He Waka Eke Noa

MĀORI CULTURAL FRAMEWORKS FOR VIOLENCE PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Shirley Simmonds, Ngaropi Raumati,
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O TARANAKI

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KARAKIA

KO RANGI

KO PAPA

KA PUTA KO RONGO

KO TĀNEMĀHUTA

KO TANGAROA

KO TŪMATAUENGA

KO HAUMIETIKETIKE

KO TĀWHIRIMĀTEA

TOKONA TE RANGI KI RUNGA

KO PAPA KI RARO

KA PUTA TE IRA TANGATA

KI TE WHAI AO

KI TE AO MĀRAMA

E RONGO WHAKAIRIA AKE KI RUNGA

KIA TINA – TINA!

HUI E

TAIKI E!

MIHI

‘He waka eke noa’ tētehi whakataukī o ngā mātua tupuna, kia mōhio ai te katoa, ahakoa, ko wai, ahakoa nō whea kua wātea tātou ki te rukuruku, ki te ringa rāwekeweke, te whakamahi tēnei mahi rangahau, hei painga mō te whānau, te hapū me te iwi. Nō reira, kei ngā kaihautū, kei ngā kaiūrungi o ngā iwi hūhua, puta noa i te nuku o te whenua, koia nei tēnei mōtoi kahurangi hei poutokomanawa, hei pouherengawaka i te kaupapa nui whakaharahara ko te oranga whānau te mea nui.

Heoti anō rā, e ai ki ngā kōrero ā kui mā, a koro mā, “he punga i mau ai.” Hāngai pū tonu tēnei whakataukī ki ngā whaea me tōna mana e āta tiaki nei i āna tamariki me tana whānau, kia kaupare atu ngā kino o te wā me ngā poke o te pō. Kia kaha koutou ki te āta wānanga, āta whakaaro ake i ngā hua i puta mai i tā tātou mahi rangahau. He maha ngā pūrākau me ngā pakiwaitara hei tauira, hei oranga, otīia hei rongoā mō tātou katoa.

Kāti rā, me mihi ka tika ki tērā tupua tawhito o tātou a Hinewīrangi Kohu-Morgan mō ōna whēako, ōna akoako, ōna pūkenga taonga pūoro, me tōna reo korokoro tūī, kia eke panuku, eke tangaroa tēnei kaupapa toimaha ki tērā taumata ikeike o te maunga o Mauao. Nō reira, e te ruahine, ahakoa kua ngū tō reo irirangi raka, ka rongo tonu mātou i te ihirangaranga haere ake nei, haere ake nei.

Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan
10 December 1947 - 15 February 2023

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 8:

CHAPTER 9:

CHAPTER 10:

CHAPTER 11:

FIGURES

TABLES

Tuhinga Whakarāpopoto
Executive Summary

NGĀ WHAKAWHITI KŌRERO:
Discussions & Interview Findings

'He Waka Eke Noa' is a whakataukī that guides our people towards notions of collective ownership and responsibilities to move forward.

Te Ao Māori, pre-colonisation, was aligned with tikanga-based ways of maintaining and sustaining healthy whakapapa-based relationships.

Whakapapa is the fundamental principle for determining familial relationships for Māori that are inclusive of human, environmental, physical and spiritual connections.

Whakapapa-based societies such as Te Ao Māori have inbuilt mechanisms within tikanga to maintain and reinforce balance to ensure the wellbeing of current and future generations.

Wellbeing within whānau is essential in tikanga, so any form of violence that affects whānau is considered detrimental to the overall wellbeing of all Māori.

Any form of violence perpetrated upon tamariki and within whānau was considered a serious transgression, affecting the wellbeing of whānau, and was dealt with rapidly.

Māori have called for research and approaches to family violence that include cultural, philosophical, political, economic, historical and social contexts.

Dominant main/white-stream definitions remain inadequate and fail to consider the impacts of historical and colonial trauma that are experienced as both events and ongoing structures/systems.

The ongoing failure to include Māori views and understandings of violence is unacceptable.

Contemporary experiences of family violence for Māori are considered to be multi-layered, affecting all levels of society: they are intergenerational, structural and systemic, lateral and horizontal, imposed and internalised, and experienced individually and collectively.

Violence can be cultural, structural, symbolic, intellectual, epistemic, economic, physical, spiritual, psychological, emotional, mental, or sexual.

Tikanga-based definitions of violence encompass all relationships as "an absolute assault on the entirety of the individual, whānau, whakapapa".

Māori approaches to defining violence include the ways in which violence is a violation of tapu; the transgression and violation of all that is held sacred.

"Intentional harm to others" brings violence into a space of power and control. This occurs on multiple levels.

Family Violence is considered to be the antithesis to tikanga, particularly in regard to how we enact relationships.

Tikanga-based definitions move beyond the act of violence to its wider impacts on all parts of our lives.

International literature shows that cultural knowledge and practices can be an effective buffer in the area of family violence prevention and intervention.

Violence and abuse of whenua and taiao are considered to be violence upon our people.

When talking about violence, an analysis of State violence is critical for understanding causal factors – intergenerationally, historically, and today.

The historical development of the state was built on multiple forms of violence: patriarchal, ableist, racist, colonial, neo-liberal, and economic.

The impact of colonisation and the dispossession of Māori land, te reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori is considered to underpin the disconnection of our people from processes that support wellbeing.

The institutionalised structures and systems of racism, sexism, classism and homophobia within State agencies need to be dismantled, counteracted, resisted, challenged and rejected for transformative changes that support Māori wellbeing.

Indigenous Peoples globally are actively challenging racist colonial systems of oppression that are central to ongoing acts of violence upon our communities, both individually and collectively.

State agencies are instrumental in undermining whānau and the processes for whānau to enact healing.

The cumulative nature of violence is destructive to all layers and contexts of Indigenous People's lives, both individually and collectively, and on both personal and structural levels.

The concept of 'slow violence' is a way of understanding the long-term and cumulative ways in which violence can be out of sight, delayed and experienced across time and space.

Deficit-based understandings and approaches to Family Violence reproduce violence and further embed systems and processes that mitigate against Māori healing.

A deep analysis of historical and intergenerational trauma from a Māori perspective must be actively engaged in to understand the origins and reproduction of family violence within and upon whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities.

Internalised hatred resulting from hegemony and domination creates significant barriers to Māori wellbeing and healthy relationships.

Addiction is the result of oppression, violence, disconnection, hegemony and trauma, and contributes significantly to the reproduction of violence.

Alcohol and methamphetamine were highlighted consistently as being both mechanisms of escape and key causes of violence.

There must be an integrated approach to dealing with the impact of addictions for whānau.

Silence is discussed as both an ongoing concern in relation to violence being 'hidden' and therefore not addressed, and as a tool to protect whānau from State intervention.

Tikanga is central to our understanding of ourselves as Māori and in providing guidance for what are tika or correct behaviours within relationships.

Within a tikanga framework acts of Family and Sexual Violence are considered to be a transgression of mana and tapu.

Tikanga is affirmed as a critical process by which to prevent and intervene in contexts of violence and to provide mechanisms to bring about resolution and healing.

The concept of whaiwāhitanga was discussed as providing an understanding of ensuring tikanga is applied in the right 'time' and 'place' for those involved.

Both tikanga and mātauranga Māori play a significant role in providing us with ancestral knowledge and practices through which to inform our behaviours and ways of being in relation to each other and our world.

It is recognised and clearly expressed that colonisation has had a destructive impact on our knowledge and practices of tikanga, te reo and mātauranga.

Whānau is the foundation of all structures within te ao Māori and the wellbeing of whānau is critical to the overall wellbeing of Māori.

In all parts of the whakawhiti kōrero and survey, the strengthening and reconnection of whānau is considered essential.

Whanaungatanga is the relational way of being for Māori and provides pathways for the strengthening of all forms of relationships.

In our contemporary context whanaungatanga and whānau, while grounded in whakapapa relationships, are expressed in multiple ways.

Whanaungatanga requires understandings of collective responsibilities, obligations and accountability to each other and all that we live with and beside in our world.

Key concepts within tikanga provide us with guidance and practices for our relationships and to inform healing and enabling balance. These concepts include ora; wairua; mana; mana wahine; mauri; tuakiritanga; kare ā roto; tapu; noa; tika; pono; aroha; manaakitanga; awhina; utu; muru; and atua.

Tikanga elements are not isolated from each other; rather they are constantly interacting to inform and support a view of the world that is interconnected.

Mātauranga Māori is transmitted in multiple ways and the regeneration and strengthening of such forms of transmission is critical to whānau wellbeing.

Mātauranga Māori has become synonymous with terms such as Māori knowledge; Māori philosophies of knowledge; and Māori ways of knowing and being.

The revitalisation of te reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori provide us with innovative ways to support healing and resolve issues facing whānau, including family violence and sexual violence prevention and intervention measures.

Whakapapa is highlighted both in the context of relationships, i.e. whanaungatanga, and as a system of knowledge transmission through the sharing of whakapapa kōrero.

Both whakapapa and whānau are discussed as critical cultural collectives and structures that have a key role in the wellbeing of Māori in regard to connectedness and reconnection.

Whakapapa is considered a physical manifestation of the spiritual and cultural connections to tūpuna and atua.

Sources of mātauranga Māori and wellbeing knowledge transmission and practices that were highlighted include pūrākau; whakataukī/whakatauākī; waiata; mōteatea; kapa haka; oriori; maramataka; hononga ki whenua me te taiao; papakāinga; rongoā; karakia; whakapakari tinana; and hohou te rongo.

The regeneration of mātauranga Māori is considered to be a vital part of providing strategies for balance and knowledge that help us to reduce the impacts of all forms of violence, both individual and collective, and located at interpersonal, community and systemic/State levels.

The failure of the Crown to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi is highlighted in all components of the research as a structural reason that underpins the level to which whānau have been exposed to generations of violence.

The failure to honour and uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi has cumulative impacts over time and for different generations of whānau.

The failure to support whānau, through under investment in Kaupapa Māori services has resulted in a deepening and normalising of inter-generational violence within whānau and communities.

The provision of Kaupapa Māori approaches continues to face institutional and structural barriers that limit the ability for Māori to work with our whānau in ways that align with our tikanga practices.

Transforming family violence and its impact on Māori lies within the aspirations of our people to assert rangatiratanga and mana motuhake over our collective lives.

There is a strong assertion that Kaupapa Māori, whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisational approaches must take the lead in dealing with issues of violence upon and within whānau.

Transforming the impact of violence upon whānau requires approaches that are aligned to the wider notions of tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake.

Honouring, enacting and upholding Te Tiriti o Waitangi is considered a critical part of the solution to the underlying systemic issues that sustain violence.

Honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi will begin to unlock the appropriate frameworks and models for good partnership and decision making that will support whānau wellbeing.

Mana, partnership, and decision-making are also tied to the models used for the allocation of resources, especially those resources given to Kaupapa Māori prevention and interventions.

Kaupapa Māori initiatives that make transformative change within our communities, requires the Crown to honour the aspirations of our tūpuna as expressed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Ngā Tatauranga:
Survey Findings

A total of 1,624 individuals completed the 'He Waka Eke Noa' online survey, with an age range of 18-87 years, and a median age of 50.

All respondents identified as having Māori ethnicity, and as being descended from a Māori.

All respondents were living in Aotearoa at the time of the survey, and the geographical distribution across the country was comparable to the distribution of the Māori population.

The large majority of respondents identified as female (78.3%), a further 17.4% as male, and 4.2% as non-binary or nominated a gender identity in their own words.

The 'He Waka Eke Noa' Survey was diseminated online only, over a 6-month period from March to September 2021. It took approximately 15-20 minutes to complete, and consisted of four sections, with brief summary results as follows:

Whānau Ora. Experiences on the collective, experiences of the collective.
Approximately two thirds of respondents or their whānau had experienced neglect in their lifetime, mostly from health services, WINZ, the education system, the police, and the justice system.

Almost two thirds had experienced failure to protect, mostly from the police, health services, the justice system, the education system, and WINZ.

Over 70% had experienced abuse or abuse of power, mostly from WINZ, the police, health services, the justice system, and the education system.

Over 80% had experienced racism, mostly from the education system, the health system, the police, WINZ, and the justice system.

Over 80% had experienced breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, mostly from the education system, the health system, the police, district or regional councils, WINZ, and the justice system.

Almost 60% of respondents or their whānau had experienced police violence in their lives.

Over 80% of respondents said that state or systemic violence impacted on their wellbeing either some or a lot.

Approximately 80% said they did things to minimise the impact of state or system violence.

Over 95% of respondents or their whānau had experienced the following in the media: negative portrayals of Māori; racist comments about Māori; negative media slants on news stories; and negative and abusive comments on Te Tiriti, and on Māori language and culture.

Approximately 90% had experienced aggressive or threatening posts on social media; 80% experienced homophobia; and almost 40% experienced media violence in other forms.

Almost 90% of respondents stated that media violence impacted their wellbeing either some or a lot.

Almost 90% had strategies for minimising the impact of media violence, which included avoidance; self-selecting positive Māori-focused media; and keeping informed and educating self and whānau. Many acknowledged the harm negative media reporting can do, the need for self-care and protection, and the power of connecting with whānau and Te Ao Māori.

Mauri Ora. Individual experiences of violence.
Almost 95% had seen or witnessed physical violence in their lifetime. Over 95% had seen or witnessed psychological, emotional, or spiritual violence.

Approximately 80% had seen or witnessed deprivation or neglect, and 80% had seen or witnessed financial deprivation.

Approximately 85% had seen or witnessed online violence, and 85% had seen or witnessed denigration of whakapapa.

Over 70% of participants had seen or witnessed sexual violence.

Over 90% had experienced psychological, emotional or spiritual violence in their lifetime, and over 80% had experienced physical violence.

Over half of participants experienced deprivation or neglect.

Over half of the participants who completed the survey had experienced financial deprivation.

Around two thirds of participants had experienced sexual violence in their lifetime.

Around 75% of participants had experienced online violence.

Respondents mostly experienced violence primarily from an ex-partner, older family member, or a stranger.

Waiora. Support and support services.
The majority of respondents sought support from friends (40%) and family (42%).

A good proportion sought support from their GP (12%), workmates (11%), counsellors (10%), Māori providers (10%), or traditional healers (10%).

Over one in 6 respondents did not seek support.

Many respondents spoke of finding refuge and healing in Te Ao Māori.

Pae Ora. Aspirational wellbeing.
The majority (84%) of respondents stated that they did things to minimise violence in their lives.

Strategies included setting safe boundaries, vigilance, counselling and therapy, developing strong positive relationships, advocacy and education, focus on health, and connection to Te Ao Māori.

For those who stated they didn't do things to minimise violence, comments included a level of acceptance and normalisation of violence, managing conflict, and successful healing.

Almost 90% of respondents stated that they had made a decision to be non-violent themselves, prompted to this decision by seeing the impact on children and others; wanting to live true to their own values; awareness of the need to break the cycle; reaching their limit; seeing the impact of alcohol; recognition of self-worth; and recognition of the impact of colonisation and systemised racism.

Of those who said they hadn't made this decision, some reasons given were: they hadn't experienced violence; the threat of violence had passed; the intent to use violence to defend self or children; and disbelief that non-violence is possible.

The majority of respondents (81%) stated they now live violence-free, contributed to by setting boundaries; living a clear set of values; good communication; having a sense of self-worth; spirituality, consciousness, and empowerment; accessing support; limiting alcohol; financial security; recognising and having a deeper understanding of colonisation and structural racism; and engaging in and living Te Ao Māori.

Chapter 1
He Tīmatatanga Kōrero
Introduction

CHAPTER 1
Introduction

He Waka Eke Noa
A canoe to be used without restriction

We open this report with the whakataukī (ancestral proverbial saying) that names this project 'He Waka Eke Noa', which is described by Mead and Grove (2003) as "a canoe to be used without restriction. The proverb underlies the fact of community ownership" (p.136). The idea of being without restriction points to the understanding that the waka (canoe) is able to be used by all, thus emphasising communal use and ownership. While there are other ways of considering this whakataukī, the idea of collective responsibility that is inherent in this definition is what informs this research project. As an ancestral saying, 'He waka eke noa' reminds us that we all have unrestricted access to and use of this waka, that we are all responsible for the waka and for ensuring that the journey is safe, and that the waka and all aboard it are cared for. It emphasises that we are all on a journey together and thus we must work collectively and collaboratively to reach our destination. In this case, it provides a framework of collective responsibility in seeking ways to prevent and intervene in a critical issue: the impact of family and sexual violence.

'He Waka Eke Noa' is a Kaupapa Māori project driven by Iwi and Māori social service providers' desire to investigate the role of cultural frameworks in strengthening the prevention of family and sexual violence and providing intervention policies, practices and programmes. It is a collaborative project developed with a range of Kaupapa Māori organisations and researchers. The project is grounded in Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology, and all components of the project are co-designed and co-produced, so there is a strong commitment from all parties to ensure that tikanga, te reo, mātauranga Māori and whanaungatanga provide us with both cultural and ethical ways to progress this work to benefit whānau, hapū, iwi, urban Māori and Māori organisations.

'He Waka Eke Noa' focuses on Māori understandings of wellbeing and how wellbeing is affected by violence. International evidence indicates that culture can be an effective 'buffer' in the area of family violence prevention and in healing the impacts of violence (Balzer et.al. 1997; Walters 2002, 2011). 'He Waka Eke Noa' focuses on providing evidence-based knowledge to support effective responses to family and sexual violence, grounded on Māori culturally defined programmes and initiatives. Our approach took a broad view of violence, capturing the complex factors that contribute to the prevalence of violence both within and upon whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities. The research engaged Māori and Indigenous understandings of family violence as multi-layered and impactful on all levels of individual and collective Māori experiences. This approach aligns with the World Health Organisation (2002, 2014) description of violence that impacts both individually and collectively and includes the four modes of violence: physical, sexual, and psychological attack, and deprivation, which forms the basis for numerous reports on violence including the Global Status Report on Violence Prevention (World Health Organisation. 2014).

The research investigated a range of explanations for violence in Aotearoa, both individual and collective. It focused on two key areas of investigation: (i) understanding the sources or origins of violence in Aotearoa, both interpersonal and collective, and (ii) the ways in which culture informs the development of successful approaches to violence reduction, specifically with regard to tikanga and mātauranga Māori.

Over the past 40 years there has been strong advocacy for the development of approaches based upon cultural knowledge and practices; however, there has been limited research exploring the prevalence of family and sexual violence among Māori; cultural principles, in particular the role of collective responsibility in intervening in contexts where family and sexual violence has been intergenerational and ongoing; and strategies employed by Māori to regain wellbeing and transform experiences of violence.

The existing research and literature indicate that dominant approaches to family violence have been defined from western Pākehā perspectives and definitions of family violence (Pihama et.al. 2014). The call for a need for clearly defined cultural approaches was highlighted by the Ministry of Justice (2016) as follows:

> *A few submissions noted the need for services to be culturally appropriate to reduce language and cultural barriers. This would enable Māori, in particular, to be more engaged in addressing family violence. For example, some people supported whānau models including restorative whānau conferencing and those based on Māori tikanga. The Family Violence Death Review Committee commented that kaupapa Māori family violence advocacy services are essential as they focus on addressing whānau violence and achieving whānau ora. (p.46)*

The development of the Pasifika nations framework 'Nga Vaka a Kaiga Tapu' (Ministry of Social Development, 2013) highlighted specific cultural models from Te Moana Nui a Kiwa (Pacific Ocean) and we, as Kaupapa Māori researchers, were aware of the need to recognise that we are also a nation of the Pacific with distinctive 'waka' frameworks that can sit alongside those of our Pacific relations A critical component of this research was the undertaking of a national survey focused on Māori experiences and understandings of family and sexual violence. It has been highlighted by Māori providers that there is inadequate information about the extent of family and sexual violence and the contexts in which they occur. Since the 2003 National survey (Fanslow & Robinson, 2004) there has been one follow-up survey, undertaken in 2019 (Fanslow et al., 2021). Until this project there has never been a National Māori survey. Given the cultural, social, whānau and economic cost of family and sexual violence it is critical that we have research that continues to advance Māori understandings in this area and informs policy, legislative, resource allocation and programme development that will support transformative outcomes.

'He Waka Eke Noa' reminds us that we are all together on a journey and we must work collectively and collaboratively to reach our destination. In this case, it provides a framework that emphasises collective responsibility, accountability and obligations in seeking ways to prevent and intervene in a critical issue: the impact of family and sexual violence. We recognise that information and interventions that are beneficial for Māori, who are the communities most impacted by violence, also have a direct benefit for all communities. It is important to emphasise at the outset that the ways in which Māori experience family violence now were not present pre-colonisation. Gable (2019) discusses the centrality of children within whānau and notes that the abuse of children was not something often seen in our ancestors' times, as noted by Makereti (1986), "[t]he Maori never beat their children, but were always kind to them" (Makereti, 1986, p. 137). She goes on to note that the Christian philosophies of children as property who should be 'seen and not heard', as well as the use of corporal punishment at Native schools, sanctioned English modes of child-rearing, which were in stark contrast to how our tūpuna (ancestors) would have behaved (Gable, 2019). It has been argued extensively that Māori did not tolerate violence within a whānau context and that any abuse was dealt with severely (Balzer et al. 1991; Pihama & McRoberts, 2009). This was also reiterated in this research; for example, it was noted,

> *I understand that in some cases, people who couldn't manage their own behaviour were exiled and I have heard stories of that from both my grandparents in their time. This whole notion of exile is not a well*

understood idea I think, but it is not uncommon in the story of humanity more generally. I think at the kind of extreme end there was exile, there are all kinds of remedies and processes to address behaviour that was placing wellbeing, or the rōpū, or the whānau at risk and a series of mitigations that people would work through depending on the context, the situation, whatever. (Kaikōrero)

It is not the contention that family violence never occurred; rather that it was rare, it was deemed intolerable, and that there were tikanga practices in place to ensure the wellbeing and security of whānau, as well as clear processes and responses to transgressions of tikanga (Balzer et al., 1991).

Māori have called for research that clarifies the issue of violence in terms of cultural, philosophical, political, historical and social contexts, along with providing targeted evidence that informs the planning and implementation of community-based violence prevention programmes (Kruger et al., 2004; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008, 2010a; Ministry for Women, 2015). The Family Violence Death Review Committee have consistently raised the impact of colonisation and historical trauma in calling for improved and Te Tiriti o Waitangi based solutions in regards to provision to Māori (FVDRC 2022) stating:

Previous Committee reports have highlighted the overlap between child abuse and neglect and intimate partner violence; the lack of a strong, cohesive system that responds to family violence; the need for an effective after-care system for families and whānau who have experienced a family violence death; and the need for systems that focus on safety and wellbeing. Across previous reports, the Committee has drawn attention to the legacy of colonisation, trauma and inadequate service responses that has resulted in layers of social entrapment, erroneously placing the responsibility on women for finding safety for themselves and their children. The quality of the responses to wāhine and tamariki effects how much they engage with services, what services they receive and how likely they are to return for help in the future. The Committee has also drawn attention to the need for effective, holistic responses to men who use violence. (p.17)

The need to contextualise violence within cultural experiences has been argued by Māori for some time (Mikaere, 1994 Milroy, 1996; Pihama & Cameron, 2012; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010b; Pihama et al., 2019). Key research and taskforce reports led by Māori have consistently highlighted the need to document the impact of colonial and contemporary disruptions upon our people and the need for us to return to traditional ways of engaging with these issues (Balzer et al., 1997; Kruger et al., 2004; Cram et al., 2002; Erai et al., 2007). The lack of meaningful collaboration within the sector has been highlighted consistently by Māori (Balzer et al., 1997; Kruger et al., 2004; Pihama & McRoberts, 2009). A number of key research reports and resources related to sexual violence in Aotearoa have failed to provide adequate discussion of Māori views (Mortimer, 2005; Accident Compensation Commission, 2008; Fanslow, 2005). Kingi and Jordan (2009) state that with regard to family violence "one of the clear gaps is the lack of ethnic-specific and culturally specific research" (p.77); in particular, Kaupapa Māori research. This project provided an opportunity to undertake research that responds directly to these issues and to begin to bring forward new knowledge that will support the strengthening of both community and government approaches to issues of family and sexual violence and their impact on Māori. It aligns with the position taken by the Whānau Violence Taskforce (2004), which highlighted

… the overall goal or vision of the Framework as the wellbeing (mauri ora) of whānau, hapū, and iwi and within that, individual Māori. Mauri ora is one of a number of Māori terms for wellbeing/wellness and is regarded as the maintenance of the balance between wairua (spiritual wellbeing), hinengaro (intellectual wellbeing), Ngākau (emotional wellbeing) and tinana (physical wellbeing). (Kruger 2004, p.5).

Tikanga Rangahau
Kaupapa Māori

'He Waka Eke Noa' is grounded in a Kaupapa Māori methodology, using a mixed-methods research project to identify the prevalence of family and sexual violence among Māori and to explore cultural approaches to family violence from Māori community perspectives. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) highlights that there is a critical political project, as a part of Kaupapa Māori research, which is to develop Māori-centred, defined and preferred ways of research that seek to intervene in our historical experiences of colonisation and to engage with issues that have arisen in a contemporary context. Kaupapa Māori derives from distinctive cultural epistemological and metaphysical foundations. This is further argued by Mead (1996):

> *The concept of kaupapa implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about those ideas and practices. Nepe argues that Kaupapa Māori is a conceptualisation of Māori knowledge (p.204).*

Kaupapa Māori theory has critical cultural and political elements that drive Māori research approaches, as noted by Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1990):

> *A Kaupapa Māori base (Māori philosophy and principles) i.e., local theoretical positioning related to being Māori, such a position presupposes that:*
>
> - *the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted*
> - *the survival and revival of Māori language and culture is imperative*
> - *the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival (p.100)*

Kaupapa Māori principles have been of direct significance to this project; in particular tino rangatiratanga, whānau, whakapapa, taonga tuku iho, āta, te reo, and tikanga. Each element is critical to our research approach as they are directly linked to transformation for our whānau, hapū and iwi (Smith, 1997). Smith (1997) argues that it is at the intersection of theory and practice that meaningful change occurs for Māori. It is within what Smith (1997) and Pihama (2001) refer to as Kaupapa Māori 'praxis' that meaningful interventions can be developed. It is through these relationships and partnerships that survey and interview processes can be developed to ensure a meaningful approach to co-design. As Smith notes:

> *One of the key dimensions of indigenous methodologies is an explicit intention to connect with and serve the interests of indigenous communities and share research knowledge with those who helped create it, as an acknowledgement of their tino rangatiratanga or self-determining status and as an expression of the principle of reciprocity (1999, p.1)*

Kaupapa Māori principles create a framework that enables the investigation of issues in Aotearoa from a distinctly Māori position (Smith, G. 1997; Smith, L. 1999; Pihama, 2001; Pihama, Tiakiwai & Southey, 2015). These principles emphasise the desire for research to be defined by the communities that are involved, and that through such processes those communities define their research needs and questions. Smith (1999) has emphasised that a Kaupapa Māori methodological approach requires a clear positioning in terms of how the research is organised. In this context the critical organising principle is whānau wellbeing, both as a focus and in research relationships. In this research we are connected by the belief that we must create healthier pathways for many of our people in relation to the impact of family and sexual violence. This led us to seek ways to gain deeper insights, and evidence of how our cultural values, knowledge and practice can inform change and reduce the impact of violence in our communities. Kaupapa Māori as a methodological approach validates the culturally framed knowledge that comes from within the Māori world.

It is important within Kaupapa Māori methodology to ensure that relationships are central to the process. This research has been defined by the priorities of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations working in the area of family violence prevention and intervention. Critical to this project has been the connectedness of the project team to not only the area of focus but also to whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities and organisations. It has been essential to our work that all involved in the research are grounded within their communities and have strong, dependable cultural and professional relationships. Engaging with traumatic issues such as sexual violence in Indigenous communities must be done with care, respect and using appropriate cultural practices that are determined by our communities (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008, 2010a, 2010b). Kaupapa Māori methodology enables an in-depth and complex engagement with the issues at hand. To ensure this, the project used a range of methods that align with tikanga and cultural protocols and practices.

Haldane (2013) advocates the use of local models of response to violence that have the power to shift thinking within communities by not simply replicating dominant western models. In the context of any proposed research, local models would be based on evidence from whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori community perspectives. Such an approach, termed 'transformative participation' by Duran and Firehammer (2015), recognises the legitimacy of communities in producing knowledge that affects how solutions are developed, and how solutions are built on community realities as described by those within the communities. This project represents a coming together of communities that are concerned about the current state of family violence. A Kaupapa Māori process of collaboration and co-production has been discussed in some depth by Smith, L. et al. (2019) as being a means by which Indigenous Peoples take control over their own research processes in ways that resonate with and work for their communities.

> *Co-design, co-production, participatory action, and Indigenous research approaches provide methods and strategies that facilitate, and at their best ignite the emergence of new research knowledge and new Indigenous knowledge (Parsons et al. 2016). In the wider context, co-design and co-production are strategies used across different development projects, professional and institutional domains, science and policy, and real-life change programmes involving multi-disciplines, multi-stakeholders, multi-funders and multi-next users. (Jasano, 2004)… A Kaupapa Māori approach to co-production assumes that Māori are the principal hosts and Māori cultural protocols will inform the taken-for-granted social processes of any gathering of stakeholders and experts; that Māori knowledge is a critical part of the discussion and designing of solutions; and that Māori participation includes but is not limited to formal and ceremonial processes. (p.4)*

Building this form of collaboration has taken time. The Māori organisations engaged Tū Tama Wahine o Taranaki and Te Puna Oranga have long histories of working in the area of violence prevention and intervention. Both organisations are grounded in Kaupapa Māori praxis and have critical links with whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities. The relationships between the practitioners in these organisations and the researchers span more than 40 years. The whanaungatanga (relationships) are reinforced by kaupapa, a common vision and approach to seeking transformation for our people. Together the team provides high-level expertise and knowledge about the enduring issues that contribute to the experience of violence within communities in Aotearoa. Our experience working with Māori indicates that research that affects change in these community spaces carries significant benefits for New Zealand society. This includes ongoing benefits from the evidence produced that describes critical elements for effective interventions. We recognise that interventions that benefit communities that are most affected by violence will have direct benefits for all communities.

Whakawhiti Kōrero
Interviews/Discussions

International research highlights that for Indigenous Peoples, culture provides a framework for understanding and developing healing processes for those who have experienced and continue to experience trauma in their lives (Duran, 2006; Walters et al., 2002; Yellowhorse & Braveheart, 2005). There has, however, been little support for research that focuses on the prevalence of family and sexual violence among Māori, or that provides in-depth explorations of Māori cultural practices as methods of prevention and intervention (Te Puni Kōkiri 2010a; Pihama et al., 2014; Pihama et al., 2019). Research in Aotearoa has been focused predominantly on Pākehā and western approaches that have failed to adequately investigate Māori frameworks (Erai, et al., 2007; Fanslow, 2004, 2005). 'He Waka Eke Noa' has prioritised Māori voices and Kaupapa Māori understandings of how the issue of violence within, between and upon whānau is framed and investigated. The research questions focused on examining Māori community assertions that cultural interventions can provide new and innovative ways of dealing with issues such as family violence and sexual violence. The overarching research questions for this project were framed to focus on critical areas of concern for Māori:

1. What is the prevalence of family and sexual violence for Māori and how do whānau engage services to support intervention?
2. How is violence understood within Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities and what are the culturally defined understandings and practices that are essential to the implementation of approaches that will strengthen family and sexual violence prevention and intervention?

The findings from the whakawhiti kōrero (interviews and hui) component of the research are integrated in Chapters 2 to 6 of this publication. We begin by exploring notions of tikanga and the place of tikanga in providing us with guidance in terms of how we understand our relationships with each other. This is followed by an exploration of the multi-layered impacts of colonisation, historical trauma and State violence, and the ways in which our history and ongoing experiences of colonial trauma have seen the infiltration of imported colonial beliefs and practices into our communities that have resulted in violence escalating in ways that are destructive for many whānau, hapū and iwi. Where it is necessary to highlight the role of colonisation as an original source of violence in Aotearoa we have also committed as a team to not allow that discourse to overwhelm our own healing discussions, which sit at the centre of what we consider to be critical to healing for our people. Therefore, we move from the identification of those colonial origins to a space of healing from Chapter 4 onwards, to bring forward the powerful sharing around healing and processes of violence reduction that are grounded within tikanga and mātauranga Māori. Before ending the qualitative discussions, Chapter 6 returns to structural considerations relating to the urgency needed to increase Kaupapa Māori provision, through a fuller recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, to enable Māori organisations, whānau, hapū and iwi to fulfil the broader aspirations for violence-free living.

He Waka Eke Noa Survey

A critical component of this research was the undertaking of a national survey focused on Māori experiences and understandings of family violence. At the time of developing and undertaking this

survey there had been no national survey since 2003. Since that time Fanslow et al. (2021, 2023) have undertaken a follow-up of the 2003 survey and published their results. However, there had still never been a Māori-focused survey. Māori Providers indicated a need for further information and data on the extent or prevalence of family and state violence and the contexts within which it was occurring to help them situate what they were seeing and experiencing at the front line. They also wanted more information on the strategies that whānau were using to help themselves, particularly cultural strategies. In keeping with Reid's (2006) caveat that Māori need to design and control quantitative methods, we co-designed an on-line national survey with Māori providers and the wider research team. Several collaborative co-design hui were held, both in person and online to develop the survey. It was important to all involved that the survey was informed by and developed using Kaupapa Māori processes, and that it was inviting enough for participants to overcome their resistance to surveys so that it would produce the kind of data and information that our providers would find helpful. Our discussions covered a range of issues. With regard to tikanga and mātauranga, some hui were focused on Māori philosophical understandings, while others were very technical and pragmatic. We drew on Kaupapa Māori principles to help us navigate our way through the survey co-design processes. This national survey was undertaken to identify the prevalence of family and state sexual violence for Māori and to explore strategies that individuals and whānau put in place to enable intervention and transformation intergenerationally.

It is our view that Kaupapa Māori quantitative research must be shaped in ways that focus on the power to inform policy makers and funders in particular, to bring about transformative change. Adopting a mixed or 'multi-method' approach that included quantitative as well as qualitative methodologies better served the purpose of this study. Reid (2006) views quantitative research methods as 'tools' to be used, with the view that we as Māori must determine their use, control and engagements. These methods also enable the development of a broader evidence base to identify trends and demographic or socio-economic factors associated with outcomes, to inform policy and service delivery. Quantitative data can legitimate community concerns, but it is the communities themselves who are the experts in determining their own solutions (Moewaka Barnes, 2000). For this survey we used a range of processes to shape the questions and not only provide some insights in terms of family violence prevalence but also ensure that Māori voices were heard in relation to wider issues of violence. Further discussion of the co-design processes for the survey is provided in the survey section of this report.

Chapter Summary

The first part of this publication gives an overview of the Whakawhiti Kōrero (Discussions and Interviews) undertaken during the 'He Waka Eke Noa' project over the past few years. Chapter 1, He Tīmatatanga Kōrero, opens this publication with an overview of the aims, objectives of the 'He Waka Eke Noa' project and the guidance of the whakataukī that informs this work. It is noted that the whakataukī 'He Waka Eke Noa' was selected as a way to emphasise the collective responsibility that is central to understanding and healing from the impacts of the multi-layered nature of violence both at personal and structural levels. This introductory Chapter also provides an overview of Kaupapa Māori methodology and the methods used throughout this work.

Chapter 2 Te Horopaki, has been framed to provide both national (Māori) and international (Indigenous) approaches to explaining the context that surrounds us in relation to the intersection of colonialism, race, gender, class and homophobia. This requires us to see that violence, both interpersonal and structural, has complex and intersecting elements that multiply the impact upon Māori and Indigenous Peoples, and is embedded in the wider practices of colonial domination and dispossession. Defining what family

violence means for Māori was a focus of much of the work in this sector and was a critical discussion throughout this work. Some in-depth discussion is provided in this chapter to add to the existing ways in which Māori have been expanding beyond main/whitestream definitions.

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of historical trauma impacts that contribute to violence within and amongst whānau, particularly addictions and the ways in which whānau often feel alone in their struggles. It gives an overview of kaikōrero reflections on historical and intergenerational trauma understandings and impacts. This includes the role of the State in both the origins and reproduction of trauma. The section 'Ngā Mahi Tūkino o Te Kawanatanga' refers to violence perpetrated by the Crown and aptly focuses on State violence. Here whānau and kaikōrero speak to the impact of the State on their lives and the ways in which the embedding of colonial ideologies and practices continue to influence the wellbeing of our people. This is not a new discussion. There has been an ongoing assertion from Māori and Indigenous Peoples that colonial and State violence, including institutional racism, sexism, classism and homophobia, have intersected in ways that undermine Māori aspirations for wellbeing and deny the fundamental rights of Indigenous Peoples to be self-determining. This chapter again points out that historical and intergenerational violence continues to be reproduced through State agencies. It also highlights the ways in which alcohol and drugs serve as a mechanism of escape and therefore compound issues of violence for our people.

In Chapters 4 and 5 we move into discussions of Tikanga and Mātauranga Māori, with a particular emphasis on specific concepts and practices that support ways of thinking about and enacting healing. The question posed to kaikōrero was open-ended and enabled those engaged in the discussions to bring forward their reflections and understandings of tikanga elements that are central to not only understanding violence but also to creating healing pathways that are grounded in ways that support reconnection and resolution. A wide range of concepts related to healing and their application were gifted throughout the discussions. This is followed with an exploration of the ways in which mātauranga and tikanga is transmitted through forms such as pūrākau, waiata/mōteatea, karakia, waiata/kapa haka/oriori, maramataka and rongoā (to name a few) can provide us with not only insights but also guidance for transforming our lives and accessing knowledge about who we are and where we see ourselves in this world, both as individuals and as whānau, hapū and iwi.

Chapter 6 Rangatiratanga, is an expression of our desires and aspirations as Māori to be self-determining in line with our positioning as Tangata Whenua, People of the Land. Central to this is an understanding that as Māori we hold the solutions within our own tikanga and ways of being (Pitman 1996; Sykes 1996; Balzer 1997, Pihama, Cameron, Pitman & Te Nana 2021). This also raises the positioning of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the ongoing assertions and activism surrounding the urgency for the Crown to be honourable in embedding and implementing their side of the Treaty arrangements and agreements. As noted in Chapter 3 and again in the Chapters related to the Survey findings, there remains a serious challenge to the Crown and its government to fulfil their obligations under Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

After the overview of the Whakawhiti kōrero chapters we move to a discussion of the 'He Waka Eke Noa' survey. This takes place over Chapters 7 to 10. Chapter 7 opens with the overview of the survey, the Kaupapa Māori process undertaken for design and implementation, and provides insights into the demographics. The survey was undertaken during the lockdown periods of Covid-19; therefore, all responses were facilitated through an online platform. Chapters Eight to Ten then take us through the survey findings related to Whānau Ora, Pae Ora and Waiora. These divisions are made in alignment with the He Korowai Oranga framework, which is a Māori Health strategy that was agreed upon by Māori.

Chapter 8 Whānau Ora, relates to the experiences of the collective. It explores the collective impact of State Violence upon our people. This highlights the extent to which whānau experience multiple levels of violence that derive from the system and institutional practices within State agencies and wider organisations such as the media. We see within this section of the survey that the majority of our people have had negative and disturbing engagements with these institutions in particular racism and other forms of psychological, cultural, systemic, symbolic, epistemic and cultural acts of violence.

Chapter 9 Mauri Ora, looks at individual experiences of violence, both witnessed and experienced across a range of forms: psychological, cultural, spiritual, emotional, sexual, physical, deprivation and neglect. In Chapter 10, Waiora focuses on wider support and support services, providing insights into the place of whānau and organisations for those who have experienced violence in their lives. The final section in this chapter returns to how we see ourselves as Māori and our aspirations for wellbeing through a discussion of Pae Ora, our aspirational wellbeing. This highlights how we as Māori seek to minimise violence in our lives and the strategies that we put in place.

Chapter 11 is a summary of our findings, which returns us to our fundamental focus of how we as Indigenous Peoples can ground our wellbeing and create violence-free spaces through mātauranga and tikanga Māori. The Findings of 'He Waka Eke Noa' reiterate much of what our people have been saying for many years; that our tūpuna have provided us with a rich source of knowledge and ways of being to draw upon for the resolution of raruraru (problems) that we find ourselves in. What is highlighted in this Chapter is that to address family violence we must address the underlying issues that we live with in a colonised context; the structural and systemic impediments that continue to place barriers to our living as Māori, and act in ways that support decolonisation (L. Smith 1999) and the practice of Kaupapa Māori approaches (G. Smith, 1997).

Chapter 2
Te Horopaki Contexting Violence upon Māori and Indigenous Peoples

CHAPTER 2
Te Horopaki

Contexting Violence upon Māori and Indigenous Peoples

Intimate partner violence (IPV) has been reported by the UN Secretary-General (2006) as the most common form of violence experienced by women globally. IPV includes physical and sexual violence, psychological abuse, controlling behaviour, and economic abuse. Classified as a form of domestic violence by the New Zealand Domestic Violence Act of 1995, IPV can manifest in many ways (e.g., coercion, threats, emotional abuse, victim-blaming, using children for manipulation, and economic abuse) that culminate in the entrapment of survivors. Notably, IPV can also consist of financial abuse.

The harmful health, social, and economic effects of IPV cannot be overstated and have been heavily studied in Aotearoa/New Zealand and internationally (Black et al., 2020; Dhunna et al., 2021; Marsh, 2019). Efforts to respond to IPV in high-income countries include the introduction of legislation or national action plans and strengthening the not-for-profit sector to respond to the violence experienced. Although there has been legislation that defines IPV in New Zealand since 1995, there appears to be no shared understanding at a general level, across government departments or in the sectors that work in these areas, about the dynamics, types of abuse and the lived experience of those involved (New Zealand Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2014).

Violence continues to carry dominant assumptions of dramatic incidents of physical abuse, but to focus solely upon physical abuse fails to account for the everyday patterns of control, manipulation, and psychological abuse. Work in IPV in the past decade has increasingly considered the various layers of violence (Krug et al., 2002; Dhunna, 2018). The effect of these more subtle types of violence is that victims of IPV live in fear and anxiety and live momentarily, never being able to consider or prepare for the future. They live in a precarious way (Groot et al., 2017). Robertson et al. (2013) point out the need to understand IPV in multiple ways that include an analysis of the ways in which family violence in this country has such destructive impacts on women. The impacts range from having one of the highest rates of death caused by IPV to removing women's ability to be autonomous and engaged in community, and include the ways in which systems are oppressive and controlling of women who seek help. A significant body of work has emerged that examines the role of structural power imbalances and misogyny embedded in society and how these perpetuate violence against Indigenous women (Cavino, 2016; Hunt, 2016; Wilson, n/d; Wilson & Webber, 2014a, 2014b). Indigenous scholars (Cavino, 2016; Hunt, 2016; Lindemann & Togni, 2022; Pihama et al. 2016) make the point that patriarchal control has disrupted how Indigenous families have created and maintained familial relationships, resulting in gendered violence that did not exist in traditional societies. As Wilson (n/d) highlights

> *Any violation of te whare tangata (that is the house of the people), such as abuse of the genital area and rape, has the potential to create distress amongst Māori women. This distress is not only physical or psychological in origin, but also spiritual and has multiple dimensions to it. Not only is this a violation of the woman herself, but also a violation of her tūpuna and her future generations. Spiritual distress is often a dimension that is neither recognised nor acknowledged, but one that impedes recovery and healing. (p.18)*

Child abuse is born of the same patriarchal colonialist mindset. In 2014 the Glenn Inquiry emphasised that the system of response to child abuse and prevention and intervention has consistently failed to protect and support those who have experienced abuse: it is reported that the process of reporting abuse has itself reproduced violence against women and children (Wilson & Webber, 2014a, 2014b). Much of the literature on child abuse is framed within the context of violence against women and mothers, highlighting that violence within whānau is an issue that impacts women and children the most. Black et al. (2020) note that often interventions related to IPV can place children in even more vulnerable positions, either through removal from their mothers or being left exposed to increasing violence. This is highlighted in the New Zealand Family Violence Death Review Committee report (2017) as follows:

> *Deficit-orientated accounts of mothers living through IPV draw on neoliberal values of individual responsibility and frame women as responsible for the violence of their partners. Women who choose to stay with their partners are frequently interpreted by organisations such as Oranga Tamariki (New Zealand Ministry for Children) as complicit in the abuse (p.542).*

Similarly, Wilson and Webber (2014a) note that,

> *In standing up to their perpetrators, many victims hoped to reclaim their mana and sense of self. However, for many, their experiences of the system further disempowered them and resulted in losing whatever mana they may have had left. Thus, seeking help can sometimes be worse for people than putting up with the violence and abuse (p.12).*

It is critical that in addressing family violence in Aotearoa, we shift from a narrow view of individuals to an analysis that includes all relevant contexts: interpersonal and collective alongside culturalist (the level of human agency) and structuralist (the level of political systems). This requires an in-depth analysis of both historical and contemporary contexts and particularly the ongoing impact of colonisation on whānau.

Colonial Violence upon Indigenous Peoples

Colonisation and the associated historical and colonial trauma effects on Indigenous Peoples have been clearly evidenced in Indigenous communities as reproducing family violence and wider State violence against Indigenous Peoples, particularly Indigenous women and children (Balzer, 1997; Pihama & McRoberts, 2009; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010a, 2010b; Walters et al., 2011; Million, 2013; Wilson & Webber, 2014a, 2014b; Hunt & Holmes, 2015; Hunt, 2018; Mikaere, 2017; Pihama et al., 2017; Cavino, 2019). Indigenous women globally suffer extreme violence at both interpersonal and societal levels. Indigenous women globally are also at the cutting edge of both challenging such violence and providing healing for our people.

Across the world Indigenous women are leading movements against violence against our women, our children, our families, our communities, our lands, waters and all that live alongside us as relations. It is important that in opening this discussion we also recognise and affirm the strength and power of Indigenous women, and therefore of Indigenous Peoples, in our assertions of sovereignty and in our movements for decolonisation within our territories. No discussion of violence against Indigenous women and children can take place without such an acknowledgement. This, for Māori, is articulated in the whakataukī 'Mā te wahine, mā te whenua, ka ngaro ai te tangata' which reminds us that without women, and without land, the people will perish. This whakataukī provides us with a fundamental understanding of the sacred place of Indigenous women in our ancestral understandings. It also provides

insight into why Indigenous women are so active and determined in our movements against violence within and upon our communities. It is with this in mind that we discuss the impact of violence against and upon Indigenous women.

Violence in the context of colonisation is multi-layered and intersectional. It is invasive and it is oppressive. It is structural and systemic and becomes expressed in ways that are felt both personally and collectively. This Chapter discusses colonisation as violence upon Indigenous Peoples and shows the connections between the historical and colonial impacts of violence upon our people and how that becomes embedded within our communities. The impact of the many layers of privilege and the oppressive acts of dispossession, racism, sexism, homophobia, classism are also expressed and enacted in the economic and social systems throughout society that contribute to the reproduction of inequalities and disparities that impact severely upon Indigenous Peoples.

Indigenous communities in countries such as Aotearoa, Australia, Canada, Hawaii and North America have experienced, for the past 200-500 years, the impact of colonial imperialism based upon violence against our people (Balsam et al. 2004; Duran & Duran, 1995; Braveheart & DeBruyn, 1998;Trask, 1993 Smith, 1999; Atkinson, 2013; Behrendt, 2003; Kruger et al, 2004; Barker, 2008; Nicholson et al. 2009; Million, 2013; Goodyear et al., 2014; Mikaere, 2017). It is widely documented that family violence as we know it now was not prevalent in Indigenous communities prior to colonisation, and the impact of colonial and historical trauma in all of its component parts has seen some Indigenous communities describe our current experiences of family violence as "an epidemic' (Kruger et al., 2004; Cavino, 2016), a "national emergency", or "Australia's Tsunami"(Cripps & Davis, 2012, p.1). The framing of family violence in Aotearoa as an 'epidemic' may well highlight the severity of the issue for Māori; however, Wilson and Webber (2014a) make the point that:

> *New Zealanders respond to sudden disaster with swift action and heroic deeds. In a crisis, we rally to save and restore lives and show determination to learn from mistakes and avert further catastrophes. Yet we do not apply the same sense of purpose to the slow-burning disaster unfolding every day behind closed doors across New Zealand society. (p. 16).*

The framing of family violence as an epidemic, crisis, or disaster has not been met with the co-ordinated and sustained approach required to recover from a disaster (Wilson & Webber, 2014a, 2014b). In fact, inadequate state responses, particularly to Māori women, are a recurring theme in the literature (Cram et al., 2021). Another perspective is provided by Deer (2015):

> *Using the word epidemic deflects responsibility because it fails to acknowledge the agency of perpetrators and those who allow the problem to continue. The word also utterly fails to account for the crisis's roots in history and law. Using the word epidemic to talk about violence in Indian country is to depoliticize rape. It is a fundamental misstatement of the problem (2015, x)*

Rather than reduce the ways in which family violence is understood to align with medical discourses such as an 'epidemic', for Indigenous Peoples we must see the multi-layered nature of family violence in Indigenous communities. Cripps and Davis (2012) stress the intersection of colonisation, dispossession, and systemic violence in Aboriginal people, which has culminated in destructive systemic outcomes for generations of Indigenous families and communities.

> *Significant attention has been drawn to the relationship between the disruption and distress attributable to colonisation, dispossession and the removal of Indigenous children from their families, and Indigenous experiences of violence. In addition, Indigenous people are much more likely to experience socio-economic disadvantage including unemployment, welfare dependency and overcrowding in households. Physical*

and mental health issues, low self-esteem, a sense of powerlessness, and destructive coping behaviours including substance abuse, may be further contributing factors to the incidence of family violence. All of these experiences, separately but especially in combination, are risk factors for family violence. (p.1)

In Turtle Island (known in colonial terms as North and Central America), acts of invasion and violence upon Indigenous Peoples are directly associated with the wider violence of land dispossession and notions of control over land and the environment. This has been described by Duran (2006) as a "collective raping process of the psyche/soul of both the land and the people" (p.21). Kwakwaka'wakw scholar Sarah Hunt (2010) states that in Canada the origins of sexual violence "are as deep as colonialism itself" (p.27). In Aotearoa the abuse of Papatūānuku has been described by Ani Mikaere (cited in Pihama & McRoberts, 2009) as being central to the imposition of Christianity and ideologies of relationships that are grounded in systems of dominance. As Mikaere states,

Christianity set up this very strong sense of hierarchy, creating for us the idea that it was normal to have some parts of creation that were dominant and some that were subservient. That tracked on through to human relationships, resulting in the acceptance of the idea that some humans were made to be dominant and others were made to be subservient. It also translated into a kind of arrogance that assumed that humans were dominant over Papatūānuku with accompanying ideas about us having a god-given right to exploit the earth. This attitude is all about us assuming that we have power over the earth and when that idea translates into human relationships, before long you have men thinking they have power over women, or grown-ups thinking they have power over children. (p.106)

The ways in which violence is embedded in colonising processes in Canada is highlighted by Holmes et al. (2014), who not only reveal how structural violence occurs but also how such violence is concealed and reframed so that Indigenous spaces are considered to be "spaces of expected violence" (p.550). The concealing of colonial structural violence further disguises the fact that violence is and has always been "a central tool of colonialism, enacting and reinforcing Indigenous peoples' dehumanized status" (Holmes et al., 2014, p.550).

In the opening of the report by the United Nations Secretary-General (United Nations, 2006) on the 'In-depth study on all forms of violence against women' the following statement was made:

Violence against women persists in every country in the world as a pervasive violation of human rights and a major impediment to achieving gender equality. Such violence is unacceptable, whether perpetrated by the State and its agents or by family members or strangers, in the public or private sphere, in peacetime or in times of conflict. (p.9)

Embedded within this statement is the fundamental recognition that violence against women, and thus family violence, is perpetrated on multiple levels, in both public and private spheres, and in all societal systems, both structural and within social units such as the family. There is an acknowledgement that the State is a part of the system of family violence and violence against women. What this statement fails to acknowledge is the understanding that violence against women, against families and within families in colonised contexts such as Aotearoa has its origins in broader systems of colonisation and imposed violence against Indigenous Peoples. Regarding access to robust data and information systems related to violence against women, the Secretary General noted that there continues to be a failure by States to adequately resource the much-needed work in this area, noting:

Similarly, while data on the nature, prevalence and incidence of all forms of violence against women has increased significantly in recent years, information is not yet comprehensive. Lack of political will is reflected in inadequate resources devoted to tackling violence against women and a failure to create and

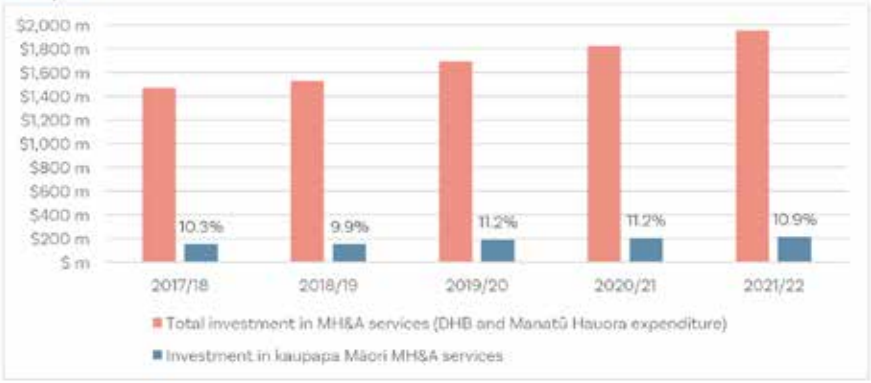
maintain a political and social environment where violence against women is not tolerated. (p.9)

This has been highlighted for many years in Aotearoa, with Māori clearly expressing concern at the failure of successive governments to both acknowledge the high levels of violence experienced by Māori women and children, and the need for the resourcing and funding of Kaupapa Māori approaches to Family Violence (Pihama, 2020, 2021; Waitangi Tribunal, 2019; Te Hiringa Mahara: Mental Health and Wellbeing Commission, 2023). For example, Kurei (2016) found that Kaupapa Māori organisations are desperately under-resourced. The consequences of such starkly inadequate resources are dire – for both clients and staff. Advocates (case workers) are frequently exhausted as they try to assist women and children with high and complex needs with little resources on a highly restricted budget. Many times, workers were observed relegating their own interests (including their own health and safety) to meet the demands and needs of their clients. Similarly, the successful rehabilitation of clients is jeopardised by restricted options, insufficient capacity in the system and at times even the simplest of requirements such as transport to essential services. Pihama et al. (2021) also emphasized the failure to sufficiently resource and fund Kaupapa Māori provision.

The lack of funding and resource support for Kaupapa Māori providers working in this area is not new. The Waitangi Tribunal (2019) have voiced deep concerns with the failure of the government to operate in line with Te Tiriti o Waitangi across the health sector. They note that in the Māori Primary Health sector successive governments have been well aware of this failure for many years and continue to fail to adequately fund Māori health Providers. This is most certainly the case in the area of prevention, intervention and healing from both sexual violence and whānau violence for Māori. (p.9)

Te Hiringa Mahara (2023) stressed the necessity of increasing funding to Kaupapa Māori services in the Mental Health and Wellbeing Sector showed the significant inequities in funding to Kaupapa Māori services in the sector (p.23).

Figure 1: Investment in kaupapa Māori mental health and addiction services compared with total investment in mental health and addiction services, 2017/18-2021/22



Since the Secretary General's report in 2006 there remains a context in Aotearoa where data continues to be limited and where access to resources to enable the gathering of more robust knowledge and information on the prevalence of family violence for Māori women continues to be a significant failure on the part of successive governments. The report by Special Rapporteur Alsaleem, like that of the Secretary General, raises the fundamental failure of States to provide adequate and systematic

data and information related to violence against Indigenous women to more effectively inform policy development "aimed at preventing and responding to acts of violence against Indigenous women and girls" (p.19). It was noted by researchers in regard to the development of this project that there has been no survey undertaken since 2003. Since we started this work there has been another study, by Fanslow et al. (2021) that revisited the 2003 National survey. It took 16 years for that study to be done and 200 years for a survey related to Māori women's experiences to be completed. The ongoing failure by States globally to make the level of intensive changes required has been noted again in the recent report by Special Rapporteur Reem Alsalem (Alsalem, 2022).

> *Unfortunately, gender-based violence against indigenous women and girls is drastically underreported and perpetrators regularly enjoy impunity. Despite the increased risk of violence, indigenous women and girls face significant obstacles in accessing justice, either within their community or through State institutions, due to discrimination, bias, fear of stigmatization, language barriers and re-victimization risks. As a result, indigenous women and girls receive no remedies for the violence they experienced. They also suffer the consequences of intergenerational trauma that, left unaddressed, is transmitted to the following generations. (p.3)*

Alsalem (2022) also highlights that violence against Indigenous women is multilayered and complex, with Indigenous women experiencing violence at both individual and collective levels so that they "bear the gendered consequences of the violence against themselves and their communities disproportionately" (p.3). These observations align with the broader discussion of historical and colonial trauma that has been highlighted by Indigenous Peoples for the past 40 years. To understand the origins, causes and ongoing perpetuation of family violence, and the wider context of violence against Indigenous women, we must address the impacts of colonisation and the importation of the underpinning gender, race and class ideologies that intersect in ways that are destructive of Indigenous communities and cause devastating impacts on Indigenous women and children. These intersections are emphasized throughout the Alsalem report as follows:

> *A close connection exists between gender-based violence perpetuated against them and the multiple forms of discrimination they face, based on the intersection of gender, race, ethnicity and socioeconomic circumstances. Historic and systemic patriarchal power structures, racism, exclusion and marginalisation, maintained by the legacy of colonialization, have led to high levels of poverty, dire financial and social stress, and significant gaps in opportunities and well-being between indigenous and non-indigenous women. These structures and systems are both cause and consequence of the structural and institutional stereotyping, discrimination and violence that indigenous women and girls still face from all sectors of society today. (p.7)*

Violence against Indigenous peoples occurs with every colonial act of violence and interpersonal act of violence: "this the greatest violence, the violence that brings the loss of spirit, the destruction of self, of the soul" (Atkinson, 2013, p. 69). It has been argued that colonial violence is enacted through Indigenous homes, families, and bodies (de Leeuw, 2016). This aligns with the arguments by Kruger et al. (2004) (p.11) that colonisation is forged to be so embedded within our communities that it becomes the 'model' by which to live. They state:

> *Colonisation is an extreme form of violence. The power to enforce and legitimate particular forms of violence (land alienation, punishment for speaking te reo Māori), and render as illegal efforts by Māori to protect themselves from these types of violence (passive resistance, isolation), means that Māori exist inside a constant dichotomy. The risk is that we adopt what we have been shown (colonisation becomes the role model) and adapt the methodologies of violence to our own cultural practices.*

Colonisation

Many kaikōrero spoke of the impact of State violence upon their whānau, hapū and iwi. When asked about the origins of what we now see as family violence among Māori, Kaikōrero clearly identified colonisation and its many manifestations as a source of violence.

The origins of whānau violence, of what we now see, so what we are here and now. It's quite clear I'm just going to say, colonisation. But what is that; what was that about and what is that process about. It is about the tikanga of the land and of the people has been usurped and the foreign practices and ideologies around class, gender, race have been brought into the land. (Kaikōrero)

Look, it might sound trite but I do believe it is colonisation. I'm a western trained doctor, I'm a western trained child psychiatrist, and I wish this was not the case. But honestly, I think there's massive evidence that colonisation rolls along, we're still living with it now, it hasn't ended. It's like a shape shifter, it just consumes and cannibalizes, and morphs into all the spaces of our lives. It can be quite insidious; it can be quite hidden, and we can convince ourselves we're making tracks here... On one level I'm a deeply positive person. I also worry about lots of us, we're battling away doing our best, but honestly colonisation is this massive beast. And so I do believe that the particular strands are of lateral violence, so Māori hurting other Māori is one of the manifestations of colonisation that we all see, that we all live with. And it's kind of a brilliant strategy from colonisers, because it means that they can really try and influence more and more of us, and frankly they require less of their resources because we're doing it to each other. So, I think it's colonisation. (Kaikōrero)

Colonisation as a process has been the experience of Māori for many generations and while the origins of what we now consider family violence may be sourced to historical events, the impact continues through generations of whānau, hapū and iwi and manifests in a range of ways such as urbanization, formations of groups such as gangs, unemployment, and addictions, all of which create layers of stress on both individuals and whānau.

I think it's colonisation. I think it's the entry of all of those things I talked about before. I think it's urbanization, I think, that was when all the gangs were formed. I know that down in South Taranaki the Black Power moved away from our Marae and went into town because their homes were being sold. The councils at that time, if you didn't pay your rates, they'd take your house, basically. So, a lot of, not them but their parents or grandparents, became homeless. So, the land was gone, already homeless. So, what they did, they went into town and they became their own whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Colonisation has got to be a significant element. I also think that, again, a lot of the issues relate to the socio-economic conditions in which we are trying to live our lives. You can trace a lot of issues to the fact that people are struggling to eke out a living, in terms of the economics of their lives, and trying to make a little bit of resource go around and stretch it in ways that it really doesn't do the job. People get competitive, get jealous or whatever, the emotional elements take over around that… Our socio-economic condition as a people is really derived from our colonisation and the fact that I would say a lot of our communities are structurally under-privileged, that is we live in a context of unequal, social and power relations which are able to be manipulated to maintain the other's superiority in our subordination. (Kaikōrero)

The displacement of Māori and Indigenous Peoples from our land base through colonial invasion and dispossession has been a strategy employed across the globe. Kaikōrero spoke to the impact of displacement and the removal of the connection to the land and the tikanga that is embedded within the relationships that support our place as tangata whenua, the People of the Land.

I think a lot of those stem from what they might have seen, the land confiscations, some of the reo restrictions on some of our own traditional methods we used in the past having been taken from us or not encouraged during colonisation when the first settlers came and saw the natives' way of life, not acceptable to theirs. So being assimilated to some of their beliefs contributed in a huge way to the violence of the day and certainly the roles too tend to be more, it is the women that tend to be doing the protecting, the feeding and doing the majority part of the whānau… Certainly I think there is a Western influence in there and it goes back to the education and some of the Pākehā histories impacting on some of traditional values and beliefs. Part of not being able to speak the reo or use a tikanga Māori-based [approach] from birth and taking on non-Māori things I think have contributed to those things that are happening today (Kaikōrero).

Intersectionality and Violence

The balance in whānau relationships was disrupted by colonial violence that has been sustained and felt across generations in Aotearoa. Mikaere (2017) (p.129) refers to this as follows:

Our colonizers regarded our collectivism as beastly communism, our language as inferior, and our spiritual beliefs as heathen. All had to be destroyed and replaced, with individualism, with English and with Christianity, as a matter of urgency. The destruction of the gender balance that had characterised tikanga Māori and its replacement with patriarchy was just one more aspect of the assimilation process that sought to transform us into brown versions of our colonisers.

These colonial impositions are felt in Māori communities and whānau in varied and complex ways (Irwin, 1992; Smith, 1999; Robertson et al., 2013; Mikaere, 2017; Pihama et al., 2019a, 2019b; Pihama, 2021). Devastatingly, the family violence that has resulted from these impositions and imbalances continues to impact Māori whānau (NZFVDR, 2014; Webber, 2019) and particularly Māori women (Marsh, 2019; Ministry for Women, 2015). Understanding colonial violence also requires understanding racialised violence and intersectionality. Erai (2020) points out that violence does not exist free of the power structures and hierarchies that it exists within and that it is enacted upon bodies. Watego (2021) engages in important discourses on race and violence, stating:

Finding a vocabulary for the violence of race is not a matter of language or literacy. It is in being affirmed and validated about the realness of race in our lives that it's most useful. I have seen the psychological bruises of racial violence on the souls of Blackfullas; a brokenness of interrogating one's ability to know oneself, of struggling to believe the body's experience of itself (p. 142)

Connected to understanding colonial violence is the need to understand racialised violence and intersectionality (Anderson et al., 2018). Intersectionality identifies how the intersecting power issues arise from different aspects of a person's social and political identities (Crenshaw, 1989). Discrimination can be different depending on the gender, race, class, sexuality, and ability of individuals and groups. (New Zealand Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2020). Intersectionality articulates individual experiences of identity, but these identities are informed institutionally or systemically, structurally or societally (Crenshaw, 1989; New Zealand Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2020; Paradies, 2006; Smith, 1999), as Wilson (2008) states:

We must address the interconnections between misogyny, homophobia, transphobia, classism, ablism and racism. We must name misogyny and homo/transphobia in our own communities. We must acknowledge and protect the bodies and people who have been impacted by colonial violence and have the courage to stand in the truth of and celebrate our pre-colonial understandings of gender and sexual diversity (Wilson 2008, 172).

For Indigenous communities, understanding of the concept of intersectionality is not new to our communities (Danforth, 2011). Indigenous communities before colonisation had multiple categories of gender, and holistic understandings and approaches to health (Hunt, 2016). Patricia Monture-Angus (1995) puts it thus: [T]o artificially separate my gender (or any other part of my being) from my race and culture forces me to deny the way I experience the world (p. 198). In regards to wellbeing and intersectionality it has been reported that people with disabilities face a higher rate of violence than other sectors of the population (Fanslow 2021b). In the study 'He Koiora Matapopore - The 2019 New Zealand Family Violence Study' (Fanslow et al., 2021a; Fanslow & MacIntosh, 2023) researchers identified that people with disabilities reported much higher levels of non-partner violence than those without disabilities (Fanslow et al. 2021b). This has also been reported by Indigenous communities with Cribb et al. (2010) highlighting that there is a need for greater collaborations across Indigenous and disability communities and organisations working in the area of family violence. Furthermore, they note that whilst there are clear statements that in the rights of Indigenous Peoples includes an assertion of equitable access to quality services for all Indigenous Peoples this is the case for Indigenous peoples with disabilities that experience violence. Rather, they note, governments consider this issue "too hard to handle" (p.3). In their study Cribb et al. (2020) highlighted the ways in which intersectionality must be understood in order to mitigate the compounded and multiple issues that Indigenous Peoples with disabilities face in regards to experiences and impacts of violence.

> *Research participants described to us that often 'people are just ignorant, and think that the disability [our] women have is being black and that their ...disability isn't even seen.' Few services are knowledgeable and/or experienced in meeting the needs of such women and children, particularly when it requires straddling multiple services and institutional sectors that have not traditionally worked together. In this quagmire, victims often get the bureaucratic-run-around, shuttled from Indigenous services, to family violence services and to disability services without any one service taking responsibility for coordinating the care and support the victim(s) may need. In this space and in sheer frustration, women typically return home to be taken care of by family and will continue to live with violence because 'It's just too hard ...' (p.5)*

In Aotearoa there is currently a study being undertaken within the disabilities sector focused upon the impact of family violence, and which includes a Kaupapa Māori research strand led by Māori within the sector (https://www.donaldbeasley.org.nz/projects/exploring-a-twin-track-approach-to-violence-elimination-for-disabled-women/).

Expanding our understanding of family violence requires considering the nuances of intersectionality. The New Zealand Family Violence Death Review Committee (2020) in Aotearoa positions intersectionality within its frameworks relating to remediating intimate partner violence, where Māori women face disproportionate intimate partner violence compared to non-Māori women. Western definitions and frameworks for understanding family violence have primarily focused on gendered power and control without considering fully the implications of racialised power and control and, importantly, without considering the intersections of sexualised, gendered and racialised power (Cavino, 2016; Pihama & Cameron, 2012). Cavino (2016) provides a nuanced analysis of family violence, making the point that Indigenous research focuses on the relationship between interpersonal violence and colonial violence. Other Māori researchers have also focused on the link between family violence and colonial violence, refusing to be drawn into the individualised, disconnected and siloed definitions of violence that isolate individuals (Pihama et al., 2016; 2019; 2021; Smith T., 2019). Historical trauma theory conceptualises the effects of colonial violence on Indigenous peoples. It seeks to articulate how historical experiences of collective trauma impact Indigenous communities. Collective trauma experienced through colonialism

has a direct bearing on the experiences and prevalence of family violence today (Duran & Duran, 1995; Braveheart, 1999, 2000; Million, 2013; Atkinson, 2013; Hunt & Holmes, 2015; Smith & Tinirau, 2019; Walters et al., 2008, 2011). As Pihama and Cameron-Raumati et al. (2019) state, *"[h]istorical trauma is perpetrated through deliberate and intentional acts of violence and oppression upon one group of people by another" (p.1).*

The cumulative nature of violence is destructive to Indigenous People's lives, individually and collectively, and at both personal and structural levels (Evans-Campbell, 2008; Benabed, 2009; Walters et al., 2011). This aligns with the understanding that historical and intergenerational trauma is not confined to a single act of colonial invasion, nor does it sit in the past. The impact of the trauma is constantly present and is ongoing as Indigenous Peoples negotiate it every day (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Duran & Duran, 1995; Wesley-Esquimaux, 2009). It is argued that sexual violence is a tool of colonialism that is used to dominate and annihilate Indigenous communities (Million, 2013). As a direct outcome of such violence, alongside the intersections of race, class, gender and colonial supremacy, Indigenous women and children have experienced extreme and intergenerational suffering at the hands of our colonisers (Bear, 2016; Million, 2013). Across Turtle Island this is reflected in the devastating numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women (Amnesty International, 2009; Bear, 2016; Palmater, 2016; Urban Indian Health, 2018, 2019). In Australia the murder rate for Aboriginal women is over twelve times the national average. It has been noted that there is little data on the number of missing and murdered Indigenous women across Canada and the USA and that the difficulty in gaining such information is exacerbated by the failure of police and other officials to document cases (Palmater, 2016). The Urban Indian Health Institute (UIHI, 2018) highlights this in its report, stating:

> *The National Crime Information Center reports that, in 2016, there were 5,712 reports of missing American Indian and Alaska Native women and girls, though the US Department of Justice's federal missing persons database, NamUs, only logged 116 cases (2018, p.2).*

Furthermore, the UIHI report (2018) identified the failure of agencies across states to provide meaningful information, and in many cases a failure to provide any data in relation to Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG). They note:

> *Seventy-one city police agencies and one state police agency were surveyed. Forty agencies (56%) provided some level of data. Thirty-three of the 40 (and 46% of all surveyed) actually searched their records, though not all provided comprehensive data. Ten out of the 40 agencies provided data but with a "caveat", meaning they only confirmed cases UIHI had already logged, provided what they could recall from memory, or gave partial data. Fourteen of the 72 agencies surveyed (20%) did not provide data, and 18 (25%) are still pending. Those combined with the 10 "caveat" cases comprised 59% of all the agencies surveyed. In sum, nearly two-thirds of all agencies surveyed either did not provide data or provided partial data with significant compromises. (p.13)*

There is well-documented evidence of Police and, in Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) not only failing to investigate such cases, but also of their involvement in the perpetuation of sexual abuse and violence against Indigenous women (Palmater, 2016; Amnesty International 2009). A further report from UIHI 'MMIWG: We Demand More' (2019) provided a direct response to a report undertaken by the Washington state Police that framed issues surrounding MMIWG in victim-blaming and harmful ways.

> *The report that the Washington State Patrol released (Missing and Murdered Native American Women Report) in June 2019 is not a proper resource and does nothing to address the missing and murdered indigenous women and girls (MMIWG) crisis in Washington State. In fact, it causes harm to our*

community. By Washington State Patrol publishing this study, which is a first-of-its-kind study done by a law enforcement agency, they are providing misleading and incorrect information to those who make decisions, write policy, and distribute funding. They are being looked at as an example to other states when it comes to policies addressing the MMIWG crisis, and only harm will come to our loved ones if this is how legislation across the country is written and enforced. (Online overview: https://www.uihi.org/resources/mmiwg-we-demand-more/)

The intersections of colonial ideologies of gender are at the centre of experiences of homophobia and transphobia for our people. Moving to decolonise gender spaces requires actively working against heteronormative colonial influences that become increasingly embedded within our communities.

I think it's the introduction of the Pākehā society. It's the way that they looked at their women and children. There is no doubt from a historical perspective that one of the first things that the missionaries tried to undertake was to break the power of Māori women having the right to speak because their own women weren't allowed to. All of a sudden you are confronted by a feisty woman who would have her say and they didn't like it and there was a deliberate strategy to break that, to stop women having their say and then us dumb Māori men picked it up. (Kaikōrero)

Colonial ideologies and practices of gender, race and class that have been imported to Aotearoa have impacted significantly in the undermining of Māori structures, beliefs and ways of living. (Kaikōrero)

In terms of a Māori male, I think that two key events happened, and those were the world wars, that they took away a whole generation of Māori male role models, who had te reo, who had tikanga. And those that came back were damaged, and what happened in that generation, from my belief was that the rongoā became alcohol, and all the social stuff that went around that, our men not being able to get jobs, not being able to get settlement land that everybody else got. Having the whole diminishment of our mana, and what that did in how we saw our worth etc. We are now a few generations on, I believe, dealing with a few generations of Māori males that have not had good Māori male role figures. I think that also is a major contributor, and then the whole disintegration of our whole social structures, whānau, hapū, not so much iwi, although they were disintegrated. We also then didn't have our extended whānau living around us any longer, because we'd moved out of the pā to deal with that. (Kaikōrero)

I'm just of the view of what colonisation has done for us as a people, it has separated us from accessing what were the natural practices of our own senses of healing and finding our own balancing. And what has been put in place has been a Western concept of how we should be, how we should act, the role of the man looks like this, the role of the female looks like that. We're expected to conform but we know that we don't belong. And so that creates a tension, a contradiction of how to access, of how discipline looks like, what we're expected to just take on board knowing that those very systems are in place have also been used violently against us. (Kaikōrero)

The complexity or holism inherent in Indigenous communities was and continues to be the focus of colonial violence through policies inflicted on the land and on the body. Colonial processes were not only gendered, but also attacked other intersectional ways of being within Indigenous communities. While it is acknowledged that within this survey the numbers of those that identified as gender fluid/non-conforming/intersex/transgender/gender non-binary or gender diverse are low, it is important to note that within these numbers there are high rates of victimisation and discrimination, as noted in other surveys and research (Human Rights Commission 2008; Kerekere 2017; Green et al. 2020; Green & Pihama 2023). It is also important to understand that the dominant binary construction of what is

considered male or female is political and determined through ideologies of gender and heteronormativity that have serious and harmful impacts on those who identify as gender non-conforming (Menon 2020: Green & Pihama 2023). Menon (2020) states:

> *The real crisis is not that gender non-confirming people exist, it's that we have been taught to believe in only two genders in the first place. Gender diversity is an integral part of our existence. It always has been and always will be. (p.5)*

Further research on these intersections, specifically the experiences of takatāpui communities, is required. This includes more in-depth discussion in Aotearoa with regard to the impact and discriminatory experiences of transgender whānau in the form of cisnormativity and cisgenderism. Cisgenderism is described by Tan et al. (2021) as "discriminatory attitudes, policies, and practices against transgender people at systemic level, which may be related to cisnormativity that identifies cisgender people as the dominant, normal, and superior group" (p.1). Furthermore, oppressive practices such as conversion therapy, which continue to operate, are acts of violence against LGBTQI+ communities across Aotearoa and internationally (Veale et L. 2019). These forms of violence perpetrated upon LGBTQI+ people require further investigation in this country. In the LGBT+ Pride 2023 Survey (Ipsos 2023) it was noted that across 30 countries, 67% perceived that transgender people face a great deal or a fair amount of prejudice (p.33). Green et al. (2020) note that Takatāpui (Māori LGBTIQA+) experience high levels of discrimination across communities:

> *Takatāpui suffer discrimination on many levels: within the LGBTQI-plus communities because of their cultural identity; within their cultural community because of their sexuality and gender identities; and within wider society because of sexuality and cultural identity (Pihama et al., 2006), and gender identity (Nopera, 2017).(p.17)*

Dickson (2016) points out that specific interventions for partner and sexual violence are significant issues for people in Rainbow communities. For those experiencing partner or sexual violence, it creates an additional barrier to help-seeking due to the homophobia and discrimination that many experience. It increases vulnerability, especially for young people who may be forced to stay in abusive relationships because families are not safe for them. (Dickson, 2016). As Hunt and Holmes (2015) state, "For Two-Spirit people, addressing homophobia and transphobia is integrally connected to confronting broad systems of colonial power, which work to erase Indigenous ontologies of gender and sexuality" (p.160). Wilson (2008) considers the experiences of two-spirit people and the violence and discrimination they face both within and outside their communities. The internalisation of misogyny, homophobia and transphobia is examined in terms of how two-spirit people feel unsafe and unwelcome in their communities. Importantly, understandings of colonial violence require a more structural and expansive understanding of interpersonal and family violence. Existing frameworks and responses are inadequate at best and harmful at worst.

> *We need people to literally have the courage to stand up to those who are bullies, because there are so many bullies out there. We've got homophobes, we've got racists, we've got families that don't know the difference between enabling violence and standing up against violence. We have teachers who are still teaching students that it is okay to belittle. (Kaikōrero)*

Concerted work by Māori communities and leaders to restore the balance within whānau has been going on for generations. This work has occurred within whānau and communities and across various, although siloed, government agencies. Despite decades of work and effort to restore the balance, family violence continues in Aotearoa at some of the highest rates in the developed world (NZFVDR, 2014).

> *When these unacceptable levels of violence within our communities are considered together with what is*

known about the intergenerational progression of violence, Aotearoa New Zealand's collective resolve and commitment must be on interrupting the transmission of violence and trauma at all levels – individual, family/whānau, community, and, most importantly, for future generations. (p. 19)

Disconnection

Disconnection through colonisation and the ongoing perpetuation of the oppression of Māori by colonising State systems is noted throughout the research as being a key element in defining family violence. The concept of 'slow violence' could be employed here to describe the kinds of violence that are often unseen and undetected (Nixon, 2011; Walters et al., 2011) and the ongoing colonialisms that Indigenous communities, including Māori, experience at a collective level. Nixon (2011) refers to slow violence as the kind of violence that is out of sight, delayed, and dispersed across time and space. The violence is beyond the 'events' that are visible and is more long-lasting. Such analysis includes the intergenerational displacement and disconnection of whānau from our whenua, our tikanga and our mātauranga.

There are many, many, many things you could talk to including te reo, the loss of themselves, their own identity… Basically, all those things contributed to becoming dislocated, dispossessed, the loss of language, loss of our own sense of who we are, all contributed to violence on those varying levels. There is the state level, the community level and then there is the personal individual level as well, of violence that occurs. (Kaikōrero)

What happened with colonisation is that they weren't here to integrate themselves into us, they were here to take, they were here to own. I think it is that whole concept of ownership that they perpetuated upon our people that they now owned our land, that they now had our tino rangatiratanga, that they now had our mana motuhake. I think those two concepts are really important in this conversation of where do the origins of whānau violence come [from] because when you take an identity of a people and when you try to take their sovereignty, their self-determination then what sense of self do they have? If you think that they have taken tino rangatiratanga and they have tried to take our mana motuhake, what they are trying to do is take your sense of self, and so what is left in you, is what they have implanted in you. If you look at the origins of whānau violence, it is actually behaviours of Pākehā implanted into us: by the ripping away of our self-identity, they have implanted their teachings, their learnings into us. (Kaikōrero)

I think chaos is a result of no tikanga. Tikanga creates boundaries, tikanga creates safety, tikanga informs correct behaviour and that is what is missing with whānau today. A lack of understanding of what tikanga looks like, a lack of tikanga within the whānau space has led to where we are sitting today in relation to family violence. If we were to reinstate tikanga within whānau that would reinstate our indigeneity immediately. There is a space for tikanga to sit within what we are trying to move towards and that is living in violence-free whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Defining Family Violence

Defining family violence for Māori has been a part of a number of Māori research projects over the past 20 years (Balzer, 1997; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010a; Pihama et al., 2020). It has been noted that limitations on how family violence has been defined have continued to be problematic for Māori and Indigenous Peoples (Balzer, 1997; Kruger et al., 2004; Pihama & McRoberts, 2009). For example, a range of definitions of family violence was provided by Gulliver and Fanslow (2013), including the following, which stated:

Family violence covers a broad range of controlling behaviours, commonly of a physical, sexual and/or

psychological nature, which may involve fear, intimidation and emotional deprivation. It occurs within a variety of close interpersonal relationships, such as between partners, parents and children, siblings and other relationships where significant others are not part of the physical household, but are part of the family and/or are fulfilling the function of family (cited in Gulliver & Fanslow, 2013, p.14)

It was argued that the notion of 'domestic' in the Domestic Violence Act (1995) had limitations with regard to the wider context of family violence, as discussions of domestic violence have been primarily around Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2013) rather than wider understandings of what constitutes family, or for Māori, around what constitutes whānau. This work emphasizes that the concept of family is equally problematic for Māori when understanding the dynamics of violence that occurs. Like the Domestic Violence Legislation, the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act (1989) included pre- and post-legislative iterations intended to protect New Zealand children from abuse and harm. However, the structure of this legislation prioritised removal of Māori children from their whānau and their communities. This blanketed western positioning disrupted the fundamental kinship structure of whānau, leading to a loss of cultural identity and disconnection from hapū and iwi identity, openly ignoring the importance of cultural practices, resulting in an over-representation of tamariki in the state and foster care system.

Where government policy and legislative definitions provide for the ways in which interpersonal violence is understood within collectives such as whānau, they continue to fail to acknowledge and recognise the ways in which the State and its agencies enact and reproduce violence upon whānau, and contribute to the wider social contexts within which whānau find themselves. The National Family Violence Prevention Strategy 'Te Aorerekura - The Enduring Spirit of Affection' (Joint Venture of the Social Wellbeing Board 2021) sets a direction to "create peaceful homes where children, families and whānau thrive; to enable safe communities where all people are respected; and to support the wellbeing of our nation" (p.4). While the strategy takes a whole of government approach, calls for collective action and the need to address the structural drivers of family and sexual violence, there remains a focus on the government having responsibility for "keeping people safe and using institutional practices, policies and legislation to promote safety, equity and inclusion" (p.6), which signals a need for change to occur. However, the institutions that reproduce the structural drivers remain unchanged and have done so for many generations. Furthermore, the institutions charged with providing the support and for keeping people safe are the exact same institutions that are causing the most harm to Māori.

It is also critical that any definitions and discussions regarding family and sexual violence move beyond dominant reductionist explanations that are located within deficit discourses and victim blaming understandings. The ways in which family violence has been framed for many generations has been through colonising discourses that deny the fundamental fact that prior to colonisation, and the embedding of colonial ideologies, practices and systems, family violence was rare within te ao Māori and as noted elsewhere in this work was dealt with rapidly and in a collective tikanga based approach. As such, definitions of family violence for Māori must directly challenge the deficit ideas that propagate flawed and erroneous notions that violence is 'cultural' or the outcome of a 'warrior gene' or is inherent to being Māori. These are myths that are promulgated as a means by which to maintain dominant colonial views of Māori, and Indigenous Peoples, and to reproduce systems of oppression. Māori no longer accept the continued articulation of these myths, nor will we accept the continued development of policies and approaches that reproduce practices and systems that marginalise Kaupapa Māori approaches to transforming family violence and wider State violence impacts on whānau.

In previous research, *'He Oranga Ngākau: Māori Approaches to Trauma Informed Care'* (Pihama et al., 2020) it was highlighted that to address trauma impacts there must be a commitment to stopping the State violence that occurs for whānau. For the State to make meaningful and deep transformative change it must begin by dismantling and transforming the oppressive systems that exist within its own ranks. An example of this is the Ministry for Children, where numerous reports have provided substantial evidence that the Ministry has been a key institution of State violence and continues to operate with little structural change (Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2015, 2022; Kaiwai et al., 2020; Becroft, 2020; Waitangi Tribunal, 2021).

When discussing family violence in Aotearoa and its impact on Māori there must be clearly articulated definitions that are inclusive of all forms of violence experienced by our people at both personal and collective levels, and which address both individual and collective experiences. This is also reflected in the World Health Organization definition of violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (Krug et al., 2002, p.5). This definition of violence also includes violence perpetrated by individuals and by collectives, such as States (Krug et al., 2002, p.6).

Māori views of whānau violence recognise the need for political, cultural and spiritual understandings and explanations. They show that an explicit limitation in existing definitions is the lack of recognition of the violence perpetrated upon whānau Māori through the actions of successive colonial governments. The term whānau violence considers the impact of violence on whānau but also speaks to violence inflicted upon whānau by the state. Dobbs and Eruera (2014, p.29) state:

> *When redressing the impact of historical and contemporary factors that have impacted on violence within Māori whānau, the failure of Western models and frameworks to address whānau violence, Māori have looked at traditional concepts to improve outcomes for whānau, hapū and iwi.*

There is clear evidence that family violence was not accepted within te ao Māori (Balzer, 1997). Kruger et al. (2004) note that violence against women was not accepted by our tūpuna, stating:

> *There is nothing in the Māori world that promotes and encourages the idea of whānau violence. No one can point to an ideological belief that talks about women being lower in the social order. Mana tangata is female in nature. Life itself is symbolised by women. Hence the terms like te whare tangata where humankind originates from. (p.9)*

Erai (2020) provides valuable discussions on the definitions of violence and their relative utility and applicability to considering violence for Māori women. Furthermore, Erai (2020) argues:

> *One of the difficulties in defining violence as a concept is the complexity with which it exists and operates in society. The term can (and has been) applied to actions, malicious or not, that inhibit an individual's realization of their full potential. (pp. 13-14)*

Smith, T. (2019) expands understandings of violence through pūrākau and Māori emotional concepts, addressing violence in nuanced ways. For example, the story of Niwareka and Mataora is presented as an example of collective ways to understand abuse intervention and prevention (Smith, 2019). Pihama and Cameron (2012) also draw on this pūrākau, noting that "Mataora was called to task for his actions, not by Niwareka as an individual, but by her whānau as a collective". They go on to point out that:

> *…to abuse a whānau member is an act of abuse against the entire whānau, it is an act of abuse against our past, present, and future relations. That was how our ancestors understood acts of abuse. To know*

that is to also understand the sacredness of whānau within Māori society. (Pihama & Cameron, 2012, p. 232)

Furthermore, Smith (2019) describes concepts that help to understand the impact of violence on individuals and collectives. Smith (2019) points out that sexual violence within Māori communities was a violation of tapu and that there are many references in karakia and waiata that highlight the sanctity of our people. In regards to the impact of abuse. He states:

Patu ngākau describes a deep wound that is related to an event that causes shock. Pōuritanga and mamae (physical and/or emotional pain) might also describe trauma but refer more to a state of being that follows a traumatic event or shock. The abuse, either physical, psychological or both, has an impact which is perceived as an assault to the ngākau, the emotional core of a person and the location for memories. Other forms of patu ngākau which might leave a victim with a feeling of internal powerlessness include natural disasters or calamities, such as earthquakes or floods. Patu ngākau was also a term often used by correspondents to the colonial government relating to land loss that accompanied colonisation. (p.26)

In considering definitions of sexual violence in Aotearoa, Pihama et al. (2016) emphasise that these definitions are located within dominant Pākehā frameworks that do not understand the context of sexual violence for Māori.

These views expand the definition of sexual violence for Māori to take into account wider whakapapa relationship. This is a critical understanding which is yet to be fully engaged by many, outside of Māori service providers, involved in counselling and healing for Māori who experience sexual violence. (p.45)

Kruger et al. (2004) broadened the definition of family violence to a notion of whānau violence, which they defined as:

The Taskforce understands whānau violence as the compromise of te ao Māori values. Whānau violence can be understood as an absence or a disturbance in tikanga. Tikanga is defined by this Taskforce as the process of practicing Māori values. The Taskforce believes that transgressing whakapapa is a violent act and that Māori have a right to protect (rather than defend) their whakapapa from violence and abuse. (p.10)

In line with developing Māori definitions of family violence that encompass the multiple experiences of whānau, those engaged in the research were asked how they would define family violence. People referred to not only the physical act of violence but also a much wider scope including psychological control, bullying and manipulation as acts of "undermining the mana of another person or peoples" and to takahi the mana and wairua of a person (Kaikōrero). It was also seen as the absence of something, particularly the absence of the knowledge and support to enact "enhancing forms of behaviour" (Kaikōrero). All considered violence to be multi-layered and that it can be physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, or cultural. Tikanga-based definitions move beyond the act of violence to the wider impacts on all parts of our lives. It was also noted that a key issue was the ability for those who have experienced violence to determine the areas of violation. This is a powerful way to understand the impact of violence and it raises the point that to create healing journeys, we must firstly be able to identify and name the transgression or the violation. This is expressed clearly in the following comment.

In regard to whakaaro Māori and defining violence, there were many ways in which kaikōrero described this, including the ways in which violence is a "violation of tapu" (kaikōrero)

For me it's clear that there is an imbalance and actually sometimes it's about someone's self-interest and right to have power over someone else and control and so that's a distortion within themselves that they

actually think that they have that right to put their own self-interest ahead of others. To me violence and whānau violence is a transgression against not only the whānau but everything else that that whānau's connected to (Kaikōrero).

I think if we were to try and look at a definition around what is whānau violence, family violence specific to whānau Māori then it would be an assault on concepts of mana, mauri, tapu, wairua, whānau, whakapapa, an assault across all levels, an assault on the entirety of the individual. I think that is what family violence looks like within a whānau Māori. The repercussions of that violence are felt throughout the generations. The violence itself manifests in momo that sit within whānau, mental health issues, addiction issues, the whānau separation, all of it, that is what is the outcome of family violence. Definition - an absolute assault on the entirety of the individual, whānau, whakapapa. (Kaikōrero)

The obligation to intervene as Māori is clearly articulated throughout the research:

If something's happening to a distant cousin of mine, then I not only have a right, but I have an obligation to intervene if I can, to do something to stop that because what is going on in relation to any Māori person is a transgression and it is a violence against me as another Māori woman or a Māori person. (Kaikōrero)

Violence is considered to be the antithesis to tikanga, in particular with regard to how we enact relationships. Kruger et al. (2004) also highlighted that there must be an end to tikanga being distorted in ways that justify violence within the whānau. Rather we must draw upon our cultural knowledge and practices to understand and see that violence within and against whānau is a breach or transgression of tikanga.

To me violence is actually the opposite of tikanga. If tikanga is about the correct for all, or the correct way of doing things, the normal, then violence is actually hē, it's actually about a wrong that is being done to the collective. It's about an abuse of the mind and the body and the soul, and … you know things like it's an absence of compassion and empathy; all of these things are relevant. In the end to me, violence is an act of violation because it's not only, violence speaks to me as like an act against another person but actually if you think about it in terms of violation, that's potentially a two-way relationship where not only are they violating that person, that whānau, that group, but it's actually a violation of themselves. Violence to me is the act of violation whether it's about physical, whether it's about a breach of tikanga, or if it's about a breach of trust or you know all of those things coming. What might be a violation to me may not necessarily be a violation to someone else and so actually to me it broadens the potential perspective you know outside of physical, sexual, psychological, emotional. (Kaikōrero)

The first thing that pops into mind is physical violence, hurting someone, but I think it has a number of ways of expressing itself. Trampling on someone's mana in different ways, making others feel less than they are. There is physical violence, or harming people physically. There is also emotional through words, is a powerful thing, probably a tikanga our tūpuna had, the power of our words, that really enhanced others' mana, that would level your own mana I suppose. Flipping that now into negative words and really putting people down, for whatever reason. Emotionally controlling others, I suppose, to make yourself feel good. (Kaikōrero)

With regard to the impact of violence on the person, it is also considered to be a violation of wairua and a violation of mana in relation to the acts perpetrated, including acts of violence that continue through engagement with the systems and structures (Wilson & Webber, 2014a, 2014b). This notion goes beyond dominant definitions and requires a space to allow "the person who has been a victim of it actually being

able to define and to identify the areas of violation as opposed to the acts of violence" (Kaikōrero). Family violence for Māori is seen to be all-encompassing, "an absolute assault on the entirety of the individual, whānau, whakapapa" (Kaikōrero).

I think it is an expression of the adoption of a colonial mindset. It is a range of behaviours that diminishes the mana of somebody else. (Kaikōrero)

Several people raised the issue of language, such as the terms 'perpetrator' and 'victim'. This is not new and has been noted in a range of spaces and reports (Pihama & McRoberts, 2009) that consider that all involved in the act are a part of someone's whānau and these terms encourage isolation.

I think in the end it's in the person who, whether or not there's been a violation, actually sits with the person who is the victim. I was trying to find another word for the word victim. (Kaikōrero)

I come back to labelling, who then has the power to interpret what that means. And so I never use the words victim and perpetrator, I use the word whānau. Because if we're going to be about looking at healing, if we're going to be about trying to shift the paradigm to one of wellbeing, I think we have to see whānau as the base. (Kaikōrero)

The intergenerational context of violence for Māori was discussed in relation to the impacts of colonisation:

If you're asking me whānau violence is not just about your immediate whānau, or those that are viewing, seeing that violence. It goes way further than that. I think the intergenerational, what we are seeing is lots of intergenerational harm. So, we see this cycle of violence. And how do we disrupt that. So, first of all it's not black and white, we can't just say to a whānau, "you shouldn't beat up your wife, or you shouldn't beat up your baby", whatever. We need to understand that there is intergenerational harm, they are learnt behaviours of the coloniser. I mean I know you're looking at whānau, but there is that State harm that's been imposed on our whānau as well, and that trauma, that violence that's also occurred. (Kaikōrero)

Unresolved mamae, intergenerational māuiui. When you're peeling back the onion with them, you know from my days in the women's centre to those early days of that and to being with people in less formal structures but in healing work and I say unresolved. Some because it's unresolved cause they never knew then… I'll go to intergenerational, so there I am talking about mākutu, the effects of mākutu that have still managed to carry a residual strand into this time frame. (Kaikōrero)

Some spoke of colonisation as a process of disruption that creates imbalance through the denial of access to the knowledge and practices within tikanga that enhance our relationships and ability to both resolve and retain balance in our lives. The transgression, destruction, undermining or stripping away of mana was highlighted throughout the kōrero, alongside notions such as 'takahi mana', where the mana of a person or people is trampled upon by others.

Destructing the peace of a person and the whānau… It's stripping away someone's mana.

…to destroy, a person in any which way, their wairua, their physical, their mana, is abuse, that is what he is saying. (Kaikōrero)

The mana of our whenua and all within the taiao is also a key component of how we understand our relationships to all things. One kaikōrero noted that "if nothing is sacred in terms of relationships … to land, to taiao, to moana, to awa, then why do we not expect that the relationships within whānau wouldn't be treated the same".

The concept of 'Patu Ngakau' is one that has been used in relation to trauma and is referred to here in relation to the impact of violence upon the wellbeing of our people.

For me it is patu ngākau, and for me it starts in the womb. It is the shame of growling a child when they feel whakamā because they have been growled, and not being able to restore that. The name calling, the intimidation, anything that takes away the safety of someone within that whānau unit. Safety is big, and safety can be compromised in so many ways. (Kaikōrero)

A range of Māori concepts such as 'patu ngākau', 'pouri' and 'mamae' provide understandings of trauma and its impact upon Māori. (Kaikōrero)

Whānau violence is a product of a disconnection, of the brokenness of the mamae of a person, that is why our tauheke invested so much in their tamariki because if you didn't nurture your tamariki that's where a lot of the issues stem from, and then when they grow up and they start getting older than the product of that brokenness as a tamaiti becomes evident and it turns into what we now call whānau violence. Defining whānau violence is complex because of how it is stemmed. What I would say is it is a product of mamae, it is a product of a dis-connection… Sometimes that wasn't always right in other people's eyes, but it is how they did it. Whānau violence is literally just the product of mamae, it is a disconnection of a person and it is that stereotypical saying, hurt people, hurt people. In its simplest form, if you strip down everything of what whānau violence is and where it comes from and how it is produced, that is it, it is a mamae within that tangata, it is disconnection of that person, and it shows how the wellbeing of that person then becomes inflicted on the wellbeing of another person, and that is how you get whānau violence, and that is how it impacts upon whānau wellbeing. (Kaikōrero)

A number of ways of understanding impact were raised consistently throughout the research. A key framing of the impact of violence was through the concept of mamae.

Whānau violence is literally just the product of mamae, it is a disconnection of a person and it is that stereotypical saying: hurt people, hurt people. In its simplest form, if you strip down everything of what whānau violence is and where it comes from and how it is produced, that is it, it is a mamae within that tangata, it is disconnection of that person, and it shows how the wellbeing of that person then becomes inflicted on the wellbeing of another person, and that is how you get whānau violence, and that is how it impacts upon whānau wellbeing. (Kaikōrero)

Family violence in the wider sense of whakapapa is also connected to the violence perpetrated upon Papatūānuku and the taiao (environment). Violence and abuse of whenua and taiao is violence upon our people.

The harm to our whenua and our environment is probably a huge form of violence that impacts on our people. Just talking earlier about our connection to the land and our place, that something we grew up with, that if the whenua is not well, it's going to be hard for our people to be well. It is like our kōrero here in Whanganui, ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au, I am the river and the river is me, so we have always been taught that until the river is well and we know with pollution and things like that, until we can clean the awa and heal the awa that is how we can truly heal ourselves I suppose, some type of environmental violence. (Kaikōrero)

Violence is multi-layered

As noted previously it is clear that violence is multi-layered and is experienced as cultural, structural, symbolic, intellectual, epistemic, economic (financial) physical, spiritual, psychological, emotional,

mental and sexual violence. The complexities of these forms were discussed consistently by kaikōrero.

I think that violence is a lot more complex than say like a definition defines, in terms of my experience with violence, because I feel like I was exposed to a lot of violence growing up, but no one necessarily physically attacked me. Looking at relationships between my parents or my parent and other people in the community or whānau, I was exposed to violence that wasn't against me or even against my mother, but I feel like violence isn't just physically being hit, but also things like the sounds. It might be really aggressive sounds or tone of voice or shouting or even body language. A lot of people think it is physical force, but I think for me it is a lot more complex or broad than that. I think growing up you don't know what is normal and abnormal, but as an adult more recently I have started to notice. My awareness of other people's tone of voice or body language, or ability to pick up when there is tension or it's leading towards violence, I feel like I have a lot of, I can kind of pick that up in a setting. There is a lot of physical violence, but it even might be throwing things or hitting walls, or anything like that I would consider violent behaviour. It might not just be like actually hitting a person but there is a lot around that, if that makes sense. (Kaikōrero)

It could be verbal, could be violent, it could be psychological in a way of texting your partner and things like that, so I think that sort of constitutes what we think a family violence episode is. (Kaikōrero)

I think whānau violence is anything that occurs physically, emotionally, spiritually, mentally, environmentally that disrupts spiritual and emotional wellbeing. I think that a lot of whānau violence is unseen, and there's a lot of focus around the physical, the physicality of violence and not the other unseen stuff. I'm even thinking of the impact of colonisation. They go with that, the stories and the experiences that people carry with them. And you would have seen it as well, we see it play out in lots of whānau, you can see it, you know that. And I suppose this has come from the learnings we've had over time using the Poutama wānanga, is that most of that is about grief, and sometimes people don't even know they're in that state of grief. So, that's partly why we've used, in Poutama, we've asked people, they go on a guided travel, and it is around getting them to reframe their stories and to get closure. (Kaikōrero)

What is stressed is that violence for Māori is not a single event or action but is layered within multiple issues, in terms of the situation, intergenerational experiences and the wider context. This is articulated by one Kaikōrero, who sees the act of violence as being a symptom of wider issues and contextual experiences.

Defining whānau violence, when I get asked that question, I think about situations. I don't think I have the internal technology to isolate the violence. You can see the act but then there is a whakapapa to it, so you also see the whakapapa, so it is not just the violence, it is the mamae, it is things that have brought the whānau to that point, you see all of that. Even to go in and say you are going to deal with violence, that doesn't have a logic for me… Although it creates a lot of disruption, it is destructive, and that destruction will carry for generations before it is out, if it can be outworked, but I can't isolate that to a view because it exists amongst many other factors. That is ... what I think about structure, because it is about that holistic thing. Because our tikanga was from a place of holistic thinking it could encapsulate so many things that were seen or even unseen. Today we live in a world where we have got to decompartmentalize everything, and we end up with all these little bits, like little speckles everywhere, whereas for us it was you have to embrace the whole thing. I think there has been a mamae, there has been a disruption at some point, and then we see that things have eventuated in the situation. Perhaps pre-colonisation the issue would have been recognised earlier on, whereas in this world, it is when it comes to the matter of the Police, when it comes to the matter of the court, when we can see the damage, it then comes to attention at that point. (Kaikōrero)

Across all discussions there was a clear understanding of both the collective nature of violence for Māori and the complex forms of violence experienced across many inter-related layers.

Whānau violence is quite a wide definition but in terms of my description it would be any form of behaviour or anything that may impact on another person, somebody else's mana and any sense of violation to the other person, physical, spiritual, mental or emotional that impacts on the other person from another, would be considered as part of that definition. People not feeling safe and comfortable is another part of ensuring that they felt comfortable, ensuring about the other person, so it is about what you would have done to you, you certainly would like to have them do to others, pretty much around respect you have for yourself, is with the respect you have for other people and the aroha shared in those times. (Kaikōrero)

The relationship to power and control in family violence is clearly articulated and considered to be a part of learned dehumanizing behaviours.

Intimate partner kind of violence, but learnt behaviours of dehumanizing tactics of violence to obtain and maintain the oppression, power and control over one another. (Kaikōrero)

Whānau violence is in emotional ways, physical ways, in any way that would make someone feel bad within themselves is abuse. To me there is physical, emotional, sexual; all of those are abuse power games, diminishing someone's dignity. There are so many areas that abuse appears in, especially within a whānau. It could be about power and control, about controlling who they associate with, controlling the way they even think. It's about power and control, that is what I think abuse is. Someone is in power and they are controlling someone else through their behaviour. (Kaikōrero)

In the past to me, violence was a slap or a punch, you know; now I see it a bit differently. It is the whole power and control thing, it is the not letting me do anything, it is controlling where the kids go to school, what they can do, who they see, all of that sort of thing. Money isolation is the biggest one I think, especially in my experience, not being in control of the money, or even having a say in where it went was huge. I think that that is actually quite a strong form of power and control… I was never a scared person, I grew up strong, and happy, and then I just turned into this scared person. Fear is one of the biggest things that can control violence. If they can make you scared, they've got it, they can do anything to you, I see that as the biggest thing. You can have threats and stuff; that all leads to fear, stopping you from having money, scary leads to fear, fear is a major factor in it. (Kaikōrero)

Several kaikōrero spoke to the role of intentionality with regard to violence. That there is an "intentional harm of others" (Kaikōrero) which brings violence into a space of power and control. This is differentiated from those people who are in spaces of what was described as 'wairangi' and 'pōrangi' where people do not have rational control, and which are considered to be in the realm of mental ill-health.

Summary

This chapter has focused upon providing a broad context within which violence is located in relation to Māori and Indigenous Peoples. Racism and structural oppression experienced by Māori from State agencies is violence and must be viewed as such. This then calls the State and successive governments to account for both the historical and contemporary trauma caused by oppressive policies, legislation and actions. This is also a recognition that colonisation is not a series of isolated historical events but is embedded in the very structures and systems that whānau engage with daily. Colonisation is ongoing, systemic, and impacts on the lives of all Indigenous Peoples who continue to live in colonised realities (Mikaere, 1994, 2011).

The origins of our current experiences of violence are multiple and in terms of Family Violence must be understood in relation to the ways in which colonisation, racism, sexism, homophobia and transphobia, and classism intersect. To reduce Family Violence to being only about personal or interpersonal relationships is to fail to see that there are multiple levels and layers of trauma and stress that are both individual and collective. This does not, as conservatives argue, remove responsibility for behaviours and actions from individuals, nor does it deny the fundamentals of power and control in relationships. Those behaviours remain a critical focus for all working in the area of family violence prevention and intervention.

It is also clear that for Māori a focus only on individual behaviours is not working to bring about wider societal or intergenerational change. This means that we must urgently look more deeply into the wider societal and socio-economic factors that affect our people and also look for cultural understandings and practices that can give us insights into the key factors for transformation. The current National Strategy Te Aorerekura (Joint Venture of the Social Wellbeing Board 2021), while providing a much more insightful way of understanding violence and its impact in Aotearoa, continues to fall short with regard to an analysis of the role of the State in the reproduction of violence upon Māori. Dispossession, denial of te reo, tikanga and mātauranga, marginalisation of Māori ways of knowing, and continuing to be dominated create contexts that remove generations of Māori from the knowledge and practices that support wellbeing.

It is stressed that violence for Māori cannot be decontextualised but must be viewed as impacting upon whakapapa, collective relationships and has intergenerational impacts that need to be considered in all healing approaches. This applies to all forms of violence including interpersonal, within and between whānau and the experienced within communities and from the State. Defining family violence for Māori requires us to consider both the individual and collective ways in which violence acts. It also requires that we view all forms of violence through our own cultural understandings that are within our tikanga. This means that violence impacts our entire being: spiritual, physical, emotional, intellectual and relational.

Chapter 3
Historical and Intergenerational Trauma: A Genealogy of Violence

CHAPTER 3

Historical and Intergenerational Trauma: A Genealogy of Violence

Discussions related to the genealogy of family violence in Aotearoa have focused on colonisation and historical trauma. It has been well established that the current experience of family violence within and upon whānau has its foundation in how colonisation, invasion, and associated violence upon our people, our lands and our cultural institutions have created a vacuum compared to the cultural systems and structures that previously provided the framework for wellbeing and the ongoing protection of whakapapa and whānau. It has been clearly evidenced that pre-colonisation, where any form of violence upon whānau was perpetrated, there was a swift and direct response by whānau and hapū (Balzer 1997; Kruger et al. 2004; Pihama, 2021). Jackson (1988) and Pere (1994) clearly expressed that in te ao Māori it was tikanga that provided the systems of social control that were determined and maintained through collective relationships.

> *When colonisation did come upon our people then our ways started to change. Then things like tikanga came in place. Prior to that, it was just a way of living, we were who we were. Ko te kupu tika - tikanga, tikanga mō te wā, what is tika for that time, for that horopaki, for that concept, koia nei tāku e tautoko ana. (Kaikōrero)*

> *That's easy, that kind of starts at the tools of colonisation. Right from missionaries and education about what a whānau looks like, about what a relationship looks like. (Kaikōrero)*

> *We were survivors, they went through so much, went through so much of the land wars and stuff like that I think that would have been a huge trauma on our people. The Mōrehu they just, no matter what, they kept the faith, they believed in, I think that is something powerful in our Māori people that we always believed in and had a faith no matter what, that we believed in something higher and more powerful than what was probably going on, physically as bad as it was. There was always something that would save the people and allow us to survive and carry on. There was a lot of kōrero around that, I suppose, and it didn't matter where you were from, just having that belief in that faith was an answer for many.*

Trauma for Māori and Indigenous Peoples must be viewed in relation to the wider historical, colonial and societal context. As noted in the previous chapter, Kaikōrero spoke of the violence of colonisation as instrumental in the oppression of Māori people.

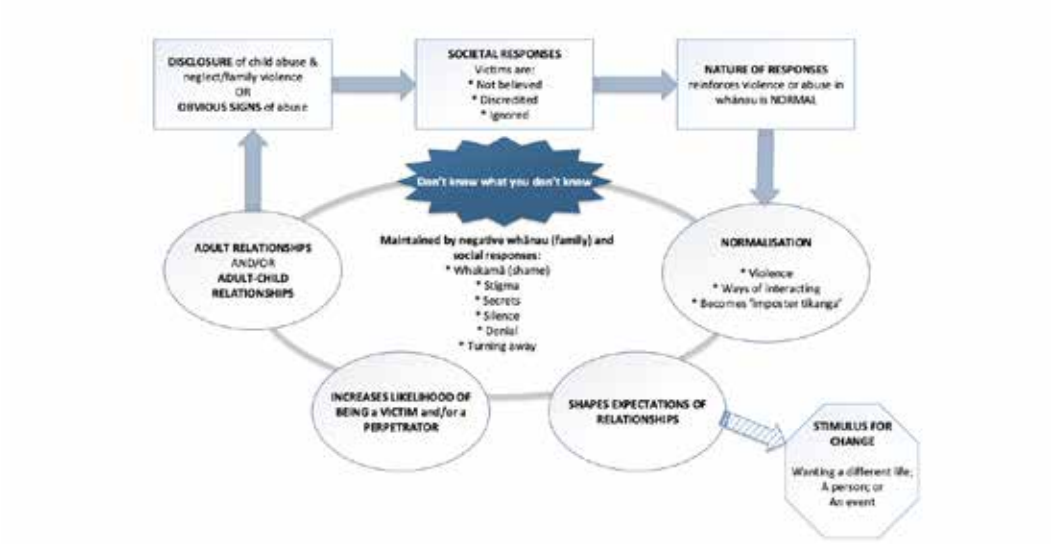
> *When you talk about what violence is to me, violence is a colonial process. When I think of violence that is what I am thinking about, something that has been done to me, against my will, without my permission, that is what I think about when I think about violence. It's not how you would interpret talking about violence towards someone today, but for me as a Māori woman that's how I see violence firstly. That is the worst violence for me, it's that whole colonial thing that has been done… The rest of it is part of it, what we see today. (Kaikōrero)*

> *Colonisation is just too easy to say, I think that we have to become a little bit more descriptive about that. Incredible violence was done. Growing up there was a misconception that it was like one thing happened, but we understand that it has been over decades and decades was this hardcore violence, devastated, especially our rohe. Other rohe have a different colonizing history, but here it was intense, it was harsh, it was vicious, it was everything inhumane. (Kaikōrero)*

Historical trauma includes both events and ongoing acts that reproduce the original trauma. Evans-Campbell (2008) describes the processes of historical trauma as having multiple layers that then reverberate throughout Indigenous communities and are transmitted intergenerationally. Wilson et al. (2016) provides an overview of the intergenerational impacts of Family Violence for Māori as follows:

> *Undoubtedly, whānau violence has had detrimental effects on the wellbeing and connectedness of indigenous whakapapa – it eats away at the whānau and its individual members' spiritual, physical and psychological wellbeing (Kruger et al., 2004). Moreover, it has introduced violence along with the lifelong spiritual, physical, and psychological effects on its members, and in some cases ceased members' lives long before their time. No longer having a secure cultural identity and connectedness aids the existence of violence and its perpetuation for many whānau. The effects of colonisation have been widespread on many whānau, hapū, and iwi (tribes) – it not only removed land, language, and cultural values and practices. It also introduced Victorian hegemonic social norms, which forced the change from the collaborative structure and function of whānau and the roles of tāne and wāhine, to whānau subjugating wāhine and tamariki (children); (Pihama, Jenkins, & Middleton, 2003). Hegemonic family structures contrast with the importance in Māori culture of complementary nature of māreikura (female) and whatukura (male) dimensions (Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2015). Loss of connection to wider whānau, hapū, iwi, tūpuna (ancestors), and atua (deities, gods) contributed to a loss of mātauranga Māori and tikanga (cultural practices and processes). The cultural values and practices that ensured respectful relationships and the safety of whānau members and the whānau as a whole has become lost for many whānau – instead being replaced by imposter tikanga (correct ways of doing things. (Kruger et al., 2004, pp. 35-36)*

Intergenerational violence becomes deeply embedded in all parts of our lives in ways that disconnect us from fundamental ways of being as Māori and severely disrupts our relationships. Intergenerational violence is cyclical when abuse is not dealt with in a particular generation and is reproduced within the whānau. Intergenerational trauma transmission is represented by Wilson et al. (2016) in the diagram below.



Intergenerational transmission of Violence within whānau (Wilson 2016, p.37)

In this diagram we see the multiple layers and levels at which family violence affects Māori. The intergenerational transmission of violence is a critical area of concern that requires multiple forms of intervention.

There is a lot of whānau abuse, a lot of intergenerational learnt behaviour around whānau violence, whether it be psychological, or neglect, or physical. That whole cycle, you keep hearing the ads, you have got to break the cycle, that for me is that cycle, family violence or family abuse you can see throughout … from the grandparents, through to the parents, through to the children, to the tamariki. (Kaikōrero)

If I explain it to my own whānau, it's become generational, but it started somewhere, it hasn't been always embedded in our Māori whānau is my belief because of that way of learning to deal with something very quickly. At some point in time there has been that imposter tikanga that has been introduced to the whānau. It's been very, very hard to turn that imposter tikanga around. All of the other influences from outside of our traditional belief system and our traditional practices have become quite hard for our whānau to negotiate: do we want to live like a simple life in the māra on a papakāinga with no bells and whistles, or how do we take the bells and whistles into that traditional way of thinking and marry the two together: there are some whānau who do it very well and there are some whānau who are still learning that. Also, we are dealing with addictions, we are dealing with the outcome of land loss, reo loss. (Kaikōrero)

As is the case with historical and colonial trauma impacts there is a clear connection between intergenerational trauma and the disconnection of whānau from cultural knowledge that supports the wellbeing of whānau members. The discussion of intergenerational trauma included kaikōrero emphasising that there are ways of examining and understanding violence through the breaking down of interdependence and interconnection.

By dis-empowering another person; I believe that is at the base of the whānau violence, is the basis, it goes through generations. If it is not dealt with in one, it will re-occur in another. Maybe not in the same way, but it will happen because it wasn't dealt with here, it manifests itself. That person who was dis-empowered here hasn't healed so they won't either protect or see, or may be a party to doing it to the next generation. (Kaikōrero)

How I see violence being acted upon whānau is from the inter-generational trauma that came from colonisation and that is still coming from colonisation. I think that is the important part is that it is happening, and you are seeing it enacted upon whānau because of the colonisation that is still happening and the oppression of our people that is still happening, it is not a thing of the past. (Kaikōrero)

Land confiscations and dispossession were highlighted as being a deliberate process through which to deny the place of Māori as Tangata Whenua and create a context where the economic foundations of hapū and iwi were dismantled. The isolation from whenua and the imposition of a foreign legal system are deliberate actions on the part of colonising forces to subjugate Indigenous Peoples.

The origins are when the settlers arrived in this country. The origins talk about being isolated from our land and our people and our culture, lots of things, it goes back to colonisation, that's where I believe the origins happened, when another lot of people came in… When the land is bare and you had nowhere to go, it changed. When their very life was changed, when the land was taken, when the language was taken and they started to make laws and started to serve themselves with the colonisation process, that's where I believe it came from, those are the origins, when the settlers came. (Kaikōrero)

Colonisation and western whakaaro controlled by legislation and policies that perpetuate the violence and discrimination against tangata whenua people of the land... Colonisation is both the events and the system of oppression that has disrupted many aspects of Māori social structures and ways of being. We need to understand historical trauma and how it relates to the collective trauma experienced by our people. (Kaikōrero)

One of the ones which is key, goes right back, was when our lands were acquired under pene raupatu, it was confiscated by the pen. It was very dubious, dodgy as hell, which then brought in a whole bunch of settlers into the region, who were then taking over our lands. The Crown at the time didn't give us any reserves until about thirty years later, we were actually without land for a long time, we still maintained as best as we could. The Crown was the first impact upon us, and potentially wiped what we kind of had in place, out. Our own leadership, our own rangatiratanga, our own systems, and it still is. (Kaikōrero)

The hegemonic impact of colonisation was highlighted by all kaikōrero. Hegemony is a state of domination of one group over another, which requires the internalisation of dominant and colonial belief systems that are detrimental to the wellbeing of Māori. The turning of violence upon ourselves and our whānau is one element that can be viewed through the impact of colonial hegemony as discussed below.

I'm going to say it's colonisation to a tee. I think about this all the time, colonisation that time, for Māori they took on the oppressor values and beliefs. We just had to take that on board, that's how you do, that's how you manage, you take control, you put pressure on, you know domineering, all that kind of stuff comes through, so we had to take on that behaviour and it's no different even now, it's still here and …, that colonisation, as we take those that have been colonised on, it takes on the values and beliefs of the other and we become violent in that sense and that cycle just continues oppressing. So, we do it to our own whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Well, if we're talking about violence against children, the historical record is that children, as you already know, were accorded all the rights and privileges of adults. And some of the restrictions that we see now, that we Māori actually put onto our children... That's the thinking that the settlers brought here, that thinking and those discourses are still imbedded in our society. And unfortunately for Māori, through the colonial process we've adopted some of those. (Kaikōrero)

We've not kept up our tikanga response in the modern era in terms of really holding the purpose of all of tikanga, which is the healthy survival, the fertility of our whānau, the passing on of those genes and that whakapapa. So, this is a great opportunity to really interrogate that because we have some really good examples, we have excellent evidence before us of what does not work at all, and what is in fact dangerous and harmful to not only those tamariki mokopuna affected in their lives, but that then seeds into future generations. (Kaikōrero)

If you look at the origins of whānau violence, it is actually behaviours of Pākehā implanted into us by the ripping away of our self-identity; they have implanted their teachings, their learnings into us. Up North where it was really bad and when they were talking about the drunken sailors and all of the behaviours and prostitution starting up there within our people, that is where it started, they stripped away what Māori were and they said, this is who we are now, this is what Pākehā can offer, we can offer alcohol, we can offer all of our sicknesses to you. That to me is what I see as the origins, it was taking away who we were, and letting them plant who Pākehā were within our people. (Kaikōrero)

The impact of deep hurt that emanates from intergenerational trauma is seen as a part of violence within and between whānau.

It usually springs, and I can say this from my own personal experience, it usually springs from people being hurt. I even notice that with the generations just before me in my parents' generation, because they had to come through or try and decolonise themselves or actually just connect with their identity, that hurt has led to a lot of violence, whether that is physical, verbal. I think what I have seen the most in whānau is the mental abuse, the put downs… That is what I think a lot of it is, is a lot of just trauma of being down and out, told you are nothing, generations trying to get through that and trying to wake up through that. The projection of their trauma is what causes everything. There were some cases where I would say in terms of whānau violence the individuals that are causing a lot of the hara are just outright kino. (Kaikōrero)

The ways in which trauma has been considered to create contexts of unresolved riri (anger) and conflict that can manifest as physical violence were also noted by kaikōrero.

For me, the physical manifestation of violence, whatever it is, sexually, verbally, hitting, whatever it is, my observation over these years is that it is unresolved riri, conflict within whānau. I watched my father and my two brothers, and the issues of power and control. (Kaikōrero)

It definitely seems that when you lose control of the riri to such an extent that [you] takahi the mana of someone else and again that can come across physically, emotionally, or spiritually takahi the wairua of the person. It can be subtle or could be hostile and overt and then the means to carry that out beyond physically again to hurt and injure the mana of another person or peoples. (Kaikōrero)

That riri coming up inside of them and where do they go? They go back home and who's the person they'll punch up? It's their partner. Or take it out on their tamariki; the stresses, everything, yeah. (Kaikōrero)

Intergenerational violence impact is multi-layered and requires intensive support and resources to be made available. Healing intergenerational trauma also lies in the reclamation of connectedness and in supporting our people to gain new understandings and narratives about ourselves.

Most times our whānau don't know a different narrative, that is all our whānau know, whānau violence is all a lot of our people know. That is really hard to do but healing does need to take place and it is going to come from within our people, so we do have to find a way because government is never going to do that for us. (Kaikōrero)

When we are talking about modern day violence, that is actually not who we are as a people, that is why as a people I believe we will heal from this as we revitalize our practices and revitalize our mātauranga, that will be the healing thing. What that is, the revitalization of our culture and our reo is re-implanting who we were. As they took it away, what we are now doing is the process, is reimplanting that into our people and as we re-plant that within our people, it will extract the kino that Pākehā gave and put upon us as Māori, as iwi. (Kaikōrero)

Ngā Mahi Tūkino o Te Kawanatanga: State Violence

The impact of intergenerational State violence is seen as an important part of how we define violence for Māori. Violence within State systems is a part of the inbuilt ways in which those institutions have been constructed, as noted by one Kaikōrero:"[racism] is internal in those spaces right up at that state government level; violence in those spaces and power and control and internal racism". This highlights an ongoing assertion by Māori that systemic and structural violence must be actively confronted to create change. That includes a growing body of Māori and Indigenous literature emphasising that one

of the biggest abusers of whānau is the State (Atwool, 2020; deLeeuw, 2016; Groot et al., 2017). Some changes in the care and protection of children and family violence legislation, policy, and practice have been made in Aotearoa, but Atwool (2020) notes that the issues are still significant, the changes have not addressed issues of poverty and inequity, and demand outstrips resources. This has been highlighted in recent research undertaken by Wilson et al. (2019), which provides insights into the role of the State and its agencies in the impact and reproduction of systems of entrapment experienced by Māori women. In the report 'Wāhine Māori: Keeping Safe in Unsafe Relationships' it is stated that many wāhine experience 'systemic entrapment' (Wilson et al., 2019, p. 32). It is assumed that entrapment relates solely to the experiences of violence within relationships; however, Wilson et al. (2019) note that:

> *Wāhine were not only entrapped by their partner's violence and insecurity, which then led to their misuse of power and engaging coercive control strategies, but also in most instances their inadequate access to resources and services to leave their partner, such as: feeling vulnerable; money, housing and security necessary to care for their tamariki; whakamā (profound sense of shame and embarrassment); fear that their tamariki will be taken; fear that they will be treated by people in the agencies designed to help them who are judgmental, who act on negative assumptions and who are racist; and not getting the help they need from unhelpful services (p.32).*

The impact of violence on Māori was referred to in several ways, including the ways in which violence serves to actively undermine cultural identity and a sense of worth for Māori.

> *I think there is what I would call cultural violence … whereby our cultural elements are undermined and people feel that they lose their identity and their cultural foundations. Then there is the actual physical violence, which takes several forms. Whakaiti or emotional violence or non-physical. All of those forms are potentially at play. I would say that there is a lot of potential for that to happen in our cultural domain as much as it is in our non-cultural domain. (Kaikōrero)*

> *I'm going back to the answer before as colonisation, disenfranchisement from land, culture, reo. Just disempowered people who are just consistently experiencing racism and marginalisation, and being dismissed, and not being valued, all of that. (Kaikōrero)*

> *Becoming dislocated, dispossessed, the loss of language, loss of our own sense of who we are, all contributed to violence on those varying levels. There is the state level, the community level and then there is the personal individual level as well, of violence that occurs. Violence occurs when Māori are walking down the street, violence occurs when Māori boys are walking up the street and they are the ones pulled over by the Police. Violence occurs when Pākehā colleagues at work look at me surprised when I have a really great articulate academic sentence come out of my mouth: "Oh, this Māori is clever". It is still occurring, it still occurs, so all of the racism, all of the institutional racism, all of the personal racism. (Kaikōrero)*

State Agencies as sites of Violence

State agencies have been consistently identified as a key site where all forms of State violence have been enacted both historically and in contemporary experience. Furthermore, the processes of intervention, such as the removal of Māori children, employed by State agencies have been highlighted as having long-term detrimental impacts on many whānau (Henwood 2015; Reid 2019). The privileging of State agencies in the area of social service provision has marginalised Māori organisations and has maintained the unequal power relationships that reinforce structure inequities.

> *It's now become that the State has empowered and resourced the agencies, meaning the conduit or the connection, and resource, which by history hasn't worked well for us, because they don't know how to*

access. As a result, our community, or those vulnerable within our community don't necessarily know how to access, or have a fear of accessing. So, we've created now, agencies doing work whereas communities used to see that very nature or that very work and would do that. But it being prescribed that the agencies have now set up health and social service agencies, that are now sidelined spectators wondering how do I get on the playing field of that community. (Kaikōrero)

I'm saying how does it work, how does it operate and already I'm seeing systemic things that are going be quite challenging …, I'm seeing the violence is actually in the systems, just subtle enough that if you don't do anything, but you know that you should, but you don't, then that's where our families get lost: well you saw it, why didn't you, that was your time to intervene there. That's where I find sometimes with organizations, no matter how well intended, it's always based on the courage of the practitioner and the courage of the practitioner to speak against: hey, we got systems here that aren't working, Oranga Tamariki is a classic example, so are Corrections. (Kaikōrero)

I think can we have the discussion, who is in the best position to be able to provide that delivery… Well put it this way, NGOs and Māori authorities get audited the shit out of. Oranga Tamariki can get away with horrific [behaviour], and they are guaranteed to get their same resources allocated to them. (Kaikōrero)

The place of the colonial schooling system has been raised for many generations in regard to the education system being constructed as, and continuing to be, a significant contributor to the ongoing oppression of Māori language, culture, knowledge and our people. Policies that have been developed to serve the interests of the dominant group have worked against the wellbeing and interests of Māori. It is well documented that since their inception, educational legislation and policies in this country have been directed to reproduce a system of schooling that focuses on the political agenda of the time. Historical examples of the political influences inherent in the establishment of schooling are highlighted in legislation and policies from the 1800s, including the 1847 Education Ordinance; and the 1867 Native Schools Act, all of which targeted schooling as a part of the wider colonial assimilation policy and the 1877 Education Act (Simon, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Within Māori communities, education is seen as a key contributor to the source of ideologies that have shifted fundamental understandings for whānau, hapū and iwi (Simon, 1998; Smith, 1999; Simon & Smith, 2001). Schooling in this country has been responsible for the ongoing reproduction and imposition of colonial beliefs, ideologies and knowledge upon generations of Māori whānau.

From my understanding the process of colonisation was, first, send in the missionaries. The missionaries in the English language, from what I know and understand, didn't have language to understand our concepts. It was the development of quantum physics that gave English the concepts to understand where we came from. What that actually did was validate our beliefs in terms of a Western point of view. So I believe, right back then at contact, and with the missionaries there was a seed planted in our head that we were inferior, and that the knowledge that came was superior. So, you just carry that on into the education system, and all that systemic stuff. (Kaikōrero)

I think one of the problems is the reconstruction of what it is to be whānau, and I think the escalation of whānau violence... To have your whole notion of what it is to be human and what it is to be whānau transplanted through systems that none of us could escape. The schooling system for example, to actually pursue a system like Christianity or religion in the belief that it was going to give you a pathway to peacefulness, which is often what our tīpuna were looking for, only to find that the trade-off is to be

socialized in a whole range of norms that are foreign to you. For example, the kind of patriarchal mindset, or the idea of women and children as chattels or all of this kind of madness. (Kaikōrero)

The colonial ideologies and structures of the nuclear family model have worked to fundamentally reconstruct whānau. King and Robertson (2017) argue that relationships are central to the health and wellbeing of Māori. Through processes of colonisation, cultural ways of relatedness embedded within Māori social structures experienced disruption and were reshaped over decades of assimilation. Māori knowledge and everyday practices that assisted in protecting Māori from societal problems, such as domestic violence, began to dwindle. The research focused on five Māori men's experiences in intimate relationships and whānau life. A significant feature of this research is that it provides insights into how Māori men draw on their cultural ways-of-being to enhance intimate relationships and maintain bonds within whānau and community life to forge new ways-of-being. Such insights have the potential to inform preventative measures against domestic violence within Māori communities. A common factor shared between men who use violence against their partners and children is their belief in rigid gender roles and their position as 'head of the household' – that they are the one in charge. This is fed by and feeds the discourses around colonial and patriarchal values fragmenting and transforming families.

In terms of religious thinking, the educators were also missionaries at that time so that caused a change in the way that whānau were looked at, the makeup of whānau, this idea of a whānau, the mother, the father, the children. Also, the ideology of Pākehā is that what happens within whānau is private to the whānau. Their view of the world is that they don't share their personal business with anybody else, especially with the collective whānau. That is an ideology that they have. (Kaikōrero)

The impact of the domestication and imposition of nuclear family structures as a means by which to undermine collective Māori systems has been emphasised for many years (Mikaere, 2017; Irwin, 1992; Smith, 1992; Pihama, 2001; Gabel 2013; Gabel & Tinirau, 2021). However, the fundamental ideologies associated with colonial heteronormative family structures continue to not only dominate discourse but to reproduce the negative aspects of such structures that work against wellbeing, as noted below.

It means we are constrained straight away, we are constrained in every level, financially we are constrained. Straight away if a nuclear family looks like this, we are constrained by money and what resource we can get, a state resource I am talking about in terms of living. For instance, let's talk about a grandmother raising a grandchild, it has only been in the last three years that grandparents … largely Māori, have been entitled to anything financially to help raise their grandchildren because we were so constrained to the idea of a nuclear family… From my perspective as well, being a lesbian woman, takatāpui, a nuclear family isn't a nuclear family, it is me, or to my children, or to my whānau, it doesn't look like a man and a woman either. Also, nuclear family has patriarchal ideas attached to it, ideas of power and control by the male… The idea that the Māori man is the dominant person in the relationship, that the Māori woman has to listen, that she is allowed to be hit, that she does what she is told, get home and look after the kids. I think in some ways that the nuclear thing was driven into Māori so much that Māori males and Māori females forgot that actually their role is to tiaki, or everybody, including themselves and each other, in a balanced, equal way in a whānau. Actually, that is another thing about those first questions we talked about, there wasn't power and control and dominance of one over another, there was just the idea that everybody needs to have ora. (Kaikōrero)

The impact of the State and successive governments in undermining whānau and processes for whānau to enact healing was raised by many kaikōrero. Agencies such as the Ministry for Children are seen as reproducing intergenerational violence upon whānau.

So you know being put into care, being abused, you know that nothingness; your nothingness as a person

when you're separated from your family and then they treat you badly in there and then they're still beating you up really when you get out. When you get to be an adult you're back inside again and nobody's actually, there might be one person in a family might care and be trying to get these ones back into some kind of life and they're still battling our society. To be able to do that there's no in between, there's nowhere where whānau can actually gather and get support to help bring these people to transition back to our community and into our whānau in particular. It's a huge struggle because a lot of the time the only values they've learnt as children are these values that have been imposed upon them, which have been you know well, you're nothing and you're going to get whatever I want to do with you is up to me, and that's how they grow up. That's how they learn about life and the only way they can survive is to do whatever they have to do to get from A to B every day. So, what do we do? Society needs to be taking a different stand at a state level and a community level. Because whānau do care about these ones but they just are sometimes a bit lost to know what to do, because even when they take these ones in because they're not behaving from a value base or anything really, they're only surviving; it's unsure what to do. So, violence being enacted on you if you're a product of the state, then you end up with gang, alcohol and drug issues and are hardly able to see the person themselves. (Kaikōrero)

I get to hear these intergenerational stories, many of which are characterised by grandparents, great grandparents being taken out of whānau care for no reason, well the reason is to destabilise whānau. And the people being affected trying to cope, and being affected by alcohol and other substances, really losing a sense of their identity. Again, these are targeted mechanisms to destabilise whānau, and then it emerges as self-hatred, self-loathing, and then lacking an ability to receive and give love. Because what we know about kids, our tamariki mokopuna who've been removed, who've been part of whānau that have been disrupted by colonisation is that tamariki blame themselves, they internalise that somehow they would have contributed to this, or deserved to be treated badly. That is part of what any child in any circumstance is likely to do in any culture around the world, and we see it manifested so painfully with our tamariki. It's deeply painful, and it carries on. (Kaikōrero)

I think having the experience of working in the state agencies, and there's a few, Child, Youth and Family and MSD … Violence, and I say institutionalised racism, stigmatizing our whānau, labelling them, like oh you are one of them, oh you are one of those. I feel that they try really hard, our state agencies, they try really hard to understand, to understand what manaakitanga, for example our values and they try so hard that they miss the connection of what that really means and how it should feel, so manaakitanga or they would come in like minds, like hearts, kind of words, which is lovely and I say yeah, that's really lovely but manaakitanga doesn't just stop at a hui or a marae visit or a visit to an agency, it is in everything you do and you say, it's in everything that we try and plan ahead, it isn't just something we just think of to add in. (Kaikōrero)

Across the interviews, hui and survey there was a clear articulation of the ways in which agencies consistently reproduce the abuse of power. Organisations identified include the Ministry for Children (Oranga Tamariki), Police, WINZ, and Education. There is extensive work that has been done by organisations such as Ngā Morehu that have actively challenge the State abuse on generations of Māori and sought justice for the many survivors of that abuse (Moyle 2017). The Waitangi Tribunal inquiry into Oranga Tamariki (2021) stated emphatically that the "the systemic problems inherent in the current system are too powerful for truly transformational change to emerge" (p.160) Within the Tribunal process the Crown made a number of concessions which highlighted the failure of the Ministry for Children in regards to their fundamental obligations to Māori. These included: a failure to implement the 1988 report Pūao Te Ata Tū in a comprehensive and sustained manner; the presence and impacts

of structural racism within system; and that Māori have been ignored by the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal 2021). Claimants however, stated that irrespective of these concessions the Ministry continues to operate in ways that are abusive of Māori and which do little if anything to remove the structural impediments or to act in ways consistent with Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal 2021).

There is something wrong there, that is abuse of power and control within a government department. Māori are the highest statistics; our tamariki are being uplifted and put back into danger with other whānau members. I could go on and on about Oranga Tamariki but it's not just Oranga Tamariki it's also the family courts, [which] are also very, very institutionally racist, they don't adhere to our Tiriti o Waitangi, which straight away is institutionalised racism because we are entitled to that to be used and same with Oranga Tamariki, family courts, the prisons, courts and within our government itself. Right up the top there within our government the power and control that has been taken away from our Māori people through abuse of power and that is a clear statement of power and control is our government itself... There is a lot in the government denying the use of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, it's totally an abuse of our culture. Denying us the right to kōrero, to have te reo within our schools is a total abuse of our culture and turning around and only notifying our negatives within statistics instead of our positives is an abuse upon us as Māori: it's abuse, they are abusing us by saying that we are down here and everyone else is up there and they need to turn around and stop thinking that way and start showing good statistics about us and you might see an improvement in our people. That is abuse of power. (Kaikōrero)

You think of the criminal justice system and that is not about whānau, not a lot about rehabilitation, although they talk about rehabilitation, it is about compliance and control, and we are going to reduce your freedom, and we are going to tell you what to do, and you have got to go here, and you have got to go there, and that sort of stuff. Based on compliance and completion versus actual opportunities for behaviour change and different ways of looking at things. If you couple into the corrections system, the Police system, the court system and that sort of thing, it is no surprise that the statistics are now, we are what, 50/50 Māori/non-Māori in our community, but the statistics for Māori are still over-represented in that space. You go down to the court on any given day, you are going to see a higher percentage of Māori faces than you are Pākehā faces. The ability of the Pākehā faces to negotiate that system in a way that has a better outcome for them is really present. That is across the board, that is when the Police turn up, when you go to court, when you get involved in corrections, all along the way, there is definitely a different way. (Kaikōrero)

It is noted that the Ministry for Children, Oranga Tamariki, was a key agency mentioned in regard to State agencies and violence. It was noted that there is an existing need for our tamariki to have safe places to be cared for and that is currently facilitated by the Ministry for Children on behalf of the government, but that system is not working and has not worked for Māori for generations.

Oranga Tamariki is a fine example. Statistics show … 6,000+ tamariki in care; 4,000 of them are Māori children. What statistics say and how they are practiced is not what we have found within my mahi of the reasons why these children are in care. These tamariki in care just shout out institutionalised racism. (Kaikōrero)

I'm all in favour that part of our way forward is that we have to dismantle some of the government agencies' processes. Oranga Tamariki is a classic example of continued systemic failure, despite the Pūao Te Ata Tu. (Kaikōrero)

It was not only whānau who raised the issues of the failure of the Ministry for Children; this was also highlighted by a number of staff working within the agency who have dedicated themselves to making change inside the organization.

I definitely think that within the Oranga Tamariki space I have been hard out campaigning that for anything to work we have got to come up with a model. I am talking hapū, iwi have to come up with a model that is going to look after our pēpi, tamariki. That model needs to sit next to government, not underneath it where we always seem to sit, and it needs the funding for that also. (Kaikōrero)

Even with these changes happening with Oranga Tamariki… I must say when I first went in, the pōuri, the mamae I felt when I'm reading cases of whānau. Yes, they're having an argument you know the parents and all that and I keep reading and I'm going so why did we uplift? I say we because I'm employed by them, why did we uplift in that particular case? Because the parents keep arguing you know, and I kept looking at it and then those parents they felt that they've got no chance of getting their kids back and so they become angry with the system rather than try and work with the system and that's the changes that are happening. I also refer to the legislative acts and everything that have been bought in. You may say whānau, but you actually don't [understand the concept] of whānau. (Kaikōrero)

What is clear is that the current processes within State agencies continue to fail whānau Māori and contribute significantly to the maintenance of unhealthy contexts that lead to increased potential for abuse. Furthermore, those systems deny the ability for Māori whānau to provide our own interventions in ways that align to our tikanga, thereby forcing whānau to look to other mechanisms to achieve wellbeing for tamariki and mokopuna.

I have told [the Ministry for Children] that we both want to adopt just go there now. Stop all of this nonsense so we don't have to go through all these years now, four years' worth of nonsense. "Oh no, no" they said, "The system would not entertain it, that's a last option". So then I come back into te ao Māori to whāngai, as she's my whāngai. Now I can actually go to the Māori Land court and actually have that status, that whakamana, by the Māori Land court. It is the right kupu and the right thing because that does still leave her mana and tapu as the mother, nobody can take that away from her. (Kaikōrero)

Racism & Violence

Kaikōrero raised the ways in which, across all levels and sectors of society, our people face personal, collective, systemic and institutional racism. It was noted that at a State level it is rife and is embedded through all parts of State agencies, policies and practices. There is a clear genealogy of racism in Aotearoa that has laid the foundation for the ongoing reproduction of institutional and systemic racism faced by many whānau.

There is a whakapapa to violence and it takes us all the way back to racism and classism and sexism and all of those isms, but actually we are not going to address it unless we can get back to a constitutional frame in this country that actually recognizes the mana of tangata Tiriti and tangata whenua. Until we get to that I don't think we are going to be able to create spaces where we have fully realised expression of what it is to be Māori in our own whenua, I just don't think it is possible. In the meantime, in this current completely racist dysfunctional structure that we are operating in, I think the role of iwi and Māori organisations is to hold space for tikanga Māori and te reo Māori and te ao Māori and Māori people. To hold space in a way that recognizes the inherent mana of Māori people because of our whakapapa and to accept us in our brokenness and our disconnectedness and our pain and all of the other things that we bring and actually love us anyway, and fight for those spaces and hold them so that healing is possible. Nobody is signing up for a prescription for this stuff, it's all about doing the work for ourselves, so I do think it's about holding space for our people to come to that healing on our own terms and all things going well to be reconnected to the essence of ourselves as Māori. I think for as long as we are disconnected from that, or lost to it, anything that we do is a bit of a band-aid really. (Kaikōrero)

The extent to which racism as violence is perpetrated by the State and its agencies was highlighted succinctly as follows: "We know that the biggest abuser is the state and the institutional racism that is still rife … I think the state are really good at hiding it and coming out in different ways" (Kaikōrero).

The impact of racism has multiple layers of impact on Māori including the ongoing stigmatisation and labelling of whānau in ways that are grounded in deficit approaches, which serve to marginalise or deny whānau the support that they are seeking. There is fundamental agreement that racism is violence, that colonisation is violence, and that these processes are inherently connected.

> *They have stolen the land, they continue to hold the power, and therefore so long as they are benefiting, they are not going to change anything; colonisation benefits particular people. Unless they are willing to do something about their power, their white supremacy, their racism. (Kaikōrero)*

Institutional and systemic frameworks of oppression are considered to exist throughout all levels of State agencies, irrespective of which political party is in power. The current political system is itself a colonial and colonising structure. One kaikōrero highlighted this and its direct impact upon how family violence is understood as follows:

> *In the framework of politics and government, governments whether it's Labour or National or whoever, I think there are some very corrupt people out there. We have got institutional racism, we have got racism out there, that's rampant and how are we going to dispel the illusion of Māori men being violent. How do we do that? That can only come from the top. We all work hard to do that aye, but it has to come to the middle; we do our bit they do their bit. But they're not even close to being there I think … and that illusion of all Māori men are violent is just so incorrect. (Kaikōrero)*

This was further emphasised that racism is not only a daily lived experience but also a threat to the lives of Māori, as is the case for Indigenous Peoples globally. The ways in which racism causes deep harm to Māori cannot, and should not, be understated.

> *Two weeks ago, maybe even last week we had another shooting in Waitara of a Māori man. In reality, while we want to be responsible for our own solutions, the other reality is that we live in a society, in this case it's happening right at the moment, in terms of new people leading the National party, and I don't want to be challenged about my ethnicity. So, it really makes me think that racism is absolutely rife, and therefore there will always be consequential impacts for us as a people. (Kaikōrero).*

> *Institutional racism is the greatest instrument of violence against us as a people, and all peoples of colour. I can see the really clear connection of that and it's been fabulous since the Black Lives Matters, is seeing all kinds of people, black, white, different ethnicities being able to identify and call racism in workplaces and relationships and wherever, organisations, where it has an impact, and it is a negative impact, and it is a health issue, it can make you ill. (Kaikōrero)*

Many kaikōrero spoke to their daily experiences of racism, such as being followed in shops, and dealing with online racist comments.

> *Even our shops within our communities, I have been into The Warehouse with my moko, who are rangatahi and who are youth leaders, and I've sat there outside watching … Pākehā rangatahi have walked out and my moko were the ones that were stopped [by a shop worker] to check their bags and I got up there and got right in his face, because I was so angry, because to me that's racism. (Kaikōrero)*

> *I have never ever had so much abuse before in my life than on social media, being attacked and being called names because of the colour of my skin and the worst thing, when we protest, being told this is what*

broke my heart. Because we were standing up for our rights against Oranga Tamariki and asking Māori to do it for Māori. No more uplifts, give us the right to govern our own. I was called a child abuser and a murderer, and I was told to go home and get off the P. [comments like] 'All you Māori's need to stop killing your kids', and that broke my heart. (Kaikōrero)

The failure of organisations such as the police to respond to serious issues for Māori was also noted consistently.

We had another man, while one of our ladies was on the microphone speaking, come up and smack her right in the face. Can I tell you, the day before, at the same place, one of the ladies from there had complained to the Police that she felt like she was being threatened. We weren't threatening her, [but]the Police were there in two minutes. (Kaikōrero)

There is the state level, the community level and then there is the personal individual level as well of violence that occurs. Violence occurs when Māori are walking down the street, violence occurs when Māori boys are walking up the street and they are the ones pulled over by the Police. Violence occurs when Pākehā colleagues at work look at me surprised when I have a really great articulate academic sentence come out of my mouth, oh, this Māori is clever. It is still occurring, it still occurs, so all of the racism, all of the institutional racism, all of the personal racism, everything to do with from state to community right through to us as an individual which is where most people locate us now, they don't look at Māori specifically as a collective anymore, they treat us like an individual in all sectors, like our family doesn't need to be involved in our care. That sounds all a bit all over the place but trying to get in some things into a really broad question. (Kaikōrero)

The systemic abuse is huge and it has had a huge effect... I guess the biggest one, racism, it is there, but it looks like bullying, especially at state level. Tokenism is there, that comes down right through from state to community, and even to whānau level, again there will be the fear. Even when we look at how is violence enacted on whānau, the neighbourhoods you live in, Police don't necessarily go there after certain times of the day because they know what is coming, so that just not being supported is a form of violence. (Kaikōrero)

Policy, legislation and Racism

Policy and legislative development in this country are directly bound to the socio-cultural and economic political positioning of the time. Throughout the past 200 years Māori people, particularly Māori children, have been defined as the "problem" in government policy making, which has on the whole been constructed through colonial processes grounded upon notions of deficit approaches and assimilation or integration approaches. The implementation of child-related legislation and criminal law and violence since the 1860s has undermined Māori whānau, hapū and iwi structures. The legislative violence that Māori have incurred is most visible when we see in these documents that notions of western ideas of 'family' ideas dominate while collective Māori constructs of whānau are rendered invisible.

In the examination of New Zealand's history, what is visible is a continuum of policy that supported fervent British attempts to acquire land and gain power and control over whānau and hapū nations (Mikaere, 2011). After the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, brute force and legislation were the colonisers' weapons of choice used to eradicate a collective Māori identity (Pihama et al., 2003). Legislation and policies that were designed to address Māori issues were underpinned by assimilation strategies that used prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping as a vehicle for the dominant group to maintain their

reign of power and control. Giddens (as cited in Waretini-Karena, 2014) states that 'laws' are the tools used by the powerful to maintain their own privileged positions. Colonial policies were targeted at the dispossession and subjugation of Māori. The Mission and Native Schooling systems constructed an education system that was focused on the colonising, christianising and assimilation of Māori, with Barrington (1970) stating that it was a goal to remove Māori children from the "demoralising influence of Maori villages" and to hasten assimilation into "the habits of the European" (p. 28).

Educational policy documents in Aotearoa have been constructed within dominant Pākehā paradigms and have on the whole contributed to an ongoing agenda for the assimilation of Māori people into the dominant culture. The process of assimilation is exemplified in the land confiscations and the deliberate destruction of whānau, hapū and iwi. Assimilation asserted the rights of an individual over the rights of the collective (Smith, G. 1999; Mikaere, 2011).'Integration' as articulated in the 1960 Hunn Report was designed to

> *combine (not fuse) the Maori and pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Māori culture remains distinct ... Integration, as stated, implies some continuation of Maori culture. Much of it, though, has already departed and only the fittest elements (worthiest of preservation) have survived the onset of civilisation (Hunn, J.K.,1960:15).*

It has been noted for many years that in regard to policy development for Māori in the social wellbeing spaces, our aspirations have been marginalised and subjugated to the needs of the dominant majority. Kaikōrero also emphasised that government-driven policies have been imposed upon Māori people by the dominant group through the many agencies and mechanisms of the State (Smith, 1986).

> *Legislative acts of colonisation, like The Public Works Act, The Native Land Act, all of the acts that went against Māori collectiveness. It was a purposeful act of violence on Māori to move them away from what they knew, because if they stayed in what they knew and stood by what they knew, they could be powerful. Pākehā wanted to make them not powerful, wanted to take the power, the colonists wanted to take all of the power through all of the tools that they had available to them; the power, the control, the legislation, the education, all of those levels of state interference. Land moved from being collective to having to be one or two owners, those one or two owners then started to feel the power and control and the hegemonic practice kicked in so that then those two only owned the whānau land, then all the whānau were dispossessed but mainly through the legislative acts right, so people became dislocated, dispossessed from what it is that they knew… The Tohunga Suppression Act was another thing that said 'actually Māori, no more practicing that spooky stuff, that magic stuff, you must toe the line, you have got to do it this way'… Basically, all of those things contributed to becoming dislocated, dispossessed, the loss of language, loss of our own sense of who we are, all contributed to violence on those varying levels (Kaikōrero).*

> *We can go into laws, we can go into policy, it is all of it, and that is why systemic racism is such a big conversation. It is not just happening here; it is happening in pretty much every single country and among every single people that have been oppressed by certain governments.. (Kaikōrero)*

With regard to policy development and impact, kaikōrero emphasised that both local and central government policies directly affect the wellbeing of Māori whānau.

> *Community level I think is really dangerous, especially when you look at local government. They have so much impact on our taiao, they are passing stuff all of the time and a lot of the stuff is done by people who are ill informed and not even qualified to be sitting in those spaces… Their systemic racism promotes, continues to support, puts into each generation those ways of thinking. Promoting their values over ours.*

Our whānau have to exist in this space day in, day out, where they are continually being bombarded just with this anti-Māori message. (Kaikōrero)

I mostly work with Māori, it's hard-core racism here and poverty... The community level for our people is very scary because the racism out there is rampant. Which means that you might get out of the whānau-level violence; however, your struggle to get employment has just quadrupled. Employment, acceptance, just walking down the street without drama, things like that. Even if I took it out of that family violence sphere as such, community violence affects all of us. An example, a school around here had just had interviews going for Principal; there were four Māori candidates who were put forward for this job. There was a yes pile, a no pile, a maybe pile. Of course, all of the Māori candidates straight in the no pile, for no reason. (Kaikōrero)

I think at state level, policy level, for whānau, if we are speaking of Māori whānau, we are entrenched in a Pākehā system, and that can be considered violent in terms of it is taking away the importance and the value of the culture we already have, the supposed partner to the Treaty of Waitangi. That is a form of violence, just different, and that can happen even at community level, in terms of governance, I am just talking about governance type things here. We see it with the local council all the time, especially when they make statements like, 'we consulted with', and then you find out they did an online survey with 15 people: that is not consultation, that is not a bringing together of people, so in that respect, that is violence. (Kaikōrero)

Socio-economic Impediments

Wider societal issues of poverty, unemployment and homelessness have been identified consistently, as have significant impacts upon whānau wellbeing and relationships. In the Child Poverty Action Group report, Wynd (2013) highlights that in working to reduce child abuse and maltreatment there is a dire need to have "an emphasis on reducing inequalities and providing adequate resourcing for services to assist children and families with the greatest need and creating environments which are safe for all children" (p.4). Poverty and the associated stresses that accumulate in such contexts are considered to be contributing factors to the levels of violence experienced by whānau (Wynd, 2013). The Office of the Children's Commissioner (OCC) has consistently raised the issue of poverty and its impact on whānau wellbeing; in particular that of tamariki and mokopuna (OCC, 2022). Poverty and socio-economic marginalisation are further exacerbated by racism and institutional barriers to culturally based supports (Dale 2014; Kingi et.al. 2017; Groot 2017; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2022). The impact of wider socio-economic impediments is raised by the Family Violence Death Review Committee (2022) as follows,

Further, while family stressors such as ill health, disability, mental illness or addiction concerns do not cause family violence, they can help to escalate patterns of violence that already exist. Again, despite our recommendations for change, little has been done to rethink how to address these contextual factors. (p.26)

Henare et al. (2011) indicated that there is a well-understood correlation between poverty and violence and therefore there needs to be a greater emphasis on supporting whānau to alleviate the effects of poverty on their wider wellbeing and to strengthen familial relationships. It remains the case that there is a failure of the State to make transformative change in regard to poverty and the under-resourcing of whānau in need and of the organisations working alongside them. It is critical that in discussing socio-economic issues of poverty, unemployment and homelessness, this does not fall into the dominant

discourse of deficit or victim-blaming. These issues are the direct result of inequities and disparities within societal systems, and that requires a focus on change that is structural and systemic. This has been most recently highlighted in the Mātanga Māori report to the Ministry of Social Development, which states clearly that for transformative changes to occur there must be a committed Te Tiriti o Waitangi approach taken to systemic transformation (Ministry of Social Development, 2023). It has also been argued that such change requires urgent constitutional reform (Matike Mai, 2016). The interconnection of socio-economic impediments and family violence has been engaged directly by Māori providers in the area who are developing strategies that highlight the need to deal with wider systemic and structural issues and not focus solely upon behavioural approaches (Wilson et al. 2019; Raumati & Pihama 2021).

A part of the wider intent of Kaupapa Māori analysis is to understand the ways in which structural impediments in the socio-economic sphere place additional stresses on whānau and increase susceptibility to negative contexts and behaviours. Kaikōrero clearly expressed what was at the centre of many comments about wider social issues that affect whānau, as follows:

> *I do feel like probably first and foremost their basic needs need to be met. They need to have an income that enables them to provide for their families or that then needs to be adequate resources, first and foremost. I think that is where a lot of stress comes from is the inability to provide or to have ample resources, whether it's food, or water, or housing, or a vehicle, or anything like that. I think it's important that all of our systems, whether it is education, healthcare, have a better understanding and better systems in place that serve Māori. (Kaikōrero)*

> *I know some of those problems are huge, poverty and family and generations of people just living, struggling, trying to get by. (Kaikōrero)*

For many working alongside whānau to support healing the daily impact of poverty, homelessness, unemployment or underemployment are issues that must be immediately addressed to remove the added stress that comes with those contexts.

> *Violence statistics in my view heightens when you're in low socioeconomic environments and because it's a demographic issue, you've got food issues, poverty issues and all those things. So, the re-connection to the environment is important to understand what the pinnacle of wellbeing looks like. Although environment, it gets moody too.(Kaikōrero)*

> *I think colonisation when we've moved away from our tīpuna and their original instructions and poverty of spirit and once upon a time people were poor, like material-wise, or kai-wise or whatever but they could make ends meet, nowadays people just can't, they can't do that and all those stresses and things like that, you know any little thing flares up when people are under stress, you know talk about distressed and diseased. I think that has contributed to it. (Kaikōrero).*

As noted in the discussion regarding the impact of State policies and actions on Māori can have long term consequences and this was raised in regard to the inequitable allocation of resources within the system alongside how whānau are treated when seeking help.

> *The state, the community … they have an impact directly on whānau and how whānau function as a whānau, they all impact on what's happening for us. So if a whānau find themselves in a situation where they're going to be on a benefit, I mean they're not getting a lot of money, there's not a lot of housing for them, our kids are not well and struggling, I mean that all impacts on our whānau, everything impacts on whānau and is enacted in a way where actually we get less. We get allocation of resources but different if you're a Maori whānau, they are different, we see that in health all the time (Kaikōrero).*

Every day is a drama in a sense, but they don't know where they sit in the drama, they do think it's their problem because they don't look like this, they don't talk like this. I've sat with housing and watched them just destroy someone to tears and then say okay, it's fine, you can have it. It only stopped because I was like, it's the end of it, we are walking out, you don't treat people this way. "Oh no it's okay, you can have it." I was thinking you're an arse, really, you just did that for a little bit of fun I think. (Kaikōrero)

Research has indicated that a sense of purpose in the context of our lives is key and that having work and being employed in a role that resonates is an important contributor to wellbeing. As such there is a need for more understanding of the place of unemployment and poverty in the creation of stress and distress within relationships (Nikolova & Cnossen, 2020).

I go back to Te Whare Tapa Whā, have all those determinants been met and in that whānau and that one about employment and all that sits within that and feeling like you are contributing positively to your whānau. (Kaikōrero)

I think at the moment the environment that we often see with whānau coming into the organization is there's a lot of, we might say hopelessness and poverty of spirit but actually there's a lot of idleness as well. There's nothing that they feel that they can put their name to or their purpose to and the moment we start to engage people in other activities, in employment in study, in all these areas then you start to see the shift, because they're no longer I think living and continually eating and addicting themselves to that violation around the negative violence. (Kaikōrero)

Just pushing out a bit further as well, we are talking about being able to thrive as well, what part do you think having work, employment for a start, meaningful mahi, having employment is good, having meaningful employment is better. The whole thing around living wage, working poor, and we have got people with not enough food, poverty. There is poverty in this country which has been state generated. (Kaikōrero)

Deficit Approaches

Deficit understandings within agencies continue to influence and inform State approaches in education and social services. Deficit theories or approaches are premised on assumptions that achievement or social success is mostly influenced by the child's home environment (Pihama, 1993). Grounded upon notions such as material, cultural, and emotional deprivation, deficit approaches seek to explain inequalities experienced by our people as being grounded in what it means to be Māori. The impact of this is noted by Kruger et al. (2004), who state:

Māori are often labelled as 'under-achievers', 'deviant', 'abnormal', 'needy', 'helpless' and 'violent'. The policies of government, and both state and Pākehā cultural institutions, condone and support these analyses of Māori character. In fact, they are often used as the validation for government policies. (p.12)

It is within this frame that whānau are positioned as being 'the problem', with assumptions about what constitutes deprivation being advanced in relation to ideas of the superiority of Pākehā cultural and social ways of being. Deficit theory in Aotearoa was largely articulated in the 1960s following the Hunn Report advocating a need for the 'integration' of Māori as a necessary step to assimilation. Key advocates of deficit approaches in this country, Forster and Ramsay (1969), stated:

It is generally agreed that his [Māori] low attainment is the result of a combination of other factors. Poor socio-economic conditions, including such factors as occupancy rates, social attitudes, poor living conditions, and a different cultural upbringing impose severe limitations on the Māori scholar. (Forster & Ramsay,1969, p. 211)

Underlying such a theory is the notion that the dominant culture and knowledge are "endorsed as `the culture' of the state schooling system" (Smith, G., 1986, p. 3). As such, education has been a driving force for the expression and practice of deficit approaches for over 50 years.

Deficit approaches, at a very fundamental level, assume that dominant Pākehā culture and societal norms and practices are the only norms that exist in society and are the standards against which Māori are 'measured'. The emphasis thereby lies in seeking to 'correct' Māori and all policies and programmes are designed with this in mind. As we have noted previously, Māori are not the problem, we are the solution. The negative impact of deficit approaches in defining and framing approaches to family violence is clearly articulated by Kruger et al. (2004), who stated:

> *If whānau violence interventions continue to be delivered from a Pākehā conceptual and practice framework that isolates, criminalises and pathologises Māori individuals, nothing will change. (p.4)*

Deficit approaches were described by one kaikōrero as "if we're only defining a person through the problems that they have, well [that] highlights it's a deficit model". Others noted that there is a need to both recognise deficit approaches in regards to Māori and to reveal the ongoing ways in which negative statistics have become a way of framing violence as a 'Māori problem' rather than a social and colonial problem that has become embedded within our communities through many generations of social systems, structures and institutions that have been designed to isolate and disconnect our whānau from our tikanga, reo and mātauranga.

> *I do think one thing that doesn't help is continuing to feed deficit theories surrounding why Māori are over-represented in all these areas and perhaps there should be more of a push on how that occurred and a little bit more acknowledgement into why that might be an issue. Unpacking that a lot more and acknowledging that it is not that Māori are violent, or Māori have this violent gene that nobody else seems to carry. Actually, there is a lot of trauma to be healed and how we approach that instead of feeding the problem, let's start looking at realistic solutions and looking at solutions that are from a Māori perspective. (Kaikōrero)*

Kaikōrero were conscious of Crown/State ongoing deficit approaches of identifying whānau Māori as being problematic and incapable of safely and successfully raising their own children. Within the wider scheme of a colonialised society, the impact of such an approach is most clearly evidence in the appalling level to which the State removes Māori children from whānau (Kaiwai et al., 2020; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2015, 2022). There is an urgency to move away from the dominant influence of deficit models to models that promote and are grounded within Māori aspirations for wellbeing (Family Violence Death Review Committee 2022). This was noted as follows:

> *Even for myself, the more we connect to our culture and the more we see being Māori as an asset and something to be proud of, and something to be celebrated, the more we believe in our self and take pride in who we are as opposed to believing what media or anyone else might be saying about deficit theories surrounding Māori. When we start to unpack that I think that is exciting because then we start to realize just how beautiful our culture is and how beautiful our people are and that we are actually part of that, and that even though situations might have led to where we are today, if we can re-connect or learn more about that and celebrate it as opposed to hide it or be ashamed of it, then I think that will help us to have that faith and belief in ourselves and be proud of who we are.(Kaikōrero)*

> *All Māori kids hear from the politicians and the media about their people is negative, negative, negative and then you have got the cheek to go, my god they are going off the rails. Why don't we change the messaging; have you ever considered trying positive reinforcements instead of negative? (Kaikōrero)*

Hegemony: Internalised Racism

The connection to colonisation and internalised racism was discussed as a process through which violence to self and others becomes a part of people's lives. This is discussed by Gramsci (1971) as hegemony, which is the internalisation of negative, colonising belief systems. Graham Smith (1997) discusses the notion of hegemony as 'false consciousness' (p.130) With regard to the impact of hegemony, Smith (1997) notes,

> *Hegemony is 'engendered' systematically into society in order to sustain the moral and intellectual leadership of dominant interest groups over subordinate groups. This conformity by subordinated groups to the will of dominant interests, is not 'won' through coercive practices or regulatory controls; it is achieved through the active consent of the subordinated to the authority and will of the dominant group. (p.158)*

Explanations for lateral violence, such as racist abuse, can often be fuelled by negative colonial narratives that are intergenerational and complex historical trauma responses, sometimes resulting in violence. These aspects connect with internalised and interpersonal racism impacting on Māori surrounding their access and treatment from welfare, justice and health institutions (New Zealand Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2020; Reid et al., 2019). Research highlights that disconnection to identity has a significant impact for many in relation to notions of self-worth and behaviours associated with that (Pihama & Smith, 2023). As one Kaikōrero highlighted, "there's grief as a result of colonisation. I suppose in some ways it's self-loathing, or internalised racism, lack of empowerment". The impact of institutional racism has been shown to be devastating for Māori (Walker, 1990, Harris et al., 2006; Kearns et al., 2009; Smith, 1997; Tinirau et al., 2021). As noted in the Whānau Violence taskforce report (Kruger et al., 2004) "Institutional violence is systemic and comes from constructed ideas of cultural superiority and supremacy that are the legacy of colonisation. Māori experience institutional racism through the twin processes of labelling and differential treatment on the basis of the label" (p.12).

> *At a state level it's the ongoing presence of structural racism, the kind of domination of western assumptions of superiority, it's the complete overrun of our lands. To me living in a racist society is the ultimate expression of violence. It is both explicit and implicit, it's the erasure of everything about us, while claiming that that is actually not what has happened. It is an incredible head fuck actually, at a state level. It is our erasure, it is land loss, it's the attempt to assimilate us, it's the denial of the violence perpetuated upon us, it's the assumption that we are better off not being ourselves and then the kind of subtle and not so subtle expression of that through every system that has been established in this country. It is actually not being tolerated on your own whenua, that is the state level. (Kaikōrero)*

> *We're expected to conform but we know that we don't belong. And so that creates a tension, a contradiction of how to access, of how discipline looks, what we're expected to just take on board knowing that those very systems are in place have also been used violently against us. So, the contradiction that I have, I look like this, and if all that I'm hearing, I'm the mad, bad, sad. I'm the negative stat. And that's been the dominant discourse in the education system, social system, justice. Then I believe what we do is we take on board those messages, we internalise them, and we turn in on ourselves violently, and in turning in on ourselves violently, react violently to others. (Kaikōrero)*

> *I guess that comes from learnt behaviour if this wasn't in place pre-colonisation. There are real similarities between whānau violence and colonisation, assimilation and all that stuff is like replayed in that space, dehumanising. (Kaikōrero)*

I think my biggest one is those lost generations, that seem to be even more lost now with this amazing re-emergence of the reo and te ao Māori. At first it was so negative to be Māori and now I am not even Māori anymore. That is something that I would love to see more mahi done on, just to see how we can bridge those gaps. That is where I think a lot of our whānau violence is stemming from, and that not belonging is a huge thing. Every time things are seen in a negative light, the more downtrodden it gets. (Kaikōrero)

I've seen that people, like a lot of whānau shy away from it because they can't accept the shame that's attached to it. To me, the sense of whakamā comes from colonisation, but when you're in tune enough things don't really affect you as much as those negative connotations and stuff make out to be. (Kaikōrero)

For some whānau the cumulative impact of intergenerational trauma, of experiencing violence and internalised racism, can lead to them seeking ways to 'self-medicate' or to escapism in the form of alcohol and drugs, much of which, rather than moving them away from violence, often intensifies what was happening for them and their whānau. The most discussed areas of addiction related to alcohol and methamphetamine.

Addiction: Alcohol and Drugs

The impact of addictions to alcohol and drugs was raised by many kaikōrero, alcohol and methamphetamine or 'P' being the most discussed. A recent study showed that alcohol and methamphetamine rank as the two most harmful drugs in this country (Crossin et al., 2023). In regard to methamphetamine, violence, and harm to others it is noted:

In the overall population ranking, methamphetamine received high scores on harm to others criteria, including family adversities, intergenerational harm and community harm. Factors that contributed to the high ranking of methamphetamine included its deleterious effects upon physical and mental health, high potency and associated risk of dependence, impacts on cognitive function, contribution to acquisitive and violent crime, stigmatization, and impact upon communities (Crossin et al., 2023, p.10)

In previous research related to family violence and sexual violence, alcohol has been widely discussed as a key component as an underpinning cause of violence in the home context (Connor et al., 2012; Pihama et al., 2021; Crossin, 2023). Both alcohol and drug addictions are seen as consequences of a much greater issue of trauma and the impact of trauma on Māori.

I think we are getting less and less coming through that are a sort of psychosis without any add-ons, and in terms of add-ons I mean alcohol or drug abuse. It is all based on trauma, all the things that happen to your brain are all kind of a trauma, a trauma has occurred and a lot of whānau get stuck. The point where the trauma happens is where their development stops. So, we have got some people who are behaving like little girls. Some grown men are like boys because that is where their trauma occurred and that is where their brain has stopped. So, they have got these big bodies but... (Kaikōrero)

Alcohol

As is the case in other research projects related to family violence and its impact on Māori, alcohol has been raised consistently in relation to the origins of violence, as has the introduction of alcohol to Indigenous nations through colonisation.

In terms of the question, we can only assume, from what we now know and read from other great researchers who have talked to people, is that pre the introduction of alcohol, the trauma of losing land,

and the land confiscations and stuff like that, we assume that there was not this kind of violence … and just the trauma: people became displaced because of their lands and there was lots of emotional stuff going on without even the alcohol. Then boom, we get the introduction of alcohol and then all this [violence]. (Kaikōrero)

The introduction of alcohol in Māori contexts was discussed as being an intentional act of colonisation, with serious consequences for our communities (Awatere et al. 1984).

Up North where it was really bad and when they were talking about the drunken sailors and all of the behaviours and prostitution starting up there within our people, that is where it started, they stripped away what Māori were and they said, this is who we are now, this is what Pākehā can offer, we can offer alcohol, we can offer all of our sicknesses to you. (Kaikōrero)

If I can just give you two little stories, one was that my cousin talked about how she grew up and she never really saw violence in her life, until alcohol was introduced to that pā. And so that makes me think that when you introduce something that's new and different, that then potentially disrupt something. The other example that my other cousin gave me, is when you disrupt something there are consequences. (Kaikōrero)

You are quite powerless when you're pissed too, you know and everything's distorted, but you are in a really less powerful position when you're wasted as well. (Kaikōrero)

Both alcohol and drugs were considered to be part of wider attempts at 'escapism'.

Through colonisation a lot of alcohol was introduced to our people, and … a lot of horrible things happened as a result, so where they wouldn't necessarily have happened before they were happening then and through that I believe hurt people were then hurting their own whānau, which is really sad. (Kaikōrero)

Then you have that just totally eroded in a very short space of time. I actually think it is amazing we are doing as well as we are. Even here today, us, the descendants of that timeframe, only two generations away that we are actually as well as we are. I saw how alcohol was a thing, but underneath what they haven't talked about was the mamae… (Kaikōrero)

The impact of alcohol and drugs on tamariki and wider whānau relationships is discussed in a range of ways, including how addictions create contexts where tamariki are treated as subhuman and come to see that as the model of relationships. Then they move to drugs and alcohol as a way to survive. One kaikōrero described this as follows:

Can I just deviate off a little bit because I've worked with a whole heap of people over the years and I know that in some of the really horrible areas … for the children sometimes it can be absolutely horrific in there and they're not treated as part of a whānau … and the only thing that we're seeing is these kids growing up and they're getting into trouble and through the courts they get sent to areas like rehab that are there to work through their A and D issues, whatever they be. It might be just alcohol because they become alcoholics really young and yet that's the only way they can survive. They never can give up because they have no other identity within them, not even about whānau, that makes them feel good about themselves inside. So, I see it as being a huge issue. I still think it's a smaller percentage of people that have not had a good whānau life. I see it as a trampling within that the basic values are not being upheld, that there's no set balance and everybody is an individual at the harsher end of the scale. (Kaikōrero)

Putting in practices around alcohol within homes has been noted as a form of intervention put in place within whānau and often by kuia. Other forms of intervention were for people to take control of the situation themselves in terms of deciding not to drink and therefore be in more control of their ability to do things differently.

I remember my nana saying she didn't like her sons, or her children going to strange marae, and I always remembered her saying that. It was a practice pretty much especially when the babies were little. She'd have them carried around with her and … she'd have them where she can see them. Whether they're asleep on her, whether they're asleep on the seat over there, that sort of thing. The other one was around, well then, she chose to stop drinking at the last bad hiding she got, that really, really disfigured [her]… it was so bad that her own teenage daughter didn't recognize her. So, after that she stayed away a lot longer. When she came back, she decided no more alcohol for her. She couldn't control the old man, so she took control for herself. (Kaikōrero)

I have just turned a whole 180 and I don't need to have alcohol in my life, I don't need to have any violence anymore. I can just carry on and be happy without any of that, I can socialize without it. (Kaikōrero)

I think I have only really ever seen that with alcohol. I didn't drink, and it is for that reason, I have never seen alcohol end well, not when I was a kid, not when I was a teenager, I wouldn't even have a glass of wine now. I guess it is just that experience, and I think if maybe alcohol was not such a huge thing here, we wouldn't be so dependent on it as a culture. (Kaikōrero)

The old lady was the one, she stopped drinking, she had learnt, pity she didn't get it off her father earlier. She wasn't drinking at this time, that was her response to stop the violence for her. One of them had to stop the drinking, otherwise we could have all ended up in Social Welfare. (Kaikōrero)

Alcohol is also considered in relation to increasing the wider issues that individuals or whānau may be already facing, including mental or physical health at an individual level, and wider societal issues such as unemployment or other stressors being experienced.

When you are physically not right, and then you are mentally not right, and then there are other factors that come into it, lack of communication, and then you mix alcohol with it, so you have all of those factors that come upon you and then your communication goes to a depth where you don't understand what the other person is saying at all, and then what you are trying to say isn't getting listened to, that is where violence happens and anger happens and then it falls over. (Kaikōrero)

I think of fetal alcohol children, a lot of them are labelled as bad children and there is a lot of stereotypes, so dealing with that within schools, I think more education, create more empathy. More education, you are getting kids now that have got it, and they can't regulate their emotions and they lose the plot, and then everyone in the class of people in the school is seeing those people as naughty when they are not. How do you change their thinking, so they are not becoming stereotyped, that sort of stuff, prejudiced against? (Kaikōrero)

Intergenerational experiences were highlighted about the use of alcohol and the need for a greater awareness of the impact on children witnessing and experiencing alcohol and other forms of abuse.

If you saw drugs and alcohol and all that in that area, that was a starting point to say, well, as soon as that happens, violence usually comes… and that is what I mean by that violence is passed on, so you have seen how it is not done, so for you to go into that area and do it again that certainly is a road to violence, because you have seen it before. (Kaikōrero)

They think that this is the life, but it isn't. It's shown our kids like, I can speak that for myself because it showed no future, living that life today… (Kaikōrero)

For me I think for them to awhi is to be able to provide that mahi or be able to help support them, because there's a lot of homeless, there's a lot of all of that you know becomes stress, violence. Especially violence. They end up in depression, they end up going places that you know, don't want them to be, or they just drown themselves in alcohol and drugs. (Kaikōrero)

I remember sitting there with dad and some of the ones of his generation and they would talk, alcohol is rampant through here and all the violence that existed, it became like a real mess for a long time. (Kaikōrero)

There were many examples given throughout the research about people returning home to remove themselves from the situation. This kaikōrero speaks about that in a contemporary context, where as an adult they supported their mother to leave in order to put a stop to alcohol-driven violence.

This particular thing, they had been out, come home, been to bed, he might have been just going to work when this incident happened. I was like, oh, what is that I can hear? I woke ….. up, I said get up, I think my mother and father are fighting. He lay in bed, he wouldn't get up, because that is exactly what his parents are like. He never got up to do anything for them either. I know I got up, and from what I understand, previously my mother would shield herself from being hit around the face, or whatever, but this particular time she didn't. We had her on the railcar to Wellington that same morning. She went down to our aunty and uncle down there in Wellington. Dad came back for morning tea, and he wanted to know where our mother was, and I said "well, that is the last time you'll be doing that" and it was, the last time he ever laid a hand. I mean, there you go, that is alcohol (Kaikōrero)

Drugs/Methamphetamine

In this research we heard vastly increased references to methamphetamine and its grave impacts upon whānau.

Alcoholism during those times played a major role in violence among our marae, not really what we see now, we see P all the way through. Methamphetamine is another dimension that creates the worst of the worst tragic murders with our people, with our women, with our children. (Kaikōrero)

In view in terms of my mahi, drugs have been a big impact of today. Methamphetamine is my passion, but addiction is addiction. Today, methamphetamine is the biggest, most wanted, most addictive drug around in the whole of the world, and the things that meth brings with it is definitely violence, is corruptness all around. (Kaikōrero)

As was highlighted with alcohol, the use of drugs, and in particular methamphetamine, is a way to cover up deeper hurt, stresses and issues.

Drugs and stuff like that, this is only my opinion, taking drugs to try and block out whatever is bothering them, and I have a son that has done that. He takes the drugs. Whatever has been bothering him he has been taking drugs, and unfortunately it has stuffed up his family, so that is a form of violence too. When I was down with my daughter-in-law, she was telling me that her and the kids used to walk around the house on eggshells. I felt like just grabbing her, I just thought, oh my son, my son. That sort of thing, I understand that is why they take drugs is to try and block out something. I have told all my children dad has never taken drugs except for medicinal purposes. I keep repeating this to my children, and hopefully

it might work, and it might work on their kids. (Kaikōrero)

I have to admit that our men, today I am actually seeing like a pandemic of our men, I am seeing my cousins who are addicted to drugs, but they are good dads, but then suddenly the drugs just overtake. I am seeing that there is no process of forgiving themselves. (Kaikōrero)

It was clearly stated that alcohol and drugs are significant contributors to violence for Māori, and when Methamphetamine is present the violence can be of a very intense nature.

I found out when I called in to see whānau on the way home they said he's a P freak and I said right, that's a whole different ball game, can't have him there, no. [It's] violent, dangerous, P, drugs that whole bit just goes off on these violent things. In a situation even like this where it was and there were one, two, three, four, five people in that room who were there present who all spoke and the knife, that's when the knife came out; a story, that he had a knife, and I was going shit, now that adds another layer of detail. (Kaikōrero)

My daughter was a victim of family violence and there was really bad violence here, the boys were also victims of violence. They endured hidings, they were only five years and under and they endured these things, watching their mum. It got to the point where it became normal, that it didn't get scary anymore. This day my daughter had an asthma attack, after some disagreement, I don't know the full story there. She was outside, they rang an ambulance, but because dad was having a P fit, which meant that he was having an episode because he was on P and he was ranting and raving and going ballistic and everything, the ambulance had to withdraw without helping my daughter who was still breathing at that time, and then never came back until 17 minutes later with the Police, where he had to be restrained in the back yard while they dealt with my daughter who passed away two days later. (Kaikōrero)

I think another example that is really concerning is the whole meth addiction stuff, and partly because from all of the data we're seeing, people are absolutely not in control and absolutely addicted to the point where they can't give up. And that becomes their priority in life. And you know we hear of stories where people go home to tangi, and the next thing, there's an all-out fight, they're stabbing etc. and it's all meth-induced. It's the whole ngāngara, we seem to just roll from one ngāngara to another really. I think that when the fundamental essence of your social structure is disrupted, and it's disrupted by colonial influences, then absolutely they're colonial ngāngara. (Kaikōrero)

Silence

Historical trauma is also seen as a direct contributor to feeling silenced and not being able to voice the impact of violence. For many this is associated with notions of shame and embarrassment which leads to developing strategies through which to cover up what is happening in their lives because of the fear of the wider consequences and losing control over their lives.

I am sporting a black eye now, so I just didn't want people to ask me questions because I wouldn't know how to answer them. If I went to work, oh you have got a black eye, how did you get that? I am scared of their reaction to it, because they may have never been though violence themselves and they wouldn't understand, and it is hard to make somebody that has never been through it understand what it is like. Being scared all the time, it stops you from doing so many things like going out, or talking to people because you are scared of their reactions or their judgement, there is just no safe way, it turns you into a big liar, and you lie to everybody. That drains your soul, because you are lying to people, and you want to tell the truth, but you are just so scared that someone might tell somebody else, or the Police might get

called, even if you didn't want them to. People start taking actions into their hands against your own will sometimes and it is scary, and then you have to deal with what happens after that. That then opens up a whole other can of fear, and the unknown, oh what is he going to do next, now that the people know. What is he going to do, or how am I going to get out of this, your brain just starts working overtime trying to figure out how to get away with not saying anything. Somebody always finds out, or something always happens, you can't get out of it. (Kaikōrero)

The ways in which historical and intergenerational trauma have become embedded are multiple, and some kaikōrero reflected upon experiences such as the involvement of Māori men in world wars and the associated trauma that many returned home to their whānau carrying. Much of this has never been discussed publicly within whānau.

I think that there are significant points in history where things changed for Māori. Again, talking to my cousins the other day, and I know this in terms of having been involved in some of the stories around the Māori Battalion, and our men coming back from war. I see that as quite a critical space in time where they'd gone away, many never came back. Where women primarily took on multiple roles while they were away, when they came back they were promised things by the Crown and never received those things. Where they faced absolute trauma while they were away, and could never really talk about that with their families. So, that is one example when I think there was a significant shift in our communities, which brought about whānau violence, and generations later we're still seeing the impacts of that. (Kaikōrero)

Silence was also associated with past experiences as a child and witnessing violence as a part of everyday experiences that you kept to yourself and within your whānau. This kaikōrero also related this to how susceptible they became to being in violent relationships themselves.

My family were violent, I grew up around it. I didn't see it as a smack, a push, a punch, it wasn't such a huge thing, it wasn't unforgivable, you could get over it. I think I was a fantastic victim for him, I think he almost smelt me if you know what I mean, he knew what he could push. I was really disconnected from my family; I didn't have much support at all. My sister lived with me and she is bipolar; it was just the two of us. He really would go at her, and I started thinking, oh no, we've got mental health issues. We both smoke pot, that was huge to him, even though he also did that, but he threatened us with it constantly of going to the Police, that sort of thing. I found that way worse than being smacked around. I just let it go and let it go by kind of the 13th, 14th year of it, I couldn't hide it anymore, people were starting to notice, I wasn't holding the mask up in public anymore either. One good black eye, and then everybody knows then. I am very private, and I have been isolated for a long time, so that is how I am used to dealing with things. I feel a lot of shame around it, that is why I said, I think he really recognised something in me. (Kaikōrero)

Witnessing violence as a child can lead to silence. Silence is also associated with the ways in which violence is hidden. As one Kaikōrero stated, "it happens behind closed doors".

As a child and seeing and being a victim of a lot of that stuff we knew it was wrong. Me and my sister were the protectors of our family, mainly my sister, my older sister, of us kids and there was four of us. We saw it always being around alcohol, always alcohol, there was no other time that we would see it, it was just alcohol, and whatever else was going at that time. That kind of stopped after we got older and started fighting back and kind of doing, mum, you have got to get out of this and kick him out and do all that kind of stuff. What we found though, it wasn't just our house, it was happening in a few of the houses at the pā. When we do the kind of question of, why aren't they, this is the pā, everyone knew that it was happening, but no one was really doing anything about it. Even when I was younger and I heard some stuff around having a hui or sorting some things out and they were some big stuff, but actually when it

came to knowing the houses that had family violence in, it wasn't really touched on. [It was no secret] No, it wasn't a secret, everyone knew, oh yeah, I remember that house. (Kaikōrero)

As such it is critical that tamariki, in particular, have someone in their lives that can explain to them that the behaviour they are witnessing is not acceptable.

My parents were violent on a weekly basis, and high-level violence, throwing each other through doors, taking to each other with knives, pointing guns at each other, high level of violence. My grandmother would say, 'you know that that is not right don't you?... You know that what mum and dad are doing is wrong don't you?' 'Yes Nan'. 'What they do in front of you is wrong', 'Yes nan'. 'You are not going to do that when you get older', because this is the language that our kuia and korou [used], 'No Nan', 'You be good', 'Yes Nan'. 'What are you going to do when they do that again?'. 'Come around here Nan'. 'Right, that is what you are going to do... Sit straight, sit up, take pride in yourself'. 'Yes Nan'. (Kaikōrero)

It was also highlighted that silence is often a survival mechanism for many who fear the removal of their children. The removal of children from whānau, in particular from wahine who have experienced violence, is real and is a critical structural issue that reproduces State violence on whānau and must be dealt with urgency.

I have been coordinating with _____ which is an organisation that helps whānau that go up in front of Oranga Tamariki to try and keep their children or to work out or give them the right networks and the right skills to keep their children within whānau. We found there were so many children, tamariki that were being uplifted for family violence. The mother was a victim of family violence, the abuser was the father and the children were being uplifted because of that. So a mum is losing her children because she is a victim and the word is victim, of family violence and even though there are situations where the children are unsafe, and that is true, this is happening after the father has been sent to jail, the children are getting uplifted and it's not because she's kept them in an unsafe environment, because even afterwards they are actually releasing those children into the care of the perpetrator, the father. (Kaikōrero)

There are things that are happening within whānau, sexual abuse and there's power and control, the big ones you know, children getting beaten, beaten to death. Women getting beaten and can I just say this within whānau, that I know this for a fact, because women are so scared to lose their children, they are not reporting the hidings anymore, and this is a fact, because they are so scared that their children will be taken by Oranga Tamariki, they are enduring the beatings. They would rather stay behind closed doors, which is two double abuses because they are too scared that if you speak up about these hidings, you are the one that is going to lose your children, so that's what is happening out there now. Within whānau all this abuse is being done within whānau, by whānau, by institutions, by government, every part is affecting whānau with violence,… whānau are being affected everywhere. (Kaikōrero)

Instead of highlighting it, actually solve it. Like I said before, the government can stop family violence because it's now made it bigger because of Oranga Tamariki, it's now behind closed doors again, so people are too scared to come out and say that they are getting beaten. That is actually caused through the government. What the government needs to do is put a legislation or something in there where it says that if you are a victim of family violence you will not lose your children and if that's the case you will find that there won't be so many children uplifted, that that will kill two birds with one stone, there won't be so many children uplifted into Oranga Tamariki, home for life and there won't be no more hidden violence behind closed doors because women will feel safe enough to ring the Police. That actually is causing hidden violence, and what happens when there is hidden violence, the perpetrator gets worse because he has got more power, because he knows his victim won't speak out. (Kaikōrero)

For those who do not have strong support because of the silence associated with the impact of violence, it was highlighted that tikanga such as manaaki and aroha allow non-judgemental ways of bringing forward the issues to enable collective support.

We have got to allow this stuff to come out in the open. They are hiding because they are ashamed and they fear the judgement and the consequences of other people knowing, is because the people's thinking isn't in the right space. They should be able to come out, aroha, manaaki or find a solution together. (Kaikōrero)

You take responsibility, it's your mana that you want to hold together. That mana is a big thing for whānau because they feel that they don't have it, because they've had a Pirihimana knocking at the door, Oranga Tamariki knocking at the door, so there's that fear, they're taking my kids. Then they have this Māori ringing up going, kia ora, and I don't go into the kōrero straight away, just that whanaungatanga I go, look let me have a hui with you, see what we can do to help your whānau. (Kaikōrero)

In discussing the strength of two young Māori men speaking out against abuse one mother highlighted how their sharing and the power of speaking out provided others with the strength to do so. She stated,

There was also this wahine come up to us and we shared our story there as well and she started growing because she needed something that would pull her out of that because she was getting abused herself and when she heard us talk about her story, she just spoke up, put her words there. So, she was disabled, and her carer was abusing her. From hearing the boys speak she went straight to somebody that was involved with the agency that was holding this wānanga that day and told them, if these boys can speak out so can I, I need help, I've been abused. Now she is one of their biggest fans she follows them everywhere and she is beautiful. That is the kind of stuff that these boys are doing plus stopping it and they are encouraging others. They are encouraging others to stop it too and they are making other people want to step up. (Kaikōrero)

Kaikōrero noted that prior to colonisation we dealt with a range of issues including pakanga (warfare) and issues related to whenua, which were dealt with through our own tikanga processes. However, with colonisation the fundamental ways of engaging with issues, and the removal of whenua, reo and tikanga, have meant a disconnection from those processes that have been central and critical to resolution of things such as transgressions upon individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi.

I think there was a period of time for all iwi I guess where we were sorting ourselves out, everything was getting sorted out, whenua take, pakanga, all of that but before the settlers came, we had started to even that out, life was looking really good for everybody. There were still issues here and there but we had started to even out and sort things out. Then with the settlers coming in it just threw everything over again, and then that removal of our people from their lands and that loss of identity, losing our reo, losing all our traditional practices, moko kauae, mataora, rongoā, ability to heal ourselves, I think that has had a huge impact. It's not really good enough to just go back a generation to think why this has happened, we actually have to look almost as far back as we can to see what is the pattern here, how were we living before, let's be real about what has happened since and where are we going to head from here. I just think that that removal of us from our whenua and us having to live out of our boundaries, having to learn another way of life that wasn't even Māori, that's had a huge impact on us. (Kaikōrero)

We all know about the process of colonisation. Yeah, sure we had violence before contact, not at the level that we've got now, not within my whānau, I do not believe. And if it was there it would have been managed. (Kaikōrero)

Colonisation as a process and system has meant not only the removal of many elements that are critical to being well as Māori and disconnected many from our fundamental tikanga, it also has seen the embedding of foreign practices and belief systems that are not only contradictory to being Māori but are completely antithetical to our beliefs and practices.

> *I'm going back to the answer before as colonisation, disenfranchisement from land, culture, reo. Just disempowered people who are just consistently experiencing racism and marginalisation, and being dismissed, and not being valued, all of that. (Kaikōrero)*

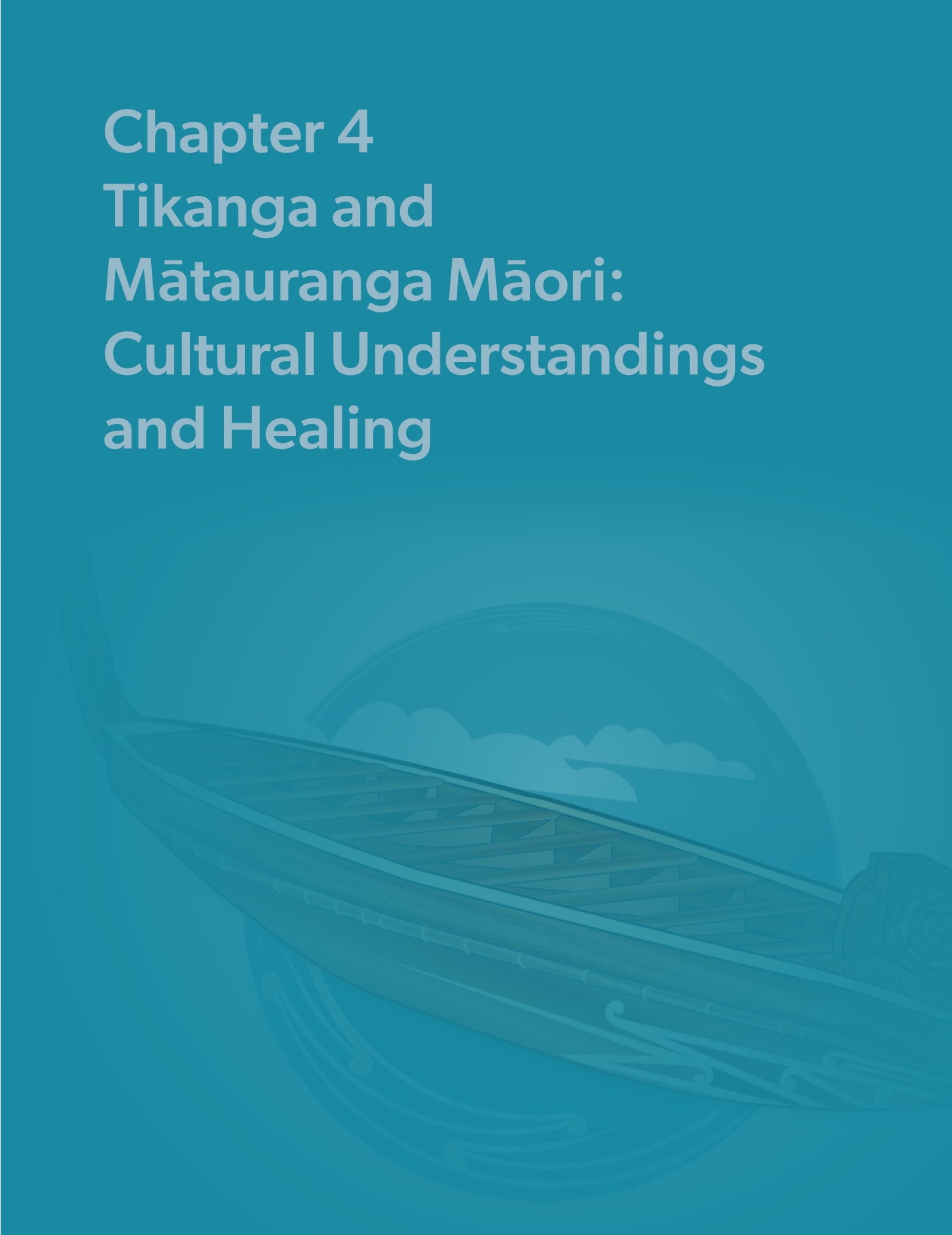
> *Schooling system for example; to actually pursue a system like Christianity or religion in the belief that it was going to give your pathway to peacefulness, which is often what our tīpuna were looking for, only to find that the trade-off is to be socialized in a whole range of norms that are foreign to you. For example, the kind of patriarchal mindset, or the idea of women and children as chattels or all of this kind of madness. (Kaikōrero)*

Summary

The place and impact of historical and intergenerational trauma cannot be understated in regard to the ways in which violence plays out both personally and collectively. Historical trauma theory and analysis speak to the impact of colonisation in specific ways and in particular to the deliberate and intentional nature of the violence upon specific groups of people and the cataclysmic impact of that (Duran & Duran, 1995; Braveheart, 2000; Walters et al., 2011; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Waretini-Karena, 2014; Smith, 2019). Central to the ongoing reproduction of historical trauma is the colonising State mechanism that serves to maintain and sustain the exact systems of trauma and dispossession used throughout the colonising processes of the State. Kaikōrero have highlighted that colonisation and State violence have not only been a source of violence upon whānau but remain the most significant system of abuse of Indigenous nations, both in Aotearoa and globally.

Māori engagement with the State and its agencies continues to raise the issues of unequal power relationships and of the punitive way in which many agencies operate to not only perpetuate harm but to also to retraumatise those who are seeking support in a socio-economic context that does not benefit many whānau (Wilson & Webber, 2014a, 2014b; Wilson et al., 2016). Deficit approaches dominate much of the public discourse related to Māori and alongside institutional racism and socio-economic disparities, have significant impacts on the wellbeing of whānau and how we see ourselves in the world. The intergenerational nature of trauma continues to reproduce in varied ways through whānau and whakapapa lines until such time as the healing processes are aligned in ways that provide for the healing and resolution of the grief that has manifested. It is clearly noted that addictions play a key role in many contexts of violence; particularly addictions to alcohol and more recently to methamphetamine, which can cause extreme levels of violence in users. The need to engage and resource Kaupapa Māori organisations that can intervene both at the individual level and at the level of collective histories and experiences is vital.

Chapter 4
Tikanga and Mātauranga Māori: Cultural Understandings and Healing



CHAPTER 4

Tikanga and Mātauranga Māori: Cultural Understandings and Healing

Exploring tikanga and its role in relation to violence prevention and intervention is at the centre of Kaupapa Māori approaches and has been the focus of much research undertaken by Māori over the past 30 years (Mead 1996; Smith, G. 1997; Smith,L. 1999; Hohepa, 1999; Pihama 2001; Lee 2008; Simmonds 2011; Moewaka Barnes, 2000; Pihama & Lee-Morgan, 2022; Pihama & Smith, 2023). Kruger et al. (2004) emphasised that there has been an ongoing "assault on" Māori cultural ways of being and approaches, which has marginalised and prevented the application of Māori-driven solutions to family violence. What is essential, they state, in order to deal with the increasing experience of family violence, is to confirm that Māori cultural constructs have the capacity to reverse whānau violence when properly practiced. Key cultural constructs identified by Kruger et al. (2004) are:

> *Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), which includes six cultural constructs to be applied as practice tools. They are whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana. (p.5)*

A range of tikanga concepts and practices were discussed throughout the project. These concepts and practices must be seen as inter-related and not as concepts that can be singled out or removed from the broader context of tikanga. Everything within Te Ao Māori is related and relies upon multiple ways of being in order to be fully enacted. This was most evident in the ways in which many kaikōrero spoke of 'tika and pono' or 'tapu and noa' as being inherently a part of each other. This does not mean that they cannot be expressed separately as they often were/are. However, it showed that tika as a notion of doing things in a correct way was equally reliant on the notion of pono or having belief and faith in what we are doing. Similarly, tapu as a sacred space or way of being was seen as a part of a spectrum of sacredness that is interconnected, with noa as a process of removing or lifting the restrictions that can often be associated with tapu. Seeing our tikanga as relational helps us to move beyond the dualistic oppositional ways of thinking that are embedded in western colonial paradigms. Colonial dualisms do little but create polarities that do not serve our interests as Indigenous Peoples. In this chapter we share the place of tikanga in providing us with concepts, frameworks, processes, strategies and practices that inherently gave us cultural strategies that ensured safety and wellbeing for whānau.

Tikanga

Tikanga refers to doing what is 'tika', that is, what is correct or right within a particular context. Mead (2003) refers to tikanga as a specific cultural form of social control that provides us with guidance and practice in relation to how we engage and interact with each other, both in interpersonal relationships and in group and collective contexts. Tikanga has also been described in broader terms as: "method, plan, reason, custom, the right way of doing things" (Marsden 2003, p.66). Tikanga is central to bringing balance back into our lives, particularly when dealing with the impact of violence and trauma (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Cavino, 2016; Kingi et al., 2017; Wilson et al., 2019; Kohu-Morgan, 2021). Relationships within Te Ao Māori are guided and framed by tikanga and it is argued that it is important to both understand and seek to live these interconnected tikanga (Pihama & McRoberts, 2009). Tikanga provides us with notions of correct ways of being in the world and also provides us with the process and protocols through which to enact that. The ways in which tikanga is then embedded in cultural practice are also described by Marsden (2003) as follows:

Tikanga Māori translates as Māori custom… those customs and traditions that have been handed down through many generations and accepted as reliable and appropriate way of achieving and fulfilling certain objectives and goals. Such proven methods together with their accompanying protocols are integrated into the general cultural institutions of the society and incorporated into the cultural system of standards, values, attitudes, and beliefs. (p. 66)

In the report Te Hinatore Ki Te Ao (Ministry of Justice, 2001), tikanga is defined as follows:

The term for Māori custom is tikanga, which is derived from the word tika. Tika can cover a whole range of meanings, from right and proper, true, honest, just, personally and culturally correct, to upright. Tikanga does not denote a static set of rules. The whole Māori legal system was based on values, and being a values-based system, Māori adhered to principles rather than a set of rules (p.v)

Within this definition we see the relationship of tikanga to systems of determining social relationships and social control. This aligns with Kruger et al. (2004), who note that tikanga encompasses how we practice our cultural ways as Māori and "establishes healthy behavioural boundaries that can be used to set limits around violent behaviour and provide the means to transform behaviour from violence to wellness" (p.20). The construct of tikanga provides a way to understand and enact ethical practices of social control and social regulation of behaviour (Jackson, 1988). As Jackson (1988, p.39) noted, our tūpuna had systems that provided processes for when "anti-social behaviour" occurred as a result of an imbalance. Tikanga was the basis of that system.

Tikanga provides specific cultural ways in which to ground healthy relationships and to intervene when there are issues that are troubling or upsetting whānau or wider relationships. It has been clearly established that acts of violence upon whānau were dealt with quickly, and in the context of abuse such as sexual violence, the response was swift.

I think there were set instruments that we use to manage bad behaviour. I think of the kotiate, as I look at it hanging over there on the wall. I recall Uncle kōrero regarding the kotiate being used to manage any transgressions against another individual that compromises tapu, mana, mauri, their wairua. It was dealt with swiftly, it was dealt with immediately, nothing like what we have set up today in a system where things are prolonged that impacts family forever and a day, it was dealt with immediately ... through hui with whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Drawing upon tikanga to deal with transgressions of mana or tapu was not done solely with regard to violence but in any context where balance and wellbeing were being disrupted or disturbed. One kaikōrero described tikanga as "creating a protection mechanism for us to live safely and well. And then spiritually as well, physically and emotionally, all of those things" (kaikōrero). Tikanga is defined in the broadest sense as doing what is 'tika' or correct in a certain context. It is described by Kruger et.al. (2004) as follows:

Tikanga is the way we practice what we believe in as Māori. Tikanga comes from Māori philosophy or aka matua/iho matua (world view). Tikanga establishes healthy behavioural boundaries that can be used to set limits around violent behaviour and provide the means to transform behaviour from violence to wellness. (p.20)

What this meant was that our tūpuna have provided us with a collective cultural means by which to deal with all forms of behaviour among our people. As one kaikōrero noted "When I think about particular tikanga or strategies it really was about holding each other to account within the fabric of that and the commonly understood idea that every life is precious" (Kaikōrero). It was highlighted that a key to our

contemporary wellbeing is to return to the tikanga that our tūpuna have left us and to seek guidance within those philosophies and practices.

There was an absolute understanding from everybody within those whānau, hapū, iwi structures of what was tika behaviour, what was tikanga-driven behaviour… Those principles and those tikanga, and those learnings that they shared within their people was a norm … and it was practiced daily, not necessarily known as tikanga because it was a practice of life, it was a way of life, it was a way of living. When colonisation did come upon our people then our ways started to change. Then things like tikanga came in place. Prior to that, it was just a way of living, we were who we were. Ko te kupu tika - tikanga, tikanga mō te wā, what is tika for that time, for that horopaki, for that concept, koia nei tāku e tautoko ana. (Kaikōrero)

Kaikōrero throughout the project provided key reflections on the place of tikanga and how it is understood and applied within specific contexts to support our overall wellbeing.

In my head, as I understand it, tikanga would have been all around you, being at the right time, for the right reasons. And all situational, all locational. And a lot of that tikanga would have been around maintaining the value in relationships; why are we in relationships, what is the nature of those relationships, and how do we maintain one for the good, or the not so good, whatever that may be… I think about how our people lived way back then, it would have had to be quite interactive, and being able to respond to whatever was happening at that point in time. I know that we had our own set of rules and regulations, I suppose that may have been around tikanga, but how they would have been applied I think would be part of the situation. (Kaikōrero)

I am for Māori tikanga to be upheld, to prevent. As I said previously, Māori have … their own solutions… I know we connect to Aotearoa, but we had specific tikanga, stories and ways of living that were specific to our own environments and our places. Whether that was being a river people or a bush people, a mountain people, it was all about, I think, understanding the places we lived in and how we connect to each other in those places. (Kaikōrero)

In the discussion of tikanga it was noted that the time and place that certain actions occurred were significant, including acts of violence. Whaiwāhitanga was raised as a concept that requires further engagement with regard to responding to acts of violence. It was noted that whaiwāhitanga is linked to wider tikanga notions of mana, tapu, whakapapa and is always relational in regard to whānau and whenua.

Whaiwāhitanga is all about time and a place, it's the concept of having a role but for a particular time and space. The role doesn't dictate your identity, it only dictates who you are at that time. So, I guess an example is, although violence oh you know not violence, I prefer to use the word pakanga or toa, isn't something that wasn't unheard of I guess in pre-colonial times. It's a concept used in the perspective of kaitiakitanga. It was all centred around the protection of mana, the protection of whānau, the protection of children, of wahine, of whenua, which all links back to whakapapa and identity… It depends on your location. That's a big thing for me is location, time, whaiwāhitanga because say if you were in Tūhoe your teacher is the ngāhere, so that's what it looks like for you; the teaching's different, the ngāhere teaches differently. Whereas on the moana it's different again and so the energies are different. So, your role in a community also has to be different if that makes sense. So, the āhua for me is shaped and formed by the environment, but the roles should be different in society because of your identity. Whereas, I think probably what society does is they say, well this is the standard, and this is how everyone should be, period. But it's not that simple. (Kaikōrero)

All kaikōrero engaged in this research considered tikanga as central to providing ways of dealing with the increasing violence experienced by our people, at both individual interpersonal levels and in collective contexts. This section provides not only a discussion of the necessity of tikanga in family violence prevention and intervention; it also speaks to a range of tikanga concepts and practices that have been identified throughout the project. As one kaikōrero emphasised " the answer is tikanga and the solution is tikanga, and it's going to reverse it [family violence]". The collective nature of tikanga is central to wellbeing and our pūrākau indicate that the actions of our tūpuna were to enable the collective survival of our people and to attain the knowledge and practices central to that.

Mai i te orokohanga o te ao, from our creation histories, we find the genesis of our tikanga. We find them in the deeds of our tūpuna, like for some iwi Tāne-nui-a-rangi, and the attributes that he displayed, ascending the heavens to get the baskets of knowledge, selflessly, for others, not for oneself. Firstly, we put a whole lot of tikanga in place in terms of our leadership, have to look after others. (Kaikōrero)

Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori is a term that has become synonymous with Māori knowledge, Māori philosophies of knowledge, and Māori ways of knowing and being. Its complex cosmological, epistemological, ontological and axiological embodiments and values point to it as a system that embraces multiple forms of knowledge or disciplines, values and practices, and principles for living, learning and knowing. It includes ideas about our creation and being, the nature of living in our environments, concepts of time and space, earth and the universe, emotions and thought, social organisation, voyaging, gardening, warfare and weaving, health and well-being, breaches of social order and resolution of disorder, oral forms of expression including poetic expressions, laments and love songs: in other words, everything. Mātauranga is the system of knowledge, the knowledge of everything, the organising principles for making sense, including the methodologies for everything we may seek.

Those are some of the aspects when I look at the mātauranga Māori way is very much about balancing of the mana, mauri and of course wairua all those things. If you have those in balance then the issues in terms around, I guess in anger or a violent act, is minimized. (Kaikōrero)

Mātauranga is seen by many Māori as a source of healing, inspiration, identity, and connection to ancestors, as well as a framework of knowledge. The term 'mātauranga' has been popularised in recent times due in some part to its use in science policy through the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Enterprises' Vision Mātauranga. Other terms have also been used in Government policies, for example Māoritanga (Māori perspectives), Taha Māori (Māori dimensions) or Tikanga Māori (Māori values, ethics and practices), as attempts to articulate and translate into the dominant Pākehā mindset the fullness of Māori world views and Māori understandings of how those world views have informed ways of living. Colonisation was as much an epistemic process as it was a political, economic and cultural process of intentional destruction, appropriation and erasure. The fact that many elements of mātauranga Māori have survived in Māori people and communities is a testimony to their resistance and resilience, as well as insistence by Māori to be Māori.

In today's context Māori have been active in asserting that mātauranga must be recognised as a specific knowledge form, and ways of knowing, that sit alongside other science and academic disciplines. Such assertions have been at the centre of a movement where mātauranga Māori is increasingly being acknowledged as a unique system of knowledge that should be embraced in Aotearoa. Mātauranga is being regenerated alongside and through the wider regeneration of Māori language and culture, and

alongside other western disciplines of knowledge (Mead, 2003; Royal, 1998; Stewart, 2021; Smith et al., 2016). It is important, however, to accept the fundamental idea that it is a system of knowledge that has been created by Māori and is thus deeply embedded in a worldview and that it belongs collectively to Māori. For all these reasons and others, we encouraged participants to define mātauranga for themselves and to name and interpret what mātauranga meant for them.

> *For me wellness is within what your elders teach you. Their wellness is the example for what our future is. That wellness is, all their mātauranga, all of their knowledge, which is I guess wrapped around tikanga, karakia, whakataukī, tauparapara, all of those types of chants, me kī, waiata. Our elders' understanding of those types of tikanga practices through their teachings brings us wellness, brings us wealth, and displays their status of mana. For me, that is the wellness within the whānau, the strength of knowledge, that has descended down taonga tikanga tuku iho, in those types of practices. What we learn from the likes of nan and my parents, we are the example of it today, we are the example of their teachings. We will only continue in the understanding that they have given us, and whoever else that can relate on that same level too as well will only enrich us again, or even make us grow even stronger. The understanding for me is the connection of yourself to the whenua and within the whānau. Heaps of practices that will bring wellness. (Kaikōrero)*

Tikanga and Mātauranga as Prevention and Intervention

Both tikanga and mātauranga Māori play a significant role in providing us with ancestral knowledge and practices through which to inform our behaviours and ways of being in the world. It has been highlighted that tikanga and mātauranga Māori are central to both the prevention of and intervention in whānau violence, and are key to healing. As one kaikōrero noted *"What we're saying is that violence occurs in an absence of tikanga. Then naturally the way to restore all that or prevent it is to put in place corrected tikanga" (Kaikōrero).*

Tikanga was also considered to be our cultural law, which was described as being about survival and protection, and it was emphasised that there were clear and serious consequences for transgressions. This was considered a process of maintaining social order (Jackson, 1988), which was multifaceted, as described by the following kaikōrero.

> *Let's try and imagine how our tūpuna maintained a level of social order. What were those tikanga that would have pervaded over our communities to ensure that whānau didn't come to harm, but also ensured the growth of our wellbeing. It wasn't an either/or; I think cultural practices were both. They provided safety boundaries, and they provided flourishing opportunities. (Kaikōrero)*

> *How do we stop violence from happening? I guess it's going back to the original question around what are the processes and tikanga practices in place that promoted whānau wellbeing? And I think my answers to those were around papakāinga, intergenerational around understanding of te reo and all of the facets. Having an opportunity for people to contribute to the whole and a connection to people and place, so I mean if you have all of those things in place, I think it'd be very hard for violence to thrive. (Kaikōrero)*

> *We could draw on tikanga, not only to prevent whānau violence but to reverse the current situation. I think it is absolutely true. I think some of the things around our tikanga that some of us, me anyway, still need to learn and we need to go to places to understand and get that knowledge. Those very things around preventing whānau violence and reversing the current situation would be about understanding that there are ways around getting us out of that situation by way of using and looking at some of the stuff around tikanga. (Kaikōrero)*

For many decades Māori have been arguing that intervention requires a Kaupapa Māori approach, by which tino rangatiratanga is embodied through Māori determining and overseeing the ways in which healing can be facilitated for whānau. What is clear is that kaikōrero believe that we are still having to prove that tikanga provides pathways for violence prevention and intervention, and for many years this has fallen on deaf ears.

I think that's going back to that whole thing about connecting people back to their culture, connecting people to whānau, Te Ao Māori values, to the beauty of the practices. That the practices aren't just about telling you off, they're about looking after you, going back to that. And again, I go back to the kids, go back to some of the more middle class, brown Māori like me who come into stuff and really eat up anything and everything that's out there around culture, and tikanga. And creating tikanga in a contemporary space in such beautiful and appropriate ways to work in the world that we have now, and then going into the future. And maybe there's a thing around tikanga as a decolonisation practice, because we … do need to do that badly. We do. Our people need to talk about our own history in the realisation of why we do those behaviours. Like I said, I really don't think the majority of our people have those conversations. (Kaikōrero)

How do we form or validate that to organizations, political parties. How do we validate that because first, they have to accept that tikanga actually does prevent family violence. We're talking about not just tikanga but all of those aspects of te ao Māori, but it could be done but I think we're still at that beginning part. (Kaikōrero)

Violence is the antithesis of tikanga. It has its roots in a range of multiple and complex contexts that have arisen since the denial of tikanga, te reo and mātauranga Māori.

To me violence is actually the opposite of tikanga. If tikanga is about the correct for all, or the correct way of doing things, the normalize, then violence is actually hē, it's actually about a wrong that is being done to the collective. It's about an abuse of the mind and the body and the soul, and where I landed in the end because I just jotted down all these things about what are all these definitions around violence but actually what I got to in the end if I look at all of those things … it's an absence of compassion and empathy; all of these things are relevant. In the end, to me, violence is an act of violation … that's potentially a two-way relationship where not only are they violating that person, that whānau, that group, but it's actually a violation of themselves. Violence to me is the act of violation, whether it's physical, whether it's about a breach of tikanga, or if it's about a breach of trust or you know all of those things coming. What might be a violation to me may not necessarily be a violation to someone else and so to me it broadens the potential perspective … outside of physical, sexual, psychological, emotional. (Kaikōrero)

The place of mātauranga and tikanga has been critical in ensuring the overall wellbeing of our people and is considered to have been a central focus for our tūpuna. The regeneration and revitalisation of tikanga Māori in contemporary times has been premised upon this belief system and continues to be articulated by Māori as being crucial to our ongoing efforts to re-embed systems of wellbeing within and between our communities.

I am in a space where I am trying to decipher what is tikanga and what is mātauranga. For me it is all really around manaakitanga and whanaungatanga, related to yourself and who you are for others and your connection, it is always going to go back to whakapapa. Those two work hand in hand for me in the roles that you play within your tikanga. Karakia and mihi, our tikanga, it is all positive, everything is positive, eke te wairua o te tangata me ngā mea katoa. It is about encouragement, positivity, and it's whether it may be an expectation too, so that the violence will enter if it is not reciprocal; the violence will enter. It is a testing of your wairua and your hinengaro to ensure you are strong enough to maintain

a balance, if you are maarama, if you are clear with the aroha that you want to project and receive to ensure that no violence or hara enters into the circle that you are in. It is understanding the tikanga for me, it's being very clear about it rather than knowing what the practice of the tikanga is, it is really understanding it for me. (Kaikōrero)

The state and colonial processes of denying te reo, tikanga and mātauranga form a consistent theme across the interviews and literature related to Māori perspectives on whānau violence. Colonisation is an act of violence perpetrated upon Indigenous nations. It is perpetrated both through explicit acts of violence, war, and dispossession of Indigenous Peoples, and through the ongoing systemic and structural imposition of foreign cultures, language, institutions, systems, and ways of being upon Indigenous Peoples.

At some point in time there has been that imposter tikanga that has been introduced to the whānau. It's been very, very hard to turn that imposter tikanga around. All of the other influences from outside of our traditional belief system and our traditional practices have become quite hard for our whānau to negotiate. (Kaikōrero)

There is no doubt of the impact of colonisation on our knowledge of tikanga and the ways in which our tūpuna worked to safeguard whānau, or that such disconnection continues to be significant for many of our people. What is also acknowledged is that there are people who continue to safeguard and share mātauranga, te reo and tikanga and that within those processes there are many tools and learnings to guide our wellbeing and to make change for current and future generations.

I think mātauranga is absolutely critical, and I see that as another sphere where colonising violence has actively worked, and we can see it now in terms of trying to marginalise the role of mātauranga as a science. Look at the funding in terms of the Health Research Council, and other funding streams for Māori research, that's another battle ground. So, ensuring that, yes, mātauranga Māori is an absolute wellspring to both prevent and address the historical trauma, and all of the facets of colonisation, most definitely. And we have to work really hard to continue to visibly bring that back, and remind people. (Kaikōrero)

Those are our taonga tuku iho. They have come through despite the oppression, despite the colonising, despite the stripping of mana, the land confiscations. Those fundamental tikanga have still come through to guide those of us who are well enough to ensure that it happens. (Kaikōrero)

Hoki anō ki ngā tikanga o mua, kai reira kē ngā tūmomo tikanga hai arahina e tātau te iwi Māori anō tērā to tātau nei reo. Kai roto i te reo ngā tūmomo whakamārama. (Kaikōrero)

In this chapter we share the understandings, thoughts and reflections on key tikanga concepts and practices that are drawn upon by the whānau and practitioners who shared their knowledge with us throughout this work. The discussions here have been framed in broad ways and are inclusive of a wide range of thinking about how these tikanga elements contribute to how we see the issue of violence upon and within whānau though a Māori lens and how these elements provide insights and contribution to prevention, intervention, resolution processes and healing.

Whānau and Whanaungatanga

Whānau is the foundational collective for all Māori structures and systems of relationships between kin (Irwin et al, 2011). Pihama (2022) states:

Whānau is the fundamental building block within Māori society. Whānau is generally translated as 'extended family', consisting of up to three or four generations and was the basic social unit under the direction of elders (Henare, 1988). Whānau structures provide for a system of accountability and responsibility. Whānau has provided a support base from which individuals are located in the wider dimensions of whakapapa and Māori society (Durie, 2001; Lawson-TeAho, 2010; Pihama & Cameron, 2012). It is a structure through which Māori societal and cultural norms may be reinforced and acts as a resource through which to obtain support and knowledge of the world, and to receive necessary values and belief systems essential to both the individual and the society. (p. 17)

Whānau has multiple meanings including both 'extended family', and 'to be born or give birth', thus connecting the wellbeing of current and future generations. Whānau is discussed as a collective way in which understandings and knowledge have been transmitted, and that aligns with conceptual frameworks and practices that are embedded within concepts such as Te Pā Harakeke (Pihama et al. 2015). Te Pā Harakeke is explained by Pihama and Lee-Morgan (2022) as follows:

Pivotal to the sustenance of Te Pā Harakeke is 'te rito', the centre shoot, which also symbolises the importance of the child, sitting at the centre of a protective mechanism of whānau. The rau ((leaves) that grow around the rito provide the first layer of sustenance and represent the mātua. The term mātua refers to parents and those of the parent generation. This is aligned to the concepts of whaea, which refers to mother and aunties, and mātua, which refers to father and uncles. What we see in these relationships is that, even at the first level of relationships, the tamaiti is surrounded by those who are responsible and obligated to provide for their wellbeing. The rau that extend further from the rito are representative of tūpuna, the generations that reach out to beyond the physical living grandparents to our ancestors, who provide spiritual sustenance, guidance and protection of all generations. In the image below we also see that there are multiple whānau within Te Pā Harakeke. That is the essence of the term pā, which is a clump or group of things and also refers to a village. (p.9)

Within such structures whānau were able to ensure not only the wellbeing of whānau members but also the shared and collective responsibility for the intergenerational care of tamariki and mokopuna, including the transmission of knowledge through generations.

I think there was an absolute understanding of Te Pā Harakeke of the whānau. What sat within that was an understanding of tapu. They had an understanding of te tapu o te tamaiti, te tapu o te whare tangata, therefore there was behaviour that came with that, that enhanced tapu, mana, mauri, te wairua o te tangata. There was an absolute understanding from everybody within those whānau, hapū, iwi structures of what was tika behaviour, what was tikanga-driven behaviour. There was an absolute knowing by everybody that this is how you behaved, this is what it looked like to ensure the wellbeing of whānau: to cause harm to te whare tangata, ngā tamariki, mokopuna was to harm whakapapa. Therefore, if you were to harm whakapapa, harm te whare tangata, that would cause disruptions in succession moving forward. (Kaikōrero)

Before colonisation we had more of a whānau-based role and the hapū or wider whānau had more of an idea what was going on within the individuals involved. They were closer, it wasn't so broad spread so they could see what was going on and it could be intervened with quickly. Especially our tamariki or taonga, if that violence came through it was going to be dealt with very quickly, and they were to be put in a safe place, was my understanding of it. (Kaikōrero)

I think the other things that were present would have been an intergenerational approach to raising mokopuna. I think there were so many different links within te reo alone, within whakataukī within

waiata that talk to the connections across generations. I mean my thinking and stories that I've heard over more recent generations have been certainly that grandparents played, and that older generations played a central role in raising mokopuna. Mokopuna, tūpuna, there's the link alone within the language that ties those two together. I think the practices around, again even in the reo in relation to the significance or the role that women play in our culture, you know again they're such simple terms like whenua, whānau, hapū, iwi... to me, whare tangata all these types of things that are so fundamental in the language point to the relevance that women alone held in within a Māori traditional societal structure. So those types of things, papakāinga, collective living, whakapapa, language, intergenerational transmission of knowledge. (Kaikōrero)

Several kaikōrero shared specific examples of the contemporary application of whānau in the context of violence:

I remember getting beaten up as a kid and I was at college and a drunken young fella came in, and the Pākehā girls gave some cheek, and he was going to beat them up and I knew he would just get jail without even thinking. But I remember that by the time I had gotten home all my older cousins had gathered and gone round to see him and his whole whānau and sorted it out… I never had a problem with that because I felt it was resolved right there, so I never had anything after, to worry about, even when I saw him on the street and all his brothers, I just kept right on going because my family were with me, all my family were with me and I felt really strong, really strong... So I think we do have things that we do naturally and we don't even think about it when we look at how do we stop these things from happening, we already have things in place that we do naturally even though it's come from an old place where we don't think about what it is that we're doing, we just do it. We've become very proactive in making sure our children and our families are safe, even more so in today's world because we don't have those same areas, those same safety things in our communities anymore. (Kaikōrero)

Whānau is considered to provide spaces for reconnection and healing. When we speak of whānau we are not speaking about the nuclear family model that dominates many of our communities. Rather we are speaking about the broader extended family models of multiple generations. Kruger et al. (2004) highlighted the need to ensure that we maintain an awareness of what is happening for whānau and that we are cognisant of the fact that in some contexts the dysfunction within families requires us to think and act more widely in terms of seeking safe and healthy contexts. It was also noted that some whānau do not have access to the knowledge or skills needed to deal with such situations alone, and they need support. The following example highlights how difficult it can be for whānau who know that there is something seriously wrong but do not have the skills to deal with it.

If you are not in the right group of whānau support that will support you on that journey, that's going to be a challenge for anyone to try and make change, so you create your whānau, you know. That in itself is like who are all the champions of Whānau Ora: it's not a 9-5 job, it's an all the time job, it's the who are our champions, we have the aunties that we can go to or the uncles that we can go to. Having the people that can actually be that person for them because a lot of our time is our whānau have disconnected from their whānau to start rebuilding them to connect them again. (Kaikōrero)

I guess we could look at some of that at a personal level, when your daughter was being pummelled by her partner and we'd never come across that, remember, here was you and me and ___ and we were in the kitchen and we could hear him and her next door and they were in another room and we could hear him banging on the wall, and we were looking at each other saying, 'Oh is he hitting her?' We couldn't believe it, maybe they were being silly, but it wasn't like that, it wasn't that kind of a sound, there was

no noise, there was no voices but there was just banging on that wall. She came out of the room and she acted like everything was okay, but we could physically see that it was not. We actually didn't know what to do, we didn't know how to deal with it right then at that moment because we had never come across it before. (Kaikōrero)

What is evident from this example is that whānau need not just access to information; they also need to know where to go to for support. With that in mind it remains clear that the cultural structure and system of whānau is one that provides much greater possibilities for healing than what is offered by State agencies and systems, and that it is our role to provide the knowledge and resources to whānau to deal with not only family violence but with all forms of violence that they face.

The other one is whānau, whānau is a big one, re-connecting with whānau, and healing trauma is the other one. I think you can heal trauma, it's almost like you can heal through the environment because you basically become what you see and what you know. So, to me that really is the pathway to healing trauma, but it goes deeper than that, I know that; it's a lot deeper. (Kaikōrero)

I'm not talking about Oranga Tamariki stepping in thank you. No, I am talking about a village stepping in. I am talking about a whānau stepping in. I'm talking about fixing our whānau. You can't fix one person without the rest of them being fixed too. We have wānanga and the reason we have wānanga is because we can't fix ourselves. We can do all the work we want to but if we are not well within our own whānau we have to fix our whānau too and we have to fix ourselves within our whānau ... We can do all the work we want out there, we are just hypocrites if we can't do it in our own house, or in our own whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Collective care and responsibility are seen to sit at the centre of a whānau approach to dealing with violence. This includes open discussions and ensuring that there are practices in place that support whānau to have the kinds of conversations that are needed, and to create pathways for resolutions to be put into place.

It was a collective issue; it wasn't just the individual and they were dealt with behind closed doors. There was kōrero, there was wānanga, there was hui. The repercussions or the consequences of that behaviour were not just experienced by the individual but by the whānau, and that could be done in the form of muru, with whānau being able to come in and remove taonga, remove resources from whānau. There was a very clear message being made; we will not tolerate this behaviour. (Kaikōrero)

Whānau need the opportunity to sit and to kōrero, to have some very open conversations, that are mostly going to cause a little bit of discomfort, but I think it needs to be exposed. There are some really great examples of what I have seen in the marae setting, where I have seen kuia disagree with what has been said. From tāne that are up, that are talking, that have been talking too long, disagreeing with the content of their kōrero and I have seen them stand up and start to waiata, or I have seen them get up and walk out of hui. I think that there in itself is an example of what we can be doing to take some control over some of those spaces that we might find ourselves in. (Kaikōrero)

You have to deal with what's happening. We usually bring the whānau together and then we all talk about it, we talk about what we are going to do, we have got to vent some anger and animosity and think of all the things we would like to do and then kind of work through that and then we will look at how can we get this sorted. (Kaikōrero)

Within our whānau unit we would hear about something that went on and then each family were called upon to discuss the issue. The intention is not to takahī on the person that was/is doing the bad behaviour, bad actions, but to bring it to light, focus on them and that's through them seeing our faces, hearing our kupu and give awhi and manaaki to that person as well as also concentrating on the person that has been attacked or that the bad stuff has happened to, also having people to support them as well. It was a 'bring everything out' so that we can talk about it and then everybody who is at that table has a role and responsibility to not let that happen within their unit and then they know that if it does happen in their unit that this is the process that we will take to keep illuminating all the bad behaviours but coming up with a solution together. (Kaikōrero)

Whānau support is not only about supporting the change in dynamics within relationships but is also considered to be a part of dealing with wider socio-economic issues that whānau face. Issues of poverty, incarceration, housing, and employment are all contributing factors that increase stress and impact upon whānau relations. Wider support is needed to mitigate some of the broader societal issues and impacts.

I knew the one way that we can move out of this space is I need to be with my whānau, we need to be with our whānau. I need them to be able to support us so that we could move out of this space because I don't like it… We were lucky that we had whānau support around us, I know for a lot of whānau that we work with, that we have interactions with, they don't have that support system behind them so therefore you have whānau that are locked in jobs that are not very high paying, there is no job satisfaction, they don't have that whānau support and all the other things that come with trying to manage living, trying to get by, you know you are turning to the use of alcohol, the drugs and you can just see how things snowball… We know it is absolutely tough out there, so if we are trying to make some changes, then connecting people with whānau, there is some actual sense in that. Connecting them into jobs that are meaningful, that enable their whānau to be able to participate fully within their community. There are some real mana-enhancing things that come with that, that they are able to build on, those other concepts that sit and support mana start to be fed a little bit more and that is where we start to see change occurring, taking place. We start to see people, mauri starting to awaken. People are starting to take interest, actually what is going on, and moving out of 'this is how it is', to 'this is what I want to create'. (Kaikōrero)

I know when I think of my whānau, my brother who has been in prison, came out earlier this year, he grew up in State care and he was abused in State care so he then lived a life of high flying, wanted everything just like that and would steal for it. Wouldn't hurt anyone but would steal, would take whatever he could take just to get him some alcohol or whatever… We hardly had any contact with him when he was a teenager, or as he was growing because we couldn't help him, we were more of a hindrance than anything for him, so he had to be on his own path, so re-connecting him to us and bringing him back has been a journey this year: a lot of healing had to happen and a lot of that was around his own mamae that he was holding. (Kaikōrero)

Returning home or to a place of connection is a way to begin a journey to healing. Within the discussion of whānau sits the notion of 'ūkaipō' which is described by Dell (2016) as follows:

The literal meaning of Ūkaipō is to be fed by the breast at night. It's more symbolic meaning refers to the spiritual, emotional and physical nourishment that is given through the comfort and intimate relationship between the mother and child. Similarly, land and people are viewed as carrying the same relationship, where land is the ūkaipō. (n.p)

There are many pūrākau that indicate returning home to our ūkaipō is a way to seek solace, guidance, support and healing. Notable pūrākau such as those that speak of the returning of tūpuna wahine such as

Niwareka and Ruaputahanga to their people give powerful insights into this tikanga process. Kaikōrero spoke to this as a mechanism that remains important in our current context in regard to healing.

In my own journey leading up to this kaupapa I was going through a separation, and I'm also going through court, but I realized that there was a tikanga involved coming out of a separation and a big part of it is self-healing. So, it was a real interesting journey just having to relocate to Rotorua. My tikanga was to return back to the womb, which was mum. I went back to Rotorua and mum has really strict tikanga like no drinking, smoking or anything like that on the property and everyone goes to bed early. I found myself going for daily walks in the ngāhere, going to bed when the sun went down, waking up at 4am and waking up to the birds when the birds woke up. Started tuning into the environment a lot more and I became a lot more aware of myself internally and everything, which is important for me in terms of creativity, especially when you are creating things to do with Maramataka Māori in the lead up to this exhibition that I was involved in. It was a big healing journey. (Kaikōrero)

Returning to our tūrangawaewae (the place we stand) was also discussed in this regard, and the need to ensure that each generation knows where they come from to maintain a sense of connection. It was highlighted that concepts such as ūkaipō and tūrangawaewae are not only physical understandings; they also provide us with conceptual ways of considering what is happening for us.

When we talk about things like that, where those two boys are going to be, and then their kids. When they come home, where do they go to when they first get back: they go straight to the urupā, and see those that they have left behind. They clean them up, they do them while they are here, and that is wonderful. Your tūrangawaewae is back here. Part of this bringing whānau together, it is all that we have to kōrero with our kids and that. (Kaikōrero)

There is a couple of things that I'm doing, one of them is the use of tūrangawaewae with everybody, and all of the Māori clients that I've had, shift and they have this light bulb thing that happens. The first time I used it was with a guy in the army and he'd been sent for depression, they said he's depressed because his girlfriend left him, and I thought oh. Anyway, he came along and he definitely looked depressed, put his head down, and didn't talk very much. We talked for a bit and then I said to him, you know I hear that you and your girlfriend have split up, and he said, yeah, we have but that's not the reason why. I split up with her. I went oh, okay, that's not what they think. He goes yeah, I know, that's not the reason why anything's happened. So, he talked for a bit and then I looked at him and I said, bear with me, so I asked him if he knew what tūrangawaewae meant and he goes, it's a place where you stand. I said yeah physically, so psychologically this is what we're talking about: if I am strong in this space then I'm rooted to the ground and I'm centred and everything in my space will move towards me. If I'm not feeling good, I get detached and then I move towards everything else, so everything else has control and I lose control. He looked at me and he says wow, nobody's ever explained it to me like that before. (Kaikōrero)

Ora/Oranga

The concept of Ora is central to wellbeing and to notions of healing. In the report 'He Oranga Ngākau' (Pihama et al., 2019), ora is discussed as follows:

'Ora' is both a noun, a naming of our wellbeing, and a verb, to be well. It is an aspiration that pervades the work and life intent of all that have been instrumental in the framing and undertaking of this project. To aspire to live in 'ora' is to aspire to live in wellbeing in all parts and dimensions of our lives and our world. To live in relationships that are grounded upon 'ora' is to live in relationships that seek balance between all parts of te ao Māori, the Māori world. That requires balance within and across physical, spiritual, emotional, psychological, and environmental contexts. (p.8)

"To be alive" is how one Kaikōrero simply put the notion of ora, and reinforced the idea that ora exists within all living things:

Ora on its own to me is about every other living thing that is connected to whenua, to taiao, but it is not necessarily hauora, so that is a different dimension again. I think hauora, if I was our tūpuna discussing it, it would be that you were in a state of wellness, without getting into the different mauri that are also concerned with ora. I think ora, if we were to consider it from a tupuna perspective, would be that everything is well, things are well, things are in balance. There is an equilibrium, but not of just us as the humans, an equilibrium with all that surrounds us, especially our whenua, our moana, all of our waterways. They bring balance and ora to us and vice versa. Everything is connected, that is ora, when everything is in ora. (Kaikōrero)

Ora is the base term in the concept of 'oranga' and expresses "wellbeing, health, living, and encapsulates the essence of 'ora' to be well, health, be alive, to have vitality" (Pihama et al., 2020, p.8). When speaking about healing, many of the Kaikōrero talked of seeking 'oranga' as a fundamental need and returning to a state of 'ora'.

Oranga is really, really important to understand in positive terms, even though we know that there are a whole lot of things that patu us in different ways. It is having that sense of oranga, and to help understand the oranga is the processes that we have to go through to heal ourselves and heal one another and treat one another. (Kaikōrero)

The collective nature of 'ora' is seen as being central to whānau wellbeing. The term 'whānau ora' itself has become synonymous with Māori approaches to wellbeing and the ways in which that is considered is highlighted in comments such as:

I guess, a term these days we would align whanaungatanga with is collectivism, linking whakapapa. The way that it works in a hauora way, or for everybody to have ora is that everybody provides, sustains, maintains the collective, nobody is an individual and has to look after themselves. Whanaungatanga basically is about knowing that whoever is next to you, whoever is Māori is part of you and therefore their ora is dependent on your ora, and is dependent on the ora of our whenua, the ora of our whole taiao. Pre-colonial whanaungatanga meant everybody was responsible for everybody else's ora. (Kaikōrero)

It is having that sense of oranga, and to help understand oranga is the processes that we have to go through to heal ourselves and heal one another and treat one another… We have got lots of examples of how our Māori communities have identified those things and coming at people all the time, in order to achieve oranga healing from things that should be looked upon as unacceptable. To get there are these strategies and acts of what I call maimoa, because it is treatment and it is healing. (Kaikōrero)

One kaikōrero spoke in depth around the many elements of ora in regard to the healing processes that they implement. This example provides insights into how Kaupapa Māori approaches to healing have been revitalised to support healing from family violence and in this case specifically to bring about transformation in behaviour. Oranga is discussed here, as in other contexts, as being about balance, and that requires us to do what is needed to achieve it.

Oranga whānau, how we used our hui, hohou te rongo and people in roles like kairongomau and takawaenga. Also, our whakaaetanga where people develop agreements between one another, how they will work … not just a hui but relate to one another. Oranga wairua, how forgiveness is a big part of those hui. Muruatanga and hohou te rongo are really important parts of being able to forgive one another, and that people have to step up to, and address the fact that they have transgressed against other people. The karakia, that is required all of the time, and different types of things that go with those karakia like that

tātai whakapapa that you use to not only connect people but to heal people, and practices like takahi whare, and takahi urupā when people have been affected by wairua things. Oranga hinengaro, so the mahi pūaroha, acts of compassion, mahi piripono, acts of loyalty to one another, to make sure that they don't just close ranks on those who have been perpetrated upon but those who should be given the loyalty to sort out the issues where perpetrators have split families in communities. Mahi whakamarumaru, making sure that places are safe for our women and children and kaumātua. Oranga whatumanawa where you have ngā whanonga kē, ngā waiaro kē, so attitudes and the practices that we have to make sure that everything is in balance. (Kaikōrero)

Wairua

Wairua is considered to be at "the core of Māori wellbeing" (Kaikōrero) and relates and is intimately connected to all aspects of tikanga. Wairua is described by Marsden (2003) as 'spirit' and states that "Mauri is the elemental essence imparted by wairua" (p.47), thus highlighting the interconnected nature of mauri and wairua. Penehira (2011) brings forward wairua in her model 'Kaitiakitanga', developed alongside Koro Huirangi Waikerepuru, and defines it as follows:

Wairua: (Spirituality) Ngā wai e rua (the two waters) is discussed by Dr Waikerepuru (2009) as one interpretation of the concept of 'wairua'. In doing so, he speaks of the spiritual essence emerging from the two fluid sources present at the conception of a child. This can relate also to that which was created when Ranginui and Papatūānuku merged. In terms of how wairua influences the Māori principle of wellbeing, it is essential that one has a connectedness with Indigenously Māori spirituality. That includes knowledge, understanding and practical application of karakia, pure (specific incantations), and waiata. (p.42)

In developing their model to intervene in whānau violence. Kruger et al. (2004) state:

Wairua is exercised through the practice of tapu. Tapu (awareness of the divine) and noa (awareness of mortality) pre-existed as natural conditions of the universe. Wairua is not religion. Wairua provides immortality when the physical body has died. Kahupō is the state of having no familiarity with wairua. If you are kahupō then you are spiritually blind and already 'dead'. You have no ulterior purpose or meaning in life. Life is but a physical drudgery. If there is a term to emphasise spiritual blindness there must be a need for a spirit. If spiritual blindness is the most undesirable state for Māori, the most desirable state must be awareness of wairua and a passion for life. Inherent to a knowledge of wairua is the understanding of the states of tapu and noa and how they work together. (p.22)

With regard to the impact of family violence, many considered acts of violence to impact upon all parts of who we are as Māori, which includes the discussion of the violation at a wairua level and the need for healing to address wairua alongside all other components of our experience.

I think it draws us to a point where our focus is on a wairua concept in that situation or in that example absolutely tells me that a specifically cultural way in dealing with whānau is to send the same messages or use the same approach. The impact of violence on [an] individual from another individual, a lot of the misconceptions are that there is no one else there. If we use the concept of wairua and imagine a nanny, a significant other from our whakapapa, then that that in turn should tell us that person is not on their own and you have just gone in there with those of your whakapapa and violated that whole environment. You have to make a connection I think, a link between some of those things, a distinction between some of the things we currently do and try and weave those through some of the things that will absolutely send clear messages to our people that if you hit somebody, you didn't only just hit the physical, you hit everything around them. (Kaikōrero)

When I think of how do we prevent and intervene in whānau violence, I would say this is why I have been surrounded by our tauheke [which] is really important because there comes a certain wisdom with some of them who grew up under these kōrero. They have the wisdom to be able to deal in these spaces, but I think karakia is such an underrated thing. Within our karakia there is so much mātauranga and there is so much power of healing in those spaces. Are there specific cultural ways of dealing with it? I would say a lot of it to be dealt with in a wairua space but the re-education of what that actually is, and it wasn't something that was afforded to everybody, there were certain people chosen for those roles. (Kaikōrero)

Uplifting ourselves, our mauri, our wairua can be done on many levels. Kaikōrero all had views on the place of connection through wairua and the many ways in which our tūpuna would do that through both formal and informal processes. What is clear is that we need as whānau to remember that we can practice and embed ways of uplifting ourselves through many daily activities. This is about taking back our capacity to be uplifting of ourselves and each other by activating our ways of caring for ourselves.

I remember the times when as a family we would sit together, we would laugh we'd have a big kai, big dinner then our nan would come out and play the guitar and it was just so good, and so all those things contribute to mauri ora because it uplifts the wairua, uplifts the person. (Kaikōrero)

Just reflecting on some of the research that I've done, recognising that the injury that's occurring, the disruption that's occurring as an injury, that is a disruption to wairua. We have to attend to the wairua of the whānau, not only of the individual, that's another problem. Tikanga tells us and everyone in my research, ahakoa te aha, whether they're from the town, the country, the remote areas all talked about, it is about whānau. So, we've got to take everyone along with us. So, things that strengthen and promote healing of wairua, karakia is so important. It was so lovely to have a karakia at the beginning of our wānanga today, because it really does shift the energy and it does create a different space for things to occur safely. So, I'm a great proponent of that, see it every day. I always offer karakia when I'm having hui with whānau. And waiata, kōrero, one of the things that came out of my research was it doesn't matter that people can't understand te reo, the effect of te reo is still powerful. So, Māori hearing te reo Māori is healing, he tino rongoā. (Kaikōrero)

I think also… looking after our kaumātua and our kuia is a big thing, that would help us spiritually and our wellbeing. I think by knowing and realising that our kaumātua and our kuia and our babies are like right up there, they are at the government level for us, that is our government level. It would be good just knowing our kuia and our kaumātua at marae, help them get through the door, sit them down, pull that chair up for them, sit them down, all that kind of stuff is good healing for the wairua, everything. Singing to our babies, mirimiri our babies, even mirimiri the hands of our kaumātua and our kuia, all that is cultural healing. There would be no need for whānau violence, even just pūrākau, stories, sharing stories, talking. (Kaikōrero)

Taking time to be in our environment provides opportunities to connect to wairua through our whenua, maunga, awa and to acknowledge the healing spaces that can be opened when we take the time and space to connect in that way.

The other thing that I found very healing is taking people to the places of their pepeha, and actually having a physical experience; that has a massive wairua strengthening impact. People sometimes haven't been to those places, they know about them, maybe they've seen photos. They've seen the pūrākau, and that's powerful too, then actually going to go into that wai, whether that's the ocean, whether that's the awa, whether that's the roto. For many people their awa is so powerful healing ā-wairua. Using those clues in pepeha, pūrākau, the wāhi, the tangata, reconnecting with those things, karakia, going to the

Marae, being around whakairo, around tukutuku. It affects us, it really impacts on us. I've seen it, and you see it with rangatahi on Marae. Whānau stand up and they'll cry, and they'll say, "When we go to the ordinary court we feel like a number, we feel humiliated, and we feel tino whakamā. We come here and we can actually be ourselves, we feel we have mana, no matter what the complications are we have a sense of hope, we have a positive outcome, we feel hauora". And when you put all of that together, I think our tūpuna were so koi, it wasn't just one thing here, or a little bit of this, it was all of it together as a holistic approach which people were sensing all around them all the time. And Pākehā thinking doesn't like that, they like one little thing, one pill, it's so reductionist. And our thinking is actually we need all of it around us all the time.

Māori for Māori, working for Māori, because it's not working right now, what's happening. It is in the way we use our wairua, for me it's about using my wairua when I'm out on the road and transferring, I can feel their wairua, and I have to go back to that tūpuna way because family don't talk much. So, it's about starting the conversation, when I walk into a whānau, like a FGC, or something like that, already I see people crying, it's like "Okay we're going to start with a karakia etc." I say, "Taihoa, I would like to sit and kōrero with the whānau on my own first".

Wairua is also seen as an important way of connecting to deal with the violence that occurs in all contexts, including the institutional racism and systemic contexts that our people deal with daily. Wairua provides a spiritual space in which to maintain ourselves when dealing with often harsh or demeaning contexts.

I think that we have got something in us that comes from the wairua connection, the mauri connection that we have with tūpuna that they are around us and whatever ways they can support, they will. That is something that that systemic structures can't take away from us because that is actually at work without that being a part of it. Tūpuna are at work over and above systemic structures and I think sometimes that is how many of us are able to move each day, that is the part that we connect with more, even if we don't know that we are connecting and we are disconnected, I think it is still there. (Kaikōrero)

I found a lot of the healing came from outside sources, from really alternative sources of healing. It's more of a wairua journey… I think for me when the wairua journey happened, when I had my revelation was when I walked out of my job. When I walked out of my job, I walked out of a toxic environment, that's when I walked out of my marriage, and that to me told me that I was in that toxic environment for years which prevented self-growth. I realized that every time I was doing really well, it wasn't as if I was being dragged down, but it kind of felt like I was being pulled down. I think it's hard cause it's almost like you have to make that step, and that simple action came a whole lot of whakapapa of new doors opening up and doors closing. (Kaikōrero)

We knew some of your students when they had the opportunity to go off to visit some of these sites, there is a shift in their thinking. There is a physical shift, there is a shift ā wairua that happens, not only for them but for us also to be able to stand in those places and feel connected to your tūpuna in that instance. Even my own personal experiences of having my pūkanohi done, in that moment, and there were times when I thought about it during those eight hours that I was on the table, thinking about that, oh my god, I am actually experiencing something firsthand that I know my tūpuna experienced 150-odd years ago. That is powerful, there is a shift that takes place, there is something that physically happens, that takes over you. You experience it again when you are out with the fires that are lit, out at Te Kōhia Pā every year, there is something that connects you to that space, to that time, to your tūpuna, which is absolutely a wairua experience. If we have that happening more with our whānau then we actually truly start to understand the significance of who we are. (Kaikōrero)

Mana

Mana has been described in many ways, including the idea that there is no single translation into English to explain the depth of what is constituted as mana for Māori (Pere 1991). Mana includes notions and characteristics such as psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority and influence, and is considered to be influential and potentially binding upon others. It relates directly to qualities held by a person that are seen within them by others. Those qualities exist in both physical and spiritual realms (Pere, 1991). It has been highlighted that there are key concepts through which relationships within te ao Māori are understood, of which mana is one. Manuka Henare (1988, p.16) refers to Mana as *"Māori wellbeing and integrity, and emphasises the wholeness of social relationships, it expresses continuity through time and space"*.

Mana is also linked directly to our ancestral connections and is passed through whakapapa (Pere, 1991; Henare, 1988; Marsden, 2003). Manuka Henare (1988) and Māori Marsden (2003) speak of mana as being both spiritually bestowed and having the ability to be maintained and enhanced through our actions as people. Encapsulating both of these elements, Wharehuia Hemara writes:

> *The translation is authority, control, influence, prestige, power, psychic force, effectual, binding, authoritative, having influence or power, vested with effective authority, be effectual and take effect (Williams 1992). Mana determines children's positions within communities, is inherited from tūpuna/ancestors, and places children within a cosmic order… while mana is inherited from ancestors as it also enhanced through an individual's actions. Mana could be lost but it was absolutely critical that this did not happen. Loss of an individual's mana would have negative ramifications for the entire whānau, hapū and iwi (Hemara, pp 68-69)*

Similarly, Henare (1988) emphasises that mana is also generated by others for both individuals and groups.

> *Mana is a quality which cannot be generated for oneself; neither can it be possessed for oneself, rather mana is generated by others and is bestowed upon both individuals and groups. In the Māori world, virtually every activity, ceremonial or otherwise, has a link with the maintenance of and enhancement of mana. It is central to the integrity of the person and the group. (p.18)*

The place and role of mana in our relational ways of being is central to who we are as Māori and as noted in defining family violence for Māori, there is a clear identification of the impact of the denial or transgression of mana.

> *I just think soul destruction, soul, wairua destruction… I think it is insidious, it actually comes in many different forms, it is not just one thing. It comes to the unbalancing of a person's self-esteem and self-worth. It doesn't have to be physical to be destructive. A lot of the precursor to the violence is actually insidiously wearing down the person's mana or wairua to the point that they are susceptible to being violated without asking for help. They isolate, it is an isolation process, it is a power struggle, it is an imbalance of power. (Kaikōrero)*

> *Undermining the mana of another person or peoples… When you lose control to such an extent it [means you] takahi the mana of someone else. (Kaikōrero)*

> *The first thing that pops into mind is physical violence, hurting someone, but I think it has a number of ways of expressing itself. Trampling on someone's mana in different ways, making others feel less than they are. There is physical violence, or harming people physically. There is also emotional through words. Words are a powerful thing, a tikanga our tūpuna had was about the power of our words, that really*

enhanced others' mana that would level your own mana. (Kaikōrero)

In a context where mana is critical to our relationships it is essential that we have more conversations and discussions amongst ourselves about mana and how we each develop ways of being in our lives that affirm, enhance and uplift mana both individually and collectively.

I think that is where the conversation of mana motuhake and the narrative of mana motuhake in particular needs to come in because if you stand in your mana motuhake, you have an understanding and you have a perspective on life that you are self-governing and you have the power and the mana within you as a person to determine the choices you make. That comes in balance with these are the systemic racist things that are perpetuated on me and into my whānau so how do I, with these two situations that are fighting each other, how do I find a way forward? (Kaikōrero)

I think about our kaumātua and our kuia, and their mana kōrero, the mana kōrero that they had, their values and beliefs to us, and that we continue to acknowledge. We had karakia, we had mihimihi, we were able to look after our families as a whole, as opposed to individual families. We were a hapū. Because I think about back then, before colonisation came, we had equity, we had the equity of our mana whenua, our mana tangata, our mana whānau. Today we've lost that equity, and it's something that I'm really passionate about in terms of standing up for that equity. When I think about today, and I think about back then our tohunga were part of the mana of maintaining whānau ora. (Kaikōrero)

The misrepresentation of mana in ways that are aligned to colonial thinking was raised by some kaikōrero as having created destructive ways of seeing relationships, in particular in relation to gendered ways of seeing roles within whānau. This has been described by Kruger et al. (2004) as 'imposter tikanga'; however, in real terms it is not tikanga at all, it is an absolute misrepresentation of tikanga. This must stop and there is an absolute urgency for us to be resolute in regard to decolonising spaces and actions that uphold such misrepresentation.

My world was about mana, and the mana that we were taught, I know now, was the wrong mana; that was, you are the man of the house, and what you say goes, that kind of thing, and you are ruled by that. That was the kind of whānau that we were brought up in, the strongest, the weakest die, that kind of thing. I can imagine what it used to be like pre-European times, I think we would've been a loving, caring whānau. (Kaikōrero)

I have got so many examples running through my mind of just the absolute denigration of the mana of others by people who are held up as tikanga exponents. So here is the thing, in this time that we live in where knowledge of tikanga is so rare and so revered, wherever there is scarcity, I don't want to say always, but I am seeing people manipulating their privilege in terms of deep knowledge of tikanga Māori and te reo Māori for self-gain. Now for me that is the absolute antithesis of everything I understand to be right in the world in terms of the knowledge and practice of tikanga but this is the situation we are in because we don't live as Māori anywhere in splendid isolation out of systems of colonial oppression and domination and so we are navigating that all the time. Some people navigate that space for self-gain. (Kaikōrero)

Prior to colonisation is that our people knew how to enter into the different realms of atua and to conduct themselves accordingly. One of those atua happens to be Tū, but to stay in the realm of Tū was also about balancing, and so through that mana, mana was maintained. I think within violence sometimes, when there's an inequitable balance of mana then that's where conflict can enter. (Kaikōrero)

Mana Wahine

Mana wahine has always been a central concept in understanding the position and status of wahine in Te Ao Māori. It has also provided us with a tikanga frame for speaking back to the imposed gendered ideologies and practices that impact upon whānau (Te Awekotuku, 1991, 1992; Irwin, 1992; Smith, 1992; Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2014; Pihama et al., 2001, 2023). Te Awekotuku (1991) highlights that Mana Wahine is a way through which wahine Māori are able to be proactive in rediscovering ourselves, our relationships and determining our future in ways that are aligned to Te Ao Māori and where we can live fully in a contemporary context. Pihama (2021) states:

> *Mana Wahine provides us with a culturally defined basis from which to not only reclaim our place as Māori women within Te Ao Māori, but it also provides grounding for distinctively Indigenous women's theory and analysis of the impact of colonisation and the structures that reproduce colonising practices within Aotearoa. (p.8)*

The sacredness of wāhine was noted throughout the discussions, and the place of tikanga in supporting the wellbeing of wāhine as the 'whare tangata', the house of the people, was emphasized. This acknowledged that as a people our tūpuna understood that the survival of whānau, hapū and iwi was dependent upon the wellbeing of wāhine. Notions of tapu were associated with the sanctity of wāhine and that is also seen in the ways in which we name our collective groups, with whānau referring to extended family, hapū referring both to sub-tribal groupings and to being pregnant, and iwi referring to tribal groupings and bones. Kaikōrero shared their thoughts on mana wahine through comments on the tapu positioning of wāhine.

> *From that growing body of knowledge that you kind of seek, I guess my understanding is that we worked as a collective, like whānau worked together to raise tamariki and children were seen as tapu and they were gifts from our tīpuna, so things [were] put in place to protect that tapu and we weren't doing it in isolation and everyone had a role in the community too, to protect and nurture tamariki, so that the future, they were our future, so protecting that, and with wāhine as well, being seen as the creators of life and the significance of whare tangata. It was a whole lot of different pre-colonisation roles and responsibilities of that collective and women and children and the importance. (Kaikōrero)*

> *I like to believe that there was integrity, that we did what we said, and we said what we did, which is what I find is missing a lot today. That the mana o te wahine, mana o te tamariki was something that was venerated, because in our world it has been a lot about the male, the female stands up, but they still get beaten down. (Kaikōrero)*

Alongside dealing with the wider sexism that dominates colonial ideology have been the ongoing negative representations of mana wahine and atua wahine through colonisation, which have had a significant impact on gender relationships within Te Ao Māori.

> *…if you think of most of our pūrākau when they were written, were written by white men you know, took out anything to do with our atua wahine and the roles of women. (Kaikōrero)*
>
> *I think one of the important ones is who we are as wahine Māori, the different roles we have. I think that in the context of pūrākau and tikanga, what knowledge do we hold, who do we represent. There's a lack of balance in that, it's not balanced, and I think part of being able to address that is to begin to tell those stories, repeatedly, again and again, and what the messages and lessons are in there around whānau violence. Particularly as women and kids usually get killed. It's been said before, the other thing is a regard and respect for me aro koe ki te hā o Hine-ahu-one, that's all of us. And I think the other one is for men to regain the respect for themselves, our men. It's to reclaim those things that are about their respect for themselves to be able to respect who we are, and who our tamariki are, our mokopuna. (Kaikōrero)*

How do I define it? There are a lot of things there, a lot of mamae and a lot of pōuri that comes with it. On the other side there is a lot of mana that she can also gain back …. I think with her being able to reclaim her own mana motuhake, her mana wahinetanga, but it is a process that they have to go through. (Kaikōrero)

Aroha Yates-Smith (1998) in 'Hine! E Hine! Rediscovering the Femine in Māori Spirituality' writes:

... provided substantial evidence that the feminine was a vital component within Māori cosmology and history. References to atua wahine in kōrero, karakia, whakapapa and waiata indicate that female power was built into Māori philosophy, religious ritual and cultural experiences of everyday life. (p.269)

Many kaikōrero voiced concerns and questioned the minimising and rendering invisible of Atua wahine from the Atua pantheon and the prevention of wahine Māori from reciting karakia, when there is clear evidence that tupuna kuia and wahine Māori, within living memory, did conduct all manner of karakia rituals. In fact, kaikōrero highlighted that there is clear evidence to prove that wahine Māori did recite karakia.

Ko tētahi āhutanga o tērā whakaaro i ēnei rā, tērā tikanga hē kei waenga nui i a tātou, mā te tāne anake te karakia. Ka kōrero ia mō te taenga mai o te waka o Tainui, ka tae mai ki Tāmaki Makaurau rā, pirangi ngā rangatira o tō tātou nei waka te toia te waka mai i tēnei taha o te whenua ki tērā atu taha. Tētahi o ngā wahine kua pūhaehae, kua riri, kua tuku karakia ia kia mau tonu te waka kia kore e tāea te neke. Kei reira tētahi atu wahine, kua tuku karakia hoki ia kia whakawātea te waka, ka taea te toia mai tēnei taha ki tērā. Koirā tētahi tauira o te kaha me te mana, me te tika o te wahine kia tuku karakia. Nō reira nō whea tēnei whakaaro mā te tāne anake tēnei mea te karakia. Ae, nō whea tērā whakaaro? It was releasing the tapu that only the men could paddle the boat, hoe. So, she did the karakia, she hopped on and with the other wahine she released them from that tapu as well and they paddled the waka back up onto the shore to safety. So, she was making the whānau, the hapū, the iwi, mokopuna safe. As soon as she [had]done that, then she put it back into that tapu state. (Kaikōrero)

All hapū and iwi across Aotearoa have celebrated the expertise of their tūpuna wahine. It was noted that in Taranaki narratives, Rauhoto Tapairu is recognised and honoured for escorting Mounga Taranaki to where Taranaki stands today. Rauhoto Tapairu is acclaimed throughout Taranaki and demonstrates that female mana and tapu is well established and ancient. For centuries Rauhoto Tapairu resided at Otaunui, but due to many deaths occurring from repeated attempts to move her, kaumātua requested that Te Ao Mārama lift the tapu from Rauhoto Tapairu so that she could be safely moved to Puniho and cared for there as a tūpuna kuia. Te Ao Mārama, a respected tohunga with great mana, accepted the responsibility and she successfully lifted the tapu from Rauhoto Tapairu, who has resided at Puniho Pa since December 1948. Our respected koroua Dr Te Huirangi Waikerepuru of Taranaki held Te Ao Mārama in awe and explicitly stated: "Kātahi te tohunga, ko Te Ao Mārama"! Te Ao Mārama, was indeed, a great tohunga! (pers. comm)

The remembering of the place of wāhine in our ritual processes is important in decolonising the dominant patriarchal discourses that are a part of the diminishing of Māori women's mana and therefore contribute to behaviours that underpin some of the key beliefs relating to family violence. To deal directly with those belief systems there is an urgent need to address the impact of internalised sexism within Te Ao Māori and a need for significant changes to be made to affirm and acknowledge the place of wahine Māori as knowledge holders, including in relation to karakia.

There is so much. One of the things for me is that, particularly being connected to te taha wairua, I find that I am not taken seriously because I am a wahine, and yet, when I was growing up, a whole different ballgame, because I was the weirdo. Even like in the realms of karakia and learning the arts of the whare

wānanga and things like that. My nephew is currently doing the whare wānanga with our cousins and I said to him, "Are there any women that go to that"? He goes, no aunty, I said, is that a no aunty, not at all, or a no aunty, not yet? He goes, I think it is a no aunty, and I went wow, and he goes I know! Because of all the stuff that we do, he felt like they were missing out. I was thinking it is still instilling that it is only a male's job to do wātea, whakanoa, karakia, maintaining mauri, whereas when I do go to those particular kaupapa, I am doing my own thing, checking to make sure they are all good. (Kaikōrero)

I think it is fear of losing control. I think that they have bought in to the colonial idea that men are more worthy, and that knowledge is it. That is not to say we didn't have wānanga for wāhine and wānanga for tāne, that we did have those kind of wānanga where we have our time by ourselves but to say blankly that Māori women did not attend wānanga is just wrong. Actually, there are many Māori women in living history who did, Del Wihongi and Saana Murray. These are women we know. Kuia that we actually know ourselves. It is actually just wrong. The karakia, when you are talking about the karakia, so Te Mātāpunenga, that karakia group is only men. We have challenged directly, why are there no wahine in there? … Actually, if a Māori woman doesn't stand up and just run our own, they are not going to run them for us. They are going to continue the mythology that it is only the men that do it, so when you stand up your National Māori Women's Wānanga to come for karakia, we will all come. The sad thing about that is that our whānau, those men are our whānau and that they don't actually see the role that they have. We will have to do it for ourselves without their support until they come around. (Kaikōrero)

Mauri

Mauri is referred to in general terms as the "lifeforce that generates, regenerates and upholds creation" (Marsden, 2003, p. 44). It is, according to Marsden (2003), a "bonding element that holds the fabric of the universe together" (p. 44). Kruger et al. (2004) describe mauri as being "like the centre that drives people" (p. 26). It is the essence of life, the life-principle, that exists within all living things. Durie (1992) has described mauri as being a "dynamic force' that acts as a "network of interacting relationships" (p. x). Mauri and notions of mauri ora are essential to Māori wellbeing (Kruger, 2004; Pohatu, 2011; Pihama & Cameron-Raumati et al., 2019, Pihama & Smith 2023). Pere defines mauri as "the life principle and the ethos of animate and inanimate things. It can also pertain to the talisman, the physical symbol of the hidden principle that protects vitality, fruitfulness, the psyche etcetera of people, lands, forests, buildings and so on" (p. 32). This aligns with the definition given by Hirini Moko Mead (2003), who states:

Mauri is the life force that is bound to an individual and represents the active force of life that enables the heart to beat, the blood to flow, food to be eaten and digested, energy to be expended, the limbs to move, the mind to think and have some control over the body systems, and the personality of the person to be vibrant, expressive and impressive. (p. 54).

Furthermore, Mead (2003) notes that mauri cannot be separated from the self or body, but that they are interconnected in line with our wider understandings of the interconnected nature of mind, body, and spirit. He states "the mauri becomes an attribute of the self, something to nurture, to protect, to think about. The self and the mauri are one. If there is something wrong with the mauri, the person is not well" (p. 53). What Mead raises is the impact of the mauri on our overall wellbeing: that for us to have a sense of wellbeing our mauri must be well. This brings to the fore the fact that balance is essential to wellbeing. It is also emphasised that mauri has a range of states (Pere, 1991; Mead, 2003, Kruger, 2004; Pohatu, 2011). Pohatu (2011) emphasises that mauri has the potential to move from its centre towards kaupapa in ways that are intentional and have specific states, three of which are mauri moe, mauri oho, and mauri ora, which highlight that mauri is not static and is constantly in movement.

Mauri moe here is considered a proactive state, the untapped potential within Māori bodies of knowledge with their attendant wisdoms to inform kaupapa and relationships. At one level, mauri moe cautions as to the consequences of inactivity, with its expressions of isolation, withdrawal, non-attendance, flux and non-participation. (p.4-5)

Mauri oho is also considered a proactive state. It is the point of being awoken from a particular state of mauri moe. What, when, how and why is personal and contextual to time, place, kaupapa, purpose and relationship. Something has happened to spark interest, a willingness to participate, to make a commitment. (p.6)

Mauri oho signals the intention to strive towards mauri ora, which is interpreted here as being fully aware of the transformative potential in our individual and group responsibilities and activities. (p.7)

The relational aspect of mauri is central to wellbeing (Pohatu, 2011) and is conceptualised by Pohatu as being central to informing Māori "thinking, knowledge, culture and language with a unique cultural heartbeat and rhythm" (p.1). He notes "Mauri is crucial to the well-being of relationships and issues (kaupapa). It informs how and why activities should be undertaken and monitors how well these are progressing towards their intended goals". (Pohatu, 2011, p. 1). It is important to know that the relational nature of mauri is also relevant and interconnected to other tikanga understandings such as tapu, noa and mana.

In discussing healing, kaikōrero spoke to a need to ensure the nurturing of whānau in order to enhance mauri, particularly mauri ora, and the practices that whānau can put into place or reclaim that affirm and uplift their mauri. This requires moving from the dominant way of looking at family violence using deficit approaches to providing support to reach a place that "enables people to think of the ideal state of mauri ora" (Kaikōrero). The "reigniting of mauri" was noted as a critical part of a healing journey.

Let's look at mauri ora and define that in terms of holistic wellbeing in all its totality. What would that experience look like, feel like if you were operating in the realm of mauri ora? So, it's a question that gets posed and so rather than me trying to define it they would say well to me mauri ora is like I love it when my child comes in and throws their arm around me in the morning. So, it's a feeling that we want to repeat again and again. What is it about that that's mauri, it makes me feel good oh right? So, then others start throwing in other things. I used to go to the place where I could just sit back and I could relax and I'm overlooking the ocean, I like it when I'm in the ngāhere. So, when we look at mauri ora in terms of experiences, that's what we need to connect it to. I remember the times when as a family we would sit together, we would laugh we'd have a big kai, big dinner then our nan would come out and play the guitar and it was just so good, and so all those things contribute to mauri ora because it uplifts the wairua, uplifts the person … And the beautiful thing about it with mauri ora, it's interpretation by the person is limited by the imagination. Part of achieving mauri ora yes, they may have to deal with some of these things, but the focus is on mauri ora not alcohol and drugs and not the A&D being a defining factor, it just means something that a lot of our people have had to navigate through in order to find their wellness. (Kaikōrero)

There is some real mana-enhancing things that come with that, that they are able to build on, those other concepts that sit and support mana start to be fed a little bit more and that is where we start to see change occurring, taking place. We start to see people, mauri starting to awaken. People are starting to take interest, actually what is going on, and moving out of, this is how it is, to this is what I want to create. (Kaikōrero)

Reconnection to not only whānau but to te ao Māori was noted as central to bringing people back to themselves and connecting them back to all things through a journey to mauri ora.

I guess for us as our kaupapa that we do is to connect whānau back to who they be, who they are, who they be mainly, and really understanding that they do make a difference, and through them being them it actually creates the world. Some of the things that we kind of work on is around connecting ourselves back to mauri, connecting with all things, like connecting with the mauri of the river, the whenua, but also ourselves. We do a lot of teachings around that for people to have tools in order to navigate our current reality, our current world. (Kaikōrero)

Regaining and maintaining balance underpins much of the discussion around tikanga and its place in violence prevention, intervention, and healing. Moving to mauri ora is seen as an element of gaining balance in life and is connected to an understanding that our tikanga has much to do with realigning ourselves and bring balance into our lives. That balance includes the revitalization of te reo, tikanga, mātauranga and our connections to ourselves and our world.

That is like a kōrero, 'ko tōku reo ka tuku, ko tōku mauri ka ora', for someone to have their reo, they have their mauri, their mauri is well. That pretty much sums that up, when you have the privilege to speak our reo now, which it is a privilege, you have a better chance at your mauri being well. (Kaikōrero)

We start with the tohunga first, and that is reconnecting with your mauri, reconnecting back to Papatūānuku, that's why we do that one first. And when people move through that, it's really just working at people's pace. That one, and the next one, the toa is around working with wairua, your own wairua. Those are usually the two most challenging ones. And in the wairua one that's where we do, for the women we use karanga, and looking at calling them back from people, places and things, so when they've been disconnected, when they've lost part of themselves, and using their mauri to keep themselves bound, I suppose. So, we look at ways to do that. So, you can't actually get to the wairua part until the first part's been done, and you consolidate it when people are ready to move. (Kaikōrero)

Tuakiritanga

Tuakiritanga is referred to as our 'inner being' (Mataira, 1989; Pohatu, 2011; Lipsham, 2016). It relates to our cultural ways of connecting and identity and has been described by Mataira (1989) as the spiritual attributes that reside within each person and that are a part of our inner self. Tuakiritanga does not sit isolated but as Mataira (1989) highlights, is a part of wider systems of relationships within ngā iwi (whānau, hapū, social networks) and Te Ao (the world we put our children in, the world that socialises with you and your tamariki, the world we surround ourselves with, the world we lead ourselves into, we're making history), and work in connection with such attributes such as mauri (life force); iho matua (umbilical cord), connection of our atua, ahua, tipuna. Whakapapa; tapu; wehi (energies we seek); mana ihi (energies we store); pūmanawa (potential, talents, clarifying pathways); puna waihanga (passions, desires, creativity); ngākau (love, strength, commitment); whatumanawa (deep recesses of your soul); hinengaro (thoughts, mind, physical and spiritual tools, communication); puna waiora (everything we do is nurturing with love). Pohatu (2011) shares that there are key sites within us that connect to our inner being, including hinengaro (the mind); ngākau (the heart's levels and depths); puku (the stomach with its levels and depths); manawa (the strength of the pulse); wairua (the soul and its depths) and whatumanawa (the inner eye). All of these sites work to inform us about our wellbeing. Tuakiritanga and cultural identity are considered as being central to grounding ourselves.

Te reo is their rongoā and those beliefs and those tikanga that they know in regard to the tuakiri o te tangata, I think that is what keeps them probably grounded, te reo, karakia, waiata. (Kaikōrero)

I think people had a really clear idea of their identity back then, they would know where they belong, they would know where they whakapapa to, they would know the whenua that is connected to them. (Kaikōrero)

The significance of Tuakiritanga is highlighted by Marsden (2003) as being located within the "cultural tradition, lore, history, corpus of knowledge etc, with which the descendants can identify, and which provide them with their identity, self-esteem and dignity: that which provides them with psychological security" (p. 38). Further to this Marsden goes on to point out that when this corpus of knowledge is dislocated it creates disruptions that have devastating consequences for our people.

Processes of assimilation and cultural genocide imposed upon tangata whenua have robbed them of much of their taonga, resulting in the loss of dignity, self-esteem, and identity. This loss results in the displacement due to cultural erosion, under assimilationist policies, of the basic metaphysics by which members of a culture guide their life. Cultural genocide produces spiritual and psychological insecurity manifested in negative social behaviour whose outward symptoms are crime, violence, mental ill-health and other social disorders. (p.39)

The impact of the disconnection from Tuakiritanga and all of the knowledge that is a part of our sense of self and identity was discussed as being a critical issue.

And the people being affected trying to cope, and being affected by alcohol and other substances, really losing a sense of their identity. Again these targeted mechanisms to destabilise whānau, and then it emerges as self-hatred, self-loathing, and then losing an ability to receive and give love. (Kaikōrero)

Anyone who loses those and is confused, and is lost, will naturally try to claw their way out, and in a system which they don't even understand. Anyone with half a brain would know that when someone has lost their identity and [been] put into a system that they don't even know how it works, that person or iwi or whoever is in desperation and it is just a normal reaction. (Kaikōrero)

Kaikōrero were familiar with tūpuna practices to ensure identity and psychological security were embedded from conception to after death. Pathways embraced all aspects and stages of life, which ensured that identity was positively in place at birth, nurtured, and built on incrementally.

Definitely those traditional practices. Right from the beginning, oriori for a baby within the kōpū, the learning started from there about their identity, whakapapa kōrero. Once they enter te ao mārama, they have a sense of belonging straight away so there wouldn't have been this loss of identity, this feeling of who am I. They have already been told from the kōpū who they are, where they come from, so with all of that, we are looking at karakia, waiata, pūrākau, the way we mahi back then, the mahi māra, mahi kāinga, interactions in regard to learning about taiaha, mahi poi, te noho tuākana ā teina hoki, who looks after who, what roles everybody plays. The children being brought up by their grandparents, everybody living in the papakāinga. Everybody contributing to the upbringing of the child, with the hope of growing responsible teenagers, growing good parents and then becoming a good kaumātua and then onto the tūpuna realm where people look back and talk about what your daily mahi was as a person when you were living. (Kaikōrero)

Identity is a huge one, knowing where you are from, who you are, that can help heaps. Not being isolated, knowing where you are, who is around you that can awhi you, your networks, what networks are out there. (Kaikōrero)

For Māori the connection to whenua and taiao is embedded within our pepeha, which provides a way to articulate our sense of identity and belonging. Pepeha is a cultural process of identifying ourselves with our maunga (mountain), awa (river), waka (canoes), tūrangawaewae (homelands) and whakapapa (ancestral lineage). It lays out the links between us and our relationship to all around us. Identity and belonging are key concepts that come with connecting to whenua and taiao.

> *For me I suppose it is all about belonging and identity, having a strong understanding of who you are, where you come from, the whenua you connect to, which I think probably is a bit of a missing link for some these days. I suppose having a strong understanding of our place in the world, the place we connect to. I know we connect to Aotearoa, but we had specific tikanga, stories and ways of living that were specific to our own environments and our places. Whether that was being a river people or a bush people, a mountain people, it was all about, I think, understanding the places we lived in and how we connect to each other in those places (Kaikōrero).*

> *I think for us to flourish in Aotearoa we need to get equality, equality in this country, we need to be proud of our Māori, we need to give Māori their identity back and their pride and their mana. For Aotearoa to be a happy thriving place we need to work first on our people before, I am not being racist but stop bringing in the immigrants because we don't have enough room, we can't even house our own and we don't have the resources to look after them, we can't even look after our own. We need to have people that have the knowledge of how to do it, we need to get more people that have the knowledge within whānau. We need to look after our own, for this place to flourish and be beautiful, we need to give people back their identity because what makes you flourish (Kaikōrero)*

The reclamation of all elements of tikanga and what it means to be Māori were identified throughout the research as being key to our healing pathways and strengthening all parts of our tuakiritanga is a critical part of that process. As one kaikōrero so beautifully stated, "When we stand in that space of knowing identity and being strong in our identity … we can see that future, we can see that hope of healing."

Kare-ā-Roto

The place of kare-ā-roto is often one that is overlooked in reports about family violence prevention and intervention, yet it is central to the tikanga that have been discussed in regard to Māori approaches to dealing with violence. The phrase 'kare-ā-roto' refers to the 'ripples within' and all of the emotions that well up within us as people. It is a recognition of the ways in which emotions, like water, have a ripple or wave-like effect upon us as people. Pihama and Greensill et al. (2019) discuss kare-ā-roto as follows:

> *The term 'kare-ā-roto' itself refers to the 'ripples within' ourselves that are the physical and spiritual manifestations of how we understand and feel emotions. When we visualise ripples of the movement of waters we can see that there is always a 'ripple effect' that moves outwards. This can be representative of the ways in which our emotions have impacts that move beyond the individual and can be understood in collective ways. (p. iii)*

> *Culturally, the ways in which emotions are expressed align with the cultural understandings associated with emotions. For Māori, our ways of understanding Kare-ā-roto are in line with both personal and collective relationships. Furthermore, Kare-ā-roto from a Māori viewpoint are interconnected with all aspects of our selves and influence many components of our lives including our relationships, our behaviour, and our demeanour in the world. As one Kaikōrero stated, "Kei roto i a tātou, ngā atua, ngā kare ā roto, ngā pūmanawa, ngā āhuatanga katoa o ia atua i roto i ā tātou ā ira tangata" – Within us reside our atua, our emotions, our intuition, all of the characteristics of our atua reside within human beings (Kaikōrero).*

The processes of colonisation and the violence perpetrated upon our people were such that for many, our cultural understandings and expression of emotions have been marginalised. The outcome can be detrimental for all concerned.

From a Māori perspective, the process is being followed in terms of the way we deal with our emotions, which is at odds with the way western people deal with their emotions. We do emotion, and sometimes we do a lot of emotion and we have to, it's part of our culture. But that gets dampened or shut down and so it all seeps out at different times, but she got that, so she was able to, okay so you're telling me I need to get my emotion out, I said yeah, it's impacting on the way you're living. (Kaikōrero)

These [are] intergenerational effects, and so what I see is that whānau have had their ability to understand the development of emotions, and thoughts, and responses of our tamariki mokopuna over their life span into adulthood removed. And so they respond to children's needs in ways that are really not helpful, or frankly unhealthy. (Kaikōrero)

I think to say anger being that internalised emotion and very soon people leads to depression if you are not addressing that and then whānau are looking for substances because they have got to dumb it down because their lives are quite shitty, tumble weeds down a western cowboy street, in a ghost town because that is what it is, people do, they'll become ghosts. (Kaikōrero)

Drawing upon mātauranga related to kare-ā-roto is an area that needs more attention and which Kāikōrero see as critical to our healing journeys. For example, one kaikōrero spoke in some depth about notions of haehae and how they could see the ways in which their child was triggered into deep, intense emotions. We share that discussion here as an example of how we can connect notions such as Kare-ā-roto and tuakiritanga, our sense of identity, with tikanga practice.

I thought about it too after we had our first talk, for atua whakahaehae would really be intense, not only for us as a whānau, but for _____. Internally I would know that it was coming, and I could externally see that it was coming within him. So then, how can we have preventative measures of he needs to sleep, he needs to have a good kai, especially when he was younger, there were certain triggers to help then prevent it because you knew that the whakahaehae was coming I guess. Even now when I talk about haehae, and doing rangahau around haehae as a feeling that haehae could be an intense emotion… We have haehae in tangihanga and haehae in the conch shell, in the grooves of the conch shell, and then haehae in whakairo and what that looks like, and the slash of what that looks like, also the violent slash of how that is quite a definite cut. I read in one paper that haehae was also like self-scarring and that it is the intensity of the emotion, it might not necessarily be because you had a bad day, or that you had other things that were happening, but because the act of doing that kind of scarring wasn't necessarily a bad thing, or an act where you should be told off or shunned from society, or shunned from your whānau, that whatever the intense feeling is that that is a way of releasing, by scarring yourself, it is the way of releasing grief as well as releasing that emotion. It is different to a paper saying they were suicidal. They did that, but they were actually wanting to release that intensity, which is different. (Kaikōrero)

Whakamā

Whakamā was discussed as an outcome of disconnection and the impact of violence. Whakamā is often translated as 'shame'; however, the depth of feelings associated with whakamā are much more intense and often debilitating in terms of ideas of self-worth. Whakamā is also translated as to be 'shy' or as 'embarrassment'. Whakamā was considered a contributing factor to being unable to speak about violence and its impact.

I have seen this person feel very powerful in amongst teaching people, teaching people te reo, tikanga, Te Ao Māori, giving them a Māori worldview and have found power, have found mana in that, that is where they are gaining their strength and their mana. It goes back to that whakamā, back as well from being disconnected from their whānau because of the situation that is going on at home, whānau have been in here trying to help this person and help them to regain their own mana, but that relationship, those ties, they are feeling bound to them, so they keep on coming back to those circles where they are feeling their mana is being enhanced, and where they can help people. (Kaikōrero)

I think there's violence of whakamā, because that does things to people, who do things as a result of feeling whakamā, and not know what do to about whakamā. Whakamā is related to not knowing who you are, or having done something wrong once, and then buying into the socialised understandings of, well we're supposed to be bad people, so we're supposed to do bad things. And so, the whakamā attached to, well I'm just a bad person. (Kaikōrero)

The impact of whakamā in relation to whānau and people's sense of connectedness can also be a contributing factor in terms of isolation from those who can support you. The depth of embarrassment and the fear of being judged by others, including whānau, can create a context where people distance themselves from those most able to support them. The impact of feeling whakamā was also discussed in terms of how difficult it can be to access help and support from organisations outside of their whānau, with Kaupapa Māori providers noting that whakamā is often very debilitating; for this reason Māori women need to have people who can walk the journey with them and walk alongside them until they feel able to take control of the process themselves.

I have seen one of my whanaunga that has experienced this, has gone through this and has disconnected herself from her whānau because she feels that the perpetrator of this mahi tūkino, she is always forgiving him and feels that, as much as we have been there to try and tautoko her and to remove her from that situation, she is having to do it herself. We have told her, you have to move yourself, we are here to tautoko you, your whānau are here to tautoko. From that itself and that situation the disconnectedness that we have with her, with whānau, whakapapa, iwi, hapū, kaupapa that are happening, she is no longer at those events because of the whakamā that sits there within our whakapapa and within her whānau, her whānau tata. (Kāikōrero)

Seeing it happen within whānau that I work with, that I work with in our community, I think it is a kura huna, and with the whānau that I have seen it affect it has been something that is huna because of the whakamā that is there. With that, there is a sense of secretive-type behaviour; they become very disconnected from the hāpori, the whānau, that pā harakeke and what it has done for some people in that situation. The biggest part for me would be the disconnection between hapū, iwi, whakapapa, from the whānau themselves disconnecting with those individuals. (Kaikōrero)

Mamae

Kare-ā-roto are deeply interconnected, as is noted in the discussion of tuakiritanga. Mamae refers to pain and hurt that occurs at physical, spiritual, cultural, and emotional levels. Mamae has been highlighted in relation to trauma discussions that reach back to historical and colonial trauma (Pihama et al., 2020; Smith, T., 2019) and can be connected through that to the deep pain felt as an outcome of generations of oppression, as noted by one whānau member: "Our whakairo, our tukutuku hold some of those kōrero too, of pēhitanga, that mamae that was there at that time with the invasion". The intergenerational nature of mamae was highlighted as needing to be addressed in order for change to happen for current and

future generations.

Unresolved mamae, intergenerational māuiui. When you're peeling back the onion with them, you know from my days in the women's centre to those early days of that and to being with people in less formal structures but in healing work and I say unresolved. Some because it's unresolved because they never knew then. (Kaikōrero)

I actually think it is amazing we are doing as well as we are. Even here today, us, the descendants of that timeframe, only two generations away that we are actually as well as we are. I saw how alcohol was a thing, but underneath what they haven't talked about was the mamae. (Kaikōrero)

Understanding the impact of such deep mamae, and an inability to see what was underpinning behaviour, was also noted, identifying that we need the skills and knowledge to be able to recognise what underpins some behaviour. This is not to excuse behaviour but to help to create new ways of dealing with it and finding pathways that deal with the deeper underlying issues that are affecting people and therefore their whānau. This example related to the recidivism of a whānau member.

We kept doing that and then brought him out, went to go and pick him up when he came out of prison, spent the time that we took him back home to the paa, saw the whānau and then bought him a ticket to come back down here to have time. We hardly had any contact with him when he was a teenager, or as he was growing because we couldn't help him, we were more of a hindrance than anything for him, so he had to be on his own path, so re-connecting him to us and bringing him back has been a journey this year that a lot of healing had to happen and a lot of that was around his own mamae that he was holding (Kaikōrero)

The acknowledgement and recognition of such mamae is considered to be critically important in working with whānau so that the time and approaches that are taken provide opportunities to heal that mamae, as noted by one healer who stated that "disconnection was what I saw in this young girl and the mamae and the hurt and the teary eyes started, she got agitated and irritated and I thought okay let's just have a breather here" (Kaikōrero). A number of kaikōrero noted that dealing with mamae is central to working towards both resolution and healing:

The issue that I have is that we focus on the leaves on the tree and we're actually not getting into some of the root areas, which could]give more information] about the trauma experience so that if we are going to deal with this, don't just concentrate on that, concentrate on where some of that deeply embedded mamae keeps coming back and revisiting (Kaikōrero)

Pōuri

Pōuri is a term that refers to a range of states of sadness and is defined in general terms as being sad, disheartened, mournful, or to be in the dark. The term itself is derived from 'pō' which is the night or darkness and 'uri' which refers to descendant or relative. Often pōuri was spoken about in the context of mamae, that with the pain comes a deep sadness. One Kaikōrero described this as being alive or living but also to being in a state where one can "be so disconnected, and be so sad, and be so despondent that you might be alive in terms of the word ora, but you are not in ora" (Kaikōrero).

One kaikōrero spoke of pōuri in the context of the concept of Kahu Pō, a cloak of darkness or sadness, and the ways in which that incredibly deep state of sadness can encompass all parts of one's life.

This whole movement from being in a state of Kahu Pō to Mauri Ora. And so when the guys really explore what does this cloak of darkness feel like, look like, smell like. They come up with their own living

experience, because they see themselves in the definition. I don't have to give them one. I say, "What would we know about darkness? If it restricts our vision, what does it mean? We are unsure in how we travel forward in a good way. So, how would a person in Kahu Pō look like? Or walk like"? And they come up, "Well, when I was sad, I couldn't listen to anyone, I couldn't even look forward to the next day". (Kaikōrero)

The shifting of pōuri or the state of Kahu Pō is one that requires a capacity to "find out our own healing" (Kaikōrero) by finding ways to return to ora and in particular to a state of mauri ora (Pohatu, 2011, 2023) to see the healing within ourselves (Kohu-Morgan, 2021).

Hari

Hari refers to feelings such as happinesss, elation, joy and delight. It is an uplifting and positive sense within oneself. Happiness is often talked about as a measurement of wellbeing, with many kaikōrero speaking about the need to be "happy" and the relationship of that to being settled, balanced and productive people. Being connected is often associated with being happy and is seen as having balance within our lives – that means being able to access healthy ways of being across all aspects of our lives.

In order to have a state of calm, all of the environs, or everything around you both externally and internally would have to have those levels of hauora, those levels of where you feel happy within the space that you are living, you feel happy within the space that you are eating, breathing, all those things that you would feel in a state of calm. You don't have to be rich or anything, you just have to be in a good healthy space for you and your whānau, even if it is just you yourself, being in a healthy space of calm, that is one of the most important things I guess. That is a hard thing to get to, especially for Māori, when there is a lot of pressure. (Kaikōrero)

Harikoa, or happiness, is also related to being an outcome or form of resolution and of finding ways to create that space for yourself and those around you.

Which happens just about every day in some relationships, how people deal with that. Well they go through those emotions of, for the person at the receiving end, depression, drinking, drugs, being unwell, isolating themselves, whereas that man is happy because he's fallen in love with another woman. He's happy so there's a two-way thing, they're all happy. (Kaikōrero)

I suppose to me what it would look like is those issues lessening and people realizing that that is not okay and that's not normal. Our kids being fed and clean and healthy and happy and being able to engage in things like education without all that baggage and worry. (Kaikōrero)

Whakahī

Whakahī refers to a sense of pride and self-confidence. Kaikōrero spoke of the relationship to feeling confident and connected to having pride in yourself as Māori. Being proud, walking with a sense of pride for, and about, yourself and your people is also an emotional state that was described by many Kaikōrero.

So all these Māori strategies that come through from up top down, creates instantly battle with those of us that are trying to keep the fire going about the kaupapa of being proud to be Māori, knowing yourself, having your true connection, feeling comfortable, and constantly on the journey of learning and being amongst those other great people being within our community to help you with that.

I have noticed that, even for myself, the more we connect to our culture and the more we see being Māori as an asset and something to be proud of, and something to be celebrated, the more we believe in our self and take pride in who we are as opposed to believing what media or anyone else might be saying about deficit theories surrounding Māori. When we start to unpack that I think that is exciting because then we start to realize just how beautiful our culture is and how beautiful our people are and that we are actually part of that … even though situations might have led to where we are today, if we can re-connect or learn more about that and celebrate it as opposed to hide it or be ashamed of it, then I think that will help us to have that faith and belief in ourselves and be proud of who we are.

Ideas of flourishing and thriving were used as ways of seeing the place of pride in who we are within the broader contexts of the revitalization and regeneration movements for te reo and tikanga.

I think for us to flourish in Aotearoa, we need to get equality, equality in this country, we need to be proud of our Māori, we need to give Māori their identity back and their pride and their mana. For Aotearoa to be a happy thriving place we need to work first on our people.

Going back to that whakataukī, 'ko tooku reo ka tuku, ko tooku reo ka ora', that is thriving, speaking your reo is a form of thriving. Being proud to be Māori is a form of thriving so there are many answers to that.

Being proud to be Māori is a key part of standing strong in who we are and is considered to not only support our wellbeing but also to speak back, in our actions, to the negative deficit framing that we are so often confronted with.

That is why they thrive because I have given them the ability to be proud of who they are as Māori. I've given them their identity, I have connected them to all of that stuff, and I've made them proud of who they are and what they do. If you want that fix, that is what you need to do to every single person in New Zealand, especially our Māori people; good luck.

… how proud they felt when they reconnected to who they are, or where they come from, their culture. That challenges all those negative discourses out there that the media continues to tell us what we look like.

Emotions and emotional intelligence then sit within our sacred being as tangata and are something that we draw upon in understanding what is happening for us in a given context.

There is currently a culture of action in relation to violence prevention to run programmes or to learn and understand what leads up to the violence. In order to prevent it, you have got to learn about it. I think … the culture that is probably worthwhile creating is one about understanding emotions and those sorts of things, being able to express one's self, freely, openly, and that probably needs to be part of a standard and if you work in the area or you are required to contribute to healing or those sorts of things then there is a component around how well you understand emotions. Emotional management is one way … to do that. I think a culture of understanding those emotions well enough … can be created in relation to violence prevention. (Kaikōrero)

Tapu and Noa

Tapu and Noa are discussed jointly in this section, as they are inextricably linked in relation to tikanga. Pere (1994) highlights that tapu has multiple understandings and is a fundamental means by which our people sought to place restrictions or protections upon people, objects, places and spaces.

Spiritual restriction, ceremonial restriction, putting something beyond one's power, placing a quality or

condition on a person or on an object or place, but whatever the context its contribution is establishing social control and discipline, and protecting people and property (p. 39)

Marsden (2003) describes tapu as

… the sacred state or condition of a person or thing placed under the patronage of the gods. Mana is the inducement of that object with spiritual power through the indwelling spirit over it. Humans thus become the channel through which the indwelling spirit of the deity must manifest. (p. 6)

As shown in the following quotes, many kaikōrero see that tapu and noa are directly linked when speaking to both the notion of sacredness and the need to clear transgressions.

When we talk about our cultural constructs what really comes to mind is the concept of tapu and noa and how that lays the foundation for balance and wellness and the tikanga and kawa that came from those concepts… I keep going back to tapu and noa because they are concepts, for want of a better word, that actually kept people safe and it was safety for all, and everyone knew … the consequences if you breached a tapu and what the repercussions of that would be. In lots of ways things got too complex and I think we just need to go back to the simplicity of it all. I think when you get too many layers and it gets too complex people actually find a space to get under those layers, then they can start manipulating things and putting their own interpretation on what I imagine our tūpuna would have thought of tapu and noa. [They were] part of life, they weren't just add-ons when you needed it. (Kaikōrero)

Safety is paramount, safety is all over when you think of tapu, noa, tikanga, it's all around safety. (Kaikōrero)

Tapu and noa speak to safety and harmony, they don't speak to violence. (Kaikōrero)

The discussion of tapu involves both recognising the inherent sacredness of whānau and understanding the ways in which transgression of tapu is a serious breach of tikanga.

Then I guess the other avenue is actually where we try and get our kaimahi and ourselves to start thinking in terms of a Māori whakaaro around violence and so you know ones like that you talk about, you know the addiction to the violation of tapu, all those types of things come in to mind. For me it's clear that there is an imbalance and actually sometimes it's about someone's self-interest and right to have power over someone else and control and so that's a distortion within themselves that they actually think that they have that right to put their own self-interest ahead of others. To me violence and whānau violence is a transgression against not only the whānau but everything else that that whānau's connected to. If something's happening to a distant cousin of mine, then I not only have a right, but I have an obligation to intervene if I can, to do something to stop that because what is going on in relation to any Māori person is a transgression and it is a violence against me as another Māori woman or a Māori person. (Kaikōrero)

Kaikōrero referred to the ways in which tapu is considered to relate directly to protection and wellbeing.

A lot of those rules and those tellings off, of "you can't do that, it's tapu", were actually about physical health, and protecting yourself physically from illness or dangerous situations. That in-built tikanga that we have was really around creating a protection mechanism for us to live safely and well. And then spiritually as well, physically and emotionally, all of those things [were why] we did those things. (Kaikōrero)

They also considered that there were people and forces that maintained the social system through the

institution of tapu.

The institution of tapu and magic is also the mana of superior chiefs who were the most effective corrective forces, and all possess the same vivacity or power. It meant like, because of the hidden power behind our gods they knew that the tapu to break it would anger the gods and you would have to pay for it. People did not want to break the law of tapu, they did not want to anger the gods because the punishment was swift. (Kaikōrero)

Those structures were quite strong, and if we are talking about pre-colonisation and we are talking about tikanga, you come into that realm of tapu and noa, and those were very real conversations to us. (Kaikōrero)

Kaikōrero highlighted, as seen in previous sections, that acts of violence upon and within whānau are considered to be transgressions of tapu. Central to what is tika, to be correct, is a recognition and affirmation of tapu, and tapu as a practice of wellbeing and protection for our people.

I think in everything that Māori do, how would I explain? Uncle, we were talking one day about tapu and he said, you know everybody thinks tapu is about spiritual, well actually, tapu is about practical. "What do you mean Uncle?" "Well why did they have a tapu on a garden? Well basically the tapu would say, hey kids, don't play in there, that's the garden, we are growing food, don't use it as a footpath. People don't throw your rubbish in there, it's a garden." That is what the tapu is really about, it's about practical things. It's a restriction on something because of its purpose, not away with the fairies, and it comes back to common sense. They might have called it tapu but it was there for a reason, it was a lesson. We complicate too much today; we make too many excuses. (Kaikōrero)

The transgression of tapu was dealt with in a number of ways. With regard to violence against whānau members there was often a direct physical consequence to rebalance. Other forms of bringing balance back to relationships are seen through tikanga such as muru, utu, karakia and whakanoa.

I was talking one day about a patu, and this particular patu was used in the olden days if there was a violation of a woman or something, that patu was used on the tane if he violated. That was my first introduction that people knew and knew not what to do because there were certain things that would happen to you. To me that meant all the tamariki were tapu, women were tapu, and there were severe consequences if they crossed those lines. That means that there were laws, tikanga in place, that was my first kind of introduction. Apart from the fact that I thought that having communities together kind of stops when you are all living in groups, and your iwi, that you have got too many eyes on children and whatever is happening and then they would take it to have a hui about stuff, there were protocols in place for people to voice their opinions and what was happening so it was quite a collective knowledge of protocol and things that should happen to protect everyone when things come up. (Kaikōrero)

Both tapu and noa have forms of spiritual power associated with them. Tapu and noa have often been presented within colonial frameworks as being oppositional, and gendered (Pihama, 2001; Mikaere, 2017). That positioning has been incredibly destructive in regards to our relationships, in particular in relation to Māori women being referred to in ways that deny mana (Te Awekotuku, 1991; Jenkins, 1992; Yates-Smith, 1996; Murphy, 2013 Simmonds, 2011, 2014; Mikaere, 2017). Smith (1992) refers to noa as a process that can intervene with states of tapu. Mikaere (2017) provides us with a vast array of evidence of the power of noa, in particular in relation to the actions of tupuna wahine, to regain balance within contexts of tapu. Noa is defined by Pere (1991) as follows:

Noa, as a concept, is applied to everyday living and ordinary situations, but it is also a vital part of the most formal, complex rituals and social controls of the Māori people. The influence and power of noa

is very significant to the physical well-being of people by freeing them from any quality or condition that makes them subject to spiritual and/or ceremonial restriction and influences. The concept of noa is usually associated with warm, benevolent, life-giving, constructive influences, including ceremonial purification. (p. 56)

Noa operates in relationship to tapu as a process of clearing or removing "any affliction a person may have got through entering and transgressing tapu" (Pere, 1994, p. 38). Noa provides the restoration of balance when tapu is transgressed or desecrated. This is undertaken through rituals or ceremonies of 'whakanoa' – to make noa or to bring to a state of noa. Mikaere (2003, 2017) has provided a range of examples of the powerful place and role of noa within te ao Māori and a critique of the colonial definitions of noa as 'common' or 'unclean'. Mikaere (2003) emphasised that the impact of such definitions has been the hegemonic internalisation of colonial views with relation to both tapu and noa, stating:

In their efforts to understand and explain the fundamentally important concepts of tapu and noa, Pākehā ethnographers have altered their meaning beyond recognition. The ultimate irony is that, over time, Māori themselves have come to accept such flawed interpretations as authoritative. The process has been parallel to the refashioning of Māori cosmogony in the image of Christianity and it has been equally as damaging, particularly for Māori women. (p. 86)

Kaikōrero spoke of noa and tapu as existing in a range of ways, including the ways in which our tikanga is designed to provide safety, protection and wellbeing practices.

I actually put safety there and I thought okay, our rituals, and everything was about the safety of the people. I'm just trying to think of, as a woman you didn't go into the cemetery if you had your mate, you didn't go into the water if you had your mate, basically the sharks would come. So you know all of those things but the wairua when you go in there because that's tapu and noa so as a woman those are the things that I was brought up with [in regard to], sitting on tables; all those sorts of things are the practices that I think were from our tūpuna down to my parents, grandparents, especially from my mother. Washing tea towels on their own, you know, that sort of thing. (Kaikōrero)

One thing that I do recall is the karakia being shared to whakanoa, nan always had karakia, morning and night. She would karakia first thing in the morning, seven o'clock she would go, and then at nighttime, and then we were at Whānau-a-Apanui it's like ungodly hours of the morning, three o'clock in the morning right through to whenever finished. She explained to me that the reason for that is to reset us from the morning through to when we do our next karakia at night, which will then reset us till the morning. It is like you are clearing your entire space, self, everything of anything that has come into our world that isn't helpful, that gets shushed off, and then we have reset. She was adamant about that, did it every day, and it is something that I do every day to ensure that we maintain things. (Kaikōrero)

The view that whakanoa is essential to healing links directly to the practices of our tūpuna and enables us to see that the processes of whakanoa, the relationship of tapu and noa, are a part of maintaining a balance within our lives that supports our healing and wellbeing.

Tika and Pono

Tika and pono were both emphasised as important areas by kaikōrero. Tika is generally interpreted as 'right' or 'correct' and pono as 'true' or 'genuine' (Williams, 1957; Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2003). Tika is associated with being right in direction or taking a direct course. Tika is also used as a means of explaining a culturally appropriate and culturally principled way of behaving. Tika is applied as a way

of assessing what is a true direction to take or where something is right. According to Mead (2003) "it is difficult to imagine any social situation where tikanga Māori has no place. Ceremonies relating to life itself – birth, marriage, sickness and death – are firmly embedded in tikanga Māori". Furthermore, "tikanga comes out of the accumulated knowledge of generations of Māori and is part of the intellectual property of Māori" (Mead, 2003, p.5). However, he also notes that what can appear to be genuine Māori culture "…might not in fact pass the test of pono" (Mead, 2003, p. 26). Pono is in this context seen to mediate what is considered tika and therefore it is no surprise that many of our people considered these two practices as sitting side by side.

Among kaikōrero, tika and pono were seen as important areas to revive, as correct ways of operating. These were seen as important principles to work by, when working in whānau violence and for whānau generally:

> *Those principles and those tikanga, and those learnings that they shared within their people was a norm… and it was practiced daily, not necessarily known as tikanga because it was a practice of life, it was a way of life, it was a way of living. When colonisation did come upon our people then our ways started to change. Then things like tikanga came in place. Prior to that, it was just a way of living, we were who we were. Ko te kupu tika – tikanga, tikanga mō te wā, what is tika for that time, for that horopaki, for that concept, koia nei tāku e tautoko ana. (Kaikōrero)*

Tika and pono were seen as important concepts for supporting whānau to determine what is a correct way of going about things, breaking silences, and for speaking up. It was emphasised that there are contexts where concepts such as tika and pono would need to be consciously taught within whānau:

> *I think [there]are some really good things to concentrate on and that is around having the courage to speak up and call the behaviour for what it is. Being tika and pono, speaking to people that need to be spoken to around their behaviour and bring some awareness to that person, we know what is happening. Taking an absolute staunch stance towards violence is what is required. (Kaikōrero)*

> *That's it my thing was around the truth. So, the reprogramming is getting back to your truth, what's your whānau truths, and what is it that needs to be said, and to be healed you know. Have we got tūpuna that did stuff, did we know? Is there anything that needs to be corrected? So reprogramming's about getting the truth, telling the truth … the truth will set you free. I do believe in that context that's what, get those things tika and pono and then and the mātauranga, that we start educating … we really need to see this as really conscious work to do if we're going to stop the impacts of violence. (Kaikōrero)*

> *They would be constantly reminding us that they were very much a part of our discussions, so whatever we said to each other, those tikanga face to face, kanohi ki te kanohi, explaining to each other, being honest with each other. The stuff around tika, pono and aroha, the kinship linking whakawhanaungatanga kōrero around that. Stuff around tapu and noa at different times when it suited the occasion or the situation, ensuring that everyone felt safe and able to feel comfortable with whatever they needed to say. In terms of the prevention of domestic violence or anything around violence, some of those practices, those tikanga. (Kaikōrero)*

A gap was also seen in the need for whānau to revive the teaching of tika and pono as a way of helping to provide wahine and kōtiro with principles to assess correct behaviour and to have tools to assess safety earlier:

> *So if we normalize it within the whānau do you think, and I'm talking about let's just say in this instance a young woman. If they grow up in a home where tikanga is practiced on behaviour, on tika and pono*

and how you do things, why you do things, if she goes into a situation or a living situation where that is not part of normal life or the opposite is, is she more likely to have a response where this is not normal and this is not safe. (Kaikōrero)

Pono requires understanding of how tika may be subverted, but if brought back to wānanga then there is a likelihood of clarifying what is tika from a collective effort:

That is right, but you know with the whole notion of what is tika being absolutely subjective and so open to manipulation, we need these processes of, I call them mini wānanga for clarity. If we are working on a kaupapa together let's invest some time landing on the same page around what we agree is tika in this particular context. We have these conversations in our whānau all the time at a whānau level when we are working through problems or setting a plan or whatever it is; we have to invest the time in coming to a common understanding or a shared understanding of what is tika.(Kaikōrero)

It is being tika, it's being pono. It's about going out there and fronting the problem straight on and making people accountable. (Kaikōrero)

It took a whānau really, it wasn't just about we better go get another hapū or another iwi to solve this problem out, it was actually a whānau thing, but was directed on pono, it was directed on tika. (Kaikōrero)

We have to think back to that ira atua stuff that it is intrinsically within us, so are we being our best person all the time. Are we being tika and pono all the time because we really should be trying our very hardest. We have to really think about the choices that we make and I guess for our tane, some wahine maybe as well, they have to really think about that ira that is within them and the decision that they make to do what they do in that moment is going to have either a consequence, an outcome, it's going to cause a reaction or a response so what, where is it.(Kaikōrero)

Practitioners spoke about the importance of being tika and pono with whānau they worked with to ensure that tikanga is followed and modelled throughout the process.

So, it is working with the whānau because the whānau get to trust who you are. This is something I do say at my site; don't you tell lies to that whānau, or tell them something here because it's not you, it's me they'll get hold of and then you have to deal with me. I said you've gotta be tika and pono. (Kaikōrero)

Tika and pono require holding on to our own values and being prepared to step outside the life we are in if it doesn't meet the 'pono test'. What this means for some whānau is transforming the fundamental ways in which they live and the relationships that they prioritise.

I started seeing things totally different after I had my first, my son. I made a decision then that, because of my son, I wanted my son to be proud of me, and I wanted to be a good role model. At that time I was running the Mob in , so I had that responsibility up there. I started feeling all these feelings about my life and all of that kind of thing, and I realised that I was starting to live a life that I didn't really believe in. I wanted my boy to be proud of me, and I wanted my boy to live a pono life and here I was living a life that I didn't believe in so I made the call and waited until the guy that was running the Mob, while he was in jail, I was looking after them, he got out and I told him, hey, I don't believe in this life anymore. (Kaikōrero)

Aroha

The concept of aroha is at the centre of many inter-relationships for Māori, both within whānau, hapū and iwi, and in relation to interactions with people outside of those contexts. Aroha has multiple meanings and expressions including: to have empathy, compassion, affection for, love, concern for, to feel pity, yearning. Aroha is described in He Hinatore o Te Ao Māori (Ministry of Justice, 2001) as follows:

> *Aroha is an expression of love, care, respect and affection in its widest sense. It is the essential element in interpersonal relationships. It begins from birth and continues till death. Aroha encompasses respect, friendship, concern, hospitality and the process of giving. Thus every person is concerned for and respects the rights of others. In short, it is valuing another person. (p. 151)*

The need to understand more deeply what aroha means and how it is practiced is essential, and was highlighted as being like "a garden that constantly needs tending" (Whakawhiti Kōrero). That there is a tikanga to how we enact aroha and that must be grounded within whakaaro Māori (Māori thinking). As one kaikōrero noted "often people think it's a mushy word: just love them and that's fine but it's not an airy, fairy word… I tell people it's a challenge to live life. That's what aroha is, it's a challenge to live life. Hā is breath: if you don't breathe, you don't live. Aro is part of the pūkana, the challenge to live life. It's a strong word". The discussion here about the component parts of the word aroha is important. 'Aro' is a motion of turning towards, to face someone, to give attention to, and 'hā' is breath. Thus, as the kaikōrero here emphasised, aroha is more than just a generic idea of love, as it is often represented, but has a much deeper relational way of being that is associated with how we wish to be with and treat others.

Aroha was highlighted throughout the kōrero as a critical cultural understanding, expression and practice that is central to healthy and uplifting relationships. Kaikōrero spoke of the aroha that needs to be the foundation of how we raise our tamariki and mokopuna, and that recentring aroha within that relationship will provide both a prevention and an intervention mechanism.

> *One of the things that I really think we should look at doing especially for all our hurt pēpi, our hurt moko, our hurt taitamariki, our hurt selves, especially those ones too coming through places like Oranga Tamariki because they might be still here for a long time to come, is that those children, those moko go through some kind of a love wānanga … they actually have to have something put back into when they've been through that trauma and if their parent or parents aren't there they need to have some sort of aroha put back in. So it's actually just for them, it's almost like a love wānanga. You talked about telling them, you know that you are loved, I think it's so important. How do you tell someone that they just need that wraparound of aroha and kindness and something positive going back in here. (Kaikōrero)*

> *Karakia and mihi, our tikanga, it is all positive, everything is positive, eke te wairua o te tangata me ngā mea katoa. It is about encouragement, positivity, and it's whether it may be an expectation too, so that the violence will enter if it is not reciprocal, the violence will enter. It is a testing of your wairua and your hinengaro to ensure if you are strong enough to maintain a balance, if you are mārama, if you are clear with the aroha that you want to project and receive to ensure that no violence or hara enters into the circle that you are in. (Kaikōrero)*

Another dimension of aroha is that of supporting the resolution of issues and the restoration of relationships. In the following comments, kaikōrero note that there would be a process in place when there was an issue within whānau and then a move to ensure aroha was instigated as a process of resolution.

> *I went to mum, and mum was the opposite; she was really good. She'd pull us both in, first she'd growl*

both of us like any parent should, and then she'd growl us on behalf of the moko, but then she would sort of talk to us, each of us and talk through it and then after that came the aroha, and then the aroha was restored. (Kaikōrero)

Just aroha ki te tangata, just loving one another, making sure everything was set out, put out in the forefront so that everything was dealt with within their own whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Aroha was also highlighted in the context of whakamihi or acknowledgement and praise for each other. While aroha does not equate to the western notion of 'love' it is important to see that the affirmation of caring for others has a key part in healing and uplifting others.

I think the biggest thing for us was love, give him as much love as possible. And if we can share and teach that to other parents about the most humanistic tikanga, aroha. Slow our pace down, cuddle, say "I love you", those words are very powerful. (Kaikōrero)

All of those are celebrations and stuff that we are wanting to keep building on as we are chipping away at all the hara that he was carrying throughout his life of growing up in that trauma. If we had more whānau that can come from a place of knowing what they can do to help them on their journey or willing to just manaaki, unconditionally without any expectations. I don't expect nothing back other than just aroha and we have laughs and eat and do all the stuff that we do as whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Many kaikōrero shared that aroha does not sit separately from other key tikanga practices such as tika, pono, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga. To show aroha is to also enact those other tikanga alongside aroha. One kaikōrero stated that "it comes back to those core principles around our tikanga and there are things like manaakitanga, but I would argue that the primary [aspect] of it is aroha". (Kaikōrero)

Aroha, manaaki… Specific cultural ways, being Māori is the cultural way, being Māori is a specific cultural way. If you are operating in a space of being Māori then you are operating in a space of aroha, that is operating in a space of manaaki. (Kaikōrero)

The stuff around tika, pono and aroha, the kinship linking whakawhanaungatanga kōrero around that… People not feeling safe and comfortable is another part of ensuring that they felt comfortable, ensuring about the other person, so it is about what you would have done to you, you would certainly like to have them do to others, pretty much around respect you have for yourself, is with the respect you have for other people and the aroha shared in those times. (Kaikōrero)

Having that respect and aroha for each other goes back to we are all responsible to looking after ourselves and much of that would be about taking responsibility for some of the behaviours and not turning away from those things, because they do need to be addressed. Some of the things that I am just thinking of around the current situation in terms of violence within whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Certainly, what comes up for me with that particular whānau is manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and aroha ki te tangata, that is really evident in how they respond to us as well. (Kaikōrero)

Aroha is considered to be about connection.

Aroha is also made up of a deep connection, I think of tūpuna. I have instances where I have been connected to someone… Aroha for Māori isn't always about a physical, see-able action, and a doing, there is aroha in a deep whakapapa ancestral tūpuna level, where it plays itself out and you don't even

know, that is aroha… Aroha is the spectrum of inter-connected tikanga. It is easy to understand when you are just able to, I don't think aroha in particular is a feeling like Pākehā would say, it is a feeling of love. When you manaaki someone, when you tiaki someone, when you do all these things, it is not just about having a love, it is actually having connection, having a responsibility and obligation and all of those things combined without worrying about whether it would affect yourself if you're kind and generous and loving towards someone else. (Kaikōrero)

The capacity to understand and practice the depth of aroha was raised in relation to the experience of many of our people and the level of emotional disconnect that has an impact upon whānau. This was expressed in many ways, including one kaikōrero noting that "what we're seeing is you can feel the aroha but they don't know how to use it, they don't know how to transfer the aroha" (Kaikōrero).

Things have got so broken within families, and within people that they need help to see a clear pathway forward, to actually [have]somewhere to be taught how to care again. It is not that they are monsters; they haven't been taught, or shown, how to show aroha for self, or aroha for others. (Kaikōrero)

The word aroha, there is an expectation of all these things that come with it. I reckon aroha is about having true connection with each other as Māori, and you practice that by taking care of each other through arataki, through pupuri, through tiaki, manaaki, they are tikanga all on their own. The practice of aroha means that you have to be able to know how to practice aroha. All of those different things, all of those different levels, like the manaaki, the arataki - the guiding one, being a leader for one, showing compassion, all of those are actually like sub-tikanga, if that is a thing, to aroha. (Kaikōrero)

Manaakitanga

Manaakitanga is a critical concept that was highlighted throughout the kōrero and hui. The term manaakitanga derives from two key concepts of 'mana' and 'aki'. Mana is described by Pere (1991) to be the "psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority and influence, being influential or binding over others, and that quality of the person that others know she or he has" (p.14). Mana is embedded within all parts of te ao Māori (the Māori world) and as Māori we are all born with mana that carries with it a spiritual connection that is passed to us from our tūpuna. (Pere, 1994; Marsden, 1988, 2003; Nepe, 1991; Mead, 2003). The term 'aki' refers to encourage, to urge on. The fundamental essence of manaakitanga is an affirmation, an encouragement, to uplift the mana of all. The definition and place of manaakitanga and the relational way of being is described by a number of the kaikōrero:

If you break the words down, aro ki te hā o te tangata kia akiaki te mana o te tangata. Those ideas of operating [by] preventing and intervening in whānau violence was what it was all about… There are different systems of operating right here and one comes with the intention to smack down, one comes with the intention to rebuild the person. I think that is about recognizing and that is something that Māori have always recognised is that you need to surround that person with the love, with the manaaki because you don't enact violence because your wellbeing is well, you enact violence because there is something broken in you, there is a disconnection in you. Specific cultural ways, being Māori is the cultural way, being Māori is a specific cultural way. If you are operating in a space of being Māori then you are operating in a space of aroha, that is operating in a space of manaaki. (Kaikōrero)

The concepts related to collective wellbeing were located by one kaikōrero in the creation stories of our people, noting:

Mai i te orokohanga o te ao, from our creation histories, we find the genesis of our tikanga. We find them

in the deeds of our tūpuna, like for some iwi Tāne-nui-a-rangi, and the attributes that he displayed, ascending the heavens to get the 10 baskets of knowledge, selflessly, for others, not for oneself. (Kaikōrero).

Such an understanding affirms and validates the notion that tikanga is about collective ways of caring for each other. This was commented on by the vast majority of the kaikōrero.

I think we just lived a way that was always nurturing of everyone, the whole whānau, hapū, were always engaged in mahi or kaupapa that benefited the whole group. I think a lot of the mahi we did was around kai back in the day, so I suppose a majority of the mahi that everyone had to contribute to was to ensure that there was plenty of kai for the whānau, for the hapū, for manuhiri in terms of manaakitanga. (Kaikōrero)

Manaaki, tiaki, and not just people, your environment. People telling you that what is happening over there, isn't tika and there is another way, and here is the other way, show love, show aroha, tiaki others, manaaki others. That is a way, and that didn't just work for me, it worked for three of us, four of us in the end. That is a way that even within whānau that you can impact a child's life and the people in the violence as well, although, not always, but certainly impact on a child's life and have that whole cycle be something different. (Kaikōrero)

Absolutely, it comes down to having the right whānau support, the right services who live tikanga, who can walk it in every area of your world, services can only do better if they truly understand what it means; for example, how fluid manaakitanga can be or what that actually looks like. (Kaikōrero)

Within whānau it was also considered important that through tikanga and manaakitanga there is a mechanism for modelling the care and learning of others. One kaikōrero summarized this clearly, as follows:

Now we have to rely on our teachings from our own cultures, that whole thing around manaakitia te whānau, take care of your family, you are their teacher and carer, they will only learn through your positive thinking (Kaikōrero).

The need to model is not only to do with whānau; it is important to develop the fundamentals of manaakitanga within society more broadly, as noted:

We need to model the practice of manaaki, manaaki in what we do. The more prevalent that kind of behaviour can become the easier it is to actually begin to shape the culture. (Kaikōrero).

Another kaikōrero also emphasised the wider need for manaakitanga to be reinforced, stating,

With knowledge and learning you practice, and then you carry on and you ensure that manaakitanga is a constant flow within whānau, within the hapū, iwi, marae (Kaikōrero)

The place of manaakitanga in raising concerns is central to ensuring the wellbeing of whānau members, as seen in this reflection from one of the kaikōrero.

The responsibility that one takes on when they see someone in need, and when they see somebody distressed, in shock, trauma. I could easily see that my Kui would have wanted to look after her straight away, so that process of manaakitanga too. It's not just a physical pain, it's a mental pain, it's a whānau pain, it's an embarrassment, and then it's not an embarrassment, so going through all of that. I could see it in my kuia as well, she was really thankful for my Kui. The other thing too was that Kui Amy made sure that she told my koro exactly how she felt about my koro, and what he had done to my kuikui. (Kaikōrero)

As is the case with all concepts within te ao Māori, manaakitanga does not sit alone; rather it is connected to all elements of tikanga.

I guess the values of manaaki and kaitiakitanga, in relation to all things really. To me, if those are the values that are in-built into our culture, then it's about gentleness, it's about taking care, it's about guidance. I mean I don't know how particular practices were, but those values I guess, I'm sure that that was part of it. (Kaikōrero)

On a whānau level you could have manaakitanga there, but I think manaakitanga is one of the things that fall out of tikanga around how you care for people and show mana to others and manaaki yourself (Kaikōrero).

For me it is all really around manaakitanga and whanaungatanga, related to yourself and who you are for others and your connection, it is always going to go back to whakapapa. Those two work hand in hand for me in the roles that you play within your tikanga. (Kaikōrero)

Kaikōrero spoke of manaakitanga as being a central part of how they were raised and that it was a collective practice within their community, noting:

That's purely what happened to us, we'd be able to go into any of our whānau homes and have a kai, Mum and that would say, 'Make sure you take your shoes off, take some plums, whatever'. Manaaki tangata, we'd be able to do that easily. Now, it's so different. (Kaikōrero).

In line with these sentiments another Kaikōrero spoke of manaakitanga as being a lived daily action, noting:

We do it on a daily basis, growing our own kai and just living and loving and singing together, all of that. Manaaki anybody who comes. (Kaikōrero)

Māori community and social workers highlighted the importance of manaakitanga, which is well summarised by one kaikōrero who stated that:

No matter where we are, the outcome for us with working with families is always manaakitia te tangata, care about people; it doesn't matter where they come from, look after them. (Kaikōrero)

Manaakitanga was discussed as being a practice that can guide the process for raising issues and that enables the creation of spaces that support whānau in their healing.

If we had more whānau that can come from a place of knowing what they can do to help them on their journey or willing to just manaaki, unconditionally without any expectations, I don't expect nothing back other than just aroha and we have laughs and eat and do all the stuff that we do as whānau. (Kaikōrero)

For Māori, raising conversations about sexual violence involves drawing on concepts of manaakitanga (honouring others and ourselves), kaitiakitanga (upholding our responsibilities) and kotahitanga (connecting people).

Certainly, what comes up for me with that particular whānau is manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and aroha ki te tangata, that is really evident in how they respond to us as well. (Kaikōrero)

Manaakitanga, when enacted fully in relation to other forms of tikanga such as aroha, mana, and tapu, works in a way that supports the transforming of relationships, which can radically change the context or experience of violence within whānau.

Much the same as this is what they get out you put back so this whānau are in a position now where

they can offer some of that manaaki, awhi, tautoko, aroha ki te tangata and whanaungatanga to others because they now have a better understanding about what worked for them and those tikanga are absolutely crucial for our wanting to change that violence and the current situation we are in now. (Kaikōrero)

Awhina

The term 'awhina' refers to the ability to provide support and help and is based on the term 'awhi' to embrace. Providing awhina to whānau is directly connected to our ability and capacity to manaaki others. One kaikōrero provided an example from the ngāhere (bush) that drew on the relationship of plants that rely on each other for their collective sustenance.

I often think of rongoā for example; that knowledge of those medicines really comes from the stories or the pūrākau around particular atua and how they, kawakawa is a really good one. You can use piritahi, supplejack in different rongoā. The story around that is like a dual thing, one we know when you go through the bush and try and find certain things that the supplejack will weave in and out, but it is not a weed, it doesn't strangle anything, but if anything it actually helps you find certain plants, so wherever that is, you know certain rongoā are around it. The name piritahi, this is Tūhoe kōrero, the rest of us call it something different, is all about that particular rākau it went around, because there was a disturbance amongst all the rākau or plants and to bring it together it wrapped itself all around them and brought them together in an embrace. That teaches you two things: one, if there is any disturbance in the family, then you know that the best thing you can do is have one person, or you yourself can identify yourself as the person to go and to awhi everyone and bring them back in and hold them close so they don't go all over the place. That affection is enough to over-ride. I think there is an āwangawanga between all the trees and that act stopped it. The second thing you learnt from it is certain plants grow within that embrace, so you can find them. (Kaikōrero)

Providing awhi for whānau experiencing whānau violence is seen to be a collective responsibility. That is the role for all organisations and agencies; to awhi whānau and to provide them with the support systems that best meet their needs for their specific context and to do that in ways that concentrate on pathways for wellbeing and which uplift them.

When I had met Whaea …, she was the one that helped me to know the system, like how they work, who they are and the good places where I could go and get the awhi and support. She helped me with all of that, she helped me so much, hugely. So, I know it's because of her where I am today. I pulled out of that shit, it was really hard, but I had to dig deep in myself and remember everything she taught me. (Kaikōrero)

I think for them to awhi is to be able to provide that mahi or be able to help support them, cause there's a lot of homeless, there's a lot of all of that you know becomes stress, violence. especially violence. They end up in depression, they end up going places that you know, don't want them to be, or they just drown themselves in alcohol and drugs. I reckon the government need to play a huge role here in Aotearoa because of what's actually happening out there; it's not nice. There are some of us that are blessed and there are some of them that aren't. (Kaikōrero)

Working with whānau means working with all who are involved and a number of kaikōrero spoke directly to the need to awhi those who have been violent towards others in order to make change for the collective and to do that in ways that support transformation.

The intention is not to takahī on the person that was/is doing the bad behaviour, bad actions, but to bring

it to light, focus on them and that's through them seeing our faces, hearing our kupu and give awhi and manaaki to that person as well as also concentrating on the person that has been attacked or that the bad stuff has happened to, also having people to support them as well. It was a 'bring everything out' so that we can talk about it and then everybody who is at that table has a role and responsibility to not let that happen within their unit and then they know that if it does happen in their unit that this is the process. (Kaikōrero)

Most of our clients have a background, and have done something hurtful, but that is not why I am at the front of the desk, is not to judge you, I am there to welcome you in, awhi you, so that maybe you grab on to the support that ___ and the other facilitators are there to provide. I think we do all of it, it is just hard to put into words, you have got to really think about the things that you are doing and then you can understand. I am Māori, I got that from mum, I got that from nan, and now I am just bringing it into my workplace. (Kaikōrero)

It was also highlighted that it is important that wider iwi are called upon to support the wellbeing journeys of whānau and to work alongside Māori organisations, in particular the involvement of kuia and kaumatua who can give guidance and knowledge on how to support the strengthening of whānau.

Our iwi need to put kaumātua within these organisations because sometimes our wahine that have been beaten, our tamariki that have been sexually abused, our men that want to change their ways, all they need is a kaumātua to talk to, or a kuia to sit down with and awhi them through this. They need the wisdom of their tūpuna and that is where we get it from, our kaumātua. (Kaikōrero)

We, the parents are just the kaimahi that make sure that things are working with the guidance and advice of our kuia and kaumātua. Really our bosses at the end are them, our kuia, kaumatua and our tamariki. The level where the violence or the tautohe, the challenge is, is the parents, within the adults. The tamariki and the kaumatua, they are the ones to whakatau us, to bring us back online. We have certain types of ture, and I see them as values that keep us on track. One of them is he rangatira ahau, āwhina tētahi i tētahi, me mau ki āu ake ringa, so we have those types of ture me kī, that give us awareness should we go off track, should we go into that realm. (Kaikōrero)

Utu

Utu is referred to by Kaikōrero as a means by which to bring a context of transgression back to balance. Utu is often reduced to a notion of 'revenge' and while this is a way in which utu is understood, the concept of 'revenge' sits within notions of collective mechanisms through which our tūpuna sought to address issues. Utu is one way in which we have applied tikanga in order to rebalance wellbeing after experiences of abuse. Pihama et al. (2022) note:

Other tikanga such as utu (retribution, reciprocation), muru (the act of ritual compensation) and mana are considered to affirm the essential place of reciprocal relationships and that traditionally for our people decision making that could be undertaken by whānau, hapū or iwi to ensure balance and the health and wellbeing of the community. From a traditional perspective the practices of utu and muru could be instituted as a legitimate form of rebalancing, resolution or punishment. In such contexts utu and muru are culturally defined processes that respond to transgressions of mana (the prestige or status of someone) or tapu (the inherent sacredness). (p. 29)

Discussion of utu as a means by which to seek redress was raised by a number of Kaikōrero, with many of them emphasising that utu goes beyond a notion of blind revenge and is inclusive of a broad range of

ways in which we can apply the practice to support bringing acts of transgression to account, and needs to be aligned to broader tikanga concepts such as mana, mauri, wairua.

> *Those are some of the aspects when I look at the mātauranga Māori way … [it is] very much about balancing of the mana, mauri and of course wairua all those things. If you have those in balance then the issues in terms around, I guess in anger or a violent act is minimized. So, we have things like utu. Utu doesn't necessarily mean revenge, utu means rebalancing, it means to reciprocate but it doesn't mean to reciprocate necessarily with violence; it can reciprocate in order to pacify as well. So those were some of the things that come to mind. (Kaikōrero)*

> *It is not to say our people never did wrong but if our people did wrong, they already knew that utu was coming to them. We had our structures in place and I think the importance of that is recognizing within that structure, our people still had tino rangatiratanga, our people still had mana motuhake. When we have those as a people, the likelihood that our whānau is well, is more likely than post-colonisation. I think the straight point is what do you think were the tikanga practices, it was our social structure. (Kaikōrero)*

Utu was also regarding as a means of reparation and bringing a context of transgression or of inbalance back into a place of balance. Tikanga such as utu came in many forms, from direct physical reparation to the individual or collectively to the whānau, hapū or iwi. It could also be on a wairua level, as noted by this kaikōrero in terms of spiritual response in the form of mākutu.

> *In relation to that question the first thing that came to mind was things like utu and mākutu, in terms of, when you think of the particular tikanga and strategies… In terms of strategies and tikanga, I've heard the words like tatau pounamu and other things like kahukurī and all those other instances where these have been strategies and tikanga that have been put in place to have an enduring settlement of peace or correct the wrong and I think these are all tikanga and stories that we have within each of our iwi. I think there are multiple options, but I get the sense that it was never an individual choice, as in never an individual decision. That sometimes it was swift and immediate and sometimes it was a restorative kind of whakanoa and hui to correct the imbalance that had occurred. I think there was a recognition within our iwi that at sometimes a particular avenue was required and sometimes it may have been utu, it may have been a removal of land, and it may have been mākutu, and other times it was actually more appropriate to try. (Kaikōrero)*

Muru

Kaikōrero spoke about muru as a legitimate strategic system not just for achieving redress for transgression but as having an intentional logic for ensuring reciprocity, public accountability and restoration following breaches of tikanga against individuals, whānau and hapū. In the 'Te Hinatore' report (Ministry of Justice, 2001), muru is described as follows:

> *Muru was a means for seeking justice through compensation and retribution where individuals, whānau or hapū were offended against. The form of compensation usually involved the offended party taking property belonging to the offender or kin group of the offender. Essentially, muru is a form of utu; however, the difference between muru and utu is that if the muru were followed through, there would be no further obligations bestowed on either party. The party who had the muru performed on them does not respond to the muru. They accept the blame apportioned to them for offences. Muru has a set process in relation to resolving a dispute, similar to a court trial. This process is known as the whakawā. (p. 3)*

Muru is therefore a collective response that is mediated by tikanga and which provides for a form of

rebalancing. This relates to a key focus of the project in regard to collective responsibility, accountability and obligations. As kaikōrero noted "It was a collective issue, it wasn't just the individual and they weren't dealt with behind closed doors" (Kaikōrero).

There was kōrero, there was wānanga, there was hui. The repercussions or the consequences of that behaviour were not just experienced by the individual but by the whānau, and that could be done in the form of muru, with whānau being able to come in and remove taonga, remove resource from whānau. There was a very clear message being made, we will not tolerate this behaviour. (Kaikōrero)

The main tikanga that I can think of focuses on reciprocity in my mind. The first thing that comes to mind is if any hara were about to/or occurred, the mechanisms in place would ensure to re-balance whatever that hara had disrupted. For example, you had things like muru, … but it is a consequence approach. (Kaikōrero)

The practice of muru was not taken lightly because the consequences could be far-reaching, with not just taonga and stored food resources being removed but all manner of goods including chattels and livestock, ritual wounding, as well as homes being burnt to the ground as restitution for wrongdoing.

It wasn't taken lightly. In some instances it resulted in death. In some instances, the individual was removed from the hapū, from iwi structures. (Kaikōrero)

I understand that in some cases, people who couldn't manage their own behaviour were exiled and I have heard stories of that from both my grandparents in their time. This whole notion of exile is not a well understood idea I think, but it is not uncommon in the story of humanity more generally. I think at the kind of extreme end there was exile, there are all kinds of remedies and processes to address behaviour that was placing wellbeing, or the rōpū, or the whānau at risk and a series of mitigations that people would work through depending on the context, the situation, whatever. (Kaikōrero)

Placed alongside muru was hohou te rongo. This requires and supports acknowledgement of wrongdoing, which could help rebalance and resolve all manner of issues including relationship concerns.

Muruatanga and hohou te rongo are really important parts of being able to forgive one another, and that people have to step up to, and address the fact that they have transgressed against other people. (Kaikōrero)

A transgression against one person was considered a transgression against everyone connected to that person and provided an example to others about the consequences of careless, bad or unjust behaviour or transgressions relating to people or places. The obligation to respond as whānau when members transgressed deliberately or through negligence or oversight was also spoken about and although behaviour might not be forgivable it could be understood when context was provided.

And around that collective responsibility, not just in terms of caring for whānau but if there was harm done, then our tūpuna had to face the entire hapū or whānau and hapū. (Kaikōrero)

… So, he never recovered from that. So, I'm just putting his behaviour into the context of that context, and this hasn't come out of anywhere, he never got the help he required when it happened, and he's lived a lifetime of guilt, blame, addiction etc. So, on that day I explained to them why he was like that, their response, "it's alright bro, we've got one of those". They knew behaviour's not forgivable, but understandable. From that point forward, kua tika. So, we meet each other now, and its fine between us. (Kaikōrero)

Across the interviews there was an understanding of the collective redress, of the rebalancing nature of muru for Māori, and the restraining hand of the Crown/State preventing whānau from activating tikanga such as muru to promote safety and wellbeing.

I've got a real example of how the state stops us from implementing tikanga like muru. Okay, so from that event, this is a small town I live in, so it wasn't hard to find out who the [victims] were. When I rang him he said proudly, "Oh no, it's alright, you don't need to come and see me". The whakaaro was to take him a koha, kia whakarite, kia whakatika te hara o taku teina ki runga i taku whānau. But he didn't want that … So, we didn't go visit him. But what we found out, [about the other victims]… he had worked with our children through sports, our boys, all of that, we had all of these connections. … and when I rang him his first response wasn't, "You ---", it was "Thank god you've made contact". So, we stepped back a bit from this and said, "Look I'm his brother, we've lived here for such and such, all our children have grown up here. My brother has created an environment that's unsafe now for me and my whānau". They couldn't because of law tell me who the [victim] was. So, that's what I mean by small town, I was able to find out. …, we all lived here in this town together. They did a whole lot of baking, we went and brought taonga … and we went around to that whare, and in force, me, my little whānau, and my Pacific Island whānau, … And we did the muru thing, we took all the koha, and we sat down and they took us into their house. And we had this big kōrero, and I explained to them that this really traumatic event had happened way back when my brother was 18-19, … driver of a car … long story short he had an accident, three people died in that accident, … . He has never recovered or received the help he needed by the state, at the age of fucking 18-19, he was locked up in M6-Oakley. That is for the criminally insane, he was there at the age of 19 with long term criminals with mental illnesses. … Where's the help, where's the support from the state. They have got all the god damn resources. So, there's just a little example of how we tried through the systems of the state to enact muru, and they didn't, in fact they stopped us. It was only because of our own learning through Te Ao Māori, and that we'd lived here so long that we had the connections that we could do it anyway. Yes, it did work. (Kaikōrero)

To be quite honest, if I look at my own, and I had wished when I heard Matua … talk about muru, I really wished it had happened with me and the kids' father… Taking me away would be part, but the other part is also taking the possessions away from him, or whoever as a sign of muru, a sign of, if you are wanting it all back, then you are going to have to go through that. (Kaikōrero)

The process of muru is actual tikanga, that if you did something, the whānau would go to the house and uplift the innocents, the people that were innocent, such as tamariki and wāhine or tāne. They would uplift them, and then they would take them away, and then they would take all of the belongings, and then they would take everything else as a sense of taumahatanga, like this is your actions, this is a non-violent response, we are not here to tell you off, we are here to show that if you can't look after these things then maybe this is the process, similar to what had happened to Mataora and Niwareka. (Kaikōrero)

Summary

Tikanga has been identified as critical to making change in relation to prevention and intervention in the area of Family Violence. Relationships for Māori are framed through tikanga and within those frameworks are interconnected. A collective approach through a tikanga lens enables the recognition of those tikanga as being central to informing how we are in relationship to each other and to all around us. As one kaikōrero summarised when reflecting on their healing journey, "All it leads to is the reclamation of mana, mauri, tapu, wairua". The ways in which we define and frame violence as Māori are embedded within these understandings that pervade all parts of our lives, culturally, physically, emotionally,

spiritually, and politically. It is within tikanga that we are able to see both beliefs and practices that can support and enhance our wellbeing journeys. Tikanga is an all-encompassing term for the philosophies and practices within Te Ao Māori that are grounded in and expressed or practiced through our cultural ways of being, our epistemologies as Māori. It has been highlighted that tikanga "provides us with parameters of engagement and behaviour and a framework through which healthy relationships can be defined" (Pihama et al. ,2021, p. 27).

In this chapter we have shared collective thoughts and understandings of particular tikanga concepts and practices that were highlighted in relation to our cultural strategies for family violence prevention and intervention. Key tikanga concepts and the practices associated with them include: whanaungatanga; ora; wairua; mana; mana wahine; mauri; tuakiritanga; kare-ā-roto; tapu; noa; tika; pono; aroha; manaakitanga; awhina; utu; and muru. This is not an exhaustive list; rather they are examples of specific concepts and practices that were discussed by a wide range of kaikōrero. Furthermore, tikanga elements are not isolated from each other; rather they are constantly in relationship and inform and support a view of the world that is interconnected. For example, we cannot enact one tikanga component such as manaakitanga without recognising and enacting notions of mana, tapu, noa, and āwhina, to name just a few. The point is that the interconnected nature of tikanga within a Kaupapa Māori approach is reliant on our being able to live as Māori in the fullness of what our tikanga provides us.

Chapter 5
Tikanga, Mātauranga and Healing Practices

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Tikanga, Mātauranga and Healing Practices

Any discussion of the impact of family violence on Māori must be based on the understanding that our tūpuna had complex and grounded ways of ensuring collective wellbeing for whānau, hapū and iwi. That is our starting point. In order to understand more fully how we have come to find ourselves in a situation where violence impacts the lives of many Māori whānau so severely, it is important to be guided by the insights and guidance provided by generations of our people. Whakataukī such as 'titiro whakamuri, kōkiri whakamua' invite us to look to, and reflect upon, our past in order to move forward. It is with this in mind that we opened our discussions with kaikōrero (speakers who were interviewed), who engaged in both individual interviews and our hui (Māori cultural gatherings). We asked for kaikōrero to reflect upon and share their thoughts on what tikanga our tūpuna had in place before colonisation to ensure whānau wellbeing and how that knowledge was shared and transmitted through mātauranga Māori. As noted previously, we are also aware that there is always the potential for individuals to transgress societal and cultural norms and thus there is also a clear need within all societies, including te ao Māori, for strategies of prevention and intervention when that occurs.

This chapter provides an overview discussion of a range of knowledge forms and practices that our people draw upon to share and transmit the knowledge needed to support our wellbeing. In particular we discuss whakapapa kōrero, pūrākau, knowledge of atua, knowledge transmission through whakatauākī/whakataukī, the place of maramataka, rongoā, karakia in healing and reconnection, and the practices of whakapakari tinana (physical exercise/activities) and hohou te rongo (processes of resolution and peace). Kaikōrero highlight the knowledge inherent within those practices.

This section looks at mātauranga Māori as being a critical process through which tikanga is understood and learnt. This discussion focuses particularly on the ways in which these specific cultural knowledge forms provide guidance and healing for whānau that have experienced violence in their lives

Whakapapa

Whakapapa and whānau were discussed as critical collectives and structures that have a key role in the wellbeing of Māori and in the reconnection of ourselves to each other in ways that support our collective aspirations for wellbeing. Both whakapapa and whānau are considered to be key to the overall wellbeing and sustenance of relationships for Māori. It is noted that,

> *Fundamental to the lived experience of whānau is the continuity provided by whakapapa. Not only does it reach back in time and forward into the future to the mokopuna and those yet to be born, it also expands outward on the horizontal plane. Within this expansive, dynamic, evolving, layered reality is a typology beginning with the individual and expanding to whānau's widest possible definition, which includes hapū and iwi (Walker, 2013, p. 115)*

As kaikōrero highlighted throughout the research, it is through our collective wellbeing that we can deal with the many challenges that face us as a people. Whakapapa connectedness is critical to that collectiveness and provides us with ways of understanding our relationships not only with each other but with all that is a part of our world.

We also needed our collectives for wellbeing, I believe, in that time. If you examine the historical record, we lived in clusters, we occupied dwellings as a group, and we lived and worked and operated and worked in groups. What that meant for our wellbeing, practices and protocols is that first and foremost you weren't really given the opportunity too much to operate outside of the group; in fact I would go so far to say that in that time it probably wasn't particularly safe or considered to be normal. That is just like living in a small town today, which sitting here, I know well what it means to live in a small community where everybody knows your business, and I am picking that back in those times we lived in close proximity to each other, so I think that was one kind of layer. I also think that in terms of practices and protocols the whole focus on the precious nature of life lends itself to a different kind of kawa and again I think that came from this feeling of constant vulnerability in relationship to the environment that we are living in. (Kaikōrero)

They can play a huge role, I do believe that, the iwi and the hapū. More the hapū really, the iwi is huge. When you go back to your own hapū you know, your marae, your whānau, that's the way that they can help. To help bring this violence back down, send it back home to the paepae, not out there because when you go to iwi then you have got to go from this one to that one. I believe they could play a huge role. (Kaikōrero)

Mikaere (2011) describes looking through a whakapapa lens as "imperative to treasure those physical manifestations and expressions of ancestors that connect us to our origins and enable us to project ourselves with confidence into the future" (p. 298). The critical role of whakapapa for Māori was expressed throughout the kōrero.

I think in terms of ensuring wellbeing that need for co-operation, the inter-related, the close relationships, our need to look after each other actually created a different situation than the one that we have today. I think out of all of that practical situation springs our tikanga that we are still trying to hang on to and get back and give expression to in our daily lives. When I think about our tīpuna, that is how I imagine them living. (Kaikōrero)

Within whakapapa we see ourselves as being inherently related and that each of us carries both the line of our ancestors and that of future generations. Our whakapapa connects us and makes us collectively responsible, accountable, and obligated to each other as whānau, hapū and iwi. As one kaikōrero described the relationship, there is a connection that exists between Māori that is acknowledged irrespective of our knowledge of it. The impact of violence or any form of trauma on an individual has a collective impact, both materially and spiritually, as is articulated throughout the discussions.

The impact of violence on an individual from another individual, a lot of the misconceptions are that there is no one else there. If we use the concept of wairua and imagine a nanny, a significant other from our whakapapa, then that that in turn should tell us that person is not on their own and you have just gone in there with those of your whakapapa and violated that whole environment… We should be doing those same things by way of using specific cultural ways of dealing with whānau, going back to our traditional ways, no laws or no courts from the tauiwi side. We need to look at our customary rights to be able to address our own behaviours and in our own way, in our own environment, with those that absolutely have the teachings to be able to influence those who need to change their behaviour. (Kaikōrero)

Whanaungatanga is really about … collectivism, linking whakapapa. The way that it works in a hauora way, or for everybody to have ora is that everybody provides, sustains, maintains the collective; nobody is an individual and has to look after themselves. Whanaungatanga basically is about knowing that

whoever is next to you, whoever is Māori is part of you and therefore their ora is dependent on your ora, and is dependent on the ora of our whenua, the ora of our whole taiao. Pre-colonial whanaungatanga meant everybody was responsible for everybody else's ora. I am not sure whether we are going to be scoping what it looks like today, because we have moved away in a lot of senses from that pre-colonial idea of taking care of one another. I see whanaungatanga as that, it is a collective mission, it is about knowing who you connect with, but also inter-iwi, so not just inter-whānau or the whānau members of your collective... It is not just about sharing each other's whakapapa, it is not even just about talking to one another or catching up, it is about all the tikanga that comes along with how you whakawhanaunga, that is how I think anyway. (Kaikōrero)

If we talk about whakapapa or they learn about stories of their people or connect to whenua, then they can add themselves, who they are now into that picture and have a meaningful connection to that place or to that story through creative means. That connection is quite important, and I think them having an ability to voice or to move, or to have some kind of creative input into that process that is important to me because their voices matter. Even if they understand, we talked a lot about when they recite a pepeha do they feel that they are connected to that or do they recite it because it is a routine or … they are following cultural protocols. Do they genuinely feel connected to what they are saying: they understand that they have whakapapa there, but do they have personal rootedness to those places and how do we create that meaningful thing where they genuinely feel that they personally belong to that space? They know that they have whānau and wider connections, but them personally. In my practicing, if they are moving and they are creating about it that is them adding to their voice, to knowledge that they have learnt, so that is important. (Kaikōrero)

When we are discussing whānau and whakapapa in this context in relation to family violence prevention and intervention, it is important to see these systems and collective structures as being a part of the wider ways in which the wellbeing and survival of our people has been maintained in spite of the violence experienced both historically and in contemporary times.

I think that all of tikanga is actually health and safety about the survival of whānau, of our whakapapa. And when you say what parts, what did our tūpuna do, everything they did had the lens of ensuring, maximising the potential for survival. There's lots of kōrero, if you don't have tamariki, if you don't look after tamariki your whare dies. There was a clarity for our tūpuna, and an absolute priority; everything they did, this is my interpretation, they had a whakaaro, 'How is this action going to protect our tamariki mokopuna, our uri, in terms of their survival?' And there were some extreme practices, where we might call them extreme, they were I think absolutely appropriate for the time when people did not uphold those ways of living…. So, they were very clear, and responses to any form of not treating tamariki mokopuna well. We have a huge puna, a huge wellspring of resources at our disposal in contemporary times to reconsider how all of tikanga, and the implementation of aspects of tikanga to test what in contemporary times might be the tikanga that is most effective in certain situations. And reflecting on the learnings of this Covid era, there's been some beautiful kōrero of, well of course our tūpuna also modified tikanga. The kawa were the things that were immutable, and it was the tikanga that was able to have some fluidity in terms of responding to novel events… On one hand I think we've got super, very clear evidence of our tūpuna, and we've got very clear evidence of intergenerational harm caused by a lack of using tikanga now. (Kaikōrero)

What we have forgotten in all of these relationships is whakapapa. Pre-European a woman might marry out, but with her went her whakapapa. If she was abused it would become a whakapapa issue and her new whānau took the responsibility and if she was abused there was retribution, which could end up

being war between the two hapū. We have walked away from that, there is no punishment now, there is no retribution or mood or whatever you want to call it, we just turn our backs to it, but it was a whakapapa issue. (Kaikōrero)

Whakapapa is thus protected through the enactment of tikanga. This requires us to live in line with tikanga and with the fundamental understanding that to protect our whakapapa it is essential that we understand the sanctity of all within our whānau.

There was an absolute understanding from everybody within those whānau, hapū, iwi structures of what was tika behaviour, what was tikanga-driven behaviour. There was an absolute knowing by everybody that this is how you behaved, this is what it looked like to ensure the wellbeing of whānau; to cause harm to te whare tangata, ngā tamariki, mokopuna was to harm whakapapa. Therefore, if you were to harm whakapapa, harm te whare tangata, that would cause disruptions in succession moving forward. (Kaikōrero)

Before colonisation we had more of a whānau-based role and the hapū or wider whānau had more of an idea what was going on with the individuals involved. They were closer, it wasn't so broad spread, so they could see what was going on and it could be intervened with quickly. Especially our tamariki or taonga, if that violence came through it was going to be dealt with very quickly, and they were to be put in a safe place, was my understanding of it. (Kaikōrero)

Pūrākau

Pūrākau is a term that describes a range of Māori narratives and storytelling forms. Pūrākau have been discussed as a key area of revitalisation for Māori in that they provide us with knowledge and guidance in relation to our ways of being. Lee (2015) argues that pūrākau provide us with a structure and system of intergenerational knowledge transmission alongside other mātauranga Māori forms. This aligns with the wider Indigenous view that storytelling is critical to our understanding our world and our relationships within the world (Archibald, 2008). As one kaikōrero stated,

There are messages, guidance, tikanga. Key messages on correct behaviour and how to correct bad behaviour, within pūrākau around atua and consequences. (Kaikōrero)

It has also been noted that such stories "serve to reinforce major knowledge narratives through motifs, morals, principles and values that are accessible and understood by each generation of the community" (Smith et al., 2016, p.138). Stories for Indigenous Peoples carry deep learnings and provide intergenerational transmission of knowledge and guidance (Archibald et al. 2019; Diana Rangihuna, Mark Kōpua, and David Tipene-Leach (2018) describe how they use pūrākau as a healing process for whānau:

Mahi a Atua involves the recitation, by the whaiora, their whānau (family group) and the therapeutic team, of these creation stories. The narratives cover generational conflict, fratricidal struggle, gender adversity, incest, bullying, withdrawal and cold-hearted calculating behaviour. But the Atua also demonstrate a range of responses that include love and nurturing, facing uncertainty with courage, empathy and rage, unbridled curiosity and creativity, and endless endurance alongside, forgiveness, devotion, selflessness and remorse. Eventually the creation stories lead to a re-balancing and a resolution of those problems and they articulate for the whaiora and the whānau, the possibility that they too have a healthy future trajectory.

Lester-Smith (2013) highlights a three-year study with the Vancouver, British Columbia, organization

called the Warriors Against Violence Society. Their unique model provides ways of healing from presently felt wounds through traditional wisdom and storytelling practices.

> *Indigenous worldviews relationally unite our personal everyday tasks with universal wisdoms. They fit not only the historical times in which they were created but also the contemporary times in which they are re/considered to best understand our lives. Although deeply personal and pragmatic in its own diversity among Aboriginal peoples, Aboriginal knowledge is about intuitively knowing how, why and where the agency of transformation is necessary. This journey begins when we consciously make room in our holistic being for the gentle drumming of our pulse, our ancestral heart knowledge. (Lester-Smith, 2013, pp. 313-314)*

Tuakiritetangata (2021) highlights that drawing upon pūrākau in healing enables people to reconnect with their stories to obtain ideas and guidance to apply to their daily lives and in doing so "encourages Māori to view their ancestral knowledge as valuable and worth holding onto" (p.10). Storytelling, testimony, and voicing are ways that individuals and communities can share with others the impact of family violence. The listeners or receivers of the stories of individuals, families and collectives who experience abuse are essential to supporting transformation within wider communities and society. Million (2013) introduces an Indigenous feminist critique of this violence against the medicalized framework of addressing trauma and looks to the larger goals of decolonization. Of the importance of storytelling and healing, she writes:

> *Our voices rock the boat and perhaps the world. They are dangerous. All of this becomes important to our emerging conversation on Indigenous feminisms, on our ability to speak to ourselves, to inform ourselves and our generations, to counter and intervene in a constantly morphing colonial system. To 'decolonize' means to understand as fully as possible the forms colonialism takes in our own times (p.55).*

Connected to storytelling is the Indigenous concept of witnessing, which has gained visibility in family violence approaches in North America. It is vitally important in our listening and our witnessing that we do not continue to create narratives of risk and harm separated from the stories of strength, resiliency and survivance. The importance of the collective response is also reiterated by Watego (2021) who writes:

> *There is a beauty among Blackfullas that we have retained, despite what we have suffered, an unbidding sense of solidarity. It shows in how we turn up for each other – even if we find it hard to turn up for ourselves (Watego 2021, p.137).*

Hunt (2018) discusses the development principles of witnessing in research on contemporary realities of violence in Indigenous communities, families, and lives. It is often assumed that Indigenous people can accept any Indigenous issues as "insiders," yet we are at risk of replicating dominant power relations if we are not attuned to the responsibilities that come with wielding power as researchers. This is particularly true for those of us who collaborate with members of our communities who experience most acutely the risk and vulnerability produced by ongoing colonisation – those whose lives and voices are most frequently dismissed, silenced, or ignored.

> *Kwagiulth witnessing methodology is not akin to simply hearing, seeing, or being told something. Witnessing here is taking up a specific role in maintaining the integrity of Indigenous knowledge and community. It entails not just an obligation to recall but to act, given that violence continues to be normalized. It requires us to bear witness to the ontological violence of forgetting certain stories, as much as to the stories themselves (Hunt, 2018, p. 38)*

Where pūrākau provide us with examples, guidance and learnings they also remind us that our tūpuna clearly planned and strategized, to ensure that the collective wellbeing of our people was maintained.

It is the sharing of those stories, those pūrākau. Our tūpuna were clever people, they didn't just all of a sudden wake up one morning and say, okay, let's go out and go and find a patch of dirt in the middle of nowhere. There is some planning that comes with that, so the ability to not only share those pūrākau to encourage whānau, to plan, to make better choices moving forward is around the ability to strengthen whānau planning, and what that might look like for whānau to help move them out of where they are sitting. (Kaikōrero)

Ensuring whānau wellbeing was really about relationships, the extent to which relationships between us were healthy, and the extent to which our relationships with our environment were healthy. The extent to which they were life giving, or not, or presented challenges, or not. Overcoming those challenges and trials and tribulations, all of our pūrākau, all of our kōrero, all of our whakapapa kōrero is full of the adventures of. I think in terms of ensuring wellbeing that need for cooperation, the inter-related, the close relationships, our need to look after each other actually created a different situation than the one that we have today. I think out of all of that practical situation springs our tikanga that we are still trying to hang on to and get back and give expression to in our daily lives. (Kaikōrero)

Pūrākau that explain our creation stories, such as those related to Hinetītama and Hine-nui-te-pō, have been a focus for understanding healing and resolution pathways.

The pūrākau that we share in group, the one that comes to mind is the story of Hinetītama, she transcended into Hine-nui-te-pō, the kōrero that sits around that, the message that sits in there that we relay to the men is actually, 'keep your fucken hands off your children'. We talk about how she reclaimed her mana and took back that control and that power. Very clear messages within the story of Niwareka and Mataora. Very clear messages in there around violence and the consequence of using violence. (Kaikōrero)

There is also Hinetītama and Hine-nui-te- pō, that self-determination when she discovered what was happening in that space, and she decided, I'm going to go here. It's been written by some people that she fled with shame, but then there are other stories that she made this decision to go and then she said, no you are going to stay here and look after these children and I am going to greet them when they come here. That was an empowered decision, it wasn't like a fleeing. (Kaikōrero)

The place of pūrākau in providing insights into how particular characteristics and behaviours can be highlighted was noted consistently through the discussions. For example, the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku to bring space and light into the world provides ways of understanding how separation impacts whānau and how those impacts can be mitigated.

I've just come up with the classic Rangi and Papa and the separation of the two, but how they still maintained their dignity and the kids/atua still maintained their individuality in it all as well. How it's kind of like a whānau through that separation, you have got kids that may stir some stuff, you have got ones that are very loving and people pleasers … there are all different types of places that kids can take on and so it's very similar to my version of hearing the story, so just trying to think about that. (Kaikōrero)

Pūrākau are also seen to be a part of how we transmit our contemporary experiences and ensure that knowledge of certain events or actions is retained. This includes how our people have dealt with colonising impacts on their lives and the lives of their whānau.

It is not just using those stories; it is the other stories that encourage our whānau to be better. You know talking about the migration of ngā waka, ngā hekenga mai o ngā waka to Aotearoa, that is an amazing story, that would make an amazing movie also. The resilience that sits within that in allowing the whānau to understand that actually you have that inherently within you. You have that same untapped

energy. I think those are amazing stories to share with people, whakataukī, kupu that are transformative. (Kaikōrero)

Pūrākau around our traditional stories from our tribal areas with our significant tūpuna that have left us to remind us that they are certainly there for a reason to help us through some of these things. There are pūrākau stories from our old people and I can only think of a story that my mum told me, well I listened to her one time and remember vividly a story as if she told me yesterday around when she had eighteen of us children, some of us she was able to continue the ritual of burying our pito down at the pā, outside our whare. Those that she wasn't able to do that with, ended up in the incinerator at the hospital. As the generations in my whānau got on, mine was fortunate enough to be buried at the pā, but some of the stories she was talking about, that is a violation when somebody takes those rituals away from you and don't know what they are doing. (Kaikōrero)

The reclamation of pūrākau within whānau, hapū and iwi has been central to the revitalisation of our knowledge about ourselves and our specific relationships within our rohe (regions). Two examples of this from Taranaki include discussion of the tohunga Te Ao Marama, and tupuna Ruaputahanga.

Pūrākau, there are stories that are histories of our own people and we have got whānau stories, whānau history. Knowing things about strong women; Te Ao Marama was a female tohunga who moved the wahine tapairu, the mauri stone and it was the woman that was able to move that stone, and it is at Puniho now. The men couldn't move it, the male tohunga couldn't move it. She was alive in the 1930s, 40s, 50s… There are stories about strong Māori women, and examples of things that they have done. (Kaikōrero)

What I think I have now recognised is that the solution, where is the healing in these stories for our people because I think our pūrākau have such a powerful source of healing for our people, and it could be any pūrākau. For wahine in Taranaki, Ruaputahanga is such a woman to look up to and many of our wahine now have those characteristics of Ruaputahanga, that know their worth and won't allow anyone to step on their mana because of those sorts of narratives. I think what helps people in healing is pūrākau that come from their whakapapa. Ruaputahanga may be a source of healing for me, maybe a source of healing for other uri, but someone from up north may not care. They will have a similar story of their tūpuna, and for them it would be source of healing, but it wouldn't be for me. I think recognizing the pūrākau within each whakapapa and that is why sometimes that it a big failure in Pākehā systems is those pūrākau and that whakapapa isn't a consideration of healing within people. (Kaikōrero)

The discussions shared in relation to culture, spirituality, relationships and storytelling as vital responses to violence are powerful.

I think if we go back to our own creation stories, I think that there are messages in there about whānau violence; when I look at it there are indications there around whānau violence, what that might have looked like, how it played out. Thinking around Papatūānuku, Rangi, all of those. So… what are the messages in the stories in there to prevent violence, in its different forms, and how it might play out in the world today even. … So, it's giving people tools and words, stories even, so they can get some insights.

Specific pūrākau were raised by Kaikōrero to exemplify the ways in which our tūpuna shared knowledge and learnings about relationships. The pūrākau related to Niwareka returning to her people as a source of support was often given as an example of ways in which our people sought to deal with the impact of violence through processes of either removing the individual at risk, or removing the person who was continuing to put the collective wellbeing of the whānau at risk.

We have the stories that are fairly consistent across iwi around whānau, you know ones like Mataora and Niwareka… Those are kind of stories that give us some road markers in terms of how violence and violation and other things were addressed. (Kaikōrero)

We know even [the] earliest stories that come out of the atua relationships talk to it. Niwareka, for example, talks to us about the protocols that they had in place and the things that happened to hold people to account. Even the idea to actually show violence to your partner or to your whānau member was to actually put your very future at risk… When I think about particular tikanga or strategies it really was about holding each other to account within the fabric of that and the commonly understood idea that every life is precious because again, it was scarce. I think part of that was the practice of hui, the ability of whānau members to work out amongst themselves ways to hold people accountable, that didn't then risk the wellbeing of the group. (Kaikōrero)

Pūrākau that recorded the return homeward after abuse or insult can be found in relation to both women and men. As one Kaikōrero stated "We have Waitara and the story of Ngarue and his return home and the naming of his son". This pūrākau is discussed by Ngawhare (2017) as follows:

Ngarue was the son of Te Moungaroa, the tohunga (navigator) of Kurahaupō, and after growing up in Taranaki he moved to Kawhia where he married Uru-te-kakara. While gardening in his in-laws' fields one day, Ngarue overheard people mocking him for being like a landless man having to cultivate another man's garden. As Ngarue was of a high rank this offended him and he chose to leave Kawhia. Uru-te-kakara was pregnant with their first child and she refused to go. Ngarue asked her to name their child Whare-matangi (if it was a boy) or Kaimatangi (if a girl) because of the open sided and drafty house they lived in at the time. Whare-matangi was born a boy and grew up in Kawhia where he excelled at most things, especially games. One day when he won a game of darts, another child called him a bastard and mocked his single parent home. Whare-matangi asked his mum where Ngarue had gone and she showed him a distant snow-capped (mountain) in the distance. When he was old enough, Whare-matangi left to search for his father, throwing a magic dart when lost to find his way. His last throw landed at the finely carved door of his father, Ngarue, who lived next to a great river. Ngarue was overjoyed to be united with his son, and there was a great celebration (n/p).

Atua

Atua, and our relationship to the roles and characteristics of atua, provide a number of insights in terms of behaviours and interactions in te ao Māori (Rangihuna et al., 2018). Atua stories connect us to teachings and learnings that our tūpuna have left us to guide our understandings of relationships and social behaviours (Rangihuna et al., 2019; Kopua et al. 2020). Pere (1994) talks about atua as "spiritual beings with supernatural influences" (p. 15). She writes that the term atua "also applied to ancestral spirits, the spirits of still-born babies, to primal forces or beings, natural phenomena, images, fairies etcetera" (p. 15). The healing journey back for us, for Māori people, from a concerted and ongoing effort to subjugate us, is long and it is a steady and incrementally progressive journey. This is not an individual trek but a group journey of shared recognition, recovery, healing and reconciliation. It is a journey that should involve all the cultural frameworks, structures, concepts and history that we have managed to maintain despite colonisation. Reclaiming our knowledge of our Atua is a part of that journey.

All Kaikōrero considered that there is a vast collection of knowledge about Atua that is readily available and can be used to enhance wellbeing, and that there are multiple examples to draw from, which offer inspiration, knowledge, and wisdom, which persist and continue to resonate today.

… and some of the activities that happen with tamariki here in the ways in which to enter into a conversation around appropriate behaviour and actually violence is through stories of atua because I guess it elevates it, but it also brings it very external. I think the role Atua themselves play is around a regular prevention. If we karakia and waiata and whakanoa processes, these are things that we can invoke at any time and actually regularly to address these things… (Kaikōrero)

…, when I was growing up I used to love the stories about Māui, and I used to think, and I didn't understand …, but he was the youngest, and the things that he did. It is only until I got older and was able to understand what Māori were saying, well he is that trickster; he is the pōtiki. He is the initiator, and he has got all these other qualities about him, … Those sorts of things that it moved from just being a Pākehā thing around mischief to actually there is methodology here. We know the names of rākau Māori, native trees that hold fire and make better firewood, you know those sorts of things from that story. As we get older there are other things that I now read into those stories as well, which I can see quite clearly, and certainly from the perspective of my mahi as well. (Kaikōrero)

Atua were discussed by kaikōrero as providing us with a reciprocal relationship that enables us to draw on the significance of their role in relation to our lives.

I think the role atua themselves play is around a regular prevention. If we [use] karakia and waiata and whakanoa processes, these are things that we can invoke at any time and actually regularly to address these things: to me that's like taking a snippet out of someone's life and that's the thing that we'll remember them for. Whereas what we're talking about is that atua and atua Māori are surrounding us and our relationship to them and our interaction with them can be every day, every second, you know it's not a solely invoking but is a reciprocal process around, we have obligations to meet in the honour of their particular realm and actually we can draw on that relationship. (Kaikōrero)

[Atua] teach us about kawa and tikanga. When you look at the atua, some of them haven't been that good and people's understanding of where they sit in our whakapapa isn't always clear that they're actually from a different realm so that's how they achieve the impossible. (Kaikōrero)

The characteristics and attributes of Atua have been explored in a range of approaches to wellbeing (Rangihuna et al., 2018) and in the discussions for this project it was noted that those āhuatanga, or specific characteristics, can be drawn upon for understanding what is happening in our lives and within ourselves.

Kei roto i a tātou ngā atua, ngā kare ā roto, ngā pūmanawa, ngā āhuatanga katoa o ia atua i roto i ā tātou te ira tangata. There are concepts, there are parts that we carry within ourselves that come from our atua. Sometimes Rongo may overstep Tāwhiri or whatever it looks like, it is about finding that balance. I used to really thrive on Whiro when I was younger, and everyone sees Whiro like he is the black knight, the piro one, the real angry one. I said no, that is how we perceive him to be, I said he was very clever, he was aware, what was happening around him he was always on guard for the protecting of his teina. I look at concepts like that within our atua and mihi to our atua, our taiao, and we don't do it enough I don't think… I think drawing on those pūkenga of all of our atua it … Definitely atua wahine, our wahine atua as well, Hine-ahu-one, Hine-tītama, nui te poo, Hinemoana. I think if we bring them and we kōrero and we use them and we learn about who they are, I think we will start to use them more in our everyday life and kōrero. (Kaikōrero)

We are a makeup of our atua, so we remember that while then we are actually acting as atua ourselves. I think there is a place to acknowledge atua within this mahi. What happens when we move Rongo into

this space of Tūmatauenga, or Tūmatauenga into the space of Rongo. Atua understand their boundaries, they understand what comes with that. I think of Rona, her ability to be able to move bodies of water, what impact does that have on us. There are a lot of things and it is not just looking at the atua, but it is looking at te taiao in general. Our tūpuna were stargazers, there were tohu, there were messages that informed our tūpuna of when to do things. Rangi Matamua and his kōrero, his knowledge around ngā kaahui whetu is still very much relevant today. When I think about ngā atua Māori there is a lot for us to learn from atua on how to better manage violence within whānau, what that looks like I am not too sure, but I think it certainly is something that requires further kōrero and further understanding. (Kaikōrero)

Discussions around karakia are also included in how we relate, speak to and call upon atua for healing. The wairuatanga inherent within the understandings of atua is a critical learning that we need to be guided by. It was also emphasised that our knowledge and practices associated with atua are contextualised by our experiences of colonisation and the daily impositions of policies, practices and actions of successive governments that continue to mitigate against our best interests as Māori. The creation story of Ranginui and Papatūānuku was reflected on consistently throughout the project.

I suppose our whole creation story, with the separation of Rangi and Papa and I suppose the kōrero around Tāwhirimātea not really accepting that and trying to take out all his siblings, probably has a lot of power in it. The fact that Tūmatauenga put a stop to all that. It is probably a lot of science behind it that is just catching up now, but I think that story in itself probably holds a lot of mana in terms of that. (Kaikōrero)

All kaikōrero explicitly understood that they were interconnected and mutually interdependent on each other. This was evident in how the discussions around atua embraced other elements of tikanga such as karakia, pūrākau and whakataukī, forming a type of trilogy that admits humans by requiring us to actively participate by communicating in ways that call up all aspects of tikanga to enact wānanga, karakia and ritual to support knowledge retention through the ability to commune, empathise, and be of one mind with each other in Te Taiao. We can then take a respectful place and position in our Taiao, which will in turn reciprocate by supporting our wellbeing.

We have karakia, we don't just rattle it off just because of the fact that it's 7 o'clock: it's there to put us into a state of mind that opens us up emotionally, intellectually and spiritually to the sharing that's about to come. When ritual becomes rote and just follow-up as a process without the thinking, the karakia is really to facilitate the opening of those channels for the sharing which we are all about to get into. (Kaikōrero)

Atua are the foundation of a creation, intellectual tradition and value-based system that reveals a way of perceiving and understanding the world, which supports daily life in its wholeness, not in fragmented story-telling segments to entertain or amuse children. The pūrākau about Atua demonstrate that Atua are strategic, purposeful and thought-provoking, and that they are entrepreneurial representations of powerful and political cultural icons that can stimulate us to explore further using te reo rangatira and tikanga to reveal the many nuances that are embedded within our tikanga and pūrākau.

The understanding of Tū is in the many names that he has. Tūkaitaua and then people will look at Tū the consumer of war parties; you know, as violence. You're forgetting that Tūkaitaua is really Tū, who was the Master Strategist who looks at the resources and then implements a plan to succeed against the odds; that's strategic thinking. (Kaikōrero)

All Kaikōrero considered that there is a vast collection of astute and relevant information that is readily available and can be used to enhance wellbeing. They also pointed out that there are multiple examples to draw from, which offer inspiration, wisdom and knowledge that persists and continues to resonate

today. Prevailing themes throughout the interviews were about the abundance of intelligence contained within pūrākau, where narratives about our Atua provide insight into human behaviour and conflict resolution. For example, these are two examples of complementary kōrero in relation to Rongo and rongoā which are clearly interconnected in their origins and reiterate for us how we are all capable of being violent and also capable of healing and being healers within either realm: the choice is ours.

We think of Rongo and all the different forms that Rongo holds and then you think of maungārongo kia mau i ngā rongo, and so what that shows is the different forms of Rongo that one could hold in pursuit of healing. I think it is balance, [in] all those personifications of our Atua there is balance and there is a bit of all of it within us because that is the story of how we remained when Tāne took a part of each of them and put them into us. What that shows is that we are capable of violence, we are capable of healing, and none is greater than the other, they are all options. What we have is we have the choices to make whether we want to personify certain aspects of Tū, whether we choose certain aspects of Rongo, and within that comes with knowing who we are as a people. (Kaikōrero)

Alongside this was understanding about the origins of tikanga and our intimate relationship with Te Taiao, which suggest processes and procedures for how to conduct ourselves. Kaikōrero also pointed out both the consequences and the reciprocal nature of the relationship, which requires us to be aware of our position in the environment, whatever environment we might find ourselves in, because being mindfully aware can enhance daily life, kia mataara. Within this is the reminder that we have obligations to honour in each relationship realm: be respectful and you will benefit from a reciprocal relationship.

I think they teach us about kawa and tikanga. … and people's understanding of where they sit in our whakapapa isn't always clear that they're actually from a different realm so that's how they achieve the impossible. (Kaikōrero)

… what we're talking about is that Atua and Atua Māori are surrounding us and our relationship to them and our interaction with them can be every day, every second, you know it's not a solely kind of a … not invoking, but a reciprocal process around, we have obligations to meet in the honour of their particular realm and actually we can draw on that relationship, … (Kaikōrero)

What is also highlighted about Atua is the need to see their actions as providing us with guidance to understanding that for every decision there is a consequence and an outcome.

Ira Atua, I think that what it shows for me was every Atua …whatever decision they made there was a consequence or an outcome to the decision that they made. We have to think about that and that ties back to that ira Atua stuff that it is intrinsically within us, so are we being our best person all the time, are we being tika and pono all the time because we really should be trying our very hardest … We have to really think about the choices that we make and I guess for our tāne, some wahine maybe as well, they have to really think about that ira that is within them and the decision that they make to do what they do in that moment is going to have either a consequence, an outcome, it's going to cause a reaction or a response. (Kaikōrero)

Along with tikanga, consequences, reciprocity and obligations, there are other multiple aspects involved. And it's not just about Atua or their perceived realm, because there are realms within as well as other cultural constructs involved. These constructs include utu, koha, tuakana teina relationships and their roles in the social fabric of daily life; the functions and responsibilities that occur and need to be recognised, understood, and accommodated so that whānau members and kaimahi in organisations are safe and can be positioned to exercise their strengths.

… in terms of tuakana-teina relationships and where we are in the whānau, I always ask the kaimahi

that I work with about where they are in the whānau and then when I see their behaviour, I think I oh, we are going to get this behaviour and you know what I do, nine times out of ten, [you team them up with somebody that is a tuakana?] yeah, and I pull that out on them aye, I say, I know you are the pōtiki of your whānau but when you are at work pōtiki have strengths that you can actually do: this is your strength but at the moment you are not playing to your strength. (Kaikōrero)

What is shown in both pūrākau and the ways in which our Atua are represented to us in those pūrākau is the interconnections and interdependency that exist within Te Ao Māori. Atua don't exist in isolation from each other: nor do humans live in isolation from Atua. The concepts are strategic, multi-layered and need to be viewed in the wider context of human behaviour, because our origins are interconnected, and they teach us how to be connected and live well. Interconnectedness and interdependency promote that being Māori and being a proudly knowledgeable Māori is to thrive.

I think each of those, Papatūānuku you know, I think each of them has a purpose in telling their own stories for the gain of a positive life for our people. (Kaikōrero)

With Atua Māori I think that they are integral, I know they are integral because we only have what we have because of them, and that is the thing that I think causes a bit of grief in some people is that they think they can treat it separately (Kaikōrero)

With Atua I think no matter what season we are in they all still love one another and provide for the families. …, being more aware of what our surroundings and our environments are. I think that is what they are trying to teach us, being aware of what is around us, our environment, utilizing what is available for us in our environment. (Kaikōrero)

Disruption to the transmission of knowledge was also commented on throughout the research. The disturbance of the intellectual traditions and repositories of collective hapū knowledge has disrupted how the practice and application of that knowledge was retained and how it was passed on.

All the lessons needed are there in the stories. Everything is there, we have just got to learn it. Teach the lessons of their elders and they are not complicated. … I don't believe that our elders taught complicated, they taught simple practical ways so that you would retain it. A lot of it is that we've lost the pedagogy, if I can put it that way. The story of Poutini the Taniwha who steals Waitaiki, Tamāhua's wife and eventually turns her into pounamu; nice myth, but that's actually a geological map of NZ in waiata form. It's a methodology of teaching that we have lost the tools … to translate. (Kaikōrero)

Kaikōrero pointed out how our knowledge and intellectual traditions have been considered by many to be 'fairy tales'; however, it is within these stories and histories of our Atua and tūpuna that we gain understandings and guidance about what are and what are not acceptable behaviours and ways of being. Further to this, kaikōrero talked a lot about how Atua are often portrayed as being unbalanced, with an over-emphasis on acting violently, almost exclusively male, vengeful and selfish, when they are representations to us of successfully living within the vast boundaries and seasons of the natural world and being balanced about how we conduct ourselves within it. There are multiple variations on how humans violate te taiao and in the choices we make when we behave in a violent manner.

We are born of atua and that again, just as much as Tū has a role to play, Tūmatauenga with different names that Tūmatauenga held also taught the person the different levels of expression and what was appropriate and that if you were out of balance then what were the other atua that would be used. We can see that in the karakia, where Tū might be invoked but so is Tangaroa. Tangaroa brings in the element of water. Those are some of the things that I recall. A bit of a concern I have is that people are

using Tūmatauenga as a god of war and that is so limiting, and it actually really restricts, and it gives a very mis-shapen, out of context view … Conflict itself being the realm of Tu, it's not necessarily anything wrong with that, it's merely highlighting the issue and then being able to sit within the conflict from a taha Māori perspective, is that's where we find … the balance to enter into it, sit with it, find … within the imbalance an equitable resolution and then be able to exit out. (Kaikōrero)

The stories of our Atua provide us with centralizing messages about how to live peacefully and productively and in tune with our environment. A prevailing theme throughout was the abundance of intelligence contained in these stories, which provide insight into human behaviour and conflict resolution. Kaikōrero gave examples that demonstrate the intimate connections between atua and pūrākau and demonstrate creative and resourceful behaviour that authenticates the foundation of respectful and appropriate relationships between female, male and tamariki mokopuna. They also establish the process for addressing conflict and the way (if there is a violent consequence) it is managed.

They become examples; the first family, Rangi and Papa are the first couple, their love, their devotion to each other, and even though they were separated, how those children were loved. The first family and they have all the disputes and things that go on amongst siblings but first family a lot of characteristics in there. I don't see them as stories as conflicts, but you look at them a little bit more and say well, Tāwhirimātea, and so you are able to draw out those different things. (Kaikōrero)

I think it creates a space of ignorance and I see that predominantly when people invoke or try and have an understanding. Tūmatauenga is about anger, I said no it isn't. Tūmatauenga is about conflict resolution, and we see that in te marae ātea ā Tūmatauenga. Tū Te Puehu, where the dust is flicked up and that doesn't mean there's bloodshed; it actually means that there's conflict here – it is, I'm actually confronting you with this, what is your response. At no point is there a violent act and the depth of that will be Tūmatauenga, even its very name, when you break it down to the one who stands with absolute … fierce determination. We should actually role model that; when confronted with challenge … I will confront the challenge, I will see it for what it is, but I will show the courage to confront, there's no violence in that. (Kaikōrero)

I have to say that our main Atua are really challenging for me. We talk about Rongo, Maru, peaceful, cultivated foods. Through our stories, our tauheke used to always put in our kōrero only because of the violence that we had to come to terms with [Muru me te Raupatu, confiscations], because you want to get violent back, get angry back. I draw on those stories quite a bit, because they have strengths. … as you go through life you change, so how you draw shifts and changes. (Kaikōrero)

And just drawing on all of my knowledge that I've learnt with whānau Māori was that our babies were treasured taonga, they were gifts from our Atua, and so they were treated as such. And around that collective responsibility, not just in terms of caring for whānau but if there was harm done, then our tūpuna had to face the entire hapū or whānau and hapū. I was thinking about the impact of religion, and also those patriarchal ideas that were imposed on us, and how our behaviour today has been shaped by colonisation. We have taken on these norms and these behaviours about one; how we treat our women, two; how we discipline our babies. From what my understanding is, they are completely different views of the importance of our mokopuna. They're two different lenses, two different ideologies around that. If we're honest that's what we're seeing today, these tensions between these two world views, and our people are trying to navigate those spaces. (Kaikōrero)

Atua demonstrate how to decisively address conflict and endorse dissent as a healthy and legitimate

response to subjugation. They show how to flourish in our relationships and the environment, and they also caution us about what not to do. Atua advise us how to plan and strategise and they offer multiple layers of knowledge and truth, both obvious and hidden.

… because within me there's Tūkairiri. Tū, the one who becomes absolutely angered and rightfully so if I see injustice, that hurts …, what are you doing that for, I'm going to confront that, that's a part of Tū that we encourage. … that actually shows that there's a part of our Atua that we should be adopting as part of our virtues or characters, character development.(Kaikōrero)

Concern was voiced about the colonial male gendering of Atua and the removal, minimising and rendering invisible of Atua wahine from the pantheon of possibilities related to Atua. This has created imbalance about how violence toward wahine Māori was and, in some cases, continues to be viewed.

He aha te take ka ngaro atu ngā kōrero o ngā Atua wāhine? There's heaps of whakataukī that lead us. Ko tērā hoki (te whakataukī) e pa ana ki ngā Atua, tirohia ki ngā Atua wahine, tirohia hoki ki a Rongomarairoa. Kei reira ngā tikanga mā tātou e whai. Engari ko te mea e pā ana ki ngā Atua wahine kua ngaro. Mai i te taenga mai o tauiwi ka heke iho, ka heke iho, ka heke iho te mana o ngā wāhine. Mōhio ana tātou katoa ngā Atua tāne, mōhio whānuitia. Kei whea ngā kōrero mō Hineahuone? Mō Hinetītama, mō Hine-nui-te-pō, mō Hineraukatauri? (Kaikōrero)

The continued appropriation and distortion of our pūrākau not only constitutes another muru; along with other colonialising factors, it has enabled violence in our wider communities to occur and continue to occur.

If you don't have an appreciation around that [Hineahuone], how can you talk about ira tangata, how can you talk about whare tangata, how can you talk about whakapapa without knowing that story, and the role, the positive roles of men and women and procreation. (Kaikōrero)

Furthermore, who conveys the message makes a difference. Who really benefits from the continued denial, ignoring and undermining of Atua wahine? Kanohi ki te kanohi, mana ki te mana, wairua ki te wairua.

I've always enjoyed the stories from Rangi Matāmua or Rose Pere, those two mainly because it kind of seems more, I don't know, we aren't from the same iwi but it just seems more relevant and it makes sense, it's common sense stuff and I'm all about doing things that make sense and feel right. (Kaikōrero)

Ngā Kare-ā-roto and using Atua within mahi needs cultural experience and familiarity with Atua because it requires a planned strategic approach to dispel the illusion that violence in whānau Māori is normal – because it is not. The requirement is to re-normalise tikanga knowledge and apply accommodating reflection for human potential to grow.

I think they play a big part; they are like the weather. Sometimes it can be four seasons in one day and that's how some people feel, when they are feeling down and out, the different mood swings. I think Atua is a huge part. I suppose we all want to be like Rongo and just hold that peace in, but we are not. (Kaikōrero)

I think our traditional way is to remember our Atua, remember what is tapu, bring that all back, because all of that was outlawed, there was a law against all of this. All of the stuff that did keep us within the reigns of safety, within our Te Ao Māori were banished … Bring it back, all of it. I don't think that one practice is more important than the other, I think within Te Ao Māori they all work, collectively towards healing violence, towards stopping violence, I think within every little realm of our practice, our Māori practices from the past, our tikanga are what will heal us. (Kaikōrero)

I think part of our role is to rebalance, it's like the translation of old karakia, it doesn't make sense the way that they translate it from a literal perspective, the depth is not in its literal translation, the depth is in the act of what it's trying to portray. It is almost like a metaphor, but they miss out the metaphor and they go into the literal. (Kaikōrero)

Te Ao Māori has deep emotional expression embedded in it. It has been emphasised that full understanding of the emotional expression that we see in the notion of kare-ā-roto must come from a Māori whakapapa base that includes knowledge of pūrākau, and history alongside te reo and tikanga Māori. It is with these understandings that we can position the role and characteristics of Atua and be guided by the many emotions that are associated with each of our Atua.

I think also part of it is in the learning of Atua and their roles … it's not so much in terms of externalizing Atua but we are born of Atua and that again, just as much as Tū has a role to play, Tūmatauenga within different names that Tūmatauenga held, also taught the person the different levels of expression and what was appropriate and that if you were out of balance then what was the other Atua that would be used. We can see that in the karakia where Tū might be invoked but so is Tangaroa. Tangaroa pacifies and Tangaroa brings in the element of water. (Kaikōrero)

Kei roto i a tātou ngā Atua, ngā kare-ā-roto, ngā pūmanawa, ngā āhuatanga katoa o ia atua i roto i ā tātou te ira tangata. There are concepts, there are parts that we carry within ourselves that come from our atua. … I look at concepts like that within our Atua and mihi to our Atua, our taiao, and we don't do that enough. (Kaikōrero)

It was also noted that both the consequences and the reciprocal nature of the relationship require us to be aware of our position in the environment, which can enhance daily life.

… what we're talking about is that Atua and Atua Māori are surrounding us and our relationship to them and our interaction with them can be every day, every second, you know it's not a solely kind of a … not invoking, but a reciprocal process … we have obligations to meet in honour of their particular realm and actually we can draw on that relationship, … (Kaikōrero)

For those people working in the area of family violence prevention it is clear that drawing upon understandings of Atua in the mahi needs cultural experience and familiarity with Atua. This approach requires a planned strategic approach to provide tikanga knowledge and reflection for human potential to grow, because it is much more than merely dealing with a singular issue that is impacting our people.

I think our traditional way is to remember our Atua, remember what is tapu, bring that all back… All of the stuff that did keep us within the reigns of safety, within our te ao Māori were banished … Bring it back, all of it. I don't think that one practice is more important than the other, I think within te ao Māori they all work, collectively, towards healing violence, towards stopping violence, I think within every little realm of our practice, our Māori practices from the past, our tikanga are what will heal us. (Kaikōrero)

We have seen some mahi that deals with Atua in ways in which they are trying to help people, but my concern sometimes with that is if you go straight there, a lot of the people who are actually walking through the doors are not in that space in their own way of thinking: it can be a little too deep for them, but if you come back to the basic principles of tikanga, … , and rangatiratanga, kotahitanga, if you keep it at that level you can travel to the realms of Atua …. (Kaikōrero)

I think that there is a need to build positive stories about values and again, it is not necessarily a cultural thing in respect of Māori, although it can interface with our cultural ways of doing things, like pūrākau

and so on. I sort of see it more as how you control the myth making in our communities. It is creating the utopian myths, which we all buy into and strive towards. The utopian myth here would be about non-violence, about working together, about investment in our cultural ways. To the extent that we have cultural elements that can drive some of that stuff, I think it is important to revitalize those. (Kaikōrero)

The need to decolonise our understandings of the role and place of atua in Te Ao Māori was emphasised, focusing on the need to see that atua and tangata exist in particular realms. We need to be careful not to place meanings that are about humans onto atua, as has been done through colonial representations of our kōrero, pūrākau and descriptions of atua.

It depends on who told the story, if it was Pākehā who wrote it, who translated our kōrero around the separation of, it was written by them, but it depends on who told what story when you're reading around the atua. … So, and for me I don't see atua had any part to play in any violence because as __ just said that we're from the physical world and they were from a different realm so purely for that reason there's no violence, it's just about the processes of creation. So no, they have no part, no violence there, that's just my whakairo. (Kaikōrero)

Whakataukī/Whakatauākī

In building our knowledge about the place of mātauranga Māori in guiding family violence prevention and intervention, we asked participants to share whakataukī/whakatauākī that they use to inform their understandings of cultural approaches to dealing with the impact of family violence. Discussions demonstrated that there are multiple whakataukī to draw from, which offer inspiration, knowledge and wisdom that continue to resonate today (Alsop & Kupenga, 2016; Pihama et al., 2019; Elder, 2020; Pihama et al., 2021). They reinforce women as valuable human beings who always had a place of safety and sanctuary to return to; and that we learn from mistakes, which also encourages individuals and whānau to step up and excel just as our tūpuna intended us to.

Several whakatauakī/whakatauākī were discussed during the project in the whakawhiti kōrero. In this section we provide a discussion of each of the whakataukī/whakatauākī and follow that with the ways in which each kaikōrero used the knowledge contained within them as guidance in their lives. A number of Kaikōrero spoke about the place of whakataukī in imparting ancestral values and practices. For example, one participant stated:

I think some of the particular tikanga around pretty much the use of whakataukī, some of the values that we hold. The traditional customary values that we hold today come from those initial times being together as a whānau, around respecting each other's space, and acknowledging each other for who we are and what we were discussing, those sorts of things. Also, around the presence of those messages and important things of our tūpuna, some of the memories and some of the things they left in terms of being able to communicate and talk to each other. They would be constantly reminding us that they were very much a part of our discussions, so whatever we said to each other, those tikanga face to face, kanohi ki te kanohi, explaining each other, being honest with each other … In terms of the prevention of domestic violence or anything around violence, some of those practices, those tikanga. There would be, certainly waiata, traditional waiata that we would probably often be singing or ditties that would be recited, karakia, all those things that would encourage the wellbeing and prevention of violence. (Kaikōrero)

‘Aroha ki te tangata’
Show compassion to people

The concept of aroha is central to working with whānau. Aroha is often translated in terms such as love, empathy, compassion, caring. As noted previously, aroha expands beyond such understandings to one that recognises the sanctity of relationships. What this indicates is that ‘aroha ki te tangata’ requires us to not only show a deep affection, care, empathy and compassion to others but to turn towards, give respect to, and acknowledge who they are and their ancestral lines.

Those tikanga around, ‘aroha ki te tangata’... because we haven’t used and identified some of those tikanga around the way we treat each other, how we are going. If we do have an issue, or if we can’t deal with certain things there is a process within the whānau that you should be able to do those things. Having that respect and aroha for each other goes back to we are all responsible to looking after ourselves and much of that would be about taking responsibility for some of the behaviours and not turning away from those things because they do need to be addressed. (Kaikōrero)

‘Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri a muri ake nei’
For us and for all descendants to follow

This whakatauakī emphasises the significance of the place of tamariki (children), mokopuna (grandchildren) and future generations. Within Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) tamariki are taonga, or treasured (Pihama et al., 2019). This is exemplified in another whakatauakī, ‘Te taonga o taku ngākau’ which is translated as ‘The treasure of my soul/heart’ (Pihama et al., 2015). Each of these whakatauakī draw attention to the sacredness of children and the significance of their role in ensuring the continuance of our whakapapa, our genealogical lineage, into the future. Being reminded of the need for current generations to recognize that what we do in this generation will impact on future generations is essential.

If I look at the Ngāi Tahu whakataukī, ‘Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri a muri ake nei - For us and our children [descendants] after us” it would automatically lead you to believe that the whakataukī is about what’s good for us is also good for our children, it’s about them. (Kaikōrero)

‘He mokopuna he tūpuna, he tūpuna he mokopuna’
A grandchild is an ancestor, an ancestor is a grandchild

The connection between generations continues with this whakataukī, which emphasises that we are each mokopuna and tūpuna within our lifetimes. The translation for this whakatauakī is ‘The grandchild is a grandparent, the grandparent is a grandchild’. Again, the significance of considering future generations is accentuated in this saying and in the discussion. It also illuminates the belief that we are all grandchildren and we are all grandparents; we are all descendants and we are all ancestors, and that each of these things exist simultaneously within each person. Every person then is respected and seen in the light of these significant roles and places within whānau.

There are so many whakatauakī and all of it is around tamariki, around protecting our tamariki and the kōrero that Tū Tama carries, he mokopuna he tūpuna, he tūpuna he mokopuna, that idea that one day our kids are going to be tūpuna. When I put that into the context of my life and I look at my tūpuna, they are people that were able to conduct tikanga; they were people that understood these concepts quite well and invested the way they knew how into their tamariki to be able to carry knowledge. (Kaikōrero)

'He tangata, he atua'
People are divine beings

As in the previous example of the intergenerational positioning of us all as mokopuna and tūpuna, this whakataukī 'he tangata, he atua' highlights the relationship between tangata (humans) and atua (spiritual deities). There is a fundamental understanding that we descend from atua and therefore an inherent part of being human is that we are always connected to atua. This whakataukī also emphasises that in our epistemological understandings we have practices that connect us all to certain atua and that at birth this can be further consolidated through the dedication of children to a specific deity and emphasising the characteristics and qualities of that atua. Such practices show the ways in which our tūpuna would carefully consider the qualities that they sought to bring forward in a person, and highlight that within each of us is a sacred element that must be respected.

Ko tētahi atu kōrero, 'he tangata, he atua'… I roto i tērā whakataukī he ira atua, he ira tangata. Kei roto i a tātou ngā āhua o ngā atua katoa. Engari kei a tātou ngā tikanga me te mōhiotanga te whakatipu i ngā atua i roto i a tātou e hiahia ana kia whakaputa, kia whai. Anō nei ngā tikanga i roto i o tātou nei ao, ka whānau te tamaiti, hari ia ki te awa, whakatohia ki ngā atua e hiahia ana koe kia whakaputa i tō tamaiti. (Kaikōrero)

Another saying is 'he tangata, he atua'. In that ancestral saying there is reference to the essence of our atua (deities) and the essence of humans. Within each of us are the characteristics of our atua. We have a philosophy and understanding in the Māori world that within us are those essences of atua and we can nurture and grow those that we want to emerge in us, and follow those ways. We also have those practices such as when a child is born they are taken to the river so that we can perform a ritual ceremony over them and petition specific atua to bring forth certain qualities within that child.

'Nā tō rourou, nā tōku rourou, kia ora ai te iwi'
With your food basket and my food basket the people will thrive

Collective wellbeing sits at the core of Māori relationships. This whakatauakī is one that is used frequently to emphasise that is it through our collective ways of being that the wellbeing of all can be achieved. This whakataukī stresses the importance of sharing resources so that all people experience the benefit and wellbeing of such acts of communal sharing. Collective responsibilities, collective obligations and collective care of all are key expectations that are expressed in this ancestral saying.

'Nā tō rourou, nā tōku rourou', Nana always said that to us as we were growing up. It might be a whakataukī that is always used by everyone, it's on every thesis, it just is the notion of us as a people. It speaks to collectivism, it speaks to sharing, you have got to have a system that is equal and balanced, that isn't a have to, it is the beauty of being in a Māori collective. I think that as a philosophy is something that we might not do a lot, but that is something that we have got to start to reconsider. I think that is a good whakataukī within violent relationships, like what are you giving each other, rather than what are

you taking from each other, which is a deficit way of thinking about a violent relationship. What do you actually give each other, what do you share with one another? (Kaikōrero)

'Ko tōku reo ka tuku, ko tōku reo ka ora'
My language will be shared, my language will thrive

This whakataukī shows the links between reo (language) wellbeing and the wellbeing of people. The need for cultural and language revitalisation as a contributor to wider whānau wellbeing has been a strategy in the journey to return us to a state of mauri ora, of inherent wellbeing. The denial of te reo Māori (Māori language) as a part of the wider colonising, assimilatory agenda has been incredibly destructive for many Māori. This saying highlights that it is in speaking te reo Māori, in releasing it into the universe that it thrives. The discussion then connects that thriving to being proudly Māori and flourishing as a Māori person.

The whakataukī 'ko tōku reo ka tuku, ko tōku reo ka ora', that is thriving, speaking your reo is a form of thriving. Being proud to be Māori is a form of thriving so there are many answers to that. (Kaikōrero)

'Kaua e mate wheke, me mate ururoa'
Don't die like an octopus, die like a hammerhead shark

This whakatauakī speaks of the need to maintain the strength to continue to fight or struggle without giving up, or as the comment below notes, to "go down fighting". The comparison of the hammerhead shark to the octopus is an indication that our tūpuna saw the greater strength in the hammerhead shark, which also has octopus as one of its prey. This whakataukī is applicable to many contexts and in this project it refers to the need to battle on through the difficulties and to continue to do the work that is required to achieve whānau wellbeing, no matter how hard that may be.

I always think, kaua e mate wheke, me mate ururoa, go down fighting, I do think that. (Kaikōrero)

'Ko te ira wahine, ko te ira tāne ka haere ngātahi ai'
Māori women and Māori men move together

What is clear in this whakatauakī, as expressed by the person who shared it, is that in the Māori world both Māori women and Māori men hold status and are valued. This is an important understanding as it is a direct challenge to the ways in which the western hierarchy of gender is constructed, which places women as 'chattels' and 'inferior'. The wellbeing of whānau is dependent upon the wellbeing and the affirmation of all its members (Durie, 1994, 2001) as is stated in this whakataukī.

Anei anō tētahi whakataukī i ahu mai i tō tātou iwi, ko te ira wahine, ko te ira tane ka haere ngātahi ai. Nō reira i roto i tērā he mana tō te wahine, orite ki te mana o te tane. Ka tae mai ki ēnei rā, he aha tēnei mea te gender equity? Kei a mātou kē, me hoki anō ki o tātou nei tikanga. Nei rā anō. (Kaikōrero)

Another whakataukī that comes from our iwi is 'ko te ira wahine, ko te ira tane ka haere ngātahi ai'. Within that saying is the assertion that there is equal standing and status for women and men. Today we ask what is gender equity? But within the Māori world we already have our ways of understanding that within our values and practices.

‘Utua te kino ki te pai‘
Respond to evil/hate with goodness

This whakawhiti kōrero (discussion/interview) highlighted that Māori have many whakataukī that provide us with knowledge and guidance around how to treat each other and to respond to negative engagments. For example, ‘Utua te kino ki te pai’ means to ‘repay bad deeds with goodness’ and is discussed alongside another whakataukī ‘he aha te mea nui o te ao ko te tangata’ ‘the most important thing in the world is people’ and a modified version of that saying ‘he aha te mea nui ko te aroha‘ ‘what is most important: it is compassion’. All these whakataukī are centred on the notion that respectful and compassionate ways of relating with each other are central to Māori understandings.

He nui ngā whakataukī puta mai i taku hinengaro; ‘Utua te kino ki te pai’,‘he aha te mea nui o te ao ko te tangata‘, ‘he aha te mea nui ko te aroha‘. He nui noa atu ngā whakataukī e kī atu ana tātou te iwi Māori. Whaia ēnei tikanga hei painga mōu, mō tō whānau, mō tō hapū, mō tō iwi. (Kaikōrero)

There are many whakataukī that come to mind; ‘Utua te kino ki te pai‘, ‘he aha te mea nui o te ao ko te tangata‘, ,he aha te mea nui ko te aroha‘. There are many whakataukī that we say as Māori. Follow these values and practices for your wellbeing and for the wellbeing of your whānau, hapū and iwi.

‘He puāwai nō runga i te tikanga, he rau rengarenga au nō roto i te raukura, ko taku raukura ko taku manawanui ki te ao’
I am the fruit of righteous procedure
A herb of healing from the sacred emblem
My sacred emblem is an assurance to the world

This whakawai (Taranaki term for whakataukī) derives from Te Whiti o Rongomai, who was one of the leaders of the peaceful resistance movements at Parihaka in Taranaki, as was talked about as an example of how specific iwi (tribal) and rohe (regional) contexts are important when understanding our healing pathways.

Whakataukī have been used for centuries. They were there, they are meaningful, why try and reinvent, and there are new whakataukī that are reinvented daily; however, drawing on those concepts and those whakataukī and those kōrero of old, resonates with us in today’s world still. Just seeing the raukura, he tohu aroha, he tohu rangimaarie, he tohu mamae anoo hoki, there is a lot of kōrero that is wrapped around our raukura and the pūrākau and the history that comes with it. I think to draw on those types of kōrero and I have been drawing on a lot of our kōrero from Taranaki and whakataukī especially in my master’s because it’s iti te kupu, nui te kōrero, they are very few words, but they say so much, and they are mine. (Kaikōrero)

This whakawai reminds us of the need to align our behaviours with what is tika and in this context in line with the philosophies of Parihaka. The rau rengarenga is a herb that has strong medicinal properties. Ko taku raukura rā he manawanui ki te ao is described by Joeliee Seed-Pihama (personal communication) as follows “my raukura is my assurance to the world… that we are still here, that we continue the legacy, that we will uphold our tikanga - no matter what”.

Waiata/Mōteatea

In her sharing about her life Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan speaks of finding the 'healer within' through her creative elements. A key part of that is a focus on finding voice, and as she stated consistently throughout her life's work of singing herself into being. She wrote:

> *My voice knows what it needs to do. Stop it. I will explore all of my voices so that I can heal and I will find the song to release it all and I will sing my soul into being. In my father's teaching of the four voices of the whare, I found where I stored all of my voices. It was stored in the fourth door of the whare, the door of the Kuia and the Koroua. And I wept deeply, I opened my mouth and let the voice of tangi come. (Pihama et al., 2019, p. 94).*

In her Master's thesis, Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan (2018) emphasised the ability of our people to heal by drawing on the taonga, the gifts, of our tūpuna. It was waiata through which she had "sung my soul back into being" (Kohu-Morgan 2018, p.17). The power of waiata and mōteatea (ancestral compositions) to reconnect us as Māori and to bring forward healing is clearly articulated, as one Kaikōrero summarised: "If we [use] karakia and waiata and whakanoa processes, these are things that we can invoke at any time and regularly to address these things". Waiata are also considered essential in terms of supporting the intergenerational transmission of mātauranga Māori.

> *I think there were so many different links within te reo alone, within whakataukī, within waiata that talk to the connections across generations. I mean my thinking and stories that I've heard over more recent generations have been certainly that grandparents played, and that older generation played a central role in raising mokopuna; mokopuna, tūpuna, there's the link alone within the language that ties those two together. I think the practices around, again even in the reo in relation to the significance or the role that women play in our culture, you know again they're such simple terms like whenua, whānau, hapū, iwi, you know that to me, whare tangata, all these types of things that are so fundamental in the language point to the relevance that women alone held in within a Māori traditional societal structure. So those types of things, papakāinga, collective living, whakapapa, language, intergenerational transmission of knowledge. (Kaikōrero)*

> *I think it is around exposing whānau to karakia, learning waiata tawhito, learning pao, learning the stories that are relevant to their rohe, I think that is important kōrero to know, to share within your whānau, with your whakapapa, your uri so they have a greater understanding of who they actually are, and what they are connected to, they are not just here having their own worldly experience, actually you are a part of a bigger picture. (Kaikōrero)*

Waiata and mōteatea are considered to not only be knowledge forms but also to provide a means to document and to release pain and grief.

> *Looking at mōteatea as a reference point, man we write so many waiata tangi, our hearts are broken and we wrote prolifically about that, whether it was somebody's death, or through misfortune, or through war. That tells me that it has been with us for longer, and with all humanity I think, it is just an aspect of how we live. (Kaikōrero)*

> *I know for myself when I'm feeling down and I start waiata or raranga you go into another element like you go into this other realm. Like you feel good, like nothing around you can get in and I believe if everybody has that, yep that is the key. To go back to what our tūpuna already had there for us. (Kaikōrero)*

We have just used the last of our rongoā, it is mana enhancing, it is wai oranga, it is everything and you are sharing something in a way that people care and won't forget it, we can do that… Our mother was a waiata person, she wrote waiata, we can do that. We can create, we have got the storytellers. We create that huarahi, and you can do it in so many different fun ways. (Kaikōrero)

Kapa Haka

Kapa haka groups and events are held in high regard within Te Ao Māori. In the Te Kupenga Survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) Kapa Haka was identified as playing a significant role in supporting te reo Māori outside the home (p.11). Pihama et al., (2014) documented the voices of those engaged in Kapa Haka and the benefits of that engagement, including the impact on wellbeing and as a space and means by which to reconnect to whānau, hapū and communities. The role of Kapa Haka as a healing form was emphasised by Tamihere-Waititi (2023) as follows:

Haka soothes my soul and haka saves me and it did for me today so when we look at those kupu 'huakina mai te tatau o te ora, open up the doors to our oranga' and tēnei rā tonu I tēnei pō I want to talk to you about how haka is the doorway to our oranga…I also think that it is important that we put out there today in terms of tātou katoa, te huakina mai o te tatau o te ora mō te iwi Māori. How easy it is for us to forget, deny and misunderstand the power of healing that is in every day of our culture and that the healing sits right at our fingertips…. I did a social media survey … so I go right I want to know what haka means to you and I got nearly 200 hundred responses… and these are the three key things that came out – what haka means to me is about: It's about Expression; it's about Connection; and it's about Healing. So if you didn't know I trained as a clinical psychologist right and the funny thing about those three things is those are the three things that we try to achieve in therapy and it lives in kapa haka and it doesn't live in kapa haka because they told you it does, it lives in kapa haka because you know in your ngākau it does. (Tamihere-Waititi, 2023)

What is critical in this discussion from Tamihere-Waititi (2023) is that kapa haka is inherently healing for whānau that are engaged. The space of kapa haka was also identified as healing by kaikōrerro. Kapa haka is considered to be a way to help whānau to be connected and to see the place of waiata, haka, poi as a way to understand ourselves more fully through the narratives shared in those knowledge forms and practices.

Kapa haka, it's haka, it's getting into whānau-led innovative solutions. There is heaps out there: Māori studies, tikanga Māori, just going back to our marae, using our kaumātua, our kuia and what skills they have to pass on to us. Which could be karanga, kaikōrero, karakia, waiata, all that (Kaikōrero)

Kapa haka was also talked about as a space where multiple learnings happen for whānau around te reo Māori, identity, and affirmation of mana, which supports not only healing but understanding that these are cultural ways of being that uplift whānau.

Reo and even kapa haka because that is a big boost, kapa haka is a big boost because then you have the relationships and stuff that you can build from kapa haka, it just enhances your mana as well. Having those three things in place – identity, reo, kapa haka, which would come under education, I think that is huge. I think these are the cultural ways of dealing with whānau violence. (Kaikōrero)

A number of people spoke of the need to ensure that rangatahi (youth) have access to waiata that provide them with critical insights into who they are and the history and knowledge of their whānau, hapū and iwi.

Our rangatahi generation have got a different level of reo, a different understanding and different

perspective of pūrākau as well. What I do try and do with ___ is draw her towards our whakataukī, our whakawai kōrero o Taranaki, so that in her karanga, in her pao, in her waiata she is still drawing on that kōrero tūpuna. (Kaikōrero)

I love kapa haka, I am not an expert at all in kapa haka, I don't believe that I can sing to save myself, but I do love watching kapa haka and I love the connection that it provides, particularly for young people, for rangatahi to connect with their culture. (Kaikōrero)

Oriori

Oriori provide tamariki and mokopuna with knowledge needed to locate themselves in the world in line with their whakapapa, historical narratives and expected obligations and responsibilities. Philip-Barbara and Barbara (2022) discuss oriori as " a poetic and repetitive way to fix personal, whanau and cultural messages in the minds of the listeners" (p.85). Pere (1994) has highlighted for some time that learning begins in the womb where the baby hears the voices of their whānau and that oriori are shared from that moment. Oriori are a key cultural composition in the intergenerational transmission of knowledge (Ngata, 2009; Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Philip-Barbara & Barbara, 2022). This was also reflected upon by Kaikōrero, one of whom noted the "space in time where you are still growing within your mothers' womb, being fed all of the information which will eventually become experience for you". This serves as a reminder that the place of oriori remains central to the formation of our being as Māori and is something that we need to reclaim.

When you create an oriori, it explains over eight or nine verses the process of birth, from conception all the way through to birthing, it just blows your mind. If that is created for a child, and then that knowledge is shared at a whānau level because nobody sings a mōteatea by themselves, or an oriori, just the whole absolute cleverness of it. (Kaikōrero)

Research [shows] that was just the practice of the people that all those oriori were sung together. Often at night or putting a child to sleep. I think that intergenerational responsibility also may be built into the raising of a child. I know my nanny visited, she was always on the move, visiting all her daughters, all her sons, keeping an eye on the children. We all grew up thinking we were special mokopuna. Some of us knew we were her special mokopuna because we got extra things like we got to sleep with her when we went to stay, and she would feed us. She knew all the mokopuna and she worried about them. (Kaikōrero)

Oriori is considered to both act as a cultural mechanism to share whakapapa and histories associated with the child and also that it embedded knowledge of identity and a sense of belonging and knowing about who they are and the connections that ground them in this world.

Right from the beginning. Oriori, for a baby within the kōpū, the learning started from them about their identity, whakapapa kōrero. I guess the child, once they even enter te ao marama without knowing right at that moment I guess, or maybe we did know, they have a sense of belonging straight away so there wouldn't have been this loss of identity, this feeling of "who am I?". They have already been told from the kōpū who they are, where they come from. (Kaikōrero)

Maramataka

For the first time in research related to family violence prevention and intervention, we asked kaikōrero to share their views on the Maramataka and the ways in which they saw what is happening around us in relation to the phases of the Maramataka. Maramataka refers to the Māori lunar calendar that was

followed by our tūpuna. Colonisation saw the introduction of the Gregorian calendar as the dominant way of framing time (Roberts et al., 2006). The impact of the Gregorian calendar has been that Indigenous knowledge related to our ways of understanding time and seasons has been both denied and suppressed (Mātāmua, 2017). Over the past ten years there has been an increased awareness of Maramataka and the ways in which we as tangata (human beings) are influenced by what is happening in the various phases of the Māori calendar. This is not 'new' knowledge: Māori astronomers such as Rangi Mātāmua (2017) Heeni Hōtereni, Wiremu Tāwhai (2019), Rereata Makiha (2022, cited in Husband 2021), Pauline Harris (Harris et al., 2013), Roberts et al. (2006), Che Wilson (2022) and others have noted that the mātauranga that they share is sourced from the knowledge and understandings of their mātua tūpuna. With regard to the maramataka, Clarke and Harris (2017) note:

> *The lunar component of the maramataka recognises the different phases of the moon, with each moon phase named with multiple references to such things as agricultural, environmental and ecological information for each phase (p.130)*

Alongside the environmental and material/physical elements related to the maramataka both Hoterene (2020, 2021) and Mātāmua (2017) provide insights into the emotional and spiritual ways in which it influences our ways of being. What was particularly exciting was that all kaikōrero considered Maramataka to be important and an area of development that needed to be a part of healing processes. Even those kaikōrero who felt they held limited knowledge believed that this is an area that needs greater consideration, or stated that they did not 'know much' but that they did know that it is important for Māori wellbeing. The need to bring knowledge of maramataka into the lives of whānau was articulated throughout the research. As one kaikōrero noted; "Our lives should be governed by the moon and the stars and where everything lies in our universe and in te ao Māori; absolutely, maramataka is vital" (Kaikōrero). This sentiment was expressed by many kaikōrero as follows:

> *We need to be aligned in order to be one with the universe. That is how we are as a people. It determines everything: the seasons, our bodies, the water, the toto, everything is guided by, those are the teachings we should know. Matariki, the celebrations, all of those things that we should be living by. Those are the things we should be teaching to our whānau and our babies and the generations coming, that is the stuff they need to know and live by. (Kaikōrero)*

> *Maramataka is so much more than just the phases of the moon, or the phases of ngā whetū. What we see in the sky is what we see here, what we see in front of us, what we see internally, or maybe even what we don't see. It is like a whole wellbeing of ourselves and those environs, whether that is in taiao, whether that is in hauora, when in anything we do in our lives and the people we have in our life. What is happening in our taiao and how that taiao affects us, and how we affect that taiao. It is a reciprocal relationship with everything. It is just way more than maramataka. I think a lot more people are starting to see that; they are using it in their own lives, or their own ways in which they can connect, and how they can connect to how it relates to them. It is like that, it is more than just the material, or just the things we can see, it is also the things we cannot see. (Kaikōrero)*

Marama Phases

As we continue the reclamation of knowledge and practices associated with maramataka there has been a surge in the recognition and celebration of Matariki, the Māori New Year. In the past year this has culminated in the legislation of a national holiday (Te Pire mō te Hararei Tūmatanui o te Kāhui o Matariki:Te Kāhui o Matariki Public Holiday Bill) and a public ritual held in 2022 to launch and uplift the celebration. This development has been advocated for many years and was realised through the

consolidation of the movement by Māori astronomers and tikanga exponents, led by Rangi Mātāmua. The affirmation of Matariki and Pūanga as signs of the commencement of a new year period has had significant impact on the wider resurgence of mātauranga related to maramataka and has been key to transforming how we consider the Māori calendar and our activities.

Interestingly he talked about the maramataka, so the whānau in Auckland, they got all their kaimahi to have a session with Rereata Makiha and Riki Solomon. It really impacted a lot of those kaimahi around the timing and the cycle of the moon and where it is at, and all the energy levels. I remember watching Riki talking to Rereata and he just said to him, "When do you reckon is the most vulnerable time of the year", and Rereata said, "I think it will be August", and he said, "Oh, why do you think that". He said, "It is the cycle of the moon". When they looked at their ten years of research, every August there was a spike. Rereata said "That is because of the cycles of the moon. If you have vulnerable people, they are going to have more cycles of vulnerability during that month than the other months of the year". (Kaikōrero)

Alongside the specific tikanga and celebrations that relate to times of the year, such as Matariki or the seasons, was a further discussion about particular moon phases and their impact on how we feel and conduct ourselves. The connection to the full moon was raised by many. The full moon phase is that of Rākaunui, which according to Tāwhai (2019), for Te Whānau-ā-Apanui indicates the start of the lunar month. Rākaunui is also considered to be a high energy time. A number of kaikōrero spoke of the full moon period as raising potential tensions that may be attributed to high energy levels.

A colleague, Māori woman, is a nurse, she won't work coming up to the full moon. She plans her shifts around, so she says no, I stay home, inside and lock my doors, she is going to just do stuff at home, she is like, I ain't going out there. She definitely won't do a night shift. She is a Māori woman and she studies maramataka. (Kaikōrero)

When I was in a relationship with the children's father, I was always aware of the full moon. When there was a full moon, I knew not to be around him while he was drinking, around couples that were drinking because they would always fight, they would always argue, something would always happen so I would not be around people that were drinking on a full moon. It made people crazy… The moon actually rejuvenates me. I like to go to the sea, go to Tangaroa, ground myself there as well as stand and get that energy off, so for me it energizes me, the full moon, but for some it makes them real crazy. I am aware of the full moon, so we just had one not last night, the night before. I love the moon, I love marama, te marama i te pō. (Kaikōrero)

You know they always say with the full moon you know, and I hear it in the office I'm at, and I used to hear it at the station, "Oh it's full moon, the ISR we're going to get a lot of calls coming in because it's the crazy time". I'm sitting there and I'm going "What are you talking about?" and they said, "Oh it's the full moon" and I'm going "Yeah, what it is, is they're special you know, that's all it is, they're special people" … it's being able to awhi them when we see the signs. Being able to receive the calendar, when it is full moon then you put more awhi around that whānau because things could happen there. (Kaikōrero)

The interruption to the practice and application of tikanga through maramataka was noted as having significant consequences in terms of how we live our lives and thus the reclamation of the knowledge and associated practices is critical for us as we move forward. Being reflective and returning to some of the fundamentals associated with maramataka is seen to be a way of reclaiming the essence of who we are as Māori.

Because that's just another mātauranga, another one of our traditions, we don't practice it anymore and so because of it that there have been some consequences for us and our lifestyle, the way that we live each

day, our behaviour toward Papatūānuku to Rangi and the connections that we've lost and so that really has affected us as a people, whānau. I think once we reclaim those things, we will be living the essence of who we are. (Kaikōrero)

We know about Whiro (the first day of the lunar calendar) and the best time for Whiro is when the moon is at its fullest and [at] the time of Whiro, stay in bed and don't get up, and don't go anywhere. Some of us get up anyway and we have a Whiro every day. The maramataka really is something that everyone should understand and have more knowledge around, so they can better be guided by its environment. Whatever is happening in [the] environment is going to dictate and determine how your day is going to go, how things are going to be in your day. We owe it to the environment to put back what we get from it. Again, the maramataka is so important in considering violence. Violence is an action if you don't control the behaviour of being angry and of course sometimes we do have a bad day and a good day and that is all again determined by the maramataka and therefore it is important for us to consider maramataka in relation to violence. (Kaikōrero)

Seeing ourselves within the context of maramatanga was, for some, incredibly insightful in terms of feeling in pain but understanding that such pain or hurt does not mean that you are unable to move beyond it. In this example there is reflection in terms of how Hina (the moon) can be understood in its many phases where it is not always fully visible; however, that does not mean that it is no longer whole.

Pūrākau and the maramataka for me is something I want to learn. I know that Hina is whole even though we only see little pieces of her at certain times of the month, that she was always whole, and no one told me that. For me even though I was in all of these different phases of my journey, that I was always complete, because I always felt like there has always been a piece of me missing, there has always been something missing. If that is all I know about that, then that is what gives me a desire to keep going, knowing that you are whole, because I have never felt whole, I have always felt broken and good. Someone said to me, oh you were damaged, and it was such a painful revelation and I believed it, you are damaged, you are broken, and you need fixing. I was never damaged, there were just parts of me that were hidden from me, and now it is discovering that that is okay. (Kaikōrero)

With regard to healing and considering the place of maramataka in wellbeing there was discussion about the ways in which the inclusion of ritual is an important component. The relationship of maramataka and ritual was also discussed in regard to pakanga (warfare and violence), and it was noted that our tūpuna undertook specific karakia (incantations) and other forms of rituals to ensure the connectedness of our relationships to each other and the environment.

I've always been told there was a tikanga and a process for men who engaged in those sorts of pakanga, in violence. So, it was always ritual-centred, so there were karakia involved but there was also the intimate relationship and connection with the environment, and I think that really is that big part of prevention is connection and re-connection and environmental awareness. So, I guess a part of my mahi now is working with a whole bunch of maramataka people... I'm learning a lot from them actually, finding out that there were specific moons that I guess our tūpuna travelled on; specific moons in which they engaged in rituals and karakia, and even the stars had to sit right when there was a certain time of the year when pakanga occurred. It does go back to that concept, whaiwāhitanga, because there's a time for everything and a place for everything. I guess when you're in tune with that things become a lot safer for everyone if that makes sense. (Kaikōrero)

It's a way of life so it's how we could model our life around that to have the best influence in the same way when we apply good rituals in our life. They give us a better day; we live a better day as a consequence

so there's a number of different things but maramataka would be an underlying one around doing everything by the maramataka brings a better result. Our rituals also of how we get up in the morning and how we move about our day are also really important and the result would be that hopefully we would have minimal violence there as a consequence. (Kaikōrero)

It doesn't matter what your situation is, or where you live, or how you live, or who you live with, if you can use different facets of maramataka to whakapiki then that is what will get whānau through, especially when a lot of whānau don't have a lot of pūtea and they don't have access to different things. It is almost like a hope of something that they can use themselves and get through hard times and good times, I think that is what maramataka can be used for. (Kaikōrero)

Drawing upon the maramataka in the context of whānau healing was also seen as a way of rebalancing oneself and wider relationships. This kaikōrero spoke of the separation of their relationship and drawing on relationships with the taiao (environment) and the maramataka as part of their healing journey. They also spoke of the need to come to deeper understandings of maramataka with regard to relationships and interactions within and between whānau.

In my own journey leading up to this kaupapa I was going through a separation, and I'm also going through court, but I realized that there was a tikanga involved coming out of a separation and a big part of it is self-healing. So, it was a real interesting journey just having to relocate to Rotorua. My tikanga was to return back to the womb, which was mum. I went back to Rotorua and mum has really strict tikanga like no drinking, smoking or anything like that on the property and everyone goes to bed early. I found myself going for daily walks in the ngāhere, going to bed when the sun went down, waking up at 4am and waking up to the birds when the birds woke up. Started tuning into the environment a lot more and I became a lot more aware of myself internally and everything, which is important for me in terms of creativity especially when you are creating things to do with Maramataka Māori in the lead up to this exhibition that I was involved in. It was a big healing journey. (Kaikōrero)

I use maramataka personally for my own self-care and awareness of where I am at for who I am going to be working with and different hui and my own energy levels and because I am also only a couple of years into learning about it, I am not in a space to be able to teach it or anything but I have a maramataka planner on my office wall, I have got the apps, I have got the cards, so I can share that wisdom with whānau but what I do do is that tracking process. As a process of ritual engagement I create a journal with each whānau that I am working with, a handmade journal. A part of that is a real sacred space for people to be able to get this stuff within, it is, you know you share so much stuff with the agencies and the people when you are experiencing this stuff that you don't often have anything as sacred. Creating the journal, that process may take three or four weeks but that is where I create the whanaungatanga and that connection and really getting to know each other before I can work in the healing space. (Kaikōrero)

Maramataka and Impact on Mood

Many of the kaikōrero spoke about the need for reflection and that the Maramataka provides for a process and tikanga through which we can do that within the wider context of the taiao, our environment, and all that is a part of that. It was highlighted that there are particular times of the month during which we can feel particular energies or moods arising that we need to take note of, and the maramataka enables us to do that in a specific cultural way. The term piropiro refers to 'moods', which is something that was raised by a number of Kaikōrero in the context of becoming more informed about the impact of the lunar calendar, the maramataka.

It can be around moods and activities that we need to be doing at particular times of the maramataka. There are times for example when we have a lot of energy, we have so much energy that we can use to be productive in other ways. Sometimes you know if there's a bit of hara going on at that time our moods can be escalated so it polarizes our mood. Polarizes it so if we're a bit angry on a full moon it just throws you off the deep end; you'll be raging because it's already high energy time… as opposed to a time of Whiro, when it's very low energy, we don't have a lot of energy at that time so there were certain activities that we would do at super moon phases where we would enhance those things at that time. (Kaikōrero)

I can tell you it does get particularly chaotic here at times, often it's a reflective thing at the end of the day and I'm thinking, oh my god, what the heck was going on today, and then you look up to the moon. I think there are particular times when people are susceptible but also what I would say is that we're equally susceptible to that chaos as well. There are definite times when you can tell that there's a different mood within the organization and readiness for work and tiredness, which are external to the everyday environmental things. (Kaikōrero)

The need to be conscious of the maramataka and the ways in which our energies and emotions are impacted was seen to be a part of how we need to plan what is happening in our lives and the activities that we choose to do on those particular days. For example, several kaikōrero noted that making decisions aligned with working with whānau on certain days of the maramataka is something that they are more consciously considering and giving attention to. Those working with whānau noted clearly that the impact is not isolated to whānau that are dealing with violence; it is also important that kaimahi working in the area are cognisant of and reflective on it.

I think we have to remember that we may be working with whānau violence but we're also whānau ourselves and so the maramataka has as much of an influence on us as it does on them. So, our responses to what is going on can be compromised as well. I have noticed that there are particular times of the month when we will see more of a, I know there's probably different terms for it, but more of a wairangi type of presentation coming through the organization... right now it's more of a reflective thing and I think oh, okay, that's why we've had the day that we've had. We have issues that come up all the time but there are particular times in the year and there are particular times in the month. (Kaikōrero)

I suppose even understanding our maramataka and stuff like that has really unlocked a lot inside me in terms of how we feel, where our energy levels are at. Maybe you are feeling really charged up and ready to go and you don't know why. I am starting to really align that to maramataka stuff. Even when you are down and being aware of the Whiro space when it's the Whiro moon, that is when a lot of these negative things are happening. They have done some research in aligning suicides to phases of the moon and a lot of them are happening in those Whiro spaces, or full moon spaces when there is super high energies. I have heard of crimes and just crazy things happening on those times and not to blame that, but just being aware at those times energies are high, or energies are low and those are the times we have really got to be aware and monitoring our whānau and our kids and everything that is going on. (Kaikōrero)

I know all about the gardening and the fishing and all that but I also know that it's about your moods, I know that it's about your choices you make and I know that you go out there and if you choose that it's the right time to do something it will affect you more and how when you put all your taonga out there to be washed and when you wear a certain thing that you should not be wearing it during that time because it could enhance your mood and things like that. (Kaikōrero)

Maramataka also provides an understanding that when energy is low, taking time for self-care and being

intentional in what you do in those contexts is important. For some that meant taking time to rest and for others it meant being careful and purposeful.

You knew you had somebody too, when you were doing your weaving degree, your raranga degree that she wouldn't weave over a certain time as well aye, and she wouldn't harvest at a certain time. I think too with wahine, with ikura, that is a time to whakatā, and that is a time to be in that space of rongo, so we need to take on those concepts. Now, there is mahi going on, there are kids, we have got to get our kids to here and there, and there are other kaupapa happening, but we forget to look internally into ourselves and why this isn't working is because the phase of the maramataka is telling us we need to slow down, we need to whakatā. (Kaikōrero)

What I like about it is that you can plan, it doesn't mean that oh, it's one of those days, you are going to feel crap, oh we'll just lie in bed all day, you know like plan for those days so you are still living purposefully. So you know, don't go too far from home on those days, get what you can get done. (Kaikōrero)

Someone was talking about I just feel like I've got no energy and I just said, oh you've got a young baby and you are not sleeping… but then when I actually saw the maramataka that night it talked about the time of low energy, and I just thought this is exactly what she is talking about and it's been like that for two days, so now is the time to noho puku, sit with the whānau and not actually worry about the fact that you are not doing the dishes.(Kaikōrero)

Ngā Whanonga:
Guidance Around Behaviour

Aligning with the ways in which maramataka was discussed around levels of energy and the impact of the lunar calendar on our physical and emotional being, it was also noted that there is a clear way of thinking about behaviours. It was noted by many kaikōrero that a deeper knowledge and understanding of maramataka can provide us with guidance around the activities, events and interactions that we may engage on particular days. This includes having an awareness of what is happening around us at any given moment and adapting accordingly.

[What] I like about it is we are always pushing ourselves to go, go, go, to our detriment, to the point like, I can talk for myself, it is one of the reasons I got crook because I pushed myself beyond my own limits. Tying back into the calendar, what I like about it is okay, yeah, I am low on energy today, I can see that that is waning, it is okay. You don't push yourself to stress. Pushing yourself so far that it is not healthy, and then what happens is then it ties into what we are talking about when we are talking about whānau violence because you are stressed. You are stressed and the way that you respond to your world, whatever that is, won't turn out that good, and you become vulnerable as well.

There is kōrero there that, with our maramataka, that needs to be addressed, and we are only, again, hitting the surface here in Taranaki about it… There was a certain time to collect kaimoana, and there was a certain time when you didn't go to the water. Tangaroa is another realm, Tangaroa is another world. If you were going to collect moana around his spring, you know his spring is winter, why would you go there when they are spawning. It is similar when you go into the ngāhere, why would you go into the ngāhere when it is springtime, when they are nesting. That is a good time to actually go to the awa, which is when the kai is flowing around springtime, in the awa. We have rotations, but it is the same with manaakitanga - we have roles, and we have responsibilities, but we don't pay attention to the moon, or the stars, even to the sun. Those are the things I take for granted [that] I was taught by all of the people that brought us up, in te ao Māori, when I was a kid at kura. (Kaikōrero)

The increased affirmation of maramataka over the past twenty years has provided whānau with more opportunities to access knowledge and ways of being as a part of the wider revitalisation movement, all of which support our reconnection with all parts of our world and to each other.

I think it is interesting that maramataka was chosen; in its revitalisation we need to recognize that its strength is that it exists with everything else. The maramataka is a solution for our people. The maramataka has the power and has this mauri of connection to everything in our taiao and that is why the energies, we feel like this... I think sometimes what happens and things being revitalized that becomes the new thing, this is what violence is all about. The revitalisation of maramataka is hugely important because it finds the connection points of everything and so many kōrero connect back into it, realigning things with the maramataka … even universities are doing it now like the assessments they are going into, oh we are not doing assessments on these days because it is low energies, but on our high energies that is when we will do...I think te ao Māori is important in considering violence and the maramataka is a part of the ecosystem of te ao Māori. The power of te ao Māori is its connection to each other, not one exists without the other. Maramataka by itself isn't strong, the whenua by itself isn't strong, the wai by itself isn't strong, it is the connection that our te ao Māori ecosystem has with each other that makes it important in considering violence. (Kaikōrero)

…it's all about purposeful living, the Maramataka is all about purposeful living. You do things for a reason. Yes, your emotions are going to be different on each day, but you plan for that. So, it doesn't mean you just stop, "Oh no it's Mutuwhenua, like today it's Mutuwhenua, not a good day for communication, oh we're just not going to communicate". You communicate in a way that you want to communicate, you commit to the things that you want to do on that day. I wouldn't go into a hui with CYFs today, because I'm probably not going to be any good, I'm going to be mad, I'm going to be defensive. And I knew it, because yesterday I had a conversation with somebody, and it went wrong on the phone. And when I got off, I wish I'd handled that differently, I knew the time of the month that it was, and I thought you shouldn't have taken that call. You should have said, "can I ring you back on Monday". I do think that there's cultural ways definitely, that papakāinga living, Maramataka definitely. (Kaikōrero)

Māra Kai

Drawing upon Maramataka for wellbeing on all levels – physical, psychological, spiritual and emotional – was articulated consistently by a large number of kaikōrero. The place of Maramataka in planning and being in relation to the taiao was seen as both innovative and strategic. The connection to kai, to harvesting, and to self-care was strongly expressed.

I think our people were actually, they were quite innovative, well I guess traditionally they had to be because the harsh environment too that they were in, so always thinking ahead. They were planners, they were strategic planners because they had to be; they had to always think of ways to feed the hapū and whānau so they were very strategic in what they did. I think that we are strategic too in our thinking and those mātauranga, like I talked about before, the maramataka using the moon cycle to get things done and to plan our actions around what we've got to do, the best time to do things, the best time to have innovative wānanga. They're some things that we can use now if we're looking at innovation and change. (Kaikōrero)

You look at the phases of the moon, that is what we are referring to, maramataka. I like the phases of the moon; it gives a really good indication as to what is happening with people. Raakaunui is a full moon, so we know what the behaviours are that go on when it is a full moon. I think absolutely, maramataka should be looked at, we should be operating from a lunar calendar because it makes sense, our tūpuna

were clever. They knew when to harvest, when to plant, when the energy levels were high, when the energy levels were low, they knew what came with the different phases of the moon, they lived their lives accordingly. We don't have that knowledge, well, it's out there, but we don't practice that as much as we should. I think if there was more wānanga, more kōrero around that, that could certainly impact the space of family violence. (Kaikōrero)

It is another wider part of the environment that impacts on most things, so we know when to plant our kai, we know when to go and get our kai from the moana. They are all governed by the maramataka. (Kaikōrero)

Both the wider relationships to the taiao and our dependence on our environment for sustenance were noted throughout the discussions about maramataka. Being well, being tau (settled), is related to having access to healthy kai sources that nourish and sustain us.

Healthy tau is if we have healthy kai, if we have healthy wai, if we are in our whakaaro and in our physical sense we are healthy and we have good hauora … but if we are put into a situation where we might not have that great water, or we might not have that great kai, that in turn creates that whole anguish and that whole anger and financial burden because then we don't have that kai that was there before, or we don't have that whole self-sustaining living, and that leads to that kind of angle from being calm to not. In order to have a state of calm, all of the environs, or everything around you both externally and internally would have to have those levels of hauora, those levels of where you feel happy within the space that you are living, you feel happy within the space that you are eating, breathing, all those things that you would feel in a state of calm. You don't have to be rich or anything, you just have to be in a good healthy space for you and your whānau, even if it is just you yourself, being in a healthy space of calm, that is one of the most important things I guess. That is a hard thing to get to, especially for Māori, when there is a lot of pressure. (Kaikōrero)

… they both looked up at the sky and here I am sitting behind him looking up at the sky, and I am thinking what the hell are you looking at, there is nothing up there. Two days we go out. Two days we went out, came back, the boat was full. You got ten kids, you got ten lots of fish. All the way up the road for the whole tribe. That is what maramataka means to me. The right time of the season, the right time of the year, to put down the garden. Every garden I have put down, not knowing this in depth, put my garden down and I always have a good crop. (Kaikōrero)

Hononga ki te whenua me te taiao: Connecting to Land and Environment

Māori and Indigenous wellbeing has a direct connection to place, to the whenua (land) and to Taiao (our environment). The very nature of Indigenous relationality is about the connectedness to land. This is an important protective factor in the context of violence. Dudgeon and Bray (2019) state that "the restoration of kinship connections supports the holistic strengthening of women's wellbeing" (p 2). It is argued that violence against Indigenous women is directly connected to violence against and exploitation of Indigenous lands (Duran & Duran 1995; Dorries & Harjo, 2020).

In Aotearoa, work is emerging around places' ability to heal relationships and provide reconnection: this has been land-based healing and recovery specifically in relation to violence. There is emerging work

around land-based and place-based relationships that would also be useful. The narratives in these works highlight the interconnected relationships between the physical, embodied and spiritual factors that help to produce wellbeing, safety and confidence. Wilson et al. (2016) noted that:

> *The Māori concept of tūrangawaewae—a place to stand—gave the women strength and sense of their place in their whānau and their world. Not only do cultural connections positively impact on women having a sense of safety, it also is an important protective factor for health and well-being (Tomlins Jahnke, 2002; Wexler, 2009). Returning to tribal lands restored their spiritual well-being, particularly at times when they were feeling low or needed to feel safe. (Wilson et al., 2016, p. 715)*

Both the reconnection and affirmation of relationships to the wider taiao and to whenua directly were discussed as central to healing processes (Pere, 1994, refs). Taiao in its broadest sense refers to the environment and all that is encompassed within that, including for example maunga (mountains), awa (rivers), moana (sea), whenua (land), rangi (sky) and all the elements that are associated with our environment. Many of our whakatauākī (ancestral proverbial sayings) give us guidance through an understanding of our taiao and all that live within our taiao: manu (birds), kararehe (animals), ika (fish), and ngangara (reptiles), for example. This indicates how our interconnectedness to all things is core to our understandings of ourselves as Māori. Whenua relates to both land and to the placenta. Pere (1994) writes:

> *Whenua has several meanings, but I will deal mainly with its significance for the placenta and the land. The 'whenua' (placenta) is the lining of the womb during pregnancy, by which the foetus is nourished, and is expelled with the foetus and the umbilical cord following birth. Whenua is also the term used for land, the body of Papatūānuku, the provider of nourishment and sustenance to humanity. (p. 19)*

This section speaks to the beauty and power of reclaiming and restoring the complex and vibrant ways of our ancestors in relation to connections between whenua, taiao and tangata ora. Given the layers of violence that Indigenous peoples are exposed to, the complexity of intergenerational trauma and the theft of language, land and knowledge by colonialism, these are not easy things to do. A number of kaikōrero spoke about the memories in the land and of the spiritual connections through being on the land. For example, one kaikōrero noted; "I think that when we walk on the land, we feel what has happened to that land". Reflecting on the relationship with whenau and taiao brought forward a range of ways in which our tūpuna worked to ensure that connection.

> *… they [tūpuna] were working together to take care of the land, so it was able to provide the kai, in terms of growing gardens and the kai in our awa and our moana. Just saying how we need to heal our waterways and our whenua so it can provide that good kai for us. That is probably a big tikanga I can see that our people would have had. I suppose just having everyone involved at every level, I believe that our tūpuna involved our tamariki, our mokopuna and our rangatahi in everything that adults and matua and kaumaatua would be a part of too. Everything was communal, everything was for the betterment of everyone. (Kaikōrero)*

> *It goes back to preventing violence where we are utilising our environment, looking at what we are doing to our environment and what would benefit our environment if we looked after it. Certainly, looking at how that can traverse into us looking after ourselves. (Kaikōrero)*

Kaikōrero spoke of the need to create processes for reconnection to taiao, to whenua and to the wairua aspects of those connections that help us to nurture ourselves.

> *… all the research is saying, reconnection, whānau, whenua, wairua, it's all back on our whenua. And it's all from our whenua we can get that. (Kaikōrero)*

Just off the top of my head would be specific cultural ways is to look on a marae, those environments where a lot of the addressing of domestic violence is done in an office or a building way off the ground. Our whenua, our Papatūānuku has always been nurturing and nourishing our everyday activities and it shouldn't be any different. (Kaikōrero)

And it is all around connection. So, the orokohanga that I'm aware of all have spiritual origins, all that cosmological stuff, and the physical manifestation of that stuff either comes out physically, or it comes out into the land, all of the trees and the animals, they're all part of that, all stories, the messages. The other day someone was talking about they have a white owl as one of their kaitiaki, when they see it at certain times it means a positive experience, and if they see it at some other time it may not be a good sign. Those sorts of things I think the natural world provides us with information, knowledge and science around how to read the signs. (Kaikōrero)

I think we need to go back to some of our own cultural healing practices around maramataka, following the moon cycles and be more in line with our Matariki and you know, tohu o te rangi, ngaa tohu o te whenua. Be more connected to the land and the moana and our natural environment. I think they're all really good strategies that we've over time … and that we've lost the art to be still and be, and we've lost the art of observation, which is just to sit, be still, and just observe the things that are happening around our environment, but not just our environment but within ourselves and within our whānau. Because of that I think we're missing two key indicators that tell us when things are wrong: we don't recognize them anymore because we've become so busy in our lives that we're not able to see what's happening to our tamariki, our mokopuna, our whānau. So, I think going back to some of those practices, our traditional practices, I think that helps keep us well.

The reconnection to taiao was seen to be essential as a process for maintaining intergenerational connections. For the wellbeing of future generations, we must strengthen the ways in which we practice our tikanga with regard to the whenua and taiao.

Ensuring whānau wellbeing was really about relationships, the extent to which our own relationships between us were healthy, and the extent to which our relationships with our environment were healthy. (Kaikōrero)

But there's also a point where we've got to just put this down and go back to te taiao, go out and have our morning walk with just nothing. We just talk to te taiao. Those things are important, we meditate, karakia, be intentional with ourselves. (Kaikōrero)

Being on the whenua and amongst the taiao, being in mediation with our surroundings and being relational enables us to refocus our lives and to reinvigorate our responsibilities to all our relationships within our whānau and more broadly within the taiao. This requires enacting our tikanga in ways that enhance our relationships with all things.

The teaching environment was the taiao, and being able to connect, or have a mentorship, or knowing that environment, and your relationship to it, and your obligation to look after it. I believe that is engendered, a responsibility or a role you knew that you had a value or a place within that communal whānau system. (Kaikōrero)

With karakia, water, if you just tell the water your issues, or just put it out in the wind and let the tide take it away, I think those are powerful things that we can be teaching our boys and our men. I am sure around the motu that can look different in different spaces. Being a river people, being an ocean people

here in Whanganui we've got the tools right outside, so that is something I have found in myself is going outside to get back inside our self has been a huge, I suppose revelation in myself. I haven't always been the type who was brought up on the land and going hunting and all these types of things, but I know being outside and being grounded and reconnecting with our whenua is a powerful thing.

I was doing programs and I understand everything to do with violence, but it never worked for me, and I think particularly for Māori, it's more about re-connection to the whenua, to the rangi and that can only be done physically, emotionally and spiritually, and environment is a big one. That is why I love that kupu whaiwāhitanga because I know whenever we've sailed on the ocean, the mentality that you have in a concrete jungle, is a lot different to the mentality that you have out on the ocean. You soon realize that the ocean teaches you that you're nothing but a speckle in existence, and it's about knowing who you are and knowing your place. When you do that you come back with humility, and respect, and gratitude is the other thing, gratitude to be on the whenua, gratitude to have a whānau. (Kaikōrero)

The practices of reconnection to whenua and taiao vary between whānau. Also, what is considered to work for some does not necessarily work for others and it is important that each whānau or person considers what works for their wellbeing in terms of connecting to the whenua. This can also, at times, be determined by where you live. Many of our people do not live on their iwi whenua and therefore the connection to whenua and taiao is not always tied directly to their whakapapa line. Living overseas or on other tribal lands has meant that we have had, by necessity, to develop and frame relationships with other Indigenous places and spaces and to do so respectfully.

I have developed my own one; my model in practice reconnects me back to Papatūānuku, so I facilitate. I don't see myself as a healer, but I facilitate that reconnection to the relationship with the taiao so that people can find their own sources of healing, by tapping into the lessons that are out there. Nature has everything that we need to know, lots of tohu. When you are in direct contact [with] Papatūānuku and te taiao, you have a direct connection to your whakapapa whether you have been separated from them or not and wherever you go you can access that, so creating those relationships and taking people to those spaces, that is my way of working. (Kaikōrero)

It's a long journey for our people of actually learning what that tikanga is. The challenge is [that] actually a lot of the teaching now goes on not on our Marae, not in our papakāinga, but within institutions, and even institutions like corrections and the Māori focus units… We are not supported or empowered to rebuild our Marae, and our whānau connected with the Marae. I know whānau are not connected, but they're not going to be reconnected through university, or polytech, or prison, it's only through our Marae that it happens. And all the research is saying, reconnection, whānau, whenua, wairua, it's all back on our whenua. And it's all from our whenua we can get that. (Kaikōrero)

Papakāinga

It was emphasised that collective living in papakāinga was an important way in which we maintained accountability and care for whānau. Ensuring the connectedness between all parts of our communities within which we live is considered to be a key element in regard to having prevention, intervention and healing spaces (Hagen et al. 2021). Papakāinga enabled us to live within our whakapapa groupings and be responsible for and to each other in ways that supported broader wellbeing.

I guess my whakaaro, the immediate thing that comes to mind is actually even not the words practice and protocol, it seems to be more like a way of living. I guess the first images or things that come to mind would be around papakāinga, papakāinga living and all those things that that entails around whānau

and hapū structures, collective sharing and resourcing and co-working and in terms of tikanga, practices. To me I think it is really from whenua to whenua, so from birth to death in terms of whānau wellbeing, actually from before conception through to birth through to your final death in terms of processes that we are living and alive within marae and papakāinga… You may have been living in a particular papakāinga, but you knew your connection back to other iwi and so if there was a time to retreat or remove yourself or other things, draw on support then there were those much broader connections that could be drawn on. So, I think whakapapa and the many connections that existed were alive and well. (Kaikōrero)

So you see that old saying it takes a village to raise a whānau, what I became clear on is that we didn't have our village, where was our village? … We have to go back to things that actually work for the greatest good of everybody, if you were going to do this. I always just think start from my own whānau. Certainly, like the recreation of our village … that is the strengthening, we gotta go back to whānau and really try and strengthen and educate; I'm using all those words but to really whakamana whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Papakāinga, as a collective context of whānau, hapū or iwi living, is considered to have been a practice that supported both wellbeing and collective responsibility and obligations.

I think at a really practical level we lived closer together, we lived in close proximity to each other in whakapapa whānau groups so the accountabilities I think were right in your face… For me, that whole thing of living in close proximity and looking back home at some of the old house sites and seeing just the proximity of houses, looking at some of the old pā sites and seeing the proximity of some of the old whare placements within a papakāinga, you couldn't have a fight and not everybody know about it, because it just didn't look like it would have been possible... I think at the heart of it was relationships which were entirely contextual. (Kaikōrero)

The other things that were present would have been an intergenerational approach to raising mokopuna. I think there were so many different links within te reo alone, within whakataukī within waiata that talk to the connections across generations. I mean my thinking and stories that I've heard over more recent generations have been certainly that grandparents played, and that older generation played a central role in raising mokopuna, mokopuna, tūpuna, there's the link alone within the language that ties those two together. I think the practices around, again even in the reo in relation to the significance or the role that women play in our culture, you know again they're such simple terms like whenua, whānau, hapū, iwi, you know that to me, whare tangata all these types of things that are so fundamental in the language point to the relevance that women alone held in within a Māori traditional societal structure. So those types of things, papakaainga, collective living, whakapapa, language, intergenerational transmission of knowledge. (Kaikōrero)

We do want peaceful homes, we want to see our generations living together, we want to see our people thriving in our own communities on our whenua. We want to see our people determining their own futures and how that will relate to the rest of the world. People quite often think oh, you want to just go back in time, go back to your grass huts kind of thing; no, no, no, it is about, we determine that and then when we want to engage with these other peoples, these other places, then we will determine that based on what is important to us and our values and tikanga. (Kaikōrero)

Whakapakari Tinana

Within Māori models of wellbeing there is a clear articulation of the need for balance within all parts of who we are and our lives. This includes a need to pay attention to and to work on our physical being. Reinfelds et al. (2007) highlighted that within healing processes there are ways that our tūpuna ensured physical wellbeing through daily activities such as planting, growing and harvesting kai. It was noted that it was not only the kai itself that supported our wellbeing but all of the cultural, spiritual, social and physical activities associated with kai. Whakapakari tinana refers to the strengthening of our bodies as a whole. It is also one component that relates to wider notions of oranga whānau, whānau wellbeing.

> *Oranga tinana, oranga whānau, and the treatments and the healing, those things. We are starting to use this as a model of understanding our wellbeing in our roopū here at my mahi, pouhere taonga, in our team, and also the wider organisation. I talked about the examples of maimoa in terms of the very physical things, oranga, tinana, korikori tinana, ritenga kai, the nutrition and the rongoā, which obviously goes straight to the tinana. (Kaikōrero)*

Kaikōrero spoke to a range of ways in which our physical wellbeing is impacted by violence and the stresses that are related to trauma, both historical and intergenerational. One area of diet was noted as something that we rarely engage with when considering violence. The ways in which diet, in particular certain sugars and associated foods, affect our moods and our inter-relationships were highlighted. One kaikōrero spoke in some depth about how an allergy to dairy impacted his moods and he felt it was important on his healing journey to become more informed about the impact of kai and to engage more in thinking about kai for healing.

> *There was a lot of re-connection happening in that whole process. I found myself in that period of six months I was in Te Teko, I was at the marae, there was a lot of re-grounding activities happening. I was also learning a lot about my Ngāti Whakaue side in Rotorua, so I was aware that I had a connection there. Mum is really big on self-healing, she believes people should go to others for healing, but the best form of healing is through yourself, through your own journey. I was doing programs and I understand everything to do with violence, but it never worked for me, and I think particularly for Māori, it's more about re-connection to the whenua, to the rangi and that can only be done physically, emotionally and spiritually, and environment is a big one. I put it down to two major things. The first one is health, that's the first one I needed to address, so I had to be mindful of what I was putting in my body because every time I put [in] anything that my body was allergic to it had whole whakapapa reactions of negative things, kind of negative patterns occurring. As I told you last night, I spoke about my allergy to dairy, which I always ate since I was a kid. I never understood why I was so violent as a kid, but I was quite an angry child, but once I weaned myself off dairy at the age of 25 a lot of that anger had left. So, there's the food allergy, that led to the alcohol syndrome, and then there's the environmental factor, and then the other one is whānau. Whānau is a big one, re-connecting with whānau, and healing trauma is the other one … it's almost like you can heal through the environment because you basically become what you see and what you know. So, to me that really is the pathway to healing trauma, but it goes deeper than that I know - it's a lot deeper. (Kaikōrero)*

Creating opportunities for physical release is seen as important for the release of anger and stress and to shift energy. In this frame, Kaikōrero also spoke about the ways in which feelings and experiences are embodied and the need to support people to move their bodies and to connect physically in ways that encourage them to think more deeply about their relationships.

> *You know the rangatahi, they're so angry all the time. It's because they don't know how to release that anger, that mamae that they do have, so it is about you know, get them into kapa haka and they go oh,*

what's that gonna do. I said that haka yeah and the sports. Āe. (Kaikōrero)

At the moment it's like I said with my moko, he's beautiful, but he's got to have an outlet so I've lined him up with that kickboxing gym, he only goes there into the classes twice a week but you know what, it's a good thing because energy out, whatever it is that's in there, is better out than in. Some other boys play sports, I don't know, just got to keep them busy. (Kaikōrero)

I suppose there is different levels of embodiment … I remember starting a research process and they had to embody or answer the question, 'Who am I'? The first time they did it, it was very literal. They were embodying things like playing sports and it was very easy to see and to read but as the discussions got a little bit deeper or they went to specific physical sites and engaged with the awa or the ngāhere they become a lot less literal and a lot more personal. You can see that in the way that they embody those experiences. (Kaikōrero)

There were many references to how engaging in tikanga such as hākinakina Māori and Kapa haka provide a way in which we can reconnect to tikanga across all realms: social, cultural, emotional, spiritual and physical.

I have turned back to a tikanga called aka, which comes from a form of Māori martial arts. It has a background in that space, but it is more of a technique to teach us how to breathe properly. I think going right back to the simple thing of breathing has really helped me in my own healing and then releasing whatever that looks like through movement, through exercise. (Kaikōrero)

Where kapa haka was discussed earlier it was important to see that kapa haka has a broad range of benefits. Kapa haka was discussed as being a part of keeping physical momentum happening for our people. Research related to the benefits of kapa haka noted that the physical wellbeing component is an important aspect of being involved in kapa haka groups and events, alongside the cultural and spiritual healing (Pihama et al., 2014, Tamihere-Waititi, 2023).

It is sort of like, how do we keep that momentum going to keep them involved. Like having hākinakina, whether it's hākinakina or it's kapa haka or whatever it looks like, bringing them into another whānau that is about driving mana motuhaketanga, manaakitanga, kotahitanga. Once they start to be a part of those environments the change starts to happen and that is what I think needs to happen more. (Kaikōrero)

I love kapa haka, I am not an expert at all in kapa haka, I don't believe that I can sing to save myself, but I do love watching kapa haka and I love the connection that it provides, particularly for young people, for rangatahi to connect with their culture. I do think there is space to think about how we can express ourselves creatively in regard to our culture. (Kaikōrero)

Rongoā

Healing was emphasised by many kaikōrero as needing to be on every level for whānau, including both karakia and rongoā to support healing on a physical and spiritual level.

My nana was really big on rongoā to heal us and she would use what was naturally in our gardens to heal our sore puku, to heal our heads. In our day there wasn't baby pamol when we were young, so nana would often massage our heads if we were sore in our head, she would massage our backs if we were sore. She always attributed that to something that might have come upon us that needed healing by touch, by aroha, by karakia, those were some of the personal practices… I know pre-colonisation, karakia wānanga

in particular to learn all the different dimensions, aroha and whanaungatanga were key to hauora and any ora. (Kaikōrero)

The use of cultural medicines and practices for physical wellbeing are considered to be important for those who are on healing journeys and are directly connected as we are shown in Māori healing models such as Te Whare Tapa Wha (Durie 1997). Within such models there is an emphasis on relationships and balance. As Durie (1997) notes,

Māori health perspectives emphasised the importance of four interacting dimensions, taha wairua (spiritual health), taha hinengaro (emotional/mental health), taha tinana (physical health) and taha whānau (family health). Māori elders advocated that all four should be taken into account by health professionals and that health programmes should reflect a holistic attitude to health care, a focus away from an exclusively clinical orientation to a more integrated approach. (p. 23)

Many spoke of mirimiri and wairākau as central to their practices of both physical and spiritual revitalization. This was noted as coming "from a place of holistic thinking it could encapsulate so many things that were seen or even unseen" (Kaikōrero).

The first word that came to me, and I wrote down was tohunga. So, in my understanding of my years of work with Rose, more so, in terms of helping me understand that world of when we had, every whānau had their tohunga, every hapū, iwi had their tohunga. They were responsible for a whole range of ora advice, oranga advice for the whānau, the hapū, the iwi, whatever it was, … related … not only to health and one's wellbeing but certainly yeah, the social, political, cultural wellbeing of their whānau. The role of tohunga, so connected with that has to be then our traditional rongoā. Right up there alongside the rongoā was also the karakia, incantations, and also the wairua, those who were matakite, the use [of] matakite and various things like that. (Kaikōrero)

It is important to see rongoā in the widest sense of the word, in that kaikōrero considered rongoā, as healing systems, to come in many shapes. Tikanga more broadly is considered rongoā, as summarised by one kaikōrero who stated that "within every little realm of our practice, our Māori practices from the past, our tikanga are what will heal us" (Kaikōrero). Te reo, whakataukī, waiata, reclaiming moko and many other tikanga were all considered to be rongoā for those on healing journeys.

It was forced on us, it wasn't a way of living. Once again there are plenty of stories out there, our own pūrākau, our own waiata tell us that … It is the sharing of those stories, those pūrākau, our tūpuna were clever people … Even with the reclaiming of pūkauae, pūkanohi those things are required to create even further change, and it is a real indigenous way of doing that, making a statement. Those are the things that need to be happening, that is what we need to be having wānanga about. Within that is rongoā, there is healing, there is wellbeing. (Kaikōrero)

One of the things I've talked about is having a clinic that's culturally based and has Māori, and in my mind there's the opening and closing with karakia, having kaumātua present, having space that symbolizes the marae, having staff that speak Māori all the time… and if they bring the whole whānau, they bring the whole whānau. Funding would be appropriate for the Māori way in which we do things. Because, you know, we've got 50 minutes to see a client. I don't see any client in 50 minutes. Sometimes an hour, sometimes less than an hour, sometimes an hour and a half. But I will work to the space, rather than the clock. That's normal and there's allowance for that and … we would have traditional Māori rongoā processes in place and everything will work alongside. (Kaikōrero)

Karakia

The place of karakia in bringing spaces, places, environments and people to wellbeing has been widely expressed within te ao Māori. It was also widely discussed by those engaged in this project as a means to clear, heal, bring balance and restore relationships for Māori. Where tikanga refers to doing things in correct ways, the place of karakia has been highlighted as critical to a wide range of protocols including the assertion and affirmation of tikanga and for the restoration of tikanga when breaches or transgressions have occurred.

With regard to the impact of violence and other negative social hindrances on whānau Māori, karakia emerges as a natural starting point to help to normalise cultural pathways to support and strengthen whānau wellbeing, and prevent violence from occurring in whānau. However, to achieve recovery, karakia requires the active support of multiple cultural values and tikanga pathways to normalise and elevate its value within te ao Māori. This will encourage the application of the values intrinsic to the culture that can help to dispel the illusion that violence within whānau Māori is normal.

We had certain tohunga who [could] operate in wairua realms to extract from people … who were enacting violence, and I think we have lost a lot of that mātauranga. Not to say it doesn't exist and that we can't still reclaim those things, but it is not as strong as it was before and so when I think of how do we prevent and intervene in whānau violence, I think in 2020, I would say this is why I have been surrounded by our tauheke. This is really important because there comes a certain wisdom with some of them who grew up under these kōrero. They have the wisdom to be able to deal in these spaces, but I think karakia is such an underrated thing. Within our karakia there is so much mātauranga and there is so much power of healing in those spaces. Are there specific cultural ways of dealing with it? I would say a lot of it is to be dealt with in a wairua space but the re-education of what that actually is, and it wasn't something that was afforded to everybody, there were certain people chosen for those roles. (Kaikōrero)

The karakia that is required all of the time, and different types of things that go with those karakia like tātai whakapapa that you use to not only connect people but to heal people, and practices like takahi whare, and takahi urupā when people have been affected by wairua things. Oranga hinengaro, so the mahi pūaroha, the compassion that needs to be acts of compassion, mahi piripono, the acts of loyalty to one another, to make sure that they don't just close ranks on those who have been perpetrated upon but those who should be given the loyalty to sort out the issues where perpetrators have split families in communities. Mahi whakamarumaru, making sure that places are safe for our women and children and kaumātua. Oranga whatumanawa where you have ngā whanonga kē, ngā waiaro kē, so attitudes and the practices that we have to make sure that everything is on a balance. Oranga taiao would include the mahere whakamua and karakia for the mauri. The reason why … is because it is an easy way to show that things should be in a balance. If it starts wobbling, then you can help identify certain areas that can help bring it back into balance. (Kaikōrero)

What I remember, our grandfather was definitely of the era, still in karakia tawhito, pao tawhito, waiata tawhito, and strong with whakapapa as well. Those are the stories that I heard why a lot of people went to him for those things, or what he contributed as an orator. His first language was te reo Māori, and I always found it fascinating that in one generation we changed over from karakia to Hāhi Katorika. I remember that because I asked my mother, I had a project at School, and the question was, what religion are you? Mum said, Catholic of course, so I knew we were Catholic, and then what were your grandparents? What religion was Nanny and Koro, and she didn't answer me actually, that was her way of probably saying

that she couldn't say karakia tawhito because what would that mean back in 1960 to a Primary School teacher. What I now know is that they would have practiced that. And Nanny coming from Tainui, they were quite strong, she was really quite strong in her rongoā Māori, and karakia tawhito. Others would call them superstitious, but it is not that for us. But they practiced [karakia] and they were very aware of positive and negative energies and always if you got sick, they would want to know, "Where have you been, and what have you been doing?" Two examples of this is when mum got sick: our mother got really, really sick and the doctor couldn't figure out what was wrong with her. Our Nanny … was still alive and she rang Uncle …, her big brother …, and they came down straight away. In the middle of the night they took her somewhere, and the next morning she was sitting up at the table. I understand that they took her to Te Rere o Kapuni. The other situation was … one time he was picking watercress, when you went to clean the watercress, all of these bugs came out of the watercress, and you said, where did you get this from? He said he got it from Onaeroa, and you said, "Oh no, you can't do that". (Kaikōrero)

Trying to normalise karakia, normalise pathways towards learning te reo, exposing whānau to rongoā Māori, exposing whānau to toi Māori, I think those are some of the things that we can do to try and disrupt family violence… I think it is around exposing whānau to karakia, learning waiata tawhito, learning pao, learning the stories that are relevant to their rohe, I think that is important kōrero to know, to share within your whānau, with your whakapapa, your uri so they have a greater understanding of who they actually are, and what they are connected to, they are not just here having their own worldly experience, actually you are a part of a bigger picture. (Kaikōrero)

Various ways of preventing, understanding and addressing violence within whānau were suggested, such as accessing knowledge holders in different spheres, including rongoā, to encourage balance and correct behaviour, and ensure that the sharing of Atua pūrākau not only conveyed messages about correct behaviour but also elevated it to a desirable level to work towards. Further to this, Wenn (2007) encouragingly states that tikanga "reflects the knowledge and the wisdom of our tīpuna, fosters wellbeing and has the capacity to strengthen and calm situations, whether spiritual or physical in origin" (p.156).

What is known and abundantly obvious is that our communities are able to invoke processes, using karakia as a site of recovery, redevelopment and healing, which do not require input from western 'experts'. Rather, what is needed is a reinstigation of our own processes of coming to see karakia as something that we can all engage in and with, including composing karakia that are specific to our needs as whānau.

Yes, I do think there are specific cultural ways of dealing with whānau violence. And I also believe in karakia, I definitely believe in karakia, and its intention as well. All the whānau that I work with karakia, it isn't like the gigantic 500-page karakia, it's all about your intent. The more experience you get with it, the longer it's going to get [the karakia] because you enjoy that, and you understand that. Simple words can be your karakia, and I do believe in that. I believe in it because I've seen it too, I've seen it help. (Kaikōrero)

I'm sure that there are those that have knowledge in terms of karakia, in terms of rongoā that could help in terms of healing and wellbeing. Central to preventing whānau violence…. I know that some of the children's programs and some of the activities that happen with tamariki here in the ways in which to enter into a conversation around appropriate behaviour and actually violence is shared through stories of atua because I guess it elevates it, but it also brings it very external. I think the role atua themselves play is around a regular prevention. If we use karakia and waiata and whakanoa processes, these are things that we can invoke at any time and actually, regularly to address these things. (Kaikōrero)

I suppose just having everyone involved at every level, I believe that our tūpuna involved our tamariki, our mokopuna and our rangatahi in everything that adults and matua and kaumātua would be a part of too. Everything was communal I suppose, everything was for the betterment of everyone. Specific tikanga, the wairua side we've talked about earlier was probably a huge thing, so karakia, ruruku and stuff like that, waiata, I think that is where a lot of the answers are to find our healing. (Kaikōrero)

Kaikōrero reiterated the role of karakia as a rebalancing, connecting mechanism that supports the centring of self in a dedicated location of space, time and place where individuals and groups can collectively focus, using karakia as the conduit to receive and commune together as a mutually interdependent community who acknowledge and can take their respectful place within ritual karakia.

A practitioner from Tūhoe talked about when there was mahi that went within whānau, that it didn't just require a karakia to be performed, everything was taken into consideration. They drew on tohunga that had specialized skills within this area, within that area to all converge and to undertake [a] ceremony in relation to what they specialized in. If we think about that in relation to what this could look like in relation to the role of Atua within family violence then all things should be considered, all spaces should be considered to be able to whakatika what has happened within whānau. (Kaikōrero)

They say life is a balance, if we have everything in the right way, in the right form; so we must have kai, shelter, you know, warmth, love; some key components to the overall wellbeing of individuals within a whānau. Kōrerorero, so we have those things, music waiata ā ringa all those sorts of things that give us a clear rounded perspective of a life. Karakia isn't always a prayer; it's a state we enter into. I think we are already on the right path, and whānau that live by those concepts are really good to bring into forums where they may be able to mentor other whānau. (Kaikōrero)

Reflection and planning were routine, and no event of significance was undertaken without appropriate karakia, careful consideration, or planning, which embraced safety aspects as well.

I've always been told there was a tikanga and a process for men who engaged in those sorts of pakanga, in[volving] violence. So, it was always ritual centred, so there were karakia involved but there was also the intimate relationship and connection with the environment, and I think that really is that big part of prevention is connection and re-connection and environmental awareness. So, I guess a part of my mahi now is working with a whole bunch of maramataka people and …. I'm learning a lot from them actually, finding out that there were specific moons that I guess our tūpuna travelled on specific moons in which they engaged in rituals and karakia, and even the stars had to sit right when there was a certain time of the year when pakanga occurred. It does go back to that concept, whaiwāhitanga because there's a time for everything and a place for everything. I guess when you're in tune with that, things become a lot safer for everyone. (Kaikōrero)

One of the things my mother used to do, when we were travelling over from Tauranga because I lived over there for a while, as soon as we got to Mokau she would see that maunga and start doing her karakia, because that's just who she was. It was lovely and all of those memories evoked all those special memories … I was bought up in all of that. (Kaikōrero)

I think specifically for Aotea waka, the kōrero of Aotea waka is Aotea utanga nui mō te kai, mō te kōrero. Within that it speaks about the power that Aotea waka carried in its karakia. For us as whakapapa from that waka, karakia is a form of healing because it is in our narrative because we still hold on to those karakia. It may be different for another iwi, it may be different for another waka, but from Aotea waka it is clear that the power of karakia within its uri is and has always been a source of healing for our

people. … they are overrated words today, aroha and manaakitanga, but if you break the words down, aro ki te hā o te tangata kia akiaki te mana o te tangata. Those ideas of operating within preventing and intervening in whānau violence was what it was all about. (Kaikōrero)

Karakia and rongoā are intimately connected and there was not a 'one size fits all'; nor was it an 'either-or option'; it was a combination of approaches where each situation was seen as unique and treated according to its distinguishing features.

The role of tohunga, connected with that has to be our traditional rongoā, right up there alongside rongoā [were] also the karakia, incantations, and also the wairua, those who were matakite, and various things like that. So that sometimes, and I understand that it was depending on what the māuiui was or whatever that the rongoā for making one well, could be made up of a whole range of things. (Kaikōrero)

Mō te taha reo, karakia, waiata, ka hui tahi, ka kōrero tahi. Mā te kōrero ka mārama, mā te kōrero ka rongo he aha ngā nawe, what are the difficulties that are happening. It was always already acknowledged before it even got to that point of any violence happening. Kāore au mō te whakahē, kāore ā tātou tūpuna i te whawhai, i te aha rānei engari i mua rawa i tērā, ka hui, ia te ata ka karakia. All their whakapono and their aronga was to te orangatonutanga o te tangata. Mō te taha reo, waiata, pūrākau, koinei tāku. (Kaikōrero)

Self-managing solutions based on practical applications and a structured, readily accessible belief system not only added value but were also effective across a range of contexts, including that ability for whānau to be self-determining.

I think also another way is walking that talk, practicing those tikanga, which enables that mātauranga to grow. I relate back to the pepeha when people talk about pepeha, I am like, ka pai, so have you ever been to Taranaki, if they say Taranaki is their maunga, kāore, no. For me it is having that connection, I know that this is my marae, have you ever been there? Kāore. I need you to go there, over the next month, make your way back to your marae, connect with your marae physically, then it becomes more than just a kupu. That mātauranga, to be able to touch your whare, touch those whakairo, touch your awa, go down to your awa, bathe in your awa. You start to, ka aro Māori, rather than it just be kupu. For me it gives them a sense of belonging, a connection rather than just reciting a kupu, like a karakia, learning that karakia. (Kaikōrero)

The stuff around tika, pono and aroha, the kinship linking whakawhanaungatanga kōrero around that. Tapu and noa at different times which suited the occasion or the situation, ensuring that everyone felt safe and able to feel comfortable with whatever they needed to say. In terms of the prevention of domestic violence or anything around violence, some of those practices, those tikanga. There would certainly be waiata, traditional waiata that we would often be singing or ditties that would be recited, karakia, all those things that would encourage the wellbeing and prevention of violence. (Kaikōrero)

The majority of Kaikōrero acknowledged the place of karakia in relation to māra and te taiao and how people have become increasingly disconnected from the cyclic, recurring patterns of seasonal provision that are available to help provide for whānau. Dr Aroha Yates-Smith reminds us that:

Māori who have grown up with a knowledge of their tikanga were taught to respect their elders and their natural surroundings; as Papatūānuku and Rangi's progeny the environment is accorded extended whānau status (Wharehuia Milroy pers. comm). However, many of the younger generation of Māori who have not been taught this concept remain ignorant of fundamental laws and philosophies, which their ancestors valued and upheld. (p.5)

Part of the role of karakia is to prompt people to be mindful about repeated seasonal patterns and to respect and honour the abundance gifted from Atua for our benefit.

The weather is good enough to be able to provide for our families anyway. Karakia is huge, we need to always karakia to our atua. With atua I think no matter what season we are in they all still love one another and provide for the families. Up down, up, down like families. I suppose being more aware of what our surroundings and our environments are. I think that is what they are trying to teach us, being aware of what is around us, our environment, utilizing what is available for us in our environment. (Kaikōrero)

But there's also a point where we've got to just put this down [phone] and go back to te taiao, go out and have our morning walk with just nothing. We just talk to te taiao. Those things are important, we meditate, karakia, be intentional with ourselves. (Kaikōrero)

I do think that there's cultural ways definitely, that papakāinga living, Maramataka definitely. Our environmental factors for Māori, we've lost this purposeful living, everything is convenient. You don't have to grow anything because you just buy it. And it should just be available. I don't care that it's winter, I want grapes, so what if they've come from Mexico. (Kaikōrero)

… and I think even on the phones and that because our young ones, nearly every rangatahi I know has a phone. They walk around with their heads down. I used to think they were doing a karakia but then you see them holding this blinkin phone to the point they forget if they're gonna walk across the road. I mean I say that to my moko, ooh you're doing a lot of karakia moko and he looks and me and goes what? I said well your head's down like this, that's usually when we're in our karakia stage isn't it and he goes oh Nan. But I think the main thing is that we continue to try and make the change to put it out there. It's not okay! (Kaikōrero)

With karakia, water, if you just tell the water your issues, or just put it out in the wind and let the tide take it away, I think those are powerful things that we can be teaching our boys and our men. I am sure around the motu that can look different in different spaces. Being a river people, an ocean people here in Whanganui we've got the tools right outside. I have found that going outside to get back inside myself has been a huge revelation. I haven't been brought up on the land and going hunting and all these types of things, but I know being outside and being grounded and reconnecting with our whenua is a powerful thing. Just lucky to have a couple of people around who are able to share some of that knowledge with us. We have got some good people around; it is just finding that kōrero. (Kaikōrero)

Karakia was the conduit, the connector in a belief system that was part of normal daily practice and acted like an application compendium to ensure safety and wellbeing.

I think that was actually the instruction, it was the process. When you really look at tikanga, pōwhiri, whakatau in all of its entirety, they gave us a fool-proof structure, and if you follow it, there has got to be wellbeing at the end. The problem is, what we are saying is, or what even the tūpuna was saying, if you break that tikanga there will be a consequence, the consequence usually ended up with violence. If you are going to stick to the tikanga, you are pretty much safe to say that you have done the best you can to keep away from that violence and you should be okay, it has been tried and tested. 99% you are going to get all of those things that come out which we just spoke of which is karakia, you make connections through your whakapapa and you give people a kai, you whakanoa, you do all of those things to make your manuhiri feel special and those are really pretty fool-proof. When you follow that structure, your

manuhiri will take that out to the world and say, those people really know how to look after people. That in turn, safeguards the iwi. You are talking to other people without even meeting them. You are spreading the mana of your iwi without even talking to anybody out there and that is wellbeing. (Kaikōrero)

Spiritually it would have been, for me, karakia. Physically, tikanga of course, but what tikanga you are asking aye, what sort of tikanga? Straight away we will go back to whakatau, pōwhiri. Whakatau is a formal greeting, not only a formal greeting but with karakia to lift all the nervousness to make the listener feel at ease, or their manuwhiri feel at ease, or whoever is talking. (Kaikōrero)

We need to use our natural environment and cultural settings, such as marae with cultural practices, to aid in preventing violence and supporting healing by reconnecting to ancestral understandings about the Māori world view that acknowledges interconnections and functions on multiple levels, not just the minimalist Western notion of the 'here and now'.

I think some of the mātauranga is from our elders, some of the whakataukī that has been handed down in our waiata and in a lot of our pakiwaitara. Mirimiri and romiromi, those sorts of things, our own rongoā, karakia, our ngāhere, some of our own environment, some of those provide some very good environments to be able to do some of those things. It goes back to preventing violence where we are utilising our environment, looking at what we are doing to our environment and what would benefit our environment if we looked after it. Certainly, looking at how that can transform into us looking after ourselves. (Kaikōrero)

Recognising that the injury that's occurring, the disruption that's occurring as an injury, that is a disruption to wairua. We have to attend to the wairua of the whānau, not only of the individual, that's another problem. Tikanga tells us and everyone in my research, ahakoa te aha, whether they're from the town, the country, the remote areas all talked about, it is about whānau. So, we've got to take everyone along with us. So, [among the] things that strengthen and promote healing of wairua, karakia is so important. It was so lovely to have a karakia at the beginning of our wānanga today, because it really does shift the energy and it does create a different space for things to occur safely. I'm a great proponent of that, see it every day, I always offer karakia when I'm having hui with whānau. And waiata, kōrero, one of the things that came out of my research was it doesn't matter that people can't understand te reo, the effect of te reo is still powerful. So, Māori hearing te reo Māori is healing, he tino rongoā. The other thing that I found very healing is taking people to the places of their pepeha, and actually having a physical experience, that has a massive wairua-strengthening impact. People sometimes haven't been to those places, they know about them, maybe they've seen photos. They've seen the pūrākau, and that's powerful too, then actually going to go into that wai, whether that's the ocean, whether that's the awa, whether that's the roto. For many people their awa is such powerful healing ā-wairua. Using those clues in pepeha, pūrākau, the wāhi, the tangata, reconnecting with those things, karakia, going to the Marae, being around whakairo, around tukutuku. It affects us, it really impacts on us, I've seen it, and you see it with rangatahi on Marae. Whānau stand up and they'll cry, and they'll say, "When we go to the ordinary court we feel like a number, we feel humiliated, and we feel tino whakamā. We come here and we can actually be ourselves, we feel we have mana, no matter what the complications are we have a sense of hope, we have a positive outcome, we feel hauora". And when you put all of that together, I think our tūpuna were so koi, it wasn't just one thing here, or a little bit of this, it was all of it together as a holistic approach which people were sensing all around them all the time. And Pākehā thinking doesn't like that, they like one little thing, one pill, it's so reductionist. And our thinking is actually we need all of it around us all the time. (Kaikōrero)

Intergenerational transmission of cultural values is essential, and Marsden (2003) points out that "the integration of an individual into full membership of society takes place over a period of time" (p.23). Such integration takes place through relationships and within the cultural and social context in which we live. Kaikōrero spoke of the many ways that karakia, and tikanga more widely, were practiced intergenerationally.

A practice and a protocol from koro was that as children we went to the farm, you had two choices of bedrooms, one at the front back door, or one in the middle, which was next to nanny and koro's bedroom as well. Often as a child you would go off to sleep listening to him doing his karakia, and you would stir in the night and he would be still doing his karakia, and then in the morning again. I often used to think as a child, do you go to sleep, or when do you sleep? I actually looked forward to that, to hear it [reciting of karakia]. (Kaikōrero)

I know my grandmother was matakite, and I know my mother to a certain degree, so still the use of water, we've always had water always. Karakia, do us with water before we go anywhere, do us with water when we get back, or come back from anywhere or anything. So now I do the mokopuna, we go to the pā or anything, whatever, we come back, anything, any hui, at a marae, I teach her, and I do her, and if we're going away travelling anywhere, the same. Do karakia and do her with water you know, do my car as well. (Kaikōrero)

I think about all the karakia that still happened here. We always went down to a special place down the creek, and I have used that during my time, but I have never actually used it with my moko (grandchildren), but I know that that place is there, and all of the karakia. (Kaikōrero)

Intergenerational connection to cultural values is vital, but for the last two generations, another layer of intergenerational oppression has compounded negative influences for whānau, resulting in further distancing from cultural healing resources.

But what's in this world right now is really hard because we've been driven by different values and beliefs. The drug world is so huge, it's almost about us trying to recreate Māori again. The drugs that are out there right now. Some of our people in my mahi, they say, "What's karakia"? That saddens me. But that's real. And "Would anybody like to open with a karakia", when we sit in a group, and our Māori young people are saying, "Nah, don't believe in that". They've lost those values; they've lost the beliefs because the drugs have control up here. And if we don't move quickly to go back there, we're going to struggle all the time. (Kaikōrero)

Trying to normalize karakia, normalize pathways towards learning te reo, exposing whānau to rongoā Māori, exposing whānau to toi Māori, I think those are some of the things that we can do to try and disrupt family violence… I think it is around exposing whānau to karakia, learning waiata tawhito, learning pao, learning the stories that are relevant to their rohe, I think that is important kōrero to know, to share within your whānau, with your whakapapa, your uri so they have a greater understanding of who they actually are, and what they are connected to, they are not just here having their own worldly experience, actually you are a part of a bigger picture. (Kaikōrero)

For others, a contradiction seems to occur; however, what we do know is that tikanga encourages behaviour that is informed by mana, although it is not a cure for multiple layers of intergenerational trauma triggered by historical trauma layered with a century and a half of Crown/state-sponsored racism.

It is condescending in a way when I see these people standing up and are very proud, yet I know what is happening in the background. It is like they have put up a new screen, put up a new face for the people

and for the kaupapa at the time, I know they partake in karakia, they do waiata, their tamariki are in kura Kaupapa Māori. Why is this mahi tūkino still happening when they are driven by those tikanga, those values? (Kaikōrero)

Hohou Te Rongo

Seeking balance and resolution is important through tikanga practices, including 'hohou te rongo'. Hohou te rongo refers to a process of bringing about peaceful resolution. It is defined in Te Aka Māori dictionary as a practice through which "to make peace" (https://maoridictionary.co.nz/word/38825). Addressing spaces of Rongo within Wharenui (cultural gathering houses), Takirirangi Smith (2019) writes:

Hearing is sometimes emphasised with the term whakarongo (to listen, sense) or rongo-ā-taringa (knowing by the ear, to hear). The upper and lower jaw unites at the aperture of the ear. In Māori art, Rongo-taketake, Rongo-āio and Rongo-marae- roa—all forms of peace—are represented by the lower and upper jaw of a manaia figure representing a hand encircling the ear and placed on the lower and upper jaw. This tohu is a representation of a state of peace and balance, and saying 'Ka houhia te rongo' suggests that peace, knowing and connection are bound or fixed. Listening as an important part of internal peace and healing is metaphorically demonstrated in the creation narrative, when Tāwhirimātea sought revenge against his brothers for separating his parents, and Rongo sought refuge from the fury and anger of the wind by burying himself in the ground. There he lay quiet and still, intently listening as the battle raged. It was in the darkness of this space that he was able to find peace and healing. (pp. 11-12)

Rongo is known in many forms as the deity of peace. Revitalising the knowledge and practice of hohou rongo is considered to be important to the strengthening of our own tikanga that provides us with both prevention and intervention in ways that enable long-lasting resolution.

We think of Rongo and all the different forms that Rongo holds and then you think of maungārongo kia mau i ngā rongo, and so what that shows is the different forms of Rongo that one could hold in pursuit of healing. I think it is balance, all those personifications of our atua there is balance and there is a bit of all of it within us because that is the story of how we remained when Tane took a part of each of them and put them into us. What that shows is that we are capable of violence, we are capable of healing, and none is greater than the other, they are all options. What we have is … the choices to make whether we want to personify certain aspects of Tū, whether we choose certain aspects of Rongo, and within that comes with knowing who we are as a people. (Kaikōrero)

Having hohou i te rongo, and having that calm, because then it is not just with the child, it is also with yourself, the battle is also with yourself and remaining calm, remaining tau and instilling that throughout so that it does become preventative. (Kaikōrero)

Processes of operationalizing the tikanga of hohou rongo have been noted across a range of contexts. Creating contexts where resolution can be undertaken is a key area of development and is a way to provide both prevention and intervention opportunities for whānau and others involved.

Oranga whānau, how we used our hui, hohou te rongo and people in roles like kairongomau and takawaenga. Also, our whakaaetanga where people develop up the agreements between one another, how they will work and conduct, not just a hui but relate to one another. Muruatanga and hohou te rongo are really important parts of being able to forgive one another, and that people have to step up to, and address the fact that they have transgressed against other people. (Kaikōrero)

The aim of constructs such as hohou te rongo is to restore relationships and to provide clearing for the transgressions that have been experienced. This process is one that we can draw upon and which requires more focus to support healing.

> *Mō te taha reo, karakia, waiata, ka hui tahi, ka kōrero tahi. Mā te kōrero ka mārama, mā te kōrero ka rongo he aha ngā nawe, What are the difficulties that are happening. It was always already acknowledged before it even got to that point of any violence happening. Kāore au mō te whakahē, kāore ā tātou tūpuna i te whawhai, i te aha rānei engari i mua rawa i tērā, ka hui, i a ata ka karakia. All their whakapono and their aronga was to te orangatonutanga o te tangata (Kaikōrero.)*

Summary

Mātauranga and tikanga are central to understanding, sharing and transmitting Māori knowledge and ways of being. This chapter has highlighted a range of mātauranga and tikanga knowledge forms and practices that provide for the sharing of Māori ways of being and considering healing from family violence. The regeneration of tikanga and mātauranga Māori is considered a vital part of providing strategies for balance and knowledge that help us to transform the impacts of all forms of violence, both individual and collective, and located at interpersonal, community and systemic/State levels. Whakapapa relationships and knowledge were noted as being key to enhancing and strengthening wellbeing in relation to cultural identity and connectedness. Whakapapa kōrero in the form of understanding relationships and histories is also a key means by which mātauranga is shared and regenerated.

A key focus of this chapter has been to provide reflections on the use and practice of tikanga and mātauranga Māori and how we can draw upon specific knowledge forms to find strategies and practices to support violence-free living for whānau, hapū and iwi across a range of contexts. Areas of focus discussed included pūrākau; atua; whakataukī/whakatauākī; waiata/mōteatea; kapa haka; oriori; maramataka; hononga ki te whenua me te taiao; papakāinga; whakapakari tinana; karakia; and hohou te rongo. Pūrākau, whakataukī/whakatauākī, karakia and waiata, in varying forms including mōteatea, haka and oriori, are all particular forms of knowledge transmission that have continued to maintain a strong presence in the lives of our people. Gatherings such as Matatini provide a mechanism for actively engaging in the cultural knowledge and practices that are inherent to being a part of Kapa Haka and associated events. The insights and guidance shared through these knowledge forms are significant and need to be more effectively recognised as a tool for healing, as our kuia and friend Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan (2018; 2021) constantly urged us to do. Our connections to whenua and taiao as healing are a vital part of mātauranga Māori resurgence and the healing associated with that is being increasingly documented both here and internationally (Johnson Jennings & Walters, 2023; Pihama & Smith, 2023; Taiapa & Moewaka Barnes, 2023; 2023). That connection is also key in the discussion regarding maramataka. As noted previously, this is the first in-depth research that brings the place of maramataka into the fold in relation to family violence prevention, and the deep potential of healing through maramataka was actively engaged with by all. This is an exciting and affirming finding. Maramataka revitalization provides not only insights into our connection with the whenua and all parts of our taiao, but also gives us an opportunity to more actively reflect on the connection of the environment with our physical, spiritual and emotional states.

Another significant area of discussion was that related to atua. There is a growing body of work that draws upon atua, their roles and characteristics, as a part of healing. Remembering and recognising the relationships of particular atua to us and to our environment is an important way to bring balance

into our lives. One way that this is achieved is through the practice of karakia. Following on from the discussion related to atua, kaikōrero emphasised the need to bring karakia back more fully into our lives to bring us to places of tau and to be settled in ourselves and with each other. The relationships with atua and karakia were highlighted by all kaikōrero as being an important way to gain knowledge and to receive guidance around our behaviours, actions and practices. A part of our reconnection to whenua is also seen in the resurgence of the building of papakāinga as collective living. Papakāinga in our contemporary context enables us to deal with both issues of housing and to create spaces where we can again reactivate collective relationships, obligations and responsibilities. Physical activity was noted in a range of contexts, which have been brought together under the theme of whakapakari tinana as a reminder that it is important that we recognize that our bodies hold trauma, and that stress culminates physically in multiple ways. Hohou te rongo was included as a consideration for how within mātauranga Māori and tikanga our tūpuna have provided us with models of conflict resolution that need to be reactivated to help whānau to both prevent and resolve issues before they escalate to a place of violence.

Chapter 6
Rangatiratanga

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Rangatiratanga

We open this chapter with a discussion of the need for fundamental structure and systemic transformation. It has been emphasised for many years that the current system must be reformed if meaningful and enduring transformation is to take place (Jackson, 1988; Matike Mai, 2016; Māori Advisory Group, 2023). This was noted by the Māori Advisory group to the Minister of Social Development as follows:

> *It is the view of this rōpū that the current government has an opportunity to truly enact transformative change within the welfare system through embedding a Tiriti o Waitangi based structure that acknowledges the fundamental partnership between Māori and the Crown. Having a foundation in kaupapa Māori for such a system will necessitate the affirmation and legitimation of Māori as a Treaty partner. (p. 11)*

Transforming family violence and its impact on Māori lies within the aspirations of our people to assert rangatiratanga and mana motuhake over our collective lives. Rangatiratanga and mana motuhake are key concepts that embody Māori aspirations and practices of self-determination and sovereignty. Rangatiratanga is drawn from the notion of tino rangatiratanga within Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which guaranteed to our tūpuna the right to maintain our sovereignty over our lands and all associated with our lands, our taonga and all that we treasure, and our lives. It is a clear articulation within Te Tiriti of our expression of sovereignty and self-determination. Another term with a similar meaning is 'mana motuhake'.

These were discussed in multiple ways throughout the research and highlighted the broader vision for Kaupapa Māori approaches and for whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations to take the lead in dealing with issues of violence upon, and within, whānau. The vision is that Māori collectives such as whānau, hapū, iwi and Kaupapa Māori organisations take control of the development and implementation of healing options that enhance wellbeing. This was noted by a wide range of Kaikōrero.

> *Māori healing must be based on the restoration of the Māori cultural and healing paradigms that colonisation sought to destroy… Kaupapa Māori approaches to trauma and healing must be defined, controlled and undertaken by Māori for Māori (Kaikōrero).*

> *When you've got non-Māori at a governmental level, whether it's in MSD, Oranga Tamariki who are defining what our needs are, what we need to be doing … it frustrates me. Look what's happened in the last couple of days, I won't go there. You've got Pākehā making decisions for us without us, and them defining or telling us what we need to do. They think that it's okay that they're so smart and academic that they can make decisions of what we need to do. That stuff is often about power, they don't want to give up any power. They still want to be in control. I just find that crazy, when we know that Kaupapa Māori programmes work. But I keep saying to my students, "we can't keep doing the same thing". And I was saying to my colleagues in social policy, "why are you teaching them about neoliberalism, socialism, capitalism. You need to be teaching our students how do they become policy writers, our Māori students. Where is the Kaupapa Māori in your teaching? Because clearly what they've been doing for the last 180 years is not working". So, you know we need to infiltrate the policy development, we need to be in those positions, if they let us, because we're often too noisy for them. I just get so frustrated when they impose these values when they don't even align with us. How are we going to be well when we don't even know or understand when it's not congruent with our knowing and being. (Kaikōrero)*

The areas of discussion raised in this research align with an earlier report 'He Oranga Ngākau: Māori Approaches to Trauma Informed Care' (Pihama et al., 2020) in which it was highlighted that Kaupapa

Māori provision and practice continues to face institutional and structural barriers that have limited the ability for Māori to work with our whānau in ways that align with our tikanga practices. It was noted that there is an urgent need to remove existing barriers and assumptions within agencies that limit Māori aspirations to work with whānau in ways that are grounded in Kaupapa Māori principles and practices. Pihama et al. (2020) state that barriers to Kaupapa Māori and the assertion of a vision of rangatiratanga include:

- The impact of colonisation
- Government control over the wellbeing of Māori
- Institutional racism and racist practices
- Inability to access culturally appropriate service providers

The earlier report provided a Kaupapa Māori analysis of the determinants of negative health outcomes (aka colonial risk factors) including:

1. Historical Determinants: large-scale/simultaneous/high negative impact at population level: supra loss; dispossession; traumatic events; colonial violence: assimilation.
2. State Policy and Practice Determinants: erosion; exclusion; eugenics and scientific racism; patriarchy, paternalism, misogyny; pathologising; separatist policies.
3. Intergenerational Determinants: cumulative loss; cultural assimilation; economic deprivation; social and cultural alienation; cognitive injustice; food and nutritional injustice.
4. Neo-liberal Determinants: trickle-up economic effects; punitive regimes of state power; neoliberal concepts of equity; diversity as a mask for ongoing white privilege; cultural appropriation; moral fundamentalism and alignment with state power; privatisation of public responsibility; white extremism and fragility.
5. Institutional and Professional Practice Determinants: institutionalised racism: conscious and unconscious bias; inadequate education and professional development; micro-aggression and individual acts of racism; marginalisation of Māori providers and models; selective evidence-based decision-making; white patriarchal governance.
6. Internal Colonial Determinants: erasure of cultural memory and history; lateral violence; colonial hegemony; mimicry and hyper-adoption of pākehā and hetero-normativity; lack of trust of ourselves and of our own institutions; grief and grievance.
7. Social Determinants: inherited health status; childhood and whānau experiences; income and social status; physical environments and housing; access to public goods and services; collective and individual practices; education and employment; social participation and engagement (Pihama et al., 2020, pp. 113-118).

These determinants provide a clear frame within which to understand the multi-layered ways in which government and State control continue to mitigate against Māori aspirations for wellbeing and healing.

> *What needs to be done so that all whānau are supported to thrive and flourish in Aotearoa? The government needs to honour Te Tiriti for a starter. Might be a good place to start. And in everything that they do; in our education system, in our health system, in our justice system. Māori need to be at the table making those decisions. I don't actually think they should be making decisions alongside Pākehā, because your fullas' way hasn't been working for a long time. Let us come up with the solutions. (Kaikōrero)*

They also highlight the ongoing issues facing Māori in relation to the need to continue to assert fundamental rights in both self-determination and issues of equity.

> *I remember back in the 80s, early 90s where we used to have tino rangatiratanga day and things like that where one day of the year we felt we could come together and be strong and work together. It is mahi*

tahi, those concepts of mahi tahi and working together because we are the minority, and so pull us all together… They would be absolutely fearful that we would come into a space, that the things that they have written about us and said about us over the years, if they came true, if they were true, they wouldn't be here. There would be a shift of power, a shift of control. They wouldn't want the 'savages' to take their own control back, to take their own mana back, to be able to stand in their own power. (Kaikōrero)

There is internal in those spaces right up at that state government level, violence in those spaces and power and control and internal racism and how is that meant to be a guiding pou modelling behaviours in all spaces. That is going to take a big philosophical shift. As we already know, the community have always been ready for change and they have always jumped on change and want to change its where around the racism and that power and control that those government agencies don't kind of want to let it go. (Kaikōrero)

I think about our kaumātua and our kuia, and their mana kōrero, the mana kōrero that they had, their values and beliefs to us, and that we continue to acknowledge. We had karakia, we had mihimihi, we were able to look after our families as a whole, as opposed to individual families. We were a hapū. Because I think about back then, before colonisation came, we had equity, we had the equity of our mana whenua, our mana tangata, our mana whānau. Today we've lost that equity, and it's something that I'm really passionate about in terms of standing up for that equity. (Kaikōrero)

As indicated in earlier discussions on State violence and the role of agencies in reproducing inequities for Māori, there is a clear analysis of the need for approaches that are aligned to the wider notions of tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake.

My interpretation of what's been going on in the last 20 years of my career in mental health, it's pretty soul destroying frankly. Because you set things up, you think you've made some traction, you're doing some good, and then there's a change in policy, and they just shut down Māori services and they close down Māori units, Māori parts of ministries even. We're still so vulnerable to the vagaries of the particular political environment. So, we need to be in control of the money, of our own self-determined entities as we determine them to be. We need all of that to be devolved to us. (Kaikōrero)

We can get there though, we can. I'm a believer, we need to take control of our own, the government needs to give us, or acknowledge equity for us to be able to do that, until they acknowledge it, my heart loses faith. (Kaikōrero)

The punitive nature of what happens within agencies was highlighted in the context of power and control. As noted previously, the power relations that occur between Māori and the Crown mitigate against the aspirations of Māori to more fully provide for the needs of our people, and are based on assumptions that are grounded in representations of our people as deficit.

When you have that going on in your society there is punitiveness, there is a shaming when you can't get a job, there is a shaming when you have to get a benefit, all of those aspects also contribute to what continues to keep us suppressed, as well as just pure intention for us to always be at the bottom. White people have a compulsion for power and for being in control; they always have, and they always will, they will never be in a position to be able to help us come out of any places we are, we can only do that. They actually have structures that will further oppress us, and they know it… I would like for us to have our own organisations that were truly about us, run by us and controlled by us. It is going to take some time for us to work out what we need and what our people need. From their perspective, which is a government perspective they need to just devolve all of that, all of their own power and control and give that capability to Māori. That is nothing new, that is not a new conversation. (Kaikōrero)

A point that is often overlooked is the contention that Māori approaches work not only for our people but provide beneficial experiences for all who enter these programmes. (Cooper 2008; Pihama et al. 2020). Māori working in the area of Kaupapa Māori provision highlight that making changes that align with tikanga are about providing a foundation that is grounded on fundamental values that affirm the wellbeing of all.

> *I feel sometimes with government it's we know this, you do that. I feel that that clearly isn't improving so we need to look at solutions that are specific to Māori, for Māori. I also think that Māori solutions or ways of solving issues, even though they are from a Māori perspective, they can actually serve everybody. I don't work with just Māori young people at all, but I have always found that it's inclusive and it allows whoever you are to come into that space. I think that everyone can learn and value from that. It is not like it is exclusive and that Māori solutions are going to exclude or cause harm to anybody else. (Kaikōrero)*

Māori addressing family violence for Māori requires us to not only look to our cultural ways of being but to also reaffirm and enact our own cultural structures and institutions.

> *Just off the top of my head would be specific cultural ways … look on a marae. Those environments where a lot of the addressing of domestic violence is done in an office or a building way off the ground. Our whenua, our Papatūānuku has always been nurturing and nourishing our everyday activities and it shouldn't be any different. We should be doing those same things by way of using specific cultural ways of dealing with whānau, going back to our traditional ways, no laws or no courts from the tauiwi side. We need to look at our customary rights to be able to address our own behaviours and in our own way, in our own environment, with those that absolutely have the teachings to be able to influence those who need to change their behaviour. (Kaikōrero)*

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The failure of the Crown to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi is highlighted in all components of the research as a structural reason that underpins the level to which whānau have been exposed to generations of violence. The Family Violence Death Review (2022) provides a clear statement that ongoing breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi underpin current systemic failings for Māori.

> *The failings of our current family violence system are grounded in the breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Instead of being an agreement that guaranteed Māori continued sovereignty, possession of taonga and the rights of British subjects – as many Māori rangatira believed it would be – Te Tiriti gave way to the pressures of capitalism. In 1840, the same year that Māori were signing Te Tiriti around the motu, colonisers were forming their own government, and boatloads of newcomers were sailing here in the belief that they had bought land and the opportunity for a new life. (pp28-29)*

Within this research, and others, the Crown's failure has been defined as failure to protect; failure to respect Tino Rangatiratanga; failure to be accountable; failure to act; failure to partner, to share decision making and to make equitable decisions; failure to educate; failure to acknowledge mana and Māori capability; failure to address social determinants of violence; and failure to provide redress and reparations. This finding follows on from Pihama et al. (2020) who state,

> *A key discussion throughout the research was the desire for whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations to be self-determining. This requires the honouring of Māori aspirations of mana motuhake, of collective self-determination that is a right as tangata whenua, the people of the land, and the honouring of the agreement of tino rangatiratanga as expressed within Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The failure, for nearly 180 years, of successive colonial governments to uphold the relationship agreed within Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Māori assertions of tino rangatiratanga have compounded the trauma experienced by Māori*

through both historical and intergenerational trauma events and impacts. Across the research there is a clear assertion that for Māori, by Māori services are critical for healing and that requires the affirmation, validation and assertion of tino rangatiratanga. (p.111)

The issues raised by kaikōrero in regards to the ongoing breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the inability of Crown agencies to make change is evident across a wide range of Waitangi Tribunal inquiries. In both recent inquiries into the Health sector and the Care and Protection system by the Waitangi Tribunal ongoing acts of systemic and institutional racism; abuse of power by the Crown and consistent ignoring and denial of Māori approaches and tikanga practices were emphasised (Waitangi Tribunal 2019, 2021). In the report the Tribunal stated in its findings:

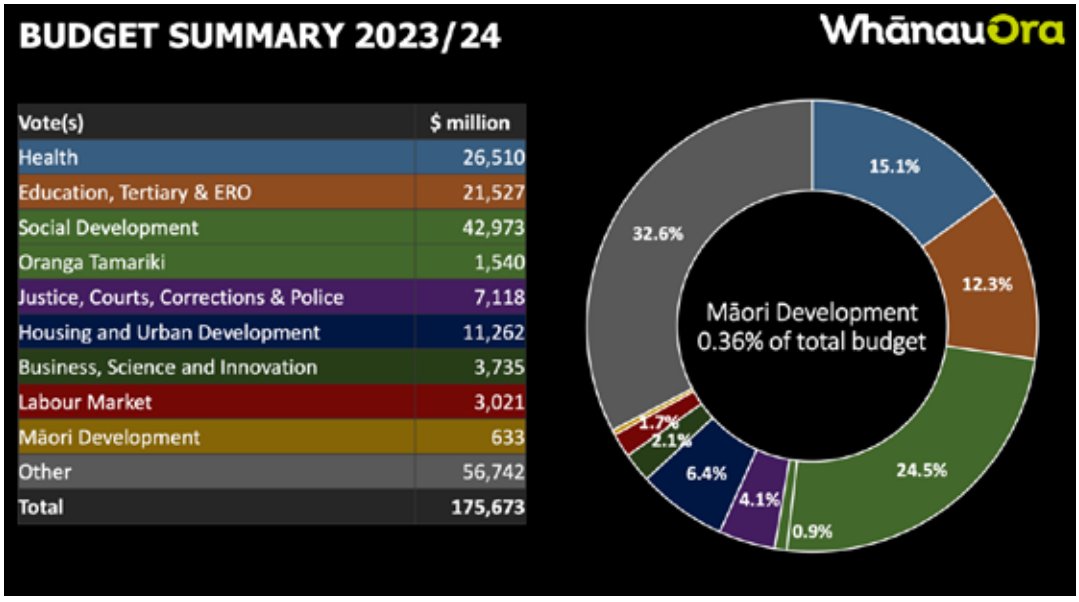
It is our conclusion that the systemic problems inherent in the current system are too powerful for truly transformational change to emerge The hierarchical structure of a central government department, coupled with staff who are required to react to and investigate numerous reports of concern and then implement any resulting court directions or orders, means that the scope for targeted sympathetic and comprehensive intervention is narrow, and too often a matter of chance The current system leads almost inevitably to over surveillance and risk-averse intrusion into the lives of vulnerable whānau (p.160)

Not only is the Crown understood by many as being in breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Crown is also seen as a perpetrator of violence. Actions by the Crown are seen as either direct acts of violence, or actions that have promoted conditions for violence to thrive and provided an ideological cover for further violence by other parts of society, for example the media, on Māori. If the Crown can "act like this" towards Māori then logically so can others in society "act like this" towards Māori. Over time Māori, as whānau, as a collective and as a culture, have become the targets of violence while being positioned discursively in the media as the cause of violence and then being blamed as a community for being victims of violence themselves.

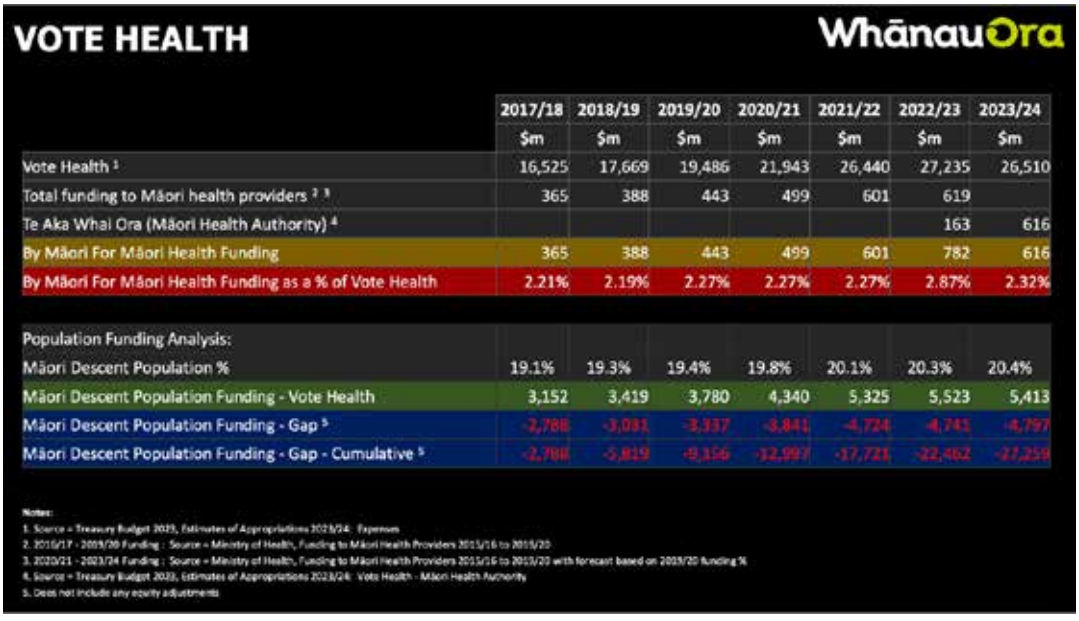
It needs to be accepted that being Māori is okay, and everyone who is Māori should know that it is okay to be Māori. We are one of the Treaty partners, and we are not some second cousin twice removed that have just come, we have been here all the time. I don't think Māori, Māori culture, Māori whānau are valued in such a way. That is our only point of difference in this world, if you took Māori out of NZ, NZ looked like every other white country I should say. In terms of identity Māori is what makes it for me. We can go back over all those other things we talked about to help make it, but I would like it that if my kids went into a shop, they are not followed around just because they happen to be a tad browner than the next one. We should celebrate it; when we go overseas people overseas think Māori is cool. Here you are not celebrated as much until the outside world celebrates you, and you can see that in our famous Māori. They got famous outside, and they come back and think oh, now you're famous. That is the sad thing, we should be happy to be us, and we should be allowed to be us – that has got really nothing to do violence other than I am just waving my Māori flag. (Kaikōrero)

The failure to honour and uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi has cumulative impacts over time and for different generations of whānau. Failure to support whānau, to invest in Kaupapa Māori services and eliminate violence in whānau has resulted in a deepening and normalising of inter-generational violence within whānau and communities. It has been stated throughout this work that the failure to resource Māori organisations and Kaupapa Māori provision of services continued to create inequities and disparities within our communities. The breakdown of the 2023 Budget provides valuable insights into how systemic and institutional racism is ongoing through resource allocation. To example this we can see in the tables below the ways in which the Budget is allocated across Ministries and in the areas of Health and Health allocation across funding approaches. Each of these analyses provided by the Whānau Ora Commission

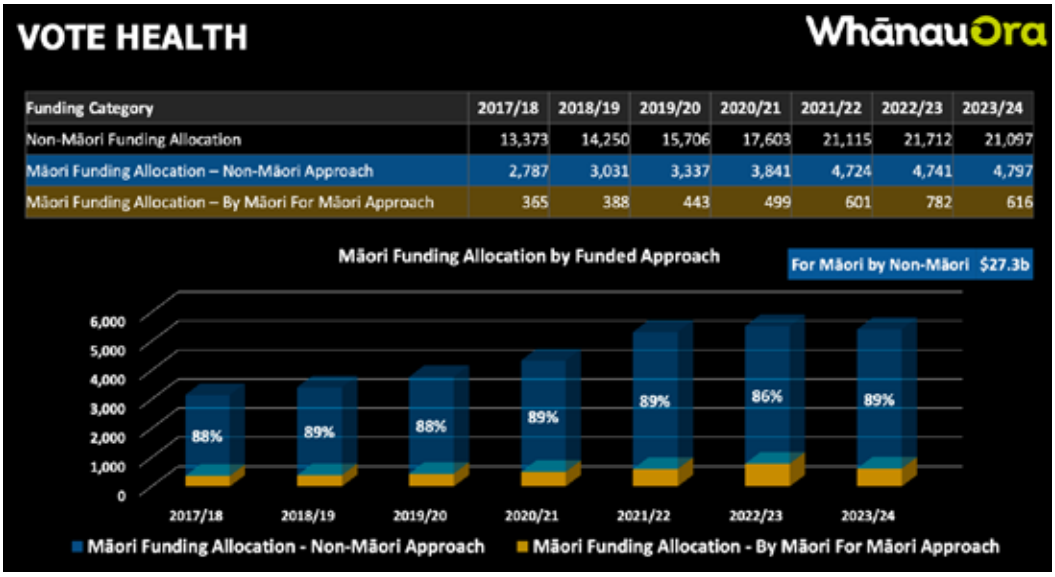
Agency give an indication of the significant inequities that exist in relation to funding allocation to Māori initiatives and Kaupapa Māori approaches.



Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Budget 2023 Analysis (p.2)



Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Budget 2023 Analysis (p.4)



Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Budget 2023 Analysis (p.5)

The failure to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi and develop good governance partnership models throughout the system also means that accountability rests where power resides, and that is the Crown alone. This means that there is a constitutional framework that shapes the system, that creates the social determinants and as a consequence enables the violence that impacts whānau.

> *The government needs to honour Te Tiriti for a starter. Might be a good place to start. And in everything that they do; in our education system, in our health system, in our justice system. Māori need to be at the table making those decisions. I don't actually think they should be making decisions alongside Pākehā, because your fullas way hasn't been working for a long time. Let us come up with the solutions… Because it works. We need our Māori students to say, "Mātauranga Māori, Kaupapa Māori is what will change", that's where we need to be infiltrating. (Kaikōrero)*

Not surprisingly, honouring, enacting or upholding Te Tiriti o Waitangi was also seen as part of the solution to the underlying systemic issues that sustain violence. The point was made that there is a constitutional framework that underpins and enables or disables violence, that provides legitimacy to violence and unleashes other mechanisms, discourses and practices such as racism that normalise the shape of the violence that then affects our homes and whānau.

> *They don't adhere to our Tiriti o Waitangi, which straight away is institutionalised racism because we are entitled to that to be used, and same with Oranga Tamariki, family courts, the prisons, courts and within our government itself. Right up the top there within our government the power and control that has been taken away from our Māori people through abuse of power and that is a clear statement of power and control is our government itself. (Kaikōrero)*

> *So, we signed the Treaty so that we could maintain jurisdiction over our people, and then the Crown came in, took that over. And we've been trying to wrestle it back since 1975 over in the Treaty of Waitangi Act, we've been trying to wrestle that back through the Waitangi Tribunal and its recommendations. (Kaikōrero)*

Some kaikōrero clearly emphasized that the existing system has been shaped by the Crown's failure to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi and that the starting point for addressing systemic failure was to return to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

So, at a state level it is about the Treaty of Waitangi, the relationship with Māori and the partnership because at the end of the day when it comes to crown stuff mostly, we're excluded from that kōrero or any of the decisions that are made at that level. Where there are decisions made at that level it's not enough, or you might just have one Māori adviser but at the end of the day it's going to be who's going to make those major decisions. It should be coming back to the Treaty; that should be for us to make around … Māori and not the state making decisions around what's best for us…It needs to go back to Tino Rangatiratanga, that we are given that mandate to be able to work with our own, help our whānau, you know, they pass over the decision making to us, so we fill that space. Create and develop whatever's going to work for us. (Kaikōrero)

That would be based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, that would be based on the original intent, which is Pākehā, kāwanatanga and Māori tino rangatiratanga and we would drive our own successes and our own goals and nurture our own kind of systems. It is the systems that will need to change to enable Māori to do what they need to. We can make changes ourselves despite the system and we have done that, we have so many different ways that we have done that in terms of reo with kura, kōhanga reo, wānanga. (Kaikōrero)

Kaikōrero saw the honouring of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as part of the solution to violence and that this honouring would begin to unlock the appropriate frameworks and models for good partnership and decision making.

We need to have Treaty-based government. Tangata whenua, tangata tiriti, so you stop continuing the re-enactment of all that racism. (Kaikōrero)

I am talking hapū, iwi have to come up with a model that is going to look after our peepi, tamariki. That model needs to sit next to government, not underneath it where we always seem to sit, and it needs the funding for that also. This is not about Labour, or National, or whoever making this happen, this is outside of politics. We are going back into the Tiriti now, so the only way it is going to work is going to be side by side, and we all know how big that fight is, we have been fighting it for so long now. I think that is the only way that we will get the results that we need, is some kind of a model like that. (Kaikōrero)

We definitely have got the whānau, we have got the capacity, we have got the people that can pull it together, and it always comes back to that relationship. Definitely yes, hapū and iwi have got a say in how we manage our people, whether it is all those things that are going on including violence, definitely. Not coming from somebody else, it has to come from within hapū, iwi, Māori for it to work. (Kaikōrero)

Some kaikōrero were very optimistic and committed to seeing a changed system based on a Tiriti model of partmership. Other kaikōrero were optimistic about the capability Māori had to exercise greater control over the decision-making. Being 'at the table' of decision making is seen to be synonymous with 'bringing to the table' Māori experiences and insights, as well as models and frameworks that would have a greater chance of working.

And in everything that they do; in our education system, in our health system, in our justice system. Māori need to be at the table making those decisions. I don't actually think they should be making decisions alongside Pākehā, because your fullas' way hasn't been working for a long time. Let us come up with the solutions. (Kaikōrero)

I'm really dedicated to a Treaty framework, operating, and I'm so passionate about it because I see it as something that really can work if it's done right, in terms of everybody getting everything they need. And starting from a true place of equity. (Kaikōrero)

I think their role is to really enact the Treaty, which is about partnering, which is about not being in control of us. So, the role of government is to truly partner and to let go of power, and to ensure that we have the resources to look after our own. (Kaikōrero)

We are ready to take over and look after all our own people on our own now. In one part that is quite mana enhancing, but we really need to not just give us one percent of our settlement and then think we are all good to fix hundreds of years of mamae. That is a good start but then really, coming on board and keep feeding that stuff. (Kaikōrero)

Mana, partnership, and decision-making are also tied to the models used for the allocation of resources, especially those resources given to Kaupapa Māori services. For one kaikōrero this funding allocation was likened to dividing up a pie without a recognition of what they considered to be 'inherent rights' from Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The lack of partnership and shared decision making at the top means that decisions about funding experienced at the bottom or by front line services always appear opaque, inherently inequitable or just plain racist, and place an unfair burden on Kaupapa Māori providers to do more with less. Kaikōrero expressed their frustration in terms of accountability and the need for reparations for whānau.

What happened was that the pie was cut differently.… So, to me the issue is not about the numbers, whether we've got more Māori children, that is our population percentage and care, the issue is our inherent right, and that inherent right predates our Treaty right, and it was recognised as a right. And as much as the British government sought to sign the Treaty with us, you could only do that if you recognised an inherent right. (Kaikōrero)

Ultimately the issue with this is it is just a lack of accountability and the reparations that have been provided. When I am talking accountability, it really is because, what is popular now is Te Tiriti o Waitangi, we are Treaty partners, but we are not really. There is that lack, Māori have shown we can live, we can move to another place, because we have done it, we have migrated time after time, after time and we have shown that we can integrate, but that is what I was saying before, Pākehā never came here to integrate, they never came to co-exist with us, they came to own us. That lack of accountability and providing reparations to Māori for what has happened, and also providing Māori with the resources to heal our people, that is why the enactment of violence is still happening because those reparations have not been provided to our people. (Kaikōrero)

What this discussion raises is the wider contention by Māori for constitutional reform that is grounded in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and meaningful, enduring relationships and systems that affirm that agreement between our tūpuna and the Crown.

We don't have a political system that gives expression to the Treaty at the moment… There has been lots and lots of conversations about this over the years and I keep coming back to where Moana J landed: constitutional change; we have to change the shape of the system. All roads lead to that enabling environment, or disabling environment as it is at the moment. We really are chasing our tails until we can get the kind of big systemic shift in line with the vision of the Treaty or Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The fact that there has been no provision to actually create a constitutional frame that gives us – "permission" is not the right word – but it is about being free to be self-determining within that space and for that

not to be the poor cousin. I can't think of any other way to address it except to get back to that whole notion of constitutional change and then to actually follow that all the way down to whānau level and to understand how that gives expression at every level. (Kaikōrero)

The Matike Mai report (2016) provided a range of ways to envisage constitutional reform that aligns with Te Tiriti o Waitangi, each of which is grounded upon the notion of specific spheres as follows:

The other kaupapa underlying the suggested indicative models is that Te Tiriti envisaged the continuing exercise of rangatiratanga while granting a place for kāwanatanga. It provided for what the Waitangi Tribunal recently described as "different spheres of influence", which allowed for both the independent exercise of rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga and the expectation that there would also be an interdependent sphere where they might make joint decisions. We call those spheres of influence the "rangatiratanga sphere", where Māori make decisions for Māori and the "kāwanatanga sphere" where the Crown will make decisions for its people. The sphere where they will work together as equals we call the "relational sphere" because it is where the Tiriti relationship will operate. It is the sphere where a conciliatory and consensual democracy would be most needed. (p.8)

A key element that is needed for change to take place is for the Crown to "genuinely and authentically acknowledge the role of colonisation and the harm that it's caused" (Kaikōrero) and then to adequately resource our people to address the issues that have resulted from that harm. The ways in which government agencies work with whānau have been noted in previous sections, and in regard to providing support for Māori who are dealing with significant socio-economic issues, there is a repeated and clear call for the Crown and its agencies to not only take responsibility for many of the wider social issues but also to treat people with respect and compassion.

Work and Income need to allow women that go through domestic violence, entitlements, what they are entitled to and not be judged. Like going into those offices and just being judged, you are trying to go there to be empowered and then you come out feeling worse, you feel worse when you start getting declined all your entitlements and stuff, that's at the state level. (Kaikōrero)

Even just listening to whānau and what they want or just listening, give them a chance to talk and don't interrupt …. Respect what they want, maybe even value what they want. Whānau have their own answers, they have the answers to everything that needs to be addressed in their lives. Government don't walk the whānau life, whānau know what they want. (Kaikōrero)

The ongoing need for greater support and resourcing for Kaupapa Māori research, practices, programmes and organisations has been consistently raised in this work. Kaikōrero consistently raised concerns about the failure to support Kaupapa Māori initiatives and organisations.

I think their role is to really enact the Treaty, which is about partnering, which is about not being in control of us. So, the role of government is to truly partner and to let go of power, and to ensure that we have the resources to look after our own. (Kaikōrero)

Ultimately the issue with this is it is just a lack of accountability and the reparations that have been provided... That lack of accountability and providing reparations to Māori for what has happened, and also providing Māori with the resources to heal our people, that is why the enactment of violence is still happening because those reparations have not been provided to our people. (Kaikōrero)

In order for Kaupapa Māori initiatives to be able to do the work required for change within our communities, there must be a stepping up by the Crown to support and resource in ways that align

with the aspirations of our tūpuna as expressed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. That also requires structural changes that provide for meaningful and enduring partnership models. This is a critical issue that must be addressed.

Once we have structural control, resource control, we get to decide on a lot of things: we get to decide on education, we get to decide on where money is spent, we get to decide on how we affect people's lives, whenua-wise we get to right some wrongs as well. In all of that, over many years, that will re-build Māori themselves. When you consider that you can change whānau violence in one generation, one generation is all it takes to turn around whānau violence. If we are in control of resourcing and have the power to do what we need to do for ourselves, we can turn that around. We can show people that there is a completely different way and it's their own way, our own way. (Kaikōrero)

The government needs to come down to grass roots, they need to come in and work with the whānau, see where we are at, see where the community services are at, actually go in and get a feel of it, don't just sit behind a desk and think everything, go out and engage… It is poverty, it's education, it's health, it's all those. If they can come down and see us at grass roots, then nothing at government level will be missed. There would be no oh yup, can you do... to make each level the same level rather than them sitting above us. (Kaikōrero)

Decolonising Strategies

A critical part of making changes to Māori wellbeing is the need to position decolonisation processes and practices within the work. As one Kaikōrero noted, change "lies within the decolonisation, and with the decolonisation comes the understanding of history". As highlighted throughout the research, the vast majority of the Kaikōrero clearly articulated the role that colonialism and colonisation have played in setting the table; in other words, creating the conditions and establishing the systems for whānau violence. Colonialism refers to the wider, global system of European and British colonialism that ultimately brought Pākehā to Aotearoa and led to Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a mechanism for enabling British settlement of Aotearoa.

Those I think should be part of any kind of cultural response to violence because really what we're doing [with] violence and the origins of violence now, we can trace back to colonisation; then what we have to do and part of any healing or re-orientating is we have to decolonise so part of any family violence work with Māori should be about decolonising them as well. (Kaikōrero)

Using decolonising approaches as part of Kaupapa Māori and other Indigenous approaches to working with whānau violence is not new; it is part of what practitioners use to help whānau learn, heal and develop new insights and skills. Decolonising approaches focus on the structural and systemic underpinnings of racism and colonial violence. Decolonising approaches also help to address cultural dissonance by differentiating cultural practices such as tikanga from the myths and ideologies that people hold concurrently in their minds about tikanga. This phenomenon often leads to self-hate and self-blame about one's Māori identity.

Those are tikanga. They come from Atua, but they have to be realised and lived. You see such a big shift when you see our students start to decolonise, it's so beautiful, and so empowering, and when they feel affirmed. I do think cultural identity and being grounded is the pathway for wellbeing. (Kaikōrero)

I think that's going back to that whole thing about connecting people back to their culture, connecting people to whānau, te ao Māori values, to the beauty of the practices. That the practices aren't just about telling you off, they're about looking after you, going back to that. And again, I go back to the kids, go back

to some of the more middle-class, brown Māori like me who come into stuff and really eat up anything and everything that's out there around culture, and tikanga. And creating tikanga in a contemporary space in such beautiful and appropriate ways to work in the world that we have now, and then going into the future. And maybe there's a thing around tikanga as a decolonisation practice, because we kind of do need to do that badly. We do. Our people need to talk about our own history in the realisation of why we do those behaviours. Like I said, I really don't think the majority of our people have those conversations. (Kaikōrero)

The process of decolonisation in terms of understanding violence and its impact on Māori also sits alongside another identified need for the decolonisation of workforce development programmes. The way in which professional development and training is undertaken was noted on a number of occasions. This aligns with earlier research and reports (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019; Pihama et al., 2020; Te Hiringa: Mental Health and Wellbeing Commission, 2023), which indicated a need for the increased resourcing of Kaupapa Māori workforce development and professional training within the sector.

That's been front and centre on my mind until I did that training a couple of weeks ago when I realised these people who are delivering a training, which is okay, this is in management level, some really believe that the country hasn't moved to the point yet where they can just teach the lesson. First of all, they have to decolonise themselves. So, in the feedback, I gave their feedback two weeks ago and I've been sitting here thinking, how can I do this without creating a book. I've basically told them to cut the stories, because I don't actually think it's ethical to put Māori people in there and bleed all over the place so that your Pākehā staff can get the message, that it's not history, it's now. (Kaikōrero)

I think there needs to be a whole lot of decolonising training going on within this country as a whole. State services, police. All of those organisations need to understand what trauma is. We just had a person shot in Waitara three days ago, shot dead. That policeman is probably going to be traumatised himself, but he probably had never been trained around trauma. He or she. And that town now re-enters a whole another realm of trauma all over again. It's history repeating itself. And this guy, he's not a Māori, but if you're from Waitara, you're from Waitara. If it affects me, it affects you. And if you're an old school family. And he was a league player, they're a culture of their own. That's complex too. But there's a lot of colonised people walking around in these positions. I am of the belief, and Ngaropi says this to us all the time, I am of the belief that what's good enough for Māori is good enough for everyone. So, to understand that you really have to decolonise your mind, because you've got to get back to what were those tikanga that we lived by, that kept us safe back in the day. We didn't question, it's a safety aspect, don't touch the fire, you're going to get your hand burnt. You didn't have to say that. That's enough. I do think it lies within the decolonisation, and with the decolonisation comes the understanding of history, it's beneficial for Pākehā to know all history, it's not a blame, it's understanding. I have to learn heaps about things that I don't want to know about, but it informs the decisions I make as a human being living on this earth. (Kaikōrero)

It is also emphasised that a part of the wider decolonising project is the responsibility of Pākehā and government agencies to make significant change in approaches and in how people are treated within organisations. This includes both interacting with people in the community and addressing legislative and constitutional reforms.

At a community level, I would make it a resource for everyone actually. I am not asking you about the people coming into your service, I'm asking you, where do you sit in this power and control wheel, [and how do you act it out], yeah, like let's get real here. Do you even realize it, because you probably don't? If we are talking about even the WINZ office, you know, the person at the front desk, she probably doesn't

even realize that she has become like that. (Kaikōrero)

At the state level, well for me it's really clear that government, regardless of the rhetoric, doesn't have the ears to listen to what's actually needed. And we could think about why they're not listening, or they're not listening because it's uncomfortable, it would require a shift in power, giving up resources. A total change in the behaviour to be able to go to the place they need to go to adopt the policy, the legislation, create the organisations that we know that we need. (Kaikōrero)

The need for Pākehā in the sector to undertake anti-racism and awareness raising programmes is seen as a key part of ensuring greater advocacy for and resourcing of Māori.

I think part of it is a resourcing issue as you've said, but I think there's a deeper thing than that, and I think Pākehā need to decolonise themselves. And they've got [to get] to a point of collegial trust, and regard, and respect. And I don't see that very often, and I think part of that is also around having transparent processes that keep people accountable. (Kaikōrero)

This is further emphasised in the Family Violence Death Review committee report (2022) where the issues of white privilege and the role of Pākehā in creating change is discussed as an important component of decolonising the existing systems. It is noted,

Less often discussed is the impact of undeserved privilege and the legacy of what it took to gain/steal this privilege from the Indigenous people of this land. Being a coloniser carries its own baggage, which Pākehā still bear to this day. As our colleague Ngaropi Cameron reminded us in 2021, 'Māori need to decolonise our minds. However, Pākehā need to work on the de-imperialisation of their minds and the implications that a colonial mindset has had on the structures and institutions of our society'33 – a society that has failed to uphold Te Tiriti guarantees their Pākehā ancestors made. This is not all water under the bridge; it remains relevant and important because people – including Pākehā women and children – are dying as a result. (p.29)

A key impact of colonisation is that it introduces ways of thinking that are foreign, or as Kruger (2004) terms them 'imposter tikanga', and refers to the importing of non-Māori values and practices and re-labelling them as tikanga or deliberately distorting and manipulating tikanga to justify violence. This is similar to the idea of gaslighting or psychological manipulation of an individual. The idea of 'imposter tikanga' was raised as a key issue that needs to be actively challenged. This necessitates ongoing processes of decolonisation and of realigning our thinking and belief systems to tikanga in ways that contribute to healing and intergenerational wellbeing.

If I explain it to my own whānau, it's become generational, but it started somewhere, it hasn't been always embedded in our Māori whānau is my belief because of that way of learning to deal with something very quickly. At some point in time there has been that imposter tikanga that has been introduced to the whānau. It's been very, very hard to turn that imposter tikanga around. All of the other influences from outside of our traditional belief system and our traditional practices have become quite hard for our whānau to negotiate: do we want to live like a simple life in the māra on a papakāinga with no bells and whistles, or how do we take the bells and whistles into that traditional way of thinking and marry the two together so there are some whānau who do it very well and there are some whānau who are still learning that. Also, we are dealing with addictions, we are dealing with the outcome of land loss, reo loss. (Kaikōrero)

It's actually about creating understanding around the areas and the parts that make up tikanga, manaakitanga, wairua, tapu; all those things. Those I think should be part of any kind of cultural

response to violence because really what we're doing [with] violence and the origins of violence now, we can trace back to colonisation; then what we have to do and part of any healing or re orientating is we have to decolonize, so part of any family violence work with Māori should be about decolonising them as well .(Kaikōrero)

Summary

What is esential in creating transformative change for Māori in the area of family violence and sexual violence prevention and intervention is the provision of Kaupapa Māori services and ensuring access to tikanga, te reo and mātauranga Māori. This requires fundamental structural and systemic change not only within this sector but across the board. The the urgent need for honouring of Te Tiriti o Waitangi that enacts tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake for Māori has been articulated with absolute clarity and conviction by whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori collectives since 1840. That is again clearly voiced in this work. For Māori understandings, definitions, practices and services to be at the centre of making change for Māori there must be an enduring, honourable and embedded enactment of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake are spoken of by Māori as a means through which we can take control of our lives as tangata whenua, and live fully as Māori. This is not a new assertion. It has, however, continued to be denied by the State through the failure of successive governments to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The ongoing call for systemic change involves constitutional reform, as expressed in the Matike Mai report (2016).

A Kaupapa Māori analysis of determinants has been outlined in previous research (Pihama et.al.2020) with key areas of colonial risk being identified as: historical determinants; state policy and practice determinants; intergenerational determinants; neo-liberal determinants; institutional and practice determinants; internal colonial determinants; and social determinants. These determinants highlight the multi-layered impacts of State control and failures to act in ways that align with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. These determinants are thus grounded in colonial structures that mitigate against Māori wellbeing. Associated with this are the issues relating to State violence and the ongoing impact of that on generations of whānau. Alongside discussions of tino rangatiratanga, mana motuhake and Te Tiriti o Waitangi is an urgent need for decolonisation and decolonising strategies that speak directly to the monocultural imposed systems and the punitive and violent underpinnings of those systems.

Chapter 7
He Waka Eke Noa National Survey

CHAPTER 7
Introduction

He Waka Eke Noa National Survey

The 'He Waka Eke Noa' is the first national survey on violence ever to be designed specifically for Māori, aiming to address the dearth of information relating to both prevalence and experiences of violence at multiple levels: individual; interpersonal; whānau; community, and at the level of the State. This survey is, we believe, a starting point, as there are many more questions and areas of data acquisition to be addressed through a Kaupapa Māori approach. As noted earlier there has been no Kaupapa Māori survey undertaken relating to the impact of violence on, and the experiences of Māori. In a survey undertaken with Takatāpui and Māori LGBTIQ+ communities it was noted that such a process aligned with the Kaupapa Māori principle of tino rangatiratanga that asserts self-determination within our research processes and practices. Simmonds et al. (2023) state:

> *The pursuit of autonomy is common to indigenous populations who have experienced colonisation, and in a research setting, this dictates that Māori cultural practices and processes are prioritised throughout the entire process from inception to dissemination of results. This therefore requires that any epidemiological method considered for application in the research is examined and critiqued for its appropriation to Māori data, context, and communities. (p.99)*

It continues to be difficult to gauge the level of family violence and sexual violence as it has been noted for some time that under-reporting is a significant issue (Pihama & McRoberts, 2019; Pihama et al., 2019; Ministry of Justice, 2022a, 2022b; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010a). As Gulliver and Fanslow note, there are some useful data collections; however, "none could currently be considered a reliable source of data for monitoring trends in family violence in the community over time" (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2013, p.78). Alongside these concerns is the ongoing issue of under-reporting. The Ministry of Justice (2022a) New Zealand Crime and Victims Survey: Cycle 4 survey findings noted the following in relation to reporting levels:

- *Overall, 25% of all victimisation incidents were reported to the Police (p. 153)*
- *Only 8% of sexual assaults and 9% of fraud and cybercrime incidents were reported to the Police (p. 153)*
- *Only 15% of incidents perceived to be driven by discrimination towards the victim's sexuality were reported to the Police (p. 217)*

It is highlighted in the Crime Survey that reasons given for not reporting included "Private/personal/family or whānau matter"; "Dealt with the matter myself/ourselves"; "Fear of reprisals/would make matters worse"; "Shame/embarrassment/further humiliation"; and "Didn't want to get offender into trouble" (Ministry of Justice, 2022, p. 218).

What we see when looking at family violence Statistics collected by the State is that a significantly higher number of Māori in the 'He Waka Eke Noa' survey have had lifetime experiences of some form of violence than the figures discussed in the existing National Survey undertaken by Fanslow et al. (2021) or the data collected by agencies such as the Police and the Ministry of Justice (2022a). This indicates that the data and information that are currently available to inform how successive governments have responded in terms of policy and/or resourcing in this area are severely lacking.

The ways in which official data are collected and coded continue to be a critical area of concern to Māori Providers, who indicate that they have to work to create their own datasets with limited resources. The

data included in the New Zealand Crime and Victims Survey focus solely upon individual interpersonal or family violence and do not include any discussion of the wider social and State violence that has been surveyed as a part of this project. Furthermore, in the most recent National Survey 'He Koiora Matapopore - The 2019 New Zealand Family Violence Study' there is no discussion specific to the experiences of Māori and thus the findings are not directly relevant to what is happening for Māori in this area (Fanslow et al., 2021; Fanslow & MacIntosh, 2023). This again indicates the dire need for ongoing longitudinal research to be undertaken on the impact of violence on Māori in order to develop sustainable, long-term responses to the needs expressed by our people with regard to Kaupapa Māori approaches and provision.

Co-designing a Kaupapa Māori Survey

Kaupapa Māori research focuses on cultural strengths and our capacity to design and deliver solutions. We needed to know from Māori experiences the nature of family violence in terms of its breadth and depth, shape and structure, as understood and experienced by our whānau. Their understandings will be critical to the design of any interventions. We also needed to know what they were doing to keep themselves safe, to address violence and to seek support. Their existing strategies will help us design interventions that leverage off their strengths. A Kaupapa Māori framework ensures that we understand the agency of whānau rather than their victimology. Therefore it was important that our survey questions provoked thoughtfulness and qualitative responses rather than simply being a 'tick a box' or 'circle a number' exercise.

Within this research the team decided to go with a very wide definition of violence and not to pre-determine what counted as family violence. Our reviews of Indigenous literature broadened the causes of family violence to include colonial, inter-generational and state actions or non-actions as forms of violence and to see a wider system or structure of violence that was having an impact on whānau. We wanted to find out whether and how our participants interpreted and responded to these ideas. Our confidence in our decision to use an online anonymous survey was based on our previous experience with the Honour Project Aotearoa (Green et al., 2020; Green & Pihama, 2023). Our challenge in that project was to generate wide interest and be able to direct people to the survey. In this task we were greatly helped by Action Station, an online advocacy group who promoted the survey through their networks.

The 'He Waka Eke Noa' (HWEN) survey was conducted in late 2021 to support the wider 'He Waka Eke Noa' research project. The HWEN survey aimed to gather views and experiences from at least 1,000 respondents, who identified as Māori (either as their sole ethnicity, or as one of their ethnic identities), and had Māori ancestry, were aged 18 or over and lived in Aotearoa at the time the survey was conducted. This report provides a descriptive summary of the survey results. In addition to collecting demographic information (the 'Ko Ahau' section), the HWEN survey had four aspects, aligning with 'He Korowai Oranga, the Māori Health Strategy'[1] , as follows:

Whānau ora - healthy families

This section explored the experiences of the collective, investigating lifetime experience of State violence and media violence for individuals and whānau. These questions acknowledge collateral violence and its impact on the wider whānau collective. A wide definition of State violence is included here, exploring

[1] https://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/populations/maori-health/he-korowai-oranga

experiences of neglect, failure to protect, abuse or abuse of power, racism, breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, police and media violence.

Mauri Ora - Healthy Individuals

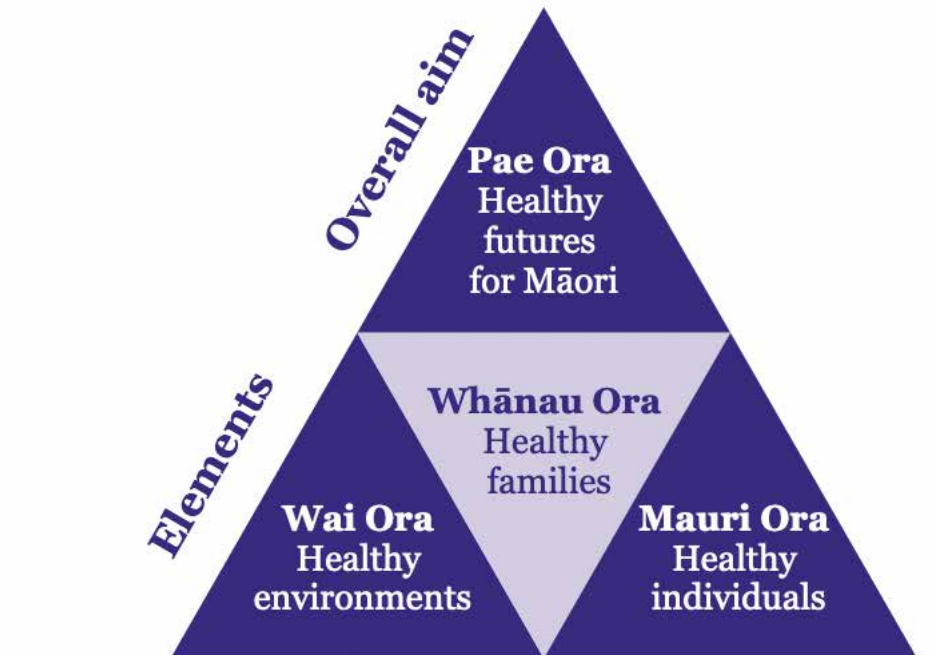
This section of the survey explored lifetime experience of the individual in either witnessing or experiencing violence. The different types of violence included physical; psychological, emotional and spiritual; deprivation or neglect; sexual; financial deprivation; and online violence.

Waiora - Healthy Environments

This section included questions about services and sources of help and support.

Pae Ora - Healthy Futures for Māori

The Pae Ora questions explored respondents' strategies to minimise the risk of violence, decisions to be non-violent, and the factors that are important in their lives for healing from violence and for the health of themselves and their whānau and their future.



The four components that form the 'pinnacle' of He Korowai Oranga, the Māori Health Strategy 2014[2]

[2] Recent documents related to the Pae Ora framework are Whakamaua:Māori Health Action Plan, and the recently released Pae Tū Hauora Māori Strategy: https://www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/publications/whakamaua-maori-health-action-plan-2020-2025-2.pdf ; https://www.health.govt.nz/new-zealand-health-system/pae-ora-healthy-futures-all-new-zealanders/pae-ora-strategies/pae-tu-hauora-maori-strategy

Developing the Survey Questions

The 'He Waka Eke Noa' survey was structured using a Pae Ora framework, from 'He Korowai Oranga'[3]. This was used in the previous 'Honour Project Aotearoa' survey[4]. In addition to personal and demographic data collection (Ko ahau), the HWEN survey gathered data on the collective experience of Māori individuals and whānau (Whānau ora), individual experience of interpersonal violence (Mauri Ora), access to support and support services (Wai Ora), and respondents' priorities for the health of themselves and their whānau, and their aspirations for the future (Pae Ora).

The research team met regularly to develop the survey questions, information sheets and consent forms[5]. The team drew together a range of experience, expertise, and research in the area of violence. Each potential question was critiqued to ensure it not only met the data needs of the research, but also upheld Kaupapa Māori principles, and was structured to ensure the generation of appropriate statistical information. The questions were pre-tested and piloted. The survey was estimated to take 15-20 minutes. The questions were finalised and loaded onto the Qualtrics online survey platform. The survey was distributed via existing networks, and promoted online and via various social media platforms and promoted through online platforms known to be accessed by a high number of Māori. Data were collated and analysed, and are presented here. The online distribution of the survey was also better suited to the COVID-19 pandemic situation at the time, where controls were in place to limit community transmission of the virus.

As much as possible, given the online nature of survey distribution, protecting the mauri and mana of individual respondents was considered. Brief descriptions of the different types of violence were provided in the questions and answer options. The survey was designed to gradually lead into the more confronting questions, and respondents could opt out of answering questions if it was felt that a question would compromise their emotional safety. This means that the total number of responses to each question differed. Contact details for support services were provided in the online survey.

The survey was administered online only, running from 12 March to 17 September 2021 (approximately 6 months). A total of 1,624 complete responses were received for the survey. This section provides an overview of the demographic breakdown of those who so generously participated in the survey. The key demographic information gathered related to age, descent, ethnicity, geographic distribution, and gender and sexual identity.

Ko Ahau: Demographic Information

Age

The age range of respondents was between 18 and 87 years, with a mean age of 49 years, and a median age of 50 years.

[3]https://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/populations/maori-health/he-korowai-oranga
[4]https://tewhariki.org.nz/assets/Honour-Project-Aotearoa-Final-Report.pdf
[5]We acknowledge Matt Roskruge for providing the gender breakdown within the data.

Māori Descent

The survey used the Census descent question to ask respondents if they were descended from someone who was Māori. As this was a survey inclusion question, those who answered negative (45 individuals) or unknown (18 individuals) were exited from the survey. The total remaining who identified as descended from a Māori numbered 1,702 individuals.

Ethnicity

Using the Census question again, respondents were asked what ethnic group or groups they belong to. All those who self-identified as having Māori ethnicity were included in the survey results (1,692 individuals). Of the total who identified as Māori, 1,070 (63.2%) also identified with one or more other ethnic groups, the most common being pākehā (771 respondents).

Table 1: Ethnicity of survey respondents

Ethnic group	Count
Māori	1,692
Pākehā	771
Any ethnicity not named in list provided	171
Samoan	38
Cook Island Māori	33
Chinese	18
Tongan	18
Indian	12
Niuean	9
Total responses	**2,762**

Note: respondents could select more than one ethnicity, therefore total is greater than the total number of Māori

Geographical Distribution

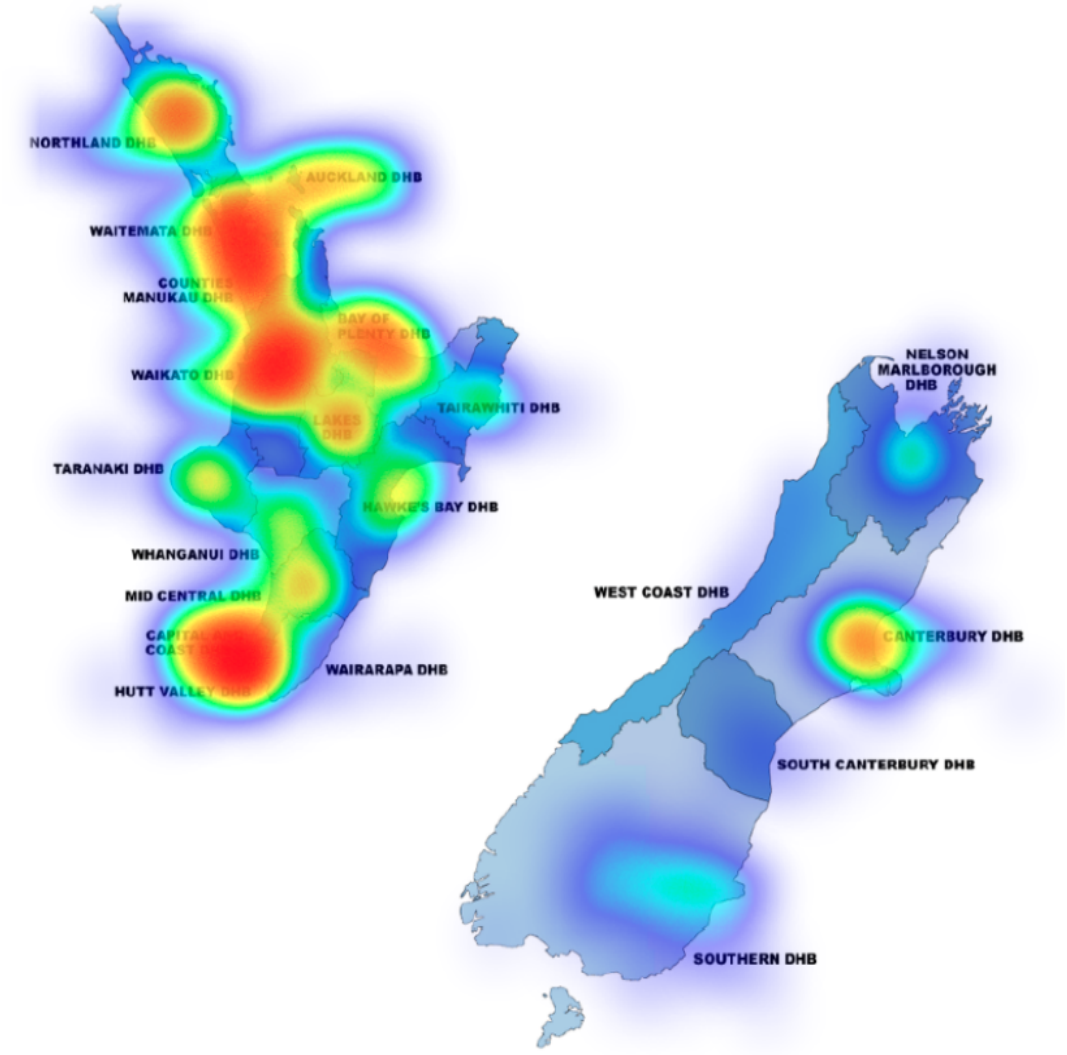
One of the inclusion criteria was that survey respondents currently resided in Aotearoa (at the time of the survey), On this basis, 57 respondents were excluded as they indicated they lived elsewhere. To provide an indication of geographical distribution, the remaining respondents were asked which District Health Board area they currently lived in.[6]

The survey reached a relatively wide geographical spread, as indicated in Figure 1 below, where the red shading demonstrates a high concentration of respondents, followed by orange, yellow, green, then blue. Of note are the limited responses from the West Coast region of Te Waipounamu, and also the Southern DHB region and Nelson Marlborough DHB, although this also reflects areas of lower population of

[6] Since the distribution of this survey, District Health Boards have been dismantled with the restructure of the NZ Health System

Māori. As might be expected, there was a large number of responses from areas with high numbers of Māori in the population (Waikato, Counties Manukau), and also a high number of responses from the Capital and Coast DHB (Wellington region).

Figure 1: Geographical distribution of survey respondents



Gender

Almost 80% of respondents (78.3%; 1,272 individuals) self-identified as female, 17.4% (283 individuals) as male. Several selected their gender identity from the list provided (see Table 1 below) and a further 4.2% (69 individuals) chose to self-describe their gender identity in their own words. Of particular note is the high proportion of female respondents, indicating that survey results largely reflect the experience of wāhine Māori. We have examined results by gender, some of which are presented here.

Table 2: Gender of survey respondents

Gender	n	(%)
Female	1,272	(78.3)
Male	283	(17.4)
Gender fluid	12	(0.7)
Gender non-conforming	6	(0.4)
Intersex	<5	
Transgender female	0	(0.00)
Transgender male	<5	(0.06)
Prefer not to answer	9	(0.55)
Intersex variation	<5	(0.06)
Gender non-binary	12	(0.74)
Gender diverse	<5	(0.06)
Prefer to self-describe	26	(1.60)
Total	**1,624**	**100%**

Sexual Identity

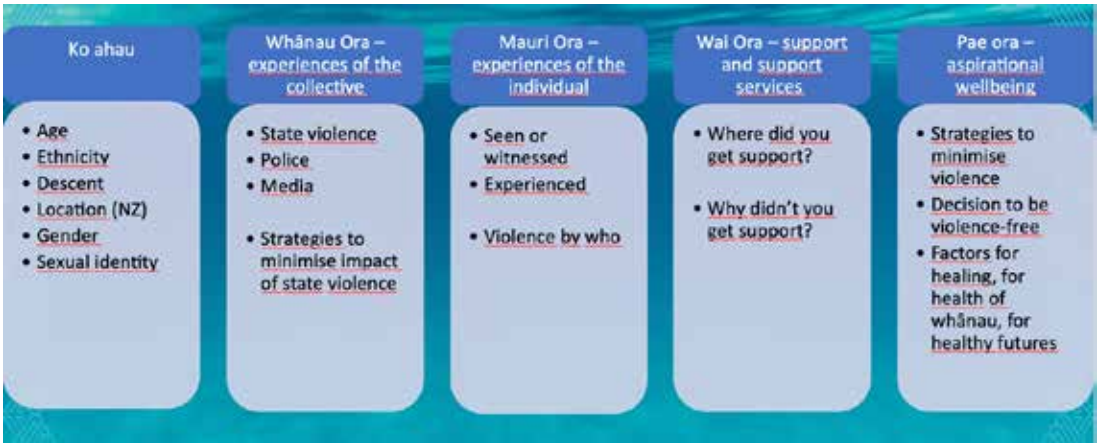
Almost 80% of respondents indicated their sexual identity as heterosexual/straight (78.8%; 1,277 individuals), followed by bisexual 6.2% (100), prefer to self-describe 4.1% (67), takatāpui 3.4% (55), lesbian 1.0% (16), gay 1.0% (15), queer 0.7%, (11), and 4.8% (77 individuals) preferred not to answer this question.

Table 3: sexual identity responses

Sexual identity	n	(%)
Heterosexual/Straight	1,277	78.8%
Bisexual	100	6.2%
Prefer not to answer	77	4.8%
Prefer to self-describe	67	4.1%
Takatāpui	55	3.4%
Lesbian	16	1.0%
Gay	15	1.0%
Queer	11	0.7%
MSM	<5	-
Total	**1,620**	**100%**

Note: numbers less than 5 are not presented in order to preserve confidentiality

The online survey was conducted over a six-month period in late 2021, gathering a total of 1,624 completed responses from Māori adults across Aotearoa aged between 18-87 who identified mostly as female (80%), and mostly as heterosexual (80%).



Chapter 8 Whānau Ora - Experiences of the Collective

Chapter 8

Whānau Ora
Experiences of the Collective

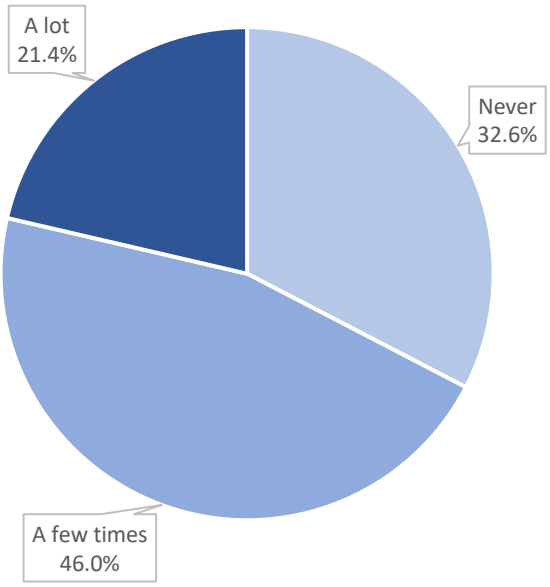
This section explores the experiences of the collective, questioning lifetime experience of state violence and media violence for individuals and whānau. Within this focus the questions were framed to investigate the wider experiences of collective State violence and its impact on the wider whānau. A wide definition of state violence is included here, exploring experiences of neglect, failure to protect, abuse or abuse of power, racism, breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and police violence.

State Neglect

> Question B01a: In your lifetime, have you or your whānau experienced neglect (e.g., denial of access to social services) from the state or government agencies?

Of the 1,591 survey respondents who answered this question, over one fifth (21.4%; 340 individuals) stated they or their whānau had experienced neglect from the state or government agencies 'a lot'; almost half of the respondents (46.0%; 732 individuals) stated they had experienced neglect 'a few times'; and approximately one third of respondents (32.6%; 519 individuals) stated they had 'never' experienced neglect from the state or government agencies (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Neglect by the state or government agencies



Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Question B01b: If you have experienced neglect, by which of the following?

Respondents who indicated they had experienced neglect (either 'a lot' or 'a few times') were asked to indicate the services or systems involved. Multiple answers could be selected, giving a total of 4,384 responses to this question, from 1,072 respondents. Table 1 below provides a list of services or systems, ordered from the greatest number of experiences of neglect as indicated by survey respondents, to the least.

Table 4: Experiences of neglect from state agencies

	No. of responses	% of total responses	% of 1,072 respondents
Health Service such as Hospital, Health Provider, Doctors Surgery	736	16.8	68.7
WINZ (Work and Income New Zealand)	630	14.4	58.8
Education such as Early Childhood, School, University, Polytechnic	586	13.4	54.7
Police	474	10.8	44.2
Justice system (e.g., Corrections, Family Court)	453	10.3	42.3
Housing	403	9.2	37.6
District or Regional Council	321	7.3	29.9
Oranga Tamariki	278	6.3	25.9
IRD (Inland Revenue Department)	203	4.6	18.9
Department of Conservation	138	3.2	12.9
Other (see below)	86	2.0	8.0
Customs and Immigration	76	1.7	7.1
Total	**4,384**	**100.0**	

Note: respondents may select more than one answer. Blue shading indicates 50% or more of respondents experienced neglect from these services. Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

For those who indicated 'other', responses included other than state or state agencies, and some used older terms for current services. Responses are summarised as follows:

- **ACC** this received the most responses (21 respondents).
- **Health services:** dentist (2), doctor (2), audiology, mental health (4), birthing unit, counselling services, disability for elderly, MOH emergency support team, coronary services, Whānau Ora, local women's centre, drug and alcohol services.
- **Government agencies, social services:** Department of Social Welfare, closed adult adoption act, 'Social Security' (now WINZ), Ministry of Works, Citizens Advice Bureau, social workers, politicians, local government, Te Arawhiti, CYFS, early child welfare system, electoral system, Births, Deaths and Marriages, Armed Forces, abused in state care

- **Shopping outlets** (2), expensive retail clothing stores, restaurants, malls, banks.
- **Public places:** pākehā in public, in the community, at sports events etc; metered and unmetered carparks.
- **Services for Māori:** Office of Treaty Settlements, Māori land court, Te Tumu Paeroa, Te Puni Kokiri (2), Māori Affairs.
- Education, StudyLink (3).
- Whānau abandonment (3).
- Whānau members who were abused in a Catholic orphanage.
- **General/across the board:** *"most government agencies", "all government departments", "most times I/ we engaged with any agency".*

Some comments made in this section:

A change of attitude if I say I have Māori heritage

StudyLink - my son was denied access to student allowance for so long, 3 months, that he had to drop out of University.

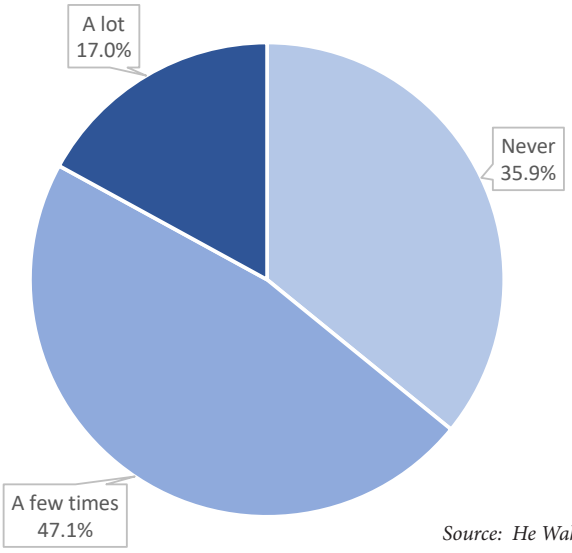
Have not experienced neglect personally, but my family have.

Failure to Protect

> Question B02a: in your lifetime, have you or your whānau experienced a failure to protect (e.g., children/women/youth/elderly) by the state or government agencies?

Of the 1,550 respondents who answered this question in the survey, 17% (264 individuals) stated they, or their whānau, had experienced a failure to protect 'a lot', almost half (47%; 730 individuals) stated they had experienced a failure to protect 'a few times', and over a third (35.9%; 556 individuals) stated they had 'never' experienced a failure to protect by the state or government agencies (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Failure to protect by the state or government agencies



Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Question B02b: If you have experienced a failure to protect, by which of the following?

Respondents who indicated they had experienced failure to protect either 'a lot' or 'a few times' were asked to indicate the services or systems involved. Multiple answers could be selected, giving a total of 3,711 responses to this question, from 984 respondents. Table 4 below provides a list of services or systems, ordered from the greatest number of experiences of neglect as indicated by survey respondents, to the least.

Table 5: Experiences of a failure to protect by state agencies

	No. of responses	% of total responses	% of 984 respondents
Police	575	15.5	57.8
Health Service such as Hospital, Health Provider, Doctor's Surgery	563	15.2	56.6
Justice system (e.g., Corrections, Family Court)	497	13.4	50.0
Education such as Early Childhood, School, University, Polytechnic	439	11.8	44.2
WINZ	398	10.7	40.0
Oranga Tamariki	392	10.6	39.4
Housing	281	7.6	28.3
District or Regional Council	211	5.7	21.2
Department of Conservation	118	3.2	11.9
IRD	117	3.2	11.8
Other (see below)	70	1.9	7.0
Customs and Immigration	50	1.4	5.0
Total	**3,711**	**100**	

Note: respondents may select more than one answer. Shading indicates 50% or more of respondents experienced a failure to protect from these services. Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

For those who indicated 'other', responses included:

- Accident Compensation Commission (8), ACC case managers.
- **Health Services:** mental health (4), doctors, health services (as a staff member working in health), Rest Home, Whānau Ora collective, Ministry of Health, counsellor (2), therapist.
- **Government agencies, social services:** CYPS (5), Department of Social Welfare (3), the Māori Land Court, politicians, 'government deny my sovereign right', Human Rights review Tribunal, Births and Deaths, police, MSD, family court, watchdots (Privacy commission), Human Rights Commission, Ombudsman, Children's commissioner, Ministries, Family Works, Environment Protection Agency, Armed Forces, StudyLink, Worksafe, Whānau Ora, local women's centre, state care, National Party, Te Arawhiti.

- **Services for Māori:** Office of Treaty Settlements.
- **Education**: school (secondary).
- Women's Refuge (2).
- Lawyers.
- Transport - refused access to free transport.
- Marae, te Runanga, whānau (3).
- General: *"all state agencies", "all systems of government and colonisation".*

Some comments:

Being evicted from our whenua.

No aid for single mothers 1940s and 1950s.

My children and grandchildren placed in another family's care without my knowledge or consent.

OTS (Office of Treaty Settlements) - throughout most of the process of settlement of the claim this process has been violent and neglectful of the need to build relationships with and between whānau members - we have been railroaded in terms of settlement act being pushed through by external consultants [and] others with vested interest in getting their hands on our whenua tupuna, and the Crown so it can wipe its hands of us and leave us to fight amongst ourselves, which is still happening… this is the violence I am talking about. The violence through taking our whenua, dislocating us from ourselves, not rebuilding these relationships to strengthen and bring healing.

The Māori Land Court continues to perpetuate harm on our whānau through its delays, lack of care, lack of funding and lack of reparation.

The department of conservation had actually evicted my granddad from his land …. He had built his own shanty hut on our own whenua. I found letters and documents of his fight with DOC for his plea to stay on his whenua.

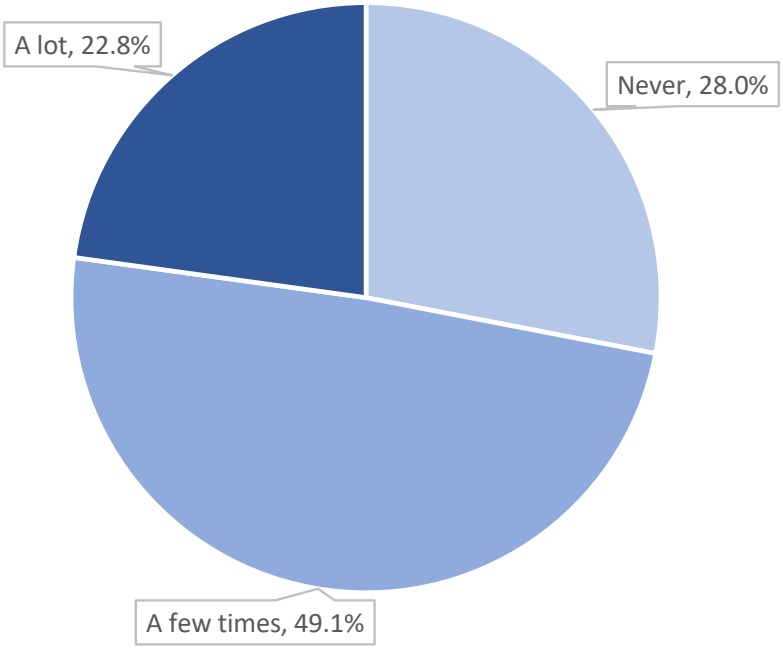
In the late 50s early 60s my grandmother was denied support of any kind trying to flee her alcoholic policeman husband who beat her to a pulp. She and her 4 children needed support and protection.

Abuse and Abuse of Power

Question B03a: In your lifetime, have you or your whānau experienced abuse, or abuse of power (e.g., WINZ, Ministry of Justice, Oranga Tamariki) from the state or government agencies?

Of the 1,516 respondents who answered this question in the survey, over one fifth (22.8%, 346 individuals) stated they, or their whānau, had experienced abuse or abuse of power from the state or government agencies 'a lot' in their lifetime, approximately half (49.1%, 745 individuals) stated they had experienced abuse or abuse of power 'a few times', and 28.0% (425 individuals) stated they had 'never' experienced abuse or abuse of power from the state or government agencies in their lifetime (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Experience of abuse, or abuse of power by the state or government agencies



Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Question B03b: If you have experienced abuse or abuse of power, by which of the following?

Respondents who indicated they had experienced abuse, or abuse of power (either 'a lot' or 'a few times') were asked to indicate the services or systems involved. Multiple answers could be selected, giving a total of 4,470 responses to this question, from 1,094 respondents. Table 5 below provides a list of services or systems, ordered from the greatest number of experiences of neglect as indicated by survey respondents, to the least.

Table 6: Experiences of abuse or abuse of power by state agencies

	No. of responses	% of total responses	% of 1,094 respondents
WINZ	671	15.0	61.5
Police	632	14.1	57.9
Health Service such as Hospital, Health Provider, Doctor's Surgery	625	14.0	57.3
Justice system (e.g., Corrections, Family Court)	531	11.9	48.7
Education such as Early Childhood, School, University, Polytechnic	515	11.5	47.2
Oranga Tamariki	376	8.4	34.5
Housing	320	7.2	29.3
District or Regional Council	305	6.8	28.0
IRD	198	4.4	18.1
Department of Conservation	131	2.9	12.0
Customs and Immigration	91	2.0	8.3
Other (see below)	75	1.7	6.9
Total	**4,470**	**100.0**	

Note: respondents may select more than one answer. Shading indicates 50% or more of respondents indicated experiences of abuse or abuse of power from these services Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

For those that indicated 'other', responses included;

- ACC (14)
- **Government agencies and services:** CYFS (Children, Young People and Families, now Ministry for Children: He Oranga Tamariki) (3), Public Trust (2), Citizens Advice Bureau, politicians, EQC, Human Rights Review Tribunal, Employment relations Authority, Privacy commissioner, Ombudsman, Ministry of State Owned Assets, Ministry of Works, Births and Deaths, Housing NZ, Fire Service, "Family Court and all its tax-payer funded contractors", government employees in government departments, Social Welfare (2), the British Colonial Government of New Zealand, DHB, MSD (Ministry of Social Development) (as employer), NZ Defence, Te Arawhiti.
- **Health Services:** doctors, Sport NZ, mental health services (2),
- **Education:** primary school, Teachers Council, StudyLink.
- Workplace, jobs and interviews etc, my boss.
- Air New Zealand, Wilsons Parking, power company (2), internet providers.
- **Services for Māori:** OTS (3), Māori Affairs, Whānau Ora Collective, Māori Affairs, Māori Land Court (2).
- Retail: retail shops (2), supermarket, dairies.
- Church.
- Iwi social services, Te Runanga, Trustees.
- Parents, forced to marry without my knowledge and consent, older kuia, *"family, friends, partners, employers, pretty much everyone."*

Comments and experiences:

Rarurarau that's descended down the generations of the family and outside the family.

Power company, disconnected power back in the 1980s, to force my mother to sign a document that she did not agree to, and the power was disconnected. As a result I was visited at school by a male Department of Social Welfare worker [name provided] without consent or notification by my mother. I was questioned in relation to having no power at home, who was there and why there was no power. I was in third form at [name of school], I was in this room alone with him, and the staff at the school knew; my mother did not.

All state agencies have and are abusing their power as kawanatanga acting completely beyond the bestowment of powers (under and subject to Tino Rangatiratanga) within Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Whenua, and the retention thereof, the return of whenua etc.

ACC - denial of surgery with ACC claiming an injury was due to degeneration. This in spite of the surgeon writing and stating that there was no way degeneration could have caused the injury.

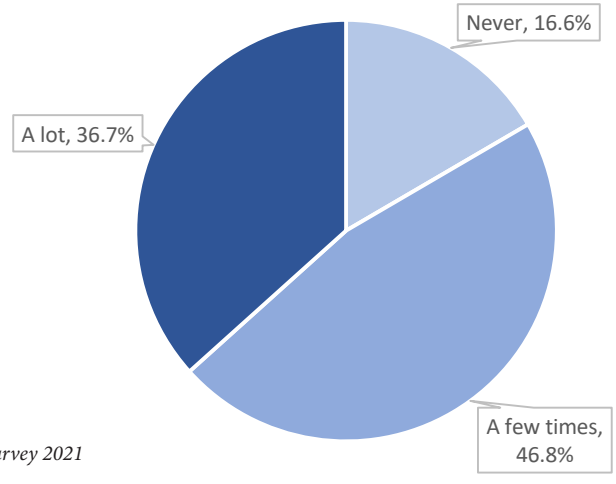
All state agencies have and are abusing their power as kawanatanga acting completely beyond the bestowment of powers (under and subject to Tino Rangatiratanga within Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Racism

Question B04a: In your lifetime, have you or your whānau experienced racism from the state, or government agencies?

Of the 1,495 respondents who answered this question in the survey, an estimated 36.7% (548 individuals) stated they, or their whānau, had experienced racism 'a lot' from the state, or government agencies, almost half (46.8%; 699 individuals) stated they had experienced racism 'a few times', and 16.6% (248 individuals) stated they had 'never' experienced racism from the state, or government agencies in their lifetime (see figure 5 below).

Figure 5: Experiences of racism from state or government agencies



Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Question B04b: if you have experienced racism, by which of the following?

Respondents who indicated they had experienced racism either 'a lot' or 'a few times' (1,247 individuals) were asked to indicate the services or systems involved. Multiple answers could be selected, giving a total of 5,712 responses to this question, from 1,247 respondents. Table 6 below provides a list of services or systems, ordered from the greatest number of experiences of neglect as indicated by survey respondents, to the least.

Table 7: Experiences of racism by state agencies

	No. of responses	% of total responses	% of 1,247 respondents
Education such as Early Childhood, School, University, Polytechnic	845	14.8%	67.8
Health Service such as Hospital, Health Provider, Doctor's Surgery	840	14.7%	67.4
Police	764	13.4%	61.3
WINZ	693	12.1%	55.6
Justice system (e.g., Corrections, Family Court)	598	10.5%	48.0
District or Regional Council	470	8.2%	37.7
Housing	461	8.1%	37.0
Oranga Tamariki	370	6.5%	29.7
IRD	209	3.7%	16.8
Customs and Immigration	193	3.4%	15.5
Department of Conservation	175	3.1%	14.0
Other (se below)	94	1.7%	7.5
Total	**5,712**	**100.0%**	

Note: respondents may select more than one answer. Shading indicates 50% or more of the respondents have experienced neglect from these services. Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Experiences of racism. For those who indicated 'other', responses included:

- ACC (12)
- **Health services:** mental health, birthing centre, whānau ora, local women's centre.
- **Employment:** workplaces, applying for a job, employment.
- **Government agencies and services:** Te Arawhiti, Citiz.ens Advice Bureau, city counsellors, politicians, MFAT (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade), MPI (Ministry of Primary Industries) (2), MSD, MPF, Ministry of Works, State owned enterprises, Central government, Births and deaths, Labour Department, Fire and Emergency NZ (HQ), CYFS (4), government employees, electoral commission, Crown Treaty settlement policies, Armed Forces, Office of Treaty Settlements, NZ National party, Te Arawhiti, *"The British Colonial Crown, Government & Colonial Population."*
- **Education:** schools, mostly teachers, education system, special education services, StudyLink.

- Media.
- Mediation.
- **Housing:** landlords (2), *"dodgy property managers and property owners"*.
- **Māori services:** Te Runanga, Māori affairs, Trustees, local marae, local Māori health services, Whānau Ora collective.
- **Retail:** shopping (2), dairy, retail shops, bank (5), businesses, transport, AirNZ.
- People on the streets, other kids' parents, community (2), general public, local community groups, from other races.
- Colonised family members, my own father, whānau.

Comments and experiences:

Judge was removed from my case during a trial.

Not for profit providers/conservation groups once Māori heritage known.

Have experienced reverse racism, e.g. I am Māori but not to look at. My mother was the Māori and we could not get accommodation in Auckland because of this.

My sons have been stopped by the police and felt the only reason was because of their colour.

WINZ case managers entered my flat with a search warrant, antagonising and harassing me without full knowledge of the issue at hand. Multiple issues regarding my volunteer cultural commitment to [name of marae], my housing status, my family, my employment and ownership of previous vehicles. I was racially discriminated and accused of something unlawful that I would never understand.

Being followed around by a shop attendant when visiting with my moko the toy section of a Department store and also being directed to the half-priced clothing rack as I entered.

I may have but it's hard to identify when you don't see it coming.

Having people not believe that I'm Māori like I have to prove it.

I wrote to Minister Tirikatene Sullivan about an issue to do with the way my sister was being treated by the then Social Welfare/Mental Health, and their appalling treatment of my sister, and she did nothing.

We have experienced racism because the system is a colonial system, all parts of it are geared towards the perspective and cultural biases of the English and their Western systems. The racism is innate.

This entire system is founded on and relies upon white supremacy and racism. It is on this foundation that these colonial structures systems and processes thrive and subjugate tangata whenua including me. I have experienced this baked-in racism my whole life as the crown affirming and reaffirming its control - akin to an immune system that seeks me out to oppress and shun me.

Subtly, in a way that they think I will not notice.

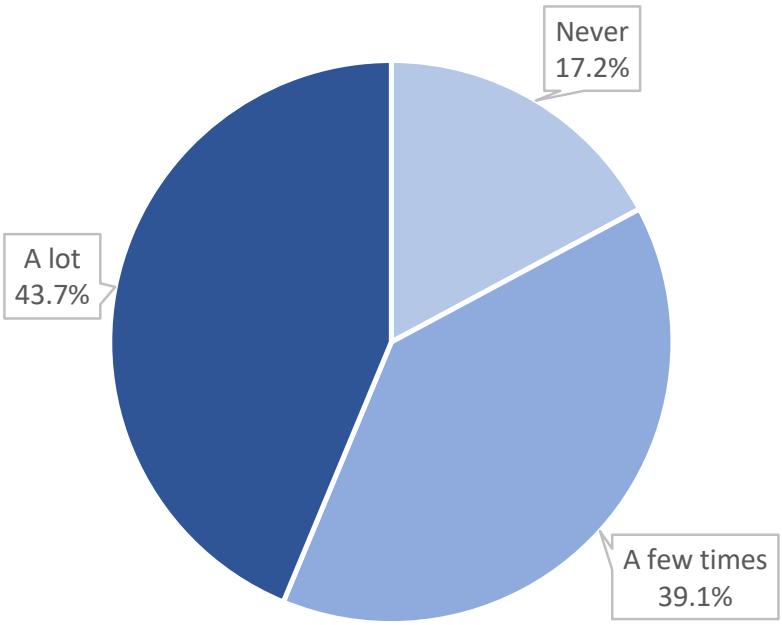
EVERYWHERE.

Breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Question B05a: In your lifetime, have you or your whānau experienced breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi from the state or government agencies?

Of the 1,468 respondents who answered this question in the survey, 43.7% (642 individuals) stated that in their lifetime, they or their whānau had experienced breaches of Te Tiriti by state or government agencies 'a lot', a further 39.1% (574 individuals) stated they had experienced breaches of Te Tiriti 'a few times', and an estimated 17.2% (252 individuals) stated that they or their whānau had 'never' experienced breaches of Te Tiriti by state or government agencies (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi by state or government agencies



Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Question B05b: If you have experienced breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, by which of the following?

Respondents who indicated they had experienced breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (either 'a lot' or 'a few times') were asked to indicate the services or systems involved. Multiple answers could be selected, giving a total of 6,177 responses to this question, from 1,216 respondents. Table 7 below provides a list of services or systems, ordered from the greatest number of experiences of neglect as indicated by survey respondents, to the least.

Table 8: Experiences of breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi by state agencies

	No. of responses	% of total responses	% of 1,216 respondents
Education such as Early Childhood, School, University, Polytechnic	818	13.2%	67.3
Health Service such as Hospital, Health Provider, Doctor's Surgery	795	12.9%	65.4
Police	703	11.4%	57.8
District or Regional Council	655	10.6%	53.9
WINZ	646	10.5%	53.1
Justice system (e.g., Corrections, Family Court)	633	10.3%	52.1
Oranga Tamariki	467	7.6%	38.4
Housing	465	7.5%	38.2
Department of Conservation	395	6.4%	32.5
IRD	273	4.4%	22.5
Customs and Immigration	197	3.2%	16.2
Other (please describe below)	130	2.1%	10.7
Total	**6,177**	**100.0**	

Note: respondents may select more than one answer. Shading indicates 50% or more of the respondents have experienced breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi from these services. Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. For those that indicated 'other', responses included;

- ACC (11).
- Stolen land, the return of confiscated lands through the court system
- **Government:** CYFS (3), MOH, council, Te Arawhiti (2), Citizen.s Advice Bureau, government (10), members of parliament, politicians, electoral system, MFAT, MAF, MBIE, Social welfare, Māori vote, Births and Deaths, Fire and Emergency NZ, Ministry of Works, Finance Sector, Treaty settlement processes (3),Waitangi Tribunal, Supreme Court, MSD (2), National govt (2), Labour Cabinet, Māori Land Court (6), NZ Defence, all government agencies (6), "the whole bloody lot".
- **Health:** doctors, Local Maori Health services, Whānau ora collective (2), PHO, Women's centre.
- **Employment:** employer, employment, colleagues in government departments.
- **Education:** StudyLink, university, schools.
- Community meetings, communities, sports arenas, church facilities, local community providers and services.
- Retail, business: retail shops, dairies, banks (2).
- Media (2), newspapers.
- Te Runanga, local Marae, Māori Affairs.
- Society in Aotearoa, everyday Pākehā and tauiwi (3), general society, pretty much everyone.
- Foreshore and seabed legislation (2).

Comments and experiences:

Lived in Hokianga as a very young child. Father could not get bank loan to improve the loan so family was compelled to engage in the urban drift. Probably many other instances that affected my parents which then affected the family that I was too young to understand.

I was taken away from my family more than once to be placed into foster care without full knowledge of what was happening. This destroyed the balance and harmony of our family unit.

Generations of family unknown to the immediate family.

I have lodged a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. Have been kept waiting and I am not sure why my claim is not being progressed through to a hearing.

Literally all institutions are founded on, and continue on the basis of, Tiriti breaches.

Generally people do not respect or understand the Tiriti; there is a dismissive attitude to it and fear that personal loss will happen if the document is respected and worked with together across Aotearoa.

Central government with the sale of a school house.

Media, pakeha perception of Māori as lazy and undeserving. Or that Māori are greedy, always getting handouts, government aid.

Having to quantify my Māori whakapapa.

Bastion Point was a breach that impacted all of us.

This is a difficult question, these organisations are all built on white supremacy and so are inherently racist?

Land boards, water boards, quangos, relating to natural resources, climate change policy, seabed, mining and energy resource licensing and control, foreshore and seabed ownership, primary industries, fisheries.

The effects of colonisation are ongoing: loss of land, loss of language, displacement, poverty and violence, the legacy of colonisation is ongoing.

It's been breached since the day it was signed.

My Tipuna signed Te Tiriti and I have witnessed breach after breach of Te Tiriti. My entire experience as a human being has been in the breach of Te Tiriti - The current state of Aotearoa is a breach of Te Tiriti.

No Māori sovereignty , still waiting for that.

Disregard for preserving the mauri of whenua and water.

Breaches every day from any government department and agencies. Breaching the Treaty is a norm.

In every sector throughout my entire life.

There are so many things that breach te Tiriti all the time I don't know what to say really.

Seems dramatic but also there are breaches to Te Tiriti every day and I wanted to acknowledge that.

All of these structures breach Te Tiriti O Waitangi - they are not rules that we should have to live by. They were not created by the tangata whenua, we are living in a corrupt society to support fat cats - this is not how we as tangata whenua should be forced to live any longer.

Māori whānau are bullied to give up their cultural beliefs and living for the benefit of the country...the use of the Public Works Act to take land, desecrate wāhi tapu, bulldoze homes for progress of towns, causing mental health issues to Māori whānau living on their land by putting a road through it under this Act....

The people have lost their voice government has power over the people.

I would say, across the board.

Systemic because the government has not acted as a Treaty Partner.

Treaty settlements. They gave our settlement money to the wrong Tribe and we didn't get any LAND BACK. The land we have is only customary title and we have to grant access to the public and can't use it for our own needs.

Local hapū had Waitangi settlement. Our Whānau had RFR and TNL properties to come back since 2000 we have been waiting for 20 years for one property to be returned and 11 years for one which is going through the Land court this year sometime. The problem is with the local hapū they don't stick to what they signed up for.

Basically every organisation is in breach. There is no true dual partnership.

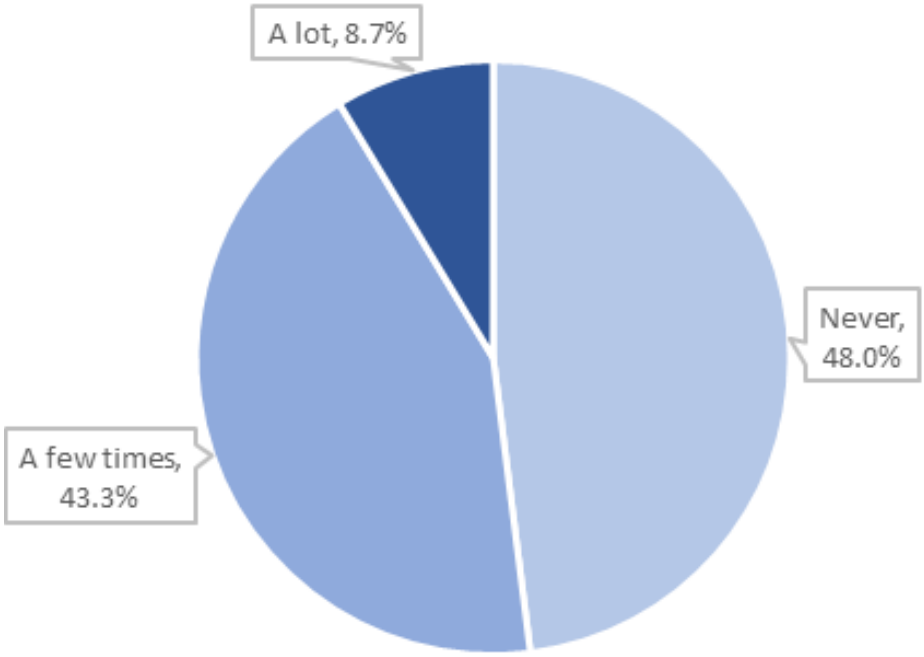
Seen it repeatedly directed directly and indirectly towards Māori.

Police Violence

Question B06: In your lifetime, have you or your whānau experienced police violence?

Of the 1,452 respondents who answered this question in the survey, 8.7% (126 individuals) stated that they or their whānau had experienced police violence 'a lot' in their lifetime, a further 43.3% (629 individuals) stated they had experienced police violence 'a few times', and almost half (48.0%; 697 individuals) stated that they had 'never' experienced police violence in their lifetime (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Experience of police violence



Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Summary

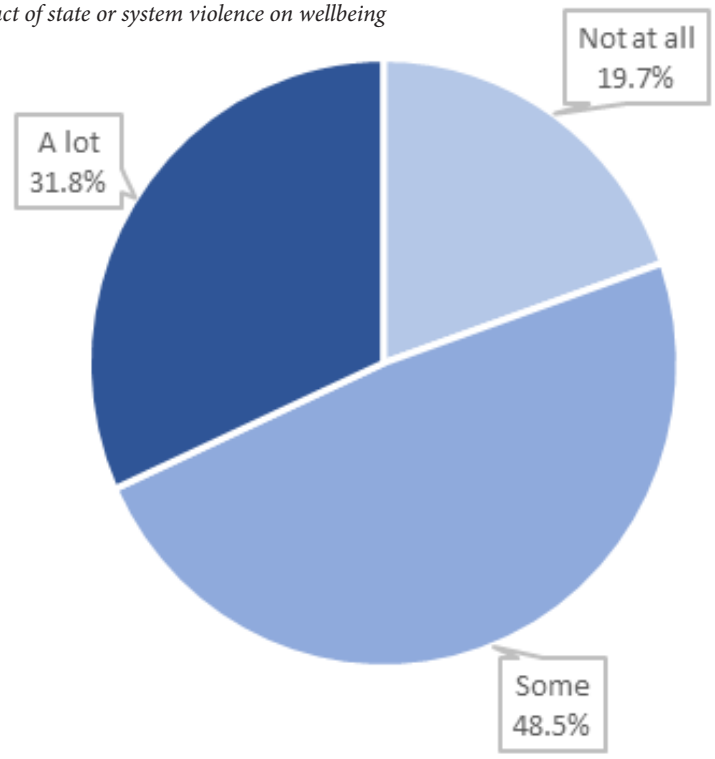
- Approximately 2/3 of respondents or their whānau have experienced neglect in their lifetime, mostly from Health services, WINZ, Education system, Police, Justice System.
- Almost 2/3 have experienced failure to protect, mostly from Police, Health Services, Justice system, Education System, WINZ.
- Over 70% have experienced abuse or abuse of power, mostly from; WINZ, Police, Health Services, Justice System, Education System
- Over 80% have experienced racism, mostly from; Education system, Health System, Police, WINZ, Justice System
- Over 80% have experienced breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, mostly from; Education System, Health System, Police, District or Regional Council, WINZ, Justice System.
- Almost 60% of respondents or their whānau have experienced police violence in their lives.

Impact of State Violence on Wellbeing

Question B07: In general, how much does the state or system violence impact on your wellbeing?

Of the 1,444 respondents who answered this question, almost a third (31.8%; 459 individuals) stated that state or system violence impacted on their wellbeing 'a lot', a further almost half (48.9%; 701 individuals) stated that state or system violence had 'some' impact on their wellbeing, and just under a fifth (19.7%; 284 individuals) stated 'not at all' to the question of how much does state or system violence impact on their wellbeing (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Impact of state or system violence on wellbeing



Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Question B08: Are there things you do to try to minimise the impact of state or system violence on your wellbeing? Answer options: Yes (please describe), No (please explain)

A total of 1,348 respondents answered this question. An estimated 80.0% (1,079 individuals) stated that yes, there were things they did to try and minimise the impact of state or system violence on their wellbeing. The remaining 20% (269 individuals) stated no.

Of those who stated 'yes' to this question and provided further information (1,059 individuals), their responses have been summarised in the following section. The first quote presented here captures the sentiments echoed by many in their responses to this question.

You have to expect Pākehā British Colonial racism and violence at all times and in any place, and be prepared to defend yourself.

You have to measure your response to provocations as Pakeha set up Māori to be entrapped, so they can profit.

You have to accept the colonial system is designed to drive you insane and abuse you for British race profit and that we've all been conditioned to accept it and that some Pakeha champion racist abuse and theft.

You have to study how we've been manipulated into this position and potential ways out.

You have to accept some Māori have been colonised to support abusive colonial institutions and culture and that some may hide behind the language of Mana Motuhake for profit.

You have to seek those who care and fight for Tino Rangatiratanga, Mana Motuhake and hold on to your whakapapa and matauranga Māori no matter where abusers come from.

You have to realise other Māori are being hammered by this continued racist colonial violence and that they may be losing their minds too.

You have to use whatever tools you can to hold on to Kaupapa Māori integrity and the idea that your wairua and whakapapa have eternal value. Ka whawhai tonu matou ake ake ake".

Boundaries, prevention, avoidance

Keep away from police, the police are the worst.
Don't bother applying for jobs in departments that don't have Māori representation.
Move to rural location, left the country.
Walk away, "we try to be invisible to them".
Try not to rely on the system for anything.
Avoid situations, avoid contact.
Minimise time I have to engage.
Mind my own business, I'm almost reclusive.
Avoid media, refuse to read biased reporting, control public online profiles.
Decline meetings, avoid contact.
Find alternatives for my children's education.
Not contacting or booking appointments unless absolutely necessary.
Mainly try to avoid spaces that I know are unsafe, but I'm also privileged in being able to have choice in spaces that I can avoid.
I feel like I have to armour up to go see any state agencies as I fully expect to be given a hard time, denied benefits or any kind of justice for wrongdoings of the State.
Ignore it.
Don't go to appointments.
Hypervigilance.
Stay within my whānau setting where I feel safe.

Conform

Dress professionally.
Use formal language, "Try to dull my accent and sound more educated".
Encourage whānau to adhere to Pākehā law.
Follow due process.
Conform, keep my nose clean.
Uphold the law.
Try to be a role model.
I pretend, I ignore, I live with the injustice, I comply.

Act Pākehā / suppress Māori identity

As I look Pākehā and have a Pākehā name I aim to act as non-Māori as I can. Which is frustrating that I have to do this.
Pretend it's not my country.
Used to not provide Māori heritage information at all - really made a difference to the way we were treated as a family.
Pretend I am not Māori.
Send my Pākehā husband to deal with them.
Attempt to "fit in" as pakeha and act like I am Pākehā.
I'm a white passing Māori so I try to use my privilege to protect and look out for my whānau.
I accept mispronunciation of my name and the names of my family.
Become a Pākehā-educated professional within the State.
I try to live a life acceptable to European society.

Healing, Counselling, wairuatanga, hauora

Meditate, whakanoa, karakia, see a therapist, counselling, psychotherapy.
Personal spiritual and cultural practices.
Attend church and choir group.
Keep healthy, eat well, spend a lot of time in the water, ocean, time with Papatūānuku.
Medication for depression, home remedies.
Reflecting on ancestral stories and proverbs and prayer.
I try to focus on my own mental wellbeing to minimise my own emotional investment.
Self-care, make art, "try to make peace with my mamae."
Embracing te Taiao and releasing stagnant energy through ahurea Māori, growing and harvesting kai, gardening, self-sustainability, awa, ngāhere.
Mahi Atua, pure, karakia, orokoroa, mirimiri.
Cultivate gratitude.

Education, keeping informed, understanding

Google information, read widely.
Make sure children are aware of racism, prepare our children.
Read widely, access policies and regulations.
Knowing the rules and regulations for the organisation.
I'm educated to tertiary level and I complain.

Communication, discussion

Listen, think and be fair.
Lots of discussion with Māori and non-Māori regarding inequality and inequities.
Ka kōrero au ki ngā hoa me ngā whanaunga.
Share my experiences with trusted friends.

Complaints process / advocacy / challenge / make change

Self advocate.
Challenge racism, exercise my rights, drive for change, support positive change in the system.
Get actively involved so I can make change.
Write about it, blog.
Record meetings.
Run for council, support activist kaupapa.
Learn to respond clearly and assertively.
I will not keep silent, because it is ongoing and hasn't changed.
I have contacted politicians and many times to no avail.
Vote.
Work inside racist systems to try and influence change.
I advocate for those who have been downtrodden by the system.
Seek advice from people who know how to navigate services.

Seek support

Take support people to meetings.
Prepare with whānau prior to any appointments.
Get support from confident advocates.
Māori women's governance group.
Community care.
Work to strengthen and tautoko individual community members knowing that every individual is an extension of the broader whānau.

Whanaungatanga, whakapapa, tikanga, reo

Try to connect with my hapū.
Look after my whānau.
Learn and practice te reo and tikanga as a whānau.
Ka mau tonu ahau ki aku tikanga me taku reo.
Kapa haka keeps me grounded and secures my mental health and stability.
Study te reo, pronounce reo Māori correctly, celebrate reo and tikanga.
I have been learning Te Reo Māori to connect to the whakapapa I have but which was stolen from my whānau. This is my way of trying to regain my Māori identity to help strengthen me in that identity – this is good for my well-being, tāku wairua, tāku hinengaro, tāku ngākau.
Going back to the marae, keeping connected to my iwi.
Live on our whenua.
Wānanga, mātauranga Māori.
Learn more about my tūpuna, te ao Māori in pre-colonial times.

Tiakina, tautoko, aroha

Take care of myself and those around me.
Support those working in it.
Offer help where I can.
Be with people who support the kaupapa.
Build the skills and capacity to have safe and healthy whānau and hapū
Teach and practise a philosophy of kindness, love, respect.
Support rangatahi.
Whānau values.

Impacts

Alcohol, drugs, anger, smoking, smoke weed.
Hypervigilance.
Self-medicate.
Over-eating, obesity.

Comments, experiences

Some of my whānau have given up applying for income support because they get advised to leave the district to get employment opportunities elsewhere, but their children live here.

This is a hard one to answer, hard to know what comes automatically or is more conscious.

I try and stay out of it. I've been in the system previously, and though (probably because I am fair skinned) I did not experience any discrimination, it was an experience that left me feeling like a second-class citizen at times. It's not somewhere I want to be.

Go into a hui knowing that the colour of my skin has a predetermined outcome.

Taught my children and mokopuna to carry receipts, phone voice and video record always on standby. Screenshot important documents and ID. Always have a witness when dealing with government personnel and departments. Rehearse how to deal with police or any government department in a clear, legal but polite affirmative manner. Knowing and stating my rights as a citizen of NZ and tangata whenua under the treaty of Waitangi.

It hurts my wellbeing mentally and I can't communicate with family members ... I hide in my house frightened to speak about my problems. Have panic attacks quite a lot.

Keep smiling while dying inside as I see power imbalance...it kills me.

Try to let it go because it's easier to do that than kick up a fuss about it.

I give up and just go without support.

What can you do?

Karakia before engagement. Behave like a colonised Māori to receive the best service I can receive. To sound grateful and overwhelmed for the service being provided to me. Engage when necessary. Mentally prepare myself to dissolve negativity and/or ignorant comments. Access a person who is heart-led not systems-led.

This question has revealed to me so many seemingly small things I do to compensate for the covert racism and bias that I know is present my country.

Of those who stated 'no' to this question and provided further information (150), their responses are summarised as follows. Ironically, many of the responses were similar to those who responded 'yes' to this question, with the majority stating they either avoid engagement, comply, or have a level of protection as they can pass as pākehā.

Comply

I follow the laws.
Just keep your nose clean.

Avoid, disengage, boundaries

Try to live where I am not overly involved with the state.
I'm not reliant on the system.
Avoid these situations.

Pākehā -passing, privilege

I have education on my side, I'm not poor, and I'm white-passing.
I look Pākehā so I don't have a problem as people don't realise I identify as Māori.
I am Pākehā passing. I witness racism by proxy and to family members. I witness gaslighting on an everyday basis.
It's not something I've experienced. I'm well spoken, from a stable family , relatively well off, so I'm not personally nor directly experiencing the brunt of the state's monopoly on violence.

Caution, preparedness, education, awareness

Always aware and alert.
We live our life knowing we have to be extra careful.
Educate my children and mokopuna how to be strong in a white privileged system.
Communication, connection, shared experience, tautoko, whānau support.
I found by talking to others it really helped.
Always take someone with me.
My maternal grandfather was our hero /he poutokomanawa and my maternal grandmother was the 'boss'. So I was fortunate.

Advocacy, resistance, change

I am standing up against this violence and manipulation.
Speak up and confront the system.
Resistance (sometimes).
Know your rights and be willing to fight for them.

Hauora

Live a healthy life, mentally and physically.

What was different in these responses was that some said they had no need for strategies, as they hadn't experienced violence, and some said they used to have strategies (e.g., use Pākehā name), but not anymore. The reasons for this varied from 'giving up', to the sense they were older now and either experienced racism and violence less, or had become accustomed to it.

A key difference in the responses for those who indicated that 'no, there wasn't anything they did to minimise the impact on state violence on their wellbeing', was the sentiment that they didn't know how, and that there was nothing that could be done.

Unsure how to minimise impact

I just block out what happened, because I tried to stick up for myself many times and had a lot of bad experiences so it's easier to block it out.

I don't know how to minimise the impact on my wellbeing.

I do not know where to ask for help and very hard to trust others with so much discrimination and racism in the community and those people hide behind happy masks.

Acknowledging that change is unlikely, powerlessness, helplessness, futility

You can't change the perspective on your race with ease.
Not a lot we can do to change the system that is in place.
Have given up asking for help.
There's nothing I can do until there is systemic change … feel helpless.
I have come to terms with CYFS failing me.
What's the point, you just get used to it.
How, when you get no, say, or you are shut down.

There is nothing that can be done. You have brown skin you are targeted even if you speak and look like a Pākehā if you are brown and speak reo you are second class in your own country.

Whānau who've experienced this have never really known what to do about it.
I am powerless in Family Court, my daughter's violent, pākehā father is valued more by the court than my Māori daughter.

Not too sure how to navigate through these issues as a whānau as our experiences are traumatic and there often feels like no restoration nor is there accountability for the actions of people who abuse their power.

Further comments and experiences indicated the extent of the impact of systemic violence on wellbeing and freedom

Trauma is integrated into one's being, therefore you learn coping mechanisms- negative and/or positive to be able to function in life, therefore there is no one thing that can adequately describe how one is able to carry on with life, and at times, whānau have not been able to carry the burden and have taken their own life.

When in my youth I would not share my Māori name with anyone until they met me face to face. Being judged as not worthy for interviews for housing jobs etc. because of being Māori caused great anxiety.

I was very anxious every time we went out of [name of town] in my boyfriend's car because we would always get pulled over. Everyone in the car would be asked for identification like we were foreigners in our own country or not allowed to be in certain places after dark or not worthy of being in such a nice car. My anxiety would grow as the police tried to get my friends in the car to step outside the vehicle to fight by taunting them with questions and statements said to make them angry. In those days your occupation was on your DL so when they saw I was a teacher they would respond disrespectfully, amazed that a Māori could be a teacher, again in a way to upset the males in the car.

Though at times people don't respond well to my son and I speaking Te Reo (Pākehā settings), the majority of the time conscious and non-ignorant people often commend it. Though, sometimes in a Pākehā setting, it can impede the outcomes, i.e., doctor's visits and feeling unheard re health concerns. At times it can feel like we are being discriminated against. So we don't kōrero Māori as much at the doctor's, and it also feels as though there's a barrier in terms of engagement with health services - especially if my son only knows how to communicate in Te Reo (our GP clinic is predominantly non-Māori) so he has begun to learn English to prevent this in order for him to be able to communicate what's going on for him a-tinana.

The experiences over the years, although few, have impacted on me by being very submissive and anxious when in the presence of 'stations of authority'. I quickly learnt that being overly defensive and aggressive got me nowhere and didn't serve me or my whānau to move forward.

I try to avoid dealing with racism but it's so innate and subtle that often it rears its ugly head. I have left employment several times because racism was unavoidable, so cunningly contrived such as pitching Māori against Māori, that it made me spiritually and physically ill.

Summary

- Over 80% of respondents said that state or system violence impacts on their wellbeing either some or a lot. Less than 20% said it didn't impact them at all.
- Approximately 80% said they did things to minimise the impact of state or system violence.

Media Violence

Violence can be in the form of communication that offends, discriminates, denigrates, abuses or disparages us because of our personal identity or beliefs. We can be exposed to this violence through the different types of media such as; newspapers, magazines, TV, radio, and online social media (e.g., Facebook, Instagram, Twitter).

Question B09: In your lifetime, how often have you or your whānau experienced the following types of violence from media? (Tick all that apply):

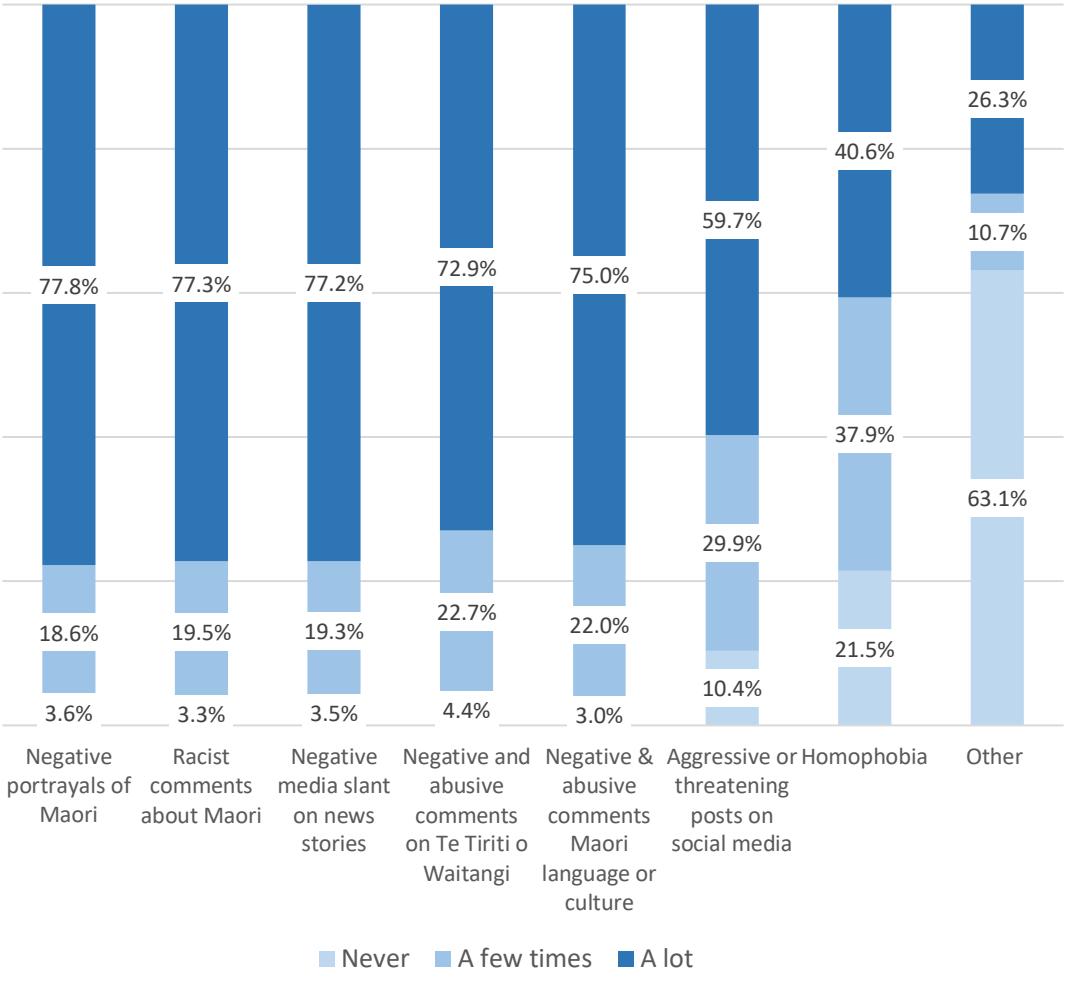
a) Negative portrayals of Māori
b) Racist comments about Māori
c) Negative media slant on news stories
d) Negative and abusive comments on te Tiriti o Waitangi
e) Negative and abusive comments on Māori language or culture
f) Aggressive or threatening posts and comments on social media
g) Homophobia
h) Other: _____

A total of 1,341 respondents answered this question. Almost 80% stated they or their whānau had experienced negative portrayals of Māori 'a lot' (77.8%; 1,043) or 'a few times (18.6%; 250), and similar numbers experienced racist comments about Māori 'a lot' (77.3%; 1,036), 'a few times' (19.5%; 251) and negative media slant on news stories 'a lot' (77.2%; 1,035), and 'a few times' (19.3%; 259) as seen in Figure 9.

Approximately 73% (978 individuals) stated they had experienced negative and abusive comments on Te Tiriti o Waitangi in media, and 75% (1,006 individuals) had experienced negative and abusive comments on Māori language or culture in media 'a lot' in their lifetime.
Almost 60% (59.7%; 801) stated they had experienced aggressive or threatening posts and comments on social media 'a lot' in their lifetime. This number is likely to be an underestimate, as it is dependent on the respondents' access to social media.

Over 40% (545 individuals) stated they had experienced homophobia in media 'a lot' in their lifetime. Of the total 1,341 respondents, 352 (26.3%) indicated they had experienced 'other' types of negative media.

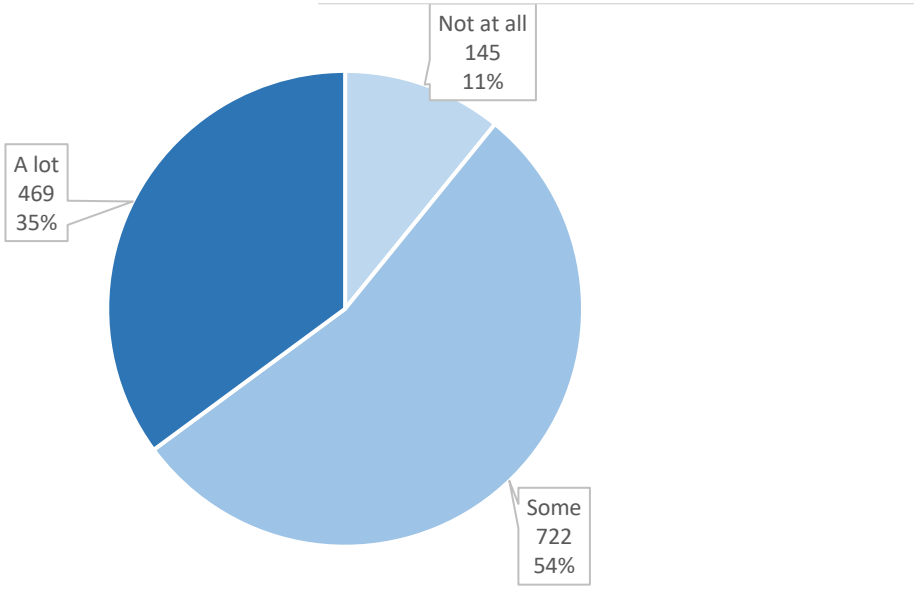
Figure 9: Lifetime experience of media violence



Question B10: In general, how much does media violence impact your wellbeing?

A total of 1,336 respondents answered this question. Almost 90% stated that media violence does impact their wellbeing, either 'some' (54%; 722 individuals), or 'a lot' (34%; 469 individuals), as seen in Figure 10. Just over 10% (145 individuals) indicated that media violence doesn't impact their wellbeing at all.

Figure 10: Impact of media violence on wellbeing



Question B11: are there things you do to minimise the impact of media violence?

Of a total 1,317 who answered this question, 87% (1,143) stated yes. For the vast majority of respondents, avoiding exposure to media was the key strategy;

Don't read or listen any more, don't engage.
Limit who I follow on social media, don't read comments, scroll on.
Turn it off, don't own a TV.
I'm in control of what I expose myself to.
Set boundaries.

Many spoke of self-selecting Māori-focused media, maintaining a focus on positive things;

Follow culturally positive and inspiring people.
Follow Māori-run media organisations.
Engage in pro-active Māori things, watch and listen to Māori broadcasting, Māori successes and initiatives.
Spreading good information, and supporting those working in this area.

A good proportion of respondents stated they would fight back, challenge and contest negative media and racism, and lodge formal complaints;

Fight back!
Speak out against it as often as I can.
Comment/respond. Put them straight.
I contest them, call them out on it.
I fight for my sovereign rights.
Respond to media complaints sometimes, e.g., petitions.

Challenge cultural bias.
Write more positive stories myself.

Many spoke of the importance of keeping informed, and protecting their own friends and whānau with good information and education;

Learn the real facts, find credible sources, get engaged in community.
Stay abreast of these messages and strategise with whānau to reduce the negative impact on self.
Use it for teaching and for discussion with my own child and partner and provide the correct or alternative viewpoint.
Empower myself on facts about our true, Māori history.
We walk proud as Māori, continue to educate ourselves and our mokopuna.

Others spoke of the importance of talking it through, sharing these experiences, and connecting;

Get involved with the community you live in.
Discuss it with family.
Kōrero – whānau, hoa, etc.
Get involved with community events such as kapa haka, marae-run initiatives.

There was considerable acknowledgement of the power of the media;

Media works subconsciously, repeating harmful words and negativity to create unworthiness in our reality.
I am very aware of the mainstream media's racism.
Even the positive [news stories] have hateful racist comments and these make me angry and cry.

Many acknowledged the impact it had on them and others, and the need for self-care;

It makes me angry, swear at the TV, radio or newspaper articles.
I am equipped to deal with it but seeing the effects it has on young Māori hurts me greatly.
Being part of the change to pushback on misogyny, sexism, racism, wilful ignorance. When I feel able.
But it can be exhausting.
Have a positive self-care plan. Being comfortable in own health and wellbeing.

Summary

- Over 95% of respondents or their whānau have experienced in the media: negative portrayals of Māori, racist comments about Māori, negative media slant on news stories, negative and abusive comments on Te Tiriti, and on Māori language and culture.
- Approximately 90% have experienced aggressive or threatening posts on social media, 80% experienced homophobia, and almost 40% experienced media violence in other forms.
- Almost 90% of respondents stated that media violence impacts their wellbeing either some or a lot.

  Almost 90% had strategies for minimising the impact of media violence, which included; avoidance, self-selecting positive Māori-focused media, keeping informed and educating self and whānau, and many acknowledged both the harm negative media can do, the need for self-care and protection, and the power of connecting with whānau and te ao Māori.

Chapter 9
Mauri Ora - Individual Experiences of Violence

CHAPTER 9

Mauri Ora - Individual Experiences of Violence

This section provides an overview of the survey findings in relation to Mauri Ora: individual experiences of violence, and thus focuses on experiences of interpersonal and lateral violence. It explores the lifetime experience of the individual in either witnessing or experiencing violence. The different types of violence included physical, psychological, emotional and spiritual, deprivation or neglect, sexual, financial deprivation, and online violence.

- Survey respondents were supplied with the following brief descriptions of each type of interpersonal violence:
- *Physical* (such as pushing, hitting, use of weapons, someone being forced to take alcohol or drugs)
- *Psychological, emotional and spiritual* (such as someone constantly being put down and criticised, being humiliated, being threatened, having someone or something they love threatened)
- *Deprivation or neglect* (such as someone not being provided food, clothing or warmth, comfort or love, medical treatment, or being left with someone who is unsafe)
- *Sexual* (such as someone being touched in a way they don't want, forced to watch pornography, forced to do sexual acts, raped, forced into prostitution, or frequently being accused of sleeping with others)
- *Financial deprivation* (such as someone having their money or property taken, having debts run up in their name, being pressured into paying money)
- *Online* (such as bullying, stalking, threats, racist comments, hate speech, homophobia)
- *Denigration of whakapapa* (psychological, emotional and spiritual abuse)

Experiences of Seeing or Witnessing Violence

Question C01: In your lifetime, how often have you seen or witnessed the following types of violence:

a) Physical
b) Psychological, emotional and spiritual
c) Deprivation or neglect
d) Sexual
e) Financial
f) Online
g) Denigration of whakapapa

A total of 1,314 responses were received for this question. Almost 94% stated they had, in their lifetime, seen or witnessed physical violence either 'a lot' (41.7%, 548 responses) or 'a few times' (52%, 682 responses). Just over 6% (84 responses) stated they had never seen or witnessed physical violence. See Figure 11.

In total, 96.8% of participants stated they had seen or witnessed psychological, emotional or spiritual violence: 57.4% (754) stated they had seen or witnessed this type of violence a lot, and 39.4% (518) stated they had seen or witnessed this type of violence a few times (39.4%), A small proportion, 3.2% (42) stated they had never seen this form of violence.

Around 80% of participants said they had seen or witnessed deprivation and neglect: 35% stated they had seen or witnessed deprivation and neglect a lot (457), and a further 45% stated they had a few times (593). Approximately one fifth stated they had never seen or witnessed deprivation or neglect (20.1%; 264).

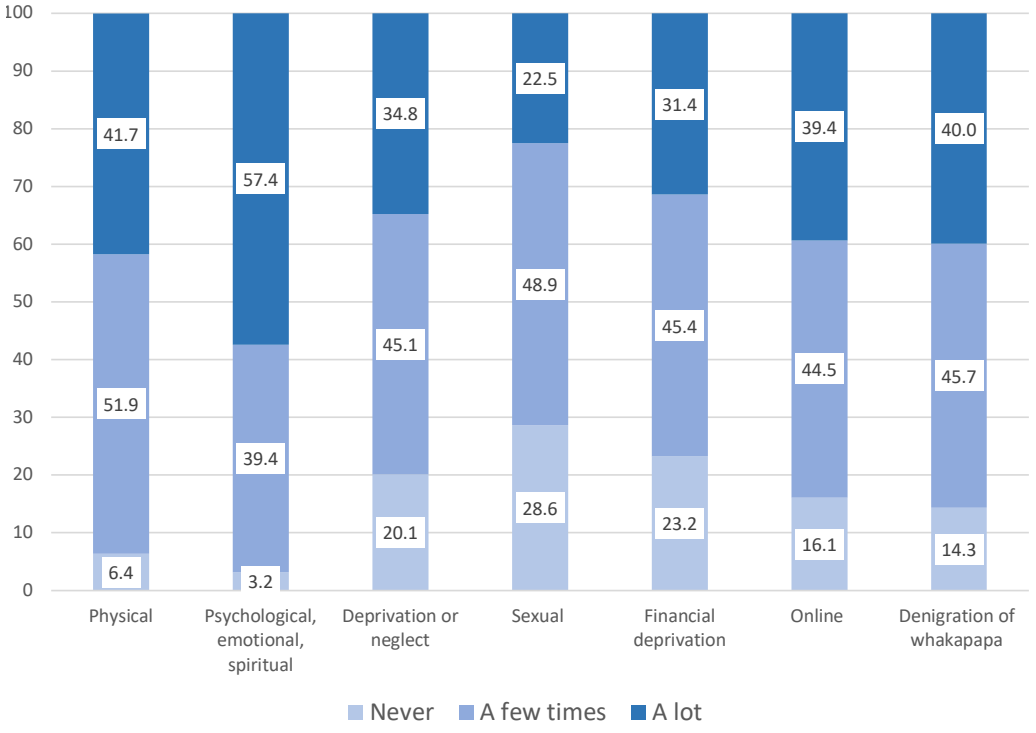
Almost half stated they had seen or witnessed sexual violence a few times (49.0%; 642), and a further 22.5% (296) stated they had seen or witnessed sexual violence a lot. Almost 30% of respondents stated they had never seen or witnessed sexual violence in their lifetime (28.6%; 376).

An estimated 31.4% stated they had seen or witnessed financial deprivation a lot, and a further 45% (585) stated they had a few times. Almost a quarter of respondents stated they had never seen or witnessed financial deprivation (23.2%; 305).

Approximately 39.3% (517) stated they had seen or witnessed online violence a lot, 44.5% (585) had a few times, and 16% of respondents (212) had never seen or witnessed online violence.

Around 40% (525 individuals) stated they had experienced denigration of whakapapa a lot. Approximately 46% (601) stated they had a few times, and an estimated 14% of respondents (188) stated they had never experienced denigration of whakapapa.

Figure 11: Lifetime experience of seeing or witnessing violence



Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Summary

- Almost 95% had seen or witnessed physical violence in their lifetime, and over 95% had also seen or witnessed psychological, emotional, spiritual violence.
- Approximately 80% had seen or witnessed deprivation or neglect, and 80% had seen or witnessed financial deprivation.
- Approximately 85% had seen or witnessed online violence, and 85% had seen or witnessed denigration of whakapapa.
- Over 70% had seen or witnessed sexual violence.

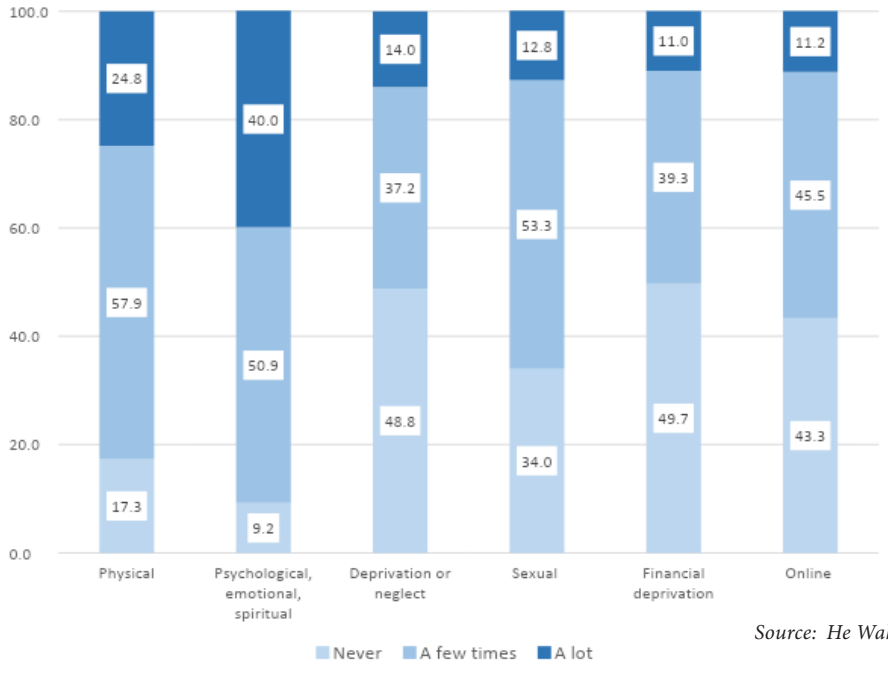
Personal Experiences of Violence

Respondents were asked about their individual experiences of each type of violence, and a follow-up question for each to explore 'who' was violent to them.

Questions C02a-C07a: in your lifetime how often have you experienced the following types of violence:

a) Physical
b) Psychological, emotional and spiritual
c) Deprivation or neglect
d) Sexual
e) Financial deprivation
f) Online

Figure 12: Lifetime experience of violence



Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Physical

Of the 1,307 respondents who answered this question, 25% (324) had experienced physical violence a lot (324), 58% (757) had experienced physical violence a few times and just 17% had never experienced physical violence in their lifetime (226). See Figure 12.

Of the wahine surveyed, an estimated 24% (253) stated they had experienced physical violence a lot, 57% (132) stated a few times, and 19% (193) of wahine stated they had never experienced violence. In comparison, 27% (60) of tane stated they had experienced physical violence a lot in their lifetime, 60% (132) stated they had experienced physical violence a few times, and approximately 13% of tane surveyed stated they had never experienced violence. For those who identified as non-binary, 18% (7) stated they had experienced physical violence a lot in their lifetime, 71% (27) stated they had experienced this a few times, and an estimated 11% (4) stated they had never experienced physical violence, We note the number in this group is small (38), and therefore generalisability is limited and the results should be interpreted with caution. See Table 9.

Table 9: Experiences of physical violence by gender

	Wāhine		Tāne		Nonbinary	
Never	193	19%	28	13%	4	11%
A few times	590	57%	132	60%	27	71%
A lot	253	24%	60	27%	7	18%
Total	**1,036**		**220**		**38**	

Note: data excludes those who self described their gender identity in their own words, and those who didn't answer (small numbers).

Psychological, Emotional and Spiritual

Of the 1,298 participants who answered the question, 40% (517) had experienced psychological, emotional or spiritual violence a lot. Over half had experienced it a few times (51%; 661) and less than 10% had never experienced psychological, emotional or spiritual violence in their lifetime (9.2%; 120 individuals). See Figure 12.

An estimated 42% (432) of wahine had experienced psychological, emotional or spiritual violence in their lifetime at lot. Almost half had experienced this a few times (49%, 506), and an estimated 9% (94) of wahine stated they had never experienced this. An estimated 26% (57) of tane stated they had experienced psychological, emotional and spiritual violence a lot in their lifetime, 63% (136) stated a few times, and an estimated 11% (23) of tane stated they had never experienced psychological, emotional and spiritual violence in their lifetime. For those who identified as non-binary, an estimated 39% (15) stated they had experienced this violence a few times, and 55% (21) stated they had experienced this a lot in their lifetime. We note the number in this group is small (38), therefore generalisability is limited, and the results should be interpreted with caution. Counts below five were suppressed to preserve the confidentiality of survey respondents. See Table 10.

Table 10: Experiences of psychological, emotional and spiritual violence by gender

	Wāhine		Tāne		Nonbinary	
Never	94	9%	23	11%	<5	-
A few times	506	49%	136	63%	15	39%
A lot	432	42%	57	26%	21	55%
Total	**1,032**		**216**		**38**	

Note: data excludes those who self described their gender identity in their own words, and those who didn't answer (small numbers). Numbers below 5 are suppressed to preserve confidentiality.

Deprivation or Neglect

Of the 1,293 who answered the question, 14% (181) had experienced deprivation or neglect a lot in their lifetime, 37% had experienced it a few times (481), and almost half had never experienced deprivation or neglect (49%; 631). See Figure 12.

Of the wāhine who answered this question 13% (137) stated they had experienced this a lot, 38% (390) stated they had a few times, and almost half (49%, 501) of the wāhine in the survey stated they had never experienced deprivation or neglect in their lifetime. Over half of the tāne surveyed 13% (29) stated they had experienced this type of violence a lot, 34% (74) had experienced this a few times, and 52% (113) had never experienced deprivation or neglect. For those who identified as non-binary, 27% (10) had experienced this a lot, 38% (14) had experienced this a few times, and an estimated 35% (13) stated they had never experienced this type of violence. We note the number in this group is small (38), therefore generalisability of these results is limited, and they should be interpreted with caution. See Table 11.

Table 11: Experiences of deprivation or neglect by gender

	Wāhine		Tāne		Nonbinary	
Never	501	49%	113	52%	13	35%
A few times	390	38%	74	34%	14	38%
A lot	137	13%	29	13%	10	27%
Total	**1,028**		**216**		**37**	

Note: data excludes those who self described their gender identity in their own words, and those who didn't answer (small numbers).

Sexual

Of the 1,290 who answered the question, 13% (165) stated they had experienced sexual violence a lot in their lifetime, over a half stated they had experienced this a few times (53.3%; 687) and approximately one third stated they had never experienced sexual violence in their lifetime (34%; 438 individuals). See Figure 12.

Of the wāhine surveyed, an estimated 30% (303) stated they had never experienced sexual violence, 57% (581) stated they had experienced this a few times, and 14% (141) stated they had experienced sexual violence a lot in their lifetime. Of the tāne surveyed, 5% (10) stated they had experienced sexual violence a lot, 38% (81) said they had a few times in their life, and an estimated 58% (125) stated they had never experienced sexual violence. For those who identified as non-binary an estimated 24% (9) stated they had experienced sexual violence a lot in their lifetime, over half (54%, 20) stated they had experienced this a few times, and an estimated 22% (8) stated they had never experienced sexual violence. We note the number in this group is small (38); therefore the generalisability of these results is limited, and they should be interpreted with caution. See Table 12.

Table 12: Experiences of sexual violence by gender

	Wāhine		Tāne		Nonbinary	
Never	303	30%	125	58%	8	22%
A few times	581	57%	81	38%	20	54%
A lot	141	14%	10	5%	9	24%
Total	**1,025**		**216**		**37**	

Note: data excludes those who self described their gender identity in their own words, and those who didn't answer (small numbers).

Financial deprivation

Of the 1,286 who answered the question, 11% (142) had experienced financial deprivation a lot in their lifetime, an estimated 40% had experienced this a few times (505), and almost half had never experienced financial deprivation in their lifetime (49.7%; 639), See Figure 12.

Of the wāhine surveyed, an estimated 11% (117) stated they had experienced financial deprivation a lot, 40% (406) stated that they had a few times in their life, and almost half (49%, 500) stated they had never experienced financial deprivation. Of the tāne surveyed, 10% (21) stated that they had experienced financial deprivation a lot in their lifetime, 35% (74) stated they had a few times, and an estimated 56% (119) stated they had never experienced financial deprivation in their lifetime. For those who identified as non-binary, an estimated 46% (17) said they had experienced financial deprivation a few times and almost half (49%, 18) stated they had never experienced financial deprivation. We note the number in this group is small (38), therefore generalisability is limited, and the results should be interpreted with caution. Counts below five are suppressed to preserve confidentiality of survey respondents. See Table 13 below.

Table 13: Experiences of financial deprivation by gender

	Wāhine		Tāne		Nonbinary	
Never	500	49%	119	56%	18	49%
A few times	406	40%	74	35%	17	46%
A lot	117	11%	21	10%	<5	-
Total	**1,023**		**214**		**37**	

Note: data excludes those who self-identified in a different way, and those who didn't answer (small numbers). Numbers below 5 are suppressed to preserve confidentiality.

Online Violence

Of the 1,282 who answered the question, an estimated 11% (144 individuals) had experienced online violence a lot in their lifetime, 45.5% (583) had experienced this a few times, and an estimated 43% (555 individuals) had never experienced online violence in their lifetime. See Figure 12.

For wāhine respondents, an estimated 11% (110) had experienced online violence a lot, 45% (456) had a few times, and an estimated 45% (455) stated they had never experienced online violence. Of the tāne surveyed, an estimated 10% (22) had experienced online violence a lot, 47% (99) had a few times, and 43% (91) stated they had never experienced online violence. For those who identified as non-binary, 27% (10) had experienced this a lot, 57% (21) had experienced this a few times, and an estimated 16% (6) stated they had never experienced online violence. We note the number in this group is small (38), therefore generalisability is limited, and the results should be interpreted with caution. See Table 14.

Table 14: Experiences of online violence by gender

	Wāhine		Tāne		Nonbinary	
Never	455	45%	91	43%	6	16%
A few times	456	45%	99	47%	21	57%
A lot	110	11%	22	10%	10	27%
Total	**1,021**		**212**		**37**	

Note: data excludes those who self described their gender identity in their own words, and those who didn't answer (small numbers).

Question C02b-C07b: Who was it that you experienced violence from?

Respondents could select more than one answer. Responses to these questions are provided in the summary table (Table 15). Shaded in blue are the perpetrator types with the five highest responses for each type of violence. A detailed breakdown for each category of violence follows this table, including an insight to the responses provided in the open-text 'other' question. The following data are for total responses.

Table 15: Who was it you experienced violence from?

	Physical violence		Psychological, emotional, spiritual		Deprivation or neglect		Sexual violence		Financial deprivation		Online violence	
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
Family member older e.g., parent	623	(22.9)	667	(19.6)	440	(36.5)	331	(19.2)	201	(18.3)	66	(4.9)
Family member younger e.g., child, mokopuna	154	(5.7)	152	(4.5)	110	(9.1)	29	(1.7)	81	(7.4)	38	(2.8)
Friend	145	(5.3)	260	(7.7)	28	(2.3)	106	(6.1)	86	(7.8)	85	(6.3)
Friend of a friend	153	(5.6)	199	(5.9)	54	(4.5)	154	(8.9)	41	(3.7)	135	(10.1)
Partner current at that time	429	(15.8)	215	(6.3)	48	(4.0)	70	(4.1)	92	(8.4)	17	(1.3)
Partner previous at that time	292	(10.8)	597	(17.6)	69	(5.7)	281	(16.3)	341	(31.1)	95	(7.1)
Person you met online	26	(1.0)	71	(2.1)	225	(18.7)	41	(2.4)	9	(0.8)	125	(9.3)
Person you were seeing or dating	152	(5.6)	179	(5.3)	8	(0.7)	134	(7.8)	48	(4.4)	38	(2.8)
Someone in a group/club/gang you are a part of	152	(5.6)	198	(5.8)	59	(4.9)	82	(4.8)	39	(3.6)	79	(5.9)
Stranger	323	(11.9)	322	(9.5)	51	(4.2)	255	(14.8)	45	(4.1)	507	(37.8)
Workmate	115	(4.2)	355	(10.5)	51	(4.2)	48	(2.8)	31	(2.8)	65	(4.8)
Other (please describe)	152	(5.6)	183	(5.4)	62	(5.2)	195	(11.3)	83	(7.6)	92	(6.9)

Source: He Waka Eke Noa Survey 2021

Who was it that you experienced violence from

Table 16: Who did you experience violence from - physical violence

	n	%
Family member older e.g., parent	623	(22.9)
Partner current at that time	429	(15.8)
Stranger	323	(11.9)
Partner previous at that time	292	(10.8)
Family member younger e.g., child, mokopuna	154	(5.7)

Similar, smaller numbers were obtained for: friend, friend of a friend, person you were seeing or dating, someone you were in a club, gang, group with, and 'other'.

Those indicated in the 'other' group included police, teachers, students (while a teacher), customers, patients (mental health facility), fellow school kids (bullying), workmates, employer, state caregivers. Further points to note:

- Several mentions of the perpetrator being under the influence of alcohol or drugs
- Several mentioned physical abuse by teachers at school 'back in the day'
- Some mentions of 'partner's family' or 'family of daughter's partner' or 'family of my children's father'
- Some mentions of ACC case managers
- Some mentions of flatmates, boarders

Table 17: Who did you experience violence from - Psychological, emotional and spiritual violence

	n	%
Family member older e.g., parent	667	(19.6)
Partner previous at that time	597	(17.6)
Workmate	355	(10.5)
Stranger	322	(9.5)
Friend	260	(7.7)

Similar, smaller numbers were obtained for: partner at the time, someone in a group, club or gang that I am a part of, friend of a friend, person dating, and 'other'.

Those indicated in 'other' included managers/boss/employer, ACC case manager, school bullies, teachers, police, sports club, marae/hapū/iwi members (e.g., at hui), tangata tiriti/racist abuse

- Some mentions of hahi/religious groups
- Some mentions of 'society' in general, racism, such as:

I could count my life out with these racist abuses. Like most Māori

Tangata tiriti are conditioned to dominate tangata whenua, and I have experienced this dynamic my whole life and particularly in my work

Table 18: Who did you experience violence from - Deprivation or neglect

	n	%
Family member older e.g., parent	440	(36.5)
Person you met online	225	(18.7)
Family member younger e.g., child, mokopuna	110	(9.1)
Partner previous at that time	69	(5.7)
Other	62	(5.2)

Similar, smaller numbers were obtained for: someone in a group/club/gang you are a part of, friend of a friend, stranger, workmate.

Those indicated in the 'other' group included agencies such as; ACC, WINZ, medical provider, IRD, government, police, Cancer Society, child welfare system. Also included were foster parents, doctors, nurses, and health care providers.

While these responses largely pointed to either agencies or individuals, a number indicated the system;

I think it's easy for us to blame individuals, when in fact the issue is systemic. I would say that our education [and] welfare system has contributed to this deprivation. Whilst it is easy for us to point the finger at whānau/individuals - I would argue that it's the system that is broken; i.e., the colonial, western ideology, which is the greatest oppressor.

The state offers only the support that is designed to help the Pakeha - it is not designed for me - that constitutes neglect as tangata whenua should be the model of design. Other cultures are foreign and can be respected.

Table 19: Who did you experience violence from - Sexual violence

	n	%
Family member older e.g., parent	331	(19.2)
Partner previous at that time	281	(16.3)
Stranger	255	(14.8)
Other (please describe below)	195	(11.3)
Friend of a friend	154	(8.9)

Similar, smaller numbers were obtained for: person you were seeing or dating, friend, someone you were in a gang/group/club with.

Those indicated in 'other' included people in a position of power such as ACC manager, GP, famous musician, two members of parliament, medical staff, school teacher, therapist, while in state care.

Several mentions of people associated with the family, or in trusted positions such as; neighbour, piano teacher, family friend referred to as 'uncle', friend of parents, a boarder living at our house, babysitter, family friend, person who was working for family.

Table 20: Who did you experience violence from - Financial deprivation

	n	%
Partner previous at that time	341	(31.1)
Family member older e.g., parent	201	(18.3)
Partner current at that time	92	(8.4)
Friend	86	(7.8)
Other (please describe)	83	(7.6)

With similar numbers to the 'other' category, was 'family member, younger'. Those indicated in 'other' included loan shark organisations, debt schemes, online scam, and mentions of banks that charge "illegal fees".

There were several references to agencies and the system, such as IRD, government and policies in general, society, debt collectors due to fines, te karauna. Other mentions of land taken, including land taken under the roading act, selling of church land that was gifted to the government, and historical and continual treaty breaches.

Individuals mentioned included ex-partners, drug dealers, employers, landlords, family members.

Table 21: Who did you experience violence from - Online violence

	n	%
Stranger	507	(37.8)
Friend of a friend	135	(10.1)
Person you met online	125	(9.3)
Partner previous at that time	95	(7.1)
Other (please describe)	92	(6.9)

With similar numbers to 'other' was the 'friend' category (6.3% of responses).Those indicated in 'other' included people who respondents have, or have had, an association with such as: relative of in-law, parents of children in our care, ex-tutor from university, ex's ex-partner, past colleagues, old school acquaintance.

Also:

- Mentions of other iwi members, whānau trustee member, or other iwi that have a cross-Treaty claim, use of social media to gain votes (for iwi board), bullied by beneficiaries (of Trust)
- Online gaming
- Also mentioned (although not strictly 'online') was bullying by Radio live talkback
- Some mentions of named individuals such as council members

Several mentions of 'strangers' or anonymous and unknown individuals, hackers, 'trolls', general commentary; threads on Facebook, "unsure as they didn't give their name"
Several comments on racism:

Me, challenging all the racist on social media, and then dealing with the backlash of their fragility when I challenge their racist views.

Social media means that you are constantly exposed to racism and violence against indigenous peoples.

Strangers commenting on pro-Māori posts on FB with racist rhetoric that rapidly becomes personal.

Summary

- Over 90% had experienced psychological, emotional and spiritual violence in their lifetime,
- and over 80% had experienced physical violence.
- Over half experienced deprivation or neglect, and over half experienced financial deprivation
- About 2/3 experienced sexual violence, and about 2/3 experienced online violence.
- Respondents mainly experienced violence from an ex-partner, older family member, or a stranger.

Chapter 10
Waiora - Support/support services & Pae Ora - Aspirational Wellbeing

CHAPTER 10

Waiora - Support/support services & Pae Ora Aspirational Wellbeing

This section provides discussion of (i) Waiora – Support and support services and (ii) Pae Ora – Critical elements of aspirational wellbeing for Māori. It is important that we understand where whānau and individuals go to with regard to their support systems for intervention or access to support and healing. It is also important to see that for many of those who have experienced violence there are also ways or practices that they consider to be important for their wellbeing and that of their whānau. Our pathways to healing, resolution and wellbeing are explored to enable us to consider where resources and support can be best placed for our people.

Wāhanga Tuatahi: Waiora - Support & Support Services

Support Following Experiences of Violence

Question C08-19: When you experience violence, where do you get support?

Respondents could select more than one answer for this question: in total there were 3,393 responses from 1,624 respondents.

Support was mainly received from whānau (41.4% of respondents) and friends (39.5% of respondents), followed by counsellors (17.9% of respondents). Over 17% (283) of respondents didn't get support. See Table 22 and Figure 13 below.

Other areas of support, with similar proportions of the total respondents included doctor (11.7%), workmates (10.8%), Māori provider (10%), and traditional healer (9.8%).

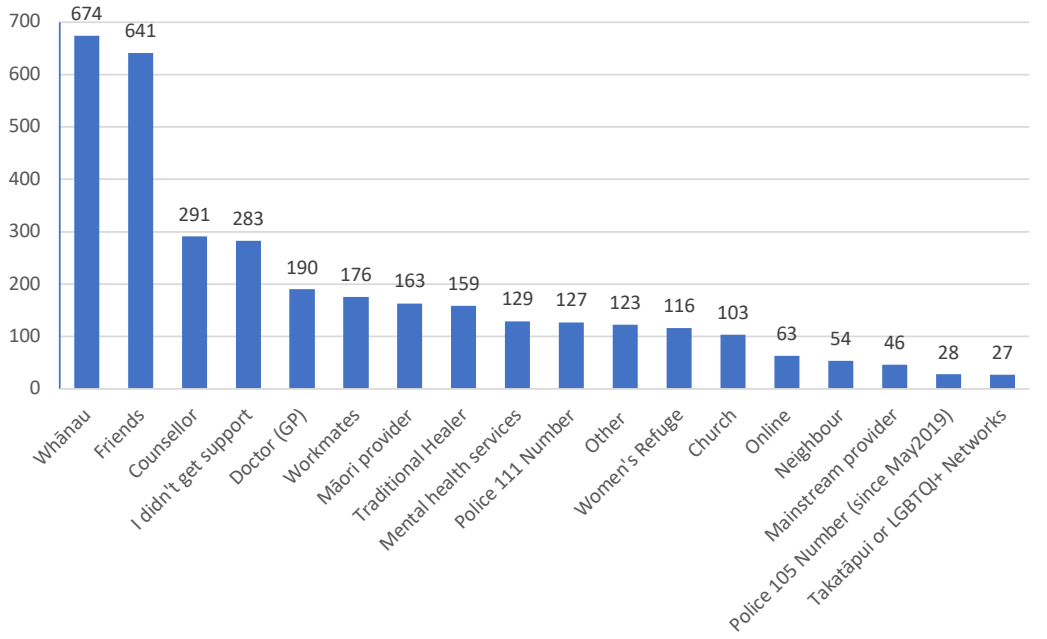
Just under 8% of respondents (129) sought support from Mental Health services, a similar proportion (7.8%; 127) used the police 111 emergency number, and 7.1% (116) of the respondents sought support from Women's Refuge.

Other areas of support included the church (6.3%; 103), online (3.9%, 63), neighbour (3.3%; 54), mainstream provider (2.8%; 46) and Takatāpui or LGBTIQ+ networks (1.7%; 27). A further 28 respondents (1.7%) accessed the Police service through the non-emergency 105 number, which has been in place since May 2019.

Table 22: Support sought when violence experienced, totals and proportions

Support from:	n	(% of responses)	(% of total 1,624 respondents)
Whānau	674	19.9	41.5
Friends	641	18.9	39.5
Counsellor	291	8.6	17.9
I didn't get support	283	8.3	17.4
Doctor (GP)	190	5.6	11.7
Workmates	176	5.2	10.8
Māori provider	163	4.8	10.0
Traditional Healer	159	4.7	9.8
Mental health services	129	3.8	7.9
Police 111 Number	127	3.7	7.8
Other	123	3.6	7.6
Women's Refuge	116	3.4	7.1
Church	103	3.0	6.3
Online	63	1.9	3.9
Neighbour	54	1.6	3.3
Mainstream provider	46	1.4	2.8
Police 105 Number (since May2019)	28	0.8	1.7
Takatāpui or LGBTQI+ Networks	27	0.8	1.7

Figure 13: Support sought when violence experienced



Support Following Experiences of Violence – by gender

For wāhine surveyed, support was mainly sought from whānau (53%, 545), friends (52%, 526), counsellor (24%, 245), doctor (15%, 156), workmates (14%, 142), traditional healer (14%, 139), and Māori provider (13%, 134). An estimated 22% (223) stated they didn't get support.

For tāne, support was mainly sought from whānau (50%, 106), friends (41%, 86), counsellor (13%, 27), workmates (13%, 28), doctor (10%, 22), and Māori provider (10%, 21). An estimated 25% (52) stated they didn't get support.

For those who identified as non-binary, support was mainly sought from friends (65%, 24), whānau (46%, 17), counsellor (38%, 14), mental health services (27%, 10), takatāpui or LGBTIQ+ networks (24%, 9), and Māori provider (19%, 7). An estimated 19% (7) stated they didn't get support. We note the number in this group is small (38), therefore generalisability is limited, and the results should be interpreted with caution.

Notable differences between wāhine and tāne included a higher proportion of wāhine (24%) who sought counselling, compared to the proportion of tāne (13%); a higher proportion of wāhine who sought support from doctor (15%) compared to tāne (10%); and a higher proportion of wāhine (14%) who sought support from traditional healers compared to tāne (5%).

Table 23: Support following experiences of violence, results by gender

	Wāhine		Tāne		Nonbinary	
	n=1,021		n=212		n=37	
Whānau	545	53%	106	50%	17	46%
Friends	526	52%	86	41%	24	65%
Counsellor	245	24%	27	13%	14	38%
I didn't get support	223	22%	52	25%	7	19%
Doctor (GP)	156	15%	22	10%	8	22%
Workmates	142	14%	28	13%	<5	-
Māori provider	134	13%	21	10%	7	19%
Traditional Healer	139	14%	10	5%	6	16%
Mental health services	100	10%	17	8%	10	27%
Police 111 Number	111	11%	11	5%	<5	-
Other	95	9%	21	10%	<5	-
Women's Refuge	111	11%	0	0%	<5	-
Church	79	8%	20	9%	<5	-
Online	51	5%	4	2%	<5	-
Neighbour	47	5%	6	3%	0	0%
Mainstream provider	35	3%	8	4%	<5	-
Police 105 Number (since May 2019)	20	2%	6	3%	<5	-
Takatāpui or LGBTQI+ Networks	14	1%	<5	1%	9	24%

Note: data exclude those who self-identified in a different way, and those who didn't answer (small numbers). Respondents could select as many options as they like, therefore responses total greater than number of respondents. Numbers below 5 are suppressed to preserve confidentiality.

'Other' Types of Support

The open-ended question included other types of support accessed. Several mentioned individual family members such as grandmother, mother, husband, partner, and also children and siblings. Some specific social services were mentioned, such as Alcoholics Anonymous, 12-step recovery group, professional supervision, EAP (Employee Assistance Programme), rape crisis, women's centre, ACC sensitive claims, It's not OK 0800 number, Barnados, Education and Tertiary institution services. In addition, some indicated they received support from prison officers, lawyers, the Waitangi tribunal, doctor, counsellors, life coach, mentors, Family Court, and school management.

Some mentioned self-care, taking care of things themselves, meditation, and belief in self. Also mentioned were natural forms of healing: kahuna massage, tohunga o te hā, re-birthing, meditation, forgiveness mahi,-help research, finding ways to get stronger and connect with nature, gardening, the sea, walking, cuddling the cat. "Pets give solace and allow for talking through issues". By having a lot of contact with support services over the years, one felt she had enough 'tools in the kete' to manage situations. For others, deeper understanding has been found through trauma-informed care.

Some stated that they felt they should have sought more support, but were prevented from doing so because of fear and embarrassment. Others didn't seek help or tell people, had no one to tell, no one they trusted, and several mentioned feelings of self-blame and that the violence was 'deserved' by themselves. "Just get up and carry on." Some specifically sought Māori colleagues, older Māori female mentors, other Māori to reflect and kōrero with.

Many tikanga solutions were mentioned; orokoroa, karakia, urupā, marae, kaumātua, and kuia, return to tūrangawaewae, reconnect to tūpuna, te ao Māori, aku kaitiaki. Several stated that they found refuge in te ao Māori, and through Māori healing and healers.

Question C08-20: I didn't get support. What are the reasons you didn't get support?

Reasons for not getting support

An estimated 17.4% of respondents (283 individuals) indicated that they didn't get support when they experienced violence.

Many spoke of the shame and whakamā involved, and not having anyone they could trust to confide in, and others of fear preventing them from reaching out;

Too whakamā to ask for help.
Too ashamed and scared to let anyone know.
Trust - who do you trust to share your story?
Scared it would get back to the perpetrators.

Several alluded to self-blame and others for the normalisation of violence in their lives, and finding ways to manage it themselves.

Thought it was my fault.
It's a part of life.
Just felt normal.
I just dealt with it myself.

Some indicated either a lack of services available (particularly those for men), or no knowledge of services, or anticipation of a complex process when accessing support services, or systemic racism;

Didn't know where to go.
I am male and there are no supports for males.
... not worth it because process too complicated.
Systems are hard to access and expensive.
... felt police never cared, being a Māori woman.
None available that won't make things worse.

Some found solace in te ao Māori;

Kua hoki e au ki ngā taonga a koro mā, a kui mā

- The majority of respondents sought support from friends and family.
- A good proportion sought support from GP, workmates, counsellors, Māori providers, traditional healers.
- Over one in 6 respondents did not seek support.
- Many respondents spoke of finding refuge and healing in te ao Māori.

Wāhanga Tuarua

Pae Ora - Aspirational Wellbeing

Things to Minimise Violence

Question D01: are there things you do to minimise violence in your life?

Of the total 1,258 who answered this question, 1,050 individuals (83.5%) responded yes, and 208 (16.5%) stated that no, there weren't things they did to minimise violence in their life. Of those surveyed, 84% (841) of wahine responded yes to this question, 79% (166) of tane, and 89% (33) of nonbinary respondents.

Table 24: Things to minimise violence - by gender

	Wāhine n=1,001		Tāne n=209		Nonbinary n=37		Total
Yes	841	84%	166	79%	33	89%	1,050
No	160	16%	43	21%	<5	-	208

Note: data excludes those who self-identified in a different way, and those who didn't answer (small numbers).
Numbers below 5 are suppressed to preserve confidentiality.

D01: Things to minimise violence in your life. If yes (please describe)

This open-ended question provided a large number of responses. The following are for the total group of respondents. The most common response was avoidance, implementing boundaries and rules, choosing safe spaces and safe people, and isolating from others and potentially harmful situations.

Keep good boundaries and reduce or eliminate contact with violent people.
Keep to myself.
We have zero tolerance for violence.
We put a rāhui (ban) on violence in our kāinga. A-tinana, a-hinengaro, a-whatumanawa.
Being clear about the kawa of our whānau.

Vigilance and hypervigilance were mentioned in many cases, including being wary of environments where there are drugs or alcohol

Be aware of my surroundings.
Don't drink alcohol.

Several respondents mentioned counselling and trauma therapy, and a few stated they would phone police, and implement protection orders. Many mentioned the importance of developing and maintaining positive relationships, and connecting with positive happy and healthy people, and those they could trust. Others mentioned advocacy, holding services accountable, and education:

Maintain strong relationships with positive whānau and friends.
Address the agencies that are not doing their job and question, dig in my heels for what is right.
Teach our whānau about creating violence free whānau.
Learn to read the signs.

Many respondents advocated personal, physical, and spiritual development, staying healthy, and partaking in pastimes that provided pleasure and peace;
Whakaaro pai, kōrero a wairua, noho puku, staying positive, seeing strengths and resilience in whānau."

Learn to play guitar.
Adequate sleep, reduce stress.
Maintain financial independence.
Give myself time to do things that feel right in my puku.
Take time to reflect and find a space to heal such as the beach.
Tohi, pure ... mahi raranga, hanging out in te taiao, journalling.

Many referred to connections to Te Ao Māori;
Involved with marae. Involved with whakapapa.

Strengthen ourselves as Māori whānau.
Practice manaakitanga.
Karakia.
Learn mau rākau.
Mauri tau strategy.
Wairuatanga practice.
Rongoā.
I moved home to my ūkaipō, connect back to the land, living in my whānau home, a place where my children and moko love to come back to and reconnect.

Others spoke of finding a deeper understanding, manaakitanga, and aroha ki te tangata:

Awhi people who are hurting, so they can know someone cares. Often sadness makes you mad, which in turn turns bad.
Karakia, kapa haka, soft answers, family projects, goals, stillness, reflection, listening.

D01: Things to minimise violence in your life. If no (please describe)

Most of the 208 individuals who responded 'no' to this question stated that they have no violence in their life, have never experienced violence, and were not raised in a violent home.

In my life in general I am not exposed to violence.

The responses from some indicated that they had been in violent situations previously, but were no longer in that situation;

I don't have violence in my life anymore.
No need anymore.
I am safe now.
I left a job ... due to workplace bullying from a manager.

Others mentioned their strategies to ensure safe environments, or staying alone;

I just try to trust my instincts and be around safe/nice people.
I'm on my own.
Stay close to family and friends.
... surrounding myself with people who are good for me.

A few indicated a level of acceptance and normalisation of violence in their life;

I accept that it is a part (normal or not) of some of the things I involve myself in.
I have anger issues ... but haven't actively sought help.
Don't have the energy to fight.

Some shared stories of successful healing, and managing conflict in relationships;

My husband used to be very violent towards [me] for the first 12 years of our relationship but he sought help from family and men's groups and there was no violence for 22 years.
... over the past three years he's finally addressed his personal issues and now works with an anti-violence men's group.
We have differences – but can reason it out by talking or leave it and apologise depending on who is offended.
I have learned to confront her straight away to talk about issues that might arise.
I have forgiven and tukua atu ki te wairua.

Decision to be Non-Violent

Question D02: after experiencing or witnessing violence, have you decided to be non-violent yourself and to remove violence from your life?

A total of 1,243 respondents answered this question, almost 90% stated that yes, they have decided to be non-violent themselves (89.6%; 1,114 individuals), and the remaining 129 (10.4%) stated no. Of those surveyed, 91% (897) of wahine stated yes, as did 85% (175) of tane, and 89% (33) of nonbinary respondents.

Table 25: Decision to be non-violent - by gender

	Wāhine n=988		Tāne n=207		Nonbinary n=37		Total	
Yes	897	91%	175	85%	33	89%	1,114	90%
No	91	9%	32	15%	<5	-	129	10%

Note: data exclude those who self-identified in a different way, and those who didn't answer (small numbers). Numbers below 5 are suppressed to preserve confidentiality.

Question D02: If no, why?

The following data is for total respondents.
The majority of the 129 individuals who responded 'no' to this question indicated that they had never experienced violence, or there was no need to make a violence-free decision.

Never witnessed violence.
I already live that way.
I am ever mindful of the tauira of non-violence that was set by my tūpuna at Parihaka.
I didn't have to witness violence to make me realise I didn't want to bring harm upon others. Not only does inflicting harm upon others violate their tapu, it also diminishes our own mana.

For others the threat of violence had naturally passed;

... my husband is sick and frail now and is incapable of violence.

Others mentioned their readiness to protect, and use of violence if necessary to defend;

If needed I will defend myself.
I will be violent if I have to, to protect my whānau.
I haven't made a decision either way. But I would be prepared to protect myself and the ones I love with violence if there was need for it.
I try to stay fit and be able to defend myself/fight back.

Some respondents expressed disillusion or scepticism with the idea of a decision to be non-violent From others' experiences, being non-violent doesn't solve anything.

It's not a decision that you can just make and stick to.
It doesn't work that way, even if you want it to.
The question is unrealistic, it assumes that I'm always in a position to 'remove violence'. There are times when I still feel unsafe and in these situations, I'm always forced to think about how I will keep myself safe. I will defend myself or protect myself as best as possible.

Others indicated a level of acceptance, that violence was unavoidable in their lives, and their own personal challenges with maintaining a violence-free stance;

Not yet in that frame of mind.
Too hard.
Because the way I live and where make this far too difficult to put energy into it.
Violence will always run in my life so I cannot get away from it.
I don't know how to stop or remove violence because it comes from the person I love.

It comes with the job.
I say I don't want to be violent but it's still deep inside me and I have displayed anger towards family of my own.
There are times I need to be violent to protect myself or others because the police take too long to arrive.

One related the disconnect experienced by their family as a result of violence, and the decision to remove violence also entailed disengaging from whānau;

My Dad made that decision for us. He experienced violence, so he cut off most extended family members to the detriment of learning Māori culture and language.
Now I cannot relate to Māori culture or identity at all. I have been raised completely Pākehā.

Others alluded to systemic violence and racism;

Most racist abusers only understand violence and will only stop if confronted because they've been given the green light by systemic colonial racism.
.. we live in a society defined by class warfare and colonisation and it would be dumb not to fight that.

Question D02: if yes, what prompted you to make this decision?

For the 1,114 individuals who responded to this question, the most common incentive for making a stance of non-violence was for their children or mokopuna;

Seeing the impact on myself I didn't want that for my children and moko.
To teach my children to understand their emotions and how to express them in a way that's healthy for them and those around them.
I want my son to grow up different than we did.
I made a promise to my own children and mokopuna that I wouldn't expose them to the negative experiences I've had.

Many spoke of their own values and how living violence-free aligned with these,

It does not fit with my values and how I deserve to be treated.
Didn't want negative energy in my life and home.
To spread aroha where there has been mamae.
He atua, he tangata – we are divine and human – sovereign beings.
I don't need to have that power over another person.

Many indicated awareness of the need to break the cycle of violence:

I didn't want to become that person.
Break the cycle.
Change history.
Why carry on cycles of trauma?
By being non-violent I am less likely to attract violence.
Violence begets violence.
The only thing to stop violence is non-violence.

Respondents also indicated an awareness of the impact of violence on themselves, and others:

I never want them to go through what I went through.
Sometimes I notice feelings of hate inside myself that I think come from my experience with violence.
I see the way it has hurt whānau.

Some related experiences that were 'the final straw', such as a partner harming or threatening to harm their children, a near-death experience, ending up in hospital, threatened while pregnant, suicidal thoughts, having a child, losing a child, losing a pregnancy. Many mentioned the presence of alcohol that contributed to violent episodes or situations, and several mentioned the positive impact of giving up, either for themselves or a whānau member. Others mentioned reaching their limit;

Because I couldn't bear it anymore.
I just can't stomach it anymore. Not one bit.
I got sick of begging for my life.

Some respondents referred to the ongoing challenge;

I work on it every day.
It's forever a work in progress of leaning and relearning.
I am always angry.
I work hard at this, but my son has anger issues, so working with him can sometimes put me in an unsafe space.
Psychological violence is harder to control; often put down and called lazy, dumb, and your fault for everything wrong.

And some referred to strategies they or their whānau implemented to minimise their own violence;

My whānau and I have a cautionary phrase to stop me immediately.
... have had to make changes to how I act and respond to conflict, using better words and strategies to minimise my outbursts of anger, frustration and worry.
I am an angry person ... but that anger shouldn't be displaced onto others.

Several spoke of a recognition of their own self-worth and value that incentivised them to leave a violent situation, or to make a non-violent stance in their life;

Because I know my worthiness.
We deserve to honour ourselves and be honoured by others.
My self-worth and mental wellbeing.
Healthy lifestyle and thinking.
I have worked on my feelings about myself, self-acceptance, self-understanding, forgiveness.
I felt it was inhibiting me from being the best person I could be.

There was recognition of the impact of colonisation and systemised racism;

My upbringing was a reflection of the impact of colonisation for my whānau, hapū and iwi.
Healing intergenerational trauma.
Stop the cycle of colonised aggression that caused the 'original sin' within our people.
... always considered the person's / child's mana and whakaapa (mana, mauri, tapu) honouring all that we are as Māori so that our next generation can be free from the violence of colonisation, discrimination, subjugation, racism etc.

Several respondents drew on tikanga and te ao Māori;

All people are tapu and need to be treated with respect.
Ū tonu ki te whakapapa… to protect my whakapapa.
It's not a part of our tikanga.
Kaupapa Māori and tikanga Māori approaches to living.
I believe in pono, tika, aroha, rangimarie. I have my own taha wairua that I practice daily.

Kia tau taku wairua, kia tau taku hinengaro, kia pai ai taku oranga ...kia tauira pai ahau ki ngā reanga e whai haere ana.
Wanting to be free, and to be Māori.

Living Violence-Free

D03: do you consider that you live violence-free now?

From 1,242 responses received to this question, 80.6% (1,001 individuals) responded 'yes' and 19.4% (241 individuals) responded 'no'. Of those surveyed, 82% (811) of the wahine stated yes, 79% (163) of the tane, and 65% (24) of the nonbinary respondents stated that yes, they live violence-free now.

Table 26: Living violence-free now - by gender

	Wāhine n=987		Tāne n=207		Non Binary n=37		Total n=1,242	
Yes	811	82%	163	79%	24	65%	1,001	81%
No	176	18%	44	21%	13	35%	241	19%

Question D03a: what contributes to you having a violence-free life?

There were 1,001 responses to this question that have been categorised into the following key areas, with examples of some of the text responses provided.

Setting boundaries, choosing social circles;
Leaving violent situation.
Not moving in the same crowds as I was before.
Staying single.
Good relationships. Supportive whānau.
I choose who I surround myself with.
Community support.
Having high trust relationships, whānau hui.

Clear values, and living by them;
Keeping my life values strong and having a good support circle.
I choose to teach in a kura Māori where my beliefs are the same as my kura.

Communication;
Talking out any issues as they arrive.
Positive communication.
Being a caring loving whānau, being comfortable with each other, communicating with each other all the time.
Talking through differences and accepting everyone is entitled to their opinions.

Self-esteem, self-worth, health;

Good health and wellbeing, being happy and joyous.
A love for who I am, where I come from, my people, my culture and my vision of the future for Aotearoa.
Staying focused on my goals.
Education, studying.
Increased self-esteem, reclaimed my own mana.
Boundary setting and being assertive, confident and consistent with it.
Huge reduction in stress.
Self-esteem. Independence. Tikanga.
I live alone, have had a healing journey and believe I am worthy of a better life.
Happiness. Freedom.

Spirituality in many forms;

Living a faith-based lifestyle.
My hāhi.
Wairua living.
Connecting to my wairua, be connected and feeling whole.

Consciousness, mindfulness, empowerment, rangatiratanga;

Making good decisions, thinking of the outcome of every situation.
Making the conscious decision not to tolerate.
Understanding I have power in myself, to do the right thing, to not put up with violence and teach others how not to.
Connection with my intuition.
Rangatiratanga – I am able to live and be how I need to be.

Accessing professional help and support;

Regular therapy, counselling.
Counselling.
I ask for help if I'm upset. I have sought help from psychologists and undertaken anger management courses.
Seeking professional support.

Limiting alcohol

Limits on alcohol, media consumption, drugs.
Refrain from consuming alcohol.

Whai rawa, privilege, material resources, financial security

My privilege which includes my material resources.
Financial stability.
Security, whānau, financial stability.
Being an adult with financial security.
Having money. Not dealing with police, gangs or WINZ.
Income, housed, good relationships with my whānau.

Acknowledging the journey, the hard work;

I had to do a lot of personal work; it took me years.

Recognition and deeper understanding of colonisation and structural racism;

Understanding colonisation is behind the violence practised by Māori upon Māori, and by Pākehā upon Māori, over generations.

Actually, the state continues to exercise their violence.

Te ao Māori;

Karakia, wānanga, hui, tikanga.

Learnt te reo Māori, studied Māori health.

Using reo to de-escalate.

Karakia, wairua driven and self-respect ... whanaungatanga with hohourongo.

Uara values and principles.

My pūrākau.

Whakawhanaungatanga is my pou.

I was brought up in the marae with our kaumatua, no violence at all.

Whanaungatanga, aroha, manaaki, awhi, kōrerorero.

We live whānau ora and our own mana motuhake.

Question D04: in general, how important are the following in your healing from the impact of violence?

A total of 1,223 respondents provided answers to this question. The question asked whether they considered the following important for healing from the impact of violence, and to rate each aspect according to their importance as: 'very important', 'somewhat important', or 'not at all'. The factors that most respondents rated as very important were: kāinga (94.1% of respondents rated this as very important), te tuakiri or identity (88.6%), whanaungatanga (85.9%), wairuatanga (80.8%) and kaupapa whānau (80.1%). See Table 27. The remaining factors, in order of highest number of respondents rating these as 'very important' were; whanaungatanga, mātauranga, whakapapa, tūrangawaewae, tikanga Māori values, mahi, and te reo Māori.

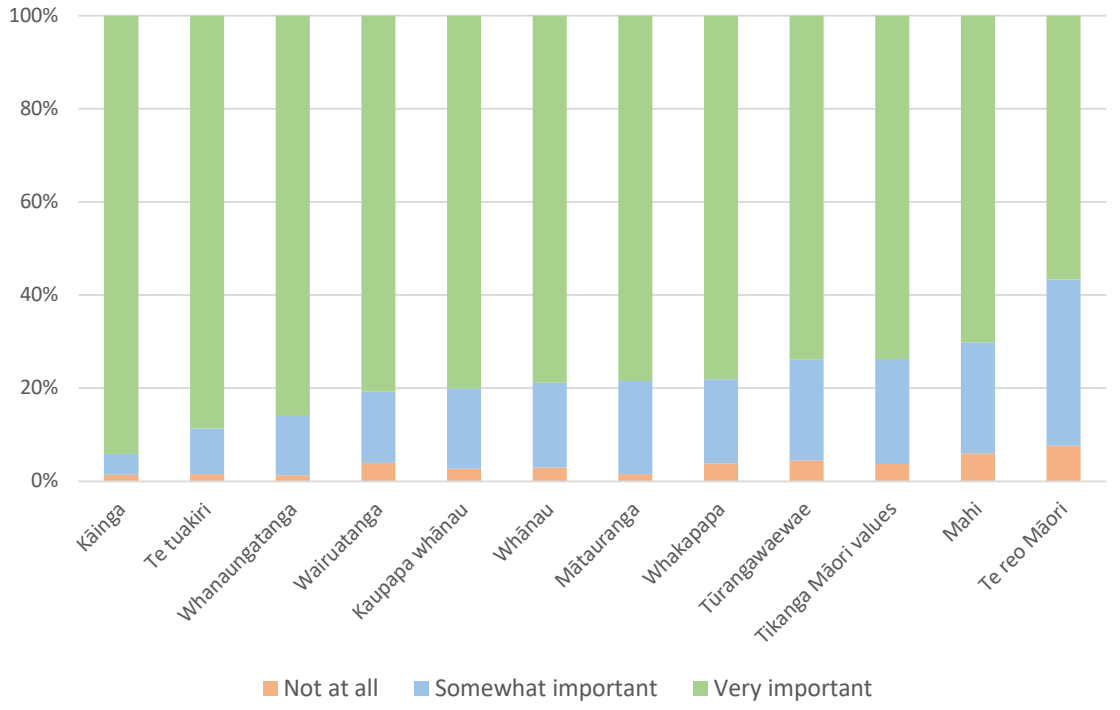
Table 27: Factors important for healing form the impact of violence

	Not at all		Somewhat important		Very important	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Kāinga	18	1.5	54	4.4%	1,151	94.1
Te tuakiri	19	1.6	120	9.8%	1,084	88.6
Whanaungatanga	16	1.3	156	12.8%	1,051	85.9
Wairuatanga	49	4.0	186	15.2%	988	80.8
Kaupapa whānau	34	2.8	209	17.1%	980	80.1
Whanaungatanga	36	2.9	223	18.2%	964	78.8
Mātauranga	19	1.6	244	20.0%	960	78.5
Whakapapa	48	3.9	221	18.1%	954	78.0
Tūrangawaewae	55	4.5	265	21.7%	903	73.8
Tikanga Māori values	45	3.7	276	22.6%	902	73.8

Mahi	73	6.0	292	23.9%	858	70.2
Te reo Māori	94	7.7	436	35.7%	693	56.7

Note: Shading indicates 80% or more respondents considered this aspect very important. Source: HWEN Survey 2021

Figure 14: Factors important for healing from the impact of violence



Question D05: In general, how important are the following for the health of you and your whānau?

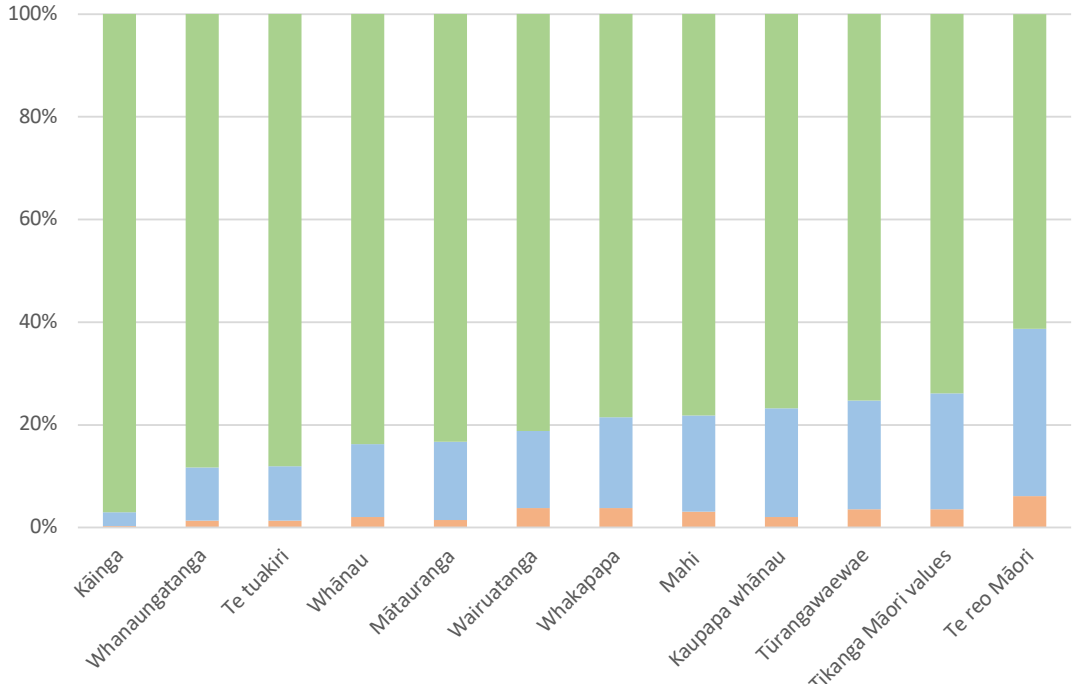
A total of 1,204 respondents provided answers to this question. The factors most respondents rated as very important were kāinga (97.0%), whanaungatanga (88.3%), te tuakiri (88.1%), whānau (83.7%c), mātauranga (83.3%) and wairuatanga (81.2%). See Table 28. The remaining factors, in order of the highest number of respondents rating these as very important were; whakapapa, mahi, kaupapa whānau, tūrangawaewae, tikanga Māori values and te reo Māori. See Figure 15.

Table 28: How important are the following for the health of you and your whānau?

	Not at all		Somewhat important		Very important	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Kāinga	3	0.3	33	2.7	1,168	97.0
Whanaungatanga	16	1.3	125	10.4	1,063	88.3
Te tuakiri	16	1.3	127	10.6	1,061	88.1
Whānau	24	2.0	172	14.3	1,008	83.7
Mātauranga	17	1.4	184	15.3	1,003	83.3
Wairuatanga	46	3.8	181	15.0	977	81.2
Whakapapa	46	3.8	212	17.6	946	78.6
Mahi	37	3.1	226	18.8%	941	78.2%
Kaupapa whānau	25	2.1	255	21.2%	924	76.7%
Tūrangawaewae	43	3.6	255	21.2%	906	75.3%
Tikanga Māori values	42	3.5	272	22.6%	890	73.9%
Te reo Māori	74	6.2	392	32.6%	738	61.3%

Note: Shading indicates 80% or more respondents considered this aspect very important. Source: HWEN Survey 2021

Figure 15: How important are the following for the health of you and your whānau?



Question D06: How important are the following for a healthy future for Māori?

Respondents were asked to rate the following factors according to how important they felt they were for a healthy future for Māori: 'very important', 'somewhat important', 'not at all'. Not all respondents provided a response for each factor, therefore the total number of responses differs for each. The number of responses ranged from 1,021 to 1,180 (see the last column in Table 29).

The factors most respondents rated as 'very important' for a healthy future for Māori were addressing poverty (97.5% of 1,180 respondents; 1,151 individuals), followed by addressing racism (95.6% of 1,179 respondents; 1,127), honouring Te Tiriti (94.1% of 1,170 respondents; 1,101), normalising te reo Māori in schools (91.1% of 1,180 respondents; 1,075), and normalising te reo Māori in communities (90.4% of 1,067 respondents; 1,180).

The remaining factors in order of the highest number of respondents rating these as 'very important' were: affirming mātauranga Māori; increased support for kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori education; resourcing and funding Kaupapa Māori interventions; decreasing incarceration of Māori; empowering Māori organisations; establishing a Māori health system; increase support for wānanga; divesting power to whānau, hapū, iwi and other Māori social services; greater focus on prison programmes and Māori units; addressing homophobia; and abolishing prisons. Of note is the relatively high number of respondents who rated 'abolishing prisons' as 'not at all' important; (14.7% of 1,021 respondents; 150 individuals).

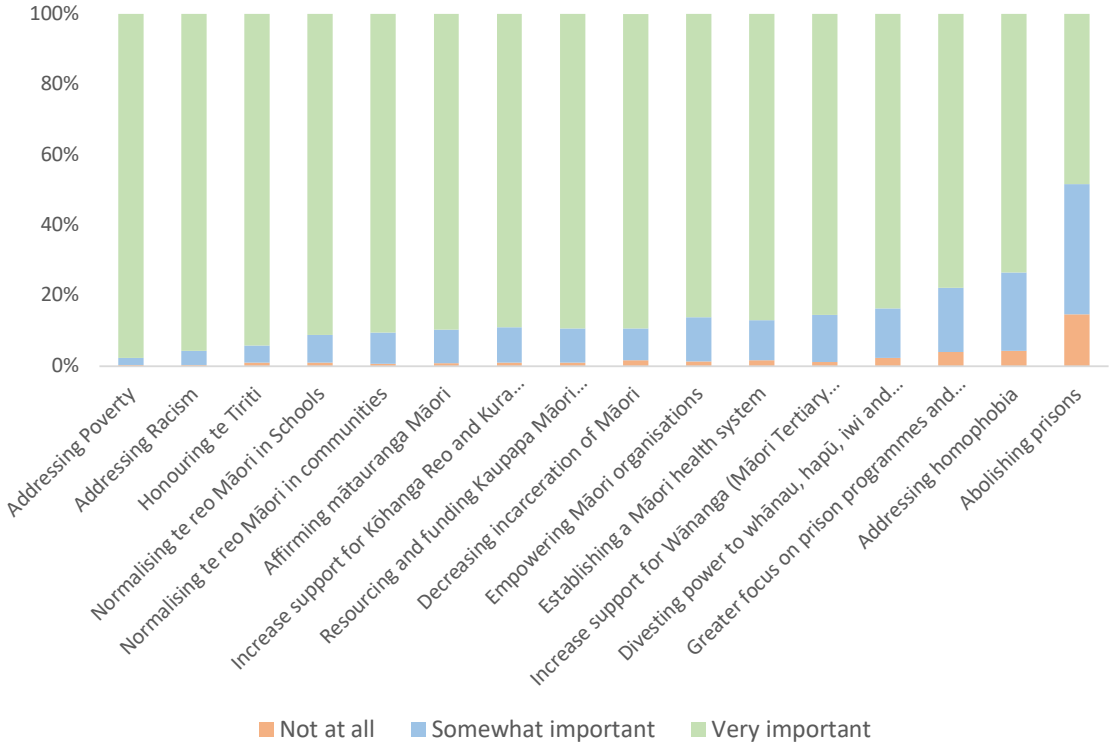
Table 29: How important are the following for a healthy future for Māori?

	Not at all		Somewhat		Very important		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Addressing Poverty	5	0.4	24	2.0	1,151	97.5	1,180
Addressing Racism	4	0.3	48	4.1	1,127	95.6	1,179
Honouring te Tiriti	12	1.0	57	4.9	1,101	94.1	1,170
Normalising te reo Māori in schools	12	1.0	93	7.9	1,075	91.1	1,180
Normalising te reo Māori in communities	9	0.8	104	8.8	1,067	90.4	1,180
Affirming mātauranga Māori	11	0.9	111	9.5	1,051	89.6	1,173
Increase support for Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori education	12	1.0	118	10.0	1,046	89.0	1,176

Resourcing and funding Kaupapa Māori interventions	13	1.1	113	9.7	1,042	89.2	1,168
Decreasing incarceration of Māori	19	1.6	105	9.0	1,038	89.3	1,162
Empowering Māori organisations	16	1.4	147	12.6	1,007	86.1	1,170
Establishing a Māori health system	19	1.6	132	11.4	1,006	87.0	1,157
Increase support for Wānanga (Māori Tertiary Institutions)	15	1.3	157	13.3	1,005	85.4	1,177
Divesting power to whānau, hapū, iwi and other Māori social services	28	2.4	161	14.0	958	83.5	1,147
Greater focus on prison programmes and Māori units	45	4.0	209	18.4	883	77.7	1,137
Addressing homophobia	49	4.3	252	22.3	827	73.3	1,128
Abolishing prisons	150	14.7	378	37.0	493	48.3	1,021

Note: Shading indicates 90% or more respondents considered this aspect very important. Source: HWEN Survey 2021

Figure 16: How important are the following for a healthy future for Māori?



Source HWEN Survey 2021

Chapter 11
Kōrero Whakamutunga: Closing Reflections

CHAPTER 11

Kōrero Whakamutunga: Closing Reflections

This chapter begins with a discussion of findings and of the necessity of moving towards transforming the ways in which violence prevention and intervention are framed in this country. Recently, in discussing how we would shape a 'findings' chapter for this work, Distinguished Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith noted that there is so much depth in what our people have shared throughout this process that "everything is a finding". That statement informs this final chapter of discussion. In line with the notion that 'everything is a finding' it is essential that all components of this work be read and considered in relationship to each other. The whakawhiti kōrero, the hui, the wānanga, and the survey are all interconnected. They all give a piece of the story and cannot, and should not, be read in isolation. The sharing from all involved in this work brings together multiple layers and contexts that must be considered for us to continue to advocate for and engage in the many pathways of healing and wellbeing that are at the core of our aim to reduce the impact of violence upon our people. This approach is supported not only by the knowledge and data presented here, but also in international work by Indigenous Peoples and at the level of the United Nations. In the opening discussion we noted that the definition of 'He Waka Eke Noa' relates to "a canoe that is without restriction" that "underlies the fact of community ownership" (Mead 2003, 136). The urgent need for collective and community approaches to violence is a critical point that has been emphasised for many years by Māori across the country. We, as a research team, have been asked by Kaupapa Māori providers, practitioners and healers to support this call by continuing our investigations into Māori understandings of the origins and experiences of violence that have affected a vast majority of our people across all areas of our lives.

He Waka Eke Noa: Collective Approaches to Transformation

In the opening chapters of this publication, we introduced the aims and intentions of *'He Waka Eke Noa: Māori Cultural Frameworks for Violence Prevention and Intervention'*. Moana Jackson in his keynote presentation to the 'He Manawa Whenua' conference (2013) reminded us that Kaupapa Māori research must be underpinned by Māori ethical approaches, stating that 'the ethic of moral or right choice' must lead our work. It is an ethic that requires us to be intentional around how we determine what research must be undertaken and how that must be done. This research has originated from Māori, and has been shaped in line with what is tika; what is correct for our people. A central part of that has been to challenge, disrupt and expand the definitions of what is considered family violence as it affects Māori and how violence more generally has been constructed in relation to Māori and our Indigenous relations. Placing violence upon Māori and Indigenous Peoples in context must be a key component of any discussion of family and sexual violence against Māori. For hundreds of years Indigenous Peoples have been the victims of colonial invasion and violence. Colonisation is the ultimate act of violence against our people. For far too long, colonisation has been discussed in ways that deny the violence, the destruction, the devastation, the dispossession, the murder and the rape of our people: so much so that the historical and colonial trauma experienced by generations of Indigenous Peoples has been reframed in ways that not only honour and uplift the coloniser but also lay the blame for all of the devastating impacts at our feet. That must stop.

In the report 'He Oranga Ngākau' (Pihama et al. 2020) it was stated emphatically that in order to begin to heal from historical and intergenerational trauma a first step is to 'kāti te patu ngākau': put an end to the acts of trauma. That remains a key discussion in this work that points not only to the need to deal with interpersonal violence but also to the need to stop the trauma being imposed and perpetrated daily by the State and its agencies. Colonial violence against Indigenous Peoples has created a context of State violence that our people experience daily. Not only is colonial violence experienced through the systems and structures of the State; it has over time become embedded within our communities through the disruption of our reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori over generations, and through the power of the State to impose its ideologies and practices through and within our ways of relating to each other and our collective ways of being. To repeat a quote from Aboriginal healer Judith Atkinson, presented earlier in the report, "this is the greatest violence, the violence that brings the loss of spirit, the destruction of self, of the soul" (Atkinson, 2013, p. 69). Any approaches to family violence for Māori must include analysis of colonisation, historical trauma, systemic violence, the intersectionality of racism, class, gender, disability, homophobia and transphobia, State control and power, and the denial of Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty. The prevention of and intervention in family violence and sexual violence must come with the dismantling of all of these systems and practices that continue to reproduce violence upon Māori.

Defining family violence from a Kaupapa Māori frame brings to the fore the wider historical, social, cultural and political contexts in which we find ourselves as Indigenous Peoples. Focusing on individual acts of behaviour as somehow disconnected from these contexts fails to provide us with the necessary depth of knowledge and understanding to deal with the impact of such violence. That does not, as some conservative commentators may state, deny individual or personal responsibility for actions. Those actions and behaviours remain critical in pathways for prevention and intervention, in particular in relation to notions such as 'dispelling the illusion' as advocated in the Whānau Violence Taskforce report (Kruger et.al 2004), which challenges the belief system that family violence, both individual and collective, is normal or acceptable. In doing so Kruger et al. (2004) are engaged directly with the hegemonic belief that this is a normal way of being while also strongly advocating for the 'removing of opportunities' for whānau violence through education, empowerment and liberation from oppressive structures and 'teaching transformative practices' that highlight the need for intervention in that area being sourced in a return to tikanga and Māori cultural imperatives.

What we see in this work and in the work of Kruger et al. (2004); Jackson (1988); Balzer et.al. (1997; Grennell (2006) and others is the recognition of how harmful behaviours of individuals must be transformed within a context of collective accountability and responsibility and through a return to the wisdoms of our tikanga. This requires us to reach back into what Moana Jackson (2013) refers to as the prior knowledge of our elders, that being our tikanga and mātauranga Māori, in order to more fully understand, conceptualise and develop practices around the prevention and intervention of family violence. Many kaikōrero have shared their understandings in this area, which position all forms of violence upon and within whānau as a transgression of mana, tapu and whakapapa. It is highlighted that this understanding must sit at the core of any and all definitions of family violence and sexual violence. To understand this is to understand that such violence has a collective and intergenerational impact on whānau. Alongside this understanding is also the view that Māori must bring forward these definitions to ensure that there is a deeper understanding of both the origins and impacts of this contemporary form of violence that is being experienced by our people.

In relation to how we talk about violence, it was emphasised that having an awareness and analysis of State violence was critical for understanding causal factors intergenerationally, historically and today. The historical development of the State was built on different and intersecting forms of violence that are central to the imposition of colonizing ways on Indigenous Peoples: sexism, racism, classism and economic determinism, all of which aligned with capitalism, and more recently with neo-liberal economic systems. Many references were made to land, language and knowledge being dispossessed. The racism that underlies State violence is a form of abuse and violence against our people. This was highlighted by all who participated in the work and has been exposed generation after generation, most recently in the work conducted by Te Atawhai o Te Ao (Smith, C. et al., 2022; Tinirau et al., 2021). One of the insidious outcomes of State violence, colonisation and racism is how it becomes incorporated as what some people have referred to as "imposter" forms of tikanga, where colonised notions, beliefs and practices become embedded in our ways of being (Kruger et al., 2004). This hegemony takes the form of internalized hatred or internalized racism that changes our behaviours and practices, and these must be recognised and called into question.

Our people have been and continue to be battered by the State and that level of violence must be engaged and brought to an end for any significant transformations to take place in our collective lives as Māori. Many examples are given across the lifespan – uplifts of children, state 'care' abuse, shootings by police, assimilatory and deficit approaches within schooling to name a few. State violence is reproduced intergenerationally. The dispossession of lands for our people from the 1860s continues to be experienced in multiple ways in current generations, and sadly will continue for future generations. The current experience of homelessness is grounded in landlessness for Māori people. The socio-economic disparities are reproduced through the institutionalised racism embedded within capitalist economic systems that create hierarchies of wealth, much of which has derived from the economic denial and marginalisation of Indigenous Peoples. None of these socio-political contexts can be seen separately from the ways in which violence is played out in this country. Socio-economic impediments across sectors such as employment, health, education, and justice all continue to prevent wellbeing for whānau, with policy and legislative developments continuing the ongoing systemic and institutional issues faced by whānau. Alcohol and drug addiction are one way in which such issues are dealt with.

The impact of alcohol has been noted for many years and there is yet to be any major change in how society engages with and deals with the consequences of alcohol abuse. Both alcohol and methamphetamine were noted specifically as drugs that feature significantly in regard to family violence and societal harm, a finding that aligns with recent research that ranked these as the two most harmful drugs in Aotearoa (Crossin et al., 2023. A further area of discussion in Chapter 3 related to the notion of silence. Silence occurs in many forms and is grounded in a range of experiences. Historical and colonial trauma create a context of silence in regard to the denial and dismissal of our histories in this country. Dominant beliefs and narratives have led to many being unaware of the events within our history that have caused ongoing harm and violence towards our people. That is one form of silence. Other forms include the impact of the domestication of whānau and the adherence to beliefs of 'my house is my castle' where silence keeps women and children entrapped. However, there are also forms of silence that are put in place as ways that whānau believe are necessary to protect themselves and their children, in particular from actions of uplift or child removal. It is important that the notion of silence is seen within the context of what is happening and is dealt with in ways that are non-judgmental.

Tikanga and Mātauranga as Cultural Prevention and Intervention

In the discussions of tikanga and mātauranga Māori, kaikōrero identified key elements, concepts and practices of healing that they use in their lives or in their work. These chapters begin with 'Tikanga Ora' and provide discussion of some important ways in which kaikōrero use tikanga Māori to both understand and frame violence and to speak to the healing components of these practices. It is highlighted that tikanga provides us with critical knowledge and ways of being, to support us through all forms of violence at both individual and collective levels. In order to create enduring transformation, we must make collective changes that support each member of the whānau. Tikanga is to do what is 'tika', what is 'correct', and to do that in ways that support wellbeing. Thus tikanga provides the guidelines for behaviour and relationships. Tikanga is central to a Kaupapa Māori way of maintaining cultural and social control within the collective (Jackson, 1988; Mead, 2003) and providing us with cultural understandings and practice for the 'right way of doing things' (Marsden, 2003, p. 66).

Tikanga is therefore grounded in Māori sets of values and practices that are aligned with cultural ways of being and doing. Tikanga and Mātauranga Māori are considered throughout this project to be mechanisms for prevention of and intervention in all forms of violence, both interpersonal/individual and collective. Mātauranga Māori encompasses Māori knowledge, philosophies, and ways of knowing and being. It is grounded in epistemological and cosmological spheres and brings forward systems of knowledge that are expansive and are inclusive of all forms of tikanga and principles for living, learning, and knowing.

Violence is enabled in spaces where tikanga is not present and therefore we must bring tikanga into all parts of our lives and our existence. The impact of colonisation on tikanga has been highlighted throughout the research. It is also noted that we cannot rely or be dependent upon colonizing forces and systems to support the return of tikanga to our lives; only we can do that. Tikanga is the domain of whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori. It is ours to revitalize in our lives. It is ours to define. It is ours to enact. These forms of enacting our mana motuhake, our self-determination, have been discussed consistently and with a deep commitment from kaikōrero. This is a movement against violence that all Māori can be a part of. It is within tikanga that the wellbeing for whānau sits. It is within tikanga that we can challenge the oppressive forces of colonisation. Our tūpuna have shown that to be true across Aotearoa. They have also gifted us many ways of seeking transformation and healing by enacting tikanga in our lives. Key tikanga concepts, and the practices associated with them that were highlighted by kaikōrero included whanaungatanga, ora, wairua, mana, mana wahine, mauri, tuakiritanga, kare-ā-roto, tapu noa, tika, pono, aroha, manaakitanga, awhina, utu, muru, and atua. This is by no means an exhaustive list and nor are these the only tikanga discussed in the project; however, they are the areas that were most commonly discussed and which align with many other tikanga. What we do know is that those working in violence prevention have indicated a need to work in ways that give whānau access to the tikanga, reo and mātauranga that we need to have wellbeing and balance in our lives.

Moving to a discussion of tikanga, mātauranga Māori and healing practices, we explored how tikanga is transmitted and how whānau may access knowledge through specific mātauranga Māori forms and practices. Whakapapa was included to open this section as a way by which to affirm and acknowledge the mātauranga that is inherent in whakapapa kōrero. Within whakapapa our connections to all things are expressed alongside our connections to each other as people. It is an affirmation that wellbeing is located within our collective relationships to whenua, taiao, awa, maunga, roto and all living beings

that we share these lands with. It is also an affirmation that whakapapa provides us with knowledge and understandings of our connections to each other as tangata, whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori.

Whakapapa connections are critical to our wellbeing, and this means that maintaining tikanga to ensure the health and wellbeing of all relationships is critical. The disconnection from whakapapa through colonisation and assimilation has had a serious and destructive impact on our people and our relationships in this world. The regeneration, revitalization and strengthening of whakapapa knowledge is therefore a critical starting point in any discussion of mātauranga Māori as healing. A part of that reclamation is the revitalization of those mātauranga forms, practices and sites through which knowledge is transmitted and shared. Areas of focus discussed included pūrākau; atua; whakataukī/whakatauākī; waiata/mōteatea; kapa haka; oriori; maramataka; hononga ki te whenua me te taiao; papakāinga; whakapakari tinana; rongoā; karakia and hohou te rongo. Each of these areas are drawn upon by whānau and healers in providing access to mātauranga Māori and as examples of ways in which key tikanga knowledge and practices can be shared to support healing. Many of these tikanga and mātauranga understandings and practices have been in the conversation around healing for over 30 years. Some have been gaining precedence in more recent years as the revitalization of te reo, tikanga and mātauranga strengthens. One example is maramataka. To date there has been no specific research investigation of the place of maramataka in relation to family and sexual violence prevention and intervention. It was a conscious decision on the part of the research team to ask specifically about maramataka as there is growing anecdotal evidence that reconnection to maramataka is healing for Māori. Furthermore, the reconnection to whenua and taiao at the centre of our wellbeing calls us to investigate more deeply our relationships with wider taiao components such as whetu and the lunar calendar.

Including maramataka as a specific area of discussion has enabled reflections to be made in relation to our wider taiao, wairua and kare-ā-roto connections to behaviour and practices. All kaikōrero considered maramataka to be an essential kaupapa in regard to wellbeing and to understanding and enhancing our relationships and connections. Specific areas of discussion focused on the need to decolonise how we consider time and space, and how we organize ourselves. The dominance of the Gregorian calendar has created significant disruptions in our relationships to the whenua and taiao, and to the many ways in which our tūpuna related with and to our world. It was clearly stated that the current resurgence of knowledge and practices related to maramataka are enabling more ways to understand and create healing pathways that are holistic and grounded upon tikanga. This renaissance of mātauranga has a major contribution to make in the rebalancing that many of our whānau are seeking and in strengthening pathways to healing and return to mauri ora. Maramataka brings multi-dimensional ways of healing that connect across the physical, material, environmental, spiritual, emotional and cultural realms, and support a return to ourselves more fully as Māori. Themes related to the maramataka included: marama phases; ngā piropiro (moods); guidance around behaviour, and māra kai. Appreciation of those who have led the movement to recognise maramataka is clear from whānau, and the need and desire to know more was very evident throughout.

Te Tatauranga: Reflections on ‘He Waka Eke Noa’ Survey

We now give some final comments on the ‘He Waka Eke Noa’ survey. As noted previously, the survey was undertaken to gain insights into the prevalence of violence experienced by Māori. Given the dearth of information in this area, and the noted deficiencies in data collection, the survey provides all in the sector with a new depth of information about the impact of violence on our whānau.

The findings of the survey are outlined in depth in Chapters 7 to 10 and only general overview reflections will be given here. However, it is important to note that as a part of our decision to undertake a Kaupapa Māori survey in this area we were cognisant of the limitations of the existing data and were clear that key areas of consideration relating to the sources of data currently available on family violence included:

- There are limited sources of violence data in Aotearoa.
- There are very limited sources of violence data for Māori.
- There has been no tracking of Māori data over time and therefore support for a longitudinal approach needs to be prioritised.
- Evidence shows clearly that violence is underreported in general.
- The definitions of violence vary significantly across data and research.
- Existing research and data sets fail to examine the impacts of State violence for Māori.
- There has been no inclusion of the wider impacts of violence from specific State agencies such as the police or the effects of the media industry.
- Data collection in the area of family violence focuses solely on interpersonal, individual experiences and does not include collective impacts on whānau.
- Current data have focused on experiencing family violence and have not investigated witnessing violence.

Having completed the survey during Covid-19 we are cognisant of the difficulties being faced by whānau. Many of these were experienced by our own whānau, hapū and iwi. We also acknowledge that the Kaupapa Māori organisations that have been a part of this work have been inundated with additional roles to support whānau through a most difficult time in our contemporary history, including having to navigate the impact of decisions made by the State that reproduced disparities and inequities in health and health care services (Te Roopu Whakakaupapa Urutā, 2020; Black et al., 2020; Pihama & Lipsham, 2020). It is also noted that a low percentage of the participants in the survey identified as either gender non-binary or male (female 78.3%, male 17.4%, gender non-binary 4.2%). This meant that there was limited ability to undertake specific gendered analysis, and that when done, the numbers were low and thus may not be fully reliable for making definitive statements.

The survey data provided us with significant insights into the impact of violence on Māori and was informed by our aim to engage with some of the data-related issues in this area including the following:

- A Kaupapa Māori approach to violence.
- Acknowledgement of the multiple sites of violence that impact Māori.
- Data on State violence and media violence.
- Data related to both interpersonal and collective experiences of violence.
- Clearly defined 'range' of violence that is multi-layered and engages a range of contexts.
- The inclusion of data related to both the 'witnessing' and 'experiencing' of violence as a measure of violence exposure.
- Lifetime prevalence data for Māori.
- Data on support-seeking, and on solutions as voiced by Māori.

The survey tells us that our people are positioned by the State in ways that reproduce contexts of violence daily for whānau by the institutions and agencies whose role it is, under their obligations of Kawanatanga, to provide services for those residing in Aotearoa and to do so in ways that enable and strengthen opportunities to live a good life. That statement may seem simplistic; however, the essence of all wellbeing is the ability to live fully as ourselves, and in the case of Māori to live fully as Māori within our own definitions and practices.

The State violence experienced by our people lies at the core of the oppressive colonial systems within which Māori find ourselves now. Agencies that were consistently referred to in discussions of neglect, failure to protect, abuse of power and racism included health services, WINZ, education, the police and the justice system. In the interviews and in text responses the Ministry for Children and the Accident Compensation Commission were both agencies that were mentioned in this regard. In terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi breaches the most mentioned agencies were the education system, the health system, the police, District or Regional Councils, WINZ, and the justice system. Almost 60% of respondents or their whānau have experienced police violence in their lives and overall, over 80% of respondents said that State or system violence impacts on their wellbeing either some or a lot. Approximately 80% of participants in the survey noted that they actively undertook strategies to minimise the impact of State or system violence.

Racism, as is the case in other surveys, featured significantly in the lives of our people. Over 95% of respondents or their whānau have experienced, in the media, negative portrayals of Māori, racist comments about Māori, negative media slants on news stories, negative and abusive comments on Te Tiriti, and on Māori language and culture. Approximately 90% have experienced aggressive or threatening posts on social media, 80% have experienced homophobia, and almost 40% experienced media violence in other forms, and the majority of survey participants indicated that media violence impacts upon their wellbeing. Again, many participants identified their own strategies for dealing with such violence, which included avoidance, self-selecting positive Māori-focused media, keeping informed, and educating self and whānau. Many acknowledged the harm negative media can do, the need for self-care and protection, and the power of connecting with whānau and te ao Māori.

The survey obtained responses to questions about individual experiences of violence that included witnessing violence. Almost 95% had seen or witnessed physical violence in their lifetime, and over 95% had seen or witnessed psychological, emotional, or spiritual violence. Across these questions over 80% had seen or witnessed deprivation or neglect, 80% had seen or witnessed financial deprivation; 85% had seen or witnessed online violence; 85% had seen or witnessed denigration of whakapapa and over 70% had seen or witnessed sexual violence. With regard to experiencing violence, over 90% had experienced psychological, emotional or spiritual violence in their lifetime, and over 80% had experienced physical violence. Over half had experienced deprivation or neglect, and over half had experienced financial deprivation. Around 66% of participants had experienced sexual violence. Around 75% of participants had experienced online violence. Respondents experienced violence primarily from an ex-partner, an older family member, or a stranger.

With regard to Waiora, support and support services, the majority of respondents sought support from friends (40%) and family (42%). A good proportion of participants also sought support from their GP (12%), workmates (11%), counsellors (10%), Māori providers (10%), or traditional healers (10%). Over one in 6 respondents did not seek support. Many respondents spoke of finding refuge and healing in te ao Māori.

In the survey we asked questions related to Pae Ora (aspirational wellbeing). The majority (84%) of respondents stated that they did things to minimise violence in their life. Strategies included setting safe boundaries, vigilance, counselling and therapy, developing strong positive relationships, advocacy and education, focusing on health, and having a connection to te Ao Māori. For those that stated no, they didn't do things to minimise violence, comments included a level of acceptance and normalisation of violence, managing conflict, and successful healing.

Almost 90% of respondents stated that they had made a decision to be non-violent themselves, prompted to this decision by seeing the impact on children and others, wanting to live true to their own values, awareness of the need to break the cycle, reaching their limit, the impact of alcohol, recognition of self-worth, and recognition of the impact of colonisation and systemised racism. Of those who said they hadn't made this decision, some reasons given were that they hadn't experienced violence, the threat of violence had passed, they would use violence to defend self or children, and disbelief that non-violence is possible.

The majority of respondents (81%) stated they now live violence-free. They highlighted the following strategies: setting boundaries, living a clear set of values, good communication, sense of self-worth, spirituality, consciousness and empowerment, accessing support, limiting alcohol, financial security, recognising and having a deeper understanding of colonisation and structural racism, and engaging with and living in te ao Māori.

This survey is the first Kaupapa Māori National Survey undertaken that takes a multi-levelled approach to violence and which moves beyond seeing violence as solely an individual experience. It should not be the last. In reflecting upon the survey it is also our view that there are also areas that need to be included in future developments of this survey including providing specific focused sections related to the experiences of Māori people with disabilities in order to understand the multiple ways that violence impacts our whānau whaikaha, and to gain insights into how violence itself inflicts harm in ways that cause disabilities. Other areas in regards to participation include increasing the numbers of gender non-binary/gender diverse/ transgender and takatāpui engaged with the survey; and increasing the numbers of Māori men who participate in such surveys. A number of discussions have been held in regards to the fact that the survey was undertaken during Covid-19 which impacted significantly our ability to undertake kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) processes. Any future survey development will enable both an online and kanohi ki te kanohi process to ensure that a wider spread of whānau are able to give their input. What is clear across the survey is that there is a dire need to continue to gauge what is happening for whānau across the many layers of our lives, both individual and collective, both personally and structurally, and across all levels of our homes, our neighbourhoods, our communities, our hapū, our iwi, our societal systems and structures locally and nationally.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Throughout this work it has been emphasised that central to making transformative change for Māori in the area of family violence and sexual violence prevention and intervention is the provision of Kaupapa Māori services and ensuring access to tikanga, te reo and mātauranga Māori. While our people are actively engaged in revitalisation and regeneration movements in these areas there continues to be a denial of the fundamental agreement made between our tūpuna and the Crown in relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and tino rangatiratanga. The Crown has since 1840 privileged its colonial positioning with regard to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and has denied any meaningful or embedded assertion of tino rangatiratanga. This failure to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi continues to plague this country.

The urgent need for the honouring of Te Tiriti o Waitangi that enacts tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake for Māori is again reiterated in this work. For family violence and sexual violence prevention and intervention work to be transformative in this country there must be a dismantling of the existing colonial systems and institutions that create an environment within which violence is not only perpetrated but in relation to a number of State institutions, is reproduced. The denial of fundamental rights of self-

determination is itself an act of State violence. It is argued that systemic change is required and this then necessitates constitutional reform. This is not only a means by which to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi; it is also a process of decolonisation and provides a pathway for the reconstitution of systems that affirm te reo, tikanga, mātauranga and embeds a meaningful rangatiratanga–kawanatanga relationship.

The failure to honour, uphold and enact Te Tiriti o Waitangi, as well as the opportunity and possibilities for honouring, enacting and upholding Te Tiriti o Waitangi, featured across all our sources of information including the survey. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is seen as part of the solution to the systemic issues that legitimise violence in whānau, because it sets out a framework for governance and decision-making, for rangatiratanga and social inclusion that would help address the determinants of whānau violence, provide better-resourced and sustainable Kaupapa Māori support systems, and invest in longer-term programmes that will eradicate whānau violence.

Kāti rā, ānei mātou te rōpū o Te Waka Eke Noa e tuku atu ana te whakamānawa ki a koutou katoa. Ko te tūmanako, ka whai hua, ka whai hua, ka whai keteparaha hei whakatinana i ngā tauira ō roto i tō ake whānau, hapū, iwi, hāpori rānei. Kei roto i a tātou nei kōrero tāukiuki, kōrero o neherā ngā whakautu katoa, kia kore ai tātou e noho tahanga, noho pāmamae kia puta tātou ki te whei ao, ki te ao mārama.

KARAKIA WHAKAKAPI

E IRI, E IRI TE RONGOMAIWHITI
O TĒNEI WĀNANGA,
O TĒNEI KURA RANGAHAU
O TĒNEI AWHEAWHE
TUKUA KIA EA
TUKUA KIA OI
KIA MĀMĀ
KIA WĀTEA
TE TOIMAHATANGA
O TE NGĀKAU
TE TINANA
ME TE WAIRUA
I TE ARA TAKATŪ
KOIRĀ E RONGO
WHAKAIRI AKE KI RUNGA
KIA TINA, TINA
HAUMI E
HUI E
TĀIKI E!

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"We need collective ownership of the problem, ownership of its definitions, and ownership of the solutions"

(Linda Tuhiwai Smith, He Waka Eke Noa Webinar Series 2023)

TŪ TAMA WĀHINE
O TARANAKI