

Ngā Tāpiritanga:

In what ways are indigenous Māori perspectives on attachment similar to and different from Western psychoanalytic perspectives on attachment and what are the implications for the practice of psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand?

A Kaupapa Māori Critical Literature Review

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Ngāpuhi, Tūhoe

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Abstract

Western attachment theory has tended to focus on the interpersonal attachments between people; only relatively recently have western perspectives begun to explore the quality of attachments outside of the interpersonal domain. By contrast, Indigenous Māori attachment perspectives have always included vital connections to cultural and collective concepts such as whānau, whenua, and wairua. This critical literature review utilises Kaupapa Māori Research Theory to explore similarities and differences between indigenous Māori and western concepts of attachment, while also examining the implications for psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is of 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.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'AH Fleming', written in a cursive style.

Date: 20 October 2016

Anna Hinehou Fleming

Pepeha

i te taha toku Māmā,
Manu Moehau Herewini

i te taha toku Pāpā,
Christopher Philip Fleming

Ko Hikurangi ki te Tai Tokerau me Hikurangi
ki te Tūhoe ngā maunga

Born in London, England
and migrated to New Zealand with his
parents and three brothers in 1974

Ko Te Raparapa me Rangitaiki ngā awa

Ko Ngātoki Matawhaorua me Mataatua ngā
waka

Ko Ngāpuhi me Tūhoe ngā iwi

Ko Ngāti Hine me Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu
ngā hapū

Ko Matawaia me Waiohau ngā marae

Ko Herewini te whānau

Ko Annemarie Hinehou Fleming toku ingoa

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He Whakataukī

Mā te rongō, ka mōhio; Mā te mōhio, ka mārama;

Mā te mārama, ka mātau; Mā te mātau, ka ora

Through perception, comes awareness; through awareness, comes understanding;

Through understanding, comes knowledge; through knowledge, comes wellbeing.

Chapter One: Introduction

The psychoanalytic perspective speaks often of relationship. The first line of Stephen Mitchell's book, 'From Attachment to Intersubjectivity' (2000), comments that, "Psychoanalysis has always been centrally concerned with human relatedness" (p. ix). Mitchell outlines Freud's focus on mental process in a time period that was concerned mainly with the physical, and notes Freud's emphasis on "relations with other people" (p. ix).

Psychotherapy also holds a special place for, and an appreciation of the acknowledgement of childhood and development (Abrams, 1990), both while an individual is physically in their childhood years, and further on into adulthood. Psychotherapy, the origins of which began with Sigmund Freud, and developed by those who followed, continues to validate the inner life of the adult. This validation occurs most often in psychotherapy through the attention provided to the therapeutic relationship, and the exploration of other relationships in an individual's life.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines relationship as:

- 1) "The state or fact of being related; the way in which two things are connected; a connection, an association. Also: kinship
- 2) A connection formed between two or more people or groups based on interactions and mutual goals, interests or feelings" ("relationship", 2016).

This dissertation began with a desire to further explore the idea of attachment, and the influence that relational connections and disconnections have on health. During my training, relationship was a constant theme and one to which we were encouraged to pay attention. As I deepened my knowledge and began my clinical practice, I became more aware of the impact of relationship on development, and how interactions in the earliest relationships could continue to have influence on current life.

Attachment theory is a theory that charts relational development, and acknowledges the importance of secure connection. Defined by Rycroft (1995) as "an illuminating way of

conceptualising the propensity of human beings to make strong, affectional bonds to others” (p. 10), attachment theory has become a key concept in how child and human development is viewed. Including concepts such as secure and insecure attachment, the internal working model and the secure base, attachment theory provides a basis for looking at relationship and the effects of relationship throughout the lifespan (Bowlby, 1969).

The bulk of literature around the early formative years of attachment theory focuses on the relationship between infant and mother and those bonds forged in early life. As attachment theory evolved, other relationships such as paternal attachment and sibling attachment were given focus, however much of the literature continues to focus on the maternal dyad.

Attachment theory asserts that the way connections are formed in early life set a foundation for the way that connections are made throughout the life span. I have often found this theory particularly applicable to situations I have experienced in my life, mostly for its grounding in relationship. When relationship is spoken of, in both clinical and educational settings, the relationships most often referred to are of the interpersonal – the person to person connections. To mothers, fathers, partners, children - but overwhelmingly, to other *people*. As noted previously, this is in line with psychoanalytic tradition, which tends to focus on relatedness between people. In many ways this made sense to me as a psychotherapist and as wahine Māori. A whakatauki that I often refer to is, ‘*He aha te mea nui o te Ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata*’ - What is the most important thing in the world? It is people, it is people, it is people. However, I continued to wonder about how these relationships and attachments were situated within Te Ao Māori.

As I continued to think about attachment within Te Ao Māori, I began to consider other connections that hold meaning. These thoughts emerged strongly when I returned to Matawaia in Te Tai Tokerau, where my Ngāti Hine marae is located. Several of my whanaunga returned to Matawaia at the same time and we remained together as we met over a long weekend and acknowledged the kaupapa for our trip.

While the purpose of our meeting was clear, our whānau made many reflections and had lengthy conversations about how it felt to be back at Matawaia. The majority of our whānau no longer live in Matawaia, with whānau groups living across the motu throughout Te Tai Tokerau, Auckland and Waikato. We made note of how little our wider whānau came together, with the main purpose often being for tangi and unveilings. There was much reminiscing between my aunties and uncles and many opportunities for korero. Whānau members who had passed on were remembered often and held in mind, through stories, karakia and waiata and photographs. In observing interactions between family members, themes of comfort and familiarity in being together were evident.

One of the most powerful experiences for me came from being in physical contact with our whenua. There was a felt energy to walking areas that I knew generations of my tupuna before me had done. I listened to stories about how my grandparents had cultivated our whenua, grown vegetables and caught eels as their main source of food. I was shocked to hear that my grandparents, my mother and her siblings had been evicted from their land due to a court administration error, and that this event had had significant influence over our whānau moving to Mangere, South Auckland in the 1970s. My aunties and I stood beside our awa, once a significant water source, now a smaller tributary to a larger river beyond. Another aunty told us how to read the trees, and relayed messages to us about whether the upcoming summer would be a wet or dry season according to the number of kowhai blooming – by that summer, her information was proven correct. My cousins and I drove the back roads of our Ngāti Hine whenua, became lost, and kept driving around until the land became familiar and we could find our way. Our whānau conversations often came back to how our ancestors had lived their lives on our land, and we recognised our collective wish to take care of it for our future generations. This experience left me persistently thinking about the significance of connections in Te Ao Māori and my wondering about how attachments to concepts beyond the interpersonal are integral within the world view of Māori.

Both attachment theory and indigenous Māori knowledge acknowledge the importance of early familial and maternal attachment relationships. In Te Ao Māori, parent and child relationships

were held in the context of the community, with extended family members such as grandparents, aunts and uncles being significant in the upbringing of a child. The idea that children do not belong solely to their parents but to their whānau is a significant one, and one where belonging is seen in terms of developing a sense of identity within the collective, rather than as act of possession (Metge, 1995, p. 140).

In this way, indigenous Māori literature also references the significance of attachments to systems beyond the individual interpersonal domain. Māori perspectives emphasise the importance of connection to wider whānau relationships and tribal connections. Connections to collective structures include parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, uncles and cousins often present from birth, as “infants from their first moments are embraced by multiple relationships” (Penehira and Doherty, 2013, p. 373). Māori concepts such as whangai emphasise the need for children to understand their whakapapa fully and to have access to information from both their biological and whānau histories. Transmission of these values, beliefs, stories and knowledge also provide safety to the developing child.

Further, whenua is also a strong locator and connective space within Te Ao Māori.

Turangawaewae provides a sense of belonging to an individual, and is a key way of positioning one's self and creating safe boundaries in the world. Land is a provider of resource and provides a way to find physical sustenance. It is also a social concept, within which the dimension of whenua provides a place for whānau members to be together, socialize with one another and nurture their relationships. It also holds an individual's connections to the past through their ancestral links and contains not only physical aspects of this such as gravesites and buildings, but through collective memories and meanings (Teddy, Nikora & Guerin, 2008).

Beyond the interpersonal are principles of wairuatanga, the aspect of spirituality that all Māori are born with and have connection to. Wairua is the intermediary between the physical and spiritual realms, significant within Te Ao Māori. Many health models cite wairua as a primary aspect within health (Ratima, 2001; Durie, 2004) and note that unsupported or sick wairua causes an imbalance within the individual that makes it difficult to attain wellbeing and well

health. Wairua provides the connecting force between Māori and the rest of the universe, providing further connection to both interpersonal and other significant structures.

This research dissertation sets out to explore these meanings of connection and the similarities and differences between a western attachment theory, and indigenous Māori concepts of attachment. I also consider how these ways of connection and disconnection impact Māori psychologically and socially, and the implications for psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Two outlines my choice of method and methodology and their application in this study. It also charts my literature search and the method by which I found literature.

Chapter Three includes a concise view of attachment theory. It charts the progression of the theory, and its evolution within contemporary thinking.

Chapter Four explores indigenous Māori concepts of connection and explores these alongside relevant social and historical events.

Chapter Five reports findings from the literature review and considers the similarities and differences between Māori concepts of attachment and Western attachment theory. This exploration also considers the impacts of these concepts on health and social outcomes for Māori.

Chapter Six contains a discussion on the gathered literature, acknowledges the bicultural dynamics of this study and discusses the implications for psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Seven concludes this study, considers the learnings of this research and contemplates future pathways.

Chapter Two: Method and Methodology

This chapter introduces the method and methodology chosen for this literature review. It outlines the methodology chosen to examine the literature, and the analytical lens by which the literature will be reviewed. It then goes on to introduce the method used to explore the literature related to these two attachment approaches, and the process taken of selecting the relevant literature for this study.

A critical literature review of literature systemically reviews and explores literature in order to provide understanding with regard to a diverse body of knowledge. This methodological approach highlights areas of strength and weakness, while also identifying gaps within the literature. The opportunity to gather and thoroughly understand the available literature on this topic seemed like an important starting point prior to undertaking any further research.

This critical review of literature engages Kaupapa Māori Research Theory (KMRT) as its methodological lens. Historically, Māori research has been affected by a system that privileges western ways of knowing and invalidates and dehumanises Māori knowledge (Smith, L., 2012). These impacts have denied the validity of Māori knowledge and have led to distrust around research being of any benefit to Māori communities. The intention in selecting KMRT as a methodology for this study is to approach the research literature from a Māori perspective in order to ensure cultural relevancy, appropriateness and rigour.

Developing the Research Question:

In my practice as a social worker in foster care and child protection, I found attachment theory to be an encouraged model and commonly applied in practice. The “Our Practice Package” document (2010) developed by Child, Youth and Family (CYF) outlines the practice guidelines used by social workers working within New Zealand’s statutory child protection agency. Attachment theory features prominently in the guiding principles found within the document with attachment needs given their own ‘Practice Action’. This action acknowledges that “strong attachment bonds are important to children” (p. 17) and advises that attachment

thinking should be incorporated into future social work planning. The “Focusing on Attachment and Stability” information sheet on the CYF Practice Centre (2015) includes a paragraph discussing how children can attach to multiple caregivers naming both quality and quantity of time as a factor. However, despite referring to children as mokopuna throughout the document, the information sheet does not acknowledge hapū, iwi or any other cultural links.

Much of my understanding of health and wellbeing continues to be influenced by Māori models of health and early in my training I noticed my commitment to exploring attachment from an indigenous Māori perspective. Through my own understandings of Māori wellness, I recognised connection to be a significant marker of Māori health. Similarly, Ratima (2001) also names connectedness as central to positive Māori health outcomes and promotion. My intention with this research became grounded within an aim to further understand Māori methods of connection and to explore how these were similar and different to attachment theory. I was also curious as to how understandings and models of Māori connection can influence psychotherapy within the contemporary context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Through supervision, and in discussion with Māori colleagues, I reflected upon my research question through the process of completing my initial proposal. As I refined the research topic and question, it was suggested that I focus solely on concepts and ideas of Māori attachment. After consideration, I felt that it was appropriate and important to explore and uphold Māori concepts alongside western ideas of attachment in order to examine the power dynamics inherent in a bicultural approach, and to acknowledge and challenge the tensions present in the application of health theories in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This led to the research question: “In what ways are indigenous Māori perspectives on attachment similar to and different from Western psychoanalytic perspectives on attachment, and what are the implications for the practice of psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand”. The framing of this question holds indigenous Māori perspectives as the primary focus, while also providing a platform for bicultural exploration and critique. It is noted that there is some

controversy as to whether attachment theory is within the rubric of psychoanalytic theory (Holmes, 2001). However, given that the originator of attachment theory, John Bowlby, was originally trained as a psychotherapist, and many analytically orientated clinicians are informed by attachment theory, the word psychoanalytic is included in my research question. The phrase “western attachment theory” is used in this research to refer to the body of literature that has arisen out of John Bowlby’s ideas and the ideas of the clinicians and theoreticians that followed him, the majority of whom are from Europe or North America.

Methodology - Kaupapa Māori Research Theory

Kaupapa Māori Research Theory (KMRT) is defined by Royal (2010) as a theory in which “the proposed action is created by Māori, reflecting Māori aspirations, ideals, values and perspectives” (p. 30). KMRT has an aim for transformation, empowerment and self-determination, and ensures new ways of enquiry, observation and participation (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006).

KMRT seems particularly relevant for this study, which aims to explore concepts of attachment from Indigenous Māori and western perspectives. The use of KMRT as a methodology is deliberate, and is applied as a way to reveal and analyse existing Māori knowledge. Moyle (2014) notes that KMRT has often been considered as a critical theory, focused on the West and the oppressor. In developing this research question and planning the study I remained clear that this literature review was not looking simply to explore western attachment theory. Instead, the discussion reviews the similarities and differences between indigenous and western approaches to attachment and explores the implications for Māori and psychotherapy in Aotearoa.

In addition, this analysis and critique acknowledges the historical marginalisation of Māori knowledge, and prioritises Māori concepts of attachment alongside a dominant western theory of attachment. In initial preparations for this study, it was identified that an indigenous methodology would be key in ensuring that indigenous knowledge would be attended to throughout the research. A criticism of western psychological concepts is that these ideas have

often been too narrow due to the focus on the individual self and universality (Cram, 2004) and therefore often have not been useful for indigenous communities. In this exploration of western and indigenous knowledge, this inequality is challenged through the application of Kaupapa Māori Research Theory as the methodological lens. This methodology states its aim for transformation, with the purpose of this research to uphold Māori knowledge alongside the dominant western approach in an equitable process.

KMRT recognises existing Māori knowledge and it also encourages the creation of new Māori knowledge. This methodology has been chosen specifically to provide an indigenous analytical lens to explore both an indigenous and western body of knowledge, with the aim to culturally inform and support this review process.

The key concepts with regard to using a Kaupapa Māori methodology are discussed in detail by Pihama, Cram and Walker (2002). These concepts are:

- Tino Rangatiratanga (the self-determination principle): Relates to autonomy, self-determination and independence. This principle reinforces the goal of seeking more meaning over one's own life and cultural wellbeing and allows Māori to control their own culture and aspirations.
- Taonga tuku iho (the cultural aspirations principle): In which being Māori, along with the use of Te Reo, Mātauranga Māori and Tikanga Māori are actively legitimised and validated. There is acknowledgement that Kaupapa Māori knowledge has its origins in a metaphysical base that is distinctly Māori. In acknowledging these ways of knowing, this principle also allows spiritual and cultural aspects to be taken into account.
- Ako Māori (the culturally preferred pedagogy principle): Promotes teaching and learning principles, inherent to Māori, as well as practices that may not be traditionally derived but preferred.
- Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga (the socioeconomic mediation principle): Acknowledges the issue of Māori socioeconomic disadvantage and asserts that Kaupapa Māori values are able to intervene successfully for the wellbeing of the

whānau. This principle emphasizes the need for kaupapa Māori research to be of positive benefit to Māori communities.

- Whānau (the extended family structure principle): Acknowledges that the cultural values, customs, and practices that organise around the whānau are a necessary part of Māori survival. Kaupapa Māori is for all Māori, diverse in the ways that Māori are diverse, accessible and available to all.
- Kaupapa (the collective philosophy principle): This vision connects Māori aspirations to political, social, economic and cultural wellbeing, while critiquing power structures in Aotearoa that have historically Māori in binary opposition to Pakeha, reinforcing Māori as 'other'.
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi principle): the principle of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) affirms both the tangata whenua status of whānau, hapū and iwi, and their rights of citizenship. Te Tiriti provides a basis through which Māori may critically analyse relationships, challenge the status quo, and affirm Māori rights.

This research uses matauranga Māori and KMRT to explore concepts of attachment and connection from a Māori perspective. It aims to reveal, understand and prioritise Māori concepts of attachment, undertaking this alongside a dominant western perspective in attachment theory. With these factors in mind, this study aims to conceptualise and analyse attachment concepts through the lens of KMRT, and to critique how these processes and ideas are considered and enacted within health services and psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand. This critical literature review will explore the ways in which these indigenous Māori concepts and attachment theory overlap, and ways in which they diverge. In this way, the research looks to explore how these concepts exist alongside and in engagement with each other – and to consider this influence on how we might think about psychotherapy, attachment and indigenous health. KMRT is a way of abstracting knowledge, reflecting and engaging with it and critiquing its construction (Smith, L. T., 2012) while keeping Māori ways of thinking and exploring at the forefront.

I am also led by Graham Smith's summary of Kaupapa Māori Research (as cited in Smith, L. T.,

2012) in ensuring that this research:

- is related to being Māori;
- is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;
- takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture, and
- is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing

Engaging KMRT alongside a mainstream research method of a critical literature review therefore informs the research analysis and further validates Māori knowledge and principles.

A bicultural perspective

While attachments to people, places and things have always been present in Te Ao Māori, processes like colonisation and urbanisation have hampered how Māori access and connect with these attachments. Noting that western worldviews of health are described as focusing on subjective, individual states of health, the acknowledgement of an interconnected conceptualizing of how Māori live in the world is integral when considering health and wellbeing (Cram, 2014). To consider Māori health from an individualistic viewpoint and separate from significant people, land and spirit risks missing significant wellbeing markers for Māori.

This research holds a bicultural position in exploring how this knowledge sits within a social and cultural space. Harré Hindmarsh (2000) discusses how integrational biculturalism and appropriation has occurred in New Zealand at personal, organisational and national levels in which “the visible trappings of Māori culture” (p. 135) are employed as symbols of an emerging Pacific/bicultural identity and a distancing from colonial British/European roots. Where this symbolism introduces Māori ideas and perspectives into a system, it is done so as an addition, “rather than as an integral part of its core business” (Durie, 1994, p.7). Few changes are made at a structural level and Harré Hindmarsh describes this partnership as unequal in the way that the Pakeha partner holds the balance of power.

Additionally, Durie (1994) advocates for a post-bicultural approach, focused on tino rangatiratanga and sovereignty. The post-bicultural approach upholds both Māori and Pākehā cultural structures and considers the place of each other in relation to their own sphere (Harre Hindmarsh, 2000, p. 139) and that of the other. This is suitable within this research, given its aim to explore and critique the relationship between western and indigenous bodies of knowledge and the usage of Kaupapa Māori Research theory as the methodology.

Cultural consultation

As highlighted in Te Ara Tika (2010), collective participation ensures culturally safe research practice. Despite this research being a literature review and not having participants, collective participation through cultural advisors informs and guides a tika research process. I have been able to call on culturally relevant advisors throughout the different stages of this project. As is appropriate, this advisory input has come from several different relevant areas, from psychotherapy, and education, as well as hapū and whānau. Their guidance and input has been challenging and supportive, and has ensured that this research is tika and of benefit to Māori.

Method - Critical Literature Review

A critical review of literature is similar to a systematic literature review with the intention of gathering relevant literature to see a fuller picture. This process is then followed by a considered and robust examination of collected information in order to answer the overall research question, as well as to identify any strengths or weaknesses noted from previous studies (Aveyard, 2010).

A critical literature review was chosen for this study in order to understand the available body of knowledge with regard to this topic, and to examine the strengths and weaknesses of this literature (Jesson, Matheson & Lacey, 2011). As the intention in part is to understand and reveal Māori concepts of attachment, a method providing a way to understand and identify what was available was integral. This approach also provides the researcher with the ability

to examine the selected text for relevance and to include diverse opinions and content. This seemed particularly relevant for this study aiming to consider two areas of knowledge.

The Cochrane Handbook (Higgins, J. P. T., & Green, S., 2011) uses systematic methods in order to minimise bias and provide more reliable findings. The key concepts of a systematic review are:

- A clearly stated set of objectives with pre-defined eligibility criteria for studies
- An explicit, reproducible methodology
- A systematic search that attempts to identify all studies that would meet the eligibility criteria
- A systematic presentation, and synthesis, of the characteristics and findings of the included studies
- An assessment of the validity of the findings of the included studies, for example through the assessment of risk of bias

In terms of conducting a systematic review, the Cochrane Collaboration has defined a well-known method (Aveyard, 2010). However, a systematic review usually necessitates more than one author. This is not possible for this particular project. Aveyard believes that if a researcher cannot meet the requirements of a Cochrane type review, the literature should still be reviewed systematically in order to provide a rigorous outcome. This review will be a thorough critical analysis of collected literature, with many concepts of a systematic review being incorporated. In particular, this review is guided by the first four bullet points above. In addition, the research utilises KMRT to inform a critical methodological analysis of this literature.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria – Western Attachment Theory

Search parameters were identified early on in the literature search in order to focus specifically on literature relevant to this study. An initial search for 'Attachment Theory' on Google Scholar returned over one million results; therefore it was necessary early on to set some criteria to narrow down the numbers of results being returned.

Due to the prevalence of literature pertaining to attachment theory, the literature search was narrowed to focus primarily on contemporary literature published from 1995 onwards. This meant that the literature was likely to contain references to the history of attachment theory and its beginnings, but also allowed a platform to focus on the emergence of a contemporary attachment overview over the last twenty years. For example, initial searches showed that early attachment literature focused almost solely on the mother-child dyad, with research into paternal and other forms of attachment beginning to increase from the 1980s onwards.

Having the literature search focus on literature published from 1995 means that it is more likely to capture other forms of attachment in addition to the mother-child dyad, and to show the evolution of attachment theory. In chapter three, an historical overview of the development of Bowlby's original ideas is provided, and this is followed by a review of the more contemporary literature.

Given the scope and development of attachment theory, for the literature search into western concepts of attachment, it was decided early on to remain solely focused on the concept of attachment. For example, the area of ecopsychology is very invested in the relationship between humans and land, (Totton, 2007; Puhakka, 2014; Mulcahy, 2015) and the therapeutic implications of this relationship. While this study acknowledges the input and knowledge that these other discourses hold, this study aims to give an overview of western attachment theory in order to examine the relationship with Māori concepts of attachment. As discussed, western attachment theory continues to be a dominant discourse within health and social services in New Zealand and a focus primarily on this theory is therefore appropriate. Other criteria included the inclusion of English language texts only.

The search

An electronic research method was utilised in order to conduct the initial phase of the literature search. Three databases were selected to undertake this literature search:

1. EBSCO Health
2. SCOPUS
3. Psychoanalytic Electronic Publishing (PEP)

These three databases were chosen due to their focus on health and psychotherapy.

The searches were conducted in the same way across the three electronic search engines.

In order to capture attachment literature significant to this topic, the word 'theory' was included to retrieve literature pertaining to this specific idea.

Table 1. Results of search for Attachment and Theory

	Attachment and Theory (1995-2015)
EBSCO Health	5212
SCOPUS	9576
PEP	2403

In order to refine the search further, and to concentrate on interpersonal relationships, the following searches were conducted:

Table 2. Results of search for Attachment Theory and Maternal, Paternal and Sibling

	Attachment and Theory and Maternal (1995-2015)	Attachment and Theory and Paternal (1995-2015)	Attachment and Theory and Sibling (1995-2015)
EBSCO Health	377	61	43
SCOPUS	1730	249	313
PEP	76	3	8

In order to explore a collective perspective on attachment theory, the following search was conducted:

Table 3. Results of search for Attachment Theory and Multiple Caregivers

	Attachment and Theory and Caregiver and Multiple (1995-2015)
EBSCO Health	17
SCOPUS	367
PEP	0

Given my interest and training in psychotherapy, it was decided to focus on psychoanalytic perspectives on attachment. Articles that focused on human or emotional development were also prioritised in order to be relevant to psychotherapy. Following the narrowing down of these searches, the abstracts of each article were scanned in order to choose the relevant literature for the study.

Search for Māori literature

In order to capture literature regarding Māori perspectives on interpersonal attachment, the following initial electronic searches were conducted. Texts that were not written in English were excluded:

Table 4. Results of search for Māori, Attachment and Maternal, Paternal and Sibling

	Māori and Attachment and Maternal	Māori and Attachment and Paternal	Māori and Attachment and Sibling
EBSCO Health	2	0	0
SCOPUS	1	0	0
PEP	0	0	0

The largest noticeable difference was in the return of literature. Conducting a search with no time restrictions was completed in order to capture the evolution of literature around a Māori view of this topic. However, the literature returned while using the same search terms as for western attachment theory was almost non-existent, as opposed to the larger number of returns for western attachment theory. The lower returns of literature meant that I could scan all abstracts to find what was most relevant to this topic and the literature found was also not relevant to this study. This indicated that a change in search terms would be required. The next search removed the refining terms of maternal, paternal and sibling:

Table 5. Results of search for Māori and Attachment

	Māori and Attachment
EBSCO Health	11
SCOPUS	0
PEP	0

The next search replaced the word 'attachment' with broader term, 'connection', and again removed the refining terms of maternal, paternal and sibling:

Table 6. Results of search for Māori and Connection

	Māori and Connection
EBSCO Health	20
SCOPUS	80
PEP	1

As the abstracts were scanned, the concepts of KMRT were applied in order to refine what was relevant to my search. In particular, I prioritised texts which:

- focused on Māori subject matter or groups of people
- were researched or written by those who identify as Māori

- considered emotional, psychological or human development from a Māori perspective

I noticed at this point that some of the results were referencing some key concepts of Te Ao Māori, around whānau, hapū and iwi. My next search aimed to capture these:

Table 7. Results of search for Māori and connection and wider collective structures

	Māori and connection and whānau	Māori and connection and hapū	Māori and connection and iwi
EBSCO Health	91	37	167
SCOPUS	6	0	3
PEP	0	0	0

Exploration of this literature revealed that while a theory of Māori Attachment may not be named in this way within the literature, concepts of attachment and connection with Te Ao Māori are present within the literature, though described using language other than the word "attachment".

Using a KMRT lens to analyse the literature I found that themes beyond the interpersonal were also emerging strongly. The themes of whenua and wairua and their vital role in Māori ways of connecting were significant within the literature. I included these terms as a search:

Table 8. Results of search for Māori and connection and extrapersonal structures

	Māori and connection and whenua	Māori and connection and wairua
EBSCO Health	48	6
SCOPUS	3	1
PEP	0	0

At this part of the search I also undertook an electronic hand search of the following indigenous and bicultural journals, produced in Aotearoa New Zealand:

- AlterNative
- MAI Journal
- MAI Review
- Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand

I also scanned the Māori literature sections at AUT Library and Mt Albert Library and used KMRT concepts to guide my finding of any more suitable literature.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the literature search process for this study and inclusion and exclusion criteria. I have also discussed the method chosen for the study and the methodological lens used in order to analyse the gathered literature. The next two chapters will discuss the selected literature in more detail.

Chapter Three: Attachment Theory

This chapter provides a concise outline of the history and foundations of attachment theory and then explores the evolution of this theory over the last two decades. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to comprehensively survey the entire body of literature in relation to western perspectives of attachment, the aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the predominant themes pertaining to attachment literature which can then be considered in relation to indigenous Māori perspectives of attachment. This chapter considers emerging literature and is intended to provide a contemporary understanding of attachment theory.

Developed by John Bowlby, attachment theory has become a way to understand the way that relational bonds and connections impact an individual in their current and future lives.

Combining attachment concepts alongside an interest in the biological world, Bowlby began to critique psychoanalytic ideas, regarding the psychic structure of the self, particularly the idea that internal dangers should be prioritised over external threats (Bowlby, 1969). Emerging from this theory are concepts such as secure and insecure attachment, the internal working model and the secure base (Drury, 2012).

Bowlby trained as a psychoanalyst, working firstly at the Child Guidance Clinic in London, before moving on to become a psychiatrist in the British Army in 1940 (Holmes, 2001). As his practice developed, Bowlby became increasingly focused on the role of the environment and its impact on psychological difficulty, particularly in relation to trauma and loss. Further developing attachment theory in the 1950s and 1960s, Bowlby became critical of Sigmund Freud and Melanie Klein's focus on feeding or sexuality drivers, instead highlighting the bond between mother and child in its own right rather than as a secondary phenomenon (Bowlby, 1969). The early development of attachment theory as guided by Bowlby, focused largely on connection in relationship, particularly the relationship between mother and infant.

Concurrent with Bowlby's original writing was the ongoing construction of the nuclear family. The construction of this concept began in the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century (Bengtson, 2001). Ernest W. Burgess, a family sociologist based in the United States began

tracking the concept of the 'American Family', investigating "the macrosocial trends brought about by the Industrial Revolution and continued with his exploration of the microsocial dynamics within families" (Bengtson, 2001, p. 3). The model of a nuclear family came into being transitioning from that of an extended family system to a smaller grouping composing of a heterosexual, white, middle-class couple with children. This emergence is argued to have happened due to ongoing urbanisation patterns, increased individualism and the growing rights of women which transformed the family from a group based on law to one based on choice and companionship (Bengtson, 2001). It has been argued that this system was easily adopted by western societies around this time, and adapted well to economic needs and growing labour markets (Sussman, 1959). In this way, the dyadic concentrated relationship between mother and infant was well supported by the systems provided by the increasingly dominant concept of the western nuclear family. It is within this context that western perspectives regarding attachment developed and came to be very influential in western contexts. The significance of this social context will be returned to later in this dissertation.

Maternal Attachment

The relationship between mother and child is a key relationship in attachment theory. The attachment relationship between father and infant has been described as secondary, with fathers often considered only alongside the mother (Costello, 2013). Bowlby's reasons for concentrating on the mother-infant dyad came from two main areas. In his clinical practice as a psychoanalyst and researcher, Bowlby worked extensively with children, mothers and their families. He began studying the effects of separation on the psychological development of young children, finding that children who experienced separation or bereavement experienced intense feelings of mental pain and anguish, comparable to adults (Bowlby, 1969). From this, Bowlby sought to investigate the drive to relate and primarily focused on the mother-infant bond.

The second area which Bowlby focused on with regards to attachment was from his interest in the natural environment. The biological process of imprinting, which Bowlby explored through the observations of baby geese, led him to note, "the young of a species form a bond or focus

on another individual of their species” (Costello, 2013, p. 22). In this way, the offspring observes the other and their development becomes shaped by them, with the optimal other being the mother. Bowlby began to apply this process of imprinting to humans and considered how disrupted bonding might impact the psychological development of a child.

In formulating thoughts around human attachment Bowlby concentrated on three main characteristics of the imprinting process. Firstly, Bowlby found that imprinting, and subsequently, attachment, is embedded within the first two years. The relational experiences of this time have long term effects on the individual and while they cannot be eradicated, they can be modified or added to by further relational experiences. Bowlby referred to these experiences and behaviours as the ‘attachment behavioural system’, in response to the mother’s ‘caregiving behavioural system’ (Costello, 2013). These behavioural systems formulate the basis for relationship, love and dependency and give rise to initial relationships, as well as future ones.

The second characteristic is found in imprinting or attachment as a dyadic process, in which infant and mother relate and respond to one another. In this way, Bowlby suggests that attachment behaviour does not develop in a predetermined way. Where proximity provides protection from potential predators, imprinting “affords opportunity for the infant to learn from mother, various activities necessary for survival” (Bowlby, 1969, p. 224). Attachment principles are therefore founded on the idea that we become who we are based on our relationships with others, how we are impacted and how we are transformed by the other and their ways of being.

Thirdly, Bowlby found that there was a way in which both nature and nurture shaped the attachment process. Bowlby held that the genetic make up of both infant and mother worked in conjunction with both the biological and social worlds experienced by the dyad and that a range of outcomes could be reached (Bowlby, 1988).

Mary Ainsworth, an American-Canadian developmental psychologist, worked with Bowlby in London from 1950-1953 (Van Rosmalen, Van der Veer, & Van der Horst, 2015). Ainsworth had previously assisted Bowlby and James Robertson with investigations into infant mother

separations. These roles gave Ainsworth much experience in analysing observational data and she went on to lead further field observations.

From 1954-1955, Ainsworth moved to Uganda and began observing normative development, mother/infant interactions and attachment development within local Ugandan tribal communities. Ainsworth (1969) emphasised that the strength of interactions and behaviours between mother and child constitutes attachment. Her observations assisted in the development of criteria which went beyond Bowlby's focus of observing crying, following, and clinging behaviours. When Ainsworth's book on her Ugandan observations was published in 1967, she had developed the idea of three attachment classifications: securely attached, insecurely attached and non-attached. Ainsworth began to describe the mother as a secure base (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970) from which a child could explore their world, prepared and without panic. Ainsworth became increasingly confident in the idea that close attachment could still develop amongst emerging infant competence and independence.

Following these observations, Ainsworth developed the Strange Situation Procedure (SSP) in 1969. The SSP was developed as a way to prompt and observe attachment behaviour in children. While there were several strange situation studies prior to Ainsworth designing the SSP it is Ainsworth's model which has lasted and which provided empirical evidence for hers and Bowlby's work on attachment theory (Van Rosmalen et al., 2015).

Ainsworth's SSP aims to acknowledge the quality of attachment behaviour and to provide a way to attribute attachment behaviour into the three classifications as identified by Ainsworth. The SSP has largely remained unchanged and consists of eight separate encounters (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970). It is specifically designed to stimulate stress in the child through the three components of 1) the strange environment, 2) the stranger and 3) the separations from the caregiver. Observations initially occurred from behind a two way mirror with two observers, whereas contemporary testing sees the encounters more likely to be filmed and coded on completion of the observation.

In interpreting the observation, specific focus is given to the reunions between child and caregiver. The way in that the child adjusts and behaves towards the reunion categorises the attachment now into four classifications – secure, insecure avoidant, insecure ambivalent (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970) and disorganised, which was added as a classification by Mary Main and Judith Solomon, for children who were outside of the three original classifications (as cited in Bretherton, 2010).

During the 20th century, observations were a significant means to understand mental health and development. Within these was a significant focus on the role of mother in caring for the infant. Mary Shirley and Lillian Poyntz (1941) were curious about the growing trend of 'nursery schools' stating that, "the young child's sense of security and wellbeing is founded upon his experiences of mother love and care" (p. 251). Similarly to Ainsworth's findings in Uganda, Shirley and Poyntz attribute parts of the children's behaviour to adequate or inadequate maternal behaviour and aspects of the home situation – specifically referencing warm and wise maternal care in the healthy development of self-confidence and independence.

Jean Arsenian (1943) was also motivated to create a way of measuring the increasingly mentioned 'security' of children, and suggested that the idea of 'strange situations' could be used as a diagnostic tool. A significance of these early studies into child development and attachment behaviour is that most of the studies measure attachment, security and child behaviour in relation to the child's mother or a mother-substitute. In the case of Arsenian's group studies, these children were observed in a reformatory environment in which they lived with their mothers who often couldn't care for them exclusively as the reformatory ran on a system where children were attended to by other mothers. However, the focus was still placed on the interactions between a dyadic representation of care, particularly between the infant and mother, or another female caregiver (Arsenian, 1943).

Maternal attachment continues to be a significant topic within the field of health and psychological development. A search for literature from 2016 pertaining to maternal attachment returns 3747 results. While early literature defined the theory, contemporary literature looks to

assess attachment quality and implement interventions (Bryant, Ridgway, & Lucas, 2016). There is a focus on the mother's ability to provide a secure attachment environment, and to resolve any issues which might impair this – such as maternal attachment anxiety, insecurity, poor sleep, postnatal depression, physical health problems, grief and sociodemographic risk.

Bell (2012) explores the emergence of attachment theory from its creation in the 1940s to its modern usage. One critique is that early applications of attachment theory saw secure attachment as attachment without fear (Bell, 2012). This is shown in the significance of the idea around separation and loss experiences equalling fear and distress. Tools such as the Strange Situation Procedure measured the distress or fear that children experienced when separated from their caregiver, as opposed to measuring the amount of attachment that was displayed in the dyad. Bell suggests that attachment security may instead be measured by the level of trust that one individual shows in a special other. Where instead of measuring the fear response, Bell suggests we consider the impact on openness and how attachment becomes “a general motivation to have our many needs met by people we trust” (Bell, 2012, p. 278).

Paternal Attachment

Studies into the impacts of paternal attachment on child development have not been as numerous as those which explore maternal attachment. A 1952 study into sibling birth order describes father attendance during the research period as being “necessarily absent” (Fischer, 1952, p. 257), and that only occasional observations could be undertaken. Because of this, Fischer was unable to identify any patterns of paternal behaviour within the study.

Nash (1965) described fathers as being undervalued within the literature of the time and described the “strong interest of mothers to the neglect of fathers” (p. 265). He notes that the emphasis on the mother is not universal, and speculates an industrialised economy in the west as a contributing feature to this emphasis.

Bills' study into paternal affectional bonds (1980) emphasises the importance of fathers performing caretaking behaviours with their children early, in order to foster positive bonds. She

notes the changing role of the father within American families, stating that “fathers may have an increasing need for understanding early infant bond formation” (Bills, 1980, p. 25).

Bretherton (2010) discusses how interest in fathers developed early within the development of attachment theory, however “considerably more attention in the attachment field has been given to mothers” (p. 9). Brown, Mangelsdorf, and Neff (2012) acknowledge that further studies into paternal attachment have increased from the 1980s onward, with findings pointing to positive outcomes in sociability, reciprocated friendships and a lower risk of children developing behavioural problems. Freeman and Newland (2010) find that initial studies into father attachment were often undertaken through the lens provided by research into maternal attachment and questioned whether or not paternal attachment studies could be measured in the same ways as maternal attachment. Noting historical controversies around the preference for maternal attachments over paternal, Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985) suggest that attachment relationships do form in most father/child dyads, and that it is the quality and security of these attachments that should be measured.

Lucassen et al. (2011) note that studies into the attachment relationship between fathers and children are limited for two reasons. Firstly, is the idea that mothers tend to be the primary caregiver in the parenting dyad, and therefore the attachment between father and child is seen to be more tenuous than the attachment between mother and child. Secondly, the relationship and interactions between father and child are seen to be different compared to mothers. Fathers are traditionally described as “focused on stimulation and exploratory play interactions with their children” (Lucassen et al., 2011, p. 987), with less focus on emotional support and warmth. It is suggested that where mothers might attune to sensitive warmth to promote security in their child, fathers may be more likely to use sensitive stimulation to provide a similar security. Stimulation in this sense, is any behaviour designed to promote exploratory behaviour for a child.

Research into attachment has mainly focused on sensitivity as the primary factor of attachment security. Sensitivity, as defined by Ainsworth describes the parent’s ability to observe and

understand their child's signals, and to respond in ways that are "affectionate, well-timed and appropriately stimulating" (as cited in Brown et al., 2012). In turn, these responses promote security for children and advocate a sense of trust between child and parent.

Brown et al. (2012) acknowledge the role of sensitivity in measuring attachment security; however they also consider that other dimensions of fathering may contribute to the development of this security. Lamb et al. (1985) proposed a model for father involvement comprising of three components – interaction, availability and responsibility. Interaction considered the ways in which the father engaged directly with his child, availability was concerned with how the father was physically and/or psychologically available to his child and responsibility looked at how the father assumed responsibility for his child's care and welfare.

Brown et al. (2012) found that by age 3, "children formed more secure relationships when their fathers were higher on both sensitivity and involvement" (p. 427). In this study it was also noted that sensitivity remained a strong predictor of attachment security, supporting earlier theories which prioritise this aspect as a primary descriptor of attachment security.

Brown et al. (2012) acknowledges research findings which show that mothers who respond promptly, warmly and appropriately are more likely to have children who become securely attached. Describing sensitivity as "a modest predictor of father-child attachment security" (Brown, 2012, p. 422) the findings encourage a multiple lens approach including sensitivity and involvement be applied to paternal attachment.

Because of a father's tendency to use sensitive stimulation to promote security, it has been identified that fathers are most likely to attune and respond to a child's wish to explore (Lucassen et al, 2011). While paternal involvement has been studied as to its significance on general child development, it has "rarely been implicated as a predictor of attachment security" (Brown, 2012, p. 421). Studies into paternal involvement have shown positive correlation with regard to a secure father-infant attachment relationship (Brown, 2012).

Ainsworth's SSP informed much of these studies and measurements of paternal attachment. While several studies showed that father attachment had less impact on children's social and emotional development in comparison to mother attachment, some studies didn't. Because of this, fathers were often placed in a secondary attachment role, and the impact of father attachment was often regarded as additive.

There is little consideration that father involvement has a direct correlation to paternal attachment security outcomes. Findings suggest that fathers' more involved with caretaking had children who showed stronger attachment related behaviours in terms of proximity seeking and enthusiastic greetings (Brown, 2012). Children who showed these stronger attachment behaviours also demonstrated stronger attachment patterns through the SSP.

Also significant in research into paternal attachments are studies which look at the effect of paternal attachment on later behaviour. Research from Alvarez (as cited in Bourne, Berry, & Jones, 2014) finds that while maternal attachment and sensitivity influences psychological mindedness, the same associations do not occur as strongly in studies with regard to paternal attachment. However, given that significant correlations have been found between early relationship, adult attachment and relationship styles, it seems important to remain open to these possibilities.

Liu (2006) focuses on the effect of paternal attachment on peer relationships and describes studies into the attachment to fathers as being inconsistent. Liu cites studies that report how attachment security to father inversely affects the quality of relationships with friends. Liu states that father-child attachment security is "correlated with child coping, with coping linked to behaviour regulation with peers" (Liu, 2006, p. 716). Similarly, findings from studies into peer relations found that father relationships with adolescents is pivotal to the development of self-concept and peer relationships (Liu, 2006). Describing a function of fathers to socialise children to modern society, fathers provide important links to the outside world.

Sibling Attachment

Early literature around siblings placed considerations on ideas such as birth order and sibling age difference (Koch, 1955). Observing interactions between siblings and their parents on separation, findings were focused more on the children's behaviours on the return of their parents, as opposed to attachment behaviours observed between each other.

The sibling relationship has been identified as significant, being a relationship that can provide stability and support across the lifespan (Ryan, 2002). Crucial to the bond is the idea that the siblings have high access to each other, where siblings have sustained contact with one another and find companionship and support from one another (Ryan, 2002).

Shumaker, Miller, Ortiz & Deutsch (2011) describe three features with regard to sibling relationships. Firstly, sibling interactions are imbued with an "equivalency in power" which forces siblings to develop their negotiation and conflict resolution skills. Secondly is the general ongoing nature of sibling relationships which is different to the parent/child relationship usually disrupted through the death of a parent. Thirdly is that sibling relationships are often described as "emotionally intense" (Shumaker et al., 2011) because of the close proximity of development as well as the often present competition for resources.

Prior to the 1980s, few studies had explored the importance of sibling relationship and attachment. Marecki, Wooldridge, Dow, and Thompson (1985) completed studies looking at the significance into the birth of a new sibling on the older sibling. Marecki et al. (1985) state that the birth of a new sibling can be seen as a "crisis", where crisis theory suggests that on a developmental level, new attitudes and interactions begin which have long term implications into behaviour and relationship with the younger sibling and beyond.

Stewart & Marvin's (1983) strange situation study explored the possibility of older siblings becoming a source of security to sibling infants in the absence of a caregiver. The findings showed that when the caregiver left the room during the simulated strange situation, every infant became distressed at the absence. Over half of the older siblings provided some kind of

care to their younger siblings at this point, with female older siblings providing significantly more care than male older siblings (Caya, 2001). When, in the next episode, a stranger entered the room, the older sibling showed protective capabilities toward their younger sibling, often standing between their sibling and the stranger. Following the older sibling's positioning between stranger and younger child, play often resumed demonstrating secure base principles. This study also showed that most younger siblings would move toward their older sibling on encountering a stranger, therefore showing proximity seeking behaviours.

However, studies completed by Teti and Ablard in 1989 (as cited in Caya, 2011) have linked the importance of the mother/infant attachment relationship to that of the burgeoning sibling attachment relationship. Securely attached older siblings were more likely to provide caregiver behaviour if they had an established secure attachment themselves, however insecurely attached older siblings would usually display some kind of caregiving behaviour only if the younger sibling was overly distressed. Proximity seeking on the part of the younger sibling lessened when the older sibling displayed more insecure attachment characteristics.

As studies into attachment theory have progressed, sibling attachment has become increasingly significant, especially in the field of social service and considerations with regard to foster care placements of sibling groups. Children who have unreliable or neglectful parental care often have extremely high access to one another and often turn to each other in times of stress or need (Caya, 2011). However, the impact of sibling bonding amidst neglectful parenting often has a negative psychological impact – while the children become reliant on one another, the lack of insightful parenting means that the children are often emotionally ill-equipped and unable to demonstrate the “loyalty and support for one another that would sustain them... and further their growth through subsequent developmental stages” (Ryan, 2002, p. 80).

Neuroscience perspectives

Neuroscience perspectives continue to influence attachment theory. For example, Cozolino (2006) notes that a western notion of science and philosophy is “the conception of the thinker as alone rather than embedded in a human community” (p. 12), which provides the basis for

technical and scientific outcomes as opposed to examinations of lived experience and interaction. Instead, Cozolino advocates for position which acknowledges the importance of relationships, describing them as a natural habitat for humans. This natural habitat is supported by neurological structure which sustains and grows neurological connections through stimulation relational experiences which fire the neurons (Cozolino, 2006). Without these attachments and relational experiences humans could not survive.

Schore and Schore (2008) name that the first year of life creates a bond between an infant and primary caregiver through the relational interactions that happen between the two. Oyama (2014) notes that the orbitofrontal cortex which manages the relational experiences and meaning making during this time requires the caregiver to be attuned to emotional arousal within the infant and to respond to these states either positive or negative (Schore & Schore, 2008).

These early attachment relationships with significant caregivers provide a foundation for emotional well being in later life (Schore, 2014). These relationships are also shown to promotes safety through the development of the amygdala in which the fear and defense system matures early in an infant's life. This development means that from an early age a child is attened to avoiding danger and is drawn to experiences which bring pleasure (Oyama, 2014).

Whilst it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide a comprehensive review of neuroscientific literature as it relates to attachment theory, the support which neuroscience offers for western attachment theory is important to note.

Multiple care considerations

Keller and Otto (2014) state that the dominant understanding of family as being aligned to the nuclear structure has changed and argue that focus on the maternal dyad doesn't take into account the social environment that the mother lives in. Seymour (2013) names an irony in attachment theory's focus on the maternal dyad, as Bowlby himself acknowledged the ability of children to attach to a number of caregivers (Bowlby, 1969). The focus on dyadic relationship

has led to an invisibilising of this concept of multiple caregiver attachments, relationships often quite integral in non-western communities. Crittenden and Marlowe (2013) also argue that infants are biologically wired for multiple caregiver attachment in that they have the socio-cognitive ability to attune to the thoughts and behaviours of others.

Cross-Cultural Critique

John and Beatrice Whiting were leading psychological anthropologists practicing in the USA from the 1940s. Their area of expertise was in the comparison of child behaviour and parental practices in diverse human societies, as they sought to examine generalisations of child and parent behaviour across cultures (Edwards & Bloch, 2010). John Whiting critiques the absence of culture within discussions of psychological development, stating, “since most social psychological studies are done within the framework of Western European culture, one can never be certain whether the discovered relationships are valid for all mankind or whether they are an artifact of some limitation or special circumstance of the culture in which they have been discovered” (Whiting, 1993b, p. 78).

The cross-cultural method of analysis emerged around this time, within the ongoing critique of dominant western theories and questions around whether these theories could be applied to all cultures (Whiting, 1993b). The cross-cultural method recognises the importance of culture within parenting systems and makes room for understandings into the cultural and physical systems which surround parenting and influence development (Super & Harkness, 1997).

The growing inclusion of cultural perspectives in developmental theories carry importance as these “practices index cultural meaning systems that shape the agenda of child development in any given context and this agenda can be expected to have important consequences for what and how children learn” (Super & Harkness, 1997, p. 13).

Harwood (1992) points to findings which establish that “mothers’ perceptions of differing patterns of attachment behaviour are influenced by their culturally derived values” (p. 823). Morelli and Henry (2013) argue that alternative methodologies such as indigenous perspectives,

do not easily fit established western attachment ideas and are therefore often denied. This leaves indigenous knowledge invisible and also limits any further theoretical or practical evolution of the theory. Harwood (1992) states the importance of acknowledging culturally sensitive models of attachment behaviour is necessary in order to “gain greater insight into some of the ways in which attachment behaviour is both universal and culturally shaped” (p. 823).

Crittenden and Marlowe (2013) state that attachment theory must incorporate models of multiple attachment, as “co-operative child care characterises many (if not most) cultures around the world” (p. 68). Further, Morelli and Henry (2013) agree that the mother relationship is significant, but that mothers are not the only providers of care.

Further, Morelli and Henry (2013) propose that it also makes sense to consider attachment connections as “a network of relationships that engender feelings of security” (p. 244), as opposed to framing connections as being in isolation of one another. They suggest that multiple carer attachments forms the prevalent pattern of care, and that dyadic attachment evolved in response to splits caused by the emergence of the so-called nuclear family. Keller (2016) suggests that these relationship networks be considered within “the caregiver environment as a whole” (p. 62). In thinking about this wider view, Keller then states that “different economies, household compositions and living arrangements... afford different socialisation strategies with different emphases, different dynamics and different outcomes” (p. 62). With this lens, the idea that environments outside of the interpersonal affect attachment become apparent.

Emergence of extrapersonal attachments

- Place Attachment

The progression and evolution of attachment ideas has led to links being made to attachments outside of the interpersonal realm. One significant extrapersonal attachment, is the attachment to place or land. An AUT database search (14/9/16) found that from 1895 -1995, 103 articles

were found to include reference to place attachment. From 1995 to the present, this number has increased to 9332 articles.

Shroder (2008) names a recent preoccupation regarding place attachment and states that it is usually “understood to refer to the affective bond or link between people and specific places” (p. 179). However, Shroder also describes the current discipline as fragmented, with “little consensus around the definition, measurement or determinants of attachment” (p. 178).

Jack (2012) argues that the places in which formative childhood events occur are fundamental to development. Acknowledging the role of emotional interpersonal relationships, Jack states that “places and the emotions associated with them become incorporated into the self, creating internalised objects that serve as sources of security” (Jack, 2012, p. 90).

Maciuba, Westneat & Reed (2013) conducted a study into African-American farming culture, and the link to mental health. One of the key themes of this study was the importance of land, with respondents having a strong named attachment to their farmlands. Statements which indicated the concept of attachment to land included, “the family roots are on the farm”, and the “intention to stay on the farm home place” (Maciuba et al., p. 338). The authors note that in this sense, the “workplace is the home place” (Maciuba et al., p. 338), and that the farm becomes a family tradition, and something to pass on to younger generations.

Kingsley, Townsend, Phillips, & Aldous (2009) conducted a study with Indigenous Australians of the Boonerwung region, investigating connections to country (traditional lands). Country was described as allowing “connection to ancestors in a stress free environment” (Kingsley et al., p. 295), and a sanctuary for wellbeing. A Yorta Yorta woman who participated in the study emphasised that “any natural environment does not have the same feeling as going to your own country” (Kingsley et al., p. 295). Identified throughout the study were feelings of belonging, trust, healing, comfort and reciprocal protection.

- Attachment and Spirituality

Similarly, literature around attachment, spirituality and religion has also increased. A significant increase in literature occurred from 1995 as the attachments between spirituality, religion and gods were explored. Granqvist (2014) states that “religion and mental health are interconnected” (p. 777) as both create the contexts by which people find themselves.

Florence (2009) discusses the relationship between humans and God, suggesting that the “religious and the psychological are inextricably connected” (p. 47). It is also in this way that a connection with God becomes an intrapsychic resource, within which the relationship “provides comfort and reassurance in times of difficulty, as well as the refreshment and rejuvenation necessary for human existence” (p. 49). These connections can be seen as providing a psychological security and continues the theme of God as secure base.

Granqvist (2004) goes on to apply attachment principles within a faith framework and considers prayer as proximity maintenance, God as safe haven, secure base and as protector. However, Granqvist notes that because relationships with faith and God are unable to develop with repeated physical and perceptible interactions, he suggests referring to these attachments as symbolic.

Miner, Ghobary, Dowson, & Proctor (2014) go on to explore attachment dimensions within Islam. Again, proximity measures, protection and secure base concepts are met through the individual’s belief system and perception of God. Also discussed is the Islamic belief that “the presence of God in the world is viewed symbolically and psychologically: God is projected in the cosmos and everything is a sign and symbol of him” (Miner et al., p. 84). Therefore, the active experience of God being within the physical world, and Muslims’ remembrance of God continues to assure this connection.

Conclusion

Attachment theory has had a significant impact on how human psychological development is viewed. While the early foundations of the theory emphasised interpersonal dyadic care within the environment of the nuclear family, multiple views have since emerged. The attachment roles of fathers and siblings have been explored further and found to have important attachment qualities, as have the significance of multiple carer attachments. Over the last twenty years, the literature has also seen an increase in the understanding of extrapersonal attachments and the significance of place, spirituality and religion.

The only recent consideration of these wider, extrapersonal concepts is significant for Māori. While Māori ideas of attachment and connection regularly refer to the strength of parental relationships, the whānau relationship and connection to non-human relationships has always been of great importance. The following chapter will explore the nature of attachment for Māori, including the significance of extrapersonal attachments.

Chapter Four: Attachments in Te Ao Māori

How people attach, connect and belong is integral within Te Ao Māori. Similar to western attachment, Māori perspectives on development value parental relationships (Metge, 1995) in the way that they nurture and support growth. There is considerable literature from both indigenous and western perspectives on the significance of infants having safe, nurturing relationships with close adults (Liu, 2006; Bell, 2012; Brown, 2012; Wirihana & Smith, 2014; Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015). Indigenous and western approaches to attachment share this emphasis on the importance of safe, reliable, consistent, attuned and responsive adults being available to children, particularly in infancy.

However, attachments and connections beyond the interpersonal mother-child dyad also hold priority with regard to ongoing development for Māori. The ongoing dominance of western developmental theories and interpersonal dyadic relationships has marginalised matauranga Māori particularly around the importance of collective interpersonal attachments and extrapersonal attachments. Whilst western literature with regard to multiple attachments and place attachments is emerging, these concepts have always been prominent within Te Ao Māori. This chapter makes visible these indigenous attachments and uses KMRT to analyse and explore these ideas and concepts.

Pepeha provides a beginning example of the importance of extrapersonal and collective attachments. Pepeha marks the relationships that an individual has with both human and non-human connections and is often a way of introduction. Mutu (2001) states that Māori identity is primarily defined through this genealogy and then through key geographical and historical markers which are often shared by a group of people. To answer, “Ko wai koe” (Who are you?) is to connect to several different connectors or concepts that include and extend beyond the interpersonal. This chapter addresses four of these key connectors: the interpersonal attachments to whānau, hapū, iwi and whakapapa and the extrapersonal attachments to whenua, wairua and maramatanga.

Whānau, hapū, iwi and whakapapa

- Whānau

Whānau is the immediate group that we are born into, and is often the most immediate and important group in Māori life. As the smallest of social structures within Te Ao Māori, the whānau is contained within the larger groups of hapū and iwi (Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

The Māori Dictionary defines whānau as:

- 1) “To be born, to give birth
- 2) Extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people – the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society” (“whānau”, 2016)

A key characteristic is the two definitions of the word whānau. Mead (2003) considers that an important concept of the whānau group is that members are born into it. The idea that a whānau member needs to be born into this specific group provides a distinction between the whānau and other groups of people.

The whānau group is made up of different generations. Comprising of mātua (mothers, fathers, aunties and uncles), koroua and kuia (grandparents, great-aunties and great-uncles), tuakana and teina (siblings and cousins), this collective group is usually the most immediate and primary connections in the life of a Māori infant. Mead (2003) describes whānau as the “basic building block of the whole social system” (p. 212). Comprising of three generations, numbers within a whānau group could vary greatly depending on how many families were created within the three generations. Mead (2003) acknowledges the existence of some whānau with members of over two thousand, and the challenge in retaining group cohesion despite differing locations or interests.

Waiti and Kingi’s (2014) study into whānau resilience found that healthy relationships were key for a resilient whānau unit. Named as “whānaungatanga factors”, these healthy networks included “healthy relationships with family, relatives, friends, workmates, neighbours and

members of the community” (p. 129), demonstrating the importance of healthy connection across the interpersonal spectrum.

- Hapū

The hapū unit is generally made up of more than one whānau, and these units are bound by whakapapa and strong kinship ties. The Māori Dictionary defines hapū as:

- 1) “To be pregnant, conceived in the womb
- 2) To be pregnant, expectant, with child
- 3) Kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe – section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society” (“hapū”, 2016)

The imagery of pregnancy and the hapū as a kinship group is appreciated by Mead (2003) as being very metaphorical; through the growth and swelling of a whānau, so a hapū is able to hold many whānau groups. The metaphor also continues the symbolism of pregnancy and birth with hapū members also having birth and whakapapa links.

Each hapū has a well established marae which has been operating over an extended period of time – for large hapū groups, this may extend to over one hundred years. The wharenuī is a focal point for the hapū and is often the place where important decisions are made. The wharenuī often has strong links to a particular ancestor and due to the shared whakapapa lines, the descendents of this hapū have often had ancestors where previous generations lived, worked on and maintained the marae area. Mead (2003) speaks about the whare tipuna being “imbued with the mana of those gone by” (p. 216) and therefore it is symbolic and highly respected by hapū members.

The progression of a large whānau to a hapū group is signified by the establishment of a marae, or through an intention to do so. In contemporary Māori society, a hapū often has many of its members spread geographically, with many members not actually living on their tribal land (Mead, 2003).

Where whānau is the immediate group that we are born into, the hapū unit is larger and becomes the “basic political unit” for Māori. Situated around a specific area of land with its own sustenance and resources, there was a political system which the hapū was built around. The hapū leader was a rangatira or ariki, with their function to “ensure that the group survived and that its land base and resources were protected and defended” (Mead, 2003, p. 217).

Politically, affiliations and alliances “were determined by access to resources and political best outcomes” (Herbert, 2011, p. 162). While hapū held autonomy and the ability to enter into these alliances, organise its defences and establish important cultural markers, hapū were not independent entities which could exist on their own (Mead, 2003).

- Iwi

The Māori Dictionary defines iwi as:

- 1) “Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race
- 2) Strength, bone” (“iwi”, 2016)

Continuing the metaphorical symbolism in which whānau is associated with birth and hapū with pregnancy, iwi as bone emphasises the strength of shared whakapapa and links. The strength of bones is also symbolic, as they provide steadiness and give strength and form to a body. Mead (2003) points out the significance of iwi is in its “function as a metaphor for whanaungatanga and the strength that arises” (p. 219).

Iwi have a set geographical location, and as such iwi lands can comprise any number of natural resources. Through their whakapapa knowledge an iwi claims its space, and generally has a specific area as its administrative base. As much traditional whenua was ‘lost’ to iwi after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, concepts of a rohe or takiwā (territory, district) and hau kainga (home) remain strong within iwi (Mead, 2003).

In terms of size, iwi comprise of many hapū “whose members acknowledge descent from a common ancestor” (Mead, 2003, p. 220). The meaning of the word iwi and the importance of whanaungatanga continues to emphasise the importance of kinship and belonging.

Politically, the iwi holds itself as comprising a number of hapū. Due to the autonomous nature of hapū, it wasn't unusual for an iwi to comprise of hapū who weren't necessarily in agreement – a hapū could have relationships with other hapū that were positive, and others where there was conflict. Strong leadership and hapū and iwi knowledge became significant, especially during times of conflict during which an iwi might need to enter into negotiations or conflict with another.

Porter and Ratima's (2014) study considers the concept of iwi vitality. They argue that the concept of 'wellbeing' in terms of health is much more suited to the smaller whānau group and the individual level. Instead, they present the idea of iwi vitality, which includes indicators including secure identity, intergenerational sustainability, collective cohesion, environmental kaitiakitanga, self-determination, economic advancement and whānau health and wellbeing. Porter and Ratima suggest that when an iwi is able to determine their own frameworks and solutions within these indicators, they can be "strong in it's identity, connected and committed to the environment and all living things, and focused on the wellbeing of its people" (p. 282).

In the context of these interpersonal structures, Herbert (2011) advises that perspectives on parenting within this climate needs to remain mindful of whānau kaupapa and diversity. Similarly, Metge (1995) describes whānau functioning as collective and multilevelled and these groups often overlap, intertwine and change. These numerous connections provided protection for growing children, with a number of trusted caregivers being able to assume parental responsibilities when required.

- Whakapapa

The Māori Dictionary defines whakapapa as:

- 1) "To lie flat, lay flat
- 2) to place in layers, lay upon one another, stack flat
- 3) to recite in proper order (e.g. genealogies, legends, months), recite genealogies
- 4) genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent" ("whakapapa", 2016).

Whakapapa is the way in which Māori connect themselves to each other and is seen as an

essential element of belonging and identity. This is seen in pepeha recitation where ancestors will be acknowledged before the individual themselves. Whakapapa is also how Māori connect to their ancestral knowledges and the ways in which they view and approach the world.

As with other words within these social groupings, whakapapa also has more than one defined meaning. Swann, Swann, & Crocket (2012) describe whakapapa as the folding of layers from the past, into the present and on into the future. In this way, whakapapa becomes the connecting framework between people past and present, places and the world. Creation traditions are particularly significant as they form the “fundamental beliefs about the nature of reality” (Taonui, 2015). In this way, “whakapapa therefore binds all things. It maps relationships so that mythology, legend, history, knowledge, tikanga (custom), philosophies and spiritualities are organised, preserved and transmitted from one generation to the next” (Taonui, 2015)

Wirihana and Smith (2014) also discuss the intergenerational transfer of whakapapa knowledge. Understanding this knowledge is seen as integral to wellbeing as well as developing individual and cultural potential. They also note that the transmission of this knowledge enables “healthy interpersonal, spiritual and environmental relationships” (p. 204).

Whakapapa knowledge is seen as integral within Māori society and as discussed, it outlines the links between the child and their living family members, as well as their ancestors and those who have passed on. The Māori world view posits that in order to develop, Māori need to “gain knowledge of who they are and where they belong, and they need to be able to reciprocate the care that they have received” (Newman, 2013, p. 238). Newman states that the importance of these connections remains established in the reciting of pepeha. Pepeha are a recitation of a person’s connections, including their whānau, hapū, and iwi connections as well as geographical markers and land boundaries. Newman notes that these connections are used as a way of identification as early into a relationship as the introduction, whereas “Europeans do not generally introduce this amount of new information about themselves when meeting new people” (p. 238).

- Whangai

Whangai is a practice within Māori society where birth parents give their child to whānau members to raise. Whangai means to feed or nourish, and within this system a child is raised by someone other than their biological parents (McRae & Nikora, as cited in Gibbs & Scherman, 2013). Whangai customs stipulate that this arrangement occur within the child's kinship group in order to maintain whakapapa links. This transparency is intended for the child to grow up knowing their origins and significant cultural connections in order to retain their sense of identity.

Herbert (2011) argues that there is no Māori equivalent to the Western custom of adoption and believes that whangai (also known as atawhai or taurima) is understood as being closer to the concept of 'fostering'. Newman (2013) finds European families to be organized as autonomous units, usually comprising of mother, father and children. Within this construct, the child is usually seen as 'belonging' to the parents. Newman states that within a Māori world view, children are seen as taonga (treasures) and "were cared for by the entire community" (p. 238). In this way, children received nurturing and knowledge from a wide variety of peoples.

McRae and Nikora's (2003) exploration of whangai practices finds whangai children to be a 'gift of love' (p.3). Whangai continues the Māori view that children are not a possession, "but a valuable resource and... a shared responsibility within the whānau or kin group" (p. 3). McRae and Nikora's study into whangai contrasts adoption, finding that adoption aims to primarily protect the child's interest, whereas whangai protects the interests of the whānau. Mikaere (1994) notes that whangai did not provide a substitution for that child's parents rather that "the child was born and remained a child of the whānau" (n/p). It is seen as the child's right to know their whakapapa.

The introduction of the Adoption Act (1955) legislated toward closed adoption practices that were contrary to concepts within whāngai. This act was based on the notion of "tabula rasa" which found that children were born a blank slate with character development a "consequence of experience rather than the result of any inherent capacities" (Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015, p. 64). Initially, New Zealand's adoption processes were seen as benchmarks for child-focused

practice, however Gibbs and Scherman (2013) describe this practice as being eroded with greater concern given to “shielding a couple’s infertility or a child’s illegitimacy” (p. 3). This then led to trends putting the adoptive parent’s needs or interest put before those of the children.

The Act gave adopted children limited rights and denied them access to their genetic information and knowledge of their birth families. Exact numbers of Māori children being placed with adoptive families are unknown (Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015). However there were a significant number of adoptions involving children who could claim Māori whakapapa (Pitama, as cited in Gibbs & Scherman, 2013). Additionally, Māori women were told not to discuss adoption procedures with family members, as “in most instance the family would not have supported a closed stranger adoption” (Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015, p. 65). With Māori children adopted into families outside of their whakapapa, and often in Pākehā families, their ability to know their history and genealogy became compromised.

Else (as cited in Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015) notes that a smaller number of single Māori mothers agreed to closed stranger adoption compared to single Pākehā mothers. A reason for increasing numbers of Māori children being placed for adoption was that this included children who had been made wards of the state, and also in situations where the child’s father was Māori but their mother non-Māori. Else acknowledges that there were instances where Māori whānau pursued the right to adopt biologically related children. However, “adoption law and practices, which did not recognize Māori concepts of family and kinship, meant that adoption by European strangers was viewed as more desirable than adoption by Māori kin” (Else, as cited in Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015, p. 65).

Haenga-Collins and Gibbs’ study (2015) explores cross-cultural adoption of Māori children into Pakeha families. Through adoption, the Māori children in this study were brought up in Te Ao Pakeha where their Māori sense of self was closed off. Haenga-Collins and Gibbs note that for Māori, “the concept of whakapapa, of knowing ones genealogy and of connecting to ones ancestors, has everything to do with identity formation (p. 72) and if a Māori person lacks this

knowledge they become excluded from their cultural heritage. McRae and Nikora (2006) further describe this process as being alienating and a threat to the developing child's self-identity.

The participants in Haenga-Collins and Gibbs study all searched for their birth cultures with differing results. However, for all participants, "the chance to belong, to rediscover their true selves and to begin a new positive identity was life changing" (p. 72). The chance to develop a counter-narrative to often lifelong senses of disconnection and not belonging became powerful and an ability to reframe and retell their life stories in a positive light.

- Whanaungatanga

As shown, Māori concepts of parenting are grounded within a collective structure. Traditionally, this was based around the whānau as the key kin unit, related and connected by a shared whakapapa. However, Waiti and Kingi (2014) also emphasise the significance of the "kaupapa whānau", a group often not related by whakapapa, but by a shared interest or purpose such as "membership to school, sports, work, community/neighbourhood or religious groups" (McKenzie & Carter, 2010, p. 4). As with a whānau group who shares kin links, a kaupapa whānau arranges itself along similar collective care structures so that they also can "fulfil the supporting and caring roles akin to whakapapa whānau" (Waiti & Kingi, 2014, p. 129). This network of people is able to provide support and protection to parents and children within the group, as well as exposing children to a diverse group of relations with varied experiences and relationships. This fosters a sense of belonging and relatedness, as well as social support.

Whenua

In Te Ao Māori, whenua retains several meanings. The Māori Dictionary defines whenua as:

- 1) "land – often used in the plural
- 2) country, land, nation, state
- 3) ground
- 4) territory, domain
- 5) placenta, afterbirth" ("whenua", 2016).

While these definitions can be considered separately, Mead (2003) discusses each concept as having associations with each other. Whenua means land, in terms of area, the physical ground, and also in the way that land comes together to form a nation. Whenua is also the word for placenta, the organ which sustains a foetus as it develops. When a child is born into its whānau, the baby's placenta is buried in the ground with the whenua returning to the whenua.

In this way, the many meanings of whenua are interwoven between ideas of physical ground, location, birth and family. Te Ngaruru (2008) states that within a Māori worldview, whenua is a significant part of wellbeing, naming environmental, spiritual, psychological and cultural attachments between people and the land. Whenua and land is described as “a fundamental part of (the client's) existence and an inclusive part of Māori identity” (Mark & Lyons, 2010, p. 1760).

Whenua is an integral and important part of Te Ao Māori. Papatuanuku, Earth Mother, along with Ranginui, Sky Father, are key parts of the Māori understanding of creation and are seen as the primordial parents who gave birth to the gods of the elements and to mankind. According to Marsden (2003b), the double meaning of whenua as both placenta and land provided a constant reminder that we are “born out of the womb of the primeval mother” (p. 45). From Papatuanuku springs life, “a living organism with her own biological systems and functions” (Marsden, 2003b, p. 68) with importance placed upon the symbiotic, interdependent relationship between Papatuanuku and her children.

This chapter has already described 'whakapapa' as meaning genealogy from a human ancestor perspective. However in Te Ao Māori, everything that makes up the human, spiritual and natural worlds has a whakapapa (Carter, 2005, p. 8). Whakapapa lines create connections and relationships across these worlds and this is how Māori understand the creation of the universe and all its elements. Place and space are interconnected within the environment and are explained through different oral traditions. In this way, Māori do not hold ownership over land

and instead they hold responsibility, care and are in a kaitiaki role with the land. It is looked after in an interconnected way for whānau and for future generations.

Land remains personified in the acknowledgement of Papatuanuku as Earth Mother. As Māori we are born from the earth and we return to the earth when we die, as well as whenua (placenta) being returned to the earth upon the birth of a child. The phrase, tangata whenua, is often translated to mean people of the land. This translation seems to infer that a certain group are “of” a place, or occupy a certain place. However, from a Māori perspective, to be tangata whenua indicates a specific “becoming of Māori within the New Zealand landscape” (Smith, 2004, p. 13) linking to the migration from Polynesia to Aotearoa. Smith (2004) describes that Māori were vulnerable on their earliest arrivals to Aotearoa, and sought survival however they could, learning how to read and understand their new environment. This attunement allowed for the concept of kaitiakitanga to be established, and strengthened the interconnected relationship. Smith states that Māori became people of the land by “living entirely off the land in their tribal territory; and gradually as their sense of the ‘rightness’ (tikanga) of their being in that place increased, they built up body, spirit and social consciousness from the atoms, elements and landforms surrounding them” (p. 13). For Māori, this interconnectedness created links across physical, spiritual and social realms.

Smith (2004) goes on to acknowledge this process with the phrase tangata whenua, the indigenous term for how Māori identify themselves and usually translated to mean ‘people of the land’. Smith (2004) states that tangata whenua:

“has a deeper, more significant meaning of being ‘composed of’ the elements of that place through generations and centuries of occupation; for the people not only passed ‘through’ or over the land but the land passed ‘through’ and made up the substance of people both physically and metaphysically” (p. 13).

Additionally, Woodard (personal communication, 2016) notes that ‘tangata whenua’ does not have a connecting ‘of’ in te reo Māori, despite the common translation as “people of the land”.

He names that there is no 'of', and therefore one cannot be considered without the other. Māori are Tangata Whenua. People Land. There is no "of".

Traditionally, hapū and iwi groups organised themselves across the whenua and established themselves in chosen areas (King, 2011). Whenua gave natural resource and sustenance through providing food sources, shelter, medicine and clothing and land was regarded as an asset, with marae (living areas) and pa (fortresses) were established at significant locations across the land (King, 2011). Maunga (mountains) and water sources such as awa (rivers), roto (lakes) and moana (ocean spaces) became key locators for whānau, hapū and iwi and are referenced and given priority in pepeha recitations (Mutu, 2001). Land was delineated by naturally occurring boundaries and occasionally rahui (restrictions) would be put in place for a set amount of time (King, 2011). Naming was also important, with the names of living spaces, food gathering places, battles, cemeteries and who was buried there as well as the genealogies of descent from the main tribal founders being important for descendants to know and then passed from generation to generation. This information was important as it acknowledged belonging to place, right of decent and occupation (King, 2011).

Māori understanding is of interconnectedness to whenua, and that whānau was inextricably linked with the environment (Panelli & Tipa, 2007). Mead (2003) describes whenua as being the "foundation of the social system" (p. 271), where whenua was necessary for maintaining social solidarity, where the continuity of the group depended on a home base (wā kāinga), "where people could live like an extended family and actually see it on the ground" (Mead, 2003, p. 272). Whenua as providing the foundation for social and community life created a network of connectedness and a fundamental relationship with land. Mead describes this as "bonding to the land and having a place upon which one's feet can be placed with confidence." (p. 273). In a discussion with Whaea Lynda Toki (personal communication, 2016), she names that her childhood boundaries were marked by natural markers, and that children knew their limits based on a certain place near the river, or where a particular tree was planted. While these boundaries were visual, the reciprocal relationship between individuals, whānau and the land meant that there was also a relationship and sense of inherent safety to these areas. Toki

recalls the safety that her whenua boundaries brought her, and that as children grew up the boundaries would become a little bigger depending on age and ability. She also believes that the whenua provided belonging, in that she knew the area intimately and that “everything within that boundary was mine”. Whenua, which provides a literal place to stand, comes the concept of tūrangawaewae, the place where one feels secure and at home.

Henwood & Henwood (2015) discuss the symbiotic and interconnected relationship between Māori and whenua, in which the health of each depends on each other. In this way it is understood that the relationship is not about ownership over or control of, rather that the land travels through the whakapapa with the descendants inheriting as opposed to owning the land. Durie (1994) considers this approach as being more about how Māori sought to belong to structures, rather than possessing them. Just as individuals belonged to whānau, to hapū and to iwi, so they belonged to the land.

Concepts such as kaitiakitanga and rangatiratanga are imbued within whenua. Through the close, spiritual relationship created through understanding the ancestry of mankind, Māori accepted the responsibilities that came with being a guardian and protector of the deities and interrelated connections between the human, animal and spirit worlds (Henwood & Henwood, 2015). It was because of these interconnected relationships that Māori made use of these resources only as much as their wellbeing would be secured. It was not common to consider exploiting the land and its resources, and instead, only what was needed would be used. In line with these kaitiakitanga responsibilities, Māori became adept at understanding and anticipating the patterns and needs of the natural world. Concepts such as tapu and rahui, which involved making areas sacred or putting restrictions in place would be invoked as a way to protect defined land areas (King, 2011), as well as waterways or stretches of coast from human exploitation.

Land also remains important within political, social and economic contexts. Marriages could be made to forge alliances across whānau groups and lakes and rivers often served as an economic highway (Carter, 2005) bringing other resources to the iwi. These connections and

genealogies link past, present and future peoples to the area and continue to uphold relationships between people and the land.

Place names are significant, and often places might be named “bearing the names of ancestors who first laid claim to them” (Carter, 2005, p. 11). These places and names form important connections across the landscape. For example, the following waiata tells of the marriage of Ueoneone and Reitu and their descendents who now make up te Iwi o Ngāpuhi:

Rerenga Wairua

The spirit flies the path of the departing spirits

Rerenga wairua tēnā whakarongo mai	Fly now and listen to this
Papaki tū ana ngā tai o Te Tokerau	The waves of Tokerau are crashing on the shore
Ueoneone rā he tangata rangatira e	There is Ueoneone, a great leader
Nō Te Aupouri Ngāpuhi nui tonu e	From Te Aupouri, of the great and strong Ngāpuhi
Taku ara taku mana he wahine whakaiti	My path, strength, leads to this woman of humility
Reitu te wahine nō Tainui waka e	Reitu, this woman from Tainui waka
Nāna i mārena ko Ueoneone e	It was Reitu who married Ueoneone
Ka puta ka ora tātou ngā uri e	From them, their descendents, us who live today
Nō reira e te iwi kua mutu ngā mihi	As such, our story is finished
Aku tangi kōrero aku tangi tikanga e	My story of tikanga has been called out
Noho iho e koro ko Ueoneone e	Lie still my tupuna Ueoneone
Ngā manaakitanga	Being watched over
A te hunga runga rawa e	By those above us all

This waiata is significant for Ngāpuhi as it acknowledges two significant ancestors within the iwi, Ueoneone from te Hokianga, and Reitu, a descendent from te waka Tainui. In this way, the waiata also describes a critical connection between two iwi, Ngāpuhi and Tainui. Travelling from the lands of Tainui, Reitu and her sister Reipa flew on the back of a bird in order to marry Ueoneone. Upon landing near a harbour, the harbour was subsequently named “Te Whanga-o-Reitu”, meaning “the harbour of Reitu”. Over time, this has been shortened to name the city now known as Whangarei.

Panelli and Tipa (2007) talk about the significance of land and whakapapa to Ngai Tahu iwi, stating the tribe's land was not only the source of economic well-being. It was also the burial ground of the placenta and the bones of ancestors, and the abode of the tribal atua. Because of these factors, the ancestral lands were regarded with deep respect.

With the arrival of European settlers, land became even more of a valuable commodity. Settlers were dependent on Māori for help and co-operation with regard to the use of land, and for a time this was not a challenge as most Māori "consented to Pākehā being where they were" (King, 2011, p. 191) which was mainly on small coastal sections of land. However, over the next two decades, the impact of the settler population and laws drastically changed the way in which Māori could live and access whenua.

Prior to the 1860s, the government approached iwi directly to negotiate over land. Over time, as Māori opposition to further land sales increased, the Government began dealing with smaller subgroups of iwi, in an effort to accelerate purchase (Sorrenson, 1956). In 1865, the Native Land Act was introduced and not only promoted land sales, but also contributed to the further detribalisation of Māori. Individual deals became possible through this legislation, and one or two members of the same iwi could agree to sell large blocks of iwi land. Purchasers would either offer a cash advance, or would involve the local shopkeeper or publican who would offer goods and liquor on credit (Sorrenson, 1956). Following sale, a sitting of the Native Land Court was organised, with the purchasers then able to organise a lease or freehold situation. Once the lands for sale had appeared before the court, "there was virtually no way that other members of the tribe could save even their own share of land" (Sorrenson, 1956, p. 186).

Given the interconnected relationship of Māori and whenua, these land losses and disconnections have had ongoing significant impact. Generational land loss has "disrupted Māori social organization and attachment to place through land alienation and urban migration" (McCreanor, 2006, p. 198). Urbanisation has also increased with 26% of Māori living in urban centres following the Second World War, increasing to 62% in 1966 and then nearly 80% by 1986 (Meredith, 2005). Seen as an integrating process and an "accelerant of the Māori

transition more closely aligned to that of Pakeha” (Morrow, 2014), Māori became further disconnected from turangawaewae and identity markers as they moved away from iwi lands and cultural landmarks.

Panelli and Tipa (2007) consider the relationship between land and wellbeing for Māori. Noting that western hegemonies consider wellbeing “in terms of subjective, individual states” (p. 446), they argue Māori cultures requires a reconceptualization of wellbeing which focuses on complex linkages of cultural beliefs, a history of colonization and alienation from land, and contemporary cultural practices which operate in a primarily Western based society. In considering this relationship, Panelli and Tipa (2007) acknowledge the diversity of Māori experience in order to avoid essentialism and to reduce further marginalization.

Teddy, Nikora and Guerin (2008) conducted a study into Māori place attachment to traditional lands. Their enquiry focused on one specific marae in Tauranga-Moana and interviewed Māori who could whakapapa to the marae about their connections and involvement with this marae. The study found that for the respondents, place attachment was social as much as physical. The social relationships with other people connected to the marae, as well as the physical location and environment were a key part of their attachment. The relationships between each of these factors were named as being complex, and how they linked and connected was important. There was reference to the past as well as present relationships, and considerations for the future. The marae was symbolic, important beyond the physical space and represents connection to one another.

Teddy et al. note that for those working alongside Māori, attachments to traditional lands “are complex sets of practices, thoughts and relationships, not any simply determined liking for a place” (p. 15). To talk and reflect on the self means to also acknowledge how place intertwines with people.

Wairua

Encapsulating the soul or spirit of a person, wairua is fundamental to the worldview of Māori.

The Māori Dictionary defines wairua as:

- 1) “Spirit, soul – the spirit of a person which exists beyond death
- 2) Attitude, quintessence, feel, mood, feeling, nature, essence” (“wairua”, 2016).

Best (p. 84, as cited in Mead, 2003) describes wairua as having the following characteristics:

- 1) it is part of the whole person and is not located at any particular part of the body
- 2) it is immortal and exists after the death of the person
- 3) it has the power to warn the individual of impending danger through visions and dreams
- 4) it is subject to attack

Mead (2003) states that “every Māori child is born with a wairua, which is usually translated as soul, or spirit” (p. 54). Wairua is established during the time of conception, however it remains dormant until ‘activation’. Activation occurs when the eyes of the developing infant have formed, and the ‘spiritual part of the new life’ (Mead, p. 54) is founded.

Wairua is a key concept when considering the health or wellbeing of a person. It is “the source of existent being and life” (Marsden, 2003a, p. 47), and has an informative capacity for an individual. Supportive factors to wairua include, “being supported by faith/belief in self, others and/or a higher power, connection and communication” (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2010, p. 34).

The concept of wairua “implies a capacity to have faith” (Durie, 1994, p. 70), and an ability to conceptualise links between the human experience and the environment. Where wairua is often taken to mean ‘spirituality’, Durie emphasises that while this includes religious belief and practices, it does not hold to any specific denominations of faith. Where a religious aspect is one expression of wairua, just as important is the individual’s relationships to further entities, and in particular, the environment. “Land, lakes, mountains, reefs have a spiritual significance”

(Durie, 1994, p. 70), and problems with accessing tribal lands is seen as a sign of poor health due to the integral role of the natural environment in well health and wellbeing.

Elder (2013) also describes wairua as being pivotal, and acknowledges its sense of connectedness stating that wairua is “a profound sense of connectivity between Māori and all aspects of the universe” (p. 416). Due to the importance of the connection between wairua and the environment, Rochford (2004) describes wairua as ‘macro-focused’, due to the internal sense of wairua being bonded to the external world.

Following death, the deceased person’s wairua ‘hovers tentatively between the visible world and the world of spirits’ (Durie, 1994, p. 70). During this time the living are able to feel a spiritual presence and to experience a renewed sense of community with their own ancestors, their history and their future (Durie, 1994). This time is a significant time to care for wairua, and explains why awareness around care of a person becomes integral at this time.

While wairua is associated with concepts such as power, connection and communication, healers also acknowledge the importance of wairua’s role in ‘regulation of instinct’ (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2010) – where wairua becomes conscious and measured. This idea of wairua as being bounded is acknowledged in models such as Whare Tapa Wha, which examines wairua through ‘intensity and quality of experience’, using these measures to determine wairua health and need for intervention.

In considering well health for Māori, much emphasis is placed on wairua health: “wairua is the first thing, and everything that you do” (Kuia, as cited in Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2010, p. 34). In her study involving indigenous Māori healers, Ahuriri-Driscoll (2010) outlines the healers process, “including assessing vibrancy, clearing fear, balancing energies, strengthening through faith/belief, enhancing synergy – the combined effects of client and healer, promoting wellness of being, resulting ultimately in wai ora” (p. 34). Ahuriri-Driscoll (2010) notes that wairua is macro focused and linked with wider environment, as opposed to te taha hinengaro which may be more specific.

Cram, Smith and Johnstone's (2003) study into themes of Māori health found that wairua was the most spoken about aspect of Māori health. Wairua is seen as the "key to understanding health and illness as it gives access to the whole person" (p. 3). Participants felt that the importance of wairua was fundamental in Māori health practitioners, but not as well understood by Pākehā.

The health of wairua can also be compromised through different factors. The actions of others could affect an individual's wairua through abuse, neglect and acts of violence. Makūtu (sorcery) is also seen as a more 'traditional' hazard. However, Mead (2003) also notes that the stresses of daily life such as "drugs, domestic violence, rape and being made redundant" (Mead, 2003, p. 55) are all examples of consequences that can negatively affect wairua.

There is ongoing debate around the ability to measure or quantify aspects of wairua. Ahuriri-Driscoll (2010) reports that "several koroua and kuia maintained that while wairua needs to be acknowledged for its bearing on health, it ought not to be explained" (p. 36), whereas some younger practitioners felt that some creative ways of measurement could be found by someone skilled.

Ellerby (as cited in Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2010) notes that to study indigenous healing is to study indigenous spirituality. Ahuriri-Driscoll (2010) acknowledges that interconnection, holism and balance are integral to indigenous philosophies and ways of thinking. At a wider societal level, this relational way of thinking supports "a focus on harmonious kinship relationships between humans and the natural world" (Royal, as cited in Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2010, p. 37) and on an individual level it calls for mind, body and spirit acknowledgment with "each dimension interlinked and equally important in maintaining holistic health and wellbeing" (Mark & Lyons, as cited in Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2010, p. 37). A holistic view supports a balanced way of looking at the world through several lenses with a view to understand "how to live well in, and with, the world" (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2010, p. 37).

Maramatanga

Durie (2001) states that well health for Māori requires sincere understandings and insight into Te Ao Māori. This concept is known as maramatanga.

The Māori Dictionary defines maramatanga as:

- 1) enlightenment, insight, understanding, light, meaning, significance, brainwave
("maramatanga", 2016)

For Durie (2001), "living as Māori" means having access to the Māori world which includes language, culture, marae, tikanga and resource such as land, whānau and food. Much of the reason for this is due to the ability to live as traditionally practiced has been hampered by assimilation policies that have impacted Māori language and the basic structures of Māori culture knowledge and values (Tocker, 2012).

Māori traditional knowledge "is often drawn from the spiritual and natural worlds" (Hall, 2012), as traditional Māori were much more engaged with the natural world. Prior to European contact, Māori lived in a framework of laws and spiritual ideologies which were ancestral and nature based (Malcolm-Buchanan, 2008). From this framework came the creation legends which are significant within the Māori world view. Io, Ranginui and Papatuanuku as the ancient deities and characters such as Kupe and Maui, shaped Māori knowledge and continue to do so (Malcolm-Buchanan, 2008).

Malcolm-Buchanan (2008) describes myths as "multilayered narratives embedding universal and, oftentimes unique focal points, intents and prerogatives" (p. 6). He argues that these myths are present throughout all cultures and reveal much about that societies' cognitive, psychological, spiritual and socio-political aspects. For example, Hall (2012) works to deconstruct psychological terms from a Māori perspective and finds that words which are often used to explain psychological behaviours, are built from Māori principles found in nature. This supports the holistic view of Māori, and the connection to the physical realm.

Malcolm-Buchanan (2008) explains that oral narratives became a way to comprehend the world, especially the unpredictable environment of the natural world. These narratives gave order, structure and logic to the wider world and cosmos. In this way, the Māori cultural way of knowing is grounded in a holistic way of viewing the world around them. Knowledge was often transmitted orally rather than being written and the ways that this were done were creative. Whaikōrero (speeches) were an important way of giving this information, alongside other structures such as waiata and haka.

A key way of imparting this knowledge, as with many cultures and groups, was for younger generations to spend time with adults who already held the knowledge. This way of living was supported in Māori society as whānau systems meant that young children were often in the company of their whānau and tribal elders. First born children were often given to their grandparents in a whangai arrangement in order for the young child to learn from their grandparents at close contact. Histories, tribal tikanga and lore were often taught in this way. Family and whānau groups are still seen as being crucial for learning (Tocker, 2012), ideally with children learning about Māori ways of being from birth.

Simmonds, Harré, & Crengle (2014) notes that for developing young people, cultural efficacy is integral positive development. A key way of doing this is through supporting Māori knowledge sources such as knowing and understanding Te Reo Māori, and tikanga protocol. In Tocker's (2012) research, language and tikanga were consistent themes with regard to wellbeing. Stories, songs and history about tribal areas were also seen as being important knowledge as this allows people to "acquire the knowledge and values associated with their own whānau, hapū and iwi" (Tocker, 2012, p. 19). Subsequently, children grow up being comfortable as Māori, allowing their (cultural) identities to develop unhindered. Rangihau (as cited in Tocker, 2012) states that rangatahi can live with more confidence if they know who they are. They can then move into the Pākehā world full of self-confidence because they have no difficulty about the question of identity".

Wirihana and Smith (2014) discuss the impact of historical trauma on Māori and support the tradition that, "Māori values, knowledge and practices were sustained within the context of

intergenerational and extended whānau environments” (p. 201). This knowledge and practice both protected and sustained wellbeing for Māori as well as laying a foundation for further interactions and progression as a community.

Within Te Ao Māori is a strong acknowledgment of an inner self, described as Te Tuakiritanga. Tuakiri is defined by Mead as identity, with Tua meaning to be on the other side of something, and kiri meaning skin. In this way, Tuakiritanga is positioned away from the body, looking at the relational aspects of the inner being and the ways in which those outer places connect and ground to that person. Pohatu (2011) notes that it is this process that enables the person, their identity and their personality to grow.

Conclusion

The concepts presented here all hold high significance for Māori. Most importantly, they are all integral in developing and sustaining a well Māori self. As with attachment theory, interpersonal individual relationship is acknowledged as an essential, nurturing relationship, particularly in infancy. Those relationships can be provided by biological parents, and/or through significant other people such as relatives in whangai arrangements. These relationships are important, acknowledged and considered essential within Māori society.

However, where Māori views of connection and attachment diverge are in the importance of collective interpersonal relationships, and extrapersonal relationships. The whānau is the fundamental building block of Māori society. Individuals belong to a whānau and much of their development occurs within this group. The whānau group offers protection to individuals, and provides multiple diverse experiences which all contribute to the development of a person. This collective concept is one which Māori society has been founded on and remains a primary indicator of well Māori health. In this way the primary recognition of the strength of whānau is different to the development of attachment theory, which has only recently begun to reclaim and recognise the attachment capacity of multiple carers.

Also of considerable difference is the importance that Māori place on extrapersonal connections. Attachments to land and the natural world are significant and are imbued throughout the whole of Māori existence. The connection is so intertwined that the indigenous term, 'tangata whenua' references people and land together. Similarly, concepts of wairuatanga and maramatanga affect the way in which Māori operate with the world and develop psychologically.

Given the fundamental nature of these concepts to the well health of Māori in infancy, childhood and adulthood, the impacts of disconnection and separation from these concepts have significant effects. The next chapter identifies the similarities and differences between indigenous Māori concepts of attachment and western attachment theory, and explores the impacts of these on Māori health.

Chapter Five: Findings

This dissertation has explored the concepts inherent within western attachment theory and Māori concepts of attachment. The literature review seeks to explore the similarities and differences between western theory and indigenous Māori perspectives on attachment and connection. This chapter explores these similarities and differences and considers the impact of these on Māori psychological health. In the next two chapters, in keeping with the KMRT methodology of this research, critique of western attachment theory from an indigenous perspective is offered and indigenous knowledge that has been invisibilised by the dominance of western attachment perspectives is highlighted.

Interpersonal Attachments

Attachment theory has largely been focused on the dyadic relationship between mother and infant with John Bowlby's early work referencing much from the natural world, and animal behaviour (Bowlby, 1969). From these early observations came the development of Ainsworth's Strange Situation Procedure (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970) which used stress responses to measure attachment security. These responses led to the creation of attachment classifications which continue to be used today in describing an individual's way of relating to others (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970; Main & Solomon, 1985).

The role of attachment figures additional to the mother has grown over time. Research into paternal attachment was initially overlooked due to the focus on mothers, and has increased over the last 30 years (Bretherton, 2010; Lucassen, 2011; Brown et al., 2012). There has been growing discussion around the methods used to measure paternal attachment security, and critique around whether or not the same methods used with mothers can be applied to fathers (Freeman et al., 2010).

Also of increasing interest have been understandings of sibling attachment and the attachment security that siblings provide each other through the lifespan. Initially explored through birth order, more research emerged showing the ability for siblings to develop an attachment

relationship and the capacity for a child to provide an age appropriate secure base for a sibling (Stewart, 1983; Ryan, 2002 & Shumaker et al., 2011).

More recently, understandings of multiple caregiver attachment have become increasingly referenced with the literature. While Bowlby himself acknowledged the ability for children to attach to multiple caregivers early on (Bowlby, 1969), this idea initially remained relatively unexplored with focus given to the mother-infant dyad. This idea of multiple carers, so pertinent to groups that operate within collective structures, became invisibilised within the literature. Its resurgence came largely through the critiques of anthropologists and their observations of cultures and communities who existed within collective societies counter to the nuclear family model growing dominant in the West (Whiting, 1993; Morelli & Henry, 2013).

As with western perspectives of attachment, the dyadic relationships remain integral within Te Ao Māori, with parents providing vital attachment relationships for an infant and parents involved in all ongoing aspects of nurture and care (Metge, 1995). The practice of whangai acknowledges the importance of a strong, guiding, nurturing relationship to ensure that children are positively cared for and enriched in times when this may not be a biological parent. Despite acknowledgement of the dyadic whangai relationship, and the ongoing importance of the collective and extrapersonal attachments, what is less acknowledged is the loss of the biological mother in this process. Within the first few moments of life, a baby is already attuned and attuning to the physical and emotional states of the mother and is learning how to emotionally regulate during this time (Oyama, 2014). These neurological understandings help us consider that the separation of baby from biological mother is likely to have a significant impact on the infant. However, I suggest the transparency of the whangai process coupled with the ongoing links to whānau, hapū and iwi structures goes some way to mitigating the effects of this separation. Whangai allows the child to remain connected to their whānau and wider cultural heritage. It is also an open and transparent process in which both the child and whānau are aware of the child's biological and whānau connections. Remaining connected to this wider cultural heritage and understanding these attachments is crucial for Māori (Haenga-Collins & Gibbs, 2015).

Waiti and Kingi (2014) also acknowledge the value of infants having close, dyadic relationships with a significant other. They note that individual relationships allow another person to easily provide support and sustain the individual when in crisis. However, the emphasis is that this interpersonal relationship occurs within a whānau system that surrounds the individual relationships. Importantly they observe that this relationship works in two ways, in that the individual is able to “fare better than expected” (Waiti & Kingi, 2014, p. 130) and also that this concurrently leads to the whānau building resilience and strength.

The belonging groups of the hapū and iwi are then based around the smaller whānau (Mead, 2003). These groups were protective and often strategic to the whānau group, and provided a wider network of belonging, cohesion and safety (Herbert, 2011). Clear whakapapa lines, vital in Te Ao Māori, mean that individuals from different whānau could trace their lineage back to a common ancestor and find connections.

However, attachment theory’s longstanding focus on singular interpersonal relationship leaves out something central within the perspective of Te Ao Māori. The collective whānau structure is seen as a significant connector for Māori and through this literature review, connections outside the mother and father are found to be significant. Modern understandings of whānau have grown to include groups of people who may not share whakapapa, but who may hold shared experiences or purpose – often named as a kaupapa whānau (Waiti & Kingi, 2014). This network of people provides support and protection to the parents and child, as well as exposing the child to a diverse group of relations with varied experiences and relationships. Whānau relationships are documented in that they support development and wellbeing (McKenzie & Carter, 2010), with close relationships between grandparents, aunties, uncles and cousins consistently encouraged.

Māori perspectives on parenting are often written focusing on the whānau rather than one or two particular people. Eketone’s (2012) article exploring the availability of parenting advice and support to Māori, continuously refers to Māori whānau throughout the article, with the use of ‘parents’ being used mainly in specific examples such as ‘parenting programmes’. Penehira

and Doherty (2013) explores their Kaupapa Māori adaptation of an infant mental health programme, developed for a Māori community service. In adapting this programme, Penehira and Doherty acknowledge the importance of positive, secure relationships between infants and parents or caregivers. They also discuss that traditionally, Māori infants and children were often surrounded by several family members both immediate and extended. They acknowledge that Māori children are contained within multiple relationships. These people often function as caregivers, and monitor that child's safety and also assist with the development of a cultural self. The singular dyadic model in this way does not fit the Māori system of collective family systems.

Hall (2015) acknowledges the lack of studies undertaken by Māori with regard to attachment theory, and suggests that a Māori view of attachment is more likely to be horizontal, with more than one attachment figure, as opposed to hierarchical, in line with the dyadic approach of attachment theory. This horizontal approach does not dismiss the idea of a central parenting figure and instead acknowledges that a 'bi-lateral arrangement operates where physical and emotional care is continuous, consistent and supported by the mutually significant other or others' (p. 45).

Extrapersonal Attachments

Research into extrapersonal sources of attachment within attachment theory has tended to occur most significantly in the last 20 years. Attachment to place has become a growing theory; however it is still being developed in terms of how it is thought about and measured (Shroder, 2008; Jack, 2012).

The emerging literature points to themes of belonging and ancestry (Shroder, 2008; Maciuba, 2013). Land becomes something that passes down from generation to generation, and there is a strong attachment created within this intergenerational process (King, 2011). Place is also acknowledged as the location where developmental experiences happen and these can then be internalised as safe spaces.

In contrast, whenua has always been an integral attachment for Māori and the importance of whenua is imbued within the first creation story. Ranginui and Papatuanuku are the primordial parents, and all of human experience occurs within them. Papatuanuku, as Earth Mother, cultivates and sustains all life (Marsden, 2003; Malcolm-Buchanan, 2008). Māori hold a great deal of importance with regard to the natural world, with whenua also travelling intergenerationally through whakapapa. Mountains, water sources, and areas of land are significant attachments. This significance is symbolised in pepeha where these environmental attachments are named before the interpersonal connections to people (Mutu, 2001).

Also significant is the reciprocal nature of this relationship. Māori recognise a sense of belonging to land, and are sustained and given life through what it provides. However, this relationship also carries kaitiaki responsibilities which furthers the relationship between people and the land (Smith, 2004; Henwood & Henwood, 2015). This responsibility to take care of the land is for Papatuanuku as mother and as nurturer. It is also recognised that this care extends to maintaining the health of the land for future generations as well.

The processes of colonisation and urbanisation have drastically altered the way Māori interact with land. One of the most visible ways of this is through systematic land loss. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Māori experienced significant land loss through settler purchase and occupation (Sorrenson, 1956; McCreanor, 2006). Similarly, the process of urbanisation has led to many Māori being located away from their traditional homelands, with the movement toward major cities and towns meaning that turangawaewae and identity markers are often away from the place upon which they primarily reside (Meredith, 2015). Given the significance of whenua to Māori, these losses and changes hold considerable impact as Māori become dislocated from ancestral connections and land attachments. On a practical level, Māori become obstructed from performing kaitiaki tasks and responsibilities with regard to whenua. On a psychological level, Te Ngaruru (2008) speaks of this process compromising the mana of the people, which influences the psychological health of those affected and generations to come. In this way these ongoing intergenerational and current disconnections create physical and psychological barriers, which diminishes both positive self and group health (Durie, 1994).

Similar to concepts of attachment to land, research into religious and spiritual attachment has been growing within western perspectives. From 1995 the literature significantly expanded and included reflections on the relationship between religion, attachment and mental health. Of increasing interest is the relationship between humans and God, and the internalising of this relationship as protective and safe.

The Islamic view acknowledges the interconnectedness between the physical and spiritual worlds (Miner, 2014). God's presence in this world is viewed symbolically and psychologically with the belief that God is contained within all aspects of the cosmos. This bears similarity to Māori understandings of wairua in that it is intrinsically linked to all aspects of the universe.

Of importance to Māori is the relational understanding of wairua, and how the relationship between self, spirituality and a higher power offers practical psychological support (Elder, 2013). Attending to wairua in this way restores balance and connectedness to the individual, strengthening belief and understanding while enhancing synergy.

Wairua is a key health and wellbeing marker for Māori. Because integral concepts such as wairua and spirituality sit beyond the phenomenal world, western scientific methods often struggle with this concept and locate it outside the scope of accepted knowledge. This domain has been described as a space of belief rather than of truth (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2010). This relegates Māori ways of thinking, being and experience to the margins.

Marginalised knowledge

The relationship between western and indigenous knowledge is complex. Impacted by processes such as colonisation, Māori found themselves and their ways of thinking and being increasingly destabilized (Walker, 1990; Durie, 2004). Throughout the 19th century, Māori experienced drastic changes to their way of life including what has been outlined in this study – widespread loss of lands, detribalisation of iwi and the introduction of new and dominant religious pathways.

Throughout the 19th century, and the arrival of more European settlement meant that more European based ideologies arrived too, and the differences between the two cultures became more evident and entrenched. Hall (2012) notes that the process of colonisation challenged Māori to think outside of what they knew and the prioritisation of European knowledge began to erode Māori knowledge. The primitive notion that Māori were ‘savages’ was used to justify the dehumanising and deconstructing of the indigenous society in order to establish the colonial settler identity (Woodard, 2008).

This process of marginalisation was not passively accepted and Māori have responded in several ways to the changes occurring across different levels of society. In the late 19th century, Iwi began meeting and working together, discussing courses of action with regard to the growing dominance of Pakeha and what was seen as the many infractions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Walker, 1990). Māori groups and individuals started to become more active within politics and education in order to have more access to governmental and societal processes.

However, frameworks remained which continued to deconstruct and erode at Māori practices. The Tohunga Suppression Act 1904 set to legislate tohunga healing practice by imposing licensing systems and punishment for those who did not comply. This progressed the use of western medicine as a treatment method but also as a means of control, employed to “weaken native culture and to promote European institutions and thought” (Voyce, 1989, p. 112).

Māori health is a holistic construct, which focuses on all aspects of the self. One of the most well known models of Māori health is Te Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 1994) which emphasises that well health for Māori must include attention to taha tinana (physical health), taha hinengaro (mental health), taha wairua (spiritual health) and taha whānau (family health). Came (2014) finds that Māori academics have consistently presented evidence of holistic initiatives being of benefit to Māori communities from the early 20th century. However, despite this inclusion and input within New Zealand health policy, Came (2014) reports that the majority of citations come from the same source – Mason Durie’s Whaiora (1994), within which Te Whare Tapa Wha is outlined.

The concern is then that wider perspectives, including those of Māori experts in Māori health and wellbeing, are continuously marginalised, despite stated benefit. Cram (2014) discusses the measurement of wellbeing and finds that in order to be culturally responsive and appropriate, assessment tools must be developed using consistent Māori ideas. If health policies, assessments and treatment approaches are not created using Māori knowledge, then neglect of this sociocultural context challenges any sense of equity within the system (Padilla & Borsato, 2007).

Māori health

Durie (2003) discusses the foundations of Māori health, stating that wider contexts must be taken into account. In addressing what underlies Māori health, Durie finds that while the platforms are similar to those which underpin the health of other New Zealanders, they are not the same. Durie names that “platforms for Māori health are constructed from land, language and whānau; from marae and hapū; from Rangi and Papa; from the ashes of colonisation; from adequate opportunity for cultural expression; and from being able to participate fully within society” (p. 36). In this way, the foundation for Māori health is the freedom to be Māori.

Conclusion

In exploring the literature of contemporary attachment theory and Māori perspectives on attachment, there is a significant divergence with regard to the foundations of these attachments. Like western understandings, Māori value the importance of close, individual relationships. These provide a safe, stable and nurturing environment within an infant can develop.

However, western perspectives in contrast to Māori perspectives, considerably under emphasise the significance of multiple attachments and extrapersonal attachments. As discussed, these factors are of vital importance for Māori health and wellbeing, and provide the platforms for Māori well health. The relative absence of these notions of attachment remains noticeable and is still being enacted within present health policy decisions. Durie (2003) calls

for structural change and a readiness to steady these platforms to positively impact Māori health outcomes. For an area so concerned with psychological development, relationships and safety, concepts of attachment must be imbued with Māori knowledge in Aotearoa New Zealand in order to respond to a Māori world view. Without this knowledge, western concepts of attachment risk missing vital concepts of Māori wellbeing, and further invisibilise Māori experience. These critiques will be further explored in the following chapter which discusses the above findings, and the implications of these findings.

Chapter Six: Discussion

This research dissertation explored the meanings of connection within contemporary attachment theory, a western model of developmental theory and concepts of attachment and connection within Te Ao Māori. The idea of attachment is integral throughout Attachment Theory and Te Ao Māori. From both perspectives, connection is key to how we understand ourselves in relation to the world both in the present and into the future. This dissertation was borne out of a wish to critically analyse these connections and to reflect on the implications for psychotherapy, a practice that prioritises relationship.

Attachment theory considers that relational bonds and connections impact individuals both in their current and future state lives. The theory developed through a focus on interpersonal attachment, and primarily through the relationship between mother and infant. Critique of the theory mainly came through what was seen as a narrowness of this theory, with the acknowledgement of other attachment figures and perspectives being limited (Morelli & Henry, 2013).

The findings of this study demonstrate that across western and indigenous Māori concepts of attachment, close attachment to a parental or caregiver figure is integral. Close emotional relationship is required in order for infants to develop and thrive and this idea is consistent across in both perspectives. For attachment theory, this idea was present from the theory's early theoretical beginnings, with maternal attachment usually prioritised above other attachments. For Māori attachments, this is demonstrated through the understanding that parents are integral and parenting is supported by the wider whānau. Clearly presented is that what is consistent across western and indigenous Māori perspectives is that infants need safe adults close to them and to whom they are able to safely attach. This provides safety, protection, and allows for ongoing development.

However, where the perspectives diverge is that Māori attachment concepts extend beyond the interpersonal dyadic relationship. Integral to Te Ao Māori are the collective interpersonal structures of whānau, hapū and iwi which nurture and protect the individual. The wider

structures provide ongoing safety in that the developing infant has different caregiver figures on which to rely upon and learn from. This model of multiple care is supported by neuroscience viewpoints which show that children are able to attach to multiple caregivers and are neurologically equipped to do so (Crittenden & Marlowe, 2013).

Additionally, Māori attachment perspectives extend further through to connections outside of the person to person attachment, and include the extrapersonal. Wairua is a fundamental concept in Te Ao Māori and plays a large role in supporting the health and wellbeing of a person. It is also the part of self which connects Māori to the rest of the universe. It functions as protective and as a link to other people and the land. Similarly, attachment to whenua is also significant, and the reciprocal relationship between people and land imbued within Māori understandings of the world. Attachments to whenua are displayed in the process of pepeha which names different systems of connection, with whenua landmarks appearing first.

Ratima (2001) discusses that these approaches to Māori development are fundamental to well health and in this way, Māori health is inextricable from Māori worldviews and these wider attachments. Cram, Smith and Johnstone (2003) spoke with Māori participants about their understanding of health and wellbeing. The findings showed that the participants demonstrated this holistic understanding and “confirm the ongoing strength of Māori health concepts” (Cram, Smith & Johnstone, 2003, p. 5)

Cross-Cultural Critique: The enculturated infant

The anthropological cross-cultural method of analysis acknowledges the importance of cultural parenting and development perspectives. It allows for an understanding of the physical ecology, cultural history and maintenance systems which influence parenting and shape childhood psychological development (Super & Harkness, 1997). Whiting (1993) acknowledged and was critical of the bulk of literature in the 20th century that primarily focused upon the Western European perspective. The cross-cultural method, by contrast, encourages and advocates for an analysis which includes culturally diverse practice from different international communities (Whiting, 1993). The growing inclusion of cultural perspectives in developmental

theories carries importance as these practices “index cultural meaning systems that shape the agenda of child development in any given context and this agenda can be expected to have important consequences for what and how children learn” (Super & Harkness, 1997, p. 13).

This anthropological perspective helps us understand that parenting practice is culturally mediated. What is essential across cultures for secure attachment is informed by cultural perspectives and varying cultural practices (Crittenden & Marlow, 2013). Cross-cultural anthropological perspectives show that what evolves across western cultures does not necessarily fit all cultures (Keller, 2002). This is reflected in the construction of the nuclear family which became dominant in western society from the 19th century (Bengtson, 2001), and the socio-political and economic context which supported this particular, culturally formed construction of “family” life (Sussman, 1959). The nuclear family model excludes concepts such as the close involvement of extended family and therefore does not meet the developmental and traditional parenting practice of Māori. Indigenous Māori knowledge is founded on the significance of whānau and multiple caregiving and despite this consistent emphasis, these concepts have been marginalised in many societal processes through the dominance of western attachment paradigms.

This marginalising and invisibilising of Māori concepts is a detrimental process which leads to one sided health policy (Came, 2014) and continues to be found in contemporary practice. Child, Youth and Family have recently released legislative reforms (2016) to their child protection and youth justice services. These reforms consistently name child-centred practice and child-centred decision making. Māori concepts of parenting and attachment are based on whānau focused practice which finds that if whānau is strong then the child’s development will be supported by a network of safe and robust adults around them (McRae & Nikora, 2003). While the reforms state that “consideration is given to the importance of the child’s relationship to family, whānau, hapū and iwi” (CYF, 2016a, p. 6), the focus is primarily toward a child-centred practice which does not prioritise the importance of whānau-centred practice for Māori. This approach is counter to the Māori concepts of attachment defined within this literature and therefore is likely to marginalise Māori understandings and practices of family life and parenting.

Furthermore, a recommendation within these reforms is the exclusion of a previous principle, which stated that consideration must be given to returning children to whānau, hapū and iwi when they are required to be placed outside of their usual home. This provision is a substantial safeguard in retaining children's whānau, hapū, iwi and cultural connections. The loss of this legislative provision significantly increases the possibility of Māori children being temporarily or permanently placed outside of their cultural attachments and again marginalises Māori ways of being (CYF, 2016b).

This ongoing lack of acknowledgement around Māori practice has been detrimental to Māori. This disconnection from key ways of being has meant that while Māori have adapted and learned to live in Te Ao Pākehā, this has come at a loss in relation to how attachment is practiced and viewed. An example of this is through the application of closed adoption, which does not have an equivalent in Te Ao Māori. Instead, the practice of whangai is an open practice where a child is looked after by caregivers other than their biological parents and seen as more equivalent to foster care. Iwi links and whakapapa knowledge are retained, attachments which are seen as integral to the child's development (Mikaere, 1994). Despite whangai being a traditional and often practiced system within Te Ao Māori, western closed adoption practice advocates for a process where children are denied access to key whakapapa knowledge. Throughout the 20th century this practice was supported by relevant legislation and facilitated many Māori children being adopted into Pākehā homes and disconnected from their whānau, hapū, iwi and cultural connectors (Pitama, as cited in Gibbs & Scherman, 2013).

Despite these processes and lack of legislative support, whangai has remained a key system of childcare practice for many Māori whānau and remains anchored by key concepts of whānau and whakapapa (Gibbs & Scherman, 2013). The history of kin care in New Zealand contains western and indigenous practices with key differences, however the dominance of the western system has had a significant effect on the parenting systems of Māori whānau.

Clinical implications

These findings show that Māori understandings of the world are grounded in primary relationships including and additional to parental dyadic relationships. Significant attachments for Māori extend to include wider interpersonal relationships through whānau, hapū and iwi and these relationships are shown to be protective, nurturing and exploratory.

Given that psychotherapy is concerned with understanding a person's inner emotional life, it is important that these wider relational attachments are given appropriate attention in the therapeutic process. Attending to nuclear family relationships will often not adequately capture the close and integral relationships important to Māori. Just as significant are the relationships to grandparents, aunties, uncles and cousins and of psychological importance is being able to understand the quality of these relationships in addition to parents and siblings.

It is necessary for psychotherapists to make enquiries and gain an understanding as to how these wider relationships present in the client's life (Durie & Hermansson, 1990). Enquiring into these wider collective structures of whānau can make visible important attachment relationships for the client, beyond the parental relationship. The quality of these connections may mean that a relationship breakdown or loss of an aunty or uncle may have the same intensity as if it was with a parent. Conversely, a whānau member such as a grandparent or cousin to whom the client has a secure attachment may be able to provide a vital level of support through times of crisis or need.

Hapū and iwi relationships remain important and these relationships may also be of day to day significance to a client. Smith (2006) acknowledges that history has impacted iwi and this history underscores relational interactions with one another. Ruptures, successes and reconciliations whether recent or historical are of importance. Smith (2006) states that indigenous people feel their history, therefore processes that may seem distant such as tribunal decisions or iwi mandates may visibilise colonising processes causing pain for hapū and iwi members. Psychotherapists must remain attentive to these kinds of narratives and experiences

within the client's life as they can hold historical or current pain through the client's attachment relationship with these wider collective structures.

Given the integral function of wairua and its importance within Māori well health, it is imperative to gain an understanding of how this functions within the life of an individual. It is important that wairua, while often described as spirituality, is not necessarily defined through religion (Durie, 2004). Described as a vast, ever present phenomenon (Wirihana, 2014), wairua allows Māori to have a connection to all things in the universe. Mark and Lyons (2010) name two primary themes within the area of wairuatanga, family spiritual guides and spiritual tohu. Spiritual guides are family members who have passed on and who reconnect to individuals and take the role as a spiritual guide. Spiritual tohu are signs which are communicated through spiritual sources. Given the role of wairua to connect to all aspects of the universe, these signs can take a number of forms including through dreams, the natural world, smells and more (Mark & Lyons, 2010). A commitment to understanding and exploring these communicative discourses and wairua interconnectedness in therapy allows these connections to be named and for any concerns or disconnections to be explored.

Similarly, attachments to whenua are imperative within Te Ao Māori and can often be the source of great pain and upheaval (Mark & Lyons, 2010). The ongoing effects of colonisation and legislative process has left Māori with a complex relationship with land. It is acknowledged that whenua is central to well health for Māori (Durie 1994; Mark & Lyons, 2010). Discussions about key landmarks and positive land associations can help a client internalise the protective support nature of whenua. Conversely, Māori have experienced disconnections from land, conflicts often occur over land and historical and current land loss occurs. It is of benefit to attune to and notice these disconnections and losses, as the attachment to whenua means these carry much psychic weight and impact.

The relationship that Māori have with being Māori has been impacted by the very processes acknowledged in this research. Disconnections, disavowals and marginalisations have affected individual Māori just as much as it has affected the practice of these concepts themselves. Woodard (2008) asserts that the psychological impact from the effects of colonisation and

cultural alienation has been the destruction of indigenous identity. Creating identity confusion, this becomes resolved through “opting out of society or through the creation of a strong negative identity” (Woodard, 2008, p. 48). Smith (2006) states that while deficit views of Māori still occur negative impacts create shame and can lead to the denigration of their own people.

Durie and Hermansson (1990) outline key concepts when working in counseling situations with Māori. They state that for Māori, the goal is interdependence rather than independence, with independence seen as unhealthy and in denial of where a person has come from and who they are connected to. Whanaungatanga (understanding relationships and connections), whakamanawa (giving encouragement) and mauri (essence, and in this sense, connecting clients to mauri) are named as key concepts in working with Māori and involve an active way of working. Durie and Hermansson encourage practitioners to actively care for clients when they are distressed, and to meet the client in manaakitanga. It may mean spending many sessions coming to understand the client’s whakapapa. It can mean doing research into the client’s tribal whenua so that as a practitioner, you can locate yourself when the client is speaking about their whenua. This active way of working demonstrates manaakitanga (care) and awahi (embrace) – concepts which are basic to Te Ao Māori and engender trust and compassion (Durie & Hermansson, 1990).

Furthermore, in Reidy’s (2014) exploration of mana-enhancing psychotherapy, this approach finds the therapy encounter to be a fundamental point of change. In this way of practice, the practitioner would be guided to identify occurring resistances and defences in line with western concepts of psychotherapy. However, a mana-enhancing psychotherapy suitable to Māori would also explore past and present connections to whenua, wairua, whānau and tupuna. This type of integrating therapeutic approach encourages interconnection, awareness and an “improved ability to handle congruence, cope with past incidences and experience improved relationships” (Reidy, 2014, p. 66). This approach is consistent with the findings in this research of the importance of these wider systems of attachment.

The benefits of understanding and naming these connections leads to integration and an ability to mitigate disconnections and recover from losses. Durie (2001) also posits that the challenge

within health care is to “integrate those multiple forces that impact on health in such a way as to minimise risks” (p. 27). A key function of a safe interpersonal attachment relationship is for the caregiver to mirror safe representations of behaviour and the outside world through the relationship (Holmes, 2001). This function is therefore integral within the therapeutic relationship so that these core attachments are acknowledged, made visible and can therefore be safely integrated and any disconnections further explored.

Durie also names that this is only one part in the improvement of health outcomes and health services for Māori. Stating that there is a need to “join with others in the pursuit of a society that is truly compatible with health” (Durie, 2001, p. 27) it is also necessary to understand how the capacity and progression of psychotherapy services in Aotearoa benefits Māori health and positive outcomes.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Kaupapa Māori Research Theory has as one of its guiding principles, the enhancement of Tino Rangatiratanga, and the utilisation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a guide to an analysis of relationships in Aotearoa. In keeping with KMRT as the methodology of this dissertation, I argue that Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) remains a crucial document within the history of New Zealand. While much loss has been experienced by Māori since the signing of this document, Mulholland and Tawhai (2010) state that it also “provides a basis for moving forward as a nation” (p. 1). Te Tiriti provides a foundation to examine how power is distributed between the two signatories, and also provides the ground from which change can occur.

TUHA-NZ (A Treaty Understanding of Hauora in Aotearoa New Zealand) is part of the Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand and discusses Te Tiriti as a focal touchstone with regards to health care in New Zealand. Within the Māori text of te Tiriti, the articles of Kawanatanga (Governance), Tino Rangatiratanga (Self-determination) and Oritetanga (Equity) provide an appropriate framework in thinking about Māori attachment and securing positive outcomes for Māori.

Kawanatanga considers governance. It expects good governance to support the wellbeing of the people in order to thrive. This article then considers good governance to provide appropriate policies and supports in order to support the health of all peoples. For Māori, this means having clear and unhampered access to health systems and policies that meet their needs, including supported access to attachment structures beyond the dominant interpersonal relationships.

Tino Rangatiratanga is concerned with the reciprocal nature between the crown and the people, while retaining hapū and iwi full chieftainship over their lands. With respect to health, this act enables Māori to have full authority over their own health decisions and of the associated resources. Further, this act provides a basis for government to support Māori services and providers. This is significant because as discussed, Māori attachment practices have been hampered through legislation which marginalises Māori understandings and practice of attachment.

The third article around Oritetanga ensures that all peoples are given the same rights and opportunities. The article provides a requirement that the Crown “actively protect and reduce disparities between Māori and non-Māori” (TU-HANZ, 2002, p. 10). Tawhai (2010) further underlines the concept of equality, arguing that Tino Rangatiratanga essentially allows Māori to have greater control over policies and decisions that directly affect and benefit the lives of Māori. Tawhai (2010) emphasises that equal and positive opportunities for Māori include active connection to a positive cultural identity. The markers for wellbeing are reliant on the understanding and application of Māori cultural knowledge and practices, markers provided by the Māori attachment concepts outlined in this research.

Psychotherapy as decoloniser

Woodard (2014) discusses the flourishing of psychotherapy in Aotearoa at the expense of indigenous healers and healing systems. Naming that “psychotherapy and psychotherapists are not separate from these dynamics, but rather, are immersed within the socio-political in which we live” (p. 40), psychotherapy is located within an important vantage point of treating

humans in acknowledgement of the societal world of which they are part. The Māori concepts of attachment named here make up Te Ao Māori, and therefore, the world that Māori inhabit.

Jenkins (2014) places psychotherapy and psychotherapists amongst the decolonising process. Acknowledging psychotherapy as a political activity which functions to liberate as well as subjugate, the liberation process comes from the ability of a psychotherapist to regard history as not determined or fixed. Instead, psychotherapists are able and encouraged to acknowledge and critique the power structures inherent in the history of psychotherapy and to move forward into more inclusive approaches. Jenkins argues that therapists themselves must challenge the western origins of their profession and consider the role that therapy has taken in the historical evolution of health care.

Morice (2003), outlines six core relational concepts underpinning a Māori psychotherapeutic approach. These concepts are manaakitanga (generosity and support), whanaungatanga (relationship and connection), kotahitanga (unity and mutual understanding), kaitiakitanga (guardianship and responsibility), rangatiratanga (diplomacy and humility) and wairuatanga (the physical and spiritual in parallel). Each concept demonstrates the importance of interpersonal connections between people, but they also reference connection to structures outside of the interpersonal. These indigenous concepts are integral to creating well and holistic environments for Māori and when enacted in therapy, make visible Māori knowledge and practice.

Bowden (2000) advocates for the practice of psychotherapy in Aotearoa to be concerned with connection. Acknowledging that traditional psychotherapy language speaks of terms such as transference, psychopathology and projective identification, he argues that these terms are contained within a framework of individuality. Instead, he suggests that an emphasis on connection encourages a psychotherapy which is “focused on links, pathways and channels, rather than causes, effects and solutions” (Bowden, 2000, p. 11). Durie (2014) states that solely utilising skills and solutions based approaches excludes the wider perspectives and cultural knowledges inherent within Māori understandings of the world. The approach

suggested by Bowden supports Durie's emphasis on the need to explore and understand the broad relationships, connections and links within people's experience, an approach in line with the attachment relationships described in this dissertation.

Training and development implications

Durie and Hermansson (1990) argue that in order to facilitate appropriate services for Māori, appropriate and culturally responsive training programmes must be offered. Brady (1992) states that Māori focused approaches also need to be included in programmes and names how Codes of Ethics may need to be altered to include appropriate touch and how assessment methods may differ across cultures. Durie (2011) outlines the need for integration between the cultural and clinical, more emphasis on spirituality and a holistic approach as integral for practitioners in the psychological field. A dominant western educational approach is not guaranteed to utilise mātāuranga Māori within its training programmes, despite this knowledge being essential for Māori health and wellbeing. This lack risks ongoing marginalisation of Māori ways of being, including the specifically Māori attachment perspectives as outlined within this dissertation.

Durie and Hermansson (1990) and Brady (1992) acknowledge the dominant western perspective of the education system in New Zealand and state the need for more Māori to be actively involved in the training of students on counselling and therapy programmes. Brady suggests that a lack of Māori role models or peers may discourage Māori students from joining programmes held predominantly within a western education system. Durie (2011) names that these kinds of changes are necessary in order to create policies which challenge disparities between Māori and well health. As in other sectors of New Zealand society, western perspectives on attachment predominate in New Zealand psychotherapy educational programmes (John O'Connor, 2016, personal communication). Addressing the lack of focus on indigenous perspectives on attachment is a crucial challenge for these programmes.

Māori, and psychotherapy in Aotearoa

Māori psychotherapy is a relatively small field. Where a EBSCO Health database search for “psychotherapy” and “New Zealand” returns 362 results, a search for “psychotherapy” and “Māori” returns only 12 results with the earliest result being from 1989. An additional search for research dissertations and theses published in New Zealand (<http://NZresearch.org.nz>) returns a further 7 results since 2007 which demonstrates the growth of this area from an academic perspective. However, these numbers also demonstrate the ongoing dominance of the western psychotherapeutic approach over an indigenous approach in Aotearoa. Given the health benefits for Māori to have autonomy over approaches that meet the diverse needs of Māori health and development, ongoing growth and further understandings within this area are necessary and appropriate with regard to attachment perspectives for Māori.

- Waka Oranga – National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners

Waka Oranga is a collective of Māori psychotherapy practitioners aligned to indigenous psychotherapy and committed to improving health outcomes for Māori (Waka Oranga, 2016). Open to health professionals who support this kaupapa, Waka Oranga is an organisation which provides a home for indigenous psychotherapists and the development of an indigenous psychotherapy in Aotearoa.

As a nationwide group, members of Waka Oranga are dispersed across Aotearoa New Zealand with members who hail from different iwi and hapū affiliations. This diversity means that members are dually represented through connection to the western world through psychotherapy and the dominant medical model, and to Te Ao Māori through these hapū and iwi links (Hall, Morice & Wilson, 2012).

Committed to the development of a uniquely Māori psychotherapy, this approach prioritises kaupapa Māori theory and practice, Māori training programmes which provide developmental opportunities and support for indigenous practitioners and the development of appropriate cultural competencies for Māori and non Māori (Morice, 2003). The focus on kaupapa Māori theory and practice enables appropriate responses to Māori health, while making visible Māori

health practice and developmental knowledge. Māori training programmes provide practitioners with relevant indigenous knowledge, delivered

- New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists – Te Roopuu Whakaora Hinengaro

The New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists – Te Roopuu Whakaora Hinengaro (NZAP) is the professional association for psychotherapists in New Zealand which maintains standards for the safe practice of pschotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand (NZAP, 2016a). In existence since 1947, it was not until 1995 that the constitution of NZAP was amended to reference Te Tiriti o Waitangi with the following clause: “to explore ways in which psychotherapy may be guided by the articles and spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi” (NZAP, 2016b). The development of biculturalism within the association has been described as slow (NZAP, 2016b). The first Māori member of NZAP was accepted in 2005 and in 2007 Waka Oranga was formed (Woodard, 2014). In 2009 it was decided that two positions on NZAP’s council would be occupied by members of Waka Oranga and a treaty partnership between the two organisations began.

Durie (2013) argues that the Māori journey from marginalisation and exclusion must begin with a twinned approach of retaining a Māori identity while rejecting assimilation. Waka Oranga’s values and principles based on Māori concepts of health and wellbeing establishes and prioritises Māori health and developmental needs within the practice of psychotherapy in New Zealand. NZAP’s developing inclusion of bicultural initiatives and treaty partnership is an attempt to support these values. Both Waka Oranga and NZAP, as professional organisations, have an interest in supporting and developing the practice of psychotherapy in Aotearoa New Zealand. As Waka Oranga is an indigenous organisation operating within kaupapa Māori values, and NZAP has a stated commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, both organisations have a responsibility to uphold and advocate for the use of matauranga Māori, which includes the attachment concepts named within this dissertation.

Strengths

A significant strength of this study has been the use of Kaupapa Māori Research Theory (KMRT) as the methodological lens for this critical literature review. The use of KMRT has been the way in which all parts of this study have been conducted – from the search process, to the analysis of the results and including appropriate ongoing cultural consultation. As a researcher, this has felt very appropriate and has provided a sense of safety throughout the study.

KMRT has also ensured that matauranga Māori has been attended to and prioritised. This was a deliberate choice in the planning stages given the intention to examine indigenous and western theories alongside each other. It has led to the creation of new knowledge around attachment perspectives and psychotherapy practice in Aotearoa New Zealand while also creating a challenge to the dominant western attachment perspectives which continue to dominate legislation and practice.

Limitations

There is no qualitative or quantitative research available which specifically explores how Māori perspectives on attachment might be considered by psychotherapists in the clinical setting and what the impact on clinical practice and outcomes might be. This is an important area for further research.

Conclusion

A Māori approach to attachment is holistic and broad. Attachment determinants are historical and present. Significant attachment figures may be proximal, but may also be wider and further away, with the quality of the relationship intact and of support. Connections beyond the interpersonal are integral, with wairua, whenua and matauranga connections all taking their rightful and necessary place within Te Ao Māori.

Tino Rangatiratanga remains an important concept for Māori. It gives Māori the freedom to choose and determine their own pathways and is found to be beneficial for Māori health outcomes. Therefore, in providing beneficial and appropriate healthcare there is a responsibility to ensure that Māori have options to choose from and the support to do so. This occurs in two ways outlined in this chapter: 1) to ensure that Māori concepts of attachment are imbued in the treatment offered and 2) to advocate that the socio-political environment surrounding the healthcare approach is appropriate for Māori. These understandings of Māori attachment are imperative in understanding the psychological and developmental needs of Māori, vital to the therapeutic encounter and the world in which psychotherapy is conducted.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

When I began this dissertation process, an image came into my mind as I began to develop my research proposal. I envisioned one carved pou and one metal pole standing next to each other and I was sitting between them. It seemed like an easy image to decipher – the pou represented Te Ao Māori and the pole represented Te Ao Pākehā. As the researcher, I was there to examine each one. However, what emerged has felt far more significant.

An important part of this research has been around making Māori attachment perspectives visible. The invisibilising of these attachment perspectives have been detrimental for Māori whānau and practices of parenting. Māori attachment systems have been impacted by processes which have privileged western attachment theories, with western perspectives the way by which Māori parenting and developmental practices have been assessed and measured.

As this study reflects, core Māori attachment concepts have been excluded and western attachment concepts prioritised. In addition, western theories of attachment have also been much slower to include concepts around multiple care and extrapersonal attachments, notions which are vital within a Māori view of attachment. What the findings of this research highlight, is that attachment connections situated within Te Ao Māori must be included alongside the emphasis on interpersonal dyadic relationships in order to support and develop well health for Māori.

These concepts are especially important for psychotherapists and psychotherapy as therapeutic focus is often given to the quality of attachments. Given that attachment relationships for Māori include and extend beyond the immediate family, it is essential that these wider attachment relationships are given attention within the therapeutic encounter.

As I progressed through the research I found that it was simply not enough to separately examine the two theories of knowledge. My imagery of the pou and the pole began to lose its

clarity. Instead, it also became necessary to examine where they converge, where they are separate, and acknowledge the relationship between the two.

The convergence of the two streams of knowledge is a significant part of this research. Both perspectives place emphasis on safe and nurturing attachments. Indigenous Māori and western models of attachment both acknowledge the importance of having close and secure attachments with individuals in order to promote healthy development.

However, the findings from this study have shown that Māori knowledge and emphasis on wider concepts of attachment has become marginalised and invisibilised by the dominant theory of western perspectives. These practices have been kept alive within whānau, through perseverance and resilience; however, the political systems which surround Māori have not supported these practices. My challenge is that political systems actively become informed and equipped to support and enable Māori attachment perspectives in order to fully meet Māori attachment needs.

As I come to the end of this research, I am reminded about a waterhole that my Dad used to take me to when I was young. The waterhole was fed by two tributaries – one warm and one cool. All three parts were important to the ecosystem of that body of water. The warm stream and the cool stream both sustained very different ecosystems, apparent in the way the landscape around them looked. It is in this way in which this dissertation has felt similar – both streams are diverse and important in sustaining the life around them. Just as important to explore however, has been the way in which they meet and impact on one another.

He Whakataukī

Ko wai au, no hea au: He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea e kore e ngaro

Who I am and where I am from: I am a seed of Rangiatea and I will never be lost

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Glossary

Aotearoa – indigenous title for New Zealand

ariki – paramount chief, leader

atawhai – to show kindness to, to care for

awa – river

awhi – to embrace, cherish, surround

hapū – subtribe, kinship group who descend from a common ancestor

hinengaro – mind, thought, psychological

Io – Supreme Being

iwi – tribe, extended kinship group who descend from common ancestry

kaitiaki – guardian, custodian, caregiver

kaitiakitanga – guardianship, trusteeship

kaiwhakaora hinengaro - psychotherapist

karakia – ritual chant, prayer

kaupapa – topic, purpose

kaupapa whānau – a group of people connected through a specific purpose

korero – to tell, say, speak, address

koroua – elder male

kōwhai – native trees to Aotearoa, noted for having clusters of yellow flowers

kuia – elder female

Kupe – A significant ancestor in the whakapapa of early New Zealand

mākutu – to inflict physical or psychological harm

mana – a concept inherited at birth and concerns authority, prestige, and power gifted from the

Gods

manaakitanga – hospitality, kindness, support

marae – often used to describe the complex of buildings around the traditional meeting house
and traditionally where Māori could gather

māramatanga – enlightenment, insight

mātauranga – knowledge, understanding

mātua - parents

maunga - mountain

mauri – life principle, vital essence

moana - ocean

mokopuna – grandchild, descendant

motu – country, land, nation

pā – fortified village

Pākehā – A person of primarily European descent

Papatuanuku – primordial parent, Earth Mother

pepeha – a recitation which encapsulates connections and links, often used in introduction

rāhui – temporary ritual prohibition or ban

rangatira – a leader of high ranking, chief

rangatiratanga – chieftainship, authority

Ranginui – primordial parent, Sky Father

rohe – area

roto – lake

takiwa – district, area

tangi - funeral

taonga – gift, treasure

tapu – sacred

taurima – to treat with care, foster, adopt

Te Ao Māori – the world of Māori, a Māori world view

tika – right, correct

tikanga – a process which is right, correct

tinana – body, physical part of self

tino rangatiratanga – self determination, sovereignty

tūpuna – ancestor

tūrangawaewae – a place to stand, a place to which someone is connected

wā kainga – home base, true home

wahine – woman

waiata – song, to sing

wairua – spirit, soul

wairuatanga – spirituality

whaikorero – oratory, speeches

whakaora hinengaro - psychotherapy

whakapapa – ancestry, geneology

whakataukī – proverb, saying

whānau – family, including extended relatives

whanaunga – relative, relation

whanaungatanga – relationship, kinship, sense of family

whareniui – main meeting house on a marae

whenua – land