will talk about what advice you might have for Māori who find themselves in similar circumstances to your own past experiences.

Research procedures

There are two interview options available to you, participants will be made up of two groups, firstly women who will participate in the hui interviews and secondly those women who would prefer to be interviewed individually through the kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) process. The group hui will involve eight participants while the individual kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interviews will be conducted with four Māori women. During the interviews I will take notes and audio-tape our discussions. If you agree to take part in the interviews your written consent will be obtained prior to the start of the interviews. You may withdraw part or all of the information you provide for the study up to one week after the completed interview. The information will only be used to inform the research outlined in this information sheet. All support people who will be present during interviews will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement form prior to the start of any interview. To ensure accuracy in the research process our conversations will be conducted in the English language and te reo Māori terms maybe used interchangeably. It is important to know that your participation in this research is voluntary and that you are able to withdraw from this research at any time without adverse consequences to you or your whānau.

What are the discomforts and risks?

You may experience some discomfort as you share your story about the less than positive aspects of being a mother in a violent relationship. Revisiting past and traumatic experiences can trigger a range of emotions such as anger, guilt, a sense of relief, sadness, and grief. It is important to remember that these emotions can exist at the same time and are normal responses to unsatisfactory experiences.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

Sometimes issues can resurface long after we have moved on from our past. At other times we have had to stay strong to hold our families together and attend to the practical issues of day-to-day survival. For this reason some issues can remain unresolved and when triggered may need further follow-up support. If you do experience discomfort as a result of hurtful memories I will respond sensitively and ask if you would prefer the interview and recording to be stopped. This can happen at any time. It's important to know that it's okay to take time out from the interviews and we can re-start when you feel ready to begin. I will also discuss with you possible support. These include contacting the 0800 611 116 Healthline, a Ministry of Health funded initiative operating 24 hours by registered nurses who will advise you on the appropriate service and locality nearest to

you for further assistance. I can provide you with a short list of professionally trained Māori therapists and counsellors. Additionally AUT University Health, Counselling and Wellbeing are also willing to provide a maximum of three free counselling sessions. If need be you can contact their city campus on (09) 921 9992 or the North Shore campus on (09) 921 9998 to make an appointment with a Māori counsellor if you choose. You will need to let the receptionist know that you are an AUT research participant and provide my contact details to confirm this. If you would like more information about AUT University counsellors and the option of online counselling please visit their website for further details:

http://www.aut.ac.nz/students/student_services/health_counselling_and_wellbeing

What are the benefits?

Your participation in this research project will contribute to the development of interventions that will improve the safety of Māori women and children. It will help to inform the way in which whānau, hapū and iwi authority structures can respond effectively to whānau violence in our communities. As a potential research participant you will gain information about the importance of healthy early attachment development which helps to enhance a secure sense of Māori identity and therefore contributes to a healthy secure Māori future for our tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren).

How will my privacy be protected?

No material which could personally identify you (such as personal name, names of those close to you, place of birth, address etc) will be used in any reports on this study without your consent. You may want to assert your right to have your name acknowledged alongside any detail resulting from your interview. This is possible however I would encourage you to consider seriously this option. You will be asked to select pseudonyms (alternative names) for privacy and confidentiality and the pseudonyms will be used in all the reports.

Data storage:

Data will be kept secure on a password protected computer and in a locked filing cabinet. A lockable storage bag will be used when carrying private and personal information between interview venues and AUT University. Following completion of the study the data will be maintained on a password protected computer for a further six years. After this time the computer stored data will be deleted permanently. Consent forms will be

stored in a locked cabinet separate from the interview data and only accessible by the researcher and research supervisors.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The interviews will require a commitment of time, preparation and travel. I have obtained a Health Research Council Scholarship and as a result I am able to offer petrol vouchers to help towards any travel costs and refreshments and kai will be provided. Two Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interviews along with any preparation time required in familiarising yourself with the participant information, reading of transcripts and travel is likely to take 4-5 hours of your time. When taking tikanga processes into account, the hui interviews x 2 may require more of your time. It is envisaged that a total of 12 hours maybe required to complete both hui interviews.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

I would like you to take reasonable time to consider the invitation to participate in this research while ensuring the interviews commence in a timely fashion for others who choose to participate. If you are willing to participate please forward your consent form back to me within 2 weeks of receiving this information.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you agree to participate in this research please sign the consent form attached to this information sheet. I have also provided a stamped addressed envelope so that the consent forms can be sent back to me through the post. When I have received your consent form I will acknowledge this in writing to you and I will make contact with you shortly thereafter.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

If you like the researcher to present the findings back to yourself and whānau, at the end of this study then this is possible. It is also possible to have the findings reported back in a hui to all who have participated in the hui interviews. I am willing to discuss and negotiate this with you.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Jane Koziol- McLain School of Health Care Practice, Interdisciplinary Trauma Research Unit AUT University PH (09) 921-9670 jane.koziol-mclain@aut.ac.nz. Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to

the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

If you have any queries about this research you are welcome to contact the research student in the first instance or the research student's academic supervisors. Please feel free to discuss or ask questions about any of the information outlined in this document. Thank you for your consideration and taking the time to read through this information sheet – Nō reira, ngā mihi mahana kia koe.

Researcher Contact Details:

Alayne Hall:

Tel: 921-9999 extn 7115   Mobile: 021-2887718

Email: alhall@aut.ac.nz

Interdisciplinary Trauma Research Centre

AUT University, North Shore Campus, Private Bag 92006 Auckland

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Professor Jane Koziol- McLain	Dr. Sue Crengle
School of Health Care Practice	Te Kupenga Hauora Māori
Interdisciplinary Trauma Research Centre	Senior Lecturer, Head of Discipline
AUT University	School of Population Health
PH (09) 921-9670	PH (09) 373-7599 extn: 87866
Email: jane.koziol-mclain@aut.ac.nz	Email: s.crengle@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16 May 2011, AUTEC Reference number 10/300

Consent Form

For Kanohi-Ki-Te-Kanohi (Face-To-Face) Interviews.

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Project title: Partner violence and attachments between Māori mothers and their children: A Kaupapa Māori approach.

Project Supervisor: Professor Jane Koziol McLain

Researcher: Alayne Hall

• I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 0 4 May 2011.

• I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

• I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that the interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed.

• I understand recordings can be stopped at any time for any reason.

• I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

• If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

• I understand that this study is voluntary and I can have a whānau support person or friend during the interviews.

• I understand that my data will be kept secure on a password protected computer and in a locked filing cabinet. A lockable storage bag will be used when carrying private and personal information between interview venues and AUT University.

• I understand that all study the data will remain in a locked storage system for a further six years following the completion of the study. After this time all data will be permanently destroyed.

• I understand that consent and confidentiality agreements will be stored in a separate locked cabinet at AUT University Interdisciplinary Trauma Research Unit and is only accessible to the researcher and the primary research supervisor.

• I understand that in the event that I may experience emotional discomfort when sharing my story that you the researcher will talk to me about seeking support from whānau others or formal assistance at some stage.

• I understand the researcher will consult with the project advisory group and/or the supervisors regarding matters of concern or discomfort but will not disclose my identity to them.

• In the event that care and protection concerns for children within my care become evident, I accept that the researcher will negotiate with me to contact a local agency (name to be supplied by the researcher) to facilitate contact with the CYFS (Child Youth & Family Services) for solutions.

• I would like to have my name attributed to my interview or story only (please tick one)

Yes O No O.

• I do not wish to be identified in any part of my interview or story and would prefer to use a pseudonym instead (please tick) Yes O No O.

• I wish to receive a copy of the summary of findings report (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

• I would like to have my name acknowledged in the final summary report (please tick one)

Yes O No O.

• I agree to take part in this research study as outlined in the Participant Information Sheet of which I have been given a copy.

Participant's signature:...

Participant's name: …………………………...………………………..…………………..

D.O.B…………….………….……

Iwi affiliations ..…………………………………..…………………..…………

Participant contact details :

Address

…………………………………………………………………………..……………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

Telephone

:(Hm)………………………………………….(Cell)………………………………

Date:………………………………………………………………

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16 May 2011

AUTEC Reference number 10/300 Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Consent Form

For Hui Group Interviews.

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Project title: Partner violence and attachments between Māori mothers and their children: A Kaupapa Māori approach.

Project Supervisor: Professor Jane Koziol McLain

Researcher: Alayne Hall

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 04 May 2011.

- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

- I understand that the identity of my fellow participants and our discussions in the hui are

  confidential to the group and I agree to keep this information confidential.

- I understand that notes will be taken during the hui groups and these will be audio-taped and transcribed.

- I understand that I can negotiate with the hui participants to have recording stopped at any time and to take a break if need be.

- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

- If I withdraw, I understand that while it may not be possible to destroy all records of the hui group discussion of which I was part, the relevant information about myself including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will not be used.

- I understand that this study is voluntary and I can have whānau support or a friend available to me at the marae venue.

- I understand that in the event that I may experience emotional discomfort when sharing my story that you the researcher will talk to me about seeking support from whānau others or formal assistance at some stage.

- I understand the researcher will consult with the project advisory group and/or the supervisors regarding matters of concern or discomfort but will not disclose my identity to them.

- In the event that care and protection concerns for children within my care become evident, I accept that the researcher will negotiate with me to contact a local agency (name to be supplied by the researcher) to facilitate contact with the CYFs (Child Youth & Family Services) for solutions.

- I would like to have my name attributed to my interview or story only (please tick one)
  Yes O No O.

- I do not wish to be identified in any part of my interview or story and would prefer to use a pseudonym instead (please tick) Yes O No O.

- I wish to receive a copy of the summary of findings report (please tick one) Yes O No O.

- I would like to have my name acknowledged in the final summary report (please tick one)

  Yes O No O.

- I agree to take part in this research study as outlined in the Participant Information Sheet of which I have been given a copy.

Participant's signature ....
Participant's name………………………………………… D.O.B………….……….….
Iwi and hāpu affiliation/s …………………………………..…………………………
Participant contact details :
Address   :……………………………………………………………………..……
…………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………….
Telephone :(Hm)…………………………………………….(Cell)…………………
………………………
Date:………………………………………………………………

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16 May 2011 AUTEC Reference number 10/300. *Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form*.

APPENDIX E - Hariata's Korero Pūrākau:

Level One: This is What Happened:

"Ok um, my first experience of partner violence was by my sons father and it didn't really start while I was pregnant it started after I had my son, and the first really bad hiding I got from him was on my first day back at work. We were on the way to work and my son he was nearly one and he was in the back of the car, and we were having an argument while he was driving, which is always a bad thing aye, and I pulled the hand-brake while he was driving and um, I got a punch in the mouth and a hiding and um I still have the scar on my lip today and that was twenty years ago."

"So um I went back to work with this massive fat lip and I worked for WINZ and so that was really awkward and the other really bad time was when um, he was smashing my head into the wall and choking me while I was holding my son, as a baby and that was because I just found out that he was cheating on me, so not only was he an arsehole he was also um cheating on me multiple times putting my health at risk because he wasn't doing it safely. I found out that there was lots of that. I guess I felt like I was a single parent who, lived with the father of my child, like he was my flatmate, but my son, I had the full financial responsibility of him because his father wouldn't contribute to any of that. So I felt like a single parent really even though I was in a relationship."

"The vulnerability and helplessness of the baby and violence leaves the baby unprotected, no responsiveness to the baby no containment of the emotional world."

"I Left Him Eventually"

"I stayed with him for five years because I never wanted to be a single parent and I loved my son's father very much, but it just wasn't going to work, and it just wasn't going to because he wasn't changing, so um I left him eventually after five years. . he would have stayed with me, nd he would have been quite happy to stay and keep beating me up and cheating on me and I didn't want my child growing up and seeing that…"

"He was a worst mongrel than the one before…"

"I met this guy, he was a Samoan Rarotongan , and he ended up being a mongrel too and he was a worst mongrel than the one before, but he never put his hands on me. He was…psychologically abusive to me and that was something that I'd never experienced to that degree.."

"He had lots of things going on that I had no idea were happening, such as um he's killed someone while driving a car, So he had all these things going on in his head that I had no

idea about. Like one night he snuck into my house and I didn't know he was there and he was hiding in my wardrobe watching me and I had no idea that he was in there watching me and I was on the phone talking to my girlfriend when he stepped out of the wardrobe.Yeah and he used to do weird things like that and he used to say things like "If you weren't so fat I'd fuck you more", things like that, he was really, really, like all my vulnerabilities he knew them and he would attack me in those ways and try and grind me down."

"Yep throughout the entire time, he was never supportive and he would disappear for days at a time and I would never know where he was and I remember going into labour with my daughter and he was nowhere to be found, nowhere. So when I had my daughter and I was at the hospital, it was his mother, my daughter's grandmother, my daughter's uncle, my daughter's aunty but we couldn't find the dad."

"He was another one he slept around on me too and when I was due to have baby I had an STI [Sexually Transmitted Infection] and so I had my legs in stirrups and my bloody cervix kept closing because I'm about to give birth. It was really painful because I've got an STI. I got to - this is what he put me through as well, um that was really humiliating and yeah…"

"I remember they were Seventh Day Adventist and this one time I knew he was sleeping around on me and I went over to his house and I got all of his nice clothes all of his good church clothes and I got his pants and I cut a big hole out of the zip part of his pants and I cut big heart shapes out of all of his good shirts because of what he was doing to me."

"I never set out to be a West Auckland stereotype having all these children to different men. I wanted to be married. I wanted to be married to one person and have all my babies to one person and um life wasn't like that for me. Yeah, um so when I got pregnant with M---- I wasn't going to have an abortion, I was going to have her no matter what."

The Break-up – "It was terrible the way it happened…"

"I cheated on him (laughs) I got my own back on that prick. But it was terrible the way it happened, because he was stalking me again, hanging around outside my window as I was telling my best friend all about it. It was the dirty R18 version and he got to hear it all (laughs).I didn't know he was coming, he would just show up whenever he felt like it. The other thing for me was I ended up getting pregnant to him again. I thought I've already had one child to him and that hasn't worked. I only have to look at it and I fall pregnant aye. And so um I had a termination and that was really, really hard because I'm

answerable to that and I ended up having therapy about that as well, because it affected me so badly and um….yeah but um yeah I cheated on him with T---'s dad.

What he did to M--- was that the partner he ended up with, after we broke up, he ended up cheating on that partner and he would take M---- along when he would see his new bit on the side.

A New Relationship – "He was always good to me…"

"Well I was gay and then in the last year of our relationship we were together for five years. We had a long relationship and then near the end of our relationship I ended up getting pregnant. We knew we weren't going to be together because I was talking to him around my sexuality and that was really difficult for him and then…I got pregnant with T--- and we couldn't believe it. But we both made a decision that she was going to be born and we were going to have her and be the best parents we could be even though we were going to go our separate ways. He was always a good to me, he was never violent towards me or abusive and we're still good friends and he's a good dad to his daughter T---."

Tū ngā pihi tamariki - Children get angry

"Yeah and as my daughter got older and at primary school age because she used to have rages that would see her ripping every poster off walls ripping her books smashing pot plants, just rages, picking her sores and making her legs bleed and I'm pulling my hair out thinking what's going on for my daughter? At seven years old she wants to run out on the road and get hit by a car because she wants to kill herself and I'm thinking 'what the hell, has somebody been abusing my daughter?" Like where is this behaviour coming from? And I knew that I wasn't hurting her anymore and it had been sustained and I was quite confident that nobody at her dad's house would be hitting her or hurting her and I couldn't figure out where this stuff was coming from. So I ended up referring her to Marinoto and that was pretty useless, they turned up with nothing. Because after she would have these rages she would end up with no energy and she would need to sleep."

"Yep she'd exhaust herself and she would turn into this person that I just didn't know and then after that after she'd rested she'd be fine again. She'd turn back to who she usually was and she'd help me clean up and they'd be hugs and you know would carry on and she would never disclose anything, even to this day. I've tried to track where the traumatic events in her life, that we're both conscious of; but can't find nothing. But that's what we go through, so that was really challenging to not react and then have my own rage to have

to come back and deal with. It took patience, my family would say to me you've got so much patience and I would think "if only you knew how I used to be and I ain't ever going back there again."

"We are really close, very good um. Out of all of my kids she (M---) has given me the most trauma. But I love all my kids the same, but they are all unique and all have their own special things about them. She's been the most challenging out of all of them, she's made her mistakes. She's really interesting and I love her heaps and I think we are very close and as we've both gotten older we've both got closer. And I've been able to have talks with her and apologise, because I know that children can remember things and I didn't want her carrying things into her adulthood or even her teenage years around what I had done to her. So it was really important for me to talk to her about where I was at as a person and um just really beg for her forgiveness because of my own lack of coping and for taking it out on her."

"I think I read some research around women who have been in violent relationships who's children are at risk sometimes because the kids can't hit back. They can't fight back in the same way you can and we can't always fight back against someone who is being aggressive towards us."

Mauri Tamariki

"That very first hiding in front of my son…my son became quite hyper-vigilant around loud noise or loud bangs or anything loud. My son would become really alert and looking around like 'what's happening' and he'd become frozen, like a frozen reaction. As he got older, there were times when his father would be hurting me and I would be holding my son, so I accept responsibility for that too. I was quite young when I had my boy, I was about 20 when this was going on. So I would do things differently now. But for him I remember that silent terror stuff where he would just freeze, and that watchfulness that kids have and he would be anxious, jumpy and nervous and watchful and he always wanted to be quite close to me."

"For me I can see how that impacted on my relationship with my daughter because she was a very difficult baby and pushed all my buttons and I know that out of all my children she got it the hardest. So for her as a baby she would cry; she was really hard to soothe and I found parenting her really challenging. And I can remember when she was between 18 months and three years old, she used to wake up in the middle of the night crying and like, she had wicked nightmares and I would try my best to console her and get her back

to sleep and stuff. And I couldn't handle it so I started hitting her (upset & tearful) and I feel really ashamed about that…but um I've talked to my daughter about it like now, because she's nearly seventeen but um…"

"Like I can remember that I would smack her, but I would never…like smack her hard. But I know I had the feeling like rage and I know it was because of her father and my lack of um…it was my issue it wasn't her, she was a baby, but um it was my lack of coping skills and stress from him beating me down psychologically from pretty much from the time I got with him. And because I was pregnant to my second baby daddy I felt under even more pressure to make it work, but I couldn't but I really wanted too…"

"I remember that I would smack her and smack her but I always knew that I could never cross the line where I wanted to, because I would have feelings where I would just want to throw her against the wall. And I totally get how parents could pick kids up and just throw them to make them shut-up. I got that and hitting her, I never punched her, I never hit her in the head or anything like that. But I would smack her on her hand or on her bottom and there was one night after I had hit her and I went to bed and my hand was stinging after I hit her and I thought to myself (tears) "You fucken bitch" how can you do that to your baby, like that's your baby and if your hand is hurting imagine how she feels. So that was it for me after that I (crying)…"

"I'll get through it. I never lost it with her like that again, not until she got older, but yeah that was really really hard. It was such a hard time… I really wanted her and um her name means brave because I felt brave having her because of how her father was….I think my baby was picking up on all this stuff and what I was going through so it wasn't until later again where I started making all those connections in terms of what this had done to her yeah."

"Yeah and I think I didn't have the skills that night when I really snapped. I just thought "you bitch, how dare you treat your baby like this". It really hit me and it was a turning point for me to never go to that place again, of - I'm supposed to be supporting her, I'm her parent. I'm supposed to be supporting her and protecting my child, I don't want her to ever be scared of me. Yeah so that was like a whack in the head for me…because I breast fed all my children as well and of course that stress is going to be passed on to them."

"I think part of my own denial around why I can justify why the children didn't see it, is because they were in bed…they may not have seen it but they damn well would have heard it.

They wouldn't talk about it and I wouldn't talk about it and I would try to carry on try to be normal to them and just try and still meet their needs. I think that was something that I always did even with those earlier experiences. Like for me when that happened to my mother, she would be in bed drinking cups of tea and smoking cigarettes and that wasn't going to happen for me. I always just told myself get up, get going, sort your babies out and you can cry later, that's not the kids fault they deserve a mum a parent so I'm not just going to go die in bed."

"So I still feel deeply ashamed of how I was and it still hurts me because it's not how I ever wanted to be with my kids and I know that I have tried to atone for that now, but I know things might have been a little bit different had I had some better coping skills or skills."

Supportive Whānau:

"He had a really lovely family that helped me through a lot and I'm still really close with them. He was a prick but they were lovely. M---s their first grandchild so she is incredibly special to them and um I'd be over at his place when he was missing off with some other bitches and um his aunty who I, who has passed away now, but she was very close to my daughter and um she use to say to me. "Oh it's alright girl, it's alright.""

"Well when my daughter was first born I had her with me all the time but I would go over to their house for the weekends because they would want to have my daughter there with them too. So they helped me so that I could get lots of sleep and as my daughter got a little bit older they would want to have her on the weekends and they would want to take her to church and they'd want to show her off and they wanted her to be with them. So she ended up developing quite a strong attachment to her grandmother and her aunty and then that would bring us into conflict because we parented differently. So it wasn't until my daughter got a bit older and I could start reasoning with her around the rules at Nana and aunties house but at mum's house these are the rules."

"Where I really value her dad's family was when she would go into those rages and I knew I didn't want to lose it with her, I would ring her Nana and say "she's going off again, I'm scared I'm going to hurt her please come and get her" and um they would. They always would."

272

"I don't know if you know anything about Samoan families, the sisters' rule, especially the oldest sister. His sisters would be really disappointed in him as a father and as a man and his sister would beat him up in front of my daughter and his sister would say stuff like "You're a useless father, you don't even provide for your daughter, you've got M-----'s mum doing all the work, and what about you, you don't do nothing" and she would beat him on the head and my daughter was watching that happening to her father. So then I would try to have respectful conversations with them and say "hey do what you gotta do but don't do it in front of my kid, I don't want her to see her father disrespected like that".

"I kind of came to a place where I would feel sorry for him because I know that he got lots of hidings as a child and I would say that he had some kind of brain injury because of the number of whacks to the head, including partial deafness in one of his ears, so I mean the older sister she was abusive too."

Whakapapa – Kin group trauma

"So what I wanted to talk about was my childhood experiences where my parents married. My mother was 18, my dad was in his mid-twenties. My parents divorced about three years after they got married because my father was sexually abusing me and he had been having sexual intercourse with my mum's 13 & 15 year old sister and that came out when my aunty was 16 and gave birth to my half-sister/half cousin and nobody knew she was hapū. So my grand-father sent my father off with a shot-gun pointed at him and said "Don't you come back around here no more" and um then my dad hooked up with my mum's best friend and went on to have a few kids with her. So I didn't grow up having a very good relationship with my father because of what had happened to my mother and my aunties, so I was raised by my mum, um I ended up being sexually abused and raped by eight different men over the course of…well from 18 months old up to…"

"Yeah, that was my dad, up till I was 15 when I was raped. Yeah I didn't go into counselling until I was 19 for that, and I was very promiscuous when I was a teenager and now I attribute those choices I was making then to that because I so desperately wanted to be accepted and loved by males and um wasn't and um I kept making these terrible choices because I think I just always didn't like myself and hated myself. So it didn't matter anyway; that's why I was so promiscuous because I didn't have any self-respect. It wasn't until I was being sexually harassed at work by someone I worked with and my response to that was flight - I would just leave - and I mean when you're in a job,

you can't just walk out whenever you feel like it so um I got saved when I went to WATCS and it saved my life. I know longer felt that I was this slut that I always thought I was, I now had some context around the decisions I'd made."

Whakamaa – A Trauma response

"The worst child-hood memory I have is when I was 15 years old, my brother was 13. Um my step-father was an alcoholic and um he came home and started beating up our mother in front of my brother and I and um my brother (tears) was trying to stop my step-father beating my mother and I can…in my mind's eye, I'm 42 at the end of this year, and I can still see my step-father smashing my brother's head on the metal bar of his bed and um after he had smashed up the kitchen and we'd had eggs everywhere and smashed chairs. It was like Jake the Mus's house except that my step-father was white and so was my mother um, yeah…(tears)….I can't eat runny eggs today because that's what was running down the walls and um after he beat them up he went into our garage and he um hung himself...and um my mother and I we had to cut him down and um he wasn't dead… but um my mother was frozen and I can remember my mother saying to me … (tears) go and get a knife….go and get a knife and um having to do that and being put in that position (tears)…it was like "fuck mum?" and then being sent over to the neighbours and them not realising that my brother and I had just been through this thing. We're being humiliated watching through the window as the ambulance arrived, and before the ambulance, because I had to ring the ambulance um seeing all the neighbours coming out and having a nosey. It was just the most humiliating thing and that was the year I was sitting School C and I failed, I failed School C. I um was um I started puffing lighter fluid, because I just wanted an altered reality, that didn't last for too long though but that was something I started doing to take me away from reality. And then my mother took him back and then my brother started going into State Care and became ward of the State…I got left there they weren't interested in me. Arseholes. And um my mother took him back so um I left home and um that's me."

APPENDIX F - TUHOTOARIKI'S ORIORI WITH AN ENGLISH INTERPRETATION

1. Nau mai e tama, kia mihi atu au

I hara mai rā koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata

I roto i te āhuru mōwai

Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pōuri

Ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a Tānenuiarangi

I te one i Kurawaka

I tātaia ai te Puhi-raki

Te hiring matua, te hiring tipua

Te hiring tawhitorangi e

Ka karapinepine te pūtoto

Ki roto te whare Wahiawa

Ka whakawhetū tama i a ia

Ka riro mai a Rua-i-te-pupuke

A Rua-i-te-horahora

Ka hōkai tama i a ia, koia hōkai Rauru-nui

Hōkai Rauru-whiwhia

Hōkai Rauru-maru-aitu

Ka mārō tama i te ara namunamu

Ki te taiao

Ka kōkiri tama i a ia

Ki te aotūroa, e tama e!

1. Welcome O son, let me address you

You have indeed come from the origin of mankind

From the cosy haven emerged

The barrier-of darkness ajar

The abode of the renowned Tane of the heavens

On the sounds of Kurawaka

Where the exalted one was adorned

In the implanting of parenthood, sacred implanting

Heavenly implanting in time remote

Twas then the blood welled forth floodlike

To the house exit

Thus the sun changed into a star

Acquired the recess of the mind

Recess of the spirit

Then strove for Rauru of renown,

For a self-possessed Rauru

And strove against the fate of a still born Rauru

Son you remained steadfast on the narrow pathway

To the wide world

Then, O son you leaped forth

Into the enduring world, O son, ah me!

2. Haramai e tama, whakaputa i a koe

Ki runga ki te tūranga matua

Mārama te ata i Ururangi

Mārama te ata i Taketake-o-rangi

Ka whakawhenua ngā hiringa i konei e tama e!

Haramai, e mau tō ringa ki te kete tuauri

Ki te kete tuaea, ki te kete aronui

I pikitia e Tānenuiarangi

I te ara tauwhāiti

I te Pumotomoto o Tikitiki-o-rangi

I karangatia e Tānenuiarangi ki a Hurutearangi

I noho i a Tongnuikāea

Nāna ko Pārāweranui

Ka noho i a Tāwhirimātea

Ka tukua mai tāna   whānau

Titiparaurangi, Titimatanginui, Titimatakakā

Ka tangi mai te hau mapu

Ka tangi mai to rorohau

Ka eketia ngā rangi ngahuru mā rua i kōnei

E tama e

2. Come now O son, show yourself

Upon the threshold of your parents abode

Bright is the morn at the Gateway of the heavens

Bright is the morn at the base of the heavens

On the earth is implanted all knowledge, O son!

Come, grasp the kit of sacred knowledge

The kit of lifes knowledge

Procured when Tāne of the heavens ascended

By the tenuous pathway thro the entrance to the upper most heaven

Tāne called upon the white glow of the heaven

Spouse of the wayward southerly gales

Who begat the mighty northerly blast

She espoused the Wind god

Who released his family

The dark piercing typhoon

The piercing hurricane, the hot piercing blast

Then came the rising tempest

The piercing wind

Thus was he ascended to the twelfth heaven

Oh son, ah me!

3. Haramai e tama

I te ara ka takato i a Tānematua

Kia whakangungua koe ki ngā rākau matarua

Nā Tūmatauenga

Ko ngā rākau tēnā i patua ai

Tini o Whiro i te Paerangi

Ka heke i te Tāhekeroa

Koia e kume nei

Ki to pō tangotango, ki te pō whāwhā o

Rūaumoko

E ngunguru i Rarohenga

Ka waiho nei hei hoariri mō Tini o Tānematua

I te ao tūroa

I konei, e tame, ka whakamau atu

Ki te Pitoururangi

Ki a Tumatakakā, ki Tūmatatāwera

Ki a Tūmatahuki, ki a Tūmataurauwiri

 Hei whakamau i te pono whakahoro kai

Nō Hinetitama

Na ka waiho nei hei tohu ki a Tānematua

Ka whakaoti te pūmanawa o Tāne I konei

E tama e

3. Come O son

Upon the pathway of Tāne the parent

To your dedication with the two edged weapon of Tūmatauenga

Those were the weapons that smote

Whiro the evil god at the barrier of the heavens

They fled down the long descent

And now lure (mankind)

To the night of utter darkness

The gripping night of Rua the earthquake god.

Who governs in the nether world

Where he remains the enemy of man offspring

Of Tāne the great parent in the enduring world

Make your way now, O son

To the outer gateway

Behold Tū of the flushed face, Tū of the angry face

He will tie the food knot

Of Hine the maid deceived by the male

Which she bequeathed unto Tāne the parent

Thus possessed of all talent was Tāne thereafter

O son, ah me!

4. Haramai e tama, puritia i te aka matua

Kia whitirere ake ko te kauwae-runga

Ko te kauwae-raro

Kia tāwhia, kia tāmaua, kia ita i roto

I a Rua-i-te-pūkenga

I a Rua-i-te-horahora

I a Rua-i-te-wanawana

I a Rua-i-te-matua-taketake-a-Tāne

Nau mai e Tūteremoana!

Kia areare ō taringa ki te whakarongo

Ko ngā taringa

O Rongomaitahanui

O rongomaitaharangi

O Tūpai-o-rangi

Kia whakaawhia ia Puke-hau-one

Ka hoka Hinerauwharangi i konei i a ia

Kia taha mai Ahuahu

Ahua Pukenui, āhua Pukewhakakī

Nau, e Rongomaraeroa!

Koia te ngauru tikotikoiere

Te Maruaroa o te mātahi o te tau

Te putanga o te hine, e tama e!

4. Come O son, hold fast to the main vine,

And awaken the celestial knowledge

And the terrestrial knowledge

Then take hold, hold fast, firmly enclose them

Within the recess of the mind

The recess of the spirit

The recess of the deepest thought

The recess of the parent inherited by Tane

Welcome. O Tūteremoana!

Open wide your ears and listen

Listen with the ears of

Rongo the auditor from the heavens

And Tūpai the auditor of occult teachings

Destined (you will be) for the

Summit of the heavens

Speec onward to the mid-pillar of the heavens

Thee to embrace the earth mound with vitality endowed

Hine the maiden of clustered leaves

Will dance with joy

Tend her with care

Garner the harvest, store it until it over flows

This is your bounty, O Rongo of the afar fluch fields

This is the bounteous harvest time

The long-awaited snaring time of the year

When calabashes overflow with fat, O son!

5. Whakarongo mai e tama

Kotahi tonu te hiringa

I kake ai Tāne ki tikitikiorangi

Ko te hiringa i te mahara

Ka kitea i reira ko Io matua-te-kore anake

I a ia te Toi-ariki, te Toi-uru-tapu

Te Toi-uru-rangi, te Toi-uru-roa

Ka whakaputa Tāne i a ia te waitohi

Na Pūhaorangi, Na Ohomairangi

Te wai whakaata

Na Hinekauorohia

Kauorohia ngā Rangitūhāhā

Ka karangatia Tāne ki te paepae tapu i a Rēhua

I te hiku mutu o rangi

Ka turuturu i konei, Te Tawhitorangi

Te Tawhito-uenuku, Te Tawhito-atua

Ka rawe Tāne i te hiringa matua, i te hiringa taketake

Ki te ao mārama

Ka waiho hei ara mō te tini

E whakarauika nei, e tama e!

5. Listen O son

There was only one implanting

That transported Tāne to the upper most heaven

It was the implanting of the mind

Nought visible but Io of the parentless

Possessed of all power, all sacredness

All heavenly origin, all embracing creation

Set free was Tāne by the water ritual

Of the awe inspiring heaven and the awakening from celestial sleep

At the mirrored waters of

Hine the maid of the smoothing stone

Smoothed and glistening were bespaced heavens

When Tāne was summoned to the sacred beam in the presence of Rēhua

At the tall-end of the heavens

Distilled then was the ancient knowledge of the heavens

Ancient knowledge of the rainbow, ancient knowledge of the gods

Implanting of the sacred knowledge

Of the world of light

As a pathway for the myriads

Who gather, O son, ah me!

6. Haramai e tama, whakapau ō mahara

Ko ngā mahara o Tāne-matua

I tokona ai ngā rangi ngahuru mā rua kia tūhāhā

I tangi ai te piere, i tangi ai te wanawana

Ka tangi te ihiihi i konei e tama

Ka toro te akaaka rangi

Ka toro te akaaka whenua

Ka tupea ki te wehe-nuku rangi,

ki te wehe-nuku-atua

6. Come O son, devote your thoughts

To the mind of Tāne Matua

Who propped up the twelve heavens and bespaced them high. From whence comes a

numbing sound, a fearsome roar

It comes forth as an awe inspiring sound O son!

Stretched forth was the vine of the heavens

Likewise the vines of the earth Sanctified by the separation of the bespaced heavens.

APPENDIX G: Tautoko Tuhituhi: Letter of Support Te Runanga O Ngāti Whatua

Te Runanga o Ngati Whatua

Edu121
File: CO8B

22 July 2010

Alayne Hall
AUT University
School of Health Care Practice
Interdisciplinary Trauma Research Unit
Faculty of Health & Environmental Sciences
Private Bag 92006
AUCKLAND 1142

Tena koe Alayne,

Letter of Support for Research Project

Firstly, please accept my apologies for the lateness of this response; it would appear that your request for a support letter was inadvertently overlooked.

Thank you again for your presentation to the Board on 16 April 2010. The trustees appreciated receiving an update on this project and hearing more about the tikanga values that underpin this work. Your research certainly adds value to the work being done in the areas of Maori health and social development and also complements the Runanga's own support for a zero tolerance to violence position within our communities.

At this meeting, the trustees again confirmed their support for this project and also supported your request to call a hui with women from Ngati Whatua to discuss the aims of your research. The hui dates proposed will be referred to the female board members to indicate their availability or not. If possible could you also forward a draft copy of the programme for this hui for their consideration.

Kia Ora

Allan M Pivac JP
Secretary

APPENDIX H - Tautoko Tuhituhi: Letter of Support Te Roopu Pounamu Awhina

18 July 2010

AUT University

School of Health Care Practice

Interdisciplinary Trauma Research Unit

Faculty of Health & Environmental Sciences
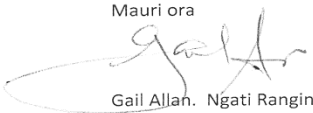
Private Bag 92006

AUCKLAND

Re: Alayne Hall- AUT University Postgraduate PhD Research

Partner violence and attachments between Māori mothers and their children: A Kaupapa Māori approach.

E Te Tumuaki, E Ngā Rau Rangatira Ma Tenā Koutou Katoa: (Greetings to the esteemed leaders)

On behalf of Te Roopū Pounamu Awhina (Wāhine Māori peer supervisory group for counsellors and therapists) we would like to support Alayne in achieving her research goals. The people we work with are Māori women, children and whanau who are often dealing with trauma directly related to whanau violence. Alayne's decision to undertake research that investigates the impact violence has on attachments between Māori mothers and their tamariki will build upon efforts by Māori to find new ways to address whanau violence in our communities. A Māori perspective and a Māori understanding concerning links between violence and attachments is essential. We are excited by her choice to use traditional knowledge such as Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine methodology ensuring that the aspirations of our tupuna wāhine continue.

Mauri ora

Gail Allan ~ Mobile 027470 58 22.

Gail Allan. Ngati Ranginui/Ngaiterangi iwi . Counsellor (MNZAC).

Te rōpu Pounamu Awhina - Administrative Kaimahi.

Naku te rourou nau te rourou ka ora ai te iwi (*With your basket and my basket the people will live*)

285

APPENDIX I: *Tautoko Tuhituhi: Letter of Support Te Runanga O Waka Oranga*

Waka Oranga
PO Box 8119
Cherrywood PO
Tauranga

15 July 2010

AUT University
School of Health Care Practice
Interdisciplinary Trauma Research Unit
Faculty of Health & Environmental Sciences
Private Bag 92006
AUCKLAND

Re: Alayne Hall- University Postgraduate Doctoral Research

Partner violence and attachments between Māori mothers and their children: A Kaupapa Māori approach.

<u>To whom it may concern</u>

Waka Oranga is a Māori professional association who deliver services in Māori communities in a range of health and educational settings for the wellbeing of whanau, hapu, iwi and people who seek therapeutic interventions. We are practitioners who have trained in psychotherapy and are committed to improving health outcomes and health equity for all Māori. Waka Oranga endeavours to uphold kaupapa Māori knowledge and values to promote healing through transformative change and social justice. Fundamental to our work in Aotearoa New Zealand is the development of indigenous approaches to health with Te Tirtiti o Waitangi providing the grounding principles of engagement. Waka Oranga works in partnership with the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapist and has a diverse membership of predominantly Māori and non-Māori practitioners.

Te Runanga o Waka Oranga (the governing body) have acknowledged and mandated Alayne's efforts and commitment to undertake research that addresses a serious health issue for Māori. We acknowledge Alayne's efforts to effect change and the contributions she has made to the on-going development of indigenous therapies for our people. On behalf of Te Runanga o Waka Oranga and our kaumatua kuia Haare Williams and Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan, we would like to extend our warmest encouragement and support to Alayne.

No reira,

Ko te pae tawhiti arumia kia tata	Seek to bring the distant horizon nearer
Ko te pae tata whakamaua	Grasp it firmly once near
Kia puta i te wheiao ki te ao marama	And so emerge from darkness to enlightenment

Na,

Cherry Wilson
Executive Officer
Te Runanga o Waka Oranga
cherrymwilson@xtra.net.nz