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Whanau Maori in this changing world: weaving and healing with the whanau when whanau violence is the presenting problem.

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Master of Social Welfare

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of whanau Maori violence. I explore my own personal journey through family violence into the light, and compare it to the journey of my own people through the injustices of colonialism, and the impact of official violence on whanau violence.

The study assesses a range of responses – individualistic, expert and punitive – the only constant being the glaring and gross lack of success and effectiveness of these responses as problems continue to escalate.

The need for an alternative response emerges, a response which is relational, explanatory and holistic. An integration is required, which includes all the forms of family violence, from all people at all levels.

A constructivist approach is then taken, validating the way that people make sense of their worlds and the usefulness of their constructions for changing the world.

The findings identified that for Maori the goal is to reject the negative deficit approaches, to one which celebrates and validates Maori knowledge and wisdom.

The substance of the research involved talking to Maori about their experiences and wisdom. That experience and wisdom becomes a practical model of community and whanau development in Wairoa.

The conclusions support key recommendations for change.
PREFACE

This thesis has been a long time in gestation, and it may take an equally long time to heal our history. The Government has repealed Section 59 of the Crimes Act to make the world safer for children. Because of this, and other positive actions of many people across the planet, I live with hope.

I would like to think that I am currently doing some useful things in Wairoa to make individuals, whanau, agencies and the wider community safer. I would also hope that this research is helpful to other people, both Maori and non-Maori, who are also committed to making the world safer.

Recently I was massaging the feet of a Maori nanny who will soon be 96 years of age. I was with a group of Maori practitioners who travel weekly to a local Marae to provide traditional Maori healing to kaumatua. Being with these precious people brings home to me the responsibility we have to keep doing things right, in the right place, at the right time, with the right tools.

This research study has emerged from a huge pain, which has been spanning many generations. It is a small contribution, gifted to all people who are making a difference in healing whanau Maori, and to all people who want to make a difference but may not yet know how.

There are some people who have been crucial to the process, who have offered spiritual, emotional, practical and intellectual sustenance over the past two years:

Thank you Anaru Eketone for persevering with me as my supervisor and for supporting my rather unorthodox research processes which did not always “fit”.

Thank you Hare Thatcher, my husband, for the cups of tea alongside the midnight oil, and for being awake to cuddle me to sleep when my exhausted brain finally stopped. Thank you Hare for understanding my rage and pain, which was a critical component of the journey through the past, to the present.

Thank you to my whanau, my children and grandchildren, who provide me with the strength and courage to continue to find ways to make the world safe for them and others.

Thank you Rose Pere for being my mentor and guide. It is not easy, for there are
still so many horrible things being done by people to each other, to children, to old people, to the environment. In this respect I am eternally grateful to Rose Pere for her commitment to universal world peace and her skills as a psychic.

Thank you to all the people who shared their stories. In this work you are anonymous, but you will recognise yourselves. From your pain emerges hope and light on the dark places.

Sally Marshall
December 2007
CHAPTER ONE  INTRODUCTION

Rage finds release in violent acts. Violent acts are happening all over this planet at this time, and always have. Human beings have a history of violence and every act of violence has a source in history.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand’s history the dominance of Crown institutions has been one of recurring cycles of conflict and tension against a background of ongoing deprivation. This has drained the Maori spiritually and physically. It finds expression today in our atrocious levels of social dependency. (Durie, M. 2001; Fergusson, D.M. 2003)

More specifically, this thesis examines one form of such dependency, family violence and how the attempts that have been made up until the present time have failed to reduce the present levels of family violence.

The thesis will seek to ask if such whanau violence is located in the colonisation process, when isolation and marginalisation caused the breakdown in whanau relationships. Others have delved into these questions many times, and have come up with analysis and recommendations. (Caton, A. 2001; Consedine, J. 2003; Cram et al 2002; Doolan, M., 2004; Doone, P., 2000; Fanslow, J.L.,et al. 2000; Hemangi-Panapa, T.P.M. 1998; Keenan, D. 2000; Kruger et al 2004; Mc Master, K. 2001). I will ask if anything is working and, if it is working, what are the ingredients for successfully breaking the cycle of whanau violence?

Are we just tired out, battle-fatigued whanau Maori who just don’t want to deal with it any more? Or is there within this great pain, this silence broken only by the dreadful harm that is being done to our children, a potential for us to rise up and say “No more?” Are we just waiting for, just begging for, a roaring to take place, a breaking, shattering, shaking something that will create life again? Estes (1992:358) states that enlightenment does not occur during the deed itself, it occurs once illusion is destroyed and one gains insight into the underlying meaning.

We are being called on to have courage as we address this issue of whanau violence. Whether we have power and influence within the colonisers’ systems and rejuvenate those systems from within relying on our own ways of knowing, or whether we are the keepers of the ahi ka, (the home fires), our responsibility to retain our tino rangatiratanga (our sovereignty) at this stage of our evolution as a nation is real.

Te Tiriti O Waitangi was signed one hundred and sixty eight years ago, (Durie, M. 2001.54) and was breached soon after. The cumulative rage that has gathered can be sourced to the dispossession of resources for the soul of a culture, manifesting in a grief and loss so strong that for many the mind-altering substances are a relief from the pain. For many of our people there is no conscious awareness of the source of the pain, and only awareness can bring transformation and must be a primary focus for our practice. The incorporation of Tikanaga Maori concepts into treatment process is recommended as the most effective awareness raising tool. (Moss, J. 1999; Nathan et al 2003, Kruger et al 2004)

In my work with Maori men and women I observe the steps up the pathway of their learning, developing their potential, developing their kaha, claiming and embracing their descendancy from earth and sky and discovering in themselves that magic moment of serendipity, of “ah-ha... so that is what it is all about, this battle that we are in to heal our
whanau”. We must go back to the source of our kaha, our fiery breath, the pa harakeke whanau concept. This old term for whanau is most aptly associated with the flax bush, our harakeke model of practice, whereby there is an organic renewal from within. It is in the organic and natural world that we will find the models to guide our practice. It is within the whanau that our creative potential finds its birth.

It is in the ownership of our stories, of our own survival, joys, pain and loss that we find insight, understanding and healing of our past. It is in the insight gained that we find our way forward. My position regarding family violence in Aotearoa (New Zealand) is that the movement towards healing requires a systematic and consistent analysis of colonisation, alongside a Maori discourse on whakapapa (genealogy). I have learned from my own journey that there are still enormous barriers to overcome, because delivery systems in the family violence intervention processes are supported by entrenched colonial and racist mentalities. My own story has been a consistent and passionate wharikingia, the threads which when woven form the mat or platform that has given me the safe base from which to base my personal and social work life.

The first part of this chapter explores the problem of whanau violence, the depth and breadth of the problem, including current statistics.

In the second part of this chapter I will look at my own journey as mokopuna (grandchild) Maori, some personal experiences of violence, my work in a range of organisations where I have practiced in a range of fields, including working with both perpetrators and victims of violence, and the teachers and healers who influenced me. I will also discuss why I do this work now.

**What Is The Problem?**

Family violence is undoubtedly a major concern for Maori (Cram et al, 2002:6). Their evaluation of programmes for Maori adults, who are protected persons under the Domestic Violence Act 1995, was undertaken using a kaupapa Maori approach and provides a most recent perspective. Although this research has a focus on individual and group services for Maori women in two separate locations, the need for an inclusive kaupapa Maori based whanau focused service is explored. The report not only examined the legislative environment for the delivery of programmes for Maori women, it also looked more broadly at defining Maori domestic violence and the impacts of colonisation and violence on indigenous communities. The report made clear that the way to facilitate a reduction in Maori family violence is the resourcing of intervention and prevention programmes that work with whanau.

Family violence has become a major problem in Aotearoa, especially among Maori families. In 1999, the National Collective of Women’s Refuges reported that 44% of Women’s Refuge adult clients were Maori. This is consistent with the key findings of the 1996 Women’s Safety Survey which found that Maori women were significantly more likely than non-Maori women to report that they had experienced controlling behaviour by their partner (Morris, 1996:16).

On average, eight New Zealand children and eleven women die each year as the result of family violence, while more than 200 children and 400 women sustain injuries enough to require admission to hospital. The economic cost is estimated at $5.3 billion per year. Police last year were called out to 74,000 incidents of family violence across New Zealand. In 55,000 cases children were present when it happened (Andrews, 2006:3).
Violence within families has proved one of the most intractable problems impacting on women and children, states the Ministry of Women's Affairs chief executive Shenagh Gleisner (Gleisner cited in Dewes & Chalmers, 2006:4). She also says that when New Zealand reports to the United Nations on our international obligations under the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination we can show progress in many areas, but violence against women is proving very hard to address.

The editor of the Dominion Post, on 29 June 2006, states that Counties-Manukau police responded to about 10,000 domestic call-outs last year alone; and though this problem affects not only Maori, they feature disproportionately strongly in statistics. Prime Minister Helen Clark is quoted (Dewes & Chalmers 2006:4) as saying that while domestic violence was a scourge in all communities, it was tragic that a lot of the high profile cases had involved Maori children.

New Zealand children are in greater danger of being killed by abuse than those in any other Western country. (Watkins, K.cited in Chalmers and Torbit 2006:1). An international report in 2003 linked the violence to poverty, stress and drug and alcohol abuse. New Zealand paediatricians called for the repeal of Section 59, saying family violence, particularly violence towards children, was endemic in New Zealand. Section 59 has been used successfully as a defence in court to defend cases in which parents have used items such as bamboo cane and a riding crop on children. (Chalmers and Torbit, 2006.2).

The abuse rates for Maori children are particularly bad. Between 1996 and 2000, the latest figures available, Maori children died from maltreatment at an average annual rate of two per 100,000 children, compared with one per 100,000 children among non-Maori. The children most at risk are Maori boys up to one year old. (Andrews 2006.4; Doolan, M.P. 2004).

A Child Youth and Family Agency review says Maori children are most at risk of child abuse. It reveals 38 children were killed in the five years to 2003. Most died at relatives hands and nearly all were killed by someone known to them. (Chalmers and Dewes, 2006:5).

Over recent years, 10 children on average have been killed each year by a member, or members, of their family. Between 20 November, 2005 and the beginning of January 2006, six women were killed by their partners or former partners. Their deaths left at least 19 children without a mother. During December and January, police attended nearly 11,000 incidents of reported family violence. That's about one incident every eight minutes (An article in the Whakatane Beacon 5 July, 2006: 10).

Wairoa too has had its share of family violence. I interviewed Sergeant Aubrey Ormond, a Wairoa policeman, in May 2006. His ‘kaupapa ki waho’, words which when translated mean “speaker of wisdom and truth”, was,

"There were twelve domestic incidents in Wairoa that were reported in May 2006, and they were just the tip of the iceberg. There is much going on that is not reported, and ninety percent of the time alcohol is involved, acting as a trigger for the violence."

The significance for Maori of the statistics of family violence is complex and wide ranging. Maori are substantially over-represented as both victims and perpetrators of
violence in families/whanau.

**My Story**

It is in my own story that I found the seeds of insight for this research. The problems and the solutions are located within my own history, of my own people, my own whanau. I want my mokopuna to know that their grandmother's work as a community worker and social work educator has become a story that has been created from living energy, a story that can be told and retold. If the outcome of this research is truthful, it should have use for Maori whanau workers in the future. My own story will therefore be a part of the threads which are woven to form the whariki.

The stories of my grandmothers take me back to a time when the whalers were operating around Mahia and Wairoa. My great great grandmother, Naomi Paraetuhara Te Ariki, lived with her parents at the mouth of the river Wairoa (Wairoa Hopupu Honengenge Matangirau) at Kihitu. Her father was Te Kahu and her mother was Naomi Takaterangi. When she was a young woman, Naomi Paretuhara met and fell in love with a young American whaler named James Shaw Chase. He was working on a whaling boat owned by his grandfather, Samuel Chase, a prominent San Francisco boat builder and banker. James and Naomi lived at Kihitu with her parents and had five children when they left to move to Kohupatiki, near Hastings. In the late 1860's James had become afraid of Te Kooti, and it later transpired that he (James) had been providing information to the colonial troops who were chasing Te Kooti. The couple took the two eldest children to Kohupatiki, but left the three youngest behind with their grandparents at Kihitu, Wairoa. Many of the descendants of these children are in Wairoa today.

James and Naomi had ten more children, one of whom was my great grandmother Kataraina. Kataraina married Richard Hollis, a drover, and they lived at Omahu, near Hastings. They had twelve children, the youngest being my grandmother Rowena. When James and Naomi moved to Kohupatiki, and later to Omahu, the land wars were a major problem for them. James became an informer for Governor George Grey, and is perceived by many of our whanau as a kupapa, a traitor. James Chase, and eventually their sons, inherited all Naomi’s land in Hawkes Bay, which was substantial. The land had been lost through English marriage law, whereby all the wife’s land automatically becomes the property of the husband. Many debts were incurred by James and his sons, and land was confiscated for debts to publicans. Naomi was sent to a mental asylum by her husband when, in a rage, she attacked him when she learned he was selling information to Governor George Grey which had led to the death of one of her brothers. She died in the Porirua asylum. James Shaw Chase lived to the age of ninety-two and is buried in a paupers grave on the Napier hill.

Although James Chase was originally from America, his grandfather was an English settler in America, so James would have brought with him to New Zealand the rights and beliefs of the English to colonise. Effectively, once he had removed Naomi, his wife, away from her Wairoa whanau she was his asset, as was her land. James Chase would have felt comfortable with his sons and their wives, his daughters and their husbands, following his beliefs, which, by the time the grandchildren arrived would be well on the way to becoming law. This would have included a belief in the correctness of physical discipline for children, the appropriate place of children in society, and the correct way for children to behave. We know from stories that Naomi’s
children passed down to us, her descendants, that Naomi missed her mother dreadfully, and that the children in Hastings did not get to see their whanau in Wairoa for many years. We know that many of the Chase descendants who grew up in Hastings became alienated from knowing their whakapapa, and knowing who their whanau was.

An exception was Naomi’s daughter, my great grandmother, Kataraina. She married Richard Hollis, a Pakeha drover, and the first European child to be born in the new settlement of Wellington. Richard was away droving huge mobs of sheep and cattle for long periods up the East Coast so Kataraina raised her twelve children in a large house adjacent to Omahu Marae. Most of her sons were drovers too, and went with their father when they were old enough. They married Maori women, hence the many Hollis whanau in Ngati Porou and Turanganui a Kiwa. Kataraina was involved in the pa life at Omahu, and my grandmother told me many stories of the time of her childhood. My nana Rowena was seventeen years old when she became pregnant, and my mother was whangai to her Aunt Kate, one of my grandmothers older sisters, who lived in Waipiro Bay on the East Coast. There my mother stayed until she was about seven years old. My Nana Rowena stayed at home to look after her mother Kataraina, who was very sick, and who finally passed away aged fifty-six. My Nana was then twenty-three. She soon married a man named Edgar Lay, whose family had just arrived from Hull in England. He was illiterate but a hard worker. When my Nana became pregnant with her second child she asked her sister Kate to bring her daughter, my mother, back so she could help with the baby. The effect that this change had on my mother is a story of its own, and stays peaceful within my own heart.

My mother married my father during the Second World War and I was born in 1945 when it ended. My father saw active service in the Pacific, and returned home to farm twelve acres in Whakatu, near Hastings. My parents loved each other deeply and there was no alcohol or violence in our lives. By 1950, when I turned five and the earliest recollection of my life, Maori patterns of communal living, ownership, gender roles and child rearing were not a part of my life with my parents. I did not think of myself as Maori with them, but it was different with my grandmother. She would take me with her to tangihanga. Often I would miss school to travel with her by railcar to Wairoa, Mahia and Gisborne. I walked in two worlds. It was not a problem to me as a child, but it became a major problem for me in my mid-thirties.

I was married at age twenty to a Pakeha farmer. Within a year my husband’s older brother, whom he loved dearly, was killed in a tractor accident. A year later our first child drowned when he was aged two, I was twenty three years old. We had three more children over the next three years, then moved to the South Island when the family farm was sold to a forestry company who had built a pulp mill nearby.

My husband managed farms in the South Island and became progressively more violent towards me. I had an understanding of his grief and loss and knew nothing of the cycle of violence. I was raised with the maxim “you make your bed and you lie in it”. Then one night, when my husband’s landrover was roaring up the drive and I knew he was in a rage, I ran up to the haybarn with a blanket and slept there the night. The next morning I had the revelation – I had abandoned my children. He could have harmed them. So I planned to leave, to go somewhere with my children and start a new life. My family doctor told me about the domestic purposes benefit, which had just been made law. So off I went, to Dunedin, with my two girls aged ten and eleven. My son stayed with his
father on the farm. He was 13, it was his choice; he loved the farm. I left him in Te Anau. The violence did not stop. It became a horrible nightmare of manipulation with our children. I became a volunteer community worker in Dunedin, and eventually enrolled in Pat Shannon’s course in Social Work at the University of Otago in 1981. This learning journey threw me into a major shift in self-awareness, and gave me the tools to explore many realities. My cultural reality was hidden from the group, and was exposed by a group of Maori women (Mana Motuhake) who ran a workshop. The assumption that we were all Pakeha in our group of sixteen women was made because I had not declared that I was Maori. I was never asked. I do not ‘look Maori’, and was used to keeping it hidden. The workshop involved a test of our understanding of Maori concepts and language. It was a parallel version of an intelligence test. My Pakeha colleagues all scored very low, but my score was high. The ensuing exposure was extremely painful for me. The women took me aside and I was, to put it mildly ‘told off’; but they were still my sisters. After the telling off, after my tears had dried and after the warm hugs, I was told to go home, sort myself out and put my talents to work with my own people.

I was also exposed to Pat Shannon’s three theoretical approaches - Conservative, Liberal and Radical. Pat constantly challenged us to use the theory to understand and explain situations and to then take action that was consistent with the theory. I took to Radical theory like a duck to water. Putting it into practice was not an easy thing to do, and is still a challenge. But a social change activist was born during my time as a social work student in 1981. A fourth broad theoretical approach has been added to the framework (Shannon and Young 2004:12) which is called the Alternative theory, and will be discussed in full later. It is the Alternative explanation which has shaped the rationale behind the telling of my personal story. The part of my world that was missing in 1981 was my soul, my wairua. It was grounded in the past. My choice of using a kaupapa Maori analysis for this thesis is grounded in the Alternative theoretical approach. I was, quite literally in 1981, self marginalised from my Maori culture, and fully aware that I needed to go home to get back my tino rangatiratanga and have greater access to my culture and the cultural supports that were back in Hawkes Bay.

The need to return home to Hastings became very strong. I had a lot of healing to do. In Dunedin I had counselling with a very good woman from Marriage Guidance, but the pain did not abate. So I went home.

It was at a Mana Wahine hui at Omahu Marae that my rage, my pain, my grief and loss was released. My healers were the old women of my grandmother’s generation, holders of the sacred knowledge. They became the challengers to me, and the process was hard. Many times I wanted to pull away. It was easy to pass as a Pakeha because I am so fair. I felt that I belonged nowhere, that I was on the sharp edge of a sword that had a hard landing no matter on which side of it I fell. But gradually, within the context of my whanau Maori, my healing started.

I became a Treaty of Waitangi trainer by accident when I was a volunteer for Women’s Refuge in the mid 1980’s. We wanted to separate from our Pakeha sisters and have our own whare, our own Maori Women’s Refuge in Hastings. It was a painful journey to separate, hard for them to see us leave, and to understand why. They loved us, as we loved them. So we had to educate them about our need to grow, and to heal the pain. Our men, our precious Maori men, were harming us because they were acting out their pain. Our separate development could not happen within the Feminist frameworks that
underpinned much of the rationale of our Pakeha sisters. So we taught them by learning about the Treaty breaches ourselves and then teaching them. But the divorce was still painful and left scars that can be seen today.

Working at the Tairawhiti Polytechnic as a social work educator posed a new challenge for me. I have never really defined myself as a social worker. Most of my working life I have been a community worker, often unpaid, and with organisations with a Whanau, Hapu, Iwi development kaupapa.

As a Maori in the Polytechnic I applied myself to the development of a course that would responsibly meet the needs of the Gisborne social service industry and the students – mostly mature Maori women. I had experience of working with a range of Maori trainers such as Mereana Pitman, Paraire Huata, Rose Pere, Ron Baker and Moana Jackson, and their voices will resonate often through this thesis as ‘kaupapa ki waha’. To me this phrase means ‘the speakers of wisdom and truth’. I have been very privileged to listen to wise words spoken in a wide range of settings. For example, Paraire Huata spoke at a hui in Mangere in 1997 to a very large group of people about addictions as they have affected Maori. His words have resonated in my mind, very clearly do I remember them, for they touched me deeply. He said:

"Food addiction is not about being hungry; alcohol addiction is not about being thirsty; sexual addiction is not about being horny: they are all manifestations of the spiritual wounding of the inner child" (Huata, 1997).

This is an example of kaupapa ki waha.

I brought to my role as a social work educator my knowledge and skills in the application of holistic, strengths based practice consistent with tikanga Maori. In developing the course programme I was able to bring guest tutors onto the course. One of these tutors was Ron Baker. Another was Rose Pere. Ron was working at the Mahia Hauora as a community health worker, but had a very long work history as a psychiatric nurse and educator. Ron loved working on the Marae, teaching tikanga Maori. He agreed to facilitate a workshop for the first year social work students in February 1998 at Ruawharo Marae in Opoutama, on the Mahia peninsula. Most of the time during this three day hui I was in the kitchen, being the cook, for Ruawharo is one of the Marae I belong to through whakapapa. Now and then I went into the Whare Tipuna to listen to Ron. He spoke many words of wisdom, but the words which I remember most were his description of bi-culturalism. The following words are another example of ‘kaupapa ki waha’:

"There is no such thing as bi-culturalism. Let us compare the weka and the seagull. The weka stays where it belongs, on the land, near bush, never roaming far. The seagull flies about all over the place, scavenging wherever it can to gather food. It has no territory to which it belongs. Bi-culturalism is a wegull. There is no such thing. A wegull is like the taniwha – you can't control it and it might consume you" (Baker, 1998).

I recall these words of Ron Baker as I reflect back to the difficulty I had as a Maori educator, trying to be a weka, but in effect being expected to be a wegull. I was also beginning to understand ‘the teeth of the taniwha’, another ‘kaupapa ki waha’ from Ngaromoana Raureti Tomoana, a dear and special friend – a Rongomaiwahine artist who
also shared her knowledge of Maori symbolism and tukutuku work during a workshop with second year social work students. The focus of the workshop was ‘Maori Art Therapy’. Ngaro described ‘nga nihoniho ki te taniwha’, a well known tukutuku pattern, as:

“The art of story telling, that stories can be of both good deeds and evil events, to always be wary of the teeth of the taniwha. That meaning can be hidden, and to listen at both intrinsic and extrinsic levels”.

On a spiritual, intellectual and emotion level I was learning and growing as a Maori woman in my Maori culture. The privileges that I had from these mentors and teachers had become an integral part of my beliefs and world view. Living and working in a holistic way had become normal and natural for me. But there were times when I was not safe within the environment of the Tairawhiti Polytechnic.

I ran into conflict with management and some colleagues in the Social Sciences department, which I could understand from my own value base. It was a challenge to introduce the role of social worker as social change agent, to facilitate learning processes that promoted courage, self awareness and a structural analysis. Cultural supervision with Rose Pere had been very important to me during my time in Tairawhiti, and enabled me to remain focused on my students. Because it was a two year course, and there was always a new group coming through, it was hard to abandon them.

After eight years as a social work educator I was beginning to miss being a social work practitioner. I was ready for a change, ready to leave Gisborne, ready to go home.

At heart I have always been a practitioner first and an educator second, and I brought this experience and the values of ‘hands on’ work with people to my teaching practice. I brought also the Maori values and tikanga, that had shaped my childhood and which I reclaimed in my mid-life crisis, to my teaching practice. The conflicts with the Polytechnic taught me much about how mainstream systems will always survive, how to conserve my energy, and how to move into neutral when the negative energy was not conducive to positive change and growth. I felt stronger on a spiritual level.

I strategised and networked to get another tutor, a Tairawhiti woman, alongside me, and after two years she agreed that she was ready to take responsibility.

Finally, in October 2005 I made a very critical and personal employment shift. I began a new job, in a newly created position – Contracts Co-ordinator at the Wairoa Primary Healthcare Organisation.

A move back to the Wairoa community also provided the opportunity to connect again with community development processes.

Where Am I Now?

Wairoa is in a very interesting position regionally. There are no Government departments here. The Police, Courts, ACC and WINZ offices are managed from Gisborne. The Wairoa College is serviced from the Ministry of Education in Gisborne and the Primary Schools from Napier. The Wairoa hospital, and public health services are managed by the Hawkes Bay District Health Board based in Hastings.

To get to Wairoa you must travel over very hilly roads, two hours from Hastings and one and a half hours from Gisborne. In winter the roads are often closed by slips from heavy rain.
Wairoa is included in the Tairawhiti (Gisborne and East Coast) Development Task Force, the brainchild of Jim Anderton. This taskforce is made up of all the heads of organisations with any responsibility for economic, social or educational development. As a result, Wairoa people who need to get to the decision makers, must travel a long distance to get a response. We cannot even travel to just one main centre. I make this point because it is critical to my research when exploring the terrain of whanau violence in Wairoa from an interagency or collaborative response.

The Wairoa Primary Healthcare Organisation (PHO) is my employer, and I co-ordinate the contracts for services. Service contracts are directly linked to the Government’s Primary Health Strategy, one of which is the prevention of family violence. (Minister of Health 2004::3) I co-ordinate the Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group, and we were successful in gaining thirty thousand dollars from the Ministry of Social Development Community Action Fund. The Wairoa family violence awareness campaign started in May 2007.

I work closely with Dr Rose Pere who, until December 2006, was a member of the PHO Board of Trustees, and who keeps me focused on the implementation of the tikanaga Maori model of practice Te Wheke, (Pere, 1991). Te Wheke is represented by the eight kawai/tentacles of the sacred octopus. It can be applied in a solidly practical way. In our Wairoa community, Maori social workers and whanau support workers are practising the application of advocacy, support and sustenance for tinana, whanaungatanga, mana ake, mauri, wairuatanga, hinengaro, whatumanawa and ha, taonga tuku iho, the tentacles of Te Wheke. Rose Pere regularly facilitates Te Wheke workshops for Wairoa health and social service workers, which are funded by the Wairoa PHO.

Hope springs eternal in my work with Rose Pere in the establishment of the newly formed Hauora Maioha, a complementary and traditional Maori healing facility, with twelve healers working together using a range of healing mediums. Much of the work being done in Wairoa, will be evidenced in the stories from the participants in my research. I have been in the community and social work terrain for thirty years, and have been a part of this shifting terrain all my life.

There are many stories in my extended whanau of abuse and harm. We have the events of the past imprinted in our genes and in our soul memories. Violence, incest and alcohol abuse continues to be a problem in my whanau. The effects of the times of my ancestors are still a living memory for me, a story I tell often to my grandchildren. I have a granddaughter who is named Naomi, another named Rowena, after my grandmother, and another named Sally, after me. I take them often to the mouth of the river Wairoa Hopupu Honengenenge Matangirau, to tell the stories.

This year in March 2007, as part of a three week South Island campervan holiday, I went back to the house near Te Anau where I lived and from whence I left in 1979. It was part of a long journey back to heal the past. My son, who eventually came to live close by me and became a flier, a Rudolf Steiner teacher and a composer of haka, was killed in a microlight accident in 2001. As a family we have done much healing with each other over the years, but my ex-husband has not spoken to me since our son was killed. I cried a lot as I drew nearer to that house and came away with a sense of clearing. My story, while unique to me, has some commonalities with the stories of other Maori and so it is important to look at the wider historical context to see the sources of these commonalities.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review takes the explored narrative and issues raised in the introduction and seeks to advance and theorise them.

1 Defining Family Violence – An Overall Perspective

It is not a simple task to define family violence. A general definition is that violence is any attempt to empower the self by disempowering the other. Even a deconstruction of the words ‘family’ and ‘violence’ does not give simple explanations.

A dictionary search revealed that the word ‘family’ has consistent definitions as “a set of relations, especially parents and children, who are descended from common ancestors” (Oxford, 1998; Websters, 1990; Chambers, 1979).

Violence is more widely described, but the common issue is the use of excessive and improper physical force. It is extended to the breaking of a sacred act, sacred place or treaty (Oxford Dictionary, 1998); treating with disrespect (Websters Dictionary, 1990) and to overcoming vehemence, injury and rape (Chambers Dictionary, 1979).

Violence has traditionally been viewed as physical, sexual, emotional, or damage to property (McMaster, 2001: 318). A wider definition developed by the Department of Social Welfare (1996:5) includes what is termed ‘psychological violence’ which includes “intimidation, harassment, damage to property, threats of physical, sexual, or psychological abuse, and (in relation to a child) causing or allowing the child to witness the physical, sexual, or psychological abuse of another person”.

2 Conventional Explanations of Family Violence

Shannon and Young (2004:12) provide a theoretical framework which can be applied to analyse and explain Maori family violence in a contemporary context. A Conservative/Liberal explanation of Maori family violence would describe the problem evolving from the deviancy of Maori as poor and bad, and needing to be punished. The poverty of Maori is seen as a result of the Maori’s poor moral character and indolence (Roper and Rudd, 1993: 227). The focus of intervention and treatment would be on teaching a lesson by convincing Maori to convert to the more civilised ways of the coloniser. Failure to change would be considered ‘deviance’ and force needed to impose changes in behaviour (Barretta-Herman, 1993: 5).

Conservative moral values must be protected and upheld. Victims of family violence, which are usually women and children, will be saved. (Shannon and Young 2004:12). The perpetrator will be punished and the women will be saved by caring volunteers, usually Christian families, who will help them to see the true values of family life. Problem families who abused their children or did not care for them properly would have their children taken from them to be placed in foster homes or children’s homes, with caring people who would teach the children ways of becoming acceptable to mainstream Pakeha society.

An explanation of Maori family violence from an Industrial Society perspective would take a generic multi-cultural perspective.(ibid). The inadequate individual is identified as the problem, unable to cope with their frustrations, lacking in the ability to control their impulses, and in need of the solution or treatment from experts. Poor people and Maori
people predominate in this group of problem persons. Because Maori family violence has become a major issue of public concern in Aotearoa New Zealand, the problem is placed in a range of contexts with a range of experts. Experts will have qualified in mainstream tertiary institutions and will be employed by the State or voluntary organisations to ‘fix’ the problem by changing the individuals behaviour.

Good outcomes from therapeutic interventions in a range of environments will result in the deviant person changing their behaviour. This explanation treats the perpetrator as a criminal so treatments will be provided to both violent men and women – in prison if the crime is severe, or in community/agency contexts if the Courts so decide. Contracts for services are designed so that perpetrators, victims and children are treated separately, even though they are usually in the same family group.

The Socialist/Radical perspective takes the focus away from the individual and a structural analysis is developed. The dominant Capitalist structures have given men the rights and the power to be violent against women and children. The solution lies in education of both men and women, so they can become conscientised as to the nature of power and control. (ibid)

The Duluth ‘Power and Control Model’ that was developed in Minnesota (Pence and Paymar, 1990) has been developed in New Zealand to the extent that it has now become the defining model for family violence intervention programmes for both men and women, Maori and non-Maori. The Duluth model describes and outlines eight areas of abusive tactics, any one of which could be used as definite description of abusive tactics. These are: intimidation; emotional abuse; isolation; minimising, denying and blaming; using children; using male privilege; economic abuse and control of money; coercion and threats.

Radical/Feminist perspectives are consistent with the structural analysis approach. McMaster (2001: 5) addresses the changes that occurred in family life as more women were employed outside the home, divorce rates increased, birth rates declined and unemployment soared. In addition, Maori left their traditional homelands and moved to the cities to seek work (Durie, 1999; McMaster, 2001).

The values and beliefs of the predominantly English society that underpinned family life in New Zealand, up until the 1960’s, began to shift. The closed family worlds, which had been private became more open. The Women’s Movement gained traction and was instrumental in connecting private troubles to public issues. Thus was the issue of family violence brought out into the open and exposed. The current focus of the Socialist/Radical perspective is evident in strengths based practice, and empowerment and advocacy services for victims of family violence.

The fourth of the four theoretical perspectives is the Alternative theory. This explanation offers insights into the dominant constructions of the world, and how they impose their definitions on subordinated groups, bent on destroying their cultural and social forms and power. Alternative theory expands on the empowerment models outlined in the Socialist/Radical perspective to include all disempowered groups, therefore Maori issues fall within this alternative theoretical perspective.

Critical theory is congruent with Alternative theory and has informed the range of indigenous Maori theory that has evolved since the 1970’s and the Maori protest movement (Eketone, 2006: 467). The Critical theory perspective, through the nature of its challenges to oppressive structures, has informed and given credence to social change
action on all levels, from whanau, hapu iwi structures, to the mainstream and dominant social, economic and political structures. Eketone has identified another strand of indigenous community development that has evolved from the work of Khyla Russell (cited in Eketone 2006:468). Russell has articulated a Native theory, which has a strengths based perspective. In essence, Russell recognises that indigenous people have the right to define things that are important to themselves, using their own ways or processes, to advance and develop on terms that are defined by themselves. Eketone (2006: 468) sees this Native theoretical perspective as ‘constructivist’, in that Maori as a whole, including specific iwi, have constructed their own realities based on world views and value bases, reshaping them according to their own realities and needs and whether or not they were useful. This theoretical perspective becomes a key determinant for accessing tools for developing alternative frameworks for working with Maori whanau when violence is a presenting issue.

3 The Dynamics of Process: How it Happens

Estes (1992:360) has some relevant points to make about rage. She comments on the way many people, but women in particular, are conditioned to ‘turn the other cheek’, that is, to remain silent in the face of injustice or mistreatment, and that this choice has to be weighed carefully. She makes a point which has great relevance for whanau Maori that silence is not serenity, but an enormous defence against being harmed. Estes believes that it is a mistake for others to think that just because a woman is silent, it also means she approves of life.

Estes does make the point that rage does need to be released: “There are times when it becomes imperative to release a rage that shakes the skies” (192:361). She qualifies this by saying that released rage has to be in response to a serious offence; the offence has to be big and against the soul or spirit, and all other reasonable avenues have to be attempted first, and that timing is important.

“There is definitely a time for full bore rage. There is a time for the gust from the gut, a time for right anger, right rage.” (1992:361)

Estes compares humans to wolves. Most of the time wolves avoid confrontation, but when they must enforce territory, when something or someone constantly hounds them or corners them, they explode in their own powerful way. This happens rarely but the ability to express this anger is within their repertoire and it should be within ours too.

“There is a time to reveal your incisors, your powerful ability to defend territory, to say ‘this far and no further, the buck stops here, and hold onto your hat, I’ve got something to say, this is definitely going to change.” (1992:363)

There is an interesting point about silence in the face of injustice, and the ‘explosion of rage’ that is manifesting in our society among Maori communities. There has been a consistent and conscious resistance and renaissance since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, but there has also been silence in the face of injustice. The violence comes from the injustice, the inability to defend territory that was stolen, and the inability to say “This far and no farther”.

4 Te Ao Tawhito –An Historical Reflection
Before I move forward into exploring which of the four explanations for Maori family violence best account for Maori family violence in our contemporary world, I want to explore the traditional Maori world.

"The myths are metaphorical of spiritual potentiality in the human being, and the same powers that animate our life animate the life of the world."

Joseph Campbell: 1988: 22

In traditional Maori society, the roles of Maori men and women were prescribed, and communal living ensured the survival of the collective, and the safety of women and children (Pere - Kaupapa ki waha, May 2007; King 2003.364; Metge 1995.70). A universal world view dominated, which acknowledged the whanaungatanga and inter-relationship of all things. The over arching principle was balance.

Tradition and culture and the importance of the value of ritual and ceremony were key determinants of maintaining balance. The concepts which dominated the Maori world view were whanaungatanga, whakapapa, manaakitanga, te reo Maori, karakia, whenua, taonga tuku iho, mana, Mana Wahine, Mana Tane, aroha, tapu, noa and matauranga (Pere, Kaupapa ki waha, May 2007; Cram et al, 2002: 123).

From 1895 through the 1930’s the broad parameters of structural strain and relative deprivation were very much at work. Land continued to be alienated. Maori farmers did try to farm commercially, but their lack of technical skills, marketing expertise and legal advice were crippling. The issue of clear land title, which underlay credit and capital availability in the Pakeha financial system, was a crucial one. Combined with an overall lack of Government support, these things prevented Maori from successfully competing with Pakeha (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, 1986: 17).

Between 1895 and the late 1930’s the government’s Maori policy was a curious blend of assimilation, paternalism, integration and exploitation. Legislation contained restrictions that reinforced the Maori’s unequal status. Children were best placed with those of the hapu or community best able to provide, usually older persons relieved from the exigencies of daily demands, but related in blood so that contact was not denied. Placements were not permanent. There is no property in children. Maori children know many homes, but still, one whanau. ‘Adopted’ children knew birth parents and adoptive parents alike and had recourse to many in times of need (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, 1986: 75).

Lambert (1925: 163) commented that the social life of the ancient Maori was extremely simple in its nature. He referred to communal Maori life as communism, which in 1925 he considered to be the curse of Maori at that time, and also the salvation of Maori whanau. He stated that all free men had equal rights, as far as property and maintenance went, and no injury could be done to one man that the whole tribe was not ready to take up and avenge, no matter how humble the man might be.

Extended Maori whanau were bound together by whanaungatanga, according to Tauroa (1979: 23). He describes whanaungatanga as a word that expresses ‘family-ness’, the binding together of the extended family through aroha and the application of turangawaewae (a place to stand where one belongs to the land). Aspects of whanaungatanga that apply to working with Maori whanau would include these concepts: the practice of aroha, of caring; of turangawaewae; the right for each family member to
speak; the responsibility to listen; the provision of support - the greater the need, the greater the support.

Orange (1990: 35-36) comments that in the 1830's Maori adoption of aspects of Western culture was happening. Traditional clothing was replaced by the blanket, shirts, dresses and pants, which were often worn in what were perceived by the Pakeha settlers as unconventional. Usually long, hair was cut shorter. The shaking of hands was often replacing the traditional hongi. Some places, such as the Hokianga (ibid), were moving towards a money economy.

Observers of Maori family life in the early 1800's have stated that Maori did not abuse their children. Maori never beat their children, but were always kind to them, and seemed to strengthen the bonds of affections which remain among Maori throughout life (Papakura, 1986).

Samuel Marsden, wrote in the early 1800's that men treated their women and children with marked affection and domestic life was harmonious. He also stated that he had observed that Maori showed “the tenderest parental affection, remarkable amongst all classes high and low in this country” (White 1998:28)

Missionary William Colenso is quoted as writing that the love and attachment of Maori parents to their children was very great; and that not merely to their own immediate offspring...

“*The father, or uncle, often carried or nursed his infant on his back for hours at a time, and might often be seen quietly at work with the ‘little one’ there safely ensconced*” (cited in White 1998:28)

Both Samuel Marsden and William Colenso were Church missionaries who had long and intimate experiences with Maori society. Marsden, in particular, did not always write favourably about Maori, but he did make the positive observation that Maori were very tender and loving towards their children.

In 1998, at a conference on child abuse, Tau Henare, made the statement “Child abuse is alien to Maori culture” (cited in White 1998:28). White argues that although Tau Henare’s statement would not please the revisionists or the racists, he was right about pre-European child rearing. Several academics came forward to back Tau Henare’s comments. In this same article Professor Anne Salmond, author of “Two Worlds, Between Worlds”, said Tau Henare was right about child abuse. She states: “What the minister said is right, and that makes me very sad” (cited in White 1998:28).

Metge (1995:264) attempted to identify patterns in the way the whanau of rural Maori communities dealt with problems of various kinds in the middle 1900’s. She identified some key issues which point out that the current state of Maori society is not due to Maori culture. Traditionally, the attitudes of Maori men and women towards their partners and children were much different. From the 1940’s to the 1960’s, senior whanau members would act quickly when they saw a threat to the wellbeing of children. Intervention was not a problem for them. They intervened promptly when they saw a threat to the safety of the whanau. The threats included such problems as irresponsible or immature parents, large families which had exhausted the energies of the parents, financial hardship and job loss, marriage break ups, re-marriage, illness or the death of one or both spouses. Relatives came along to the rescue by providing a temporary refuge and support. In earlier generations, the intervention was often unilateral. A kaumatua of the whanau directed the transfer of whanau children of families under pressure to homes
where they would receive more individual care. There was evidence in Metge’s research that where whanau were strong and well integrated, the involvement of older relatives in child raising provided an effective safeguard against abuse.

“There was pressure on parents to treat children properly because there was always someone watching, always someone there to take children if they were ill treated. The child was not your child, but everyone’s, so there was no baby-bashing” (1995: 266).

Wife beating was also dealt with by calling a whanau hui. Older and stronger men were sometimes called in to deal with the men who were abusing, to support the women who were victims, or children being abused.

Iritana Tawhiwhirangi (kaupapa ki waha, 2007) was an Honorary Welfare Officer attached to the Department of Maori Affairs in Ruatoria on the East Coast in the 1950’s. She knew who the people were in each whanau who she could call on “to go and fix up the messes”. There was no such word as confidentiality in those times, according to Iritana. The word would go out, the issue would be dealt with, and the consequences of further harm to women or children would be made clear at a whanau hui. The wider community would know what was happening and a close watch would be kept.

In my own whanau, there was a very sad event happened on the day that my mother was born in March 1918. My grandmother’s sister Mere, older than my grandmother by only one year and very closely attached to her, had died only three days before. Mere had been beaten by her husband, a Ngati Porou man, and had died when she miscarried. He had kicked her in the womb in a drunken rage. My grandmother went into labour in a state of grief and shock. My mother was born in Hastings while Mere was being buried in Te Tai Rawhiti, and she was named Mary after her aunt. The family held a hui after the funeral, and it was decided that the brothers of Mere would avenge her death. There was never any involvement with the law over the death of Mere, or the ‘utu’ exacted on her husband. But my mother was considered an important part of the healing process, and was whangai (informal adoption) to another aunt who lived in Waipiro Bay. The husband of the dead Mere was made to feel whakama (shame) because he had to watch the baby (my mother) growing up, knowing he had murdered both his wife and their unborn child.

I think it is important to note that my mother was born in 1918, and the non-involvement of the law was most likely a more common way back then of handling serious harm and violence in whanau.

Metge (1995: 269) recalls that by the 1950’s, when serious injury was involved, community representatives were bound by law to call in the police.

There is a story in my own tribal whakapapa about Tapuwae, a Wairoa chief, who was not by choice either a warrior or a fighting man (Mitchell, 1972:123). By both birth and rank he was honoured for his humanitarian attitudes and his love for his people. He lived in a time when our history was of a time when war and slaughter were the only keys to fame and power; so he stood out alone, a man of courtesy, tact and tolerance. He won the hearts of not only his own people but people from many other areas who came to visit him and to live near him. Tapuwae married the sister of Te Huki, Te Rauhina. Te Rauhina was known for her beautiful peaceful and calm ways, and was called “Te wahine korero aio a Tapuwae – the peace talking wife of Tapuwae” (ibid: 123). Te Rauhina’s pa was a refuge and sanctuary for any person who was in trouble, no matter how serious
their crime. Tapuwae encouraged this trait in his wife. This couple, with their peaceful
ways, are an inspiration and together they created a place of family refuge, a safe house.
As I have mentioned, Maori society was traditionally a nurturing and protective one,
certainly for the women and children of the whanau and hapu. It is necessary therefore to
look at what happened to cause a breakdown in these structures so that family violence
became a problem. Some have identified the process of colonisation and its associated
marginalisation as part of the explanation for this situation. (Mead 2003; Metge 1995;
Durie 2001)

Mead (2003:210) writes that the Maori people are still waiting for the majority group
in the country to reject outright the outmoded and unacceptable ideology of
assimilationist policy that Aotearoa has been in the grip of for over a hundred years.
Mead goes on to explain that under this assimilationist policy the Maori problem was to
disappear by being swallowed up into the dominant white population, leaving Pakeha
leaders and institutions firmly in charge of the whole country. Even though the
Government was quick to assert its right to govern under Article 1 of the Treaty of
Waitangi, the assimilationist policy sought actively to prevent Maori society from
asserting its rights to self government (tino rangatiratanga) under Article 2. Clearly, says
Mead, the Government is claiming more sovereignty than it was entitled to have under
the Treaty. It has, in fact, trampled on Article 2 in order to claim the sort of sovereignty it
thinks it should have. The Government has appropriated the sovereignty of the Maori
people.

The implications of the loss of mana (prestige and self-esteem) are profound and
painful. The effect of the loss can be explored in a range of different ways. For the sake
of brevity, but to make a point, suffice to say that it is this very pain that is at the source
of what Estes (1992: 359) describes as righteous rage, and the consequent acting out of
this rage which manifests in our current problems with violence today.

Contact with the European world had indeed made a great impact on Maori society.
(King 2003:920) With the European ethos came a sense of God-given racial and cultural
superiority over other peoples. Yet that contact had brought about not so much the
revolutionary change sought by some Europeans as accretions on a traditional culture that
retained its resilience and adaptability. This view is further explored by Ranginui Walker
(1990: 93) who states that after the signing of the Treaty the Pakeha behaved towards the
Maori on the assumption they held sovereignty, while Maori responded in the belief that
they had never surrendered it.

The loss of wellbeing is tracked by Kruger (2004: 3) to the process of colonisation. He
states that the consequence of colonisation is the destruction and distortion of whakapapa,
genealogy), tikanga, (values), wairua, (spiritual dimension), tapu, (restriction), mauri,
life principle), and mana, (divine right). These concepts are intrinsic to the construct of
tino rangatiratanga, (absolute sovereignty), and the loss had a huge impact. Again, I
make the reference to grief and loss, and the consequence of righteous rage, manifesting
in expressed violence. I am not saying here that this is a conscious expression, rather,
that after generations of pain and loss, there may not now even be a consciousness of
where the pain and anger comes from. Therefore it behoves anyone working in the field
of healing the hurt needs to be aware of where the hurt lies in the present, and where it
may lie in the past. This issue will be explored later. The conclusion that can be made
from this historical reflection is that family violence was not a major feature of traditional Maori society.

5 The Colonisation Process (What is the Problem?)

The continued marginalisation of Maori economically, politically and socially has led to many Maori communities being caught in a cycle of poverty and deprivation. Politicians such as Maori MP Hone Harawira believe these situations are having a terrible impact on Maori whanau. Harawira is quoted as saying that the main factors contributing to Maori violence were “high unemployment rates, poor health, lower life expectancy, poor educational achievement and in many cases, severe poverty” (Chalmers 2006:4). The loss of control over tino rangatiratanga through the colonisation process is explored by a wide range of Maori writers in a range of contemporary contexts (Cram et al, 2002:4; Jackson, 2003; Milroy, 1996; Wickliffe, 2000)

The Australian Aboriginal experience is a parallel to the Maori situation. This is clearly highlighted in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women’s Task Force Report on Violence (Mclennan & Madden 1998). The cultural fragmentation and marginalisation of Australian Aboriginal first nations have been subjected to, and the atrocities inflicted, are exposed. Colonisation and dispossession were identified as major contributing factors in the current problems of drug and alcohol abuse, violence and dysfunction in indigenous communities.

Another Maori who shares this view is Sharon Rickard (Rickard, 1998: 5). She states that Maori as a group are mainly located in the lower socio-economic bracket. Consistent with lower socio-economic backgrounds is a lower level of housing, health and education. The move from rural to urban communities is another factor relevant to whanau violence. Maori networks broke down and left many Maori isolated in urban settings without support.

Internationally Maori are not the only culture where poverty and deprivation are a major contributor to violence. Giles-Sims et al (1995) studied a group of African American mothers. These women punished their children harshly, and attributed their harsh physical punishment on their children to their being Afro-American, poor, and discriminated against because of their colour and race. These realities added stress to their parenting, and also restricted economic opportunity.

The Maori philosophical position on violence in general, and violence within families in particular, differs greatly from generally accepted Western positions, and can only be satisfactorily explained from an Alternative explanation theory expanded to include Constructivist Native theory.

6 What is Being Done About Whanau Violence?

An exploration will be made in this section of different programmes based on different explanations.

The Conservative/Liberal/Industrial Society Base

All the current programmes for family violence are defined by the experts from Wellington. The Social Development Ministry and Child, Youth and Family are involved in more than six non-violence schemes each. The Health, Women’s Affairs, Corrections and Te Puni Kokiri are also involved in one project. (Chalmers & Dewes 2006.5)
projects will cost more than $60 million over four years. A Government multi-agency task force issued its first report on plans to crack down on family violence, including increased powers to enforce protection orders, dedicated family violence courts and a $14 million awareness campaign.

Attempts have been made by services in New Zealand and overseas in the past to establish services which involved the whole family. However the dominant feature of these services was the focus on the ‘expert’ family therapist, treating the ‘bad’ or ‘inadequate’ people.

Pecora et al (1995) argue that one of the features thought to contribute to the success of ‘family based services’ is that they involve all family members in defining needs and resolving problems. The involvement of the family in an assessment of the whole family situation is also explored by Farmer and Owen (1995) in Smith (1998: 33) There is clear evidence here of attempts at developing an Alternative approach, with a definite move away from the Industrial Society approach. The researchers found that the situations the workers found themselves in were not always ideal, in reference to their research, which found that the preoccupations of risk management in child abuse cases meant there was too little time to consider the needs of the family or what should be done. There were time restraints, and cost restraints to the extra work involved in gathering the family together. Also, despite the ideal situation of working with the family to define their needs, resolve the problems, and then monitor the effectiveness of the intervention, it was found that evaluating effectiveness is a process that is hard to measure and evaluate. Yet, there was an expectation by the funders of agencies who received funding for family based services, that evaluations were necessary, in fact demanded, as evidence of effectiveness for continued funding.

Even though there are restraints, it is vital, especially when children are involved, to work with the whole family. Goldblatt (2003) presents strategies of coping among youths experiencing inter-parental violence. It is based on findings of a qualitative study, using a phenomenological perspective, aimed at understanding the meaning of inter-parental violence for adolescents. The findings of this study call for an expansion of family therapy interventions when dealing with domestic violence. It has been shown that youths in such families have a major impact on their parents’ behaviours. To understand the violent familial dynamic, it is crucial to consider this perspective and positions of youths in relation to their parents and family members.

Other complicating domestic violence issues are explored in the work of Goodman et al (2005) who address the needs of women who love their abusive partner and hope to make the relationship work. Goodman emphasises women’s safety in tandem with batterer accountability, sentencing recommendations that include substance abuse counselling, parenting classes, or other conditions that comport with a woman’s needs. The need is crucial, according to Goodman’s research, to explore community based options that are culturally sensitive and more flexibly responsive to the needs of individual women. A growing body of research demonstrates the key role of women’s social support networks in helping them stop, prevent or escape violence from their intimate partner.

The preceding pieces of research give evidence that the Conservative/Liberal/Industrial society explanation, that people are bad and inadequate, need punishment and correction, need to be protected and saved and that the catching of perpetrators is the primary focus of the Police, is still the dominant perspective that drives a family violence response.
A number of agencies in Aotearoa have sought to contribute to the reduction in whanau violence. Across New Zealand daily meetings between police, Child Youth and Family, and other social agencies are to take place to try to turn the tide of domestic violence and child abuse. (Chalmers & Dewes 2006.3) This comes as Child, Youth and Family chief executive, Peter Hughes, (cited in Chalmers & Dewes 2006.3) defends his agency’s role in the tragic death of the Kahui twins. Mr. Hughes said work was under way to establish a nationwide scheme in September 2006, with Child Youth and Family staff, police and non-government agencies meeting regularly to review and coordinate casework.

In line with this national intersectoral family violence prevention and intervention strategy, attempts are being made in the Wairoa community to improve relationships with key social service agencies. It has taken concerted efforts from members of the Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group to engage the Wairoa Police in regular meetings, which are currently held monthly.

The Conservative/Liberal/Industrial Society base has been challenged in terms of the role of the community to counter violence occurring in Maori whanau. Dr. Pita Sharples, co-leader of the Maori Party, (cited in Chalmers & Dewes 2006.3) says we all need to get real about violence. He states that everyone knows when there is violence occurring in the family, and it is time now to get brave and to face up to the huge challenge before us. His challenge is to every family to remember their role as the primary guardians of our children, that building strong communities is not the responsibility of the Police, the Courts, CYFS, or Work and Income, it is families who have to get real about the behaviour of their own. Chalmers later wrote in the Dominion Post on 31 July 2006 that nine Government agencies are involved in more than twenty family violence schemes, prompting calls for better co-ordination of services.

Another example of this approach is evidenced in a report that from the Hawkes Bay District Health Board (HBDHB) (Andrews, 2006:6). The Board claims that their groundbreaking child protection and family violence intervention programme project of treating domestic violence as a clinical issue has transformed families. New mothers are routinely quizzed about abuse, and referred to statutory or community agencies when problems are identified. “We question them while they are in hospital for other things, we have worked very hard at upskilling. We now ask as a matter of routine whether mothers are in violent relationships, who are their supports, and does anyone hit you, kick you or make you feel unsafe. The intention is to support the entire family, including abusive parents. Sometimes families conceal abuse, but often the act of presenting at the emergency department is a cry for help”, Dr. Willis said. (cited in Andrews,2006:6). Clinical and nursing staff had referred more than 2500 cases to Child, Youth and Family since the programme was implemented. This project has been so successful that it is being implemented by District Health Boards across the country. (ibid).

The Hawkes Bay project is an example of a family violence response which aligns with Industrial society theory and concurrent intervention by experts.

The Radical Base

The action of feminists in Aotearoa has resulted in the Domestic Violence Act 1995 and the repeal of section 59 of the Crimes Act. This legislation goes some way towards an attempt to legislate for a problem that is prevalent among Maori communities and families, but fails to acknowledge the legal system as part of a greater legislature of
perpetuated continuous violence perpetrated on Maori people within a colonised Aotearoa.

The underlying principal of the Radical explanation is that by changing the legal and other structures which cause family violence, we all benefit. The action of feminists has also impacted on the establishment of Men For Change programmes (McMaster 2001).

**Barriers**

There are barriers and inadequacies in all the above approaches. This is most evident in the conditions for service delivery imposed by the contracting process.

There were some very clear barriers identified by Cram et al (2002: 39) that made it difficult for Maori people to seek help. The Family Court and Civil Court system of referral was a major problem. Lawyers were identified as not being well educated in the Domestic Violence Act 1995, and not providing appropriate guidance and advice to Maori men and women for them to be able to make informed choices. Maori processes are not considered within the Court environment. One provider in the research indicated that it would be worthwhile if legislation were shaped through a kaupapa Maori process.

Another barrier that was identified (ibid) was the need for more collaboration and sharing of ideas between the Maori providers. This problem was also identified in Wairoa by Hine Kohn (kaupapa ki waha May 2007). There are a range of programmes that are contracted to Maori and mainstream providers from the Ministries of Social Development, Justice, Health and Education. Each is delivered within contractual constraints which usually mitigate against, rather than encourage, inter-provider collaboration.

Other issues as barriers to access services identified by Cram et al (2002: 40) were transport, childcare, lack of pamphlets and accessible pathways, (being reliant on services such as Women’s Refuge to refer them to the programme), whakama (shyness and shame) about being in a group with strangers. The duration of the programme was also identified as not being long enough for empowerment and insight to happen, which may also be perceived as a barrier. The majority of those interviewed noted that 12 weeks may be a good beginning but was certainly not enough for long term healing.

The programmes for Maori need to have options to take up the programme at any point, and not be restricted by time. Cram et al (ibid) recommend that the programmes should be open-ended. Also, there is no resourcing from the Courts for follow up work. The evidence from the two programmes identified in the research was that the Maori women participants were very satisfied with the kaupapa Maori programmes.

Responses of victims at a domestic violence advocacy centre indicate there are barriers to seeking help that are often overlooked by many mental health professionals (Anderson et al, 2003). In order to examine the important but unexplored area of why victims stayed in, or returned to, abusive relationships victim reports gathered at an urban domestic violence centre over twelve months are reviewed. Four barriers are explored in the mode of outwardly extending circles. The outermost barrier is the environment, representing money, and place to go. The next barrier is a lack of support from the Police and Courts, the third barrier being support from family, friends and professionals.

Cram et al (2002: 91) noted some key factors which assisted or impeded an agency based delivery of family violence services for Maori - Te Whare Ruruhau. It was seen as important that the facility be on a bus route with good parking. Another special attraction
was the factor of the whare being able to provide multiple services. By coming to the facility, a protected person could ‘pretend’ to be on another kind of mission. The women were sensitive about safety and people not knowing their business. The competency of the workers, or facilitators, was also a key factor to the success of the family violence services and programmes. In order to ensure that best practice is carried out, facilitators undergo regular supervision and are required to engage in self-evaluation, constantly appraise their own self-development, and to identify what training needs are necessary in order to improve and maintain their effectiveness as workers in the programme.

Two other major issues at Te Whare Ruruhau arose in the research. The first was the unstable nature of the funding environment. The second was the complexity of the application and funding process itself. These two issues created extra stress for the service provider in an environment that is already challenging due to the nature of the work itself in the field of domestic violence. Rather than specific services for Maori being fully resourced and developed, it was felt that such services were dissipated over a range of competing providers.

The system of approval is also complicated, lengthy and problematic. My own involvement with a local Maori provider in developing a service in Wairoa has proven extremely frustrating. The contracts for service are held by Gisborne providers, and are not adequate to serve Wairoa people. Hurae Hiko (kaupapa ki waha, May 2007) described his process with the Ministry of Justice to establish an anger management programme for Maori men in Wairoa in much the same way as the people at Te Whare Ruruhau.

A more simplified approach to the process for, and the payment of, funding would enable service providers to spend less time grappling with complex and lengthy administrative systems and more time to continue to develop comprehensive and responsive services for their clients.

The establishment of Iwi Social Services was intended to be the pathway to tino rangatiratanga. In 1992 the criticism of the Department of Social Welfare for not achieving progress in devolving resources to Maori was noted by Bradley (1995: 30-31). The monitoring of those Maori organisations who did receive funding was harsh, and the funding was never sufficient to achieve outcomes which were, in the main, determined by Crown policy. An interesting type of Maori organisation was emerging. (Walker, 1995) described them as a replacement of white bureaucracies with brown bureaucracies.

Lewis (1999:27) compares the Western perspective of anger with a tikanga Maori world view, and questions the validity and usefulness of the industry of anger management programmes in their current form. He considers tikanga as a focus on responsibility and obligation, and that anger has no place in one’s reactions to events occurring in everyday life. A Western view of anger is that the world is not revolving the way an individual wants it to therefore “You will change or I will threaten you with my anger” (ibid 27). Such a view diminishes the need for self-restraint and rational thought, the essence of tikanga Maori.

Lands, lakes, mountains and reefs are described by Durie (Durie,1998: 70) as having spiritual significance for Maori people. Durie states also that the lack of access to tribal lands and territories is regarded by tribal elders as a sure sign of poor health, since the natural environment is considered integral to identity and fundamental to a sense of wellbeing.
Hiko (Kaupapa ki waho October 2006) stated that an important task for him as a social worker with Maori men who are perpetrators of violence, is to strengthen their spirit, and that often means a return to their homelands. This involves connecting with whanaunga (extended family), awa (river) and marae, (ancestral meeting house and adjoining land. The feeling of deep humiliation and alienation from whanau, hapu and iwi support systems is at issue here for whanau Maori (traditional Maori customs, obligations and legal conditions). There are multiple barriers for Maori in all the above approaches, and most especially in the Government contracts. Maori providers are having to fit kaupapa Maori, or Alternative approaches into the Industrial Society framework, and struggling with the frustration of failure.

The Alternative Approach

Project Mauri Ora and What it Implies

Of critical importance in this study is the Mauri Ora policy document, Transforming Whanau Violence (Kruger et al 2004) which evolved specifically as a ‘by Maori for Maori’ method of working with whanau violence. This report has an interesting history. In 2002 Hon. Tariana Turia, then Associate Minister of Maori Affairs (Social Development) convened the Maori Taskforce on Family Violence. The taskforce members (above) were appointed based on their knowledge and skills acquired from working extensively in the area of family violence. The focus of the group was to address the situation of the whole family, find ways to restore a balance and heal the hurts, and empower the whole family to move forward. The Maori framework presented successfully links different components of tikanga to enable practitioners in the family violence field to interpret and apply the framework in a localised context.

Since 2002 flax roots work with Maori resulted in widespread acceptance of the report, hence the final version. A funding proposal was prepared and the framework implemented by Te Korowai Aroha. This project was called ‘Mauri Ora’, and is being piloted with iwi in ten locations over the next two years.

In his foreword to the policy document ‘Mauri Ora - Transforming Whanau Violence - A Conceptual Framework’ Parekura Horomia the Minister of Maori Affairs, states that he wants to ensure that the New Zealand Labour Government wants to invest in strong healthy people who make good, responsible future oriented choices. (Kruger et al 2004)

He goes on to state:

“We want to ensure that we are creating an environment that facilitates and supports those choices, and that choosing to have strong and healthy whanau is one of the most empowering decisions anyone can make. I support this choice.”

(Horomia cited in Kruger et al 2004.2)

The Mauri Ora Framework has evolved from the work of Maori practitioners who work in the field of whanau violence. It offers a pathway forward. It is a challenge for all who work in the field of whanau violence because, for us as Maori, violence is not normal or acceptable and never has been. Colonisation has corrupted the tikanga about whanau violence and made it very difficult to challenge all those who inflict violence to take responsibility for their actions.

The approach to a transformative process is outlined by the taskforce (ibid.16) There are
three fundamental tasks to be carried out when analysing and approaching violence. The first task is to dispel the illusion that whanau violence is normal, acceptable and culturally valid. The second task is to liberate whanau, hapu and iwi from the bonds of violence. Opportunities for violence must be removed through education for liberation. The third process is to teach transformative practices based on Maori cultural practice imperatives that transform Maori behaviours and provide alternatives to violence. Te Reo Maori, tikanga and ahuatanga Maori are all conduits for transformation from whanau violence to whanau wellbeing.

The local application of this model is intended to reside within the domains of whanau, hapu and iwi. The goals of this policy are very clearly directed at empowering Maori whanau to liberate themselves from the burden of family violence with the expectation that Maori practitioners will be involved in this liberation process. This has major implications for social work training to ensure that whanau counselling is a core curriculum subject.

Direct resourcing for Project Mauri Ora, through Te Puni Kokiri, has been approved by Cabinet and Te Kowowai Aroha is the budget holder. Agreement to support, in principle, sustainable funding for continuation of Project Mauri Ora will be dependant on the satisfactory evaluation of the pilots which were to be done in 2006.

A key practice issue that has emerged is that the framework is opposed to many of the current practices and interventions for addressing whanau violence. Project Mauri Ora seeks to work with the victim, the perpetrator and their respective whanau to restore whanau wellness.

This perspective was promoted by Balzer and McNeill (1988). They recommended that Maori needed to participate significantly in addressing domestic violence from a cultural perspective, and stated that any rehabilitation process for Maori men must be inclusive of positive Maori identity. The process must promote the whanau as an institution which supports, as well as sanctions, behaviour. The writers of the Mauri Ora report state that many of the legislative and Government policies that give licence to intervene in cases of whanau violence undermine whakapapa and tikanga practices.

A British study (Featherstone and Peckover, 2007:181) showed the need to engage fathers who had been violent, (the clients/perpetrators), in ongoing service development and delivery. The authors state that because fathers are constructed as perpetrators or offenders, their identities as fathers remain invisible, and make it very difficult to engage with them in possible parenting and partnership relationship changes. As a consequence, opportunities to engage with violent fathers are lost. The authors also argue (Featherstone and Peckover 2007:197) that as part of offering better interventions to women and children, men as fathers need to be engaged with also, and that work with men must include safety planning for women and children. Inclusive with this intervention planning there must be a fight for appropriate funding for all of it, through policy discourses, rather than the current collusion with government rationing practices.

A Positive Place for Maori Cultural Identity

Harry Walker (1995.26) lists a number of courageous past and present Maori who stood up to, and fought against, oppression. For Harry, courage is facing danger and risking being unpopular. Being brave is to take risks, being brave is to be free, but it is important to bring about greater wellbeing.(ibid)
Tamati Kruger (Kruger 2004:3) attributes the loss of Maori wellbeing to the process of colonisation. He states that the consequence of colonisation is the destruction and distortion of whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana. The reclamation of these constructs requires Maori practitioners working in the family violence field to be grounded in all the above. This opinion is reinforced by a Te Puni Kokiri report (1996), that an expectation for practitioners working in the field of whanau violence is that they have taken advantage of opportunities to learn Te Reo and Tikanga Maori. This document has a focus on the strength in believing in yourself as Maori. If this is a process and journey which the practitioner has as an expectation with Maori whanau to engage in, then first the process must happen with oneself. First Maori practitioners must come to grips with their heritage and culture and be comfortable with who they are as Maori and be proud of it, then the strength and confidence will follow and flow.

Mason Durie (Durie 2001:174) is another that asserts that to work with Maori whanau, practitioners do need to know how to enter the Maori world. He states that it is not necessary for those who work with Maori to be wise in the ways of the tribal elders but that an understanding of, and access to Maori knowledge and resources – language, marae, mahinga kai, whakapapa and whanau, is essential.

iii The Community Network Approach

An article in the Whakatane Beacon (5 July 2006: 10 [author unknown]) states that changing the attitudes and the behaviours that have allowed family violence to continue is a priority for community action. Action to prevent, and ultimately eliminate, family violence needs the co-ordinated efforts of committed individuals, community groups, leaders of civic, business and sporting enterprises, Government agencies and politicians at local and national level. It is work that will take time, patience, courage and positive energy. It is about everyone playing their part and believing it can be done.

So far Wairoa has not benefited from the Mauri Ora project. “Our most competent Maori workers have been captured and taken away by the Mauri Ora roopu, and they are not here to help us work with our own”, comments Rose Pere (Kaupapa ki waha, May 2007).

Russell Bishop (1999) pays tribute to Rose Pere when discussing the concept of correct kawa. He refers to the importance of doing things right according to the rules and protocols of tikanga, laid down by our ancestors.

Project Mauri Ora has piloted the framework over a two year period from 2004 to 2006 with iwi in ten locations. The pilot sites have covered rural, provincial and urban sites. There is intention that the work that flows from these pilots will inform Government’s wider family violence prevention work. It is my intention that this participant action research of mine in Wairoa will be a vehicle to bring about positive whanau change in my home area, and contribute in some way to the shared quest across Aotearoa for whanau wellbeing.

iv This Research Programme Process

The Hawkes Bay District Health Board initiative has not yet been extended to the Primary Health sector, and to the general practices. It is very much a hospital based service, and fits most definitely within the Industrial Society theoretical framework. (Shannon & Young 2004) The Wairoa General Practice teams identified family violence as a clearly identifiable issue, which came regularly into their work. I
was asked to co-ordinate some discussion with people in Wairoa who had a connection to family violence, and a public meeting was called. A wide range of people turned up, and the Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group was formed in May 2006. Local solutions to local problems, and a ‘Wellness Coaching’ approach became the priority of the group. Wairoa faces many isolation problems because of the difficulties we face in getting health resources to the community. Wairoa is a rural and predominantly Maori community.

The Kahungunu Iwi Violence Free Strategy was launched mid October 2007 in Heretaunga (Hastings) and is aimed at getting to the root of whanau violence. Mereana Pitman is the co-ordinator of this strategy, and was in Wairoa on the 11 October 2007 to launch the strategy in Wairoa. Research will be the key to the Kahungunu Violence Free Iwi Strategy, which will aim to ask Maori how they want to deal with family violence and how they have dealt with it in the past. It will also ask people who their first point of contact was when seeking help to deal with violence. “Some people are reluctant to access mainstream organisations” (Pitman - kaupapa ki waha, October 2007).

The strategy has an Alternative base, as it differs from Government-led strategies because it favours family as a whole, rather than as individual members. In the current order of things, in Government-led programmes the offender gets to be the main focus and the victim gets the focus as well, but not the whole family. The context in which the violence occurs is not addressed. Government violence prevention strategies work in silos; they take away the man, they take away the woman, there is no focus on the family. Family violence among Maori is historic but current initiatives fail to recognise the link. After twenty six years of working with Maori, Mereana says that if you are dealing with a family that has suffered violence, nine times out of ten it has happened in the past (ibid).

The Kahungunu Violence Free Iwi strategy will be taken to central points where marae and hapu can meet to discuss the initiative. People in Wairoa responded to the korero and invitations were extended to Mereana to hold hapu hui at local marae. The expectation of those who invited Mereana is that she will help them to raise the conscience and awareness of the strategy, and then support people in their own community with solutions and to explore what violence in their own community looks like.

A new strategy aimed at addressing family violence in the Wairoa district has been endorsed by the Wairoa District Council’s Maori committee. Hurae Hiko, a committee member (Hiko June 2006) presented a report to the committee on behalf of the Ngati Kahungunu Violence Free strategy, saying there needed to be better ways of dealing with the problem from a Maori perspective, as opposed to the Court system fining or jailing people.

The Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group has collated a Family Violence Referral Directory and Pathway, which has been widely distributed and is now in its second printing. This has been funded by the Ministry of Social Development Community Action Fund, and includes both mainstream and Maori providers. Of special note is the inclusion of two kaupapa Maori providers, who are funded with Ministry of Health Services to Improve Access (SIA) funding. Members of the Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group are also working with gang leaders, working on a strategy in which they can respond to needs of their own gang whanau, and raise awareness on violence prevention.

As one of their members put it to me at a recent hui at a local marae, “There’s no mana in doing a lag for beating up on our women and kids” (Kaupapa ki waha, September
2007 – name withheld on request)
It had come to the notice of members of the Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group that there was a very low referral rate following domestic violence incidents, despite the police asserting that family violence was a major problem in Wairoa. The issue was discussed with the police, and as a result the police now note and record the names of children who had witnessed family violence. Also, the Wairoa police are now meeting fortnightly with a range of agencies, including the Child, Youth and Family social worker, community providers and a kaupapa Maori provider. Although this Police response does not fit with my own commitment to Alternative action as a Primary Health worker, the families and children who are experiencing serious family violence now have access to kaupapa Maori services. The Police are also working outside the narrow parameters of their role. Some men, in particular those who are deemed by the Police to be in the ‘mild to medium serious assault’ category, are given the option to attend a kaupapa Maori programme as an alternative to appearing before the court.
The most treasured outcome of the Family Violence Focus Group has been the collaboration and support that has resulted in sharing our stories. We are finding that we are achieving a lot by just coming together and working in an informal way. This Community Action model of practice most effectively describes the way I work, and is closely aligned to the Alternative approach. (Shannon & Young 2004).
According to Sabol et al (2004) the complexity of neighbourhood and community influences on violence can best be understood through multi-method, multi-disciplinary approaches. With the development of the Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group, of which the writer is the co-ordinator, the question that requires further exploration is whether there is a need for Maori driven research at a community level, with a multi-disciplinary partnership perspective to address the complex issues in neighbourhoods and communities, especially Maori whanau violence. This issue is explored further by Koverola et al (2003), who state that children exposed to domestic violence are caught in the cross fire between their parents; they have often also been caught in the cross fire between the disciplines and ideologies of those who intervene on behalf of victims. The interagency approach provides opportunity for groups to actually enter into meaningful dialogue, with a focus on the rights of Maori under the second Article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi that could inform the ‘experts’ in the relevant disciplines in the research pertaining to Maori whanau and children exposed to domestic violence. The Wairoa group has the potential to further develop this concept. It is the hope of the writer that this research may go some way towards achieving such an outcome.

The Key Themes
Why we have a problem with Maori violence?
Every Maori person has a story, and the seeds of insight and understanding to heal our past and move forward in a non-violent future are within the history of all Maori people. Family violence is a big problem in New Zealand, and most of it goes unreported. There are barriers to overcome because delivery systems in the family violence intervention processes are supported by entrenched colonial and racist mentalities. Most Government agencies are already involved in more than 20 family violence schemes, prompting calls for better co-ordination of services.
Despite a great amount of time and money being spent on trying to fix the problem of whanau violence, nothing has worked for Maori.

What needs to be done?
Family members should be involved in defining needs, resolving problems and evaluating effectiveness. Interventions and healing need to involve the whole whanau. Healing our history requires a systematic and consistent analysis of colonisation, alongside a Maori discourse on whakapapa. The family violence services contracting process in its present form must be developed by whanau and hapu, and a funding stream committed to the process over the long term.

The Research Questions
What does a kaupapa Maori approach have to offer Maori whanau? How can I (or anyone) develop a kaupapa Maori approach?
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

I gathered material on treatment programmes for victims and perpetrators of family violence, and read widely from New Zealand and offshore sources. There is so much written about domestic violence that I often became overwhelmed by it all. I needed wise counsel from my kaumatua, Rose Pere, to keep my focus on what was before my eyes, what I was touching and feeling with my participants, and to link the literature into the reality of now.

The media watch required a discipline that did not come easily to me. From February to November 2006 I cut out articles from the Dominion, the Gisborne Herald and the Wairoa Star. I pasted them into three scrap books. Over the summer of 2006 and 2007 I read them all and wrote what I felt was an honest analysis of the written media’s account of family violence in New Zealand.

Finally I combined my own story, the interviews, the literature review and the media watch.

My commitment to the research participants is that when this thesis is submitted, I will give them all an individual copy of the completed work.

This is a piece of qualitative research. The qualitative approach is described by Davidson and Tolich (1999 cited in Smith 2004:348) as an assumption of reality that is socially constructed with a purpose that understands the research participants perspective. The approach to the research is always from someone’s perspective, searches for patterns, has a minor use of numbers, and a descriptive write up. The researchers role is one of personal involvement and partiality, with empathetic understanding. This approach most accurately described my methodology.

The starting point is my strong personal interest in Maori whanau violence. It stems from my work as a social worker, refuge collective member, social work educator, and in my current role. I work for the Wairoa Primary Healthcare Organisation, and one of my tasks is to establish violence prevention and intervention services for Maori whanau in this community.

My own experience in the field of social work practice, and in the domain of family violence in particular, led me to choose this topic for my research. By starting from my own experience, and my interest in finding more information about the things that concern me, I became a researcher. This methodology is consistent with that described by Kirby and McKenna (1989: 17) as based on the belief that we must include our own experience and understanding as part of doing the research. Thus I invested part of myself in the process of creating new information.

"Most of us have not had the opportunity to research, to create knowledge which is rooted in and representative of our experience. We have been excluded from participating in, describing and analysing our own experience of reality."
Kirby & McKenna (1989:16)

In choosing a qualitative research methodology I was influenced by the phenomenological approach described by Craig Smith (2004:347). Social work practitioners, researchers and theorists see the world as consisting of multiple realities which are interconnected and interdependent; a set of social constructions that are
discovered by an interactive researcher who is certainly not value free. The phenomenological approach influenced my design of a research methodology captured within a qualitative research framework. This approach enabled me to explore the narratives of a group of people who agreed to explore their lived experiences. Our worlds were explored in a way that was subjective.

The exploration of quantitative data on family violence in New Zealand was an influence in the research approach. Davidson and Tolich (1999 cited in Smith 2004: 348), describes the quantitative approach as beginning with a hypothesis and theories, having causal explanations, with identifiable and measurable variables. This description has consistency with the methodology of my research. But it would be correct to say that the qualitative methodology dominated the research process.

The Treaty of Waitangi, the founding document of partnership in Aotearoa/New Zealand, influenced the ethical process underpinning this research, and was an important reflective guide for planning, undertaking, design, analysis and reporting.

The first article of the Treaty (the Kawanatanga/Governance principle) influenced my responsibility as a researcher to manage (or govern) the research process ethically and efficiently, with informed consent from the participants.

The second article (the Tino Rangatiratanga/Sovereignty principle) ensured that the research participants retained sovereignty over their stories and themselves, and gave them the right to withdraw at any time during the research process.

The third article (the Oritetanga/Participation principle) ensured that a focus was kept on the relationship I had with the Otago University Maori ethics committee and the Social Work Department guided my research.

Smith, L (1990, cited in Smith, C. 2004) describes four models of research with Maori.

The first is the ‘Tiaki’ (Mentor model) where the researcher is guided by an authoritative Maori. In this research my mentor was Dr. Rose Pere.

The second is the ‘Whangai’ model (Adoption model) where the researcher becomes part of the whanau. This applies to my research in a lesser degree, as I was already a part of the whanau group of participants. They were people who knew me, and were familiar with the kaupapa of the research.

The third is the ‘Power Sharing’ model, where community assistance is sought to form a partnership with the researcher. This model applies to my methodology in respect of the relationship that existed between myself and my community, including whaau, hapu and iwi community, and with the social service providers at another level.

The fourth is the ‘Empowering Outcomes model’ where research is targeted to providing answers to questions identified by Maori, and for what Maori wish to know. It is this fourth model which has most influenced the research methodology, in the fervent hope that the research will be of use to Maori practitioners and providers in gaining resources for future work in the family violence terrain.

From the data on family violence in Aotearoa, my own personal story, and a search of the literature, two questions evolved:

What does a kaupapa Maori approach have to offer Maori whanau?

How can I (or anyone) develop a kaupapa Maori approach?

The process which I followed is described by Mead (Mead 2003:317) as one of approval.
seeking from both the University of Otago ethics committee, the Otago University Maori ethics committee and permission from the hapu and iwi to which I belong. In this stage of approval seeking, the primary ethical issue is that tikanga Maori underpins this whanau, hapu and iwi based research. Mead (ibid) states that traditional attitudes to knowledge have a direct bearing on rangahau (research) practices. Mead (ibid) calls this the tikanga of research.

I began this study because it provided me with the opportunity to add my voice to research on family violence in Aotearoa. A framework for this process was based on time to talk about the past, time to talk about what was happening for them now, and time to think about, or foretell what could happen in the future. Thus the questions posed to each participant were based on the stories of their past and present experiences, and ended with a discussion on where they thought future interventions would most benefit the healing process for whanau Maori.

The interviews were conducted with two groups of people. The first group were five Maori men and five Maori women who have experienced violence, as victims and/or perpetrators and whose names have been kept confidential. This was their preference. The participants in this first group were drawn from the Wairoa and Te Tairawhiti regions, and are people with whom I had a prior connection, or who made contact with me when they became aware of my research topic. This selection of participants is most aptly described by Shipman (1988) as a method whereby the researcher picks the people in the sample. The chosen people are chosen because they are rich in information, and are willing to share in-depth stories of their experience. It is this experience of issues around their participation in gender specific family violence programmes which will enable a great deal to be learned about issues of central importance to the research.

In selecting this first group of people the aim was to investigate the perspectives of Maori men and women who have been involved in social service programmes when domestic violence has been the presenting problem. While much has been written about domestic violence, and services have been made available for both perpetrators and victims, these services have been gender specific, rather than whanau specific in focus. This project seeks to investigate the experiences of Maori men and women who have received gender specific services, to identify their understanding of their experiences.

The second group of participants were three kuia - Rose Pere, Hine Kohn and Iritana Tawhiwhirangi. These three women are well known to me. They have had a long journey through to their current wisdom, and agreed to their names being put to their stories. Rose has published extensively as an educator, and is active in New Zealand and overseas as a lecturer and trainer in the practice of tikanga Maori in a range of social services. She has been very supportive of the work in Wairoa to establish health services which are developed and delivered with tikanga Maori and tino rangatiratanga at the core. I am honoured that she has added her story to the project.

Iritana Tawhiwhirangi is my sister-in-law, and until she retired two years ago, was the founder and Chief Executive Executive officer of Te Kohanga Reo National Trust. But it was her role as a Maori Welfare Officer in the Wellington region in the 1960-1970 years that formed the story that she offered to me for this project. The work that was done back then by Iritana was whanau focused, with Maori families, most from the East Coast region, who had been part of a major urban drift. It is this story, of whanau based services, before the advent of Women’s Refuges, that offers an interesting comparison to
consequent gender based responses to family violence.

Hine Kohn worked in Wairoa for many years as a Child, Youth and Family social worker. During this time Hine set up Wairoa Victim Support and Te Kai Awhina Trust. These are Non Governmental Organisations which Hine co-ordinates. The focus of their service is whanau based work. Hine has a deep and profound knowledge of the Wairoa community and her story is critical to understanding the past, the present, and what may evolve in the future of whanau based services in Wairoa.

I wanted to find a pathway into this research that would honour the voices of the people who had promised me their stories. The original thesis arose from a practical objective of finding out, from Maori people who had experienced violence, and been involved in treatment programmes, whether it was working. The interviews generated interest also from Maori who were involved as providers to Maori clients in a range of media – healing through massage, one to one counselling and group work, advocacy, and whanau support.

I wanted to honour the people who had been part of my own journey. A journey which incorporates this thesis, and explores my own and others growth, healing and learning. I wanted to honour the privilege I have had of insider knowledge.

"Research is primarily about forming and managing social relationships. It is about the things you do as much as the things you say. To investigate well in New Zealand requires insider knowledge" (Davidson and Tolich, 1999:3).

The methods used arose from a need to work within a Maori cultural context, with some expectation that the details of that process would provide useful guidelines for future work in the field of whanau violence.

The context entails us as Maori controlling our own stories, and the stories evolving from our diverse experiences. The interview process takes place in a specific Maori rohe (region), where I live and work amongst my own whanau, hapu and iwi. There are inherent protocols regarding the care and protection of the stories, which focus on respect for the harm that has been felt, on emotional, spiritual, mental and physical levels.

I wanted to ask a range of Maori men and women how they felt about their experience of violence, whether as victims or perpetrators or both. I wanted to ask how it was for them now compared to how it had been in the past, and what they felt should be done in the future to make things better and safer for them and their whanau.

Davidson and Tolich (1999: 21) state that research should always be tailor made – that the method the researcher uses depends on the questions being asked, the theory involved, and the people they are being asked of. This is referred to as the reality principle. I wanted to keep a focus on this reality principle, and to keep my questions simple and open.

The questions were based on asking – What was your past experience of violence? What is happening for you now? What do you think should happen in the future?

In asking about the past, my intention was to explore what their whanau world was like for them as a child: to explore what their own whanau values were in terms of dealing with upsets, hara (anger): to then move onto their reflections - now that they are looking back - as to what they thought was the cause of their problems. The final step was to move into problem solving, being solution focused on what needs to happen to make
whanau Maori safe and violence free.

I want to return now to the beginning of my research process. I asked permission from kaumatua to conduct the research, and began to establish a network of resource people to participate in the study. Most of the research participants were already known to me, but I was very open to people who came to me when they heard what I was doing being included in the research.

I started out intending to interview four Maori women and four Maori men. But always an opportunist, I was able to interview other people who approached me when they became aware of my research and wanted to contribute. These were Wairoa practitioners who are an integral part of the family violence service terrain. They added value to the research, and their contribution led me into becoming very involved in a Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group.

I contacted each participant by phone to make a time to meet. Voice contact rather than a written approach was a cultural imperative. I outlined the nature of the research and a meeting was arranged. This enabled a more detailed explanation to be made, so that a full understanding of the process could be our priority.

Two interviews were conducted in a private room at my workplace during work hours. Five people were interviewed at my own home, and five in their homes. The small tape recorder was placed on a table, and we talked across it.

My own experience of working in the field of family violence, both as a practitioner and as a social work educator, had led me to believe that there was not very much work being done with the whanau as a group. I wanted to test the hypothesis, that whanau work was being done in a subversive way. I was not sure whether this was because of the individual nature of the contracting for services process, which seemed to be mostly individually structured. And the subversive nature of the work by those who did work with the whole whanau was because of the compliance to data collection processes, with a focus on individual outcome measurement.

A dilemma for me was that I had shifted from an original intention to gather narratives, analyse them, and write them up—to becoming a social action researcher, and struggled to maintain my focus. By this time I had completed all the interviews, and chose not to interview any more people.

The age range of the participants was from 32 to 71 years. All were very co-operative and keen to share their stories.

Because of the length of time that I had known these people, trust had already developed. The interviews often took a lot longer than I had anticipated, with stories sometimes taking off into what seemed like irrelevant anecdotes. But when I listened to the tapes, my patience and perseverance was obviously worthwhile. What I thought were ramblings turned out to be relevant and precious. My interview style allowed a lot of control to the participants in that they were able to control the way that the interview was conducted. At all the interviews I provided food, whether at my home or theirs, in accordance with the Maori tradition of maunga a ringa (food prepared with my own hands).

My aim was that each participant would take part in a 54 to 60 minute taped interview, discussing their involvement in violence treatment programmes and their perceptions of that involvement. Consent forms were signed by each participant.

The focus of the interview was on healing and mana enhancement of whanau relationships. In order to reduce possible anxiety that may have resulted from the
interview process, it was made clear to the participants that what was told to me was strictly confidential, and that no participant would be able to be identified when the final report was written. I made it clear to participants that I would be available for follow up discussions, awhi, and support if related concerns arose.

In the event of a participant getting really upset, I was confident that my skills and 25 years experience in dealing with family violence would come to my aid to manage such an occurrence. Also, local counsellors and a kaumatua were approached and gave consent for their names to be provided as an alternative option.

Because the information gleaned was of a personal nature centred on their reflective feelings, formal rituals of encounter were applied to ensure that feelings were contained. This process is called “Whakakohikohi nga Kaupapa”. It is a process of collecting and gathering information using a kaupapa Maori process. (Baker 1999)

The first stage of the process is the karanga (call). In the context of the interview this is a time when we touch each other in a deeply respectful and spiritual way. The second stage is whakawatea, in which a safe passage is created towards the expression of our thoughts and feelings. Further rituals of encounter that facilitate this safe passage include karakia (blessings and greetings) which include reference to significant events and people. Whakawatea enables us to draw the spirits of our tipuna (ancestors) around us, to give our interview) another dimension of protection, and thus facilitate trust. We honour each other for our being together, and we check out any tense feelings. It was important for me to manage this process, to be able to give permission for the whakawatea to be a full experience and not restrict this safe pathway.

The third stage is whakatau, in which the spiritual energy is warming and trust is developing. This was sometimes the time in which we shared a cup of tea and food, as a ritual of bringing to an end and making noa (free from tapu/restriction) our first stages of our ritual of encounter. Because the whakawatea stories have a way of allowing remembered harm of the participant to emerge, this is a good time for the prioritising of time and focus for the remainder of the interview to be clarified.

The fourth stage is whakawhitiwhiti korero, in which each participant is given free and uninterrupted time to tell their story. Issues are explored as they arise.

The fifth stage is whakamohio. As we share and listen attentively to each other’s korero we become enlightened and understand. From the puna (wellspring) of our inner wisdom comes insight, and ideas emerge on how we can proceed. We can now state, as a result of having reflected openly and honestly, in an environment of spiritual safety and trust, that we have understanding.

The sixth stage is whakamarama me whakamahi. This is a time when we clarify that our whitiwhiti korero has opened up our creative energy, that our process has been an empowering one, and worthy of a sense of wellbeing and relief. We acknowledge what we are going to do in the future. We acknowledge that we have the ability to accurately foretell, without bias, what will happen if we follow the pathway that has opened up as a result of our interview.

The seventh and final stage is whakahutia to kaupapa. Our interview is brought to a close. We summarise our time together and I explain that the transcript of the interview will be returned to the participant for checking, to ensure that what was written accurately reflected their views. It was stressed that the information is owned by the participant, and that if they decided to withhold the information, the tape would be destroyed.
I had initially intended to hold focus group hui if more people wanted to participate. Because the Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group was meeting monthly throughout the duration of this project, I was able to discuss aspects of the research with this group, and have made a commitment to present the group with the research outcomes and recommendations. Ultimately, it is this group who will carry the research to the next stage if the recommendations are to be actioned. The project will concretise when the whariki (weaving of warp and weft story threads) becomes a plan of action for future service delivery in Wairoa in the field of whanau violence. It is this collaboration of researcher, whanau consumers, and whanau providers that is represented in the metaphor of whariki.

There were times when I had powerful emotional reactions to the stories being told to me. My own experience and training as a counsellor helped me make myself transparent and open to sharing my feelings, and we would stop for a while to process shared feelings. It was usual for us to cry together. One time I went with the person I was interviewing to the beach, to sprinkle water over ourselves, and say a blessing.

In my new job in the field of primary health care, I had the opportunity to co-ordinate the Wairoa Family Violence Focus Group, so I was again blessed with the opportunity to add to my research the voices of a diverse group of people. Actually, by this time, eight months into the research project, it was all getting a bit out of hand. It seemed that the energies all over the planet, the war in Lebanon, the death of the Kahui twins, were all part of my research process. Managing all this energy and information was not getting any easier.

Conversations and supervision with Rose Pere helped me to understand the universal big picture planetary influences. Being with my grandchildren kept me grounded and grateful for the simple daily routines of family life.

All the people I interviewed were comfortable about being recorded on audio tape. I was agreeably surprised at this acceptance of modern technology. I taped the conversations with my participants, and then transcribed them. I gave the written edition of their stories back to them to read and edit. Within a six month period I had interviewed seven Maori women, one Pakeha woman, and four Maori men.

My paramount responsibility as an ethical researcher was to ensure that they were treated with sensitivity and respect, that their stories were treasured, their privacy left intact. All spoke of their hope that the research would be useful when made available to the wider Maori community.

The final task in this methodology is to tie all the stories and voices together. I have a link through whakapapa to all the participants, for Rose Pere has frequently reminded me of how we are all linked to each other through universal genesis. This written account of a years work on paper belongs to them, and must be gifted back to add value to their lives and work – to enhance the mana of all the people we touch in the whanau. The conclusions and recommendations will tie it all together. As Joan Metge (1995:90) has so aptly said, “One of the functions of whakapapa is to funnel the relation between past, present and future, and tie it all together”.

I struggled a lot with the literature search, and rewrote it five times. The final result was a gathering of material before, during, and even to the day before this work was submitted in final copy. My search into the history of Maori whanau violence took me into the realms of inter-generational historical effects of colonisation, into the written
stories of grief, rage, pain and loss of land, language and culture. As I undertook the interviews these realities were painful for me and the participants. I had tissues on hand always, and our tears were healing.
CHAPTER FOUR
PARTICIPANTS' PERSPECTIVES ON WHANAU VIOLENCE

The stories of the participants have been analysed and clumped into themes. These themes correlate to the themes that evolved from the literature review, with some additions.
I interviewed five Maori men and five Maori women, and one Pakeha woman, who had participated in self or Court referred family violence intervention programmes, either as abusers or victims. Of these ten people, two men and two women are now working voluntarily in the family violence terrain in Wairoa or the outlying rohe.
I also was privileged to interview three prominent Maori women, Hine Kohn, Iritana Tawhiwhirangi and Dr Rose Pere, who were happy to have their names put to their stories. I have included these three women's stories in this part of the thesis rather than the literature review because it seemed to fit better, and the themes were relevant to the other participants.

1 Exploring the Whakapapa of Violence
The process of colonisation underpins the whakapapa of whanau violence. A number of themes emerged. They include the impact of introduced Christian religions, the exodus of Maori whanau to the cities where they were “pepper potted” (Hunn Report 1960 in King 2003:482) into suburbs with other manual workers. The Hunn report gave official recognition to the fact that Maori urbanization was occurring and that the unpreparedness for it was creating difficulties in New Zealand towns and cities. (King 2003:482) In particular there were no government initiatives at this time to arrest the decline in Maori language and the erosion of Maori culture. (King 2003:483). The urbanization process caused the loss of support systems and rules of behaviour that had been in place for centuries. (Tawhiwhirangi, Iritana, 2006, kaupapa ki waho)
The effects of colonisation are still being felt today in many Maori whanau. The humbling and precious stories that emerged from my interviews mirrored my own process, and reinforce the importance of the need for Maori to reclaim a healing process that is grounded in the ways of the old people. While some of the people I interviewed have a very clear and articulate structural and political analysis, others are nearer the other end of the spectrum and still struggling to find understanding and forgiveness, for themselves and their own behaviour, and for others.
I started this research because I had insider knowledge that current family violence intervention programmes being delivered to Maori are not working. In Wairoa, where I live and work, the majority of family violence programmes are being delivered by people who visit Wairoa one day a week from Gisborne. They applied for and received contracts from the Ministries of Justice and Social Development to provide family violence services in Wairoa without having to ask, “What does Wairoa need?” All the services are gender specific, and none of these visiting providers work with the whole whanau.
Hine Kohn is the exception. She co-ordinates local Victim Support and the Whanau Awhina Trust and has an extensive and in-depth knowledge of the Wairoa community. She has lived for most of her life in Wairoa and also worked as a Child, Youth and Family social worker. She admits that her own involvement has caused recipients of her
services to avoid her and the services she co-ordinates.
If one is to accept that the solution to a problem can be found in the problem, (Hine Kohn, kaupapa ki waha 2006) then the solution to whanau violence, indeed all the unwellness of Maori in Wairoa, then we have at the heart of our community, our own solution. And at the heart of the solution is the need to heal the wounded heart. The spiritual, mental, physical and emotional healers are within our midst. The challenge is to reclaim our own ways of healing. (Pere, Rose 2006 Kaupapa ki waho)
Abusive parents and stormy parental relationships were common to most of the participants. The descriptions of the expressed rage were mostly about the participants fathers.
A Maori women stated:
“One time my father beat me so I became bruised all over, when I was expelled from school. I normalised the violence, accepted it, and kept it secret. It did not occur to me to tell anyone about the violence”.
The same woman explained the nature of the violence further:
“He would swear, scream, or use physical punishment if our behaviour did not meet his expectations, and break furniture and dishes when he was in a rage”.
A Maori man who had been referred by the Court to an anger management programme talked of how he had recognised when his behaviour had become abusive, how he had turned into his father who he hated:
“Our father was violent to all our family, my mother, brothers and sisters, all their lives, and because of him we all ran away at an early age”.
Mothers were mostly described as loving, passive and kind, in contrast to the abusive fathers. A Maori man described his mother:
“My mother was warm, affectionate, and encouraging.”
Another Maori man stated:
“Mother was very quiet, and she put her whole life into her children”, and went on to say:
“I loved my mother. She did her best to make life comfortable for her family”.
A Maori woman talked emotionally about her childhood:
“As a young child I would often get into bed with my parents, on my mother’s side of the bed, and she would put her arm around me”.
An older Maori man described his mother:
“My mother was a quiet and beautiful woman”.
All the participants described the process of uncovering the whakapapa of their abuse as being very painful. Both men and women talked of the spiritual pain and loss in their past, and the past of their parents and grandparents as well. A Maori woman, who has consequently become a therapist after participating in a range
of healing processes, described her journey to recovery within a kaupapa Maori healing group for both men and women:

“I had to deal with the spiritual abuse as well as the mental and physical abuse, and I reclaimed my culture within a group. At first I could not grasp the concept of whanau, it was too painful, the loss too great. When it did happen I cried for days. I could not control it, having blocked the pain for so many years. It came gushing out. I would talk and cry, and others would do the same”.

The impact of Christian religion was another common theme in the stories. For most of the participants this was perceived as a negative influence on their early life. A Maori women described the religious influence in her whanau:

“My mother was mentally and emotionally abused, my father using standover tactics, using his power as a religious man, a Jehovah Witness minister. We were all taught that it was right that our father used a rod, as in the bible. That children were to be seen and not heard... My father would state ‘I am God and this house is my castle. You will follow my laws’.”

One participant refers to the positive influence of the Mormon church on his parents when they were older, and he was an adult:

“He only stopped beating up on us, and my mother, after I had given him a hiding for beating his grandchildren. He took stock of himself and joined the Mormon Church. He only stopped being violent because he got too old for it.”

Another Maori woman spoke of the influence of religion in denying her of Marae life, which she remembers before it was stopped by the Church:

“The head of the Jehovah Witness Church in the United States outlawed the marae and the Maori culture because they said we were talking to spirits, it was evil and it was black magic. I went to a tangi with my Nanny who would speak Maori around us and tell us lots of stories. I only heard her karanga once before she died, we went with her, one of Mum’s brothers had died, and that was the only cultural experience I remember. After that the Americans outlawed us going onto Marae. We didn’t understand. I am still angry about all those years that I lost because of my parents’ religion... Only recently have I been able to talk with my mother about the loss of the Maori world to the religion. My father will not talk about it.”

Learned passive behaviour was a common theme. Participants told of feeling totally tense, holding their feelings in, escaping to their room or the hills, kicking and punching walls, to try and manage their pain.

Adolescent rebellion to the violence was a theme common to both the men and women. One man spoke of his breaking point when he was 16:

“My father broke my younger brother’s nose when he was resisting being locked in the garage. It was for some minor thing, and I gave my father a hiding.”

Another hit his father with a baseball bat when he was ten, and this was seen as abnormal for a child so young:

“Next thing I am a state ward and have been sent off to this borstal.”
2 Seeking Help

There were a wide range of stories about how participants sought help. For most of the men they were directed to a Justice Department contracted anger management programme after beating their partners and appearing in Court. Others sought out an anger management programme themselves. A Maori man stated:

“I went to anger management because I was scared of hurting my wife, who was pregnant with our first child. I found the experience very scary, and cried a lot.”

Another Maori man described the influence of his daughter on his decision to seek help:

“My teenage daughter was living with me after my wife left because of my violence. She had a big influence, and encouraged me to seek help. I was very depressed at this time.”

Two men described the influence of the groups they joined to learn te reo Maori during their healing journey. Both felt the need for support from their Maori whanau and hapu. One man reflected thus:

“I saw te kakano o te reo, korero o nga tipuna. But it was the two people in Ataarangi that really changed my ways.”

Another spoke of the influence of a particular tutor:

“Our te reo tutor, she believed in me. And that was what I really wanted. To make a change is really hard but in that time I was talking to them I was crying all the time because it was so hard to tell the truth.”

What Worked?

For most of the participants it was learning about being a Maori, and learning about their whakapapa. One man needed to leave the city where he lived, leave his wife and children, and go back to his family farm, on whanau land. Eventually his wife and children joined him, but leaving was very painful for them all. Some spoke of their release of fear, anger and pain that happened during the anger management group as being a good thing for them. Others found the experience being negative, and not meeting their need to change and heal. A Maori man stated:

“I think that Maori men who are violent need to get back to their tikanga. For me that has been the healing, and how I changed my ways.”

Another man reflected on how he returned to his marae:

“I went with a mate to a hui at the marae and we were told we could learn to korero on the marae in wananga.”

Another man described his experience of the spiritual healing that came from learning te reo Maori:
"The reo gave me wairua. A sense of belonging, and a connection to mama me to papa...

and continued:

"Korero on the marae. Korerorero, whaka pono titiro, all that in the realm and ma te aroha."

A Maori man, who had lived all his adult life in the city, told of his return to his rural community when his employment ended and he became violent in the ensuing period:

"I needed to get back to my own people. My wife is pakeha, and she didn't know what was happening to me."

Another man spoke about how his extended family affected his journey:

"Everything I do affects all my whanau, and I don't just mean the wife and kids whanau. I mean all the uncles and aunts and cousins."

The support of whanau was often stated as critical to the healing and understanding of the violence. A Maori man stated:

"My sisters and my brother came to stay at different times, and they all gave me lots of awhi and support."

Another recalled how his mother's extended family, and her father (his grandfather) in particular, became their support system in the absence of his father:

"My father disappeared for about four years. I believe it was to escape police charges, because his mothers family came and collected her and all us kids and we all went to live with my grandfather, my mothers father."

The healing benefits of mirimiri and romiromi (soft and deep tissue massage) was an often repeated theme for men and women in their healing process. The therapeutic massages were not included in the court referral programmes. The massages were accessed through whanau networks. A Maori woman who returned to her home after a short period in a Women's Refuge spoke of her experience of massage with a Maori practitioner:

"She gave me a massage and I cried again. She said my skin was holding onto my pain."

A Maori man spoke of another practitioner at a local Hauora:

"She does mirimiri with the men and the women on our marae. That gets them into an emotional release and good touch."

The role of wise kaumatua and kuia, their spiritual knowledge and guidance, as well as tikanga knowledge was stated as being crucial to the healing process. A Maori man spoke of the importance of the kaumatua at a Maori language class he attended, in terms of utu (restorative justice):
"I left the whanau of the mob and got back to my roots with te reo Maori, and the supportive kaumatua of Te Ataarangi. My kaumatua told me I had to go back to all the people I had harmed and ask for their forgiveness. I found that very hard."

The same man also referred to a specific kaupapa Maori healing process:
"She (my kuia) would take me into the bush for grounding with Papatuanuku...She would growl at me if I got macho and tell me I had to get in touch with my female side."

Another Maori man described the healing change happening after a dream, when he was so depressed he was contemplating suicide:
"My dead wife came to me, spoke to me, put her arms around me, and told me I would be all right. I recognised her voice and smelt her perfume. From that moment my attitude changed. Out the window went hatred and revenge. I travelled around for two years visiting family."

One Maori women went on a Maori programme whilst in jail. She was attending the Pakeha programme at the same time. The Maori programme made her cry and she had not cried in a long time. She talked about going into her feelings, being a drug addict, an alcoholic, having eating disorders from her teens, co-dependent issues and violence:
"I did this Maori programme and learned how to link into and look at others, the roles of caretaker, perpetrator victim, in a psychodrama group...It was not only the men who went to anger management programmes. One woman went because she had referred herself to a parenting course because she was so angry with and hitting her children. Another had pulled a gun on her partner and damaged their home. She was sent by the court to a Maori Women's Refuge programme for her anger."

The tools of behaviour modification therapy were described by one Maori woman participant as being particularly helpful to her:
"I became more aware of my body and when I was getting angry, how many times a day, a week. I kept a diary, watching the signals and triggers in my body, when my heart would start pumping. It was a revelation. I had never seen these signals in all the years of being an angry person. It felt safe being there with other Maori women."

It became clear that the Maori counsellors were using integrated practice models from both the indigenous Maori world, as well as the Western world. The safety aspect of being with other Maori people, sometimes in gender specific groups, sometimes with both Maori men and women, was a recurrent theme.
"I really loved the Maori healers. They were women just like me, and worked within a whanau structure, and I gained insight into the spiritual oppression of the Christian structure in my life as a Maori. They used quite simple tools like writing a journal, art work, breathing, meditation, massage, self help books, always trying to maintain that balance."
The common theme for the people who are now working with Maori is their commitment to facilitating a process to work with the hapu groups. There was very positive thinking about the potential for Maori driven services to make changes. This process is well described by a Maori woman who works as an educator and a therapist:

“At the end of the day there are people who can care for their whanau themselves, being proactive in ensuring that whanau are kept safe, with education within whanau and hapu, its about communities being proactive in their own areas.”

Another Maori woman who now works for an iwi Social Service spoke in similar vein:

“I grew up amongst the booze, the parties, my people stripped of everything, colonised and in pain and anger. I see a cultural revival as potential for healing, some have come a long way, others are slipping backwards. I strongly support hapu development rather than runanga control.”

The access to a Women’s Refuge was a major catalyst for both men and women to seek help, not only in the crisis, but for ongoing reclamation of their own control over their lives. One participant who has a long history of working as a refuge volunteer spoke of her experiences:

“The safe houses worked. They were set up so women could remove themselves from the site of the violence to a place where they were safe and supported to think about their options. Or have a rest and heal from their injuries. For their children to be safe.”

This same woman described the refuge movements extension into child response programmes:

“After a few years we also employed childcare workers who were people chosen for their special skills in working with children. The collective recognised back then that children who had experienced family violence needed to be protected and cared for in a different way: to let them draw and talk about the violence in a safe way: to say “my dad hit my mum and that’s why we are here.” And “I don’t want my dad to hit my mum any more.” So that worked.”

What Did Not Work?

Participants talked of a range of reasons why the mainstream programmes and anger management courses did not work for them. The men had difficulty explaining why they were angry, and it was only later that they had insight into what would work for them.

One Maori man stated:

“They told me I had to go to this course before I could see my children. I went once, but they pissed me off. The Pakeha guy was really patronising.”

Another Maori man reflected:

“I would have gone to family counselling if it had been offered, I would have really liked that. We both had a lot of hurt in us, and never had a safe place to talk about it. It would have been better for the kids.”
Another Maori man was very clear about Maori working with Maori:

"I firmly believe that Maori should work with Maori. I had a very negative experience with a pakeha psychologist when I separated from my wife. I was referred by the Court for anger management, but at the same time I was steeping myself in tikanga Maori. I don't see why the Judge couldn't see that I was changing because I was doing my work on myself in my Maori way."

A Maori woman described her experience within a Women’s Refuge:

"I went to the Women’s refuge, but hated it, and went back to my partner. The cycle would start again. I thought that passion was love."

The development of the Men Against Violence movement was described as a response by the women who worked in the Refuge movement to make men take responsibility for men’s violence.

"What did not work was the fact that there were no services available for the men. And often the women would return to their husbands or partners because one they felt compelled to by the social mores of the day which said that once you make your bed you should lie in it, and so they would leave it for a short period of time and return to lie in it..."Some of the men who were involved in the anger management services were not very good at getting down to the grass roots level. It took them quite a long time to learn to work in a practical way with other men.”

The lack of community support services was clearly described as a major problem in the 70’s, when the first refuges were established.

"In 1977, when the refuge opened, I took a woman to social welfare and she would be seen by a social worker who would determine her eligibility for the DPB and the children. Then the social worker would write a piece of paper which would be given to a social worker who then did the processing and the woman got the DPB. That was it basically. She was left to get on with it, to link into the services in the community which were available, which were not very many, only Women’s Refuge and the churches. The Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterial social services had an emerging understanding of family violence. Inside their churches they were engaged in the debate of marriage versus happy families versus family violence. So they had a lot of support from the churches who had an emerging understanding that all was not well in the family.”

3 The Impact of Alcohol

This was a very common theme in the stories. Both men and women participants spoke of their own use of alcohol as adults, as well as the drinking of their parents, but mostly of their fathers. For two men it was an isolated beating they gave their wives when they were going through a particularly stressful time, and which led to the marriages breaking up and the men going to a Court directed anger management programme. More common was the drinking of the fathers when the participants were children. One Maori man reflected:
“My father was a heavy drinker with the attitude that men went to work and women just obeyed.”

Another man stated:
“In the street where we lived there were parties every weekend with lots of drinking. Every house had its turn.”

Jealousy was another theme that ran alongside alcohol abuse:
“My father was a violent man who drank a lot and was very jealous of anyone looking at my mother. He would come back from the pub or a party and there would be violence.”

The older Maori man reflected on the late 1930’s and early 1940’s when he was a child:
“At that time in the early war years a lot of people were making home brew. And each family would have their brew, maturing or ready. So there were lots of parties...That violence has been with us for a long time. I have seen it since I was knee high to a grasshopper and its still the same now. And the same ingredient is booze.”

Another man stated:
“I have seen the best guys in the world make crippling idiots of themselves when they’ve been drinking too much. The drinking culture stays with us. We still drink too much...Because not all men who get drunk get violent I believe jealousy and fear underpins the rage and violence. In Maori it is called pohai.”

A Maori woman also reflected on how her husband’s alcohol abuse affected them:
“I recognised when my husband was getting to that agro stage, drinking (alcohol played a big part), and knew it was starting.”

Only one participant, the older Maori man, made mention of the impact of marijuana:
“Nowdays there’s not only booze to contend with but they’ve got the weed. And that weed was not around in my youth. There is now a combination of both. And then escalation of violence doubles.”

4 Interagency Collaboration
The concept of interagency collaboration was a common theme, and has been included because of the current government policy, the Te Rito strategy. This promotes interagency collaboration as being the principal impetus for current family service delivery and resourcing. All participants who are currently working in the field of family violence are involved in interagency meetings.

The only Pakeha woman who contributed to the research described a public awareness programme in the 1980’s:
“I was employed by the local body to co-ordinate a public education project to Stop Family Violence. I brought together representatives of organisations that were involved in providing services to stop Family Violence, and formed a coordinating
committee. Over four years more than seventy five thousand dollars was committed by the Council to public education to prevent family violence. They had a range of initiatives over that time that began with a submission from the Women's Refuge to the Council. It stated that the Council should take responsibility for assisting in Family Violence prevention with public education to stop Family Violence; that it should be recognised that it was a problem in out local community and that we all needed to do something to stop it. That involved programmes, workshops, school poster competitions, big banners being made, that hung from the council building and other buildings around town. Signs at the entrances and exits to the city saying NO to Family Violence, that Family Violence was a crime, STOP Family Violence now. Those signs were in both Maori and English. So the group recognised that they had to work in a bi-cultural way, and did in so much as they tried to incorporate a tangata whenua perspective in terms of the work they were doing. Councils changed and the funding dried up because the political will was not there with changes in council to continue. I am glad that at least at a National level there is a national political will to at least put some resources into it. That is the Te Rito Strategy."

This woman is still currently involved in "Stopping Violence" at an interagency community level. She went on to state:

"The government has decided to promote a collaborative way of working between the state and the NGOs which is something that those who have worked in NGOs have done from the time that they first started refuge. Back then they worked collaboratively with the state. Back then they were not able to engage with the statutory organisations because the state had no willingness or awareness, or chose not to understand the problem. Now people in NGOs are being told that they are to work collaboratively with the state. It is very interesting for me now, twenty years on, and they have this interagency collaboration thing which is a big new thing and we were promoting it way back then."

Iritana Tawhiwhirangi spoke of the lack of interagency collaboration in the 1970's when she was working as a Maori Welfare officer in Wellington. She was recalling the plight of one Maori woman who had barricaded herself and children inside her house for fear that the children would be taken from her:

"Everyone who visited this women were visiting in their welfare role had been trained and represented an agency; but not one had been able to enable this woman. They came from a problem focus and it just raised her anger."

Iritana began to add up the salaries, the cost of vehicles and all the resources coming in on this family. She deduced that nothing had worked, nothing had changed. Iritana visited the Maori agencies and got resources into the woman.

"She is one of us, she belongs to us."

5 Social and Economic Deprivation

Poverty and unemployment were frequent themes in the stories of the participants. A Maori man stated:
"My father was frequently unemployed, passed around bad cheques, and our family were consistently in debt... My father stole money from us kids that came from our newspaper rounds, birthdays and gifts from relatives."

Another Maori man reflected on the hardship that accompanied the violence in his youth:

"During this time there was often no phone, no electricity and no food in the house."

The inability to provide for their family was a key trigger for the Maori men. One stated:

"As the wage earner for my whanau I became really stressed about not having enough money. Then I'd get pissed and hit my wife because she was nagging me about not having any money."

Another reflected:

"My father was mostly scrub cutting, but he never had a permanent place to work."

When participants were talking about the role their mother played in managing money, there was a consistent theme that the mothers were good money managers, with a range of skills to make ends meet. A Maori woman stated:

"My mother did her best to make life comfortable for our family. We were always pohara, always wore hand-me-downs, and us kids were often sick."

Another Maori man stated:

"My mother only had one good dress her whole life and that was always in the laundry bag."

Iritana Tawhiwhirangi told of arriving in Wellington in 1972 to work as a Maori Affairs Welfare Officer:

"Maori people from the East Coast arrived in Wellington after the second world war. They were "pepper potted" into Maori Affairs State houses. The Maori men would sit outside their homes having a beer and feeling good about themselves. Their pakeha neighbours disapproved – it was not a good look."

The effect of this move from rural to city life was described thus by Iritana:

"Social services agencies put these Maori families, new to city life, and feeling homesick for their rural marae based life, into a situation where they were not feeling good about themselves. They were perceived as a problem and things got worse."

Iritana saw families and people who had been overseas and when they went to Wellington the whole stuffing was taken out of them. Where they had been six feet tall at home, they were now heads down and feeling culturally alienated:
"Because they were returned servicemen they held a lot of mana, but in Wellington the community did not know. They had never known rain water, electric lights or flush toilets. They were sticking newspaper down the toilets – a whole lot of things. One could say “why were they not better prepared.” Give Maori Affairs their due, they tried to prepare them but you can go in and attempt to go into families and enable them, but it actually disables them they get angry and feel patronised.”

For those families who decided to move to the city, it was an economic decision to get a home. It was not a problem for them to be at home on the coast, but they were offered a home, work, education for their children. The problem as Iritana sees it is that there was a too short period of preparing them.

Iritana gave examples of families she worked with, such as a single mother whose husband had left them with children. Unable to cope they kept their children at home, barricaded in. Iritana managed to get in to see the woman, who cursed and swore at her, fearful of having her children taken from her.

What struck Iritana was the number of people who had visited her; the teacher, the police, the welfare league - seven agencies in total including the Maori Affairs welfare officer.

In the house the only food was a half a loaf of bread. Iritana spoke to her – Maori mother to Maori mother – and she cried and cried. So what happened there was that the police were kept out and she agreed in the end for her children to be treated but she agreed out of absolute despair. Everyone who visited this woman had told her to pull herself together, including the Maori voluntary services.

6 What Needs to Happen in the Future?

For some participants it was not easy for them to speak positively about the future. Others had some very clearly thought through opinions and strategies. About the spiritual dimension and the universe, Rose Pere was very clear and positive about the way forward for both Maori and non Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand:

"Link into the oneness – the whole of humanity. Talk universally. When one culture tries to exterminate another culture it affects the whole of humanity. Culture is culture, but spiritually we are all connected. Ancient Hawaiki has always been here (New Zealand) Nga uri a Maui. Nga potiki. New Zealand is Hawaiki Tautau, the pulse of ancient Hawaiki, the largest continent in the world. When it went under the sea, New Zealand was still the pulse. So it is our energy which is here to heal the world community."

Rose Pere spoke about the need to become fearless:

"Build up courage. I am psychic and can see things. Be fearless, so whatever we see we don’t fear it. Fearless training must happen in the wharenui. Know history. Know karakia…

"Maori meekness has a lot to do with religious beliefs that were imposed on us. Never run away. Learn the skills of attack and defence”.

Hine Kohn sees the way forward as working with the whole whanau:
“The ideal is whakapai the whanau, the best place for children is to be with their whanau, most times. You can’t get the child right unless the parents are right, so that was what our aim was. Help mum build up her self-esteem. So we trained to learn the emotional freedom technique, with mothers and men, release right back till when they were children – some go right back to the same relationships they had then and saw there. Their parents were violent and now they are too.”

Rose Pere spoke strongly about the need for men and women working together:
“Men and women must work together, Men right side, women left side. Don’t separate the genders. Men resonate and connect to the liver, women to the spleen. The womb is the seat of power. If a man gets hooks or claws into the womb it takes eight years to clear them. Work can be done to clear the hooks if there is awareness of how to attack the energy, not the man. Send the energy up to the central sun, the divine spark. That is the only way to heal. On a divine level, send them back, attack the energy, not the person.”

Rose Pere spoke about politicians and government policy:
“We have to stop having politicians who are violent and sling off at each other every day in our parliament... I have no time for this Ministry of Health policy that tells us we have to have a measurement of tikanga Maori healing. How do you measure karakia. Kawakawa can heal many things, but you have to know the right karakia to go with it.”

Rose Pere spoke about getting alongside rangatahi:
“Bullying and fighting in schools, harming children, causes their hearts to break. Work with abused children on a divine level, heal their broken hearts.”

The older Maori man participant offered a way forward with rangatahi:
“Perhaps the solution is looking at why Maori men feel so insecure and jealous and angry. It may be inherited. The feelings are more about sadness and fear than anger. So its unemployment and stuff that hurts men and they try to escape through booze. I’ve seen whisky do terrible things to people. It does terrible things to myself. Better for Maori men to be taught in the high school, when they are starting to experiment with booze. People like me could teach them. Talk with them. Tell stories.”

Hine Kohn also had a vision for youth:
“We need more of an education focus on whanau violence, and it needs to be done in the schools, even in kohanga reo and pre-school. To make them aware enough is enough. The need is to reach into the homes where the violence is going on. Teachers must be brought into this. They know by the behaviour of the children.”

Rose Pere offered this vision for youth:
“Young teenagers got their sex education in the wharenui. Five generations would be there to explain. Men were never to force women to have sex. Whole wellbeing
and sex were taught together. Women were taught that their sex was taught as part of the tara, the central sun the divine son. Think of it, the vagina means “a sheath for a sword.” What are they thinking of? ... The old people had hard and fast rules about sex. Don’t touch a women, she is the house of humanity. But be sharp about defending her.”

Iritana Tawhiwhirangi spoke about community action:

“It is my belief that no change will take place within society, in families if we don’t have strong communities. If we don’t strengthen the community in which people live we are not going to strengthen individuals. Whether that is an urban or rural community, an iwi or any other, the change goes hand in hand, they have to be contiguous.”

Hine Kohn had this to say about community action:

“The problem of family violence needs to be out in the community as well, fully transparent right across the board. And they need to be able to tell someone about it. A community attitude. A lot of people are scared to tell, scared that they will be bullied. It is more about more reporting and finding a way where the reporter will not be identified. The next door neighbour should be able to report it. To be able to make disclosures without being identified.”

CHAPTER FIVE
DISCUSSION: KEY THEMES AND IMPLICATIONS
This chapter summarises the key themes from the participant interviews linking them to the literature review and the need for new initiatives. These highlight the need to work in an integrated way with whole whanau using Māori models of practice and developing funding and agency relationships governed by those principles at the local level. The Wairoa development of Te Hauora Maioha and Manaaki House are presented as attempting to implement these principles.

The five key themes

1 Working With the Whole Whanau Using Māori Models of Practice

Family members should be involved in defining needs, resolving problems and evaluating effectiveness. Interventions and healing need to involve the whole whanau. The strength of Māori whanau has been consistently described in the literature as the process of whakawhanaungatanga, or the ability of the extended family to bind together (Lambert, 1925; Tauroa, 1979; Cram et al, 2002; Pere, 2007 Kaupapa ki waho). The participants’ stories consistently endorsed the role of extended whanau in their healing process and consequent behaviour change.

The need for inclusive kaupapa Māori based whanau focused service is identified by Cram et al (2002). This report made very clear that the way to facilitate a reduction in Māori family violence is the resourcing of intervention and prevention programmes that work with whanau.

The value of involving all family members in defining needs and resolving problems is also explored by western family violence workers (Pecora et al, 1995; Smith, 1998; Goldblatt, 2003). The participants’ stories reflected that there was no choice for them, when they were referred to family violence programmes, of a family focused service. They needed a space where they could tell their stories in a safe and nurturing space. They needed to be with people who did not make them feel as if they were criminals or victims. Most importantly, they needed to know that there would be no expectation that their problems would be fixed quickly, their spiritual, mental, physical and emotional pain would be addressed in whatever way was right for them. They needed to know that the people who came alongside them in their pain, would stay beside them for the duration, for they would have an understanding that their pain was a big one, that it went quite a long way back into the mists of time, when their ancestors were also in pain.

They needed to know that the healers were well versed in the healing ways of the ancestors, and that tikanga Māori would keep them safe. (Pere, kaupapa ki waha 2006) Uncovering the whakapapa of their abuse was very painful, and they needed to be held, to have the pain contained. They needed healers who were not afraid to go back with them into their pain, lead them back to the sanctuary in their mind when they were children, before it all started to go bad.

They needed healers who knew the world that they lived in when the bad things were happening and knew what was going on in the world of their parents and grandparents when they were so scared. They needed healers who were not afraid to bring the bad people back, give them a good telling off, then maybe forgive them because it might not have all been their fault anyway and they needed healers who would send the dead people back so they could not keep doing harm.
They needed people who were wise in the ways of the Maori world, people who know where all the healing places are. For those who had been raised in the ways of the pakeha religions, they needed healers who know the old ways, the old rituals. They needed people who have the good touch, and can touch and move energy around, both inside the body and in the etheric field. They needed that soft and deep tissue massage to release all the stored memories of angry fists on their skin. Their skin needed to know good touch to wipe away the skins memories of bad touch. They needed to be fed wholesome foods, and wairakau, medicine prepared from the plants and trees, prepared with loving care, to heal and revive the physical body. For the long pain had caused the physical body to become unwell in sympathy with the mind and spirit that had been broken. They needed time to talk with their whanau about how they could heal as a whanau. And if they needed to talk with others like them in groups, then they needed healers who are well skilled in group work. They needed healers to take them back, when they were ready, to their own turangawaewae, the place where they could stand tall and where their sense of connection with their traditions and culture resides. They needed to walk on their own foreshore, touch the trees in the bush where ancestors hunted and gathered, climb the mountain which had been there before the people came, stand under the waterfall and lie on their back, covered in the soft warm moss, feeling the heart of the earth mother, watching the shifting energy of the sky father, feeling again like a child of the universe. They needed to meet again the people who still keep the home fires burning. If they remember them because they grew up with them, but have lost touch, it will be a remembered reunion. If they have never met them, because they were never taken there before, they will still soon know they belong. There will be people who remember their mothers and fathers or grandparents, uncles and aunts. And there will be faces that look like them, noses, eye colour. It will make lumps come to their throat, and they will be overwhelmed by the magic of belongingness, and lots of healing will happen. They needed to learn the language of the ancestors. For in the language they could explore the wonderful rich cultural heritage that is theirs as of right, and which is the conduit to all knowledge about themselves and the universe.

2 Spiritual Healing is a Given

The participants spoke of the abuse they received at the hands of their parents, and the enduring spiritual wounding, which was only healed by a spiritual process. The need for spiritual healing to be an integral component of whanau healing. Huata (1997) spoke of food, alcohol and sexual addictions which presented in adulthood as being manifestations of the spiritual wounding of the inner child. An interesting theme that evolved from the interviews was the justification of violent discipline by parents (usually fathers) as being sanctioned by the Christian ethos. The healing of the spirit that had been harmed by the introduced religions was critical to the healing journey. The restoration of balance with the spiritual world of Maori that existed prior to colonisation was also described in the literature review. (Pere, kaupapa ki waha 2006; Kruger et al, 2004). Mason Durie (Durie, 1999) also describes taha wairua (the spiritual dimension) as being the most essential requirement for health and wellbeing. The participants all voiced the return to land, waters, mountains, marae as having
spiritual significance and an important component of their healing. A return to the homelands was identified as a key component of individual and whanau healing.

3 Exploring the Whakapapa of Violence, Both Personal and Political

Every Maori person has a story and the seeds of insight and understanding to heal our past and move forward in a non-violent future are within the history of all Maori people. The participants’ stories showed that healing our history requires a systematic and consistent analysis of colonisation, alongside a Maori discourse on whakapapa.

There were glimpses in the stories of a period of time in the early 1900’s when the broad parameters of structural strain and relative deprivation were taking their toll. Both men and women recalled aspects of their childhood when their parents showed love and attachment, but this was rare. The overwhelming theme was one of fear, lack of parental affection, and an unharmonious domestic life. The harmony and safety described in pre-colonisation times (Lambert, 1925; Papakura, 1986; Tauroa, 1979; Marsden in White, 1998; Colenso in White, 1998;) was an experience that most of the participants had not experienced. The English culture, carried to Aotearoa by the settlers, was described in a report by White (1998) of apprenticed children who were starved, forced to thieve and steal, and taken to the gallows if caught. The participants of this research were the recipients of this imposed culture and the thinking behind it. The older Maori participants were the recipients of this imposed culture in the 1930’s when they were children. Both the older and the younger participants are still acutely aware of the impacts of this imposed culture today.

A very consistent theme for the participants who had the educational experience of exploring the process of colonisation, and the effects on their own whanau, retracing the world of their grandparents and great grandparents, was one of sadness and anger. The insight into rage was particularly poignant, and the particular women who had experienced healing through an exploration of the whakapapa of their violence against a backdrop of colonisation.

4 Reclaim the Fearlessness of Maori Women

Maori women were warriors and fought alongside their men. The awareness that a crime had been committed against a culture was described in the point that Estes makes (1992), that released rage has to be in response to a serious offence and that the collective actioned strength of Maori women is an imperative at this time in our herstory. Rose Pere (2007) speaks clearly of the time in her childhood when girls fought alongside boys in Waikaremoana and of her female ancestors who fought alongside men in battle. Rose is still actively promoting the healing work of men alongside women, always with a focus on both the male and female side of all Maori, men and women alike.

Another consistent theme that arose from the participants’ stories was that after they had become aware and had healed themselves, they in turn became healers. This further reinforces Estes (1992) principle that the timing is important for action, a time for right anger, right rage. Estes states that there is a time to powerfully defend territory, to say that this is as far as we will go, the buck stops here, there is definitely going to be change. The participants who have become change agents reflect this point in time, when Maori who work in the family violence field must reclaim lost territory, and kaupapa Maori healing methodologies. (Kruger et al 2004)
5 Culturally Appropriate and Effective Delivery of Service

There are barriers to overcome because delivery systems in the family violence intervention processes are supported by entrenched colonial and racist mentalities. The literature was rife with voices that promote the premise that to work with whanau, practitioners do need to know how to enter the Maori world (Bishop, 1999; Durie, 1998; Pere, 2007). The experiences described by the participants show clearly how effective their healing process was when it was happening in a kaupapa and tikanga Maori context. By comparison, they described the ineffectual Western based methods they were also exposed to.

The distortion of whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana, experienced by the participants is also echoed in the opinion of Kruger (2004) and a Te Puni Kokiri report (1998). The growth of Maori practitioners who have been through kaupapa Maori healing and consequently become healers, reinforces the reclamation of these constructs, and their commitment to be grounded in all the above. If this is a process and journey in which the practitioner has as an expectation with Maori whanau to engage then the process must first happen with oneself.

Another consistent theme was the message about a localised context for intervention. This theme came through particularly strongly in both the literature and the participants’ stories about the Wairoa situation. We need to link different components of tikanga to enable practitioners in the family violence field to interpret and apply the framework in a localised context within the domains of whanau, hapu and iwi.

6 The Impact of Alcohol

Alcohol is involved in most whanau violence incidents, acting as a trigger for the violence. It was not my intention to explore the relationship of abuse of alcohol to family violence, but the theme came up consistently in the participants stories, including my own. The poignancy of Paraire Huata’s statement (1997) that alcohol addiction is not about being thirsty, but a manifestation of the spiritual wounding of the inner child, kept a focus on the effects of alcohol on Maori whanau, the wounding and pain expressed in violence, given or received.

The reflection of the Waroa policeman, Aubrey Ormond (Ormond, 2006) resonates with the participants’ stories, that there is much violence going on that is not reported and that ninety percent of the time alcohol is involved, acting as a trigger for the violence. The harm to children is expressed very clearly by the participants, in their descriptions of beatings from a parent who had been drinking. This resonates with the statement by Watkins (2006) that New Zealand children are in greater danger of being killed by abuse than those in any other Western country. He links this to an international report in 2003 which linked violence to poverty, stress and drug and alcohol abuse. The participants stories resounded consistently with stories of experienced poverty and deprivation within their families.

Interagency Collaboration

Most government agencies are already involved in more than 20 family violence schemes, prompting calls for better co-ordination of services. The cost of family violence is huge and many people are involved in the family violence response services.
My own work in the Wairoa community serves as the primary rationale for including a community action model in this part of the research report. A major problem that has emerged is the difficulty in engaging providers in collaborative work. This can be explained by the contracting process for service provision, which has created a medium of self-protection and mistrust of people with innovative ideas that challenge current methodologies. Kohn (2006) and Cram et al. (2002) also identified this problem within the Maori providers, who were reluctant to share ideas with each other. Another problem that I have identified in my role as Contracts Co-ordinator with the Wairoa PHO, is the short time frame allowed by the contracting process for kaupapa maori healing. Cram et al. (2002) make the point very clearly, that twelve weeks is a good beginning, but is certainly not long enough for long term healing. The participants also made the point that their healing is still continuing.

The application and funding process itself is complex, contracts are under-resourced and dissipated over a range of competing providers.

The participants identified another theme, also explored in the literature by Anderson et al. (2003) and Cram et al. (2002) of barriers to seeking help. These included money, a place to go, a lack of support from the police and courts, a lack of support from family and friends, transport to services, (Wairoa has no public transport).

There is still a wall of embarrassment, even silence, which prevents the issue of violence, being made overt by health professionals. The funding for family violence training in the Health terrain is overwhelmingly put into secondary health services. The primary health terrain is virtually ignored. My own experience with the General Practices in Wairoa is that the GP teams are very willing to engage in training to respond effectively and efficiently to family violence as it presents to them. They are well positioned to respond at a community level, they know their client group, are trusted and can take opportunistic moments to ask the screening questions. But it is very difficult for any health professional to take time off to travel to Hastings (a two hour drive) to attend Family Violence training at the base hospital.

It is important for all who work in the social services to routinely ask screening questions such as: Are you in a violent relationship, who are your supports, does anyone hit you, kick you or make you feel unsafe.

Changing the attitudes and the behaviours that have allowed family violence to continue is a priority for community action. The growth in Wairoa of a collaborative action group, although slow to grow, is providing some traction. This theme is identified also by Sabol et al. (2004), who make the point that the complexity of neighbourhood and community influences on violence can best be understood through multi-method, multi-disciplinary approaches.

Action to prevent and ultimately eliminate family violence needs the co-ordinated efforts of committed individuals, community groups, leaders of civic, business and sporting enterprises, government agencies and politicians at local and national level. These themes have been embodied in Wairoa in our attempts to develop holistic and integrated services wherein people can create their own realities using the strengths and assets of their culture.

**Progress – Wairoa Responses**
Te Hauora Maioha is one year old. It is a group of traditional Maori healers and practitioners who work alongside complementary health providers. The group works from a facility which was once an old church. It is an open plan with dividers for each practitioner's work space. Mirimiri/Massage and Romiromi/deep tissue massage is a common treatment for Maori men, women and children, old and young. The practitioners work with people who have been abused, and are abusers. Referrals come from a wide range of social service providers and by word of mouth. It is common for the social service workers who refer clients, to come themselves to Maioha for healing, especially massage. There is some private space, but Maori prefer and are very comfortable with the open plan. It is similar to a Marae. Kawakawa leaves are frequently used as a poultice for bruises and strains, for stress headaches. In fact, the treatments are very individually tailored and appropriate karakia integrated into the process.

Manaaki House is the local drug and alcohol treatment service. It is located in a beautiful old villa, with extensive old trees and gardens, beside the Wairoa river. The Wairoa PHO funds a Maori Men’s Group, which meets weekly on a Monday evening. The kaupapa of the journey is te reo me ona tikanga and that is the drawcard. The standing of a Maori man in his whanau and the basis of tikanga is respect for all things. The men gain entry to the group because of their drug and/or alcohol problems, but they also have problems with managing their anger. The problems are not the focus of the group process, learning tikanga Maori and te reo Maori is the focus. The men graduate when they can stand on the marae and whaikorero. Men on the programme also bring others in. Kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face communication) is working. In our small Wairoa community the feedback from the men, their partners and their whanau gives evidence that they are respecting one another and the violence has stopped. We see happy and safe women, partners of the men on the programme, at the supermarket. There is a wealth of successful outcome in a hug at the supermarket. Manaaki House also offers romiromi and mirimiri to men when they are on the healing and learning journey and this is an intrinsic part of the service.

A recent development has been requests from the partners of the men on the programme. They want to have a parallel journey with their men, to have the opportunity to tell their own story. We are working to find some more funding for Manaaki House to employ a Maori Women’s Group counsellor and facilitator.
CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSIONS AND ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis has been a long time in gestation and it may take an equally long time to heal our history. I would like to think that I am currently doing some very useful things in Wairoa to make individuals, whanau, agencies and the wider community safer. I would also hope that this research is helpful to other people, both Maori and non Maori, who are also committed to making our world safer.

A fundamental change of orientation is required across the wide matrix of social work and human services to work from the alternative perspective. This is very clearly stated by Shannon and Young (2004: 284).

"Interpersonal work is only a preliminary to joining people together in groups that can relate well to each other – from families to larger units. It also involves skills in bringing people together for community action, organisational skills in helping them develop co-operative ways of working with bureaucracies and the like."

The alternative perspective has provided a framework for this research process and thesis. It has enabled me to explore my own Native world view and life journey as a survivor of violence, alongside my ongoing social work experience and theoretical perspective. This framework has evolved into a wharikingia, a network of ideas, values and prescriptions for my practice for twenty six years. It has provided a framework for the conclusions and recommendations evolving from this research project and thesis.

Recommendations

It was very clear to me that the literature was confirming and consistent with the stories of the participants and my own story, so the following recommendations reflect this consistency.

Family members should be involved in defining needs, resolving problems and evaluating effectiveness. Interventions and healing need to involve the whole whanau:

The participants' stories consistently endorsed the role of extended whanau in their healing process and consequent behaviour change.

Resource inclusive kaupapa Maori based whanau focused service to facilitate a reduction in Maori family violence:

This must be balanced with adequate resourcing of intervention and prevention programmes that work with whanau, with open ended time periods. Funding streams must flow through a single source, such as Te Puni Kokiri and link into current Iwi violence free strategies and projects.

Transformative education:

The participants' stories showed that healing our history requires a systematic and consistent analysis of colonisation, alongside a Maori discourse on whakapapa.
Reclaim the fearlessness of Maori women, who once were warriors and fought alongside Maori men:

An active promotion of educational and healing work of men alongside women, always with a focus on both the male and female side of all Maori, men and women alike.

Resource the healed to provide the healing:

The participants who have become change agents reflect this point in time, when Maori who work in the family violence field must reclaim lost territory and kaupapa Maori healing methodologies. If this process and journey, which the practitioner has an expectation with Maori to engage in, then the process must first happen with oneself.

Culturally appropriate and effective service delivery:

To work with whanau, practitioners do need to know how to enter the Maori world. The context for intervention must be local. Not all national programmes work in isolated rural communities like Wairoa.

Different components of tikanga must be linked to enable practitioners in the family violence field to interpret and apply the framework in a localised context within the domains of whanau, hapu and iwi.

Fund collaborative kaupapa Maori whanau integrated drug and alcohol services:

An holistic approach requires dealing with all the symptoms of colonialism and disempowerment – such as abuse of drugs and alcohol. They all go together, alcohol is involved in most whanau violence incidents, acting as a trigger for the violence. Drug and alcohol funding contracts for Maori must be integrated into a collaborative whanau based service.

Community action and interagency collaboration:

Most government agencies are already involved in more than 20 family violence schemes, prompting calls for better co-ordination of services, but that is a forlorn hope when those services are defined by power silos from Wellington.

The process of engaging providers in collaborative work can be made easier by local decisions over needs analysis and consequent priority action programme with innovative ideas that challenge current methodologies. The complexity of neighbourhood and community influences on violence can best be understood through multi-method, multi-disciplinary approaches but this can only be achieved when all the disciplinary experts under the control and direction of local people.
Action to prevent and ultimately eliminate family violence needs the co-ordinated efforts of committed individuals, community groups, leaders of civic, business and sporting enterprises, government agencies and politicians at local and national level. Co-ordination must come from below according to the principle of subsidiarity – action taken at the lowest feasible level.

Simplify the contracting process:

Contracts must allow for the social, cultural and income demographics of a given region. They must be allocated according to such as school and health decile indicators and unemployment statistics.

Funding must be provided as of right to appropriate agencies, such as the Wairoa Taiwhenua (representing all hapu) and local bodies.

Contracts must allow for longer time frames for kaupapa Maori healing. Twelve weeks is a good beginning, but it is certainly not long enough for sustained long term healing.

The contracting process must be simplified. The application and funding process itself is complex, contracts are under-resourced and dissipated over a range of competing providers.

Ensure that the contracts provide resources to provide access to service and reduce barriers. These may include money, a place to go, a lack of support from the police and courts, a lack of support from family and friends, transport to services (Wairoa has no public transport).

10 Resource a primary health response to family violence:

The Access Primary Health Care Organisations are broad representative groups and well established as the funding stream to primary health providers (including GP’s).

Put funding into primary health services for family violence training and response projects. GP teams are very willing to engage in training to respond effectively and efficiently to family violence as it presents to them. They are well positioned to respond at a community level, they know their client group, are trusted and can take opportunistic moments to ask the screening questions.
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Ministry of Health


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary of terms</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahi ka</td>
<td>Occupation rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aotearoa</td>
<td>North Island, whole of New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aroha</td>
<td>Unconditional love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hapu</td>
<td>Group of families that form a sub tribe. Pregnant woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harakeke</td>
<td>Flax leaf, <em>phormium tenax</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawaiki</td>
<td>The ancestral spiritual home of Maori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiki tautau</td>
<td>The pulse of ancient Hawaiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinengaro</td>
<td>The mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>To congregate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inoi</td>
<td>A Christian prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwi</td>
<td>A group of sub tribes that form a tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaha</td>
<td>Courage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kai</td>
<td>Food, consume, fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kainga</td>
<td>Place of abode and operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanohi ki te kanohi</td>
<td>Face to face speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karakia</td>
<td>Prayer, incantation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaumatua</td>
<td>Elderly Maori person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaupapa</td>
<td>A strategy, theme, practice that is specific to the Maori culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawa</td>
<td>Protocol, ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kawakawa</td>
<td>Pepper tree, <em>Macropiper excelsum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohanga reo</td>
<td>Childrens’ language nest, pre school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korero</td>
<td>Speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupapa</td>
<td>Traitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahinga kai</td>
<td>Gardening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manaakitanga</td>
<td>Hospitality, care for, show respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana</td>
<td>Divine right, influence, prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana motuhake</td>
<td>Autonomy, independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana wahine</td>
<td>The prestige attributed to women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana tane</td>
<td>The prestige attributed to men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuhiri</td>
<td>Visitor, guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marae</td>
<td>Complex, courtyard and buildings adjacent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matauranga</td>
<td>Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauri</td>
<td>Life principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauri o Ra</td>
<td>Life principle that comes from the divine spark, the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirimiri</td>
<td>Soft tissue massage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mokopuna</td>
<td>Grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nga potiki</td>
<td>The last born, youngest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nga uri a Maui</td>
<td>The descendants of the demi god Maui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niho niho</td>
<td>Teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noa</td>
<td>Ordinary, neutral, free from restriction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakeha</td>
<td>New Zealander of European descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papatuanuku</td>
<td>The earth mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romiromi</td>
<td>Deep tissue massage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roopu</td>
<td>A group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taha Tinana</td>
<td>The physical dimension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamariki</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangata whenua</td>
<td>Local people, the people of this land Aotearoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangihanga</td>
<td>Funeral rites, ceremonial mourning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taongatuku iho</td>
<td>Treasures that have come down from the ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapu</td>
<td>Religious or secular restriction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taniwha</td>
<td>Water monster, powerful person, ogre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te reo</td>
<td>Language modes, communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Wheke</td>
<td>The octopus – celebrates infinite wisdom and ancient Maori teachings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikanga Maori</td>
<td>Values and concepts, applying what is right for a given context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tino rangatiratanga</td>
<td>Absolute sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuku tuku</td>
<td>Woven flax panels in a meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupuna</td>
<td>Grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turangawaewae</td>
<td>A place to stand as of right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utu</td>
<td>Reciprocity, restorative justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wairua</td>
<td>The spiritual dimension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wananga</td>
<td>A place of traditional learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakama</td>
<td>Shyness and shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakapapa</td>
<td>Genealogy, cultural identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whangai</td>
<td>Nourish, care for, an adopted child.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whanau</td>
<td>Extended family, give birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whanaungatanga</td>
<td>Kinship ties, extended family across the universe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharenui</td>
<td>Ancestral meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whariki</td>
<td>A woven mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharikingia</td>
<td>Weaving of threads to make a mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whatumanawa</td>
<td>Relating to the emotions and senses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whenua</td>
<td>Placenta, land, country, ground</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>