Māori Social Workers:

Experiences within Social Service Organisations

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Abstract

This research explores the current experiences of Māori social workers within government, non-government, Māori, and iwi (*tribal*) social service organisations. Kaupapa Māori and Narrative methods are used to capture the current practices of 26 Māori social workers, as well as the level of support received from these organisations. One area of interest in this study is the extent to which tīkanga (*custom*) changes to fit the organisation and how much the organisation changes to fit the tīkanga.

Findings include the identification of the motivations for Māori to become social workers and their diverse identities. Māori social workers have developed a range of practices that have positive results for Māori whānau and are underpinned by tīkanga Māori.

This research highlights ways organisations are currently supporting Māori social work practices. It provides recommendations concerning ways organisations can be better equipped to support Māori social workers to use their practices for the benefit of Māori whānau.

Hei Mihi

Ko Tawhiti-nui-a-Paoa te maunga

Ko Waikawa te awa

Ko Horouta te waka

Ko Iri-te-kura te tangata

Ko Te Whānau-a-Iri-te-kura te hapū

Ko Tūwhakairiora te tekoteko o runga

Ko Iri-te-kura te marae

Ko Tangimangaone te wharekai

Ko Ngāti Porou te iwi

Ki te taha o tōku matua

Ko Mereana Rangituhia Rangiuaia tōku kuia

Ko Robert Hollis tōku koro

Ko Hans Hollis tōku matua

Ki te taha o tōku whāea

No Airani, Kōtarana, me Itāria ōku tipuna

Ko Regonald James Forman tōku koro

Ko Netta Eileen Keenan tōku kuia

Ko Maryanne Therese Forman tōku whāea

Ko Rangituhia Rangiuaia Hollis tāku tungane

Ko Chris English tāku tane.

Ko Awhina Hollis-English tōku ingoa

Ko Geordie Rangiuaia English tāku tamaiti

Tihei mauri ora!

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Introduction

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Introduction

This research seeks to capture the current experiences of tangata whenua *(indigenous)* and the tīkanga *(customs)* they use within social service organisations. There are two fundamental aspects of this research. First, this project documents the ways in which Māori social work practices are being implemented throughout various organisations. The second and essential point of this project is the critique of the current levels of support for Māori processes and protocols within the organisational context. Māori methods of family /social care consist of long-established tīkanga, which inform the whānau *(extended family)*, hapū *(sub-tribe)* and iwi *(tribe)* on appropriate ways to provide for their needs. Although each iwi adapts this tīkanga to fit the variable issues of the rohe *(territory)* there are still overriding kawa *(protocols)* that inform tangata whenua on the protocols of ceremonies and other formal situations. Kawa and tīkanga are still used in contemporary New Zealand society and are an integral part of Māori processes, including processes used by Māori within the social services.

Overarching these two points is the fundamental issue of this research: to what extent do Māori practices have to change in order to fit into social service organisations and hence, how much do (and should) organisations change to fit Māori practices.

> Māori in the 21st Century and as a consequence [of the 21st Century] belong to te ao Māori, the Māori world, as well as to the world at large (Durie, 2001, p. 3).

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[1] He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata. (What is the greatest thing in the world? It is people, it is people, it is people) (Mutch, 2003, p. 1).

With regard to Mason Durie's observation that Māori participate and contribute in multiples worlds, a second issue is raised. Are Māori social work practices being compromised as a result of this adaptation and, if so, what are the consequences for social work and the Māori community?

Māori social workers are dedicated to improving the well-being of Māori in both the wider colonial society of Aotearoa New Zealand and with regard to Te Ao Māori *(the Māori world)*. Therefore, Māori social work practice can be analysed at many levels; the perspectives of the worker, family or iwi influences, as well as the influence of social work training.

It is often thought that the outcomes of social services are driven by these surrounding factors and by the individual social workers. However, the nature and purpose of social work is also determined by the organisational context as workers often have a position of limited power, influence and authority (Jones & May, 1992). When a social worker, due to their organisational context, has limited influence over the potential change that may occur there is an increased possibility of a detrimental effect on the outcomes for the family they are working with (Hollis, 2006).

This introduction outlines the fundamental aspects of this research. First, it will describe the research topic and how it has developed. This introduction then describes the many keywords used throughout this document such as: 'Māori', 'social work', 'tīkanga' and 'organisation'. A concluding section describes the content, purpose, and direction of each chapter.

While English is the primary language used for this document, the Māori language is also used regularly. When a Māori word is used for the first time in each chapter it is followed by a translation. Each word is translated only once per chapter and a glossary of Māori words and phrases is provided to assist the reader. This style of writing was selected as it reflects the way language is used by many social workers in Aotearoa New Zealand, in particular Māori social workers (Hollis, 2006). It is also reflects the language used by the long-term Māori practitioners who participated in this research project. This rationale is discussed further below.

Social Work from a Māori Perspective

This research arose out of an interest in the current experiences of Māori social workers. Following on from prior research into *Pūao-te-Ata-tū and Māori social work methods* (Hollis, 2006) this research developed from a concern that Māori social workers' ability to use tīkanga-based practices was highly dependent upon the employing organisation. This affected the quality of the methods being used and, more importantly, the extent to which the clients or whānau experienced positive outcomes.

Māori social workers that participated in the previous research stated that the means of achieving the most appropriate outcome for Māori families included tīkanga-based processes that were adapted to the particular family's needs (Hollis, 2006). Workers disclosed that issues arose that workers often needed to compromise either tīkanga-based processes and/or organisational rules in order to achieve the desired results. As previously stated, this research seeks to document Māori social work practices, to pinpoint where Māori social work practices may be compromised by the organisational context, and how supportive organisations are of Māori practices.

Four research questions were devised in the formation of this research topic. These are:

1. What is the present state of Māori social work practice from the perspectives of Māori social workers?

2. How are social service organisations supporting Māori social work practice?

3. What organisational issues exist and affect Māori social work development?

4. What are Māori social work practices that Māori social workers deem to be successful?

These questions focus on the point of view of Māori social workers as opposed to the opinions of managers, non-Māori social workers, or clients /whānau. There are many variables within each organisation, such as the ability to adapt one's methods to suit a family; the ways the organisation supports tīkanga processes, and the various external factors that can influence the worker, the organisation and the family. Therefore, this project focuses on the point of view of Māori social workers only. The intention is to identify how Māori social work as a profession can develop and expand as a result of sharing those experiences with others.

Keywords

> The term 'Māori' is often used interchangeably with tangata whenua. What does this all mean for non-Māori social workers dealing with Māori clients? Simply, to be prepared to 'mediate in the mouth of the tiger' (Ruwhiu 2001, p. 58).

Several words must be defined, described, and critiqued within the context of this research. Māori words are used frequently because it was felt that this style reflects the language use of the participants, Māori social workers, and also the belief that the Māori language is becoming commonly used within the social work setting. Translations of Māori words are provided for the reader once at the start of every chapter and a glossary is also given. All translations of Māori words are drawn directly from *The Raupō Dictionary of Modern Māori* (Ryan & Reid, 2008) for the sake of consistency. Translations of Māori sentences are provided in the text. It is acknowledged that definitions from this dictionary may differ from the way words are used by research participants. Furthermore, Ryan and Reid's dictionary may differ from other dictionaries, such as Ngata (1993, 1995) and Williams (2000). This presentation style enables the reader to interpret the meaning of Māori words used by the writer and the participants while simultaneously respecting the significance of Te Reo Māori within the context of Māori social work.

As Ruwhiu (2001) points out, it is more important to understand the implications of each term for social workers rather than to know the literal translation of the term itself. Ruwhiu also identifies the danger associated with misunderstanding or misinterpreting important words, such as 'Māori'. Thus, the keywords are discussed in relation to their use within the social work field.

Māori

Māori is the post-colonial term for the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. According to Ryan (2009) Māori also means: "Ordinary, natural, fresh, native people" (Ryan, 2009, p. 161). There was no generic name for the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand until the early colonial settlers arrived and began to describe Māori as a homogenous group. Prior to colonisation, the indigenous people self-defined with their whānau, hapū and iwi. Many of these groups used geographical features to define their identity. For example, the following pēpeha (*tribal saying*) describes how people of the Waikato region could describe their ancestry and Māori identity:

Ko Taupiri te Maunga
Ko Waikato te Awa
Ko Pōtatau Te Wherowhero te Tangata
Ko Tainui te Waka
Ko Waikato te Iwi
He piko he taniwha
He piko he taniwha
Waikato Taniwharau

Taupiri is the Mountain
Waikato is the River
Pōtatau Te Wherowhero is the Ancestor
Tainui is the Canoe
Waikato are the People
at every bend a Taniwha is to be found
at every bend of the river, a chief
Waikato of many Taniwha

This pēpeha describes the people's connection to the mountain, river and canoe. It also includes a particular characteristic that is considered unique to this iwi. In this case, the Waikato iwi is reputed for having '*taniwha*,' or chiefs, at every bend of the river (and there are many bends in the Waikato river). Another term that is commonly used interchangeably with 'Māori' is 'tangata whenua.' In postcolonial times the New Zealand Government uses the terms Māori and tangata whenua. The term Māori is used in this research to refer to any social worker who identifies as Māori /tangata whenua and who can trace their genealogy to an Māori ancestor.

Tangata Whenua

Tangata whenua has been defined as meaning *the 'People of the land'* (Ngata, 1995; Ryan & Reid, 2008; Williams, 2000). The term is used when referring to the indigenous or native people of Aotearoa New Zealand. The term tangata has been described as meaning '*man*' or '*human being*' however; the term tāngata with the long ā is the plural meaning '*people*'. According to Williams, (2000) the term whenua means both '*land*' and '*placenta*' (there are Māori ceremonies around the burial of the placenta in traditional land, highlighting the link between the two meanings). These definitions are linked by the traditional Māori belief of belonging to the land, "like a fetus to the placenta", which stems from the creation story of Papatūānuku, the 'earth-mother' and Ranginui, sky-father. This differs from a common Western belief where people can own the land (Williams, 2000). That is, the land belongs to the person rather than the Māori belief that the person belongs to the land.

Iwi

The term iwi in this context means tribe or tribal group. Iwi are usually defined by a common ancestor who founded and led the tribal group, as well as by particular geographic landmarks, such as mountains and rivers (see the pēpeha on previous page). Each iwi is made up of individual hapū that are usually distinguishable by a marae (*meeting area of whānau*) and rohe. These are considered to be the kaitiaki (*guardian*) of their tribal area (Morad & Jay, 1997 p. 4). Hapū can trace their genealogy to the founding ancestor as well as to other hapū leaders within the greater iwi. The term iwi also means *bones* and can be referred to in the saying: *"going back to one's bones,"* or returning to ones tribal area (referred to perhaps by others as ones' roots).

Social Work

In this context the term social work refers to a social work practitioner in Aotearoa New Zealand that is 'registered' according to the Social Work Registration Act, 2003. Section 6 of the Act stipulates that the Registration Board must be satisfied that the social worker is competent to practice social work with Māori (as well as other cultural and ethnic groups).

The Registration Act came into effect in October 2004, two years prior to the commencement of this research. Therefore, this research sought social workers that were either registered under the Act or who were in the process of completing registration. This distinction allowed the researcher to focus on social workers that had received training to a level that was deemed acceptable by the Board and were also able to analyse and articulate their ability to work with Māori families.

Māori Social Worker

The use of the term '*Māori social worker*' can be understood using the definitions above. Māori, as stated above, means descendants of the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand and social worker refers to a registrable social worker.

Māori Social Work

Māori social work refers to a growing body of knowledge or mātauranga Māori (*Māori knowledge*) that applies to the practice of social work. This includes tīkanga practices that Māori social workers have developed and applied to social work situations for the benefit of

whānau Māori. Other aspects of 'Māori social work' include knowledge that has come out of Te Ao Māori, the various contemporary methods and models that have been developed, and the ability to adapt these to the various Māori families with Aotearoa New Zealand.

Social Service Organisations

There are many different types of social service organisations operating in Aotearoa New Zealand. The focus of social service organisations differs. Some organisations have particular foci, such as welfare, health, education and justice.[2] Others are 'wrap-around' services. Each type of organisation involved in this research employs Māori social workers and provides a service to the public that includes some or all of the above areas of focus. The social service organisations referred to in this thesis include:

- Government organisations
- Non-Government organisations
- Iwi and Māori organisations

Tīkanga

Tīkanga is a general term that refers to the customs of Māori people. Mead (2003) states that tīkanga can be understood in an obvious way as a means of social control. Tīkanga can regulate interpersonal relationships as well as provide ways for groups to interact. It can also determine how people identify themselves (Mead, 2003). Tīkanga are methods for undertaking everyday events as well as religious and ceremonial activities. They can be referred to as the rules that guide Māori from day-to-day, in much the same way people have rules they live by in their own homes. Tīkanga can be flexible and one would respect the tīkanga of another when visiting his or her house (for example, removing shoes before entering a house). Mead points out that there are regional variations in terms of how tīkanga and kawa are understood. He states that, within his book, tīkanga broadly includes mātauranga Māori and the protocols associated with the correct practice of tīkanga (Mead, 2003). However, he reiterates that some practices and protocols can be called kawa.

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[2] There is the government social service organisation known as Child, Youth and Family Services (CYFS), as well as other government organisations that employ social workers, such as the Department of Corrections and probation services, the Ministry of Education with their social workers in schools, and the Ministry of Health with social workers in the health sector including hospitals.

Kawa

Kawa differs from tīkanga in that the kawa does not change in the flexible manner tīkanga does. When a practice or protocol is defined as a kawa, then the knowledge base underpinning that practice is called tīkanga (Mead, 2003). With regard to the powhiri process, the kawa of the marae is the process of the ceremony and the tīkanga is the underlying knowledge about it. However, this is one interpretation of the two terms and again they can differ from iwi to iwi.

Contents

Chapter One: a Discussion of Literature and Theories

This research begins with *Chapter One: a Discussion of Literature and Theories*. The purpose of this first chapter is to position Māori social work development within a New Zealand context. New Zealand as a state was founded on the Treaty of Waitangi, so it is important to interpret the implications of the Treaty and colonisation for current policies, society, and especially their impact on Māori. Next, this chapter presents a variety of government initiatives that have attempted to address the needs of Māori whānau. Social Work within New Zealand is discussed in relation to non-Māori theory and practice development. This leads into a discussion of Māori social work theory, practice and experiences within social service organisations.

Chapter Two: A Discussion of Organisations and Theories

This chapter introduces a theoretical approach to understanding social service organisations. It first addresses monoculturalism, biculturalism and multiculturalism in New Zealand organisations in relation to Māori. Indigenous, western and Māori theories are then discussed as they relate to social work organisations. The next section in this chapter discusses the different types of organisations that this research considers: government, non-government, iwi and Māori organisations. This chapter concludes with indigenous experiences of social services worldwide, as clients, social work practice and organisational experiences.

Chapter Three: Developing a Research Methodology

Chapter three is a discussion of the processes that were undertaken during this research. It begins with a discussion of epistemologies for Māori Social Work Research on which this project is grounded. Following this, western epistemologies are also discussed. These also guide the research and give evidence for particular research activities. In particular, Kaupapa

Māori theory and Narrative theory are described. This Chapter then goes on to describe how these theories and knowledge are included in this research project. Each theory has been influential in different ways and, therefore, must be mentioned individually. Some of the theories included in this discussion are positivism, critical theory and constructivism. This leads to a discussion on qualitative and quantitative research, the former being the selected method for this research project. Research questions are presented next, followed by the sample, locating participants, and lessons learned. The data analysis is then described, as this is the process for interpreting and applying the research findings to the current literature. Finally, this research concludes with the research diary, which describes the process undertaken by the researcher.

Chapter Four - Māori Social Workers: Journeys and Identities

This chapter is the first of four chapters that are dedicated to presenting the research findings. This chapter focuses specifically on the findings of the first two research questions, the first detailing why the participants became social workers and the second asking about whether they identify as Māori social workers or as social workers that are Māori. These are the first two themes of the research and relate to the essence of who they are as Māori, why they became social workers and what their identity is in relation to practice. While each experience is different, there are commonalities; such as in theme one many participants describe becoming social workers because of the influence of particular life experiences, the influence of a particular person and also how many of them have characters suited to the role. Theme two contains various Māori social worker 'identity types' that range from being a Tangata Whenua social worker to a social worker that is Māori.

Chapter Five - Processes for Positive Outcomes

Chapter Five describes the findings from the research question: *Do you use Māori processes in your work and if so, in what way do you use them?* An emphasis was made on processes that lead to positive outcomes, hense theme three: 'processes for positive outcomes'. The findings in this chapter can be interpreted in three main categories. First, the values and beliefs that Māori social workers describe as being fundamental to using Māori practices. Second, the explanatory or intervention theory that underpins their practice, and third, the Models, practices or processes they use with Māori families. While more emphasis was placed on describing processes, participants also describe the way values and theories flow into processes and how these lead to meaningful relationships with Māori families.

Chapter Six - Experiences within Organisations

This chapter presents theme four, the participants' comments about experiences within social service organisations. This theme arose out of question four: *How does your organisation support the use of Māori processes?* The comments of participants are divided into three categories that represent the type of organisation they are describing: Government Organisations, Non-Government Organisations (or NGOs) and Māori Organisations (including iwi-based (*tribe*) and Kaupapa Māori (*Māori philosophy*) agencies, urban Māori or urban marae (*meeting area of whānau /family*) social services). This chapter concludes with a general section that refers to all organisations: supervision, professional development and Key Performance Indicators (KPIs).

Chapter Seven - Current Discussions

Chapter seven contains themes five and six of this research and reflect the findings of the following questions:

> *Question Five: Is there anything that your organisation does to make your job easier?*
> *Question Six: What are some practical improvements your organisation could take on board to better support you?*

Question five resulted in theme five, which described the relationships of Māori social workers with their non-Māori colleagues and 'coping mechanisims' they use to make the job easier. Aspects of this theme that Māori social workers described as particularly difficult was the issues that came up when some non-Māori colleagues were not supportive of Māori processes, challenging the use of tīkanga, needing to educate colleagues that did not understand Māori processes and the difficulty of Māori social workers to be involved at the beginning /assessment stage of work with Māori families. Theme Six details areas that organisations could take on board to better support Māori social workers. This theme describes how some non-Māori colleagues are more supportive than some Māori colleagues, the importance of accountability, the Treaty of Waitangi, employment, age and urbanisation.

Chapter Eight - Constructing Tangata Whenua Discourses

Chapter eight is the analysis of the research findings using literature and theories. This chapter uses the Kaupapa Māori and Narrative principles to draw out meaning from the findings and through this analysis, develops emerging topics that are particularly relevant to the experiences of Māori social workers within social service organisations. The first is

'challenging the notion of 'Māori', followed by 'organisational learnings' and 'unique organisational issues'. This chapter also describe the emerging topics: 'brown-face burnout', 'whānau ki mua, whānau ki muri' and 'from theory to practice'. This chapter concludes with two diagrams, 'the egg trialectic' and 'Māori social work and organisational development', which suggests how to further develop Māori social work practice.

Chapter Nine - Concluding Statements

Chapter nine concludes this research with final statements on the experiences of Māori social workers within social service organisations. This chapter describes the first concern, about Māori social workers' use of Māori practices in social service organisations, with both clients and colleagues. The chapter also sums up the types and quality of support given to Māori processes and protocols within the organisational environment. This chapter then summarises the research methodology, together with the 'research findings' and limitations. The implications of this research are described. Finally, suggestions are given regarding areas for further research.

Summary

This is an introduction to the research topic itself and presents four research questions. In doing so, the presentation of Māori and English languages is explained, followed by a discussion of some keywords that are particularly relevant to this topic. It is recognised that keywords and concepts discussed in this research have regional variations. Therefore, translations are sourced directly from *The Raupō Dictionary of Modern Māori* (Ryan & Reid, 2008). However, some translations have been sourced elsewhere as they reflect a contemporary practitioners' use of Te Reo Māori. This chapter concludes with a description of the first part of the thesis (chapters one to three) that analyses literature, theories and the research methodology.

1

E taku mōkai, he wā poto noa koe i waenganui i te wā kua hipa ki te wā kei te tū mai…[3]

A Discussion of Literature and Theories

Introduction

> You are but a speck in the moment of time situated between two eternities, past and future. Make use of that time so that you may use this moment wisely and for the benefit of your people. (Waereti Rolleston-Tait in Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 6).

Māori social work[4] theory and practice is an ever-changing multifaceted body of knowledge that Māori writers and theorists are constantly developing. While much has been written over the years on the separate topics of '*New Zealand social work development'* and '*Māori culture and society'*, only a few writers have specifically addressed the topic of 'Māori social work', notably Bradley (1995), Connolly (2001), Eketone (2004), Ruwhiu (2001; 1999), Tapiata (2001; 1997) and Walker (2001). Māori social work practitioners have, nonetheless, well-established methods that are underpinned by Māori theories. These practices are seen as fluid and flexible in that they can be applied to many fields (such as education, justice, health and welfare), while at the same time adapting tīkanga Māori (*customs*) in contemporary society. The above quotation by Waereti Rolleston-Tait insists on the need to make the most of the opportunities available in the present time. Therefore, the focus of this chapter is to gather the already existing knowledge in order to ground a thorough understanding of Māori social work development in the future.

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[3] This heading, along with the quotation above, begins this chapter with one of the fundamental beliefs of Māori; that the mahi (*work*) that one undertakes must ultimately benefit our people (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 6).

[4] See *Introduction* for definition of 'Māori social work'.

Scholars and practitioners have discussed a range of topics related to Māori social work. These have included contemporary Māori models of practice and Māori involvement with political, social and economic change. More recently, there has been a focus on social services 'for Māori, by Māori.' This focus has often been developed alongside and underpinned by a theoretical approach known as 'Kaupapa Māori' (*Māori philosophy*) (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008b; Eketone, 2004, 2008; Smith, 1997). Māori social work involves a variety of methods and uses both new and established theories. The purpose of this chapter is to devise a contemporary research focus by critically engaging with the theoretical perspectives and literature of Māori social work development. Lacunae in the body of literature will suggest potential research topics and research questions.

This chapter discusses Māori social work development by placing it within a New Zealand context. The first section looks at the historical foundations of New Zealand in relation to Māori, by focusing on the Treaty of Waitangi, colonisation, and social policy progression. This includes a number of initiatives that have focused on Māori 'clients' or whānau (*extended family*), such as the mātua whāngai (*caring for children of relatives*) programme and the Pūao-te-Āta-tū[5] report. It then discusses social work development in Aotearoa New Zealand and its relevance to Māori. Finally, this chapter presents a number of Māori theoretical viewpoints.

The New Zealand Context

> E kore au e ngaro; te kākano i ruia ma i Rangiātea[6]
>
> (Walker, 2004, p. 37).

One must recognise the stages of colonisation and policy making in order to develop an understanding about the context of Māori social work development within Aotearoa New Zealand. The above whakataukī (*proverb*) encapsulates the connection Māori have with the atua (*gods*) and the importance of knowing where one comes from. The first settlers to arrive on the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand came from Eastern Polynesia, possibly during the period from 800 to 900 AD. They established a series of societies based initially on Western

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[5] Meaning Daybreak – refers to A Report to the Minister of Social Welfare by the Ministerial Committee on a Māori Perspective.

[6] I shall never perish; the seed is sown here from Rangiātea

Polynesian cultures before developing into a number of individual tribal based communites and societies (Walker, 2004). While contact with Europeans occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries, British settlers only began arriving in great numbers from the 1840s after the British government formally addressed the colonisation of New Zealand (Oliver & Williams, 1981; Orange & New Zealand Planning Council., 1989; Sinclair, 1969). The British government appointed James Busby to act as the British Resident in New Zealand due to the alarming levels of Pākehā lawlessness and the possibility of French intervention. Busby was primarily appointed to protect British trade, but also had some humanitarian aims (Sinclair & Dalziel, 2000, p. 52). Busby assisted the Northern chiefs with drafting the Declaration of Independence, which was signed on October 28, 1835.

The 1835 Declaration of Independence

The Declaration of Independence held that Aotearoa New Zealand, or Niu Tireni as it was called, was an independent state and that that full mana (*status*) and kingitanga (*kingship*) resided in Māori chiefs.

> We, the hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes of the Northern parts of New Zealand… declare the Independence of our country, which is hereby constituted… an Independent State, under the designation of The United Tribes of New Zealand (King, 2003, p. 154).

The Declaration was signed by 34 rangatira (*chief*) and together they called themselves 'the Heads of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand.' This confederation agreed to meet annually at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands in order to frame laws for the regulation of trade and the peace and good order of New Zealand. Following this, southern rangatira were invited to sign the Declaration and by 1840 there were 52 signatories (Sinclair & Dalziel, 2000).

According to The Oxford History of New Zealand (Rice, Oliver, & Williams, 1992, p. 29) some early European settlers absorbed Māori values and a few were assimilated into a tribal structure. However, the majority of European settlers established European settlements and brought with them their own customs and belief-systems. A second attempt to address the balancing of relationships between settlers and Māori was introduced by the appointment of Hobson as Lieutenant-Governor in 1839. The solution sought was the British acquisition of sovereignty of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Treaty of Waitangi

The British Colonial Secretary, Lord Normanby, commissioned Hobson to obtain sovereignty over New Zealand by the "free and intelligent consent on the 'natives'"and that all dealings must be undertaken with the "principles of sincerity, justice and good faith." (Walker, 1990b, p. 90). The Treaty of Waitangi was facilitated by Hobson but drafted by his secretaries, James Freeman and James Busby. It was then given to Reverend Henry Williams on 4th February 1840 to translate into Māori thus creating two texts: in Māori and in English (Rice, et al., 1992).

A meeting was held at Waitangi on the 5th February 1840 to discuss the drafted Treaty with approximately 500 Māori and 200 Pākehā witnesses. The Treaty was then signed, in the first instance, on 6th February by more than 40 chiefs and by Hobson himself as the Crown's representative. Copies were then made and sent throughout the country to be eventually signed by over 500 Maori leaders. (Rice, et al., 1992).

The two versions of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori and English, differ substantially from each other and their ambiguities have been discussed by a number of writers (Belgrave, Kāwharu, Kāwharu, & Williams, 2005; Kāwharu, 1989; Kāwharu, 2006; King, 2003; Orange, 1984, 1989, 1990). As Fleras and Spoonley (1999a, p. 11) write, "this contradiction between competing authorities was conveniently circumvented by glossing over the facts of British sovereignty in the Māori version of the Treaty while clearly privileging the status of British sovereignty in the English version". At the same time they point out that tino rangatiratanga (*self-determination*) is emphasised in the Māori version and watered down in the English.

Years of Colonisation

Although the Treaty was based on recognition of pre-existing Māori sovereignty and the rights of indigenous peoples, the actions of the settlers from 1840 onwards contradicted these ideals. At the time Māori were the dominant cultural group in New Zealand, not only in terms of land ownership but also with regard to internal and international trade (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999b). A colonial belief was held by the settler government that Māori must assimilate into the British civilised culture. There was a predominantly Eurocentric view that the British culture, values and customs were superior to that of Māori and that Māori were "an inferior branch of the human family" (Ballara, 1986, p. 87). While not all settlers held this belief, the

legislation created by British colonists often discriminated against Māori and non-British settlers, often contradicting the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi.

According to Durie (2003, p. 109) Māori intended to play an active role in the new nation state but were restricted by legislation. While the first 100 years of British settlement in New Zealand did not bode well for Māori and for bicultural relations, there was a noticeable change in the governments' legislative approach from the 1970s onward. The following section focuses on the positive changes and implications of the government's approach to legislation for the people of New Zealand and specifically for Māori.

Social, Political and Economic Change

'Kimihia he huarahi e, hai oranga pūmau mō te iwi'[7].

In the 20th Century, the New Zealand government began to 'seek out new pathways of wellbeing' through a variety of social policies. While the philosophical approach to social, political and economic developments has changed substantially for the better, there has been much-needed debate, consultation and criticism of the preceding century of political management. The 1900s involved many changes in direction for New Zealand politics. The government's focus changed from being predominantly concerned with British settlement and land acquisition, towards being primarily an "agent of welfare" (Oliver, 1988). All shifts in political focus have resulting social and demographic changes. Previously, the government had viewed Māori, who were among the poorest of the time, as a 'dying race.'[8] However, this was not the case. In the early 20th century the government made the first real effort at providing public health care to Māori when it appointed Sir Peter Buck / Te Rangi Hiroa[9] the first Director of the new division of Māori hygiene. He was hired to advise the Department of Health in the development of social policies relating to Māori health.

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[7] (Seek out pathways of wellbeing for people)

[8] The phrase to 'smooth the pillow of a dying race' has been used to describe the impact of the bubonic plague of 1900, the influenza epidemic of 1919 and other colonial illnesses on Māori (Miller, 1958, p. 104; Oliver & Williams, 1981, p. 13).

[9] Te Rangi Hīroa, also known as Sir Peter Henry Buck held the position of Director of the Division of Māori Hygene from 1919-1928 (M. Durie, 2005, p. 36).

According to Oliver (1981, p. 26) the 1935-1949 Labour government was the first New Zealand government to purposefully and consciously implement social policies that focused on welfare (Sorrenson, 1986). The government was responsible for establishing a welfare state through a 'Keynesian' economic system of management and through high levels of state intervention (Dalley & Tennant, 2004, p. 23). This began the process of decreasing the social and economic inequity between Maori and Pakeha. During the 1970s the government introduced significant policies aimed at creating a New Zealand identity. It began by making Waitangi Day (then called 'New Zealand Day') a national public holiday. But for the purposes of this research its most significant legislation was the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, which established the Waitangi Tribunal (Dalley & Tennant, 2004).

From the early 1970s the government's relationship with Māori was characterised predominantly by Māori protest movements such as Ngā Tamatoa (Walker, 1990b), the Maori land march of 1975, and the 1977 Ngāti Whātua occupation at Bastion Point (Hawke, 1979). The 1981 Springbok rugby tour was another significant event. New Zealanders had become increasingly aware of apartheid in South Africa as a result of the New Zealand Rugby Union's attempts to exclude Māori from earlier All Blacks tours. The 'No Māori, no tour' campaign of 1960 increased social awareness. The 1981 tour resulted in thousands of Māori and Pākehā protesting with hundreds of arrests occurring (Consedine & Consedine, 2005).

The 1984 Hui Taumata (Economic Development Summit) was a fundamental turning point for Māori development, in which the government brought together Māori leaders from around the country to discuss the economic future of Māoridom (Spoonley, Pearson, & Macpherson, 2004). However, this summit was at times undermined by the market-driven economy's negative impact on Māori development:

> Essentially, the Government and Treasury assumed that they could deal with Māori economic demands within the broad framework of Rogernomics, by providing limited Māori administration of programmes, minimal funding of enterprise initiatives, reduction of dependence, and a market oriented strategy for economic development (Kelsey, 1991, p. 189).

The same period saw the introduction of many social policy changes that made positive differences for sectors of the New Zealand population. These included, for example, the Homosexual Law Reform, changes to immigration legislation in 1987, the criminalisation of

rape within marriage, and the Child, Young Persons and their Families Act of 1989. The Waitangi Amendment Act of 1985 enabled the Waitangi Tribunal to investigate Treaty claims dating back to 1840. Te Reo Māori (*the Māori language*) was made an official language in New Zealand and the Court of Appeal established its own principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Treaty of Waitangi in Social Policy

Social and political change has often occurred through resistance, activism, and partnership agreements. Kāwharu, in his introduction to a collection of Treaty-related essays, stated that although there is no set framework for the implementation of the Treaty within social policy, execution of Treaty aspirations must be constantly re-examined and re-implemented so that they fit with contemporary New Zealand needs and demands without losing the spirit of 'trust and co-operation' (Kāwharu, 1989, p. x).

> There are, indeed, eternal verities in the Treaty, but they will be reduced to mere cant unless they are monitored and fashioned to meet the legitimate demands of the day (Kāwharu, 1989, p. x).

With Kāwharu's comments in mind, the Treaty of Waitangi has been referred to (in the form of the 'principles' or the 'articles' of the Treaty) as the founding document of modern New Zealand, even though it is not usually put into effect unless it is incorporated into legislation (Durie, 2003, p. 108). The Treaty of Waitangi was used as a framework to help meet Māori needs and was a specific part of the fourth Labour government's new recognition of the needs of minority groups, Māori being one of them. References to the Treaty of Waitangi were attached to many bills and amendments were made to Acts, giving the Treaty a clear place in New Zealand jurisprudence (Connolly, 2001, p. 276).

The State Owned Enterprises Act 1986 made a highly significant reference to the Treaty, which was later amended in 1987 after a Court of Appeal recommendation. The Court confirmed the significance of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi as they apply to state owned enterprises (SOE). Section 9 of the Act said: 'nothing in this Act shall permit the Crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi'. The Court stated that "the principles of the Treaty override everything else in the SOE Act, and these principles require the Pākehā (*Non-Māori New Zealander*) and Māori Treaty

partners to act towards each other reasonably and with the utmost good faith" (King, 2003, p. 500-501).

The SOE Act greatly affected the economic climate of the late 1980s. The Finance Minister Roger Douglas had begun deregulating the economy in an attempt to rapidly restructure it. This included the disestablishment of a number of State agencies such as Forest Services, the Department of Land and Surveys, and the Ministry of Works and Development.

Commercial tasks were transferred to state-owned enterprises, which were also charged with making a profit. Moreover, the State Owned Enterprises Act gave the Waitangi Tribunal power to make recommendations on the status of land being transferred from government departments to SOEs. This act incorporated the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi into jurisprudence. Although seemingly removed from the domain of Māori social work, the impact of this act was notable. Durie points out that much of the debate on the Treaty had focused on the implications for property rights, while less consideration was given to their impact on social policies and social institutions (Durie, in Kāwharu, 1989, p. 280).

> While it is true that social, economic, and cultural developments would inevitably be influenced by large-scale property transfers, one major and central theme of the treaty was the protection of prerogatives, including the way in which responsibilities for the well-being of people were to be shared (Durie, in Kāwharu, 1989, p. 280).

Viewed in this way, the Treaty unequivocally addresses social policy. It can be used as a tool appraising the outcomes of social service organisations. From this point onwards the government increased attempts to acknowledge the Treaty of Waitangi in legislation and began to seek Māori advice when addressing the needs of Māori communities.

Government Initiatives

The following section is a description of Māori-focused initiatives that have been implemented by government organisations within the health and social service areas. These initiatives made significant impacts on the work environments of Māori social workers within government organisations and non-government organisations. They also affected the lives and experiences of Māori whānau accessing these services.

The Mātua Whāngai Programme

In 1983 the government (The Departments of Māori Affairs, Social Welfare, and Justice) (Adair & Dixon, 1998), in partnership with iwi, launched the Mātua Whāngai programme as a system of social care. It was part of the National government's 'Tū Tangata' Māori affairs policy and sought to recognise "Māori as an integral and legitimate component of society, a willingness to tap into Māori communities for resources, and a commitment to Māori structures and culture as solutions rather than problems" (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999a, p. 115). Initiatives such as Mātua Whāngai and Te Kohanga Reo (*Māori language total immersion Pre-school*) were seen as a way to invert the bureaucratic pyramid by encouraging community-driven, culturally sensitive programmes and services. It was also hoped that Tū Tangata would 'indigenise' the bureaucracy from within by redefining relationships with the 'client'. This would be achieved by transferring government programmes to Māori authorities (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999a).

The Mātua Whāngai programme sought to "rehabilitate difficult-to-manage children and adolescents" and, according to Durie, was primarily concerned with the containment of 'risk' to children, rather than positive whānau development (Durie, 2003, p. 166). The programme intended to use traditional Māori kinship structures and the traditional practice of whāngai (*care for, adopt*), where close relatives would bring up and care for Māori children.

The objectives were to release Māori children from institutional placements and place them into the care of their family and tribal groups, (whānau, hapū and Iwi) (The Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1986). However, critics of the initial implementation of the programme described it as a means to disestablish residential facilities, while at the same time passing the burden of care on to whānau under the guise of devolution (Walker, 2001). There was a notable underestimation of the resources needed to carry the burden. Māori whānau, hapū, and iwi were provided with no means to compensate for the additional demands (Bradley, 1995; Durie, 2005; Walker, 1990b). Durie describes how the programme had both positive and negative implications for iwi Māori and whānau.

> Devolution coincided with Māori ambitions for greater autonomy and the re-establishment of social structures such as iwi (tribes). It appeared to offer a degree of self-governance, although clearly it was a government agenda with limited Māori control and at times conflicting objectives… in a positive sense, it presented opportunities for assuming new levels of responsibility, but there were also some disquieting signals that it was a government manoeuvre for economic reform and cost cutting at Māori expense (Durie, 2005, p. 175).

Nonetheless, the Mātua Whāngai programme made a major contribution to Māori social work development. It would later be revisited by the Pūao-te-Ata-tū report in 1986 and by the Child, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989.

The WARAG Report

A 1984 report by the Women's Anti-Racist Action Group brought to light institutional racism in the Auckland office of the Department of Social Welfare (Walker, 1990a, p. 279). The report highlighted the imbalance in ethnic composition of staff and the client group. Pākehā staff composed 71%, Māori only 22%, and Pacific Islanders 5%. This compared to 22% of the children /youth in residential institutions being Pākehā, 62% Māori and 16% of Pacific Island origin. The report concluded that the Department of Social Welfare was guilty of institutional racism and made recommendations that the Department incorporate anti-racism courses into staff training programmes. This report shocked the then Director-General of Social Welfare and later inspired discussion about the development of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective. This Committee went on to produce the Pūao-te-Ata-tū report (Walker, 1990).

Pūao-te-Ata-tū

The Pūao-te-Ata-tū report made recommendations to the Ministry of Social Welfare about ways it could better support Māori clients and address Māori social needs. Pūao-te-Ata-tū was the first official government document that acknowledged Māori social work methods and recommended their use (Hollis, 2006).

Thirteen of the report's recommendations pertained to areas where the Committee felt Social Welfare was not adequately addressing the needs of Māori. The recommendations contained both objectives and proposals for how the objectives could be met. These included an objective that the Department of Social Welfare attack all forms of racism (personal, cultural and institutional racism), and that it develop a society where the values of all groups are of central importance, not just that of the dominant group. The report also suggested the Department accept the use of tīkanga Māori and Māori methods of practice. The Mātua Whāngai programme was also referred to as an ideal way to support whānau Māori if it was adequately resourced. Through these recommendations it was envisaged that tribal committee

involvement would be increased and staff at the department would be well equipped with the necessary skills to work with the Māori community.

> …that Māori should control Māoridom and make the decisions for themselves must be an essential ingredient of any conclusions we come to about future directions in Social Welfare. This report embraces both the past and the present so that we can sharpen our vision of the future (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare., 1986, p. 70).

The recommendations were never fully implemented, but they were regarded as the "bible" of Māori social work development by the majority of Māori social workers who were working within the Department in the 1980s and by the wider Māori community. The recommendations did lead to many positive changes within the Department (Hollis, 2006, p. 72). The following is a summary of the 13 recommendations of Pūao-te-Ata-tū:

1. To attack all forms of cultural racism in New Zealand that result in the values and lifestyle of the dominant group over other groups, especially Māori. This should be implemented through leadership and groups that value all groups as important, and incorporating the values, cultures and beliefs of Māori in all future policies.

2. To attack and eliminate deprivation by allocating resources, sharing power, policies that reflect values of all groups and develop strategies that enhance potential of all people.

3. Replace the Social Security Commission with the Social Welfare Commission that has two members that are nominated by the Minister of Māori Affairs. This Commission is responsible for giving advice to the Minister on policy relating to child and family welfare, on working with other organisations, and will consult once a year with tribal authorities in a national hui.

4. Legislative amendments to The Social Welfare Act 1971, The Social Security Act 1964 and The Children and Young Persons Act 1974.

5. That the Social Welfare Commission reviews The Social Security Act 1964 with the view of rationalising benefit rates.

6. Management committees be drawn from local communities and tasked with focusing on alternative care for children within their extended whānau.

7. That the Mātua Whāngai programme be restored back to its original focus of nurturing children within the wider family group.

8. To create funding initiatives directed at the young long-term unemployed and promote training opportunities, particularly for young Māori people.

9. Job descriptions reflect the importance of all staff being able to relate to the needs of Māori and the Māori community. Training in Māoritanga to be established.

10. The Department take urgent steps to improve its training in all aspects of work, including training related to the needs of Māori.

11. The Department improves its communication through appropriate advice to staff, improvement of the reception area and support for Māori community members who support Departmental staff.

12. To improve interdepartmental coordination through The Royal Commission on Social Policy taking account of this report and The State Services Commission to take action.

13. That immediate action is undertaken in a comprehensive manner to create opportunities for communities to plan, direct and control developments and to harness initiatives of Māori communities to help address problems.

Pūao-te-Ata-tū legitimated Māori processes of working with families and represented the aims of Article two of the Treaty: the self-determination of Māori families, hapū and Iwi (Bradley, 1995). Many Māori social workers were part of the consultation process and saw the Pūao-te-Ata-tū report as a way of implementing the Treaty within social service organisational policy. The following comment describes the belief that many Māori had that the Pūao-te-Ata-tū report would address some of the grievances held by Māori:

> We as Māori peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand are faced with the struggle to maintain our own traditional value base systems of organisation; reclaim and regenerate our own 'knowledge economy' that was forced underground by the Tohunga (cultural 'expert') Suppression Act (1907), whilst also maintaining pākehātanga systems (those of the coloniser) in order to access '…all the rights and privileges of British subjects' (Article 3, Treaty of Waitangi, 1840) (Tait-Rolleston, 2001, p. 233).

Tino rangatiratanga is a recurring theme throughout studies of Pūao-te-Ata-tū and the Treaty of Waitangi in Māori social work development. As Webber-Dreardon states: "A Social Worker has many roles within the realms of this 'framework,' but the first and foremost principle is to take responsibility and allow the self-empowerment (*tino rangatiratanga*) of whānau, hapū, iwi by whānau, hapū and iwi" (NZASW., 2006, p. 9). In this regard, the tino rangatiratanga of whānau, hapū and iwi (*families, sub-tribes and tribes*) is the aim of Māori social workers, who use social work organisations as their template and ground their aim in the Treaty.

The Royal Commission on Social Policy

The Royal Commission on Social Policy (initiated by the government) first acknowledged the Treaty of Waitangi in its April Report of 1988, identifying it as a foundation of society and of the economy. The report made several conclusions:

- The Treaty of Waitangi is for all New Zealanders;

- The Treaty's application encompasses all social and economic policies;

- The Treaty is a pro-active document with implications for the future as much as for the past (New Zealand. Royal Commission on Social Policy. & Richardson, 1988a).

The conclusions were informed by surveys and numerous submissions to the Royal Commission. These highlighted differing views between Māori and non-Māori, with Māori respondents and submissions more frequently supporting the Treaty. The Report showed that the Treaty could be applied to social policy as well as land, fisheries, forests, and the environment (as in the SOE Act). However, the Treaty has not yet been accorded the same measure of acceptance as the SOE Act because it was not integrated into jurisprudence and policy (Durie, 2003, p. 255).

> An acceptance that the ownership and alienation of physical resources warranted a Treaty framework has not been matched by a similar conviction for social policy. For many New Zealanders, if not the majority, the Treaty spelled an unfair advantage to Māori over other New Zealanders because it could create unequal access to goods and services (Durie, 2003, p.255).

Although attitudes to the Treaty differ substantially, they do not lessen the importance of the Treaty, both historically and in the present. The Royal Commission acknowledged the multiple dimensions of the Treaty through relating *Article two* to the general well-being of Māori and of all New Zealanders, not only to the management of land and resources:

> Given the relationship of people to that environment the Article must also be concerned with economic and social issues and with the many factors that contribute to wellbeing. The relationship is even more evident when due weight is given to the notion of 'Chieftainship' and the responsibility that entails for the care and welfare of all sections of the community" (New Zealand. Royal Commission on Social Policy. & Richardson, 1988b).

The Royal Commission report, together with the Pūao-te-Ata-tū report, was fundamental to the development of the Child, Young Persons and their Families Act of 1989. Although the

Act did not implement into legislation the exact recommendations, it embodied legislative change nonetheless.

The Children Young Persons and their Families Act

The purpose of the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act is to "[a]dvance the well-being of children and young person's as members of families, whānau, hapū, iwi, and family groups" and also to "[m]ake provisions for families, whānau, hapū, iwi, and family groups to receive assistance in caring for their children and young people" (Bradley, 1995, p. 3). Some of the objectives of the Act were for social workers to be "sensitive to the cultural perspectives and aspirations of different racial groups in the community" and in doing so being able to "assists parents, families, whānau, hapū, iwi and family groups to discharge their responsibilities to prevent their children and young person's suffering harm, ill-treatment, abuse, neglect or deprivation." The Act fundamentally required social workers to consider the needs, values and beliefs of all ethnic groups, not only the majority (Bradley, 1995).

Connolly points out that the emphasis of the Act was now on family solutions to family problems rather than professional solutions (Connolly, 2001, p. 223). This handing over of power and responsibility can also be interpreted as the government's way of taking a lesser role in providing social services. Bradley states that the Act was consistent with a theme of reduction being implemented by a state that was wanting to reduce their involvement and responsibility relating to child wellbeing (Bradley, 1995, p. 18).

The National Party won a landslide victory in 1990 and introduced an economic package that included across-the-board benefit cuts from April 1991 (McTaggart, 2005). In the same year the number of unemployed first exceeded 200, welfare payments were further reduced and the public health system was restructured (ibid).

According to Swanson Ernst (2001, p. 7) economic reforms at the time decreased the economic security of vulnerable families because of the resulting changes in the labour market and the reduction of social welfare benefits. Because of the impact on the well-being of many families, New Zealand's structural and economic reforms hindered the ability of the 1989 legislation to improve the well-being of children (Shirley, 1997). Furthermore, it was

often these families, suffering from reductionist policies that were asked to financially support the child or young person in need.

Stephenson (cited in Bennie, 1996) states that reforms in the social services, supposedly based upon fairness, self-reliance, efficiency and personal choice left more people vulnerable to poverty. Māori and Pacific Islanders were more affected by cuts in social welfare benefits than other families (Bennie, 1996). The successes and failures of practice under the 1989 Act are intertwined with the effects of these broader economic and social changes.

Te Punga

In 1994 the National government's explicated its approach to social services with *"Te Punga – Our Bicultural Strategy for the Nineties"*, a social report published by the Department of Social Welfare (1994). This report aimed to set out a bicultural direction, building on the initial momentum created by Pūao-te-Ata-tū and the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989. Te Punga was to provide a strategic framework for policy development and service delivery planning for Māori. However, the publication did not attract the support of the Māori community and Māori social workers in the same way that the Pūao-te-Ata-tū report had (Hollis, 2006, p. 77). With benefit cuts and a lack of support for and from the Māori community it is not surprising the Department of Social Welfare struggled to address the goals and recommendations of both Pūao-te-Ata-tū and Te Punga. While trying to involve Māori families in the decision making and placement of Māori children they were at the same time cutting the resources Māori needed in order to provide care and protection.

Also, in 1994 new 'Human Resources' (HR) procedures for social workers were introduced across the country, including revised organisational names and job descriptions, as well as new time recording and leave management processes (McTaggart, 2005). The Department's change of name caused negative public comments that were "later exacerbated by further name changes in 1999" (Brown, 2000, p. 5).

In September 1998, the Director General of Social Welfare announced her intention to amalgamate CYPFS and CFA (Community Funding Agency) into a new entity, to be known as the Children, Young Persons and their Families Agency (CYPFA) (Brown, 2000). The amalgamation resulted in an entirely new management structure. While not a direct result of the integration process, 'change proposals' underway in the two former agencies continued

with the agreement of the new executive. These 'change proposals' included restructuring of the Contracting Group (responsible for contracting social services), centralisation of Payroll, some HR and Accounting functions and the amalgamation of Care and Protection and Youth Justice Services in Auckland (ibid). A National Call Centre was developed to provide services for the new Department, such as social work intake services.

More Recent Initiatives

In a presentation at the 10th Australasian Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect, February 2006, Dale Karauria described the Māori Potential Approach that is an unique Policy Outcomes approach undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development). Karauria explained the move away from traditional government approaches, which she characterised as "single dimension repair of deficit, disparity and dysfunction," to an approach that focuses on "multi-dimensional Māori potential, strengths, and opportunities (Karauria, 2006, p. 4). This represents a philosophical shift in approach to Māori development with consequent valuing of whānau, hapū and iwi potential, strengths and culturally distinct aspirations.

Social Work Development in Aotearoa New Zealand

'Social work' in a general sense began in New Zealand before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi with Māori models of welfare that functioned around the whānau (*extended family*), hapū (*sub-tribe*) and iwi (*tribe*) social structure. These were underpinned by cosmological beliefs and kōrero tawhito (*ancient stories*) as well as by tīkanga (*customs*) and kawa (*protocol*) (M. Durie, 1997). Pākehā traditions developed during New Zealand's colonisation and settlers brought from Britain a residual model of welfare provision. This approach meant that the state was reluctant to provide welfare services and social assistance was provided to families from their networks, family connections and religious organisations (Nash cited in Connolly, 2001, p. 365).

According to Nash it was during the Second World War that 'social workers' began requesting a specific training course, which was not established until 1949 at Victoria University in Wellington (2001).

> Social workers held a variety of agency-based titles: 'child welfare officer' and 'medical social worker' in particular… other titles included 'psychiatric social worker', probation officer', 'prison welfare officer' and 'Māori welfare officers' (NZASW, 1968 cited in Connolly, 2001, p. 366).

In 1967 the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers (ANZASW) was established and formally admitted to the International Federation of Social Workers (ANZASW, 2010). Over the next 43 years social workers in New Zealand developed their own theories and practices as well as learning from their international colleagues.

Social Work Theories in New Zealand

There are a number of non-Māori theories as well as Māori theories that have influenced the practices of both Māori and non-Māori social workers. *Systems theory* was one of the first influential theories for New Zealand social work development (Healy, 2005). This focused on the complexities involved in human interactions. Hanson (1995) states that systems theory focuses on 'wholes' rather than on parts of human or social interaction, however, it has been applied less to social systems than it has been to biological or technical systems (Payne, 2005). In a social work scenario, one would try to see where the elements of interaction between the 'client' and their environment are causing problems and then aim to help people perform everyday tasks, to alleviate stress, and to achieve goals that are important to them. This was later developed into the *ecological systems theory* that focused more on the relationships between people and their environment (Connolly, 2001). This approach, also called the 'life model,' acknowledges that people are constantly changing and so too is their environment. Where experiences are positive, reciprocal change exists. However, influences such as poverty, discrimination and stigma reduce the persons' chances of obtaining reciprocal adaptation. The main social work aim in this context is to strengthen the individual's ability to adapt and cope with change, while influencing their own environments so that interactions are reciprocal (Payne, 2005).

Psychodynamic practice theory was originally based on Freudian psychology and was used by social workers that view conflict within "the inner-self as the underlying contributor to the difficulties being experienced by clients" (Nash, 2001, p. 22). *Person-centred practice theory* was developed partly as a response to psychodynamic theory and provided a humanistic approach to social work that psychodynamic theory did not.

Other approaches include *behavioural* or *cognitive-behavioural approaches* that are based around "fixing" faulty behaviour or thought and in more recent years *narrative approaches* to social work have been developed. While there are a variety of other approaches that have influenced social work it is important to note that social workers often choose an approach

that suits their particular organisation or professional orientation, while others take an eclectic approach, which enables them to be influenced by a range of theoretical views (Connolly, 2001).

Māori Social Work

Māori social workers that identify with Te Ao Māori (*the Māori world*) and are guided by its worldview contend that Māori social work has its historical and theoretical foundations clearly set by the Treaty of Waitangi (Hollis, 2006). For this reason, the discussion on Māori social work begins with an acknowledgement of the role of the Treaty of Waitangi, followed by theories that underpin Māori social work practice. This section then includes Māori social work practices (methods and models) as well as a brief examination of the experiences of Māori social workers.

Māori Social Work and the Treaty of Waitangi

> The foundation stones of social work partnership, resistance, and activism for both Māori and non-Māori social workers have been refined on the raging fires of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Ruwhiu cited in Connolly, 2001, p. 54)

The Treaty of Waitangi, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, is fundamental to the foundations of New Zealand's settlement and the development of social policies that effect Māori whānau. Not only for Māori but also for 'tangata Tiriti' (*non-Māori treaty partner*), the guidelines for interaction with each other have been clearly set by the Treaty of Waitangi. The Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers (ANZASW) has developed a Code of Ethics that attempts to model an ideal treaty relationship. It does so, not only through being bilingually written, but also by developing core values, one of which is about ensuring members are committed to:

> Social service legislation, structures, organisations and social work practice grounded in the Articles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers., 2008).

Another way the association implements the Treaty of Waitangi among its members is through the Māori caucus of ANZASW called the Tangata Whenua Takawaenga o Aotearoa. This caucus was established so that tangata whenua (*indigenous)* and tauiwi (*non-indigenous*) could structure their relationships through a treaty framework, working in "partnerships and collaboration under Te Tiriti o Waitangi" through equal representation on the Governance Board, at national hui (*meeting*), and in regional committees (ANZASW, 2010).

While all members of ANZASW are responsible for implementing the Treaty of Waitangi within their organisation and with whānau Māori, the focus in this research is predominantly on Māori social workers. Tait-Rolleston describes how the Treaty links with being respectful of whānau Māori:

> Māori social workers that focus on the needs of Māori families ultimately respect Māori rights to be self-determining and sovereign peoples under the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi (Tait-Rolleston in Dominelli, et al., 2001, p. 233).

Therefore, the Treaty of Waitangi refers to tino rangatiratanga and in this context it relates to both the self-determination of Māori social workers in theory and practice but also empowering the whānau they work with.

Māori Social Work Theories

There are a variety of theoretical approaches that influence Māori social work practice. Not all are derived from Te Ao Māori. It is to be expected that 'western' or 'European' theories would, both consciously and unconciously, influence Māori social workers. However, the key element that distinguishes Māori social work theories from others is that they are derived from Mātauranga Māori (*Māori knowledge*). Kaupapa Māori theory has been popularised as a theoretical approach for Māori social workers, researchers and educationalists over the past 20 years. However, as the quotation above indicates, Māori social work methods are underpinned by tīkanga Māori as a theoretical basis. It is important to note that Māori social workers are constantly developing new and diverse theories about their practice and can often take an 'eclectic' approach, using both Māori and non-Māori theories.

> Tīkanga Māori such as whakawhanaungatanga, wairuatanga and aroha are all fundamental aspects of Māori social work methods, are vital to their relationship with clients and also their approach in the organisational environment (Hollis, 2006, p. 86).

The following are a selection of current Māori theories that are relevant to Māori social work.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

The theoretical approach, known as Kaupapa Māori Theory has been described as the "conceptualising of Māori knowledge." It is a theory that validates Māori knowledge and is derived from Te Ao Māori (*a Māori worldview*) (Nepe, 1991, p. 15). It has been derived from a foundation of Kaupapa Māori (*Māori Ideology*) and Mātauranga Māori (*Māori knowledge*) (Pihama, 2001) and was created as an "intervention strategy", existing to critique and transform praxis through conscientisation (Smith, 1997).

Graham Hinengaro Smith originally developed Kuapapa Māori Theory within the education context for teaching and research. Smith produced a framework with six principles or elements; Tino Rangatiratanga: the principle of self-determination, Taonga Tuku Iho: the principle of cultural aspiration, Ako Māori: the principle of culturally preferred pedagogy, Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga: the principle of socio-economic mediation, whānau: the principle of extended family structure and kaupapa: the principle of collective philosophy. Since the theory's formation, numerous Māori theorists and scholars have enhanced and extended it, using it as a tool for guiding research and practice (Walker, 1996; Smith, 1997, 2002, 2003; Bishop, 1998, 2003; Smith, 2000, 2006; Pihama, 2001; Pipi et al., 2002; Penetito. W, Rata, E., 2002; Cram et al., 2003; 2004; Eketone, A., 2008).

Smith's six principles are described below (1990), followed by two additional principles. The seventh principle is added by Pihama, (2001) and is Te Tiriti o Waitangi: the principle of the Treaty of Waitiangi and the eighth principle is introduced by Pohatu (2005) called Ata: the principle of growing respectful relationships.

Tino Rangatiratanga – The Principle of Self Determination

> We are a resilient people, a proud people…We can assert and restore to ourselves our rangatiratanga (sovereignty) (Turia & Selby, 2005, p. 109).

Described as *the Principle of Self-determination*, tino rangatiratanga underpins Kaupapa Māori research as well as Kaupapa Māori practice (Smith, 1997). The principle of tino rangatiratanga can exist at both a micro and macro level and thus, is relevant to social workers at both the 'whānau' and 'organisational' levels. Durie identifies a dual connotation of tino rangatiratanga when he describes the two dimensions as being first, "the way in which Māori and the Crown share power" and second, as being how "power-sharing occurs within Māori society (Belgrave, Kāwharu, Williams, & Kāwharu, 2005, p. 4). Hirini Moko Mead defines tino rangatiratanga as: "political sovereignty, chieftainship, leadership" and "self-determination" (Mead, 2003, p. 366) of Māori. The term tino rangatiratanga was fundamental to the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi, Article Two:

> Ko te Kuini o Ingarangi ka wakarite ka wakaae ki ngā rangatira, ki ngā hapū - ki ngā tangata katoa o Nu Tirani, te tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua ō rātou kāinga me ō rātou taonga katoa.

> The Queen of England arranges [and] agrees to the subtribes, to people all of New Zealand the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, over their villages and over their treasures all (Kāwharu, 1989, pp. 316-321).

More recently tino rangatiratanga has been described as being inseparable from a process of decolonisation. Vercoe states: "tino rangatiratanga is…a total transformation of society…dependency can only be overcome by enabling Māori to go through a lengthy period of decolonization" (Vercoe & Duff, 1998, p. 85). It has also been described as the 'twin' to kotahitanga (*unity, solidarity*). Each is seen as being fundamental for understanding the other (Belgrave, Kāwharu, Williams, et al., 2005). Tino rangatiratanga and kotahitanga are intrinsically linked to mana (*integrity*, *power*). Mana has many elements; some are described as mana Atua (*spiritual connections*), mana tūpuna (*ancestoral /whakapapa conntections*), mana tangata (*human rights*) and mana whenua (*trusteeship of land*) (Bell, 2006; Mataira cited in Harvey, 2000; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Vercoe & Duff, 1998). Mana whenua is an aspect of tino rangatiratanga that is particularly relevant to current policy affecting Māori in the Foreshore and Seabed Act, 2004:

> A new Clause 49(2) has been added and indicates that customary rights orders are use rights only and cannot include spiritual or cultural concepts such as mana whenua, mana moana (sea), mana tīpuna, kaitakitanga (guardianship) or tino rangatiratanga (Bargh & Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies., 2006, p. 8).

This is particularly important to Māori because the new Clause clearly states that self-determination and other beliefs that are crucial to te Ao Māori are not included. In a social work context rangatiratanga is achieved through ensuring that Māori live as Māori (Durie, 2003), which is problematic when the legislation above excludes fundamental values, such as mana whenua. Tino rangatiratanga is also relevant to social work practice in terms of practitioners enabling the rangatiratanga of whānau to develop, particularly in relation to various types of Māori whānau (Bradley, 1995).

Taonga Tuku Iho – The Principle of Cultural Aspiration

The term 'Taonga tuku iho' can perhaps be explained more accurately as an all-encompassing principle that contains the many values and beliefs of Māori throughout generations. According to Ryan (2008, p. 300) taonga tuku iho is translated as "legacy" and can be described as relating to the most valued possessions of a whānau, hapū (*sub-tribe*) and iwi (*tribe*) that are passed on to succeeding generations to ensure that their identity and whakapapa remain intact. Taonga tuku iho has also been referred to by the *New Zealand*

Framework for Cultural Studies as having four main cultural activities: mātauranga Māori (learning traditional Māori practices, customs, and history); the importance of marae; visiting wāhi taonga (sacred sites of historical importance to Māori), and; the valuing or exhibiting of taonga (Māori ancestral treasures (Madden & Spellerberg, 1995, p. 11). Taonga tuku iho is about maintaining key cultural aspects at the centre of one's focus for any given project. Smith (1990) defined these aspects as: Te Reo Māori, tīkanga and mātauranga Māori. From a Kaupapa Māori point of view, "these Māori ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world are considered valid in their own right" (Rangahau, 2010, p. 3). Smith says that within a Kaupapa Māori theoretical context "[a] Māori cultural aspiration, particularly in a wider societal context of the struggle for language and cultural survival, is more assured" (Smith, 1997, p. 467).

Ako Māori – The Principle of Culturally Preferred Pedagogy

Ako Māori can be described in its basic form as "to learn", "to teach" and "to train" (Ryan & Reid, 2008, p. 32). This principle acknowledges that Māori have unique forms of teaching and learning that differ substantially from non-Māori and that benefit Māori learners. For example, Makareti describes the educational practices of pre-colonial Māori society:

> The Māori had no writing, and everything was handed down by word of mouth. Through the tapu (*sacred*) school of learning, traditions were kept intact and handed down for many generations without alterations. The whare wānanga (*school of higher learning*) was held in high regard by the Māori people. Here the youths passed through a severe test of learning, and had to memorize word for word all their traditions and sacred lore, and the very high tapu karakia (*prayers*) of Io the Supreme Being (Makereti, 1986, p. 154).

Ako Māori processes were fundamental for the sustainability of whakapapa, nga taonga tuku iho, and Te Reo Māori (*the Māori language*) as well as many other areas of traditional Māori life. In contemporary times, the values and practices of ako are being applied to the current New Zealand education system:

> The concept of ako describes a teaching and learning relationship, where the educator is also learning from the student and where educators' practices are informed by the latest research and are both deliberate and reflective. Ako is grounded in the principle of reciprocity and also recognises that the learner and whānau cannot be separated (Education, 2008, p. 20).

In her monograph entitled 'Ako: Concepts and learning in the Māori tradition', Rose Pere describes a number of educational tools and principles from a Māori worldview and their application in a contemporary world.

The traditional Māori teacher knows the cultural background and history of the pupil. She knows the innate tendencies and traits that her pupil may have, and is also familiar with the pupil's strengths, interests and experiences (Pere, 1994 p. 75).

For Pere, the role of the teacher is founded in the principles, such as whakapapa, wairua and whanaungatanga, to name a few, and the application of these principles is fundamental to the practice of Ako within the New Zealand education system.

Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga – the Principle of Socio-Economic Mediation

This principle can be translated literally to mean '*for the community/village to transcend its difficulties or issues*' but is interpreted by Smith as 'the principle of socio-economic mediation' (Smith, 1990, p. 7). This principle is not about the identification of difficulties. Instead, its key focus is about the motivation of initiatives and 'interventions' that impact on the lives of Māori. It asserts that initiatives, whether they be research, social work or other, must ultimately benefit Māori whānau, hapū and iwi. Otherwise they would not be kaupapa Māori. According to Rangahau: "It also acknowledges the relevance and success that Māori derived initiatives have as intervention systems for addressing socio-economic issues that currently exist" (Rangahau, 2010, p. 3). Smith (1990) states that this principle is about the need to assist in the alleviation of financial, socio-economic, and other disadvantages experienced by Māori communities. A key characteristic of Kaupapa Māori approaches is that the ultimate outcome has to benefit Māori whānau and communities. This intervention should impact on socio-economic issues. This principle implies that despite the socioeconomic difficulties faced by many Māori communities that Kaupapa Māori mediation practices and values can successfully intervene and result in positive outcomes for Māori whānau and communities.

Whānau – The Principle of Extended Family Structure

> Like the flax bush the familial systems of whānau, hapū and iwi enter cycles of birth, death and regeneration. In this sense new life is made possible by the old (Metge, 1995, p. 30).

This principle ensures that Kaupapa Māori approaches acknowledge and incorporate a traditional Māori social structure throughout. This social structure consists of a whānau (*extended family*), a hapū (*subtribe*) and an iwi (*tribe*). The corresponding belief is that the whānau cannot be understood in isolation. Through this social structure many Māori processes can be understood, such as communication, decision-making, and the maintainenance mātauranga Māori (*knowledge*). According to Smith (1990) Kaupapa Māori values the importance of family. The relationships Māori have to each other, extended family and the world around them is emphasized by this principle. Whakawhanaungatanga and the extended family are fundamental to Māori society and culture. Smith says that this principle is about the entire whānau taking collective responsibility for an issue, rather than it being an issue within the individual home. In order for the wider whānau to actively undertake this

intervention it needs to maintain wider whānau connections through whanaungatanga and communication. For researchers, this principle acknowledges the responsibility of whānau and asserts an obligation to respect and support these relationships. Smith adds that, in relation to research, it is about the intrinsic relationship between the researcher, the researched and the research itself (Smith, 1997).

Kaupapa - The Principle of Collective Philosophy

This principle is about ensuring that any initiative reflects a shared or collective philosophical approach rather than any individual gain. The sense of belonging to a collective is described here by Quince:

> As Māori identify with geographically specific tribal areas, mana whenua is akin to an indigenous concept of citizenship. So in addition to mana deriving from genealogical ties and achievements, there is also prestige attached to the responsibility of belonging to land and resources in a particular location. All activities or omissions that occur within any given location reflect, either positively or negatively, upon the mana of the local people. This then is one of the aims of Māori society — to increase individual and collective mana by ensuring that principles of tīkanga (*customs*) are abided by in various contexts (Quince, 2008, p. 6).

This quotation shows the importance of acknowledging that Māori have a sense of collective mana and the importance of ensuring that this is reflected in any given kaupapa (*context*) (Ryan & Reid, 2008). In a research or social work context the 'kaupapa' refers to the collective nature of initiatives with the purpose being for Māori communities. The kaupapa also refers to the objectives of the community and is larger than the research topic itself. Therefore, this principle locates the research project or initiative within a wider context or 'kaupapa' rather than vice versa. Linda Smith describes the 'kaupapa' or collective philosophy as being about a collective vision, where Māori aspirations are all interconnected with political, social, economic and cultural wellbeing (2000).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi – The Principle of the Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi is another principle to be taken into account when undertaking a Kaupapa Māori project. While this principle is linked to Smith's first principle 'tino rangatiratanga' it differs in the sense that it focuses specifically on the relationship between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti. The Treaty of Waitangi confirms both the status of Māori and non-Māori within New Zealand /Aotearoa and their rights of citizenship. According to Pihama this principle provides researchers with a means through which to critique relationships, challenge inequalities and to reaffirm Indigenous rights (Pihama, 2001). This principle acts in the same way for social work practitioners and others involved in areas, such

as health and justice, where colonization has marginalized Māori social advancement. However, te tino rangatiratanga also implies that there is a struggle between two parties for autonomy and self-determination.

The Treaty is significant in social work in two fundamental ways. First, with regard to tino rangatiratanga and self-determination of indigenous peoples and, second, when acknowledging historical events of colonisation. In her own thesis, Hayley Bell describes decolonisation with regard to social work and states: "the colonised should not only be supported to learn about their own history, but to also consider what opportunities are available to them once they understand what has happened to them" (Bell, 2006, p. 13). The Treaty has been significant throughout the colonisation of New Zealand in being the foundation for indigenous rights and for relationships between tangata whenua and the government.

Āta – The Principle of Growing Respectful Relationships

Pōhatu (2005) introduced the principle 'āta' specifically for the social services as a transformative approach for Kaupapa Māori initiatives. It is about building and looking after relationships and can support practitioners with understanding relationships and wellbeing when interacting with Māori. Pōhatu (1996) advances the argument that cultural underpinnings of whenua and whakapapa are imperative to ensure cultural transmission and acquisition. Āta has been described by Pōhatu (2005) as a key element of ngā take pū (*principles*) and is seen as a "behavioural and theoretical strategy" for building and maintaining relationships. This principle is particularly relevant to the analysis of Māori social work practice and experiences as it helps to understand "how these domains function and interconnect, [and] suggest cultural approaches of how they may be safely navigated" (Pōhatu, 2005, p. 2).

Further Development of Kaupapa Māori Elements

Kaupapa Māori theory is underpinned by the same philosophical approach in which the Kura Kaupapa Māori (*Māori language immersion schools*) was established in the 1980s (Bishop, 1995; Hokowhitu, 2004). This approach reflected Māori cultural values and aimed at revitalising the Māori language, knowledge and practices. In contemporary contexts the term 'Kaupapa Māori' is generally used to denote any initiative that is created by Māori for the purpose of expressing Māori aspirations, values and principles. The term Kaupapa Māori

implies research or services conducted by Māori, with Māori and for the benefit of Māori (Bishop, 1995; Smith, 1997; G. H. Smith, 1990).

A fundamental claim of Kaupapa Māori theory is that, while it may be complementary to other theories, it is not dependent on them in any way. Pihama (2001, p. 103) argues that Kaupapa Māori theory has an independent status in that it is not reliant on Western Theories such as 'Critical theory'. She says this is because it has arisen from a different place (Aotearoa) and from a Māori worldview. Pihama and other Māori theorists follow on to describe further principles of Kaupapa Māori theory and have added to the body of knowledge initiated by Smith.

Te Reo me ōna Tīkanga

Pihama describes te reo me ōna tīkanga as a central element of Kaupapa Māori theory. She states: "The positioning of te reo me ōna tīkanga as central in Kaupapa Māori theory is not simply a theoretical statement but it is a part of the lived realities of many Māori people" (2001, p. 115). This element is derived out of the importance of understanding the role they play as everyday aspects of the lives of Māori people and not just a theoretical statement.This element developed through an acknowledgement of the language loss Māori experienced within the education system of the 1800 and 1900s and a commitment by many Māori families to support their fluent speakers and commit to the development and involvement in Kura Kaupapa Māori. From Pihama's views, Kaupapa Māori theory encourages the use and understanding of te reo Māori and tīkanga Māori for the benefit of Māori whānau and community development.

Whakapapa

Pihama introduces whakapapa as another element of Kaupapa Māori theory and acknowledges its link to taonga tuku iho and whānau. The unique characteristic of this element is that it acknowledges one's links not only to their whānau but also to their hapū and iwi. It therefore alters the focus from identifying as Māori to identifying with the traditional social structure (whānau, hapū and iwi). Pihama states: "whakapapa is integral to a discussion of our histories and the relationships that position how we related to each other" (2001, p. 131).

Mātauranga Māori

Smith (2000) describes the importance of Mātauranga Māori to Kaupapa Māori theory and practice. She describes the concept of Mātauranga as not being defined as 'knowledge.' Rather, its meaning and implications are grounded in traditional explanatory theories:

> Charles Royal (1998) has written on a developing theory of Mātauranga Māori. Mātauranga Māori is created by Māori to explain their experience of the world. Mātauranga Māori was traditionally created with the view that the earth was Papatuanuku, the sky was Ranginui and the world in which we currently reside is called Te Ao Marama. Mātauranga Māori, like Kaupapa Māori, is not new (L. T. Smith, 1999b, p. 5).

Kura Kaupapa Māori Principles

While elements of Kaupapa Māori theory are at times defined within the Kaupapa Māori context, they are also seen as parallel Māori developments that impact on the overall tino rangatiratanga of Māori communities. In 1997 the Māori Education Commission was set up in order to conscientiously represent the views of Māori in the advice given to the Minister of Māori affairs (then Tau Henare). In a report to the Minister the commissioners described the following principles that underpin Kura Kaupapa Māori:

1. Tino Rangatiratanga
2. Emancipatory model
3. Visionary approach
4. Māori knowledge validation
5. Akonga Māori: Māori pedagogy
6. School kawa
7. Whānau control
8. Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga

While these principles are specifically related to Kura (*schools*) they also provide insight into the Kaupapa Māori developments and priorities of Māori communities.

Kaupapa Māori theory contains a number of elements that can guide researchers, educators and social workers in the analysis of their work as well as the everyday application. While Smith's elements are seen as an ideal starting point, the contributions of Pihama and Pōhatu are also useful in that they provide for a wider lens in which to analyse and interpret research, education and social work practice.

Māori Advancement Theory

> Advancing Māori health, well-being or development is not just about targeting single issues but must contribute in a more general way to Māori advancement and Māori development (Eketone, 2004, p. 127).

Mason Durie's discussion of Māori advancement and development can also be used as an appropriate theory to underpin Māori social work practice (M. Durie, 1998a). Durie states that the ultimate goal for Māori self-determination concerns the advancement of Māori as Māori and protecting the environment for future generations. He states that Māori advancement, in the context of self-determination, has three key dimensions. First, it is about improving the economic, social and cultural wellbeing and identity of Māori, both at an individual and a collective level. His second point about Māori advancement is that:

> It also touches on the dimension of power and control, again at individual and group levels. Māori advancement is about the better self-management of natural resources, greater productivity of Māori land, the active promotion by Māori of good health, a sound education, enhanced usage of Māori language, and decision-making that reflects Māori realities and aspirations (M. Durie, 1998a, p. 4).

Durie's final dimension of Māori development is 'change'. He states: "Cultural fossilisation is not consistent with the spirit of development; and even though traditional values and knowledge have important lessons for today and offer some clues for the future, Māori self-determination is not about living in the past" (Durie 1998a: 4).

A Māori-Centred Theory

Durie was influential in developing another theoretical approach that is relevant to Māori social work theory and practice. A Māori-centred theory was developed out of a philosophical view that the future development of Māori knowledge must consider current Māori worldviews and acknowledge the diverse nature of contemporary Māori society (M. Durie, 1994). The theory, described by Cunningham in relation to research, applies to research where Māori are significant participants, the main researchers, and most importantly where Māori analysis takes place (2000). The production or the end result will be Māori knowledge. What differentiates this approach from others is that "the result is measured against mainstream standards." The project will be undertaken through a mainstream organisation with overarching control of the project and some aspects of the methods would be mainstream as well as Māori (Cunningham, 2000, p. 65). This theory applies to Māori social work that takes place by Māori, with Māori whānau within a mainstream organisation

(or arguably with mainstream control, such as the New Zealand government). Durie describes the practical implementation of the theory within the health context:

> Services designated as Māori health services should be measured according to agreed upon outcome measures which make sense to Māori. Similarly, assessment measures should be more than a simple statement about DSMIV categories. They should also be capable of measuring the degree to which cultural and spiritual factors are associated with the problem (M. Durie, 1999, p. 10).

Native Theory

> "[Native Theory is] the right of indigenous people to make sense of their time and place in this world" (Russell 2000:10).

Native theory provides another way of explaining Māori practices and ways of being. Eketone writes that the comments above may seem to state the obvious, "What it infers, however, is that indigenous people do not need the west to acknowledge, research or record their knowledge for it to be valid and useful in research, in practice and in life" (Eketone, 2004, p. 18). Russell introduced Native theory as a research approach that allows Māori researchers to undertake projects for Māori people, using Māori processes, and using terms that may not be appropriate or acceptable from a Western perspective (Eketone, 2004).

A Mana Enhancing Approach

While this approach is not necessarily viewed as a theory, it can be applied directly to social work as an intervention theory. Ruwhiu (2001) describes mana as a key concept for social service development as it "acts as the cultural adhesive that cements together those various dimensions (spiritual, natural, human) of Māori culture and society" (2001, p. 60). He then explains that mana-enhancing behaviour is about ensuring that interactions between the spiritual, physical and natural realms are advantageous. Social workers, both Māori and non-Māori, can benefit from the understanding that every person has mana and can increase and share mana with others. Ruwhiu also describes how mana can also be reduced, lost or negatively affected by others.

> In practice situations, this profession deals continuously with people who often experience trauma, pain, grief, loss, separation and disappointment. Subsequently, our work centres on mana-building strategies and techniques. The reciprocity is that as people heal themselves, those who are supporting them also experience 'mana enhancement' (Ruwhiu, 2001, pp. 60-61).

Therefore, social workers, as well as whānau they work with, should benefit from this particular approach to their practice.

Tīkanga Māori Theory

As discussed previously, Kaupapa Māori theory contains many aspects of tīkanga Māori. It is important to note that not all Māori social workers report using Kaupapa Māori theory to guide their work. Some refer to tīkanga Māori as their underpinning theory. In Hollis's research with Māori social workers she states:

> There was an overall consensus among participants that the methods they use are embedded within tīkanga Māori; therefore, they do maintain the theories of the past and tīkanga Māori underpins the participant's methods (Hollis, 2006, p. 86).

However, many of the same concepts or customs of kaupapa Māori theory are referred to in Hollis's research; such as whanaungatanga and whakapapa, te reo Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi. Hollis follows on to say: "in order to assess the practices, processes and theories used by Māori in the social work field, one should primarily develop an understanding of ngā tīkanga before anything else" (Hollis, 2006, p. 97). This leads from a discussion of Māori social work theories into Māori social work practices, that is, the implementation of the theories outlined above.

Māori Social Work Practices – Ngā Kawa

Māori social work practices are about the implementation of theories, values, and belief-systems. Therefore, if a Māori social workers' practice is reflecting kaupapa Māori or tīkanga Māori approaches then they will be using particular kawa that reflect their tīkanga. While there are variations as to how different iwi (*tribe*) translate the term kawa, in this context it is used to refer to the implementation of Māori value systems and customs.

Below is a discussion of two contemporary Māori models of practice that uses both imagery and symbolism to tell a story about a process that leads to positive well-being. This is not intended to be a detailed identification of Maori social work practices but merely a brief description of two models that form the basis of much Maori-informed practice used by many Maori social workers. Te whare tapa whā and te poutama have been selected for discussion because they are easily adapted to many situations where Māori social workers are employed.

Te Whare Tapa Whā

Te whare tapa whā was perhaps the first documented 'Māori model' that is still being used by Māori social workers in their practice with Māori whānau. The model was developed by Sir

Mason Durie and first published as 'a Māori perspective on health' in 1985 (M. Durie, 1985). It consists of a four sided health construct, symbolically represented as a 'whare tapa whā' (*four sided house*) (M. Durie, 1998b). Each side represents an important element of Māori health, and it is considered that each dimension is "necessary to ensure strength and symmetry" (1998b, p. 69). The four dimensions are taha wairua (*spiritual side*), taha hinengaro (*thoughts and feelings*), taha tinana (*physical side*), taha whānau (*family*).

The model has been widely accepted by Māori practitioners and those interested in a wide variety of health, education, welfare and community development initiatives. Marewa Glover has used te whare tapa whā as a theoretical framework for analysing Māori smoking cessation behaviour (Glover, 2005). Others have used te whare tapa whā as a clinical assessment tool (Rochford, 2004) and as a Kaupapa Māori method of measuring Māori outcomes (Fenton & Koutua, 2000). Te whare tapa whā has also been influential in the development of non-Māori models of social work practice (Weld & Greening, 2004) as well as other Māori models of practice discussed below. There are others that could be usefully called extensions of this model including Rapuora and Waiora (often referred to as 'Te Wheke').

The Poutama

The poutama model symbolises the 'poutama' design from a traditional Māori tukutuku panel. The image represents steps leading upward, signifying the growth of people, striving upwards and onwards. The pattern also makes reference to various kōrero o neherā (*ancient stories*) such as the story of Tāwhaki who makes the trip to the heavens to collect the three baskets of knowledge. Tangaere (1997) wrote about learning and development as being inseparable from the influences of tīkanga Māori and the Māori context. In her writing, she uses 'the poutama' or stairway to the twelve heavens to explain how development occurs "*along and up the steps of the poutama*" (Whaiti, 1997, p. 46), each stage being complete and leading to the next stage of development.

Emma Webber-Dreardon describes another framework based on the Āwhiowhio (*whirlwind*) spiral design and the poutama (*steps*) that also signifies the development and growth of people from strength to strength (Harvey, 2000; Webber-Dreardon cited in Harvey, 2002). In this model there are a number of messages. The three main principles of the āwhiowhio is that it embraces the 'au' (*me, I - singular*), the whānau (*extended family*) and whanaungatanga (*relationships*) as well. It also connects the past, present and the future. Through connecting the individual to their whānau and wider ancestry they are connected

more strongly with their identity. According to Webber-Dreardon the second principle is around it being a method of gathering information to place into a kete (*basket*) in the centre so that it may assist with decision-making. The third principle is that the centre is where the issues are discussed so that the whānau, hapū and iwi (*extended family, sub-tribe and tribe*) can make their own decisions (2002, p. 254). Webber-Dreardon also describes four key messages from the Poutama:

- Practice what you preach

- Climb or descend slowly and surely

- Be honest in your endeavors

- Remember those who have passed by, those who are here now and those to come. (Webber-Dreardon, 1997, p. 7).

Stanely (1999, p. 37) also discussed the use of the poutama as a model for social work practice. She explains that in ancient times the learner was expected to be proficient at each particular stage before progressing on to the next. In Stanley's diagram she includes seven stages: whakawhanaungatanga, tīkanga, whānau, kaumātua (*elders*), cultural realities, cultural relativism and substantiation of signs.

Māori Social Worker Experiences

> As Māori practitioners we have had to undo a legacy of damage, while at the same time carve out a space in which Māori peoples can celebrate our own being and respond to Māori needs in ways consistent with our views of the world (Tait-Rolleston, 2001:230).

While Māori social workers have been using these models and practices of Te ware tapa whā and te Poutama for a number of years, there is little documentation of the experiences of Māori social workers when they are using their methods in social service organisaitons. The above quotation by Tait-Rolleston describes the variable roles of Māori social workers in relation to decolonisation and the appreciation of positive aspects of Māoritanga (*Māori culture*). It also emphasises the role of Māori social workers in ensuring their practices are meeting the needs of Māori whānau. Bradley discusses how one of the challenges for Māori social workers is the lack of Māori staff involved in social services and raises the point that some Māori practitioners are not necessarily proficient in the use of tīkanga Māori (*customs*) or choose to work with non-Māori instead of other Māori (colleagues or organisations) (Bradley, 1995). Jonson, Su'a and Crichton-Hill analyse how negative messages about being

Māori can influence the experiences of Māori social workers and their willingness to be involved in Māori social work (1997).

Chapter One Conclusions

This chapter consisted of a discussion of the literature and theories that are particularly relevant to Māori social work in a New Zealand context. Beginning with an introduction to the Treaty of Waitangi and the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand, the discussion relates the development of New Zealand politics and society to the consequential impact on Māori peoples. A number of government initiatinves were discussed that are particularly pertinent to Māori social work, such as: the Mātua Whāngai programme, the WARAG report, Pūao-te-Ata-tū, the Royal Commission on Social Policy, the CYPF Act and Te Punga. The development of social work in New Zealand is then discussed, followed by Māori social work theories, practices and experiences within social service organisations.

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Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou
ka ora te iwi[10]

A Discussion of Organisations and Theories

Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the organisational context of social work and focuses particularly on theoretical approaches. Before discussing organisational theories in relation to Māori, the chapter describes monoculturalism and biculturalism in New Zealand organisations. This is followed by indigenous, Māori and western organisational theories as well as a discussion on the various types of organisations that employ Māori social workers. Included in this section are government organisations, non-government and Māori organisations. Finally, Indigenous experiences are briefly included in relation to their experiences of social service organisations, indigenous organisations themselves and their social work practices.

The Organisational Context

> There is a need to recognize that human service organizations play a critical role in the policy environment and indeed enact policies through their own discretionary actions... these organizations are conveyers and enactors of moral systems (Hasenfeld, 2010, p. 4).

The role of Māori within social service organisations is one that has undergone many changes throughout the decades. The flow-on effects of Pūao-te-Ata-tū and political and economic change have caused a 'cultural shift' within the organisational setting from a predominantly monocultural environment to one where Māori are involved in policy, management and implementation of services (Hollis, 2006). The question of whether Māori are involved is no

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[10] The full whakataukī (proverb) includes "Nāu te rākau, nāku te rākau, ka mate te hoariri", which according to Mead means "cooperative enterprise succeeds where individual efforts are insufficient" (Mead, 2003, p. 319), also: "With your food basket and my food basket the people will thrive" (Brougham, Reed, & Kāaretu, 2009, p. 16).

longer the issue.[11] Instead, it is the level of autonomy in these areas of social services that is under surveillance by those with an interest in Māori social work development. As Hasenfeld points out previously, the relationship between the state and social service organisations is a critical one in that organisations can influence both policies and underpinning value systems as much as government policies can influence organisations. This section describes the relationship between the government (in terms of policy making), Māori (as in whānau (*extended family*), hapū (*sub-tribe*), iwi (*tribe*) and communities), and organisations (government, non-government, iwi and Māori organisations). Each section analyses the organisational environment in relation to Māori social workers. Organisational theories are intertwined in the discussion to make clear how they impact on Māori within social service organisations.

Whereas the 1980s introduced the Treaty into social policy and acknowledged whānau, hapū and iwi systems, the 1990s were perhaps known for the new 'bicultural' direction of social services in New Zealand Department of Social Welfare, 1994). However, the depth that this bicultural approach actually reached in the community is questionable when the implemented services are compared to social policy. Furthermore, towards the end of the 1990s Māori-run social services were undergoing advanced developments, leading to the expansion of 'by Māori for Māori' social services in the 2000s.

Monocultural, Bicultural and Multicultural Organisations

Political theories, such as Liberalism, Socialism and the 'Third Way', can assist further analysis when studying the impact of government policies on social service organisations. However, layering contemporary theoretical paradigms (such as monoculturalism, biculturalism and multiculturalism) upon political theories enables the researcher to gauge the impact of changing ideologies on social service organisations.

The 19th Century New Zealand government was underpinned by Liberal policies (Bassett, Sinclair, & Stenson, 1998) and monocultural paradigms of assimilation.

> Māori children were to be 'rescued' from their race, their savageness and heathen-ness via schooling and Christianity, from their Māori-ness via assimilation, and from a genetic

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11 In the 1980s Māori protest within the social services was predominantly around the issue of Māori involvement in decision-making, particularly with regards to Māori children and their placement within the whānau and hapū unit.

intellectual inferiority via a school curriculum that apparently suited their station in life (Harris, 2007, p. 21).

According to Harris, these notions of race and genetic notions of deficit lessened in prevalance around the turn of the century and the ideology, while maintaining the monocultural scope became one of viewing the deficit as being a part of a 'culture of poverty' (2007). Lewis described how the ideology blamed the victim's life circumstances. Therefore, the victims' values and way of life maintained and exacerbated their impoverished state (Lewis, 1992). Pearl (cited in Valencia, 1997, p. 133) observes that this model "singled out the family unit as the transmitter of deficiencies" and that remedies such as 'Head Start' in the 1960s United States (Bereiter & Engelmann, 1966) and 'Closing the Gaps' in New Zealand only reinforced the deficit thinking (Humpage, 2001).

This deficit ideology permeated government and organisational policies and maintained notions of assimilation, which reinforced monocultural environments. Earl (1995) described this as a 'Majority/Minority Paradigm' where the 'minority' (Māori, Pacific, Asian, other) was viewed as a subordinate to the 'majority', generally Pākehā (*non-Māori New Zealander*). He stated that this ideology "assumes that social norms are set by the majority and that minorities have the choice of joining the majority (assimilation), or partially retaining their identity, so long as it doesn't conflict with majority requirements (integration)" (Earl, 1995, p. 33). This theory posits that social policy or decision-making of an organisation is at the centre of the paradigm and that the majority demographic group are positioned near the centre in order to support it culturally and politically. On the margins of this approach are Māori and other minority cultures. Earl (1995) described the emergence of alternate paradigms, biculturalism, multiculturalism and the Treaty of Waitangi, as alternatives to the majority/minority approach. He stated that, while it was tempting to seek to replace the existing monocultural approach with another, each system had its own issues and variables that affected the New Zealand population.

During the first Labour government era (1935 – 1949) a Liberal approach was replaced with a Keynesian system of economic management (Oliver & Williams, 1981). A comprehensive welfare system was introduced that was underpinned by a 'post war consensus' (Cheyne, O'Brien, & Belgrave, 2008) where governments and society generally agreed that full employment and social security was a primary focus (Belgrave, Kāwharu, et al., 2005; Cheyne, et al., 2008; Dalley & Tennant, 2004; Oliver & Williams, 1981). As the government

began to recognise the Treaty of Waitangi in its legislation, social service organisations began to introduce the notion of biculturalism.

In 2004 Sibley and Liu published their research findings on '*Attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand.*' This study looked at the difference in attitudes between "biculturalism in principle" (this included an acknowledgement and acceptance of Māori as the indigenous peoples of New Zealand and the majority cultural group of New Zealand, Pākehā)" and "resource-specific biculturalism" (this described attitudes towards social policies that redistribute resources in favour of Māori) (Sibley & Liu, 2004, p. 1). They found that the majority of Pākehā research participants supported biculturalism in principle (53% support, 3% opposition) however, the numbers changed in relation to whether they were opposed to resource-specific biculturalism (3% support, 76% opposition). Sibley and Liu describe in their research the importance of understanding attitudes towards various forms of biculturalism:

> We argue that symbolic threats to identity and values must be distinguished from realistic threats to material interests, especially in contexts like New Zealand where biculturalism is part of the national ideology for governance. This distinction is critical for understanding how values, such as group equality, influence perceptions of policy relating to minority-majority group relations (Sibley & Liu, 2004, p. 2).

Jones, Pringle and Shephard (2000, p. 367), in their discussion on 'managing diversity,' argue that New Zealand models of biculturalism are "based around a metaphor of partnership" and are fundamental to discussion on 'diversity' within the New Zealand context. They relate that what makes the New Zealand context unique for social service organisations is the significant status of Māori as tangata whenua (Culpitt, 1994 p. 48).

Organisational Theories

Many of the theories used to critique organisational practice and social work are 'western' or influenced by western philosophical views. These views are not often used to critique Māori involvement in organisations. From a anti-oppressive perspective, the use of these works (such as Foucault (Culpitt, 2001; Peters & Besley, 2007), Heidegger (Murray, 1978), Nietzsche (Gemes & May, 2009) to critique indigenous social work methods and practices "is like comparing apples and oranges". To analyse Māori social work using western theories is, in some ways, contradictory to the ultimate purpose of Kaupapa Māori (*Māori philosophy*) research and social work, which is predominantly underpinned by a 'by Māori, for Māori' approach. This research includes an analysis of organisational theories from indigenous and

western perspectives in order to view the topic from all angles. However, in doing so it is acknowledged that in some ways the comparison of western theories to indigenous situations is not benefiting Māori social work practice or clients. Nonetheless, this section includes a discussion of the organisational influences of organisation theory on Māori social work practice, beginning with indigenous theories, then discussing Māori theories and following up with those of western society.

Indigenous Organisational Theories

The concept of ethnicity and organisational theory has often been confused with that of 'organisational culture' and the role it plays in developing theories on organisations. The culture of an organisation describes the overall character that the organisation portrays, including influences of its immediate purpose, aims, goals and objectives, not to mention the methods of communication used internally and externally. Although the notion of organisational cultural theory and ethnicity are not that far removed from each other, they are not the same. According to Smircich (1983, p. 339) the concept of culture is increasingly linked with the study of organisations. This occurrence calls for an increase in the development of ethnic perspectives on organisations. Organisations and, specifically, social services are contextualised from the perspective of indigenous peoples through the historical process of colonisation. Although an indigenous view of the world is not embedded in colonisation, the theoretical analysis of indigenous peoples cannot be separated from an historical and anti-oppressive viewpoint. Poka Laenui (2000) describes five stages of decolonisation that are particularly important to indigenous social workers in Hawaii and their struggles with colonial systems and organisations:

1. Rediscovery and recovery (history)
2. Anger (mourning)
3. Dreaming (planning for recovery)
4. Commitment (ethics)
5. Action (collaboration not colonisation)

(Laenui cited in Battiste, 2000, p. 154).

Laenui describes these phases as being particularly important to indigenous social work development as they can be used to not only explain the process of colonisation and decolonisation from an indigenous perspective but also to inform further development in culturally respectful ways. The stages are not described in any particular order, and can occur randomly. The first stage *Rediscovery and Recovery* describes the process of looking back upon one's history and assessing what has gone on before. This process is about learning the history of colonisation and analysing what it means from the indigenous person's perspective. This phase is ongoing, began at different times throughout the world, and has by no means ended. It involves a political, social and individual rediscovery and a change in personal perspective.

The second stage: *Anger or Mourning* often follows that of rediscovery and recovery in any given situation. This stage allows the individual or group that has been harmed to "*lament their victimisation*". It can be a stage of anger where there is lashing out at symbols of the coloniser. However, it is a stage that some people can become immersed in, where they revel in their victimization. Laenui says: "Some people are happy to go no further than the mourning, finding sufficient satisfaction in long term grumbling. People can get "stuck in the awfulizing" of their victim-hood. Some build a career upon it" (Battiste, 2000, p. 155).

Laenui describes the next phase 'Dreaming' as the most critical one of the decolonial process. In this phase the options and opportunities are examined, debated, built upon and a new social order is developed. Next is the commitment stage where people make a combined effort for their voice to be heard. Laenui says there is no clear distinction between the dreaming stage and the commitment stage in that at some point there will be some way of clearly distinguishing the voice of the people in a way that combines the will of the people. However, in terms of organisational theory, this is one of the most difficult stages because organisations may declare they represent the voice of indigenous peoples but in fact do not. Organisations can once again fall into the trap of overpowering the people they seek to represent, thus depriving them of the opportunity to create their own social order.

The final stage is that of 'action' and represents the collective pro-active effect of the aforementioned commitment. Each stage is an indigenous theory of the processes needed to influence organisations and society in a way that is empowering to indigenous peoples. The key points to keep in mind with these stages is that each is of equal importance to indigenous social workers. They are relevant to any people that have been or are being colonised. In

order to achieve tino rangatiratanga or self-determination a society must allow all five stages to be achieved.

Māori Organisational Theories

> As Māori people in Aotearoa/New Zealand, our struggle has been a long and arduous one across years of resisting colonialism to reclaim our identity, lands and original ways of ensuring the well-being of our people. This reclamation had to be consistent with the philosophical premises of a Māori worldview; Māori knowledge creation and transmission processes; values specific to a Māori vision of social reality; and Māori beliefs in the interconnectedness of the individual, the family, kinship systems, the physical environment and 'te ao wairua' (the spiritual realm) (Tait-Rolleston and Pehi-Barlow in Dominelli, et al., 2001, p. 229).

Māori organisational theories are both underpinned by de-colonialism and by traditional notions of tino rangatiratanga (*self-determination*), manāki tangata (*care for people*), aroha (*love, respect*) and wairuatanga (*spirituality*). They are both reactive and pro-active in the sense that they have adapted to the colonial environment within Aotearoa /New Zealand. At the same time they have maintained many of the fundamental theories of traditional Māori society. According to Manuhuia Barcham (Ivison, Patton, & Sanders, 2000, p. 139) there is a particular tension existing in the act of 'Theorising Difference' in that there is a paradox between identity, which is reliant on the defining of one thing in relation to another, and the need to define the differences themselves (which depends in turn on the establishment of the aforementioned identity). It is stated that western theory prioritises identity over difference and through this problems have arisen for various minority groups that assert their right to difference. Difficulties arise under this theory of identity when one looks at the group identity and it is seen that one is either a part of the group identity or not. This leads to the construction of an 'ideal' community and thus fails to recognise alternative forms of community identity. Barcham (2000, p. 140) discusses this issue within the context of Māori organisational theory:

> While recognition by the New Zealand government of the validity of the principle of tino rangatiratanga (indigenous rights) has resulted in the implementation of a wide variety of policies and legislative instruments – an endeavour that has acted to empower – it has also led to an unfortunate polarisation of Māori society between those who argue that the traditional institutions of iwi (the tribe) are the only 'true' institutional bases of Māori identity, and those who argue that the diverse social circumstances that characterise modern Māori means that not all Māori aspirations can now be found totally within tribal agendas (Barcham cited in Ivison, et al., 2000, p. 140).

At a superficial level tension is often identifiable in terms of funding distribution, however it represents a much deeper problem for Māori organisations overall. The political favouring of one view over another in terms of funding can also be linked to the fundamental preference of privileging identity over difference. Later in this chapter the Whānau o Waipareira Trust is discussed as a Māori social service provider that is considered a 'pan-Māori' organisation rather than an iwi-based one. This is an example of how Māori were able to create a new form of identity based on their unique difference from iwi and Māori in rural areas. As a result the Trust could receive funding for its services and be treated much the same as other iwi social service providers.

Western Organisational Theories

> No matter what you have to do with an organisation- whether you are going to study it, work in it, consult it, subvert it, or use it in the interests of another organisation- you must have some view of the nature of the beast with which you are dealing. This constitutes a perspective on organisations (A. Jones & May, 1992, p. 34).

Taking indigenous and Māori theories into consideration, some western theories can also be of use when interpreting the situations of Māori social workers. Jones and May's comments above give an example of the importance of having an awareness of the organisation's nature in order to form valid and useful analysis of the environment within which one works. Diverse persons naturally have differing explanations for what they observe. Therefore it is important to understand some of the viewpoints present within New Zealand organisations in which Māori social workers are practicing.

Hasenfeld (2000) described how structural theory can provide important insights into the processes of organisational change, especially in terms of the capacity of the workers to be knowledgeable and reflexive about the rules they use, "it explains how reflexive action can bring about change in organisational structure" (Patti, 2000, p. 105). This knowledge can also enable Māori social workers to assess the underlying assumptions they make on a day-to-day basis and the causes of such assumptions. This has positive implications for Māori clients in that the worker will have the ability to review the causes of their assessment and referrals as well as the way they interact with the whānau.

> A legal-bureaucratic ideology fosters hierarchy, domination, and distrust between staff and clients. In contrast, an ideology of dialogism based on autonomy, shared decision-making, and equality promotes trust and staff-client relations that empower both. Although such ideology is an exception in the organisation of human services, it does occur, and it is predicated on three conditions: (a) professional norms that embrace dialogism, (b) a service

technology in which success requires shared decision-making with clients, and (c) reciprocal financial incentives for both staff and clients to cooperate (Patti, 2000, p. 160).

The approach described by Patti shares similar themes to the Treaty of Waitangi principles of partnership, protection and participation (where Māori actively participate throughout the organisation). There are many other western theories that can be used to analyse social service organisations. However, the next stage of this thesis turns back to the research questions about Māori social work practices and organisational support.

Government Social Services

The government's provision of social services in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as previously mentioned, was greatly influenced by the Pūao-te-Ata-tū Report of 1986 and the Child, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989. The social services that are provided directly by the New Zealand government departments are often perceived to be limited to the Child, Youth and Family Services (CYFS). However, government agencies that also employ Māori social workers are the Ministry of Health (public hospitals, community mental health, Māori health) and the Department of Corrections (social workers in prisons, reintegration social workers, whānau liaison workers and probation officers) (Corrections, 2010; Health, 2010).

The Department of Social Welfare (formed in 1972) employed few Māori social workers and encouraged Western protocols throughout the organisation during this period. Now known as Child Youth and Family Services (CYFS), the organisation focuses on the welfare of families through four areas: the care and protection of children, youth justice and residential facilities, adoption, and funding contracts[12].

> Māori families involved in care and protection proceedings have stated the requirement for the state to understand and search for whānau in its broadest sense. This results in whānau decision making for their children. The broadening of the understanding of family or whānau by the Crown has had a positive impact for Māori families (Pakura, 2003, p. 6).

The Family Group Conference (FGC) was introduced in 1989 (Brown, 2000) as an attempt to acknowledge the whānau, hapū and iwi structural process within government organisations. It was believed that through bringing together the family of the child alongside social workers a

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12 Child Youth and Family have the legal power to intervene, to protect and help children who are being abused or neglected or who have problem behaviour. Child Youth and Family work with the Police and the Courts in dealing with young offenders under the youth justice system. They provide residential and care services for children in need of care and protection and for young offenders. Child Youth and Family's adoption information services units assess people who wish to adopt children and report to the Family Court on adoption applications. They also facilitate the exchange of identifying information for parties to past adoptions. Child Youth and Family's contracting group funds community organisations working with children, young people and their families to support the community's role in protecting and helping children (services, 2008, p. 5). [really small font]

better decision could be made that both supports the child and empowers the whānau. The FGC originated in New Zealand with the intention that social workers could work alongside families through the use of Māori processes and values rather than 'working against them' (services, 2008). The Department employed more Māori social workers and allowed them to use Māori processes within the boundaries of organisational protocols. These Māori social workers were often unqualified. Some were selected because of their knowledge and relationships within the community, others were employed because they fitted the 'image' that was perceived as appropriate at the time (Hollis, 2006). Although CYFS generally improved their practices towards Māori families in the early 1990s, a number of areas were still lacking. In these cases the recommendations of the CYPF Act were either implemented superficially or not at all. The inclusion of Māori protocols was in many cases done in a tokenistic manner. Much of the success of the Family Group Conference was dependent on the social worker's ability to engage with the family. This was particularly hard for Māori social workers as they were being asked to use some Māori methods of practice, but within a restricted environment.

> Māori social workers were not only struggling to make a place for themselves within organisations but were also contending with various definitions of what a Māori initiative could be. Thus, the theme of 'tokenism' became evident (Hollis, 2006, p. 76).

A participant in research undertaken by Rimene in 1994 discussed some of the difficulties involved in changing the organisation from one that was monocultural to one that is inclusive of cultural diversity (Rimene, 1994, p. 108). "There is a lot of talk of bicultural this and partnership that, but we're going backwards. The mana is not being given back. Tauiwi (*non-Māori, foreigner*) are not letting go of the power". The description "going backwards" exemplifies the issue of positive initiatives being overshadowed by political and economic change that focused on 'efficiency' and 'productivity' as opposed to empowerment. Rimene highlighted the dilemma of new policy and organisational changes:

> For all the good intentions of the policy formulators and the draftspeople, the "nice" sounding words in the CYP&F Act and the few DSW practitioners who really want the new system to work – it doesn't… practitioners are unable to relinquish their power positions, they are unable to stand back and allow the whānau to take control and make the decisions (Rimene, 1994, p. 108).

While at the time there were some Māori and non-Māori social workers who could comfortably implement the new organisational position, resources were minimal and institutional racism still prevalent. One difficulty for those working in government

organisations was the danger of tokenistic changes creating the false appearance of 'inclusiveness'.

Rōpū Teams

As a means of improving service for Māori families and the work environment for Māori social workers, Rōpū Teams were introduced at CYFS with the specific goal of supporting each other and the department when working with Māori children and families. To be employed in a Rōpū Team it was considered ideal for workers to have some knowledge of tīkanga (*customs*) Māori, Te Reo (*the Māori language*) and especially knowledge of Māori whānau, hapū and iwi in the geographical area they were working in. Many Māori social workers in the early 1990s were employed because of these skills, and later obtained the appropriate social work qualification. However, in the present time both knowledge of Te Ao Māori (*a Māori worldview*) and a social work qualification is required (services, 2008).

> Pūao-te-Ata-tū encouraged Māori social workers to develop their methods and to form "Rōpū Teams," where Māori social workers within mainstream social service organisations developed as a subgroup and supported the enhancement of each other's methods (Hollis, 2006, p. 71).

According to Hollis (2006) Māori social workers described Rōpū teams as an ideal structure for the use of Māori processes within CYFS. In its ideal form, it allowed Māori social workers an environment where tīkanga Māori was the norm, where they were gaining support from colleagues and in many cases from a Māori manager in a way that agreed with the principles of Te Ao Māori. There were also other benefits for Māori social workers. For example, not having to explain basic practices and methods used (to those who were unfamiliar with Māori processes), avoiding being the 'token' Māori, and dealing with organisational issues (such as institutional racism) as a group rather than on their own (Hollis, 2006, pp. 73-77). Unfortunately some Rōpū teams were no longer functioning by the 2000s in the way they were intended to (due to the lack of a Māori manager and/or sufficient Māori staff) and in some cases have been disestablished. There has been some criticism of the Labour Party's management of Rōpū teams, with claims being made in 2003 that they were overworked and under-resourced (Rich, 2003, p. 1). Unsurprisingly, such criticisms are often met by a government statement saying: "Rōpū teams are well resourced and when there are high numbers of Māori children and families caseloads are shared throughout the organisation" (Rich, 2003, p. 1). However, the issue of whether Rōpū teams have been adequately resourced and managed is perhaps better answered by Māori social workers

themselves. One participant in Hollis's research described how there was a move in 2005 within CYFS to move some members of a Rōpū team to a different location. The aim was to strengthen the Māori services within another branch of CYFS, but from the view of this participant it would only weaken Māori services and deplete support for Māori staff through the Rōpū team (Hollis, 2006). As changes were made within government organisations, there were also policy and practice implications for non-government organisations.

Non-Government Social Services

A non-government organisation (NGO) is a constituted organisation created by persons or organisations without government contribution or representation (Tennant, O'Brien, & Sanders, 2008). Non-government organisations are also known as 'voluntary' or 'not-for-profit' organisations that fit into the 'third sector.' Other names for them are 'charitable', incorporated societies and community-based organisations (Connolly, 2001, p. 250). Many writers have discussed the relationships between NGOs and the New Zealand government, particularly in relation to the influence religious organisations have had on social policy values throughout New Zealand history (Dalley & Tennant, 2004; Tennant, et al., 2008). In some cases NGOs are funded totally or partially by governments. However the NGO maintains its non-governmental status insofar as it excludes government representatives from membership in the organisation. The main characteristic of these organisations is that they focus on improving society in a distinct way from both government organisations and the market. In reality this means that any profits made are put back into the organisation, rather than distributed to shareholders. The fact that they are 'not-for-profit' organisations is said to make them "extremely important for grass-roots social work in New Zealand" and for the benefit of New Zealand families (Howell cited in Board, 2007).

> The devolution by the state of responsibility for community health, education, and welfare has caused a rapid expansion in the number and size of not-for-profit organisations… Given the rise of not-for-profit organisations as deliverers of social services, social workers have a vital interest and responsibility in ensuring a healthy and just development of the relationship with the state (Stansfield citing in Connolly, 2001, p. 248)

Political and economic change significantly affected NGOs in much the same ways as government social services, although there were specific changes that were unique to not-for-profit organisations. The 1990s were characterised as being business oriented. In this decade social services were encouraged to focus on being 'effective' and 'efficient', both in terms of interaction with clients but also with regards to paper work and time management. NGOs

had the challenge of meeting these demands while working with people, but also fulfilling the requirement of their funding contracts and the constant re-applications for further funding (Connolly, 2001).

According to Hanley (2006, p. 1) "the radical contracting regime introduced in the late 1980s and early 1990s is fundamentally an instrument of neo-liberal ideology constructed in particular around agency theory". Agency theory is concerned with resolving two problems that can occur in agency relationships. The first is the agency problem that arises when (a) the desires or goals of the principal and agent conflict and (b) it is difficult or expensive for the principal to verify what the agent is actually doing. The problem here is that the principal cannot verify that the agent has behaved appropriately. The second is the problem of risk sharing that arises when the principal and agent have different attitudes towards risk. The problem here is that the principal and the agent may prefer different actions because of the different risk preferences (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Ashton et al. (2005, p. 44) describe how the contracting system added accountability pressures for NGOs that were often restricting in terms of meeting the needs of New Zealand communities:

> From a voluntary sector perspective, for example, small organisations find the compliance costs of reporting (such as purchasing a computer for the required word- processed reports) particularly onerous. As a result, newly established voluntary organisations that provide services addressing emerging needs (such as refugee communities) can be excluded from funding and contracting processes (Ashton et al. and Majumdar cited in Cribb, 2005, p. 2).

Hanley agrees that there was a failure to make any distinction between for-profit and not-for-profit organisations. The focus moved away from community benefit and public good towards the financial performance requirements typical of private sector providers.

According to Hanley (2006) it was the purchasing agency and not the community organisation that determined the needs in the community and how best to meet these needs with available resources. This disempowered workers. Costly bureaucratic monitoring, auditing and accountability systems and processes were created and in many cases were unable to address real problems. His final criticism of this era was that it encouraged competition, where the complex needs of people with disabilities and people in similar situations required cooperation and collaboration across organisations including community

organisations, local and central government (ibid). Māori social workers within NGOs also experienced these difficulties.

> Working for a community-based organisation was difficult for Māori social workers… one of the complexities was in relation to receiving funding from the Government for working with Māori. Even though at that time 80% of the clientele were Māori and Pacific Islanders he [a Māori social worker] stated that the organisation did not fit the government's criteria for what a Māori organisation should be (Hollis, 2006, p. 78).

Māori within NGOs had to deal with an assortment of new and varied challenges. While government changes such as the employment of Māori staff and the CYPF Act were also affecting NGOs, Māori had different views of accountability and what 'volunteering' entailed. Thomson (1998) commented that the "lauding of self-help" and public and voluntary welfare service were predicated on Māori land increasingly being entering into the market at an affordable and relatively cheap price. Tennant (2001) adds that an indigenous voice increased during the 1970s and that while Māori began iwi and urban Māori voluntary organisations, Māori held a unique place as Treaty partners and were not simply another competitor for government funding (Party, 2001).

Māori organisations can become established under the Māori Trust Boards Act, the Māori Community Development Act and Te Ture Whenua Act, which differentiates them from the realm of incorporated societies and charitable trusts. Nowland-Foreman suggested the real number of organisations in the voluntary sector, including Marae (*meeting area of whānau*) and Māori organisations would be as great as 60,000 and it is estimated that not-for-profit organisations collectively have an annual income of $2 billion (Nowland-Foreman, 2009).

Although many Māori social workers are employed within non-government organisations, not much has been written about their experiences within the organisational context. Non-government organisations differ substantially from each other in their mandate, service provision and policies. While each may include the Treaty of Waitangi, it is not clear from the literature exactly how this is implemented in 'business as usual' for Māori staff, non-Māori staff and ultimately for clients and whānau.

Non-government organisations are often 'universal' providers in that they provide a service to everyone and anyone that fits within their organisational scope. Māori may view these organisations as 'mainstream', meaning that they are underpinned by the values of the dominant culture and therefore more appropriate for that group. Durie (2005) describes

obstacles between universal provision and the rights of indigeneity that could also apply to the obstacles for implementing the Treaty into social services:

- The rights and privileges of individuals are often confused with group rights
- The settlement of Treaty claims is sometimes confused with Treaty policy for further development
- There has been inconsistency about exploring the implications of the Treaty, sometimes according to the Treaty principles, sometimes relying on an article-by-article analysis.
- An ongoing colonial spirit that aims to see all New Zealanders as one.

Many significant developments for Māori social work have originated within NGOs because of their openness in allowing staff, particularly Māori staff, to be flexible and creative. In relation to the government sector, NGOs can provide supplementary, complementary and primary services to the public. In sum, it is often believed that NGOs can be innovative and flexible, protect particular interests, promote voluntary citizen participation, and attend to needs which are not met by the government (Slack & Leung-Wai, 2007).

Māori Organisations

The term 'Māori organisations' in this context refers to social service organisations that are either established by a Rūnanga (*tribal council, board*) or by urban Māori groups. Walker (2007) describes how there are non-government organisations that work with indigenous peoples that hold the opinion that collaborative initiatives improve the capacity of indigenous peoples. However, he follows on to say that "these collaborations deliver services to indigenous groups rather than assist them to develop independent services" (Walker, 2007, p. 281). While some rūnanga have been established for many years, according to Findlay (2006, p. 2) rūnanga re-focused in order to organise and manage the assets that have been returned to iwi as a result of the Treaty settlements under the Treaty of Waitangi Act, 1975 (Gover, 2002). Members of the iwi, hapū and whānau chose to participate in an election process where representatives are elected to the rūnanga to represent the various hapū (Paulin, 2005). However, taking into consideration the historically transient movements of Māori peoples away from tribal and towards urban areas, another form of rūnanga was necessary. Urbanisation increased following World War II from eleven percent of Māori in urban areas in 1936 to approximately 75 percent by the 1970s (Tennant, et al., 2008; Tennant, Sanders,

O'Brien, & Castle, 2006). Tennant et al. described how over the 20th Century Māori were participating in "wider organisations, such as the Country Women's Institutes and mainstream churches". By the 1970s Māori began to develop Māori 'organisations' that mirrored Pākehā organisational forms, but reflected Māori protocols (Tennant, et al., 2006, p. 11). According to Maaka:

> If the vision for the advancement of Māori society is restricted to autonomous tribal development predicated on a traditional picture of one tribe, one territory, that vision is flawed, and its appropriateness for our development as we enter the twenty-first century is questionable (Maaka, 1994, p. 311).

Māori began forming pan-Māori/pan-tribal movements as early as the 1850s with the Kingitanga, or King movement, and in 1882 the Pāremata Māori, or the Māori Parliament (Durie, 2005). In the twentieth century urban marae were established around the country, including Ngāti Pōneke in Wellington (Broughton, 2001), Ngā hau e whā in Christchurch (Zygadlo, 2003) and Hoani Waititi Marae in Auckland (Reedy, 2000) to meet the needs of urban Māori. In 1984 Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust (in West Auckland), was one of the earliest Urban Māori Authorities, responding to a presenting need of Māori communities that had become disconnected from their tribal areas and immersed in an urban environment. These community-based initiatives were 'pan-tribal.' Rather than focusing on developing the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of their own iwi, they focused on the development of urban Māori communities. Examples of other urban Māori authorities are: Manukau Urban Māori Authority (South Auckland), Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust (Hamilton), Te Rūnanganui o te Ūpoko o Te Ika (Wellington), and Te Rūnanga o Ngā Mātā Waka (Christchurch) (Ara, 2009).

In many ways Māori organisations can fit under the auspice of a 'non-government' organisation. For instance, kōhanga reo are controlled by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board, and are considered sufficiently private, independent of government, self-governing and non-compulsory to fall within the non-profit sector (Statistics New Zealand, 1998). The criteria for being an NGO have been described as "non-profit" and being "organised" as well as being "self-governing". The following quotation describes how the criterion for membership fits with the guidelines for NGOs:

> "Tangata whenua governance organisations", such as rūnanga and marae committees, have been given specific consideration… In terms of the "non-compulsory" criteria, whilst membership derives from birthright and members' engagement in such bodies may reflect a sense of cultural obligation, there is still an element of choice (ibid).

Through rūnanga and Marae committees many iwi re-established a system of governance, where its members are elected by the people of the iwi. Not only have their representatives led Treaty negotiations with the Crown but many have developed themselves as service providers. There are a large number of practicing Māori providers that offer 'wrap-around' holistic support that is tailored to the needs of Māori. According to the Ministry of Health 'Māori Health' website (2010) there are over 200 Māori providers currently listed around the country. These Health providers offer services such as: Rangatahi Youth Workers, Parents as first Teachers, counselling, budgeting, advocacy, Tamariki Ora and Whānau Ora, GP support and rural clinics. Māori providers often have a variety of funding sources, such as resources gained in Treaty settlements, government contracts and self-generated funding through the private market.

> The increasing reliance on contracting out has been particularly welcomed by many Māori since it has provided opportunities for iwi and other Māori-based organisations to compete for tenders to supply various services (eg health care, social services) (Boston, 1996, p. 105)(Boston, 1996:105).

Māori organisations are influenced by government policy and funding contracts in much the same way as NGOs. However, what makes them unique is that they offer tīkanga-based services for Māori and non-Māori families that are underpinned by Māori theoretical approaches of Te Ao Māori (the Māori world).

Indigenous Social Work Organisations and Experiences

> Indigenous social workers can play an essential role in defining problems and developing solutions for indigenous peoples (Krech, 2002:78).

Worldwide, each indigenous group has a unique experience of colonisation and social work development. As indicated by Krech, indigenous social workers are instrumental in identifying appropriate mechanisms for improving the well-being of indigenous peoples. Furthermore, each indigenous group has managed to develop, over time, movements towards decolonisation and indigenous community advancement. These decolonising activities and the initial trends towards assimilation are not mutually exclusive categories. Both the impact of colonisation and implementation of decolonisation will be reflected upon in relation to the social work profession. Included in this discussion are research projects undertaken by First Nations peoples of the United States, Canada, the Aboriginal peoples of Australia and the Pacific peoples of Samoa, Niue, Tuvalu, the Cook Islands and Tonga.

Indigenous Peoples

According to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, there are more than 370 million indigenous people in some 90 countries (Nations, 2009). Indigenous peoples make up 5% of the world's population and 15 percent of the world's poor. However, according to a United Nations press release (2009), Indigenous peoples constitute approximately one-third of the world's 900 million extremely poor rural people. The United Nations states:

- In the United States, a Native American is 600 times more likely to contract tuberculosis and 62 per cent more likely to commit suicide than the general population.

- In Australia, an indigenous child can expect to die 20 years earlier than his non-native compatriot. The life expectancy gap is also 20 years in Nepal, while in Guatemala it is 13 years and in New Zealand it is 11.

- In parts of Ecuador, indigenous people have 30 times greater risk of throat cancer than the national average.

- And worldwide, more than 50 per cent of indigenous adults suffer from Type 2 diabetes – a number predicted to rise (Nations, 2009, p. 1).

These scattered facts clearly indicate a worldwide trend. Currently in New Zealand the Māori population makes up 16% of the total population. Pacific peoples constitute 5% of the New Zealand population, making 21% in total. Similarly, Native Hawaiians constitute 20% of the total Hawaiian population. In the United States, however, the Native American population makes up fewer than 2% of the total population. Likewise, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders represent 2% of the total Australian population.

Indigenous Experiences of Social Services in Australia

According to Richardson, in 2005 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children were over-represented in the Australian out-of-home care system where "there were 5,059 Indigenous children in out-of-home care compared with 16,736 non-Indigenous children" (Richardson 2005). This means that 23 per cent of the children in out-of-home care were Indigenous (AIHW, 2005) when they only made up 2.4 per cent of the total population (Trewin, 2001, p. 15). The experiences of Australian Aboriginal peoples within social service organisations were greatly affected by their experiences of colonisation. Children, families and communities of indigenous peoples, as well as children of mixed ethnic decent experienced: "protectionist legislation [that] was used at the time to remove these children from their

families and communities without having to establish that the children were neglected" (Ban, 2005, p. 384). Aboriginal peoples were later negatively affected by the widespread urbanisation of the 1950s and 1960s:

> By the early 1960s, it was evident that the policy of assimilation was not working because of ongoing discrimination by the dominant society and the refusal of Indigenous peoples to give up their culture (Beresford and Omaji, 1998:42).

Although the Australian government was becoming aware that its assimilation policies were failing, as Hollinsworth (1998) states, assimilationist policies were still implemented through child welfare practices as late as the 1970s. In 1997 *the Aboriginal Child Placement Principle* was introduced, which attempted to decrease the high numbers of Aboriginal children in the care of the welfare system. The principle stated in order of preference the environments in which Aboriginal children in need of foster care should be placed:

1. With the child's extended family,
2. With the child's indigenous community or group,
3. With another indigenous family where culturally appropriate,
4. Where no other option is available, with a non-indigenous family where an Aboriginal Child Care Agency can be involved to ensure that the child is able to maintain links to people and culture (Pocock, 2002, p. 8).

According to Ban (2005), despite the principles being accepted by both Aboriginal and non-Indigenous communities, there was inadequate funding for care agencies and inadequate consultation with wider government welfare staff. Furthermore, indigenous people did not have control over its implementation. Ban (2005, p. 388) states, "a high percentage of Aboriginal children were still being placed within non-indigenous foster carers because of a combination of socio-economic factors leading to a shortage of indigenous foster carers".

Richardson (2005) described how one of the major issues for indigenous peoples with social service organisations was the high proportion of indigenous children in care and the low proportion of indigenous adults able to care as a proportion of the wider Australian population. He stated that some of the underlying issues were:

> Material disadvantage experienced by many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, past government practices of assimilation (in particular the "stolen generation") and the mismatch between the formal out-of-home care system and traditional child rearing practices were the most significant barriers to the recruitment of Indigenous carers (Richardson, 2005, p. 14).

However, Richardson also outlines some of the key strengths of indigenous peoples in Australia by stating that cultural factors are fundamental for the recruitment of indigenous workers: "The commitment to community, and in particular the commitment to children, combined with traditional child-rearing practices that include shared care resulted in an apparently large proportion of the community who were able to take on a caring role doing so" (Richardson, 2005, p. 14).

Sharing Indigenous Processes

> . . . the primary sources of advice about the interests and welfare of Aboriginal juveniles should be the families and community groups of the juveniles and specialist Aboriginal organizations, including Aboriginal Child Care Agencies. (Commission, 1991 Recommendation 235).

Writers have considered the option of sharing methods in indigenous social work intervention worldwide, in particular the 'family group conference.'[13] (Ban, 2005; Howell-Livingstone, 2000; Lynn, 2001). Ban assesses of the role of the family group conference in Australia and its benefits for Aboriginal families. He recommends that practitioners and policy makers use the conferences to ensure that any permanent placement in care of indigenous children is consistent with the *Aboriginal Child Placement Principle*. Vance and Elofson (1998) discussed the implementation of family group conferences with Native American families in Washington and found that some issues arose: "the tribal facilitators were either acquainted with or sometimes even related to the families participating in a FGC, thus violating the principle of facilitator neutrality" (Elofson, 1998, p. 12). Blagg described his misgivings about attempting to 'transplant' one indigenous system to suit another and talked about some of the cultural protocols that would influence positive results when using the FGC with indigenous Australians:

> They are not in the marae or long houses or wigwams waiting to have meetings. Aboriginal ceremony involves an emphasis not on place as much as on movement, the ritual passages along the 'song lines' and dreaming tracks, replenishing their links with kin groups, sacred sites and 'country', settling for a time on traditional campsites and camp fires (Blagg cited in Roche, 2003, p. 497).

Blagg follows on to describe how the process of "shaming" that is implemented in New Zealand does not necessarily resonate with Aboriginal Australians. Instead it is more important that they continue to define their own domain, such as the creation of 'Aboriginal

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[13] This process was developed in New Zealand alongside the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act, 1989.

Patrols' as a justice approach to suit Aboriginal communities. The following quote by Reno highlights the risk associated with the transferring of approaches across cultures:

> Particularly as a new program concept or model is being widely promoted, there is a danger of falling into a "one size fits all" perspective (Reno, 2000, p. 8).

Cultural Competencies

Hilary N. Weaver (1999) proposed 'cultural competencies' as a way of building social work skills with indigenous peoples. Cultural competencies are described as "the ability to integrate cultural knowledge and sensitivity with skills for a more effective and culturally appropriate helping process" (Weaver, 1999, p. 217). Weaver's survey of sixty-two Native Americans working in the helping profession provided insight into culturally competent social work with Native Americans. She stated that cultural knowledge, skills and values are fundamental for building social work competencies with indigenous peoples. Mason (1996) described how relationships between helping professionals and clients may be strained because of past or current distrust between different groups. Social workers should be aware of this, especially with regard to relationships between minority and majority cultural groups. Pinderhughs (1997, p. 22) identified another issue relating to cultural difference and understanding as being: "compounded by the dynamics of power, for the power inherent in the practitioner role is compounded by the status assignment (power) associated with the cultural/social group identity of both client and practitioner" (Pinderhughes, 1997, p. 22).

Chapter Two Conclusions

The emphasis of this chapter was on organisational contexts and theories. The chapter began with a discussion of monocultural, bicultural and multicultural organisations, followed by indigenous, Māori and Western organisational theories. The second part of the chapter described different types of organisations in relation to Māori social workers, beginning with Government social services. It also included Rōpū teams, Non-Government organisations and Māori organisations. The final section covered indigenous organisations and experiences of social services as well as the sharing of indigenous processes internationally.

3

Kaua e rangiruatia te hā o te hoe;

e kore tō tātou waka e ū ki uta[14].

Developing a Research Methodology

Introduction

> When indigenous peoples become the researchers and not the researched, the activity of research is transformed (L. T. Smith, 1999c, p. 193).

This chapter clarifies the purpose of the research project, its gestation and development and the theoretical framework upon which it is based. In broad terms, the researcher ("I") has sought to utilise both 'western' research models and processes together with Kaupapa Māori (*Maori philosophy*) research methods. Miles and Humberman's (1994b) concept of a 'credible and supportable outcome' being the main priority of research encapsulates the methodology of this project. The authors explain:

> We believe, perhaps less naively than the reader might think at first, that any method that works – that will produce clear, verifiable, credible meanings from a set of qualitative data – is grist for our mill, regardless of its antecedents" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 3).

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14 '*Do not lift the paddle out of unison or our canoe will never reach the shore.*' This proverb serves to emphasise the importance of everyone working together to succeed in any joint project (H. M. Mead & Grove, 2007, p. 193).

The following pages discuss the range of theoretical resources used by the researcher and the synthesis of these into a coherent methodology. As previously stated, one of the aims of this project is to create an opportunity for Māori social workers to describe both their practices and experiences of organisations, with minimal inhibition. Another and corollary aim is to critically evaluate the capacity and adequacy of support provided by the employing organisation. In understanding any such critique it is imperative that the researcher understands the impact and influence of her own background or location (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001). In qualitative research this is more especially the case, because the collected data itself is not necessarily objective, dispassionate or disinterested. Rather, it inevitably bears the imprint of particular personalities, particular worldviews. In a similar manner, as the epigraph to this chapter by Tuhiwai Smith asserts, indigenous peoples are 'transforming' the act of research.

Epistemologies for Māori Social Work Research

The word 'epistemology' is derived from the Ancient Greek words, 'episteme' (knowledge) and 'logos' (theory/ideas) (Grbich, 2007, p. 3). It is therefore fitting to begin this discussion by outlining the epistemological approaches to research that have influenced the structure and direction of this project. It is not within the scope of this chapter to detail extensively the historical development of all the contributing epistemologies, whether they are western or Māori. However, it is important to sketch the general orientation of these views and to illustrate areas of complementarities, overlap, and divergence. This chapter describes which aspects of each theory have been adapted. For example, when there is a shortcoming in a western theory then Māori paradigms are introduced and adopted (and vice versa). It is argued that some of the 'western' epistemological positions are sympathetic with the underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori theory. Furthermore, these approaches can be combined and synthesized in order to achieve a productive and efficient research methodology.

The first section of this chapter describes Kaupapa Māori theory which has been developed to address the perceived need for a specifically Māori approach to research. Kaupapa Māori theory is closely related to Indigenous theories. It contains, however, an explicit element of exclusivity that is neatly summarised in the phrase: 'by Māori, for Māori'. Reflecting these general aims, Kaupapa Māori theory is built upon conceptual foundations that are unique to, or highly characteristic of Māori culture.

The second section of this chapter discusses several relevant 'western' research theories. The most important of these for this project is qualitative analysis. At this point, some care will be taken to describe the principles of qualitative analysis that are crucial for analysing the participants' responses. The important influences of Critical and Constructivist theories are also assessed, as these have, respectively, subjective value-base and change /progress-based orientations. Both of these perspectives align with key aspects of the research. Finally, in this section, the limited application of some other major theories, such as positivism and quantitative analysis, is discussed.

In the third section of this chapter, the researcher evaluates the importance and influences on the research of her own values, background and 'place' within the wider fields of qualitative and kaupapa Māori research.

Part two of this chapter provides a discussion of the actual research. The interview process is discussed and is followed by a discussion of how the data was gathered, analysed, and presented. This section also includes reflections on the methods employed and notes how the process might be improved in the future.

Māori Epistemologies

There is no one 'Māori epistemology' nor is there a homogenous tangata whenua theory of knowledge and belief systems. This research is informed by a view that there are multiple worldviews or realities, and many different varieties of Māori worldviews. To this end, Māori theorists have defined many versions of a 'Māori' epistemological approach. These theories are constantly being developed and re-evaluated in order to maintain relevance in a changing society.

Many writers have framed their description of a Māori epistemology under the category 'Te Ao Māori' *(a Māori world view and/or the Māori world)* (Durie, 2003; M. Durie, 1998a; M. H. Durie & Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand., 1999; Mulholland & Tawhai, 2010; Selkirk & Tichenor, 2009; R. Walker, 2004). This consists of Māori traditional and contemporary culture, tīkanga *(customs)* and practices. Kaupapa Māori Theory, a commonly used theoretical approach, was derived from the mātauranga *(knowledge)* of te Ao Māori. When relating mātauranga Māori to social work practice, Pōhatu (2006, p. 8) describes the importance of gaining quality indigenous knowledges for social workers and says: "quality

learning, quality depths of understanding and quality research are considered crucial hoa haere" *(companions).* Therefore, the 'quality'can be gained by accessing knowledge from Te Ao Māori.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kuapapa Māori Theory was originally developed by Graham Hinengaro Smith. The phrase 'Kaupapa Māori' has developed from two differing but complementary strands. The first was from Māori communities, the most well-known example being through Kura Kaupapa (*Māori total immersion primary schools*) (as mentioned in a previous chapter) and Te Kohanga Reo (*Māori total immersion pre-schools*). The second is a theoretical approach to research by Māori, for Māori (Eketone, 2008). The main aim of Kaupapa Māori initiatives, as well as research, is that it is for the ultimate benefit of Māori whānau (*extended family*) and communities, whether they be hapū (*sub-tribe*) and iwi (*tribe*) or other such categories. The proverb at the beginning of the chapter illustrates the Kaupapa Māori principle that Māori are most likely to benefit when a given project is collaborative, cooperative, and is undertaken with clear, positive goals in mind.

As mentioned in chapter one Smith originated Kaupapa Māori Theory with a framework of six principles or characteristics (G. H. Smith, 1990). Since the theory's formation, numerous Māori theorists and scholars have enhanced and extended it, using it as a tool for guiding research and practice: Bishop (1996), Walker (1996), Smith (1999), Benton (2002), Kawharu (2002), Pihama (2007), Sanga (2005), Denzin (2008) and Eketone (2008).

To again briefly summarise Smith's six principles (Smith, 1997):

Tino Rangatiratanga – The Principle of Self-determination

Tino Rangatiratanga is the aim of Kaupapa Māori initiatives. It can be described in a number of ways: sovereignty, autonomy, control self-determination and independence. Tino Rangatiratanga in the context of Kaupapa Māori initiatives is about the aim that Māori have power and control over their own culture, aspirations and destiny.

Taonga Tuku Iho – The Principle of Cultural Aspiration

Taonga Tuku Iho is about maintaining key cultural aspects at the centre of one's focus for any given project. Smith (1990) defined these aspects as being: Te Reo Māori (*the Māori language*), tīkanga and mātauranga Māori. From a Kaupapa Māori point of view, "these Māori ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world are considered valid in their own right" (G. H. Smith, 1990, p. 5). Through this validation it also allows for other cultural aspects to be acknowledged and considered.

Ako Māori – The Principle of Culturally Preferred Pedagogy

Ako Māori is about education processes, or those involved in teaching and learning that are unique to Māori. This could also include contemporary methods that are developed and adopted by Māori.

Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga – The Principle of Socio-Economic Mediation

This principle asserts the need to intercede and support in the lessening of negative stresses and disadvantages experienced by Māori communities. A key characteristic of Kaupapa Māori approaches is that the ultimate outcome has to benefit Māori whānau and communities. This intervention should impact on socio-economic issues.

Whānau – The Principle of Extended Family Structure

Kaupapa Māori values the importance of family. The relationships Māori have to each other, extended family and the world around them are emphasised by this principle. Whakawhanaungatanga (*to develop relationships*) and extended family are fundamental to Māori society and culture. According to Smith, issues are not focused on within the home of the individual, but through the entire whānau. In this context the whānau undertakes collective responsibility for any intervention that takes place. For researchers, this principle acknowledges the responsibility and obligation to respect and support these relationships.

Kaupapa - The Principle of Collective Philosophy

The 'kaupapa' refers to the collective nature of initiatives with the purpose being for Māori communities. The kaupapa refers to the objectives of the community and is larger than the research topic itself. Therefore, this principle locates the research project or initiative within a wider context or 'kaupapa'.

A fundamental tenet of Kaupapa Māori theory is that, while it may be complementary to other theories, it is not dependent on them in any way. Pihama (2001) argues that Kaupapa Māori theory has an independent status because it has arisen from a different place (Aotearoa New Zealand) and from a different worldview.

> Kaupapa Māori theory is driven by whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori understandings (Pihama, 2001, p. 103).

While Kaupapa Māori theory is founded on traditional Māori knowledge, it establishes a flexible and adaptable framework. Its principles are neither fixed 'eternal' laws nor a determinative template to impose on all types of Māori issues. As with western/european theories, Kaupapa Māori theory is always open to critiques and revision.

Theorists have identified a number of elements that are consistent 'values' of Kaupapa Māori theory, including: the centrality of recognising the Treaty of Waitangi; the importance of nurturing relationships (Pihama, 2001; Pōhatu, 2005). Pitama and Pōhatu have added the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (*the Treaty of Waitangi*) and Āta (*refers to the principle of growing respectful relationships*) to Smith's six principles mentioned earlier (Pihama, 2001; Pōhatu, 2005).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi – The Principle of the Treaty of Waitangi

In 2001 Pihama declared the Treaty of Waitangi to be a seventh principle to be taken into account when undertaking a Kaupapa Māori project. The Treaty of Waitangi confirms both the status of Māori and non-Māori within New Zealand /Aotearoa and rights of citizenship. This principle thus provides researchers with a means through which to critique relationships, challenge inequalities and to reaffirm indigenous rights (Pihama, 2001).

Āta – The Principle of Growing Respectful Relationships

Pōhatu (2005) introduced the principle 'āta' specifically for the social services as a transformative approach to Kaupapa Māori initiatives. It is about building and looking after relationships. This principle can support researchers and practitioners with understanding relationships and wellbeing when interacting with Māori.

Narrative Theory

In conventional Narrative Theory, a story is conceived as a complete entity in itself (Fisher, 1984). Susan Chase (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a, p. 64) clearly describes five 'analytical lenses' when using narrative inquiry and states that researchers may acknowledge each point as unique or 'shift back and forth' among the lenses depending on the specific approach. The first is that the narrative is treated as a distinct form of discourse. It is a construction of one's understanding of past events, the way actions and situations are understood and connected over time (Bruner, 1986). This includes the person's emotions, thoughts and interpretation of the story as well as the justification for telling the story in the first place (ibid). The second key point is that the narrative is referred to as an 'action' in itself. This is where the researcher emphasises the 'voice' of the narrator, their ways of communicating and the position from which they are speaking. The third key point is that Narrative researchers believe that narratives are influenced by their surrounding environment and must be understood or interpreted within their community/organisational contexts. This point presupposes that the narratives are both "enabled and constrained" by their environment (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008a). The fourth key point is that narratives are influenced by the surroundings in which they are described and the fifth acknowledges the researcher as a 'narrator' in his or her own right.

Narrative theory and traditional Māori educational practices hold that much of our communication is conveyed through story-telling (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a, p. 67; Riessman, 1993). Story-telling, much like the collection of oral history, is a common form of passing on knowledge, both traditionally and in contemporary Māori society (Berg, 2009; Makereti, 1986, p. 151; Selby, Laurie, & National Oral History Association of New Zealand., 2005). Kōrerorero (*conversations*) can be used in many ways but often involves long 'recital-type' discussion where one speaks and one listens, with little 'back and forth' conversation, then roles change.

It is the responsibility of the listener, rather than the storyteller herself, to draw lessons and morals from these stories. In a research setting, the concept of kōrerorero is a useful analytical tool for understanding the layers of meaning in another's tale. Bishop (1996) highlighted this commonly overlooked difference between Māori and Pākehā (*non-Māori*) cultures:

> Anthropologist Joan Metge recalled the time when she was the first involved in talking to Māori groups about the need to develop the Māori Education Foundation, she presented her 'story' with diagrams and statistical data documenting Māori underachievement and the educational crisis facing Māori people. The next speaker was John Rangihau, an eminent Māori scholar. He proceeded to tell a story of his childhood and some experiences that he had had at school. Metge was bemused by this approach until she realised that he had covered all the points that she has made and that he had covered them in such a way that related to the lived experiences of his listeners (Bishop, 1996, p. 25).

The reception of John Rangihau's kōrerorero indicates the familiarity of Māori with this mode of communication. Verbal forms are in fact a preferred manner of passing on knowledge. Particular formats include whakapapa (*genealogy*), waiata (*songs, chants*), oriori (*lullaby*), and whakatauki (*proverb*). Typically, in a kōrerorero (*conversations*), the story will not directly confront the main issue, (unlike Metge's use of statistical data and diagrams) but will be embellished through metaphor and pūrākau (*story*) (Lee, 2005, 2008). It will, however, contain "hidden" messages, morals, and theoretical views, as described by Lee below:

> Pūrākau range from stories about the creation of the world, people and the natural environment to historical events and particular incidents. Far from being considered as mere tales or 'myths and legends', pūrākau preserved ancestral knowledge, reflected our worldviews and portrayed the lives of our tūpuna (*ancestors*) in creative, diverse and engaging ways. Telling pūrākau is not limited to traditional stories, but includes storying in our contemporary contexts (Lee, 2005, p. 2).

This is the traditional manner of instilling social norms, knowledge and desired behaviours in children. Even today many Māori tell stories to explain their theoretical approach, belief systems, and knowledge. The researcher must be able to draw these sub-textual meanings from the stories and elicit the ongoing input of the research participants to ensure their data has been accurately transcribed and presented. The 'data' must also be handed and presented in a manner that is respectful both of the information itself and the mana of the person offering it. Maintaining contact with participants and clarifying their intended meanings was a key aspect of this research process.

The Expression of Emotions, Thoughts and Interpretations

This aspect of Narrative theory is perhaps the key to understanding a narrative approach and its implementation. Narrative is about understanding and interpreting actions; organising and placing events so that they make sense to the story-teller (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008d). A narrative approach does not exclude 'personality' in that it focuses on the individual's point

of view, thus emotion, thoughts and biases are all a valued part of the process. Using a narrative approach implies that one values the narrative as being valid in and of its own accord and focuses on its 'uniqueness' as opposed to its generalisability (Bruner, 1986; Clandinin, 2007; Polkinghorne, 1988). Lutz (cited in Gergen & Gergen, 2003, p. 41) describes the variable aspects of emotion and describes it in relation to 'thought':

> Emotion shares a fundamental characteristic with thought in this ethnopsychological view, which is that both are internal characteristics. The essence of both emotion and thought are to be found within the boundaries of the person; they are features of individuals rather than of situations, relationships, or moral positions.

This principle of Narrative theory sits well with the diverse ways the Māori language can be used to express thoughts and emotions through language and story-telling. For example Orbell describes the meaning of the word 'hau' that can be translated as wind, air or atmosphere (Ryan & Reid, 2008), but also refers to a number of emotions:

> A light breeze might indicate the presence of a spirit; and a person pining for an absent lover or relative would yearn for a wind from the direction in which he was living, feeling that this would establish a kind of contact between them. (Orbell & Moon, 1985, p. 74).

Therefore, it is evident that a greater knowledge of Te Reo Māori would also support a deeper understanding of the meaning behind the expression of thought and feelings.

The Construction of the 'Self', through Language and 'Voice'

A variety of non-Māori writers have attempted to understand Māori emotion through the analysis of Te Reo Māori (Harrâe & Parrott, 1996; Krupa, 1982, pp. 132 - 137). According to Silverman, the process of understanding concepts through interpreting 'stories' can be enhanced by also analysing how the stories are told (Silverman, 2001, p. 12). Through this double-layering of analysis one can develop an impression of how the 'storyteller' understands their story through their use of language. This principle values the 'voice' of the individual and in this context their expression of both English and Te Reo Māori. This principle relies on the notion that the 'analyser' of the stories will also have an understanding of Māori customs and Te Reo Māori in order to avoid misinterpretations of the participants' language use. While not all writers on Kaupapa Māori theory state that Te Reo Māori knowledge is essential it is no doubt highly valuable. A key characteristic of this principle is that it also suggests that the 'voice' of the storyteller remain intact, in this context that the data is presently in a whole form and that it is unchanged (Silverman, 2010).

'Self' and reality construction

The principle of 'Self' and reality construction links the stories of an individual to their surrounding environment. It acknowledges that an individual is unavoidably influenced by their community, organisation and particularly their culture and therefore their views will be influenced by the views of their communities. This principle also reminds the 'analyser' (researcher) to consider the place in which the story is being told, the surrounding people, position of the storyteller and their role within their environment (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008c).

Theoretical Limitations

While both Kaupapa Māori and Narrative theory provide researchers with thorough descriptions on various aspects of their methodologies, there are some areas of 'practicality' that have been questioned during this research project and which expose some limitations. One perceived limitation concerns the basic implementation of Kaupapa Māori theory. Eketone (2004) describes how the theory does not provide researchers with specific guidelines in the form of a 'checklist'.

> One of the idiosyncrasies of Kaupapa Māori theory is that writers do not tell you how to do Kaupapa Māori research, instead they focus on the effects that it has and what it does. This has led to a paucity of informed criticism by the critics of Kaupapa Māori theory (Eketone, 2004, p. 67).

Eketone then refers to Smith's comment that Kaupapa Māori provides researchers with ethical 'codes of conduct' or mātauranga Māori processes, in ways that are quite clear from a Māori worldview (Eketone, 2004; Smith, 1999a).

The Limitations of Limited Reo

Other writers have discussed the importance of the use of Te Reo Māori throughout Kaupapa Māori research (Bevan-Brown, 1993) and state that the research needs to be undertaken in Te Reo Māori only. In this research I argue that while the use of Te Reo is encouraged it is not an obligation of the research method. A realistic expectation is that not all Māori social workers can speak only in Te Reo. If the exclusion of the English language was an element of this project it would have limited the research sample by excluding many potential participants. In saying that, the use of Te Reo was encouraged throughout the kōrero (*narrative*). Māori words were 'scattered' throughout by the participants and the researcher.

Other limitations of Māori research are that the participants are often not selected randomly but are 'chosen' by the researcher or others involved in the project. Another key point is that the number of participants is often too small for any attempts to generalise from it, assuming that the data is representative of the population. There is also a temptation to analyse the kōrero as if it was dichotomous and fixed (Barbour, 2008; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Non-Māori Theories

> When we talk about methodology, what we are really talking about is a certain order of philosophical commitments (Natanson, 1963, p. 271).

As Natanson suggests, a researcher's methodology will always reflect aspects of the researcher's worldview, or philosophy. This section discusses the most influential 'western theories' that have informed this research. I acknowledge my Pākehā ancestry and the influence it has had on the development of both my Māori and Pākehā worldviews. With this in mind, this research is also influenced by non-Māori (otherwise called 'Western' or 'European' ideologies). In this context, the term 'western' is intended to signify theories that have derived from the 'west' i.e. Europe and North America as opposed to, say, Asia and Africa. Budick (2000) provides some examples of western philosophers, writers and artist that have influenced European culture and theoretical understanding: Homer, Virgil, Rembrandt, Milton, Kant, Baudelaire, Freud, and Sarraute. The relevant theories are Constructivism, Critical Theory and qualitative research ideas. There is also a discussion of the reasons why some major theories, such as Positivism and quantitative approaches have a lesser influence on this project. The emphasis throughout this discussion is on how the various ideologies affected the research methods used in this project.

Non-Māori Epistemologies

This project uses qualitative research methods rather than quantitative methods. The main reason for this choice is that qualitative analysis is suited and more congruent with Kaupapa Māori research. As mentioned previously, one aim of this project is to integrate Māori and Pākehā theories in order to produce high-quality data, which can be applied to enable benefits for Māori.

The Western epistemological tradition comprises a number of separate, and sometimes conflicting, areas of thought. Grbich describes four broad traditions within the whole, "within

which claims for 'truth have been made [for each]" (Grbich, 2007, p. 5). All of these have impacted on the development of qualitative research.

These four traditions are:

- Positivism /empiricism
- Critical theories
- Constructivism /interpretivism
- Postmodern /poststructural positions.

Although positivism has a less immediate impact on qualitative research, a short discussion is required. This is because positivism has had an enormous historical influence on all types of research (Engel & Schutt, 2009).

Positivism/Empiricism

An empirical approach to social science attempts to employ the major principles of the 'scientific method'. This entails careful hypothesizing, the identification of variables, and accurate forms of measurement within experimental designs. The data produced is analysed to establish 'facts' through 'properly evaluated mathematical logic' (Grbich, 2007, p. 4). There is usually an emphasis on standard scientific principles, such as deductive logic, the 'laws' of nature, and statistical analysis based upon verifiable facts. Davidson and Tolich (2003, p. 26) summarise the aim of positivist/empirical research as being "to discover natural laws so that people can predict and control events". Empiricism /positivism claims to be 'value-free'. An individual's or community's values are not meant to be integral to the method of research, and the research should, if successful, be 'reproducible' by other people. Values do play a part, however in deciding what types and topics of research are undertaken. Positivist/empiricist theories are often apparent in experiments or surveys conducted with random samples of the general population, or of sub-groupings within it (ibid). As a general rule-of-thumb quantitative researchers prefer numbers to words in the presentation of their findings.

Positivism within this Project

For a number of reasons, Positivism has not been particularly influential in this research project. First, the fundamental reason is that a rigorous quantitative method is not required for meeting the project aims. The researcher is attempting to capture the *current experiences of Māori social workers and critically analyse the support level of the organisations they work*

for. It is therefore unnecessary to develop a hypothesis or to attempt to maintain controlled outcomes. Moreover, quantitative research would restrict both the depth, and nuances of the potential findings. It would be impossible to capture the current and past experiences of Māori social workers in a manner that could be replicated over time. A positivist approach focuses on causal explanations. This project is equally concerned with the social workers' ideas about how both their immediate workplace and the wider sector can be improved in the future. The very subjectivity of the participant's responses is of key interest, not least because allowing the individual a free voice is in accordance with a deep-seated value of Māori culture.

In inexperienced hands, the quantitative data can be misconstrued and used to justify sweeping generalizations about cultural, gender, age, class, and ability groupings[15]. In both the past and present, knowledge from Te Ao Māori has often been misinterpreted by quantitative methods. However, it is acknowledged that there is the potential for surveys and the measurement of hypotheses within any research project, but they have not been deemed beneficial to this project or for Māori in this context.

Critical Positions

The positivist approach maintains a declaration of being 'value free'. In contrast, the critical positions expressly assert that issues of power, culture, and identity are highly value-laden. Peters (1996) describes how critical theory, broadly conceived was developed as a reaction to the popularity of positivism.

Critical theory's critique of 'scientism', although perhaps too anchored in German idealism and the simple-minded rejection of technology, developed into a full-blown critique of the ideal of neutrality. Neutrality characterised 'positivistic' sociology with its almost slavish emulation of a then current account of natural science based upon a conception of knowledge freed from all normative consideration (1996, p. 10).

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[15] For example: in the initial stages of research, by Dr Rod Lea, a variant (or genotype) of monoamine oxidase- Also known as 'the warrior gene' was over-represented in a small sample of Māori. This supported earlier studies that there are different proportions of variants in different ethnic groups. Due to the sensitive political nature of the findings, and the standard peer review process, the research has been heavily scrutinized. Several objections have been raised, such as the small sample size, and the extrapolation of non-Māori studies to the Māori population. In addition, ideological objections were raised, as well as concerns about announcing such findings in the early stages of research (Lea, Chambers,. In Suarez-Kurtz, 2007) (Health Research Council of New Zealand., 2007).

In critical theory approaches, Grbich states, there is "a focus on questions of identity and how these are shaped by such dominant cultural institutions as the media, science and religion" (Grbich, 2007, p. 7). Research of this kind often documents conflicts between those with power and those without power. This power can be economic or political. The desired outcome is often transformation, as Soja explains:

> The constant reaffirmation that the world can be changed by human action, by praxis, has always been the centrepiece of critical social theory whatever its particularized source and emphasis (Soja, 1989, p. 14).

McLean (McLean, 2006, p. 8) adds that critical theory is not a homogenous school of thought but builds upon Marxist theories through a focus on "hidden oppressions" and openly confronting political discrimination and criticising positivism. McLean also describes how Horkheimer first used the term 'critical theory' in 1937 when he rejected the assertion that positivism would uncover objective truths and proposed the generation of knowledge through "understanding the interwoven nature of human subject(s)". This, he stated, would lead to a critical understanding of society and be followed by practical political and social action (McLean, 2006, p. 8).

Critical Positions within this Project

This research project is highly influenced by critical theories of emancipation. These are also reflected in Kaupapa Māori theory, which has a similar emphasis on change and progress. This project documents the current experiences of Māori social workers, and their experiences of support from employing organisations. It is natural that the project would adopt a 'critical eye' when evaluating the relationship between social service organisations and Māori staff. While this critical stance is present, where appropriate, it is not the researcher's intention to devote the entire project to a critique. Therefore, other theories have also been adopted. Furthermore, by maintaining a critical approach in combination with a constructivist position, the researcher can critically address each situation and also provide constructive outlets for understanding and analysis.

One important issue concerns the emancipation of Māori social workers. The researcher must confront the question: 'who is in the position to emancipate whom?' On this issue Grbich says: "Are emancipators any better than religious zealots colonising the lives of others,

assuming not only that they have all the right answers but that others are lacking in some way?" (Grbich, 2007, p. 7). This project does not anticipate that its findings will result in the active emancipation of its participants to 'positions of power'. However, it will provide recommendations and suggestions that organisations and workers can adopt or not as they see fit.

Grbich (2007, p. 7) also raises the point that it is not always realistic to expect researchers to promote social transformation. He says, "Even if this could be achieved, what would an ideal democracy look like in terms of equality, justice and freedom?" Of course, researchers cannot be expected to create, or even demand, an ideal democracy through a single research project. However, it is best to acknowledge that this project, being concerned with the ameliorative field of social work and underpinned by Kaupapa Māori theory, is intended to promote social change.

Critical theory informs several of this project's research tactics. The most notable was the choice of interview subjects, who were on the 'frontline' of a number of social problems. The preliminary data analysis that followed led the researcher to conduct further interviews. This was followed by a cross-case /narrative analysis, from which data recommendations and solutions were formulated. The use of focus groups involving key figures from a given area was a particular characteristic of critical research. The specific research was also undertaken in response to the wishes of the participants. The findings are intended to contribute to future changes in policies and organisational frameworks.

Constructivism/Interpretivism
Constructivist research explores the manner in which people interpret their experiences. It is concerned with the subject's own 'world', and thus takes account of how situations and events impact on their constructed understanding. Constructivism is described as an "active process in which individuals, social or cultural groups construct new ideas or concepts based upon their current or past knowledge". This knowledge, while being individually constructed, is also being developed within community groups, the workplace, and within families (Babbie, 1990; Bruner, 1986; Mateas & Sengers, 2003). Constructivist theory holds that the individual or group builds "internal illustrations" of knowledge and personal or community interpretations of experiences (Huitt & Hummel, 2003, p. 4).

Grbich argues that a researcher undertaking a constructivist project must be aware that they are bringing their own experienced history to the project. Their own past affects, whether consciously or unconsciously, their use of language and modes of interpretation. He also points out that subjectivity and inter-subjectivity are of interest here, in the sense that the researchers' own views and constructions of data can influence the reconstruction of data, and in this context, the ultimate findings (Grbich, 2007, p. 8). All knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world (Crotty, 1998, p. 42).

Huitt (Huitt & Hummel, 2003, p. 5), like Crotty, contends that we can only know the world through human interpretations of experiences. That is, we do not have access to a source of neutral, objective knowledge. Simultaneously, our internal representations change in response to this sharing as well as from our cumulative experience (ibid). Crotty (1998, p. 42) calls it "the construction of meaningful reality". Meaning is not discovered, but constructed.

A fundamental criticism of constructivism concerns its insistence on inter-subjectivity. The question is: 'how do we know when we have accessed other people's minds?' (Grbich, 2007, p. 8). This inquiry, while valid, also applies to most other types of research. How, for example, can positivists be certain that their approach is value-free? Another potential problem is that it can be difficult to be certain that the questions have been answered truthfully. Finally, careful attention must be paid to the form of each question to ensure that the participant can give the exact response they wish to provide. Similar questions can be directed at all research approaches.

McMahon states that the essence of constructivism is considering the 'culture and context' when interpreting what occurs in society and when constructing an understanding based on the participants' creation of knowledge (McMahon, 1997, p. 3).

Agreeing with McMahon, Davidson and Tolich (2003, p. 27) list characteristics of constructivist research. Their reason for research is often to understand and describe what constitutes meaningful social action. Values are an integral part of social life. No group's values are wrong, only different. 'Truth' is that which resonates and 'feels right' to the participants.

Constructivism/Interpretivism within this Project

Constructivism is a natural epistemology to adopt for this research project because of the way it promotes the acceptance of the experiences and knowledge of individual and groups. From this point of view, it is not the researcher's role to sceptically question the validity of the experience of Māori social workers. Rather, it is to document these experiences as they have been constructed by Māori social workers. Constructivist research entails a high level of respect for the participants and their knowledge. With Kaupapa Māori research principles and constructivism, researchers are able to treat the knowledge offered by the participants as a 'taonga' (*treasure*). The significance of the taonga is that it passes from one Māori social worker to another for the future benefit of Māori social work development. In contrast, the taonga used as a research tool is relatively incidental to its purpose. It is important to note here that it is the long-term positive effects of research projects such as this that are the main aims and incentives for Māori social workers to become involved, not the project itself. Therefore, the observation of the researcher was that often Māori participants would immediately support the project if it clearly showed potential positive implications for Māori whānau development.

> If the essence of constructivism is considering 'culture and context' when interpreting what occurs in society and constructing knowledge based on this understanding, then the next question relates to how constructivism as a theory can be applied to the New Zealand context (Derry, 1998; McMahon, 1997).

Shannon and Young (2004, p. 56) isolate two constructivist themes that are useful for discussing Māori social work development. The first theme is an 'Active Human Agency', which views people as creative. People set and strive to reach goals, thus demonstrating agency. The participants who chose to be involved in this research did so, for many reasons. One of the main reasons, though, is their shared interest in Māori social work development and the documentation of Māori knowledge by Māori for Māori. In constructivist terms, they were actively participating and striving towards a common goal. The second theme is 'a criterion of 'useful' knowledge,' where skills, knowledge and creativity are used in order to achieve one's goals. This aspect of constructivism fits in practice with a holistic view of the participant. The participants validate and interpret their knowledge in relation to the wider organisation and/or community. The common ultimate goal is to use the knowledge for the benefit of the participant's community. In light of the comment that constructivism has an "over-focus on the micro as opposed to the macro approach" (Grbich, 2007, p. 8), this

research adopts constructivism and critical perspective within Kaupapa Māori theory to ensure that micro and macro perspectives are covered.

Qualitative & Quantitative Research

> It is fairly standard to introduce qualitative research by distinguishing it from quantitative research. This is an unadventurous way to begin, but necessary because when asked 'What is research?' most people refer to the more familiar, traditional quantitative research. Also, it is often argued that a major binding feature of qualitative research is its opposition to positivism (Holliday, 2007, p. 1).

As previously stated, a qualitative approach is employed in this project, first because it is in line with the philosophical position of the researcher and, second, because it contains a series of techniques that are well suited to social science research. This section provides a more detailed examination of the respective merits and drawbacks of qualitative and quantitative research. It outlines how each method is understood in this research. The main characteristic of a qualitative approach, as opposed to a quantitative, is that it generally focuses on 'what things exist' rather than on how many such things there are (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Hodges, 1981; Van Maanen, 1983). The qualitative approach values authenticity and tends towards the inclusion of morals and principles. This is usually achieved through the use of a relatively small number of case studies, where the researcher is often involved in the group being researched (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Babbie, 2007; Lincoln & Denzin, 2003a; Northcutt & McCoy, 2004). Both qualitative and quantitative research types have distinct forms of logic that can be applied to social research. However, they can also overlap and be used concurrently on the same type of data (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003, p. 16). Where quantitative research claims to be objective 'fact' without traces of values, qualitative research seeks to construct an understanding of a social reality and cultural meaning, while focusing on interactive processes or events (ibid). Quantitative research focuses on variables in the data, analysing cases using statistical methods. It is also usual that the researcher is not involved in the group being researched. Qualitative takes into consideration the wider context within which each case exists (Sarantakos, 1998b). In sum, while quantitative and qualitative research have divergent perspectives, they can be used together to produce more 'holistic' conclusions (see Gibbs, 2001).

> Neither [Quantitative nor Qualitative] is inherently superior. They frequently are complementary – both can generate valuable, needed knowledge for the practitioner… also both can produce results that are of little value if rules and procedures are not followed (Yegidis & Weinbach, 2005, p. 16).

While both research forms can have beneficial outcomes for any research project, the differing philosophical perspectives and practical methods will offer results with varying outcomes.

Words or Numbers

At the most basic level, qualitative research uses words to portray findings, while quantitative research generally uses numbers (statistics). Miles and Huberman, (Miles & Huberman, 1994a, p. 56) argue that this dependence on words is a fundamental weakness of qualitative research. They point out that words often have multiple or ambiguous meanings and, quite simply, take up far more space on the page. This makes them more difficult to manipulate and work with. Furthermore, most words are inconsequential without a consideration of the context within which they are used. Quantitative research is usually less ambiguous and, in Miles and Huberman's words, the data "can be processed more economically". Therefore, it is unsurprising that many researchers prefer to collect 'raw' quantitative data or, alternatively, transform into statistics the words they have collected (Miles & Huberman, 1994a, p. 56). However, this latter approach has its own problems:

> Converting words into numbers and then tossing away the words gets a researcher into all kinds of mischief. You thus are assuming that the chief property of the words is that there are more of some than of others. Focusing solely on numbers shifts ones attention from substance to arithmetic, throwing out the whole notion of "qualities" or "essential characteristics" (ibid.)

For the purpose of this project, qualitative research is better suited as a model for presenting the participant's depth of meaning and variety of nuance. Even a transcript alone cannot convey the participant's entire intended meaning. It is in the nature of storytelling that the story does not depend on words alone; but is influenced by other elements such as inflection, expression, gesture, and irony. The alternative is to combine words and numbers. However, if the numbers derived from words are not completely clear, there is no easy way to make them intelligible by adding more numbers.

Qualitative Research: The Problem of 'Wordiness'

> Qualitative research, as a set of interpretive activities, privileges no single methodological practice over another… there is no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a, p. 6).

A potential weakness of qualitative research is that the project may become 'overwhelmed' by words. The researcher may wish to emphasise the complex nature of his or her findings and consequently may adopt complex terminology and theories. Silverman (2007) demonstrates that this 'wordiness' can actually isolate the researcher from the very audience he or she intends to serve. Silverman describes an architecture student's qualitative project, called 'Identity in the Refrigerator'. Silverman's concern is with the perceived over-reliance on jargon and abstract terms used in the project, such as 'reliquary', 'arcimboldion', and 'cryogenic chamber.' Silverman suggests that researchers should simply work inductively by stating what it is they actually want to know about. He follows on to say that a clear statement will make the process of studying what the refrigerator does more useful and interesting to the reader(Silverman, 2007).

Researchers, and perhaps academics, may become overly concerned with the use of technical vocabulary in order to express their ideas and perhaps to show the complex nature of their research. Unbeknownst to the researcher, this can circumscribe, isolate, and even annoy the potential readership. This project seeks to present complex information in a simple manner. It is intended to be of use to an audience of social work practitioners as well as scholars. Silverman also asserts that "highfalutin' theory and jargon" has developed, in part, through a postmodern approach that "privileges grand theory and experimental writing at the expense of sober enquiry and a concern for truth" (Silverman, 2007). Benson and Stangroom (2006, p. 154) direct the following remarks at Literary Studies, yet they are also applicable to a portion of scholars in social work:

> If scholars wanted to be noticed, they had to engage in increasingly ostentatious displays of theoretical virtuosity. In the end, driven by a positive feedback loop, display became everything: the peacocks had colonised the world of literary studies (Benson & Stangroom, 2006, p. 154).

The researcher recognises the potential for "flowery" imprecise language in this project. The danger of oversimplifying the ideas and language is also recognised. First, there is a danger, when writing in the area of Māori social work development, of writing for the academic fields of 'Western' non-Māori researchers. This could lead to the translation, and simplification, of Māori words, phrases and concepts. This may be the case where there are few Māori social work academics and where most of the potential readers and users of the findings are non-Māori. However, there is also a temptation to simplify the use of English

words and phrases when writing on this topic, so as not to isolate the potential non-academic Māori reader. These assumptions, however stereotypical to either group, ignore the current state of Māori academic development and the fact that there are many non-Māori and Māori potential readers who are skilled in the use of both the Māori and the English languages. Therefore, in this project 'flamboyant' words are used minimally due to the researcher's belief that they are unnecessary. However, the language is not unduly simplified, acknowledging that the main group that this project is aimed at is the Māori social work community, whether that is within the academy or in the agencies.

As Māori academia/social work development is an emergent area, there is also a temptation to 'over-create' contemporary Māori theories as a means of both expressing traditional Māori concepts and 'matching' Western theories. While the development of new Māori theories may be beneficial for some projects it has not been deemed beneficial for this research. The theories that have been formulated to date have a sufficient compass for the present project's requirements. Rather than providing, as Benson and Stangroom (2006) observe, an 'ostentatious display', this project will describe and utilise existing theories, methods, and processes that Māori social workers deem to be appropriate and successful.

Qualitative Research in this Project

> Qualitative research presents a statement about reality and social life that has to be continually argued and reaffirmed. It is this need for constant articulation that makes writing as important as other aspects of doing the research (Holliday, 2007, p. 1).

This research arises from discussions with Māori social workers, who emphasised the importance of 'capturing' their own and others' stories and experiences, especially from those social workers who have had extensive careers (Hollis, 2006). In the light of Holliday's comment above, this project is a 'statement' about the current experiences of Māori social workers; a topic that needs ongoing argument and affirmation.

The Development of Research Themes and Questions

We shall turn now to a discussion of how the themes and research questions were developed at the beginning of this project. The initial research focus was generated from a general interest in the present state of Māori social work development. The researcher took into account the common normative argument that social work research should not just describe

things as they are, but aim to challenge and transform them. Moreover, the question is more complex than at first sight and presented many variables. For example, the further question arises, how can one document a 'present state', when, from a postmodern perspective, there are multiple states, each unique to a community, an organisation and an individual worker. Sarantakos describes two problems that students often encounter when formulating a research topic. First, students often choose topics that are of political importance and related to current events. These can pose an unrealistic challenge for the researcher to confront alone. Second, and similarly, students often attempt impossibly large topics. This can result in an inability to discuss the topic in any great depth because it is too broad (Sarantakos, 1998a, p. 44).

The researcher made both these mistakes near the beginning of this project. The area of study, as first envisaged, was significantly too large to adequately treat in the allocated timeframe. Furthermore, the 'hidden agenda' was ultimately to make drastic improvements to 'Māori social work'. However, after a number of critical discussions, the following topic was developed:

> *What are the current experiences of Māori social workers within their organisational context?*

This question still contains an implicit agenda. However, this agenda is to discover how to better support Māori social workers, rather than producing a singlehanded revolution. Therefore, to adequately address this overarching question, six open-ended questions were devised in order to guide the conversations.

Questionaire:

> 1. *How/why did you become a social worker?*

It was intended that the research process would begin in accordance with kaupapa Māori principles. Therefore whakawhanaungatanga was needed to establish the relationship between the researcher and the participant. It was anticipated that some element of conversation would be held before the kōrerorero began. However, this first question would bring the two (or more) people together through the rapport that was built as well as help the participant feel comfortable to 'share' his or her experiences.

> 2. *Would you define yourself as a Māori social worker or a social worker who is Māori?*

Afterh the conversation about the participants' 'journey' they are then asked to describe their identity. The way in which the question is formed is also strategic in that the binary nature of the question can cause the participant to be able to quickly identify where they would sit on a continuum. It was intended that the participants would challenge the question itself as well as provide a personal response to it.

3. *Do you/will you use Māori processes in your work? And if so, in what way do/will you use them?*

In previous research into 'Māori methods of social work practice', the research found that often Māori social workers would describe their processes or practices as opposed to 'methods' (Hollis, 2006) Therefore, for this project it was important not to assume that participants identified with one standardised method of practice.

4. *How does your organisation support the use of Māori processes?*

This question was developed with the assumption that the response would not be dichotomously answered with a 'yes' or 'no'. Instead, the participant would give examples of how they were either 'supported' by their organisation or 'not supported' or both.

5. *Is there anything that your organisation does to make your job easier?*

This question followed on from the one above, and was designed with two factors in mind. First, the aim is to gauge the practical initiatives that various organisations implement so that others could benefit from this knowledge. The second reason for this question was to ensure that the project focuses on the positive aspects of the workplace environment so that lessons can be learnt about 'what works well' as opposed to what isn't working.

6. *What are some practical improvements your organisation could take on board to better support you?*

The aim of the final question is to have a forward-looking focus for the participants' final comments in order to 'capture' their creative ideas, dreams and aspirations for Māori social work development.

The Sample

Qualitative researchers usually focus their research on small groups of people, or on relatively small 'samples' of a wider group. The intention is to study the small section in-

depth. This contrasts with the quantitative researcher's general aim of reaching a much larger sample in order to gain reliable statistical findings. Lofland and Lofland state that qualitative sampling tends to be purposive rather than random, because "the universe is more limited… and partly because social processes have a logic and a coherence that random sampling can reduce to uninterruptable sawdust" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 27).

The sample in the present research was purposive and was a section of the Māori social work population. The criteria for the selection of participants was that each was both:

- Māori – self-identifies as Māori in their own terms
- Social worker – holds a professional social work qualification, is currently in a professional social work position or has been in the past.

20 participants were sought for the research. This sample size was selected because, with qualitative research, the sample is not considered to be totally representative of all Māori social workers, nor of a majority. 26 Māori social workers that fitted the sample criteria were eventually involved in the research project (*see figure 1*). This became the case because in reality more people came forward to be involved in the research than was anticipated. The researcher was also unwilling to turn people away, particularly in a focus group setting. A few participants attended focus groups that did not fit the criteria because they were either non-Māori or not a social worker, however their contribution was omitted from the findings and analysis. While age was not a sample requirement, it became evident that the participants that came forward were not school-leavers (i.e. young social workers who moved straight from high school to social work training and then on into practice). The majority of participants had a vast amount of social work and life experience. It was noted that one participant had only 6 years in the social work field, the majority had 10 or more years experience as social workers.

Figure 1

The research sample

Organisation	Govt	Non-Govt	Iwi
Gender			
Male	4	5	2

Female	6	5	4
Age under 35 over 35	1 9	2 8	1 5
TOTAL	10	10	6

Locating Māori Social Workers

Participants became involved in the study through the researcher's pre-existing connections in Māori communities, through whānau, 'word-of-mouth', and a 'snowball effect' (Huberman & Miles, 2002; Lincoln & Denzin, 2003b; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morse, Swanson, & Kuzel, 2000). The research utilised snowball, chain, random purposeful and opportunistic sampling techniques. Common to all of these techniques was a basic 'word-of-mouth' mechanism in which previous participants recommended potential participants. The researcher also actively encouraged participants to 'invite their colleagues'. However, one of the main sources of participants arose through the researcher's attendance at the *ANZASW Tangata Whenua Takawaenga Caucus* hui (*meeting*) in Auckland, 2008. The support from the Māori social workers present attending this hui was a significant factor in achieving the sample.

The process of attempting to locate potential participants was interesting in itself. The researcher approached Māori and non-Māori social workers that she was familiar with and asked whether they had colleagues who might have an interest in participating. In some cases the answer was that they did not know of any Māori social workers, or even, "*there is one worker but she is not really Māori*". This brought to the researcher's attention the way one's identity is perceived by others and how this could influence their involvement or inclusion in cultural activities. Moreover, perhaps by stating that the project was interested in 'Māori' social workers, the research was limited to people that openly or confidently identify as Māori. To counter this potential limitation the writer began to rephrase this enquiry as 'social

workers who are Māori, as well as being a 'Māori' social worker'. This re-evaluation of research wording brought forward more, and perhaps previously hidden, groups to sample.

Setting the Scene

The research participants chose both the venue and timing of the conversations. They also had control over which people, if any, would be present. Some participants chose to have individual kōrerorero, while others organised and facilitated group discussions. A few participants preferred to begin with individual kōrerorero, followed by a group discussion that included their colleagues. The majority of participants were interviewed through kanohi ki te kanohi (*face to face*) interviews. Seven of these were one-on-one interviews conducted at the participant's workplace. Five interviews were held in group situations and three Māori social workers made contributions via email following individual conversations.

Some participants invited Māori or non-Māori colleagues as support people. Not all of these support people were social workers. The contributions to the discussion by support persons who were either non-Māori or non-social workers have not been included in the project. In such cases the 'interviewee' rather than the 'interviewer' initiated the support person's contribution. The support people were in some cases kaumātua (*elders*) who acknowledged that they were present to support their social worker colleagues as well as the research process.

The Kōrerorero Process

In many cases the research process was lead by the participants themselves. Many participants began the process with a karakia (*prayer*) and a mihimihi (*greeting*) and facilitated the kōrero, ensuring that each person involved in the research had an opportunity to talk. The role of the researcher was very much one of a 'teina' (*younger sibling*) or 'mokopuna' (*grandchild*); to listen, follow and learn from the stories that were being shared (Hollis, 2006). The research participants had copies of the question and were prompted to use them as a guide only. Where there was an opportunity to embellish comments with examples this was encouraged.

Lessons Learnt - Age

After the first focus group it was evident that age was going to be a major factor influencing the participant's comments. It was not the researcher's initial intention to invite Māori social

workers of a specific age group to participate. This was because most of the participants that volunteered to get involved in this project were 'middle-aged' or long-term practitioners (practicing for 15+ years). Few participants were in their 30s and none of the Māori social workers that came forward were school-leavers or between 18-30 years of age. Therefore, the views of young Māori social workers in the beginning stages of their careers were missing. Gender was not an issue when selecting participants, but it was interesting to note that the gender of participants was also reasonably balanced. Although this process of collecting demographic data was not necessary for a qualitative project, it was undertaken in order to see whether this observation (regarding age) from the initial data analysis was in fact a valid conclusion.

Furthermore, participants were sought who represented a fairly 'even spread' of Māori, Non-Governmental, and Government organisations. However, during the conversations it became evident that Māori social workers do not necessarily fit exclusively into one category. One of the findings (discussed in more depth later) indicated that Māori social workers change their place of work frequently and because most participants had practiced for 15+ years they were able to comment on all three organisational types and make their own comparisons.

A fundamental limitation of purposive research is that the sample is identified by the research from the outset of the research. Therefore researchers projects need a critical approach to parameter setting (Silverman, 2006). This research had not anticipated the transient nature of employment for this sample group and therefore would approach the sample group with altered questions, not needing to approach an equal number of organisational types.

Data Analysis

Miles and Huberman describe qualitative analysis as including three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display and data conclusion drawing/verification (1994, p. 10). They state that these three characteristics operate in a cyclical manner. All of the characteristics influence and affect the data collection process: see figure 2, taken from Miles and Huberman, *figure 1.4*, (1994, p. 12). This project used this concept of concurrent collection and analysis of data. The answers given were then analysed through preliminary and cross-case/Narrative processes (Engel & Schutt, 2005, p. 274).

Figure 2

Data Collection, Display, Reduction and Conclusion
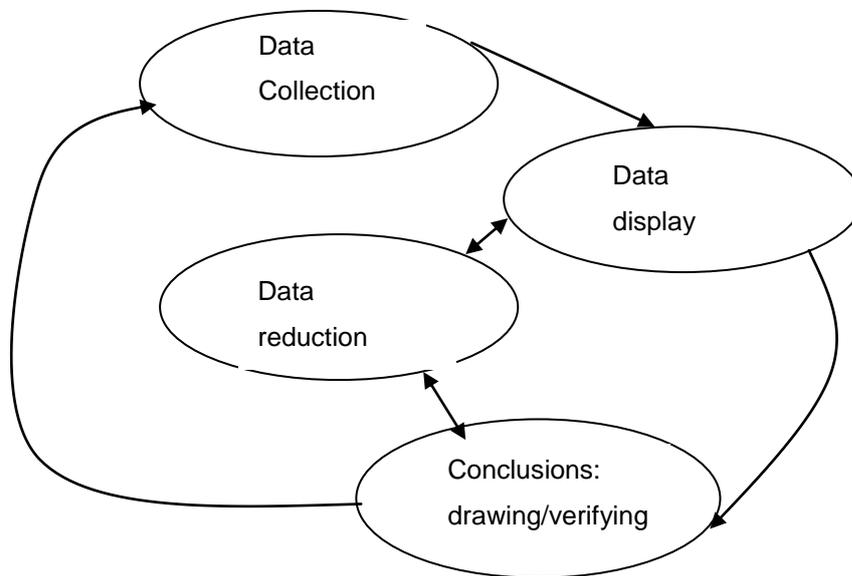
Preliminary Data Analysis

The first interview undertaken was in the form of a focus group that included 5 Māori social workers from various branches of the same organisation. A preliminary data analysis was made immediately after this discussion in order to identify emerging issues. Some of these early findings, as indicated above, were that there was a distinct difference in 'experiences' and '(work) experience' between the participants who were long-term Māori social workers and those who were either new to the field or in their twenties and thirties. These differences fell into two broad categories. First, there was a difference between their knowledge and skills as social workers. Second, there were also quite different views about what it means to be a Māori social worker, how they approached their colleagues, and their ideas concerning Māori social work development. These themes are discussed at length in the findings and discussion chapters). In sum, then, this initial focus group immediately demonstrated the importance of approaching a wide range of workers, who came from different age groups, iwi and levels of social work experience.

As further data was collected through one-on-one and groups, the preliminary data analysis technique was repeated until sufficient information had been gathered. The general process was adopted from suggestions by Grbich (2007, p. 234) and Bellavita (quoted in Ely, 1997, p. 181). A 'face sheet' identifying the participants was used in combination with Bellavita's method in which the major issues are drawn out of the data. Notes were also made concerning which particular issues needed to be followed up with either the present participants or with new participants (Grbich, 2007).

Segmenting the Data

This analysis involved perusal of the data, the noting of specific items, and the creation of names for 'chunks' of data (Ely, 1997). Topics were listed and grouped, while exceptions were noted. At this point specific key words were analysed. Grbich suggests representing part of the data at this stage in the form of a poem or vignette. However, the researcher opted to keep the data together as much as possible, which is also characteristic of Narrative approaches (Engel & Schutt, 2009). It is noted that this 'segmentation' of data appears similar to the thematic analyses characteristic 'block and file approach.' However, in keeping with narrative analysis, the segmentation did not approach the degree of separation that typically occurs in thematic analysis. In extreme cases, for example, the data may be divided into such small units that a given segment is no longer identifiable with a particular participant. The researcher chose instead to organise the data using techniques from 'traditional' coding systems.

Coding During Data Analysis

> The coding for narrative analysis is typically of the narrative as a whole, rather than of the different elements within them (Engel & Schutt, 2009, p. 397)

The coding system uses labels to classify and assign meaning to pieces of information. As Lofland and Lofland wrote, it is particularly useful when open-ended survey questions are asked: "Codes answer the questions, 'What do I see going on here?' or 'How do I categorize the information?'" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 27). The researcher sorts the text into 'codes' or categories in order to isolate themes that may otherwise escape the notice of one whom merely reads through the transcript.

Lofland and Lofland identified two steps in the process of coding. In the first, called 'initial coding', the researcher reads the responses and generates numerous codes (Lofland, 2006). At this point the aim is to identify related data without undue concern for the variety or quantity of categories. Themes may overlap so the coded categories are not yet considered mutually exclusive. Some of the preliminary codes drawn from this project included the following ideas and phrases: 'being the middle-man', 'manipulating the situation', 'stereotypes' and 'educating non-Māori' (*see figure 3*).

Figure 3

Preliminary Coding

whānau

fate /calling	—	connections
experiences	—	encouragement	—	1
indigeneity	—	tūturu	—	2
tikanga	—	methods	—	3
tokenism	—	isolation	—	4
support/challenge	—	non-Māori	—	5
decolonisation	—	moving forward	—	6
accountability	—	supervision

Te Tiriti o Waitangi
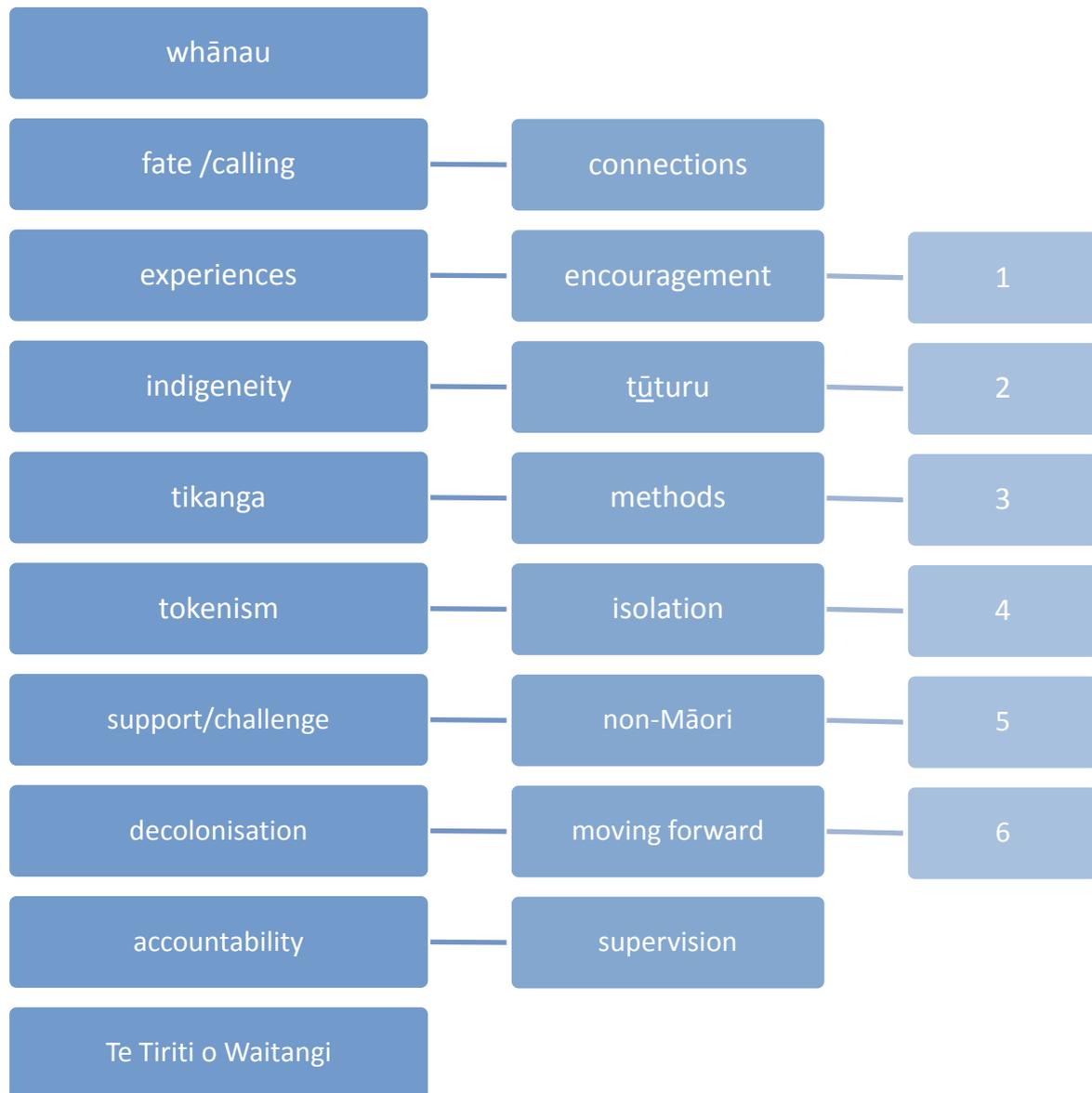
In order for the researcher to identify the codes, particular words were highlighted such as '*support*' and '*organisation.*' These words were then found wherever they recurred throughout the document. The quantitative method of counting how many times a word was spoken was not used. Rather, the researcher employed the narrative technique of copying the entire relevant section and transferring it to the relevant file (Grbich, 2007, p. 125; Miles & Huberman, 1994a, p. 207). Thus, each participant's response is minimally edited and is presented in its wider context.

The second of Lofland and Lofland's steps is 'focused coding.' The codes are reviewed and those that are less useful. or infrequently occur, are either eliminated or combined with codes of a similar nature. Similarly, if a particular code has a large number of responses, the data may be subdivided. At this stage the researcher attempted to fit the smaller codes within a wider theme. At times, data themes emerge through the categorisation of codes. To use once again the above examples of preliminary codes, codes such as 'being the middle-man' and 'educating non-Māori' became part of a focused code, such as *Theme 5 - Working with Non-Māori: Coping Mechanisms for Māori Social Workers*[16].

Miles and Huberman (1994a, p. 27) provide guidelines for beginning the data analysis:

> Start intuitively. Think of the focus, or "heart," and build outward. Think of what you will not be studying as a way to firm up boundaries. Admit that the boundary is never quite as solid as a rationalist might hope.

The researcher followed this advice and this analysis began with this embrace of 'intuition'. The possibility was allowed that particular comments may not become part of a 'chunk' and therefore may have to be excluded. Figure 4 gives an overview of the qualitative data process and the general process of the analysis[17].

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[16] See Appendix 3 for an example of the Focused coding for Theme 5.

[17] This overview is inspired by Miles and Huberman's Figure 13.1 An Overview of Qualitative Data Analysis Processes. In Miles and Huberman's Figure the dotted arrows show the way in which stages that are not necessarily linked can also have influences on other stages. In my opinion, each stage can influence each other and three dotted arrows also represent this.

Figure 4

Overview of process

Sampling plan, gain access to participants

Data Collection, hui, kanohi kit e kanohi, whanaungatanga

Implications, hui, feedback to participants

Form research questions alongside support

Preliminary Data Analysis alongside support

Write up Data and Analysis as well as final report

Conceptual Framework, Epistemology

Feedback with participants, revise conclusions

Process the Data, transcribe, code, draw out themes

Enter coded data, draw and verify conclusions

Presentation of Data

The data is left predominantly 'untouched' by the researcher in both Narrative and Kaupapa methods and is presented in a way that keeps it 'intact'. Through a narrative approach it is acknowledged that the participant shares stories about themselves from their point of view and that the information that they choose to tell frames how the researcher perceives the information (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998). Therefore, it is best practice for the researcher to present their 'findings' in as 'pure' a manner as possible. In practical terms, this means minimising editing of the transcript and not artificially retooling the participant's argument or mode of speaking. The answers and their meanings remain intact and 'remain' with the participants.

A Kaupapa Māori research method is conducive to the narrative analysis method. It welcomes and encourages the participant's involvement in the research process and in the use of data. The participants control the interview process. Their responses are conveyed in their own words and in an unchanged format. With these principles in mind, the data was then approached using aspects of cross-case analysis and the decision-tree model.

Cross-Case Analysis

There is some dispute among qualitative researchers as to the merits of Cross-Case analysis. First, Miles and Huberman assert that it is 'generalisable,' that is it can often create scenarios in qualitative research that allow the researcher to make generalisations about their findings (Huberman & Miles, 2002). Other writers state that this goal is inappropriate for qualitative studies. The generalisations are held to divert the reader away from the fundamental character of qualitative research, which is that the data speaks for itself (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004). Miles and Huberman counter this argument, though, with an appeal to the intellect:

> We would like to know something about the relevance or applicability of our findings to other similar settings… Just adding cases is a brute-force approach that will not help. But multiple cases, adequately sampled… and analysed carefully… can help us answer the reasonable question, Do these findings make sense beyond this specific case?(Miles & Huberman, 1994a, p. 173).

Similarly, Glaser and Strauss argue in favour of 'multiple comparison groups.' They argue that this approach allows the researcher to maintain a structured condition for gaining the 'maximum' and the 'minimum' out of the hypothesis. They also state that this process allows the researcher to "calculate where a given order of events or incidents is most likely to occur or not occur" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 1999). Although the language used here is scientific its application to the present issues is clear. There are great benefits in attempting to surmise the potential issues that a given Māori social worker may be experiencing within the parameters of a certain type of organisation, a certain time and environment. The Cross-Case method has been adopted in this research with the particular intention of comparing the three different types of social service organisation.

A data set, using the established codes, and combining this with the 'narrative' approach, resulted in groups of paragraphs gathered under a head 'theme.' Some researchers also call this process forming 'types' or 'families,' in which the cases are dissected into clusters or groups that share certain patterns or configurations (American Sociological Association. & Merton, 1959; Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Miles & Huberman, 1994a).

Another useful tool is 'Decision Tree Modelling' (Miles & Huberman, 1994a, p. 185). This is particularly useful for researchers who prefer using visual tools for data analysis. The following example shows the usefulness of the decision tree, but also its time-consuming nature (see figure 5).

Figure 5

Decision Tree Modelling

Do you identify as a Māori social worker or a social worker that is

A Māori social worker

Urban Māori social worker

Iwi social worker

Tūturu (authentic, real) Māori social worker

A tangata whenua social worker / A social worker that is Māori

Yes

Yes, I have an issue with the word 'Māori'

Yes

Yes, I practice because I am Māori.

Yes, but they don't see me as Māori.

Kai Tahu although sometimes I am defined as a Māori worker.

Yes, even when I work with non-Māori clients.

Yes, but not up to it yet.

Yes, but sometimes your work defines you as a Māori social worker.

I am an Urban Māori or a social worker who is Māori.

I am Ngāti.. Everybody knows I am… I wouldn't change that.

Not Māori social worker but will be.

Yes, but my qualification makes me a Social worker who is Māori... I could say that I am a Māori social worker

Because I am not working with Māori clients.

Yes, but often have Māori clients.

→ response

----- Link

Research Diary

The researcher first created a field text consisting of field notes and documents, which Roger Sanjek (1990, p. 386) calls 'indexing' and David Plath (1990, p. 374) calls 'file-work' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005b, p. 26). This Research Diary is a form of file-work, which documents the journey of the research project. The purpose of this section is to evaluate the

methods employed and reflect and provide suggestions for future projects. It will be written in the first person (I), much like a diary.

Stage One

The first stage of this Ph D was spent gathering resources for the literature review, defining and redefining the research topic. Ethical approval was gained through the University of Otago Ethics committee and Iwi consultation was achieved through the Kai Tahu consultation committee. To support the consultation process, a whānau support group was established. This was composed of various extended family members who supported me with the project. This support consisted of both social work advice and knowledge of Te Ao Māori. Various Māori social work practitioners were then contacted as well as Māori social work academics. A key aim was to gauge their opinions on the usefulness of this project focus area, scope and implications for Māori whānau and communities. The first research year involved the development of research questions based on existing literature. A small focus group was held in Dunedin and from this discussion I was able to gather an idea of the sample I needed to look for and how to go about making contact with the desired participants. A variety of issues were raised during this discussion, such as age, gender, organisation structure, and processes.

Stage Two

Once contact was made and whakawhanaungatanga connections were established with Māori social workers the research progressed more rapidly. Many Māori social workers confirmed that they were interested in participating. Interviews and group discussions were held around New Zealand, from Dunedin to Auckland and across to the East Coast. The data from interviews rapidly accumulated to a significant extent. At this point I decided to cease gathering data and begin analysing it. During this same stage, I attended the Indigenous social work conference in Makaha, Hawaii where I began analysing the data in terms of the implications for indigenous peoples locally and internationally. One major change I made at this stage would have been to include the international indigenous developments during the stage one literature review. Although I had considered this literature I had not registered the implications of my research in this way fully until I was in an international context. Therefore, I returned to the literature stage to consider the international context.

Stage Three

Much of stage three was undertaken in isolation, transcribing data, sending transcripts to participants and writing the thesis. I transcribed the stories myself. While it was time consuming I felt that the benefits of furthering my understanding of the themes outweighed the time needed to do this. Writing and rewriting typify this stage of the project. As I gathered feedback both from the research participants and from supervisors I developed the analytical focus for the findings and was dedicated to increasing the quality and quantity of the written work.

Stage Four

The final stage, and perhaps the most frustrating and exciting stage of all, is the 'giving back' stage. As I write this I consider my research to be in this 'giving back' phase of development where I have produced a new and hopefully beneficial piece of work that can now be used by social work practitioners and academics both nationally and internationally. Decisions need to be made about how the information is appropriately returned to participants and how it can be made available to Māori social workers, indigenous social workers and social service organisations. I am beginning to assess the usefulness of conference presentations, national and international journal articles and 'executive summaries' for the purpose of providing feedback to organisations. This process will continue following the submission of this thesis. This stage is underpinned by the Māori philosophical approach to knowledge in that it does not 'belong' to me but is a taonga of Māori social workers, for the benefit of Māori social workers and ultimately Māori whānau.

Conclusions

This project synthesised eclectic methodologies. Kaupapa Māori theory was the most influential theory, underpinning the entire process. Other theories that were influential were critical and empancipatory theories, constructivism and narrative theories. The methods that were undertaken were qualitative and Māori research methods were paramount to this process. The timeframe was definitely longer than anticipated but it is felt that this was necessary to have a better understanding of the usefulness of the research findings and recommendations.

Kaimahi Māori: te Ihi me te Wehi

Māori Social Workers: Journeys and Identities

Introduction

This chapter is the first of four that presents the kōrero (*narrative*) of Māori social workers who participated in this research. It presents the first two themes involving the personal experiences, life journeys, and identities of Māori social workers. 'Te ihi me te wehi' can be translated as '*the essential force*' and '*invoking awe*' (Ryan & Reid, 2008, pp. 79, 370). In this context the phrase refers to the essence of Kaimahi Māori (*Māori social workers*) and some of those things that have influenced their lives and identities. Although each person's experience is different there are many similarities in their kōrero about becoming a social worker. These commonalities will be presented together with their unique stories. Participants' confidentiality is maintained throughout.

Theme One - Māori perspectives on becoming a social worker

The findings on how participants became social workers have been arranged into three sections. The first section is concerned with participants who were given the 'social work nod' because they were identified with a particular āhua (*character*). The second and third sections deal with *'Life Experiences'* and *'Role Models and Positive Influences'* respectively.

Having an Āhua for Social Work

One of the first commonalities for Māori social workers was that, in many cases, professionals, friends or family members approached them and suggested that they become social workers. They were viewed as having particular skills or personality traits that were deemed as being appropriate for the social work profession. One participant stated when asked how she got involved in social work:

> By accident, I was offered a job on a pilot social/health programme; I came from a counselling background and thought I'd try something new.

Another participant also had a similar experience where she was offered a position as a social worker based on her skills with people:

> I was picked out of the crowd. I actually worked at a pub and a gentleman came in and he came once a week for his muffin and he said that I stood out. The skills that I had from working with the public and I think because I'm Māori, he was interested to find out where I was from and he asked me if I was interested in social work. That's the reason why I am working here with whāea (*mother, aunt*). It's the best move I've done in ages and I love the job, it's really good.

Prior to becoming social workers, many participants were involved in helping professions or were otherwise working with people. Through various forms of guidance or encouragement each decided to choose the social work profession as a career choice.

> I was working in the community for the DHB in 1997 and I met two really cool Māori social workers. I was thinking about becoming an OT (*occupational therapy*) and these two said: "No kare (*dear*), come into social worker it's much better". So, I decided to, and so I went to [study].

Many participants reported that their people skills, such as developing a rapport with others or being approachable, were also combined with qualities of resilience and strength. Some participants said that they developed these traits by having worked through difficult situations. A few participants had also experienced being social work clients themselves.

> We were at a hui (*meeting*) one day, and he [a friend] said to me, and this was in 1992, "You should go and apply to do the social work programme." I thought "oh, why?" and I think it was because he had watched me over the year that we were with him and he knew of the difficulties I had, and what I'd gone through. And he thought because of my life skills through what I had encountered that maybe I was able to be a good social worker.

Again, this participant had developed certain skills through her life experiences but the key factor was that another person had recognised those skills as being appropriate for the social services. Another participant had a similar experience when she was invited to attend a hui that turned out to be an introductory social work course.

> At the time that I started looking at social work, it was by accident because one of our family friends, my mother's good friend… She ran into my aunty and said, "What are you doing? We're got this marae hui (*a meeting place of hapū or iwi, sub-tribe or tribe*)" and she goes, "Come and have a listen". I was single at the time with 4 children and my aunty said, "Come down and have a listen to her and what this course is about". And it was an introduction to Social Work.

Another participant described being invited to undertake social work through the guise of fostering. This participant, being asked to foster children, was confronted with the role of caring for children who would otherwise be separated from each other.

> I got into social work through being a foster parent to start off with. Actually, I was contacted and asked to take these two Ngāti Porou children and thought it was through the Mātua Whāngai programme (*caring for children of relatives*). Mātua Whāngai was operating at that time, and it was a Māori social worker that brought the children out to our home. They said: "If you don't take these children then one will go to a boy's home and one will go to a girls home". They were Ngāti Porou children and they knew I was Ngāti Porou, and I thought, 'they can't go to homes', so I said, yes we will take them.

Another participant became involved in social work through necessity as well as being guided towards it by others. He stated that a member of his family guided him towards social work and suggested that he needed to go back to school to gain an education for the betterment of his family.

> I've been a social worker for six or seven years. How I became a social worker was that me and my partner separated and I looked after my four kids by myself. And so they had to go to school so I went back to school. My aunty is a lecturer... and she kind of put me on the course. Because I hadn't been at school for ages I had to do it twice to pass it.

As well as being encouraged into social work by a family member, this participant raised the point that some people were drawn to social work because they needed to make changes in their own lives. Some of the changes that were made were assisted by the support of the social services.

Life Experiences

Many participants discussed being drawn to social work because of prior life experiences. They became aware of particular skills they had that would be applicable to social work and saw social work as an opportunity to give back to their communities. Some experiences had been traumatic but left participants with an insight and awareness that is valuable for the social work profession. One participant's story suggests how her life experiences influenced her perspective.

> I think my journey as a social worker started, probably from when I got married. Because of my situation as a young mum, it wasn't a nice marriage, there were lots of different kinds of abuse, and I suppose through my journey of getting the help I needed when I needed it… finishing [school] when you are fifteen, out the gate, and so your academics aren't that hot. So, anyway, I went to apply and I got accepted. So I started that course in 1993.

Amongst the participants, leaving school at fifteen was not an unusual course. A number of the Māori social workers interviewed reported that they had to really apply themselves to the academic side of their training because their secondary schooling had been so limited. One Māori social worker that was interviewed described how his life experiences caused him to seek changes and improve his family's situation.

> In 1977 I had left school when I was fourteen with only two years secondary qualification behind me. In 1994 my partner wanted time out from the whānau … Because of these events I decided that I needed to make changes in my life that would put our whānau in a better financial situation and outlook on life. First I looked at what skills I had acquired over my lifetime and then looked at what were available at the Local polytechnic. The social work tohu (*degree*) was on offer and since I was already working with youth on a voluntary basis with a health organisation … it made good sense to pursue this avenue.

Another participant described how she came into social work through the Kōhanga Reo (*Māori language total immersion pre-school)*:

> Well, I suppose I started about ten years ago. I was about 22 years old, I had two children and I was a single mum. So I started working at the local Kōhanga … we thought, gosh there must be something we can do to get involved in the community and work with the community … So from there we started looking at some introductory courses in social work with Māori papers. …So I guess that's how I got into it: wanting to do more and through working at the Kōhanga.

Difficult situations as a single parent were a common theme among the participants. Other participants experienced difficult situations that were also linked with broader social and political developments. The following extract shows how the participant's childhood

experiences fed into his/her later political awareness, thus preparing him/her for a social work career.

> I think for me, I grew into it. …from a young age I was going around on a cart and horse to different places where families were poor and desolate, a lot of it because of land loss, they had no whenua (*land*). Hence, no home, sometimes living under shacks or tins …And I worked the fields with my grandparents a lot and we would take a lot of the produce on the cart to a lot of the homes …in my teenage years I became quite an activist and became quite involved with my Aunty Whina in the land march… So that was the era of moving and shaking, quite different to my sisters, in fact the opposite. So I think that's how I got started in social work.

The following comments describe how childhood experiences of child abuse can also develop a social awareness.

> I was called the black sheep of the family and I was left in the shed. So here I was living in the shed when my sisters were living in the whare (*house*)… And in that I have a very close affinity with child abuse... seeing some of our Māori who [are] neglecting their pepe (*babies*). … But I am able to move things through and progress that situation and provide them with opportunities within our community to build themselves, for them to get where they need to be, in Mauri ora (*strong well being, awareness*).

In another statement a participant described how she developed writing skills, combined with her knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi and was thus able to advocate for Māori families. Therefore, while the participants came to social work for various reasons, it is generally true to say that life experiences and exposure to the social work field has been enormously influential.

Role Models and Positive Influences

There were also many positive influences that encouraged the participants to become social workers. Many participants talk about positive role models within their families who taught them social work skills and about social awareness.

> My grandmother was a really strong influence in my life, to my sister and myself… when her brothers went off to war, it was my grandmothers' responsibility to look after their partners and their kids while they were away… I always remember the house full. Because they raised us and there was always kai (*food*) on the stove, and people would turn up any time of the day or night and they were always welcome and there was always a lot of laughter… I remember a lot of mum's first cousins were also raised by my grandmother. And when they started getting into their teen years and getting into trouble they were sent to my grandmother. So we had that influence in our lives.

These family experiences imparted skills and values that are applicable to this participant's work. Other participants comment on their families and how they have influenced their development and decision to become a social worker.

> In my family I've had a lot of role models, even now I still look up to my whānau and seek them out when I need them. I was brought up in a family where they were always doing things for others, friends, neighbours. We were always around doing someone's driveway or painting the house, helping with a hangi (*earth oven*) for something, or dropping off some kaimoana (*seafood*). That's all part of social work, seeing what is needed and just going and doing it.

Another participant also found that her family played a significant part in developing her role within the family and as a social worker in general.

> I think it's always been kind of there, like in my whānau (*extended family*) I am the iho (*important person)* and I'm the problem solver in my whānau really, anyone who has problems comes and sees me. So it was a natural progression I suppose.

This was the experience of a number of participants where it was recognised that they possessed social work skills naturally and it was an easy transition for them to join the profession. Another participant describes how the social work connections within his family lead to his own involvement.

> My brother was working for the Department of Child Youth and Family then and he was the manager of all the kaumātua (*elders*) and kuia (*old lady*) who did the Mātua whāngai programme. And sometimes he would call me and say "hey bro I need a hand with these kids", so that was no worries, so then I knew what it was like with those kids. So I applied at the school for the social work course and went through. I don't think I've ever regretted it.

Other participants describe how they were not initially aware of what lead them to social work. However, after some reflection and discussion during their training, they have realised that others did play a significant role in their lives, which could have influenced their decision to become social workers.

> I don't really know how I ended up in social work. I was looking for some job where I could work with people and work with Māori, you know, help out where I can, and somehow I ended up on the social work course. Then I thought about it, my parents were foster parents, my aunties and uncles have all done some social work in their time. I think it was meant to be.

Through whichever influence played a part in their decisions to become social workers, some participants wanted to work with Māori families and were drawn towards work in the Māori

community. The following participant describes not how she decided to be a social worker, but what drove her to this profession.

> It was the field I trained in at University and from my passion to work with Māori whānau only. Sounds a bit Māori-centric, but I have only ever been interested in working with Māori.

The reasons participants came to social work were varied, ranging from a definite desire to work with members of the Māori community, to just wanting employment to feed their families. However, all participants described being drawn to working with others in a helping profession and having developed skills that were appropriate for a career in social work. One participant described his experiences and said that not only his whānau had an influence over his education but also some of the fundamental aspects of Te Ao Māori (*a Māori worldview*).

> It's just been a weird journey for me; because when I was at Polytechnic the lecturer was my aunty. When I did my mental health paper that was an aunty, now that I work here, my boss is my cousin. It seems like it's that whakapapa (*genealogy*) thing, you know it's a powerful thing. And no matter where I've gone with my work, it's always been whakapapa related to each other. It depends how much you believe in Māori stuff, sometimes those are currents you just can't ignore. They are signs from the tūpuna (*ancestors*) and Atua (*Gods*).

These social workers all came to the line of work for different reasons, to improve their family situation, to give back to their communities and/or because they had a natural inclination to be involved in a 'helping profession'. Motivations for becoming a social worker stemmed from the encouragement of others. Values and principles that played a big part in this were: whanaungatanga (*kinship*) and whakapapa as well as having aspirations for their wider whānau and communities.

Theme 2: Identifying Oneself – Being Māori and a Social Worker

This section discusses the issue of identity and how participants view their culture within the workplace. There is no question of whether or not the participant is Māori, because all participants in this research are selected because they can trace their whakapapa to Māori ancestors. The focus is around how the participants define themselves in terms of their identity in practice. These areas include tangata whenua (*indigenous*) social workers, Iwi (*tribe*) social workers, Māori social workers, social workers that are Māori, tūturu (*true, authentic*) Māori social workers and urban Māori social workers (*see table one*).

Table One:

Kaimahi Māori - Identities					
Tangata Whenua Social Worker	Iwi Social Worker	Māori social worker	Tūturu Māori social worker	Urban Māori social worker	Social workers that are Māori

Tangata Whenua Social Workers

The following are some responses by participants who use the term 'tangata whenua' to define themselves, as opposed to the term 'Māori'.

> I am tangata whenua before I am a social worker. I come from the seed, the kākano (*seed*) of my tūpuna and that's where I come from, why I am here. It goes back to my name, which is a big story. But a beautiful story, something I have written [it] in my thesis too. Yes, I am tangata whenua before I am a social worker.

Some participants were mindful of the difference between the terms 'tangata whenua' and 'Māori'.

> I would define myself as tangata whenua and this would be through my whakapapa. The qualification that I gained through the education sector gives me a title as a qualified social worker who is Māori. However my upbringing being mostly spent on a marae and surrounded by my whānau, I could say that I am a 'Māori Social Worker'.

Participants relate that the terminology used is much more complex than just choosing between the two labels: 'Māori' or 'tangata whenua'. As a further participant points out below, tangata whenua, being '*the people of the land*' or the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand, are made up of several tribes/iwi and therefore, cannot be labelled as one homogenous group. She states that labelling indigenous peoples as a homogenous group can cause many problems for tangata whenua. It can also cause problems when working cross-culturally.

> The first thing about context is the recognition of a worldview that comes from a tangata whenua perspective. That brings you slap-up against the notion of 'Māori' the māori with the

lowercase 'm' was "common", its only since the Kotahitanga movement is that we have started to generalised the term for us[18], tangata whenua. And I have an issue with that because I think that 'māori' implies that we have a similar cohesion. I don't think we do. Our kawa (*protocols*) are different, our tīkanga (*customs*) are different, and our languages are different if we look at dialectical shifts. And so are we going to forsake that difference for the uniqueness of generalisation?

This participant raises the issue that the labels used to define their identity need to be addressed. In a similar way, the following participant also discusses the term 'Māori' with regards to the terms 'Pākehā' (*non-Māori*) and 'Tauiwi' (*foreigner*) and what that means to him.

I hear the term Pākehā being derogatory, but people still call us Māori. What's the difference? And I hear the term Tauiwi being used, and I say "Tauiwi means foreigner, but Pākehā means white person, and that's what you fullas are" so many Pākehā find the term offensive. But they still call me Māori. And Māori in the dictionary means 'common'. I'm not common, I am a rare breed.

Therefore, many social workers have critically examined the terminology they used to define themselves, resulting in multiple options. Tangata whenua has been the preferred option by many, while the term Māori is still commonly being used.

Iwi Social Workers

Only a few participants referred to themselves as being a specific iwi social worker. In the following cases, both social workers had mana whenua (*trusteeship of land*) and this perhaps influenced their responses.

I define myself as a Kai Tahu (*tribal group*) who is a social worker. Although sometimes I do slip into that generic definition of the 'Māori Social worker' until I remember that I am only as young as I am and it's a bit pretentious, like I know more under that label. Maybe I feel it is something that comes with mana (*status*) from experience in the field.

This participant states the reasons for this being that she is still young and new in the field of social work and perhaps after she has gained more social worker experience she will feel more qualified to label herself as a Māori social worker. Another participant identifies with her iwi and her response describes how this is a common, everyday occurrence with her.

I am a Ngāti social worker, but I don't need to tell anyone that because they already know. It's a small place here and we all know each other, we're all family, so we don't need words like 'Māori' to define ourselves. But if I was asked, I'd be a Ngāti Porou (*tribal group*) social

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[18] Kotahitanga movements refer to tribal systems of rūnanga (*council*) and inter-tribal meetings to develop a Post-WWII response to Pākehā dominance in the late 1800s (Walker, 1990b).

worker because that's who I am, that's how I work and that's different from any other iwi. I wouldn't change that if I were working with a Kahungunu (*tribal group)* or a Tūhoe (*tribal group*) or a Pākehā.

Therefore, it is natural for some participants to acknowledge their iwi first when describing their identity. When reflecting upon their social work practice these participants maintain their strong connection with their iwi in a way that supersedes the label 'Māori'.

Māori Social Workers

Other participants are content with the term 'Māori social worker'. One participant discusses his identity by highlighting some of the issues with the definition 'Māori social worker'.

> That's a good question. I would hope to think that I am a Māori social worker and I think that I practice social work because I am Māori.… in Child Youth and Family and we employed all Māori social workers, and what they were, were 'social workers who were Māori' but few who they hired could speak Te Reo (*the Māori language*), even the manager, but they had the qualification. So they were picked because they were Māori, not because they were Māori social workers.

He stated how difficulties can arise within the organisational setting when social workers are chosen for roles based on being 'Māori' rather than on their Māori practices or skills as a Māori social worker.

> I believe I was picked because I am a Māori social worker - because I practiced tīkanga. My 'Mauri' is Māori, theirs is social work …I practice whakawhanaungatanga and tīkanga. And it's about understanding that. So, I would say that I would be both, not just one. I would say my practice is that I am a Māori social worker and that I practice tīkanga. And I am also a social worker that is Māori. And I can work on both sides of the fences. But I prefer to be a Māori social worker.

Other participants who define themselves as 'Māori social workers' describe how their organisation, colleagues and/or clients play an active role in defining who they are and how they practice. In some cases this works in a positive manner for participants who were trying to develop a rapport with Māori families, however in other situations the assumptions based on racial stereotypes or physical features have caused problems for participants. For one participant, having clients see her as Māori first helped her make connections with families without her professional role becoming an issue.

> I see myself as a Māori social worker, that's where everyone else sees me. Cause when I was working in the community and I would go in to see someone, they would say to me, "Oh hello dear, you must be Māori?" They didn't ask me whether I was a nurse or an OT. But you will see a lot of Māori who talk about who they are professionally as opposed to being Māori.

The positive aspects regarding assumptions about ethnicities were for other participants outweighed by the negatives. For example, the colleagues of one participant made assumptions about her based on her culture and ethnicity when she was starting out as a social worker.

> I have always been in a mainstream social work role but even from day one colleagues would come up to me and expect me to lead things Māori. They would consult with me about things Māori and in the early stages I was going "Gee, I am only a baby as far as my knowledge of tīkanga Māori goes"… and I always made it quite clear that this is my thought, I am not talking on behalf of all of Māoridom (*all Māori*). This is just from my understanding and my perspective and so I think that's kept me safe… So after being in the system for a long time and being able to look at it from both sides, I was more able to articulate what I do and how I do it. So it brought about the ability to talk to Māori models of practice and how we implement it into the health system.

Social Workers That Are Māori

Other participants define themselves as 'social workers who are Māori.' However, they also see this title as being defined by the organisation or the clients that they work with.

> In this position here at the DHB (District Health Board) I am a social worker who is Māori. Because I am not a Māori specific social worker, we've already got someone that is working with Māori. And I work more with Pacific Island, Middle Eastern, Asian and European clients rather that just Māori. I do have Māori on my case though, but I am mainly working with cultures other than Māori.

Another participant approaches the question in a similar way. While she calls herself a social worker that is Māori she also acknowledges the fact that her clients would see her as a Māori social worker. Thus, her identity is also partially conditioned by her within her employing organisation. She highlights the adage cited by Moana Jackson (Keenan, 2008, p. 7) "the namer of names is the father of all things" as describing how one can be defined by others.

> I would call myself a social worker who is Māori. But I think that where you work would also define this. When I did social work for a kaupapa Māori organisation I think as a social worker I became defined by my clients as a Māori social worker because the clients accessing a kaupapa Māori organisation are specifically seeking a Māori worker. I'm not sure, but I think that if you worked for mainstream then the organisation would define you as a Māori social worker. I also think that if you work from a client-centered framework that you would be more inclined to be 'defined' by your clients. 'The namer of names' stuff eh.

The theme of clients or colleagues making assumptions based on appearances or agencies is very relevant in terms of how one particular participant answers this question. She found that

colleagues within her organisation have made assumptions based around notions of authenticity and ethnic stereotypes. This has not affected the fact that she still defines herself as a Māori social worker but it has caused issues for colleagues who have set ideas about what that identity entails.

> One Doctor asked to see the Māori social worker upstairs for a patient and so I turned up there and said "Kia ora" (*hello*) and he looked at me dumb-founded. He said "oh sorry, I wasn't expecting you, or I didn't think you would be like this". And he was really critical because I am so fair. He was expecting a brown Māori person. And I said to him, "I am really sorry I haven't got a brown face, but I am the Māori social worker, can I help you?"

As well as being influenced by clients and the agency, participants describe how they often have to influence and change aspects of their workplace to suit their ways of working.

Tūturu Māori Social Workers

One participant, who works in a mainstream organisation, described how she educated her colleagues, so that cultural differences do not become a barrier to working cross-culturally. She also uses the term 'tūturu Māori', which has been described as "being strong in one's Māori identity" (Hollis, 2006, p. 81).

> I had to really educate my team around that stuff, because it is important to me and I struggle with this in mainstream, is that I am tūturu Māori. And I say to them, "Now you just have to bear with me, because I think Māori." And I do, I come out with stories to tell them, with illustrations, and they already know the answer straight away with a sentence, but that is who I am. And through evaluating myself, I know it is the Māori side of who I am, my Māori upbringing that makes me the way I am, and work this way.

One participant highlights the effects of urbanisation on Māori families he has worked with and talks about how he tries to reconnect them with their whānau through whakapapa links.

> A Māori social worker? Yeah, I kind of think I am a bit "Māori" a bit of a Māori Social worker! [laughs] A couple of clients that I've found in the city that were lost, they had nobody, nothing taking them back up the coast to their marae. I set all that up and met their koros (elders*grandfathers*) and nannies at the marae, which I think is a Māori way of doing things. People in the cities sometimes get lost and mainstream organisations never think of taking them home… So yes, I am a Māori social worker.

Therefore, Māoritanga (*Māori culture*) plays a huge role in both participants' sense of identify and their practice methods. This participant talked about how urbanisation has impacted upon some families negatively in that they moved away from their family connections, their rohe (*territory*) and lost their connections to their whānau, hapū and iwi.

Urban-Māori Social Workers

Some participants who identify themselves as 'social workers who are Māori' also acknowledge that urbanisation played a significant role in the way they identify.

> I wasn't brought up on my marae, I'm a real urban-Māori, but I was still brought up with tīkanga and a strong feeling of being Māori. We were taught about Te Tiriti (*the Treaty*) and about politics. But I would call myself a social worker who is Māori for many reasons. Maybe first because I am still studying too and I still have to work out how to use tīkanga as a social worker. I think later on I will call myself a Māori social worker, when I am ready with that knowledge.

Other participants who identify as 'social workers who are Māori' do so for differing reasons. One noticeable theme was that younger social workers who are currently working, but are still completing courses in social work, often used the 'social worker who is Māori' title.

> At the moment I am not working as a 'Māori social worker'. I am studying and really enjoying that. Later on I might switch to a Māori social work position, because it's all sort of new to me too. Starting out, not only is there all the social work stuff to learn about but there is Māoritanga as well. That's why I see myself as a social worker who is Māori but I think, once I learn all the mahi (*work*) that comes with the cultural side of it I will definitely get involved in Māori social work.

One participant who defines herself as a Māori social worker made comments about the above response during the focus group session, because the remarks involved ideas new to her.

> I find that interesting, not bad, just interesting. That's the difference between being brought up on the marae. For me, my mum said its now your turn to go and live at your marae, with your tīpuna (*grandparents*). So my teachings came from my great grandparents… But I can see your point and I've heard that too. It is very difficult for Māori brought up in the city and it's very different from Māori brought up on their marae, because they are fighting to know who they are.

Other participants concur, in the comments to come, and describe the reasons why they identify as social workers who are Māori. Another participant, who is one of the more recent of these experienced social workers, raises the idea of being tūturu Māori once again but puts a different slant on the concept. He also raises many reasons why he defines himself the way he does, stating that there is often an added workload and tokenism within organisations.

> I don't think I'm up to that yet. I think there are those things you learn with age that gives you that mana, knowing your whakapapa and all that. Yeah, I am tūturu Māori for sure! But I would call myself a social worker who is Māori. Some of my workmate who are Māori wouldn't call themselves Māori social workers or take up those positions because they come with all these pressures, extra work and all that… When I was training at school I would get asked to do the dial-a-Māori thing, do a whaikōrero (*make a speech*) or welcome someone,

and I am thinking "Geez, I'm only a baby and you're asking me to do this, why can't you do it?"

Responses varied according to each person's outlook on life and on how they approach their jobs. Another participant added that when she talks about her identity she also acknowledges her Pākehā ancestry.

> I think you can't ignore your Pākehā side too, that sometimes gets ignored and I think that it's just as important to acknowledge those tūpuna from that side too. I still support my Māori side because those are the issues that need to be looked at, but when we are talking about how I define myself, I have to acknowledge the ancestors from my Māori and my Pākehā sides.

Finally, not all participants use Māori processes in their work or acknowledge their Māori ethnicity as a major factor in the way their practice. One participant describes how she is a social worker who is Māori and that, although at times being Māori means she has certain tasks, it is not a hugely significant aspect of her work.

> Nah, I'd be a social worker who is Māori. I quite often get Māori families to work with cause sometimes it's a good idea to get a brown face in there and smooth things over, but I don't really use Māori processes so I wouldn't call myself a Māori social worker.

These comments show the diversity of the findings on the identities of Māori social workers and infer the implications of identity for practice.

Chapter Four Conclusions

These findings show the variety of influences that help form the identities and journey's of Māori social workers. There were no participants involved in this project that were 'school leavers', which indicates that much of the findings above were from people that had gained more 'life experience' than a school leaver before they pursued a social work career. It was also noted that many participants had started a family by the time they became involved in the profession. The majority of participants were encouraged into social work by family members, which indicates their suitability for the occupation and the family's awareness of social work.

The findings on identity indicate that it is ever changing and evolving, constantly being evaluated and influenced and can be influenced by life transiations as they get older. While there are some similarities, the findings show that even within one cultural group 'Māori' there are multiple realities experienced by each. A key learning is that one's identity is not

always defined by one's self and that as social workers; their clients, colleagues and organisations are defining participants. Others interpret one's character in ways that are 'uncontrollable' by the individual. Therefore, the comments above imply that Māori social workers need to be confident and secure in their identity in order to have it understood in ways they want it to be interpreted by others.

5

Te Ara Whakaora[19]

Processes for Positive Outcomes

Theme 3 - Processes for Positive Outcomes

This section collates the participants' comments on social work processes that were generally regarded as providing positive outcomes for clients. Each participant approached the questions differently and provided a variety of examples. Some responses were short and others gave a high degree of detail. Participants' responses are presented here using broad groupings based on Shannon and Young's '*eggs*' model for social work understanding and analysis (Shannon & Young, 2004). This model begins by looking at the perspectives and value systems of an individual. It then incorporates social work theories and shows how these two factors influence the worker's social work practice methods. Shannon's discussion is considerably more complex than this chapter portrays, however the 'eggs' model is a useful tool for the interpretation of the flow-on effect of perspectives to theories and from theories to practice. The following diagram is a simplified version of the 'eggs' model (*see figure one*).

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[19] The pathway to wellness

Figure One:
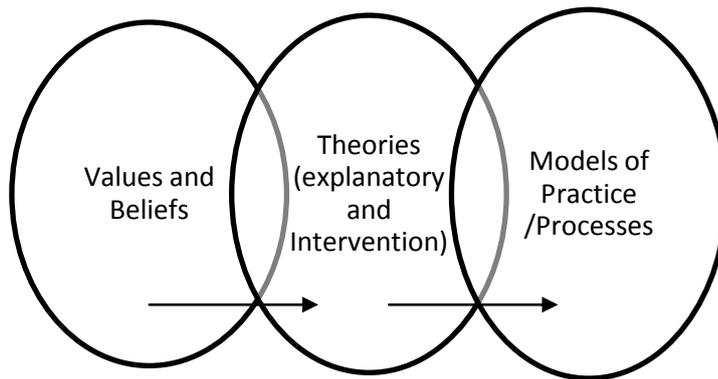
Participants' responses were mainly focused on, models of practice / processes but they also discussed their values, beliefs, and theories which were explained through stories about concrete situations and scenarios.

Values and Beliefs

Values and beliefs influenced both theoretical approaches and Māori social work methods of practice. It was noted by participants that awareness of one's belief systems lead to a better understanding of practice approaches and also validated their processes. Not all participants explicitly named the values underpinning their practice. However, their values were often implied in their general comments and examples of processes. The first example showed how the participant's work was influenced by the values and principles of Te Ao Māori (*a Māori worldview*).

> 'Māori' in my view is a word that implies the connection to my culture and not ethnicity, and so in my practice I work from a cultural/spiritual worldview and values and principles of Te Ao Māori as I perceive and interpret them.

She described how using the term Māori has cultural connotations and implied that one can be 'culturally Māori', which differs substantially from someone who is ethnically Māori. She described how these beliefs come from Te Ao Māori and are unique to the way she perceived them. Therefore, this participant interpreted the beliefs in a subjective and unique manner. Some of the participants explicitly discussed their values. One participant described what her values meant to her.

> And I think we need to keep challenging this notion of social work. You know as tangata whenua (*indigenous*) we've been doing it. We've been doing counselling, social work, community development, all of those issues are within the context of us working with whānau (*extended family*), hapū (*sub-tribe*) and iwi (*tribe*), but we just haven't got those labels. It's tautoko (*support*), āwhina (*assistance*), aroha (*love*), tika (*correct*), pono (*truth*).

Therefore, according to the above participant, tangata whenua were driven by the values of tautoko, āwhina, aroha, tika and pono in their work with whānau, hapū and iwi in multiple disciplines. This is, perhaps connected to the 'Dynamics of Whanaungatanga' course, developed in association with Pa Henare-Tate (Tate & Paparoa, 1987). However, tangata whenua do not always 'name' these concepts when they use them. In her words, 'challenging the notion of social work' should include the naming of these concepts and an awareness of what they mean to Māori social workers. Other participants have different ways of describing their values.

> I bring to this unit my own whakaaro (*opinion*), and a particular take pū (*principle*), which are principles, and I live with those in my personal life and as I study too I apply them. So I bring that. The processes for me are having that structure and take pū and I am able to work with that.

This participant describes her take pū in terms of the processes she uses with clients and is detailed further in the *Processes* section. Other participants who are Māori, but work with non-Māori clients, also describe how their values influence their work.

> I still hold the same values [even though I am working with non-Māori clients]. I have Māori values where I am able to look at things the same way as when I was working with Māori clients.

While her values come from a particular worldview, they are applicable for working with many cultural groups.

> We have those values from Te Ao Māori, from our whānau, our hapū and iwi. Mine are different from hers or his but they are still fundamentally the same things: a belief in protecting our taha Māori, valuing Te Reo (*the Māori language*), our tino rangatiratanga (*self determination*) and decision-making… We might have different ways of putting this into action or describing it, but I think the values coming from Te Ao Māori are unique to us.

This comment shows how the values stemming from Te Ao Māori are continuous in both the participant's everyday and professional life. Finally, another participant discusses processes but also describes how values influence the processes she uses. Following this, she refers to the text *Exploring Māori values* (Patterson, 1992).

> Again, in my view, processes are a step-by-step guide of rituals where the values of Te Ao Māori sit. Values and principles have a beginning or source and the processes are rituals to remember why or who I am… So it is the values that guide my processes within my mahi (*work*).

Therefore, to summarise these responses, the participants hold their personal values that are informed by Te Ao Māori and Māori values and beliefs. Although not all participants described their values as explicitly as those given above, they did describe either theories or processes that will be analysed in terms of the values manifesting in them.

Theories

Very few participants named the theories they use or described them in extensive detail. However, some participants discussed the concept of theoretical underpinnings and used examples to emphasize their ideas. One participant described the theories that underpin his work.

> You know we talk about theories, for me I am guided by Māori theories, kaupapa Māori (*Māori philosophy*) theory, but also those traditional ones. They don't all have flash names like 'cognitive behavioural theory', but there are things that we all follow and know what is meant when we hear the words 'tino rangatiratanga', that's an idea, a way of thinking that is underpinned by values and has processes, I think that makes it a theory. So yeah, my work is underpinned by tino rangatiratanga theory.

This raises the idea of 'Māori theories' as well as Kaupapa Māori theory. Tino rangatiratanga theory, however, is seen as something distinctive. The participant's remarks indicate how Māori social workers see their practice as being underpinned by multiple theories. Another participant added her own perspective to this discussion.

> There are things we do that I think are theories but we don't call that. We call them whanaungatanga (*kinship relationships*), aroha but they are much more than that; they are theories about how people should interact with others. But then we have things like, trying to make our workplace not tokenistic, make it really incorporate taha Māori into the workplace, that part of our mahi is from a belief system, there are theories around that and processes that come out of it. We haven't labelled our mahi completely using Pākehā (*non-Māori*) terms, but should we?

Theories can encompass all aspects of one's work from the implementation of processes to workplace interaction. One participant describes how his position includes educating colleagues about Te Ao Māori or things Māori. This participant uses a whakataukī 'Matua,

whakapapa i tōu marae ka whakapai ai I te marae o te tangata' to underpin his theoretical approach to his mahi.

> I have been requested by my organisation to seek people who have knowledge of things that are Māori as I have been informing the organisation that we cannot use Māori words in our planning of holiday programmes or vision/mission statements if we don't understand what the meaning behind the word is. Fix our own back yard up first before we go out and work with others[20].

Tīkanga has been described by a number of participants as a way to explain the way they implement values in a practical sense. While the following example relates to the competency assessment process it refers to a way of understanding and explaining a Māori way of doing things through tīkanga:

> We were talking about how many Māori are doing the competency test through the Pākehā system rather than the Māori because their view is that the Māori one is a lot harder. But it's not. Māori competency tests are a lot easier. It's a process that is based on tīkanga values, kanohi ki te kanohi.

Tīkanga can then be understood as being an explanatory theory as well as an intervention theory. The following example emphasizes this:

> Our organisation saw it fit that something had to be developed in terms of tīkanga and the practices because it was not deliberate ignorance but there was a lot of ignorance across our colleagues, our non-Māori. And so we developed Tīkanga Best practices.

In this comment the participant described how tīkanga can be used to explain Māori values, and beliefs non-Māori. At the same time, the development of a Tīkanga Best practices initiative can show practitioners the theoretical underpinnings of how to work with Māori whānau from a Māori worldview. Another participant mentioned how influential tīkanga is in his practice:

> So if there is any Kaumātua or kuia on the wards, if we can't get hold of the chaplain, there are many things, tīkanga things that they are needed for and we might have to come in and do if they're unavailable.

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[20] Matua, whakapapa i tōu marae ka whakapai ai i te marae o te tangata: First set in order your own courtyard before you clean up another's.

While many participants noted that their practice is underpinned by tīkanga (or tīkanga theory) they did note that not all Māori whānau have the same worldviews and philosophies:

> So as tangata whenua practitioners in our contact with tangata whaiora (*clients*) and their families, if they haven't been brought up within tīkanga of their areas as Te Ao Māori, they're also at loggerheads when we say to them "how would you like to open this whānau hui? Would you like to open it with a karakia?" they say "what? We don't have time for that shit" we just want to get on with the process. And so already your practice is being constrained and almost jeopardised by the fact that a lot of our people have been so colonised.

Another participant explains the need for Māori theories:

> Our kawa are different, our tīkanga are different, and our languages are different if we look at dialectical shifts…We are purporting those values, those tīkanga, within their knowledge base. Yet when you go into practicum very few agencies, in my opinion, practice Kaupapa Māori or Kaupapa tangata whenua.

Therefore, there are many theoretical approaches that can be drawn out of Te Ao Māori, that underpin the processes and actions of Māori social workers, whether within their interaction with families or within the organisational setting. The use of a whakataukī as a theoretical guide is shown here to be entirely appropriate for the cultural development within the organisational environment. As stated earlier, participants did not often directly discuss the use of theories that underpin their practice. As in the comments above, though, other theories could be drawn out of the participant's responses. These implicit theories are discussed more thoroughly in the analysis of this research, *Chapter Eight*.

Processes and Protocols

One of the most common processes that were mentioned by the participants was the process of whakawhanaungatanga (*to develop relationships*) and the use of whakapapa (*genealogy*). Whakawhanaungatanga is the label for the process being undertaken and whakapapa is the tool being used during that process. Other terms, such as whanaungatanga, can be used to name the same process. Many participants touched on it and some described it in great detail. One participant stated that he begins to use whanaungatanga or whakapapa even before he meets the families he works with.

> Sometimes it is best to get background knowledge on the whānau you are dealing with. I sometimes go and see the local kaumātua (*elders*) and ask them about the whānau concerned to get an understanding of that whānau whakapapa and āhuatanga (*character*). I now have a better understanding of the whānau and can break down barriers through interlinking their whakapapa to their area and smoothing the whanaungatanga process.

Similarly, another social worker uses knowledge of the whānau to make connections with them and therefore work more successfully with the whānau/client. In his work as a social worker, this participant often uses whakawhanaungatanga to make connections with the family of the child attending the health camp and if they are related then he acknowledges that and takes on the role of being whānau. The following extract describes how this participant follows these processes when working with whānau.

> One of the things I try and get out of them is "where do you come from, who is your whānau? Have you been to your marae (*meeting area of whānau*)? Have you been to the area and know who is your family?" And if we can make a whakapapa hookup that really opens a lot more doors than when you're not making one. And with some of my clients, a lot of them that come in here, we find out that their whakapapa does hook up with ours.

The extract show the significance of the whakawhanaungatanga process in that once the whānau connection is made, it does not end when the child returns to their family, or when the professional relationship is over. This indicates that this Māori social work process differs substantially from mainstream methods, which have usually have a beginning, middle and an ending (Schoech, 2005). In Māori social work, under the guise of Te Ao Māori, the process does not end, but instead changes from one of a social worker and whānau working together in a professional manner, to that of whānau who are related through their whakapapa.

Other participants mention whanaungatanga in their discussion alongside other processes and tools that they use: "*I respect where they are from, the whakawhanaunga must develop*". However, another participant gave more detail about her use of whanaungatanga.

> It is really about whakawhanaungatanga. Because if you can connect in some way with the whānau about who you are and where you're from… It eases the situation that they are in and makes your job a lot easier. So that whanaungatanga is an integral part of our work, for us as Māori. And then we've got those other steps where you kōrero (*narrative*), but if you don't do that part first then it doesn't work.

This participant then gave another example of using the whakawhanaungatanga process in a situation where she was initially not seen to be Māori. In this case she used her knowledge to identify herself to clients as well as make connections with them.

> So I looked around the room and told them who I was and I said, I know that person in the photo there, and she said, oh that's my aunty there. Well, they are from home you see… As soon as that man heard that that was where I was from, he came out and then he was in that conversation the whole time I was there. But when he first saw me he thought, she's not Māori. That's the importance of whanaungatanga.

This extract shows that knowledge of one's whakapapa and other tools from Te Ao Māori can enable this social worker who is Māori but who perhaps does not have Māori features to work as an effective Māori social worker. Another participant stated that sometimes in her workplace the use of whakawhanaungatanga is not always understood by her non-Māori colleagues. However, it has been a useful tool for her as a social worker.

> So I would go and see the whānau at home and it took ages for the clinicians I work with to get their head around "why should we be visiting? And I said, "Why shouldn't we be visiting?"… It is about whakawhanaungatanga; making those connections so they feel more comfortable and actually open up and let you know what is really going on.

Therefore, the Māori participants have deemed this process as a 'successful' and beneficial process for their work in the social work profession. Finally, one participant related a scenario in which the process of whakawhanaungatanga had positive results for the client.

> During whakawhanaungatanga the young male shared that he was adopted into a Pākehā family whom he loved and had been raised well, that he just went off the tracks in his own words, and never went to school. He went on to share that he couldn't read but that he carried with him a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi because he wanted someone to read it to him… so I referred him on to an anger management group run by a Māori Service, to which they assisted in literacy to teach him to read and I gave some time to sit down with him to read the Treaty of Waitangi.

Another process used by the participants in varied situations is the karakia (*prayer*). The karakia can be translated as '*incantation*' (S. M. Mead, 2003, p. 361) or a *prayer-chant* (Ryan, 2008, p.105) The karakia concept is described in the following comments.

> Yes we have our karakia in the morning to keep ourselves safe when we are working up in the wards with the whānau.

This comment implies that social workers undertake the karakia for their own well-being in the workplace, rather than, or as well as, with clients and whānau in the hospital setting. Another gave further detail about how he incorporates the karakia into his social work practice.

> So we take them home, do karakia when you've had a really shitty interview with somebody, you ask them if they would like a karakia after that. We have pōwhiri (*welcoming ceremony*) here, poroporoaki (*closing ceremony*); we have a karakia in the morning and at night. We have a karakia for kai (*food*), and I also wash my pounamu (*greenstone*) after I leave the area. I go to the local lake, like the lake just out of town to wash pounamu and things like that and say karakia so I don't bring any of that shit back to my own family.

Karakia is used as a useful social work tool in diverse ways and situations. This example also encapsulates the role that taonga (*treasured belonging*), such as a pounamu, play in processes of Te Ao Māori and the importance of knowing the appropriate processes for certain situations. The same participant then discussed the importance of Te Ao Māori for giving him support as a social worker and the benefits of this for his family. He also described in more detail the role of the karakia in his practice and private life.

> I go back to my marae on a regular basis and go back to my urupā (*cemetery*) and talk to my koro(s) and unload stuff. You know you find in the community some people don't know how to unload. You see them carry it with them and it drags them down… Because you hear a lot of horror stories and they are getting worse and worse. I call them horror stories… because you have your own [client] children and families you have to be very careful about the hara(s) (*crime/sin*) that come with them. I think for safety people should cleanse their greenstone, do their karakia(s) and go home to their marae now and again.

The karakia is not merely a symbolic way to start the day or to start a meal but a way for social workers to proactively manage the stressful nature of their work. The participants also use the karakia as an integral part of educating clients/families and children in aspects of Te Ao Māori.

> This holiday, children will be staying on a local marae, they will be taken through the pōwhiri process right to the hākari (*feast*) process. Children will also learn karakia during their marae noho (*stay*). A local kaumātua is usually asked to talk about their area and what it was like for them growing up in their area.

This participant said that he also uses the karakia within his workplace to educate staff and to promote the use of Māori processes such as the karakia and waiata (*song*) in both their practices and everyday lives.

> I have put up karakia and waiata on the walls where we have staff meetings. This ensures that everyone can participate in saying a karakia and also sing the waiata. No excuse as the idea is to put a responsibility back on those to learn these karakia and waiata so that they can use them elsewhere i.e whānau gatherings, at huritau (*birthdays*) tangi (*funerals*).

Thus, the participants describe a number of ways they use the karakia in their work and how diverse and beneficial it can be for their practice. One social worker described some of the karakia appropriate to different situations.

> We have karakia that we use every day and that we teach our colleagues modern ones, ones that come from the Pākehā influence… But we have our traditional karakia that we save for special occasions, where we acknowledge the Atua (*Gods*), our tūpuna (*ancestors*) and so forth. A different karakia for a different setting, and being able to use either and to know

when it is appropriate, those skills are good for social work facilitators, people going to pōwhiri, doing whaikōrero (*speech making*), all sorts of situations.

This comment shows that the use of the karakia is a complex and dynamic process. The social worker must learn about the various karakia and know when to use them. Again, a participant gives an example of the importance of the karakia and how she managed to incorporate this into her social work practice.

> A whānau who were experiencing ill health and what they termed 'bad luck'… came to the conclusion that their house required a blessing. The kaumātua was accessed and the blessing of the house completed, the tamariki (*children*) are now in good health and relations with the street improved. Plus they informed us that they felt better about being in their home.

This final discussion of the karakia shows how it can be useful for families and social workers. Each response shows the various ways participants use the karakia in their work and how it benefits their practice. The next response describes how one person uses Māori processes with non-Māori families that she works with and how she uses the hui (*meeting*) process in her work.

> I use the same practices as I had in the Māori Rōpū, I still practice the same and I think that the cultures, especially the Middle Eastern are similar to our culture, Pacific Island are definitely similar. I still use the sharing process where everyone participates and trying to empower them. So I still use Māori processes, where we have hui(s) with the whānau, there is always food involved, especially with Middle Eastern families... I think I still hold the same values and same processes, that I see are Māori processes. Kanohi ki te kanohi (*face to face*), hui, and even promoting Māori processes, like I promote it with our other cultures like Middle Eastern and they can identify with the fact that we do something quite similar to them. They have a strong family loyalty and commitment is very strong.

Another participant also describes the importance of using the Hui process in social work practice.

> I include the use of the hui as a process for whānau and external services for addressing concerns and encouraging communication. I work with referrals from Child Youth and Family Services and the use of hui processes is held within our building or in the whānau home between whānau and CYFS. Hui is an option always provided as a process for resolving or finding resolutions when possible with the whānau. The rationale behind it is to break down the barriers to communication and move the hui from formal to informal, therefore creating an environment of safe space to be yourself and speak without incrimination. It has been successful in improving relationships and communication between whānau and Child Youth and Family Services.

The hui is shown to be successful for social workers and families as well as in situations where different social work organisations are working together.

The following processes do not fit into a category as smoothly as whakawhanaungatanga, karakia and the hui have in the above discussion. For this reason the findings will be presented in no particular order or thematic method. In the next response one social worker describes how sometimes her methods are unique from those of non-Māori colleagues and that they tend to have a collective focus, rather than focusing solely on the individual.

> And I spent my time on the wards, and when we got up there it was about seeing that one person, but for us it's about having a kōrero, then someone would stop me, and go and see someone else, the ways we worked were quiet different. So writing in the notes we are the same as the mainstream, but with the family we are quite different. And a lot of the time their focus is solely on the person that's in that bed, and not on the rest of the family. But how is that person being there impacting on the rest of the family back at home? That's how I saw it anyway, that they were focused solely on that person in the bed.

Another participant highlights the diverse nature of her work and the way she uses Māori methods. This participant alludes to an eclectic approach that uses 'bicultural' practices depending on the client.

> To me working in a Kaupapa Māori organisation, it is a given that you use Māori processes in your mahi because that is the philosophy of the organisation. Or you would think so. Sometimes I feel that it can be difficult to differentiate the Māori methods from the non-Māori because it is a given that you would use Māori processes but the extent can vary with the reality of the clients. Sometimes just having a brown face for your clients can mean that you utilize Māori processes without even really acknowledging it. But sometimes it's like how social workers get stumped when they are asked what theories influence their framework.

She also related that is could be difficult for some workers to describe the diverse nature of their practice using theories. One participant related how she managed to develop a flexible practice method that fits the various whānau that she works with.

> I always find, it doesn't matter what culture you are from; people will have their own opinion of that culture. It doesn't matter how you present yourself; people take different things from what you say. So what I do is I present a lot of options and people take from it what suits them. So when I work with our whānau it's more visual rather than just sitting across talking to someone… These are some of the tools I use, even with our children. We get on the floor and draw and getting them to draw. Cause a lot of Māori people, I'm not saying that they are all the same, but I think all people get bored with someone sitting there talking. If you can make it interesting people take more notice of it. I think back to my own childhood and how our great-grandparents brought us up… Everything was visual, we were shown.

This participant uses traditional teaching methods in a contemporary setting to work with her clients in a way that it interesting and informative. Another participant described how she has used Māori knowledge to support non-Māori families in a health setting.

> I've got Pakistani fathers and with disabilities it really gets them down. And you know for us a disability is a taonga. So I had this father and he was really down so I gave him the kōrero on hape (*disability*). It's just about changing your thinking, we can use our powerful stories, and some people don't have those powerful stories.

Māori values and beliefs, then, can be used to explain how situations perceived as negative can also be seen from a positive point of view. The next comment came from a participant who uses a method that she calls 'take pū' meaning *'principles'*. This take pū, as the name implies, is comprised of principles that can be applied to the social work setting as well as other settings.

> So for me when I work with whaiora or clients, I use *Te Whakakoha Rangatira* and that's about respectful relationships in the meeting and being kanohi ki te kanohi. I respect where they are from, the whakawhanaungatanga must develop. Then we create āhurutanga (*warmth*), which is a safe space to let that process occur. And taking some responsibility and trust in that relationship but also allowing the whānau to take responsibility in that so they have tino rangatiratanga and not me. I am a facilitator of that change. So these are the principles I work with. There I also [use] the *Tau kumekume*, which is positives and negative tensions in relationships that occur and understanding them. Yes, I live by take pū and the processes I use are guided by that.

This is a good example of how a contemporary Māori method has been developed. It contains key aspects of Te Ao Māori and are being used successfully in the social work setting. Another participant described how her use of a contemporary Māori model of practice.

> Yes, I use *Te Whare Tapa Whā* when doing assessments and I am developing my own bi-cultural framework. Also I am working towards incorporating other aspects into practice: waiata, karakia, but only as directed by the client.

This participant pointed out how important it is to have a framework that can suit a variety of clients. They also showed how it should be the client that dictates the processes. Another social worker provided a variety of methods she deemed to be successful in her work.

> I use the hikoi (*journey*) process, it's about journeying and supporting until the whānau destination has been reached, for example there was a whānau that were in CYFS system for two years prior to me coming on board. The goal had been worked through with the whānau, the use of kanohi ki te kanohi with the whānau caregivers and extended whānau, hui to bring them together to walk the same hikoi in support. I also used rongoā (*medicine*) and mirimiri (*traditional massage*) from services for mum when she was unwell. The whānau goal had been within a six-month timeframe using Māori processes. But in this process the whānau were discharged two months later.

The next participant described some of the initiatives she has been involved in developing and implementing as a Māori social worker within the hospital setting. She described how the incorporation of Māori processes, such as allowing a spiritual space and whakawhanaungatanga, can be useful and successful tools for Māori social workers.

> We used *the Poutama model* because that was the practice model that the Māori team used. And within it we identified the different things that we do, like the MDT [multidisciplinary team] meetings, family meetings that we are involved in, consultation with staff, liaison and support for and between the staff and whānau… You make sure that there is good spiritual space for you going in so if it's an emergency referral, what are some of the things that you need to prepare yourself for, mentally before you go in… and in the assessment, you do that by identifying and explaining who you are, and at times, having to identify where you come from is more important than your title. So all of those things are not taken into account by the medical model, I think it [using Māori methods] provides for a better outcome for all concerned.

This example shows how Māori processes can be used with the medical setting as long as a balance between the medical model and the need for spiritual time and support is included. The participant described other processes that have been used for positive change. The following comments concerned the returning of body parts taken without consent. This participant asked to be involved in the return of body parts to families. Her role was to provide support for families and to offer a 'tangi' process to families who chose to receive their family member's remains in this way.

> They are more open and there are a number of things for Māori health like developing the tīkanga and recommended best practices, and also the heart library situation about the retained organs, has improved a lot… it was a real eye opener to work with those that were working to correct the wrongs that had been done… There were a lot of arguments during the 4 months that we were involved. We saw a lot of people in a different light. There were some that really came to the party and were just awesome and really appreciated the processes that were set in place by Māori… And I must say, in my social work career, that's where I felt I have done my best social work.

This is an excellent example of the values, theoretical underpinnings and processes used by a Māori social worker in the health setting. The participant used her knowledge and skills to support families through a traumatic experience. She described the entire process from the beginning until years after it concluded. At each stage she discussed how Māori processes had been beneficial to the situation. This example also illustrates how the Māori social worker interacted with the organisation and how particular issues were dealt with. This leads naturally to the next chapter, which describes the participant's experiences within social service organisations.

Chapter Five Conclusions

It is evident that the majority of the findings refer to the processes that Māori social workers used, over and above values, beliefs and theories. This is not to say that participants valued processes more highly, in fact participants stated that everything they do begins and is underpinned by their values and beliefs. Values are key to their culture and not necessarily driven by their ethnicity. Participants stated that further development could be made around the topic of 'theories' and that they prefer to validate their work using Māori theories over Western ones.

Finally, in terms of practices /processes that are being used, participants named a variety of tīkanga that are derived from Te Ao Māori. Many of the processes are key elements of Māori protocols and customs that are derived from traditional ways of doing things and have been adapted to a social work setting. Some of these have been given contemporary labels, such as *Te Poutama* or *Te Whare Tapa Wha*, however not all processes are explained using contemporary labels. Māori social workers also described some non-Māori processes as well as 'mixed methods'. These will be discussed in more depth in the analysis, chapter eight.

6

Nga Āhuatanga-a-Rōpū[21]

Experiences within Organisations

Theme Four – Social Service Organisations

This section presents the participants' comments concerning the experiences of Māori social workers within social service organisations. The discussion is organised into three subsections: Government Organisations, Non-Government Organisations (or NGOs) and Māori Organisations (including iwi-based (*tribe*) and Kaupapa Māori (*Māori philosophy*) agencies, urban Māori or urban marae (*meeting area of whānau /family*) social services). A general section concludes this chapter and discusses a wide range of developing areas, such as supervision, professional development and Key Performance Indicators (KPIs). All identifying and regional names are excluded from the findings to ensure the confidentiality of the participants. However, the type of organisation is included, e.g. 'hospital' or 'CYFS').

Government Organisations

The government organisations represented within this research are hospitals, Mental Health organisations, Health Camps, the Child, Youth and Family Services (CYFS), and Corrections. The following responses focus on the level of support given by their organisations, with particular attention to their use of Māori social work processes. The responses are also grouped into themes that came out of the discussions. This is in accordance with the coding system used during the preliminary data analysis, where 'themes' or 'codes' are observed and drawn out of the findings, then grouped together until the participants are unidentifiable (Lofland & Lofland, 1995).

Changing Organisations

One participant began the discussion by reflecting on how her previous experience in an NGO setting contrasted with her current role in a governmental organisation.

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[21] Characteristics of organisations

> I am finding coming into [this hospital] it's a different ballgame. It's very 'government'. We're very pressed with work and it's exhausting at times because you are actually fighting the colonisers and fighting for resources for Māori all the time… But we've got a good manager who is infiltrating this new process where Māori staff are in and being seen throughout the hospital, as well as in the community so I think that's a good change.

Another participant also moved from an NGO to a Government organisation. She found it more difficult in the new setting to maintain her connections within the Māori community.

> I work at the DHB and prior to that I worked at CYFS and prior to that I worked in the community for several years so working within the DHB is similar to being in 'lockdown' but one of the constraints as Māori, I've found that in comparison to working in the community… we would know who we were referring out to so we were able to network and form some really good relationships.

Some Māori find hospital work to have an isolating nature as there does not seem to be the same importance placed on networking that non-governmental organisations seem to have. Another participant described a change she experienced when shifting from CYFS to the hospital setting. She described the move as a positive one. The new position allowed her to learn new skills and develop her practice.

> So after that I quite enjoyed the change because I had been working with Māori and I wanted to work with other cultures. It was a new field for me as well. This hospital setting is completely different from CYFS; it is more proactive and has more intervention.

One of the benefits of changing one's organisation is that social workers are able to make comparisons around where they feel they can make the positive change. For some, being in a government organisation allows them to make a more positive contribution to their clients' ultimate outcomes, and for others the government environment is more restricting to their practice.

Isolation and Location

Other workers in the hospital setting did not report positively about the workplace conditions. One participant is employed in a hospital as the Māori social worker within a Māori team. They explained that the physical location of the Māori services team can be an impediment for her practice.

> But here I am the only social worker…So I am very isolated here in my Māori social work role. And I am very grateful to my mainstream colleagues because I do need support with whatever and I know that I can go and ask them…We should be the first people that our Māori whānau see when they walk in the door. And for a lot of our whānau they are not even

told that we are here. They don't even know that we are around here unless they can find the signs that we have up there.

This participant has attempted to work around the limitation of being the sole Māori social worker by accessing support from other colleagues. She further explained that her most supportive colleagues were Māori social workers who worked in mainstream positions throughout the hospital.

Another participant also felt isolated in her workplace:

And you get really isolated up there because there is only the kaumātua (*elder*) and I. I struggle with the staff up there because the staff doesn't understand him. He's always thinking in Te Ao Māori (*a Māori worldview*), and he's a kaumātua… A lot of our other clinicians struggle with the way he communicates with whānau and he doesn't get the process of the clinical role. So, I am kind of the meat in between management, the kaumātua and staff.

Another participant works in a hospital serving an area with a low Māori population. She discussed the issue of isolation in terms of the wider region.

I work in the hospital, and they just disposed of the Māori Liaison position. At present there are no social workers working that are Māori. They assert at management level that they have tried to recruit Māori workers but I don't know about that… A lot of staff there are open to learning about Te Ao Māori, but a lot appear out-rightly racist and it has been recommended by the ex-Māori social worker that the hospital is not a good environment to work in.

Hospital workplaces with a decreasing or otherwise low number of Māori positions are seen as contributing directly to the ongoing isolation of Māori in the hospital environment. This is a very clear example of a problem that affects each of the Māori social workers in hospitals to a varying degree.

Unrealistic Expectations and Miscommunications

Another social worker stated non-Māori colleagues' misunderstanding or ignorance of Māori processes can cause difficulties. This extends to misunderstandings about the role of social work in the hospital.

[I am] the only Māori social worker here … I have a clinical leader that is a nurse and she really doesn't have a good understanding of what social work is all about and I have to explain it. One day she said to me "why are you running around after them?" and I said well, I don't consider that I am running around after anybody. I see my role as supporting that whānau, with whatever it was that they needed support with.

This participant highlighted the issue of social workers lacking support and how non-social work colleagues tend to privilege the medical model of practice. Another participant described how his/her workplace manifested a similar lack of support and understanding for the role of Māori social worker.

> I think some people have a skewed opinion of what it means to be a Māori social worker and how you are supposed to be within your organisation if you are Māori. Some of my colleagues, when they deal with anyone who is Māori, they have these absurd expectations of what a Māori social worker can do... There is that added pressure to take on all the Māori clients, as well as educate your team and know everyone in the community and be fluent.

Another contributor within a different government setting also described the effect of unrealistic expectations placed upon him/her by both the employing and funding organisations.

> But what I find with the department [is] it's about quantity, not quality. They said this person's had a lot of time why have you still got him? And I say 'he's still on parole and hasn't met the condition'. They said 'what are you doing to him?' - I am doing change at a pace that he can handle and the family can handle. If you've a criminal with 20 years history of time and quick turnaround then how fast can you change?

This example demonstrates that many difficulties faced by Māori social workers' are not based around cultural issues. As with any other social worker, managerial priorities can adversely affect the quality of services provided. In this case the organisation is focused on 'concluding' the client relationship as soon as possible. Another participant discussed the specific issues created by her organisation's expectations and requirements of Māori.

> So it relates to that first question about being Māori social worker or being a social worker that is Māori. It's all that stuff around challenging the systems within organisations that disadvantages us as Māori. I mean some clear examples are going to the rōpū (*group*) hui (*meeting*) with *Tangata Whenua Takawaenga* national hui and having to write down that we are having cultural supervision and having to justify that, let alone going to our tangata whenua (*indigenous*) monthly hui.

The need to be aware of what is important to oneself as a social worker was highlighted as important in order to avoid miscommunications with colleagues. Also, it is crucial for Māori social workers to be observant for and critical of processes that disadvantage Māori social workers themselves and Māori clients /whānau.

Tokenism

Other participants discussed the issue of 'window-dressing' within the workplace. Changes that were perhaps intended to be positive can have tokenistic outcomes. One participant responded, when asked which areas of her organisation could be improved:

> When this new part of the hospital was built Māori health were meant to have an indoor marae, so we have a room there. We were meant to have an apartment; so that families could stay overnight… but we have been down here for 3 or 4 years and not once have we used any of those rooms for the purpose that it was built for. And that's because when they built this place, there is no air-conditioning/heating, and there is no firewall. So that means you legally can't have people staying and you can't use the apartment… We've got a marae just over there but we can't use that for safety reasons.

This situation shows that initiatives introduced to improve services for Māori can suffer from inadequate funding or from half-hearted follow-through by management. In such a case there is no benefit to Māori whānau whatsoever.

Another participant gave an example of the tokenistic use of Māori processes. In this case the kaumātua's services and function was taken for granted.

> And then they go and dial a kaumātua. You are expected to be there for their big orientation days [to] do the karanga (*welcoming call*) and waiata (*song*); they've changed it now, so we don't do it. We used to do the whole pōwhiri (*welcoming ceremony*) and have a cup of tea, but then they cut back the cup of tea… but then we said that is not the real process, you need to whakanoa (*free from restrictions*) the pōwhiri process.

In this case the organisation wanted to implement certain aspects of Te Ao Māori but only on its own terms. For Māori, however, the process is incomplete and inappropriate. Moreover, the management unintentionally reveals its fundamental ignorance of Māori processes (eg, by 'saving' on the tea).

The next participant described how tokenistic attitudes affect the status of Māori health issues and the position of social workers in the health sector.

> We used to have a two-hour slot for Māori to talk about Māori health and then the presenters prior to Māori Health went overtime, they didn't extend it at the other end so that Māori health would have their two hours. So, now it's a fifteen minutes presentation. Then social work comes next, because we're still the poor relation in the health sector, so we're on a 'lose- lose' situation.

These participants demonstrate that Māori social workers are often challenged to maintain meaningful and substantial practices. They are working against systems and values that tend to encourage 'watered-down' or tokenistic Māori processes.

Positives in Government Organisations

One participant described how improved the work environment for Māori staff and clients was. They were involved in service development, working with whānau and the education of colleagues.

> Our organisation saw it fit that something had to be developed in terms of tīkanga (*customs*) and the practices because it was not deliberate ignorance but there was a lot of ignorance across our colleagues, our non-Māori. And so we developed tīkanga best practices. So, whakawhanaungatanga (*to develop relationships*) is one of the things that are practiced… so is correct pronunciation. When they get the proper pronunciation of a patient's name they get a better response, better reactions and better intervention between colleagues and our Māori patients and their whānau (*extended family*) is a lot more receptive.

This shows that this government organisation was able to develop some culturally appropriate practices to suit the needs of Māori whānau and increase the understanding among staff at that time in that context.

Planning Positive Changes

This section discusses the participant's opinions concerning how their organisations could be improved for the betterment of Māori whānau and, consequently, Māori social workers.

> There are always things to improve. We are looking at improving human resources and looking at how we can grow out into the community and into the main hospital. We are always lacking in technical things, computers and transport, because of staff growth. I think the main thing is about internally communicating better with the main hospital. Even with finding our buildings, they all think we are over in the main building. From a personal note, communication can always be improved: how we send and receive messages.

These changes, such as improved communication and human resources practices, and community outreach, are areas that any organisation can work on and benefit from. Another participant suggested specific changes that would improve her organisation's approach to Māori issues. She explained how the issue with the pūtea (*funding*), or financial contribution for kaumātua, could be resolved effectively.

> To have a Māori designated clinician in each of the services, have a Māori manager in each of the services across our portfolio, you know, child-adolescent etc. that would ensure that the kaumātua are supported in that role. But that's not happening. Yes, that would be the ideal. Because you've got our manager, and there is all that raruraru (*trouble*) about pūtea and the budget and it just goes on and on.

Another participant, who works in a different party of the country, echoed these points. He/she had described earlier how the Māori positions had been disestablished in her workplace. Furthermore, while some non-Māori staff were open-minded, others made her job a constant struggle by being openly racist.

> Improvements that could be made… More social workers that are Māori, which is problematic as there just aren't the numbers down here. Also, having more education for staff and other social workers within the organisation, so that social workers that are Māori are not so isolated and continually challenged.

A common theme among participants is the need for meaningful improvements in the organisational setting. They argue that the workplace environment could be improved a great deal if Māori were appointed to more positions. This would improve the staff's general understanding of Te Ao Māori. Many of the issues that were raised by social workers within government organisations have been mirrored by non-government organisations. However, some unique comments were also made. These are given below.

Non-Government Organisations

The organisations represented in this section of the research are community-based organisations that both work in a 'holistic' manner and that focus on specific needs. These include mental health, disabilities, working with the elderly, working with youth, and sexual abuse prevention. This section is organised under headings similar to the previous section. However, because many of the issues are different for NGO's than for Government organisations, the headings are altered to suit the themes.

Unrealistic Expectations and Miscommunications

One participant recalled her first days working within an NGO as a Māori specific worker. She described how her own processes working methods substantially differed to those of the new organisation. She described how she dealt with the cultural differences and how this impacted on her client/whānau relationship.

> I came in here with my eyes wide open and I knew that if I was going to get somewhere I was going to have to work my butt off and I was quite young, vibrant and stroppy. Only because I came in and said, this is the way I work and nobody will change that. And it was said "She came in and she works very differently to us"… So I spoke at the meeting and said "that is why you employed me and I'm not changing". If I go to see a whānau and they have no food or furniture I am not going to talk about parenting, I am going to go and get some food and get some furniture.

This raises the issue of the organisation having unrealistic expectations. Māori workers may be expected to practice in a similar manner to non-Māori workers in a 'one size fits all' style of practice. Those Māori who resist this can be viewed as problematic. Another situation in which a non-Māori worker misunderstands aspects of Māori social work practice is described here:

> [When there is a tangi (*funeral*)] Because Māori tautoko (*support*) in work rather than finance, they'll go and stay in the kitchen for three days and that's their koha (*donation*) to the family … I heard one of the staff say "how come they are all going?" Now I don't think it was arrogance, I think it was ignorance… I just went up to her very quietly and said 'this is how we do it…' and they said thank you. Rather than being upset with them I wanted them to hear me and know why we do things this and that way.

This Māori worker chose to deal with cultural misunderstandings or examples of cultural ignorance in a way that was approachable and friendly. She avoided a negative, confrontational, as she says "like a dragon," so as to avoid negative future effects and repeated misunderstandings. Another participant gave an example of the effects of a social service organisation's unrealistic expectations for the role of Māori social workers.

> I wouldn't say my organisation supports the use of Māori practices but rely on the staff with the skills to pull the organisation through areas where knowledge of Māori practices is needed. There needs to be programmes around teaching NGO or other Organisations how their organisation can use Māori practices within their organisation even though the funding and requirements come from a tauiwi (*foreigner*[22]) structure and funder.

This organisation is located within a region with a high Māori population. According to the participant it relies on its Māori staff to serve as Māori social workers, kaumātua and advisors. The participant recommends that organisations need to be properly instructed in the appropriate use of Māori practices. This concerns not only their work with Māori families but also the organisation's internal systems. These recommendations apply to any organisation, regardless of its mandate, structure and source of funding.

The next participant described the difficulty arising when staff misinterpret the role of Māori social workers.

> One thing that could be improved about working here is staff morale and education. Everyone needs to be trained on Māoritanga (*Māori culture*) so that they can get used to it and there would be a lot more understanding in the workplace… So, even if they have done a qualification they don't necessarily know much. That education needs to keep on going. Let's just say that it becomes obvious when they get out into the workforce which social workers

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[22] Tauiwi is translated as *foreigner* but in this context is used in a way that refers to *non-Māori* structures and funders.

just 'cut and paste' when they were doing these assignments. I got asked once by a social worker 'why are those Māori doing that?' and I just said to her 'haven't you done your qualification? The Māori papers?'

This comment highlights the concern that some students may not 'take onboard' their instruction, only the minimum necessary to pass a course. These attitudes adversely affect the student when competence in cultural understanding is vital for their social work career. The following section describes how tokenism, much like a lack of awareness, makes the role of Māori social workers more difficult.

Tokenism

As previously stated, tokenism is a prevalent issue throughout New Zealand social services. One participant began this discussion by stating:

It is better now; it was just me for fifteen years. And that was a lot of pressure on me. I used to do training for staff, teach about the Treaty.

This brief example shows how an organisation employed only one Māori social worker, who took on additional work, on top of their caseload. This participant then described the tokenistic aspect put in place by their organisation and how these affected the workload and responsibilities of Māori social workers.

When we have a new worker come into the organisation there is a pōwhiri process which I usually become the whaikōrero (*speaker*) for the organisation. Karakia (*prayer*) and waiata is usually started off by me or another colleague that can speak the reo (*Māori language*)… When asked to support the organisation to help them (ie kaikōrero), (*speaker*) I feel used. Management and other staff have not gone through the training I have and yet comment a lot. However, when it comes to 'the doing' are found in the background until the road is cleared for them. I believe that the mana (*status*) of a person is in the work that they do and not in the other person who waits until the hard yards are done.

Non-Māori staff clearly need to acquire the skills and knowledge to put Māori processes into action within the organisational setting, rather than relying on Māori staff and adding to their workload. Another participant also revealed how tokenistic attitudes have added to his workload.

If you were coming in from a pōwhiri you were welcomed right from the karanga until the end, even the hākari (*feast*) would be a full feast. Not a cup of tea and a scone. Over here they say, there are only a couple coming so it doesn't matter. Or people say, this is not a marae… or they say, well, they are not Māori so it doesn't matter.

In the case of this participant the organisation's tokenism simplifies and compromises his cultural practices and beliefs.

Raruraru and Being Tūturu Māori

Many participants described changing jobs and moving between social service organisations (as also noted Government Organisations discussion). However, participants have also noted that some of the reasons for this change of workplace, or for particular raruraru (*problems)* within the workplace, stem from issues within and between organisations. Many Māori social workers deem being tūturu Māori important. However, the label 'tūturu Māori' can be problematic in itself, and can cause added raruraru for Māori social workers.

One participant described how one of his previous organisations had not always maintained a steady base for including Māori processes and beliefs. This proved to be detrimental to social work change.

> This organisation does really well to support Māori practices, and so did my last one. But I have found some statutory organisations, and schools are not so good. The only ones that really practice the tīkanga are kura (*schools*) and tertiary institutions with Māori in it. But even then they break their protocols sometimes. If you are going to be tūturu about what you do then you have to stay that way, regardless of who it hurts and that's just my view.

The negative effect of breaking protocols has been highlighted as an issue for Māori social work. As this participant describes, it is important to maintain and honour well established protocols.

The following participant described some problems that can arise between Māori social workers and how these can cause issues when referring clients and families.

> When it comes to working with other Māori organisations, we have to work collaboratively when it comes to Māori whānau but sometimes there are raruraru between Māori workers and that comes before what is best for the whānau… Families should be given a choice, they should be told, okay this is this organisation that you can be referred to etc… Sometimes even I feel sad because I don't want to refer them on to a particular organisation but I cannot hold them back.

Another participant added:

> What I see as a problem is where people are working for organisations that were once clients, but who haven't moved on. They might still beat their wives up or something behind closed doors. They need to step up … knowing they are not the right person to be doing this job. There are too many people here in this city, people who hold powerful position, working with families, our Māori families, that shouldn't be. When we know about it that puts us in an awkward position, where I don't want to refer that person over.

This extract raises the issue of 'professional judgements' that are being made when referring clients between organisations and individuals. This participant sees the issue of knowing about other social worker's current problems and needs a mechanism to deal with this knowledge.

Making Positive Changes

Many positive changes have occurred for Māori social workers within the voluntary sector. One participant described some of the beneficial and supportive changes instituted by her organisation.

> The good thing about social work is that you have your advisors, Māori and PI (Pacific Island) and you've got a lot of support. It is very PC (politically correct) and I'm very aware of the support for me… This organisation is extremely supportive of us, especially with Māori things, if there is a tangi the director says drop everything, you can go and tautoko that whānau, and that's exactly what happens. It's great. It has a positive effect on the whānau who are on our programme too, so we can only support them as much as we can. The Māori manager here calls up our manager and talks it all out.

Another participant who also works at the same organisation described the ways the organisation has supported Māori social workers.

> So the agency does try very hard to balance out the cultures and there are enough of us to support each other… So I can honestly say with my hand on my heart that the agency is very supportive. The Board is great, they are supportive, they came down to our marae day and said that that was their first time sitting on a mattress and they could hardly get up to do their kōrero (*narrative*). One thing that worries me is that the role of the Māori advisor needs to be written in to the structure of the organisation. Because if your director leaves or the manager, then you leave, then that role could just not be filled again and that worries me.

The same participant then described some of the further changes she is implementing within her organisation and how these will potentially improve services for Māori families.

> I'm looking at organising training for the whole organisation, not only for Māori, because a lot of our co-workers work with Māori families and a lot of our Māori families choose to work with non-Māori workers. Perhaps because they are urban Māori? Or for many reasons. The philosophy of this organisation is that the family will be directed back to family. At the end of the day there is no one stronger than their whānau. So that is the philosophy, regardless of whether they are working with Pākehā (non-Māori) or Māori workers.

This participant also contributed an example of her experiences with a Māori client who initially chose to access support from a non-Māori colleague.

A woman came in and she was offered a Māori worker, which was me. She was Ngāti Porou (*tribal group*) and they told her I was as well and she said, "I don't want a Ngāti Porou woman, they are too bossy". She got a Pākehā worker and once a month she would come in and if I was walking passed I would always say 'Kia ora' (*hello*), I would always speak to her. Within six months she said to her worker "can I see that lady?" because she started to become stronger within herself.

Another participant spoke of how important it is to practice respectfully within the workplace as well and to treat colleagues and clients the way one would like to be treated oneself.

So in terms of support, it would be great if our non-Māori co-workers supported us as well. And we will support them as well. Respect is earned. It's not a given, if we don't teach them they are never going to know. But they have to want it and realise it is extra work for us. Also, just because we teach them about being Māori that does not make them 'Māori'... if you want to understand the present you need to go back to the past and understand that first.

Another participant reflected on the time that is needed for positive change to occur within the voluntary sector.

I think we should always be looking for ways to change, ourselves included. In my experiences within the NGO sector, there is more scope to make changes, and although there is less money to fund it, there is often more lasting change happening... within the NGO I find there people are more open to change. For example, we made a recommendation to our manager that workers approach Māori families a bit differently. We had a meeting about it and all talked about how this could happen. Then we all went away and included it in our mahi (*work*). Of course everyone does that differently, but we are going to meet again soon and talk about how that worked out and whether we need to re-think the approach.

Therefore, participants within the NGO sector have found many of the same issues as the government sector. Some of the key issues relate to individuals doing additional work, training their colleagues about Te Ao Māori and Te Reo. However, it is noted that within this sector, workers are seeing and implementing 'programmes' in order to meet the needs they are seeing.

Māori Organisations

The findings in this section differ substantially from those in the previous two sections in that they relate more closely to the questions used to guide the interviews. The categories involved differ to the previous sections. Thus, they fit into two sections: *Support Māori social work* and *what could be put in place to improve things*. The participants included in this category work within 'Māori Organisations', More specifically, these are iwi based organisations, Kaupapa Māori, urban Māori or urban marae social services.

Positives in Māori Organisations

Māori organisations support Māori social workers in a number of different ways. One contributor described the systems her Māori social service has put in place to support her in her work.

> The organisation has a cultural advisor on site and we utilise tīkanga practices such as pōwhiri for new staff, poroporoaki (*closing ceremony*) for staff leaving, and tautoko to staff entering into a new place of employment. There is the availability of a hui process for employees, external providers and whānau, utilisation of prayers, karakia every morning to staff and at the start of every hui.

This incorporation of Māori processes included throughout the employment process was considered important for a Māori organisation. Another worker described the use of Māori processes when dealing with organisational issues or working with Māori whānau.

> Also, to deal with the employer's raruraru, they were given the opportunity to hold hui on marae. Kaumatua and kuia were accessed when whānau require the wisdom of elders, acknowledgement and access to mana whenua (*trusteeship of land*) were also utilised. When it comes to the tangi, our organisation tautoko whānau and employees when they have lost a loved one by sending management, key workers or representatives. Kanohi ki te kanohi (*face to face*) processes are used when the whānau require support to appointments with Government organisations, systems and extended whānau.

Social workers must maintain their skills for working with Māori whānau. The following participant talks about personal/organisational development for staff:

> Tīkanga classes are held weekly in ten-week blocks for all staff to attend. We are provided with cultural sessions on how to implement tīkanga practices within our work as models for practice such as the powhiri model, whakawhanaungatanga model, and the health model *te whare tapa wha* and *te wheke* models for the nurses. All staff that are from different ethnicities were given the opportunity to learn Te Reo Māori to which 75% attended, all have graduated.

This example shows the extent to which this particular Māori organisation provides supportive assistance to all its employees, not only Māori social workers. The variety of support suggests that Māori processes are embedded in this organisation, from the processes set in place for management to those for the families. The same participant then described how this support has impacted on her work with families.

> The level of support and freedom that I have received has allowed me to have a mindfulness and insight into my practices and also the approaches of other indigenous and western cultures as I work within an area that is multicultural and multiethnic. I have the ability to apply my own cultural processes within my practice without judgment or prejudice and to be able to use the organisation as a forum to implement this. I believe this has come about

because it is an organisation that has been founded and works from a Kaupapa Māori foundation.

The cultural freedom she has experienced working within a Kaupapa Māori organisation, resulted in an environment where Māori practices can be tried and developed without cultural misunderstandings.

> It has been a successful formula and is a major factor for us as Māori social workers within the field… The organisation has an understanding of Te Ao Māori values, of our processes and it enables us to gain insight into why I as a Māori do what I do. For example, we talk about timeframes - ā te wā (*in the future*). There is no time, movement should be at the whānau's pace but reality dictates otherwise.

Another participant describes their experiences of how Māori processes are part of the natural processes of things.

> To me working in a Kaupapa Māori organisation, it is a given that you use Māori processes in your mahi because that is the philosophy of the organisation. Or you would think so. Sometimes I feel that it can be difficult to differentiate the Māori methods from the non-Māori because it is a given that you would use Māori processes but the extent can vary with the reality of the clients. Sometimes just having a brown face for your clients can mean that you utilise Māori processes without even really acknowledging it. But sometimes it's like how social workers get stumped when they are asked what theories influence their framework.

This participant described how even in a Kaupapa Māori organisation the processes can become so 'normalised' and habitual that the worker will perhaps find it difficult to even explain what methods they are using. However, at the same time this participant asserts that sometimes Māori social workers will adapt their processes to suit the client or family they are working with. Their mere presence might be enough at some stages of the process.

> Our organisation is very supportive. They tautoko us with how we work like if we come up against a brick wall we can come back here and get support from our colleagues, from management. If there is an ethical issue that has been breached by colonizers or the 'others' non-Māori, then I can bring that back here and it's very supportive from management right through, it permeates through the workers. Our manager is very very supportive of it. She pushes hard for things to happen… She is very strong in that and she is well supported by others in management.

This example shows how important it can be for Māori social workers to be settled in a supportive environment, especially one that understands and support Māori practices. More specifically, this example highlights the importance of having a good manager and for that person to be strong in Te Ao Māori in order to support Māori workers. The next participant

found adequate support working within a Māori organisation and he described the opportunities that have been available to him.

> This place here is very supportive. I've only been here two and a half years and they've sent me to training, funding for courses, university papers… I think our manager here is into growing people. You know, like you come here and you're little, and they help you grow and if you can't grow anymore here and you need to go then they're quite supportive of that. So it's cool.

This describes how this particular organisation supports Māori social workers with building their skills and knowledge base. Another participant also described her workplace as a place for growth. However, it was much different to the workplace mentioned above.

> Working in this organisation is a great opportunity for me to learn and develop within a Kaupapa Māori environment. We're short on funding and resources and things, always short on that… but because of our location we have a lot of whānau support and there are kaumātua who work here, as social workers or as support. They've got a wealth of knowledge here and in the community so we learn from them too. The workers, a lot of us are related or have whānau who are married, so we have a real whānau atmosphere at work and try to use that with families who are isolated from those supportive networks.

This example demonstrates that some Māori organisations consciously try to create a whānau environment in order to support their staff. Finally, another participant commented on the level of support given to him by his organisation and how this is influenced by it being a Māori organisation.

> If you come up with an idea, a plan and you format it, take it to the meetings and you show people you have goals and outcomes that you want to achieve, this organisation is quite supportive.

One aspect of a Kaupapa Māori organisation that helps with social work development is that whanaungatanga (*kinship relationships*) can more easily develop through an environment where colleagues, staff and management acknowledge a familial relationship and fosters this togetherness.

How to Improve Māori Organisations

The kōrero in this section has been described in a somewhat 'negative' fashion. However, they are nonetheless important findings for the development of Māori social work. One participant commented on issues that can arise with funding and resourcing constraints:

But that gets into the whole pūtea thing because [a Māori organisation] gets the funding. So there is all this raruraru between mainstream and Māori services because [a Māori organisation] gets the funding, so mainstream feels they really shouldn't be employing any Māori clinicians, and [Māori organisation] haven't been able to recruit child psychiatric consultants.

This raises the issue of funding implications for service users. This participant believes that these organisations need to work more closely together to ensure positive outcomes for Māori whānau. Another participant discussed funding problems for Māori organisations and NGOs.

It's always a bother for the Director because she has to work really hard to get funding. Every programme is funded for 2-4 years, she has to re-apply, and she has done really well with that.

Once again this comment reaffirms the notion that funding is an issue for social service organisations. Another participant described other aspects of her organisation that need improving.

One thing that could improve is the image of our organisation. I've been told by people in the community, friends and people I trained with, that our organisation, because it's Māori, comes across as very closed… That's not what it looks like to us but I can see how it comes out like that cause our manager and us, we're always pointing out when they should have included us earlier in the work, they should have consulted us, they should have made contact… and sometimes heads fly. But how can we get involved if they don't refer clients? And how can they learn if we don't teach them? I guess things have to improve all over the community before that can get any better.

Another contributor provided his view on improving an organisation and his approach to social work as a career.

I guess you can always improve on everything. Sometimes you do something for a long time and it becomes stale. I think that's the challenge to people then, to try something different. You know that whole thing about "If you always do what you've always done then you always get what you've always got." So if you're bored or stale with how things are done then try something different.

This contribution provides a view into the philosophical approach he takes to social work. It is important for this participant to change and grow and as social worker and not to become stale or stagnant in his job. Therefore, this comment emphasised the overall sense of transience that has been mentioned by many participants and the need for social workers and their organisations to be cognisant and prepared for this environment.

General Areas of Development

A number of issues were highlighted as significant areas for future improvement. Many participants described supervision as being a particularly important factor for Māori social work. Supervision not only improves support mechanisms but is a system that participants wish to define for themselves. One participant described some of her views on social work supervision.

> I think a lot of our people are buying into clinical supervision and as Māori that is absolutely contrary to our whole tīkanga. Therefore, we are seeing external, professional, clinical, and administrational at Child Youth and Family. So we are seeing supervision being segmented into all of those parts. I think as tangata whenua that's really an issue for us. Because what are we doing? Are we acquiescing to that segmentation? Or are we trying to find strategies to deal with that segmentation under the notion of kaupapa [Māori] supervision? So I think: practices, supervision, are real issues when we are looking at the context of a worldview.

This participant raised the idea that tangata whenua need to define their own type of supervision and create a type of supervision that is appropriate, such as Kaupapa Māori supervision or perhaps 'tangata whenua supervision'. The following participant also viewed tangata whenua supervision as being very important.

> I was then able to identify cultural supervision. Because in the old days it was about Māori supervision for Māori, but now cultural supervision means everything. So now I am quite specific about tangata whenua supervision, and also developing the model.

This participant is developing a model to help ensure appropriate cultural supervision is provided. Other participants also see the importance in determining the type of supervision one receives, even to the extent of selecting an appropriate supervisor.

> One of the things that make my job easier at this place is supervision, external and cultural. I find the people to do the supervision. I guess I am pretty fussy about who I go to see because I want them to have the same qualities or standards that I set for myself and I expect that to be reciprocated. Therefore, when people talk about tīkanga I want them to practice what they say... I believe one good thing for good social work practice is to have someone who can advance you and not keep you at the same level all the time. I have come across some supervisors who don't give you anything to advance you on.

This contributor maintains that for supervision to be meaningful it must be challenging, not *pro forma*. The next participant spoke about the importance of professional development and the need for organisations to provide appropriate forms of development and support for Māori social workers.

I think [another part is] professional development. I think many organisations are placing constraints on our practitioners about determining what is seen as professional development, which, in my opinion, very rarely includes wānanga. So our whole methodology of learning through wānanga (*series of discussions*) is being put into disrepute because of organisational constraints.

This raises the issue that many organisations could view a Māori process, such as the wānanga, as an insufficient means of intervention. Therefore, many participants have their own types of support that suit them, e.g. developing their own model of supervision. Another participant explained that there is a need for Māori managers and supervisors who understand how to support Māori social workers.

I believe that there is a shortage of social workers who, later on in life, take on the role of management. I am currently doing management papers for the purpose of one day becoming a manager of a NGO. The reason being is that I will have a better understanding of what is required to support Māori social workers in reaching their full potential.

Finally, some participants described the need to be strategic about how they function within the organisations and about making wise decisions. Another participant described the importance of employing Māori staff to ensure that Māori practices are maintained in the organisation.

There are about twelve Māori in our service and that's health promotion, Māori social workers, and Māori community workers. We need more workers, well it would be good if we got more positions, there is a social work position at the moment going, so what I like to do is recruit Māori in that position, even though it's a generic position, it's about having more Māori in the organisation its always good as far as I'm concerned.

Another general issue that was raised across the board from the Māori social workers that participated in this research was the organisational management styles. These issues were raised by participants in both government and non-government organisations. However, they were not explicitly mentioned as an issue for participants in Māori organisations. The next extract describes some of the general issues for Māori social workers within economy-driven management systems.

It's a hard road… there are still people here, decision makers who cannot fully converse in how you work in different worldviews. In addition, wānanga is a difficult one for them to grapple with because it doesn't have the same learning outcomes that is in a programme that is in mainstream… so it is hard to get them to understand that this methodology is more effective for tangata wheua and tauira (*student*)… It's their discussion and their kōrero and so at the end of the day we might arrive at the same place but the methodology of getting there differs vastly. So it's not easy, that's not to say that we're not committed to the work.

Another participant describes Key Performance Indicators as another significant issue introduced by the organisational management systems.

> Working with our tangata whaiora (*client*), and whānau, is creeping in to KPI's (Key Performance Indicators). I am now finding that our practitioners are now being restrained by KPI's. Now that's an economic management organisation and we are adopting it in social work.

A further issue was raised in the following comments regarding the influence of Medical or Western models on the social work profession.

> I am hearing that our students are going in to DHB's as interns. I'm saying they have an intern programme at this DHB, which is for beginning social workers. I am saying, "why are you buying into this as social workers, you are not interns!" you are adopting medical terminology, which is absolutely contrary to us as tangata whenua…. we're talking about adopting discourse that is coming from professions that is absolutely contradictory to our profession and contrary to us as tangata whenua.

Another participant described how she must justify and explain her involvement in Māori/community or research projects as part of her professional development.

> So as far as the organisational support goes, I think the organisation would allow me to use my initiative and access Māori health if I need to… he [the manager] would encourage me to have cultural support and come along to Māori health and any discourses like this. So then I have to go back and give feedback on how it was, so now I can tell them this great story about what I experienced here so I can go back and tick the boxes, then they will let me go to the next one.

A final discussion given by one participant describes how he deals with organisational management when it clashes with Māori processes.

> Māori are good at pushing boundaries and rules; I think we are just naturally good at questioning things… I think that if you don't ask and if you don't push then you will never know. You'll be one of those people who just sits there and says "ok". Whereas since I've been here we've started new things like getting our people to go to different regions and go work in the homes alongside the parents, whereas before we used to be an organisation that would send reports.

Chapter Six Conclusions

The key themes will be summarised to conclude this chapter.

The participants working at Government organisations gave very few positive comments. The main positive example was that one organisation had developed tīkanga and that they are able to be more proactive with more intervention. The areas needing improvement were more apparent:

- Within the government organisations there was a feeling of being 'under surveillance' and being restricted by organisational policies

- a key point for participants was around the importance of becoming integrated within the organisation, developing good relationships with colleagues and management.

- Māori designated positions were often being disestablished. Many participants commented on this having happened already and being expected in the future.

- There was general room for improvement around staff and management's understanding both of the role of a social worker or that of Māori social workers.

The findings from the Voluntary Sector were more balanced in terms of 'positives and negatives'. The majority of participants stated that NGOs are supportive of their work and do attempt to create a culturally respectful atmosphere. They are often adaptable to change and willing to implement and participate in new practices. However, the following were suggestions on how NGOs could improve conditions for Māori staff and service provision for Māori families:

- While the willingness to implement Māori protocols is often present, Māori staff are often expected to add to their workload and provide leadership in ways that management should be capable of.

- As in Government organisations, NGO staff could have a better understanding of tīkanga Māori in order to avoid tokenistic gestures and disregard for cultural norms.

Māori Social workers in Māori organisations discussed predominantly positive experiences. Included in *chapter eight* is a discussion on why this is the case. They stated that they work within a supportive environment that used Māori processes to guide their work. They had access to cultural advisors, kaumātua and kuia (*woman elders*), the whānau also had access to their knowledge-base and support and it was common practice to use tīkanga through pōwhiri, poroporoaki and hui. Karakia and reo were also commonly being used in Māori organisations as well as other tools/concepts, such as: kanohi ki te kanohi, whanaungatanga,

tautoko and ā te wā. They noted that management was supportive and knowledgeable about Te Ao Māori and that staff used and had regular training in Māori models of practice. Some stated that training and funding for courses was commonplace and that they had the freedom to network in the communities they worked in.

One of the key findings here concerned ways to improve Māori organisations. While there were only a few suggestions, they have the potential to improve the outcomes for Māori whānau accessing these organisations:

- Improve networking with other organisations in order to ensure funding is used in ways that benefits their communities.

- Increase support for Māori organisations that are unfamiliar with accessing funding.

- Improve communication with other organisations in order to improve the referral processes.

- Māori organisations need to adapt to contemporary society, try new ways of doing things and enhance tīkanga.

The section on General Areas of Development was characterised by concerns relating to the management systems of organisations and the impact of these on Māori social workers. Tools such as supervision, Personal Development (PD) and KPIs are all important aspects of the individual organisation and its attempts to evaluate its progress towards achieving its vision and short, medium and long-term goals. From the perspectives of the social workers there was room for improvement, particularly around organisations needing to ensure that KPIs are relevant to Māori outcomes and are, therefore, significant to Māori social workers.

Ngā Take o te Wā[23]

Current Discussions

Theme Five – Working with Non-Māori: Coping Mechanisms for Māori Social Workers

Despite the fact that no specific questions were asked relating to this topic, it was surprising that nearly all of the participants discussed, at one stage or another, the issues of working with non-Māori colleagues and provided examples of how they cope with cross-cultural issues. These coping mechanisms relate to the ways in which Māori social workers deal with the difficulties that arise when working with non-Māori colleagues. These 'issues' that arise for Māori social workers were not the same for every participant in any social service organisation. Moreover, by no means are the coping mechanisms the same, save for there being a recurring theme that non-Māori colleagues are the source of many of the difficulties found by Māori social workers within their social work practice. In some situations it was the mere lack of support from non-Māori colleagues, and in others it was a blatant challenge to Māori processes. Some of the issues revolved around a lack of education and others were an issue with the organisational rules regarding initial assessments. Nonetheless, participants describe how they have dealt with these situations in the past to improve their work environment.

Support or Challenge?

The first participant to make comments on this topic has been working as a Māori social worker for nearly two decades. Her experience within the organisation was perhaps typical of a Māori worker coming into the role following Pūao-te-Āta-tū[24] where she was introducing Māori social work practices to social service organisations.

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[23] Current topics

[24] A report by the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare., 1986).

I came in here with my eyes wide open and I knew that if I was going to get somewhere I was going to have to work my butt off and I was quite young, vibrant and stroppy. Only because I came in and said, this is the way I work and nobody will change that. And it was said "She came in and she works very differently to us"… and now that is their problem. So I spoke at the meeting and said "that is why you employed me and I'm not changing" If I go to see a whānau (*extended family*) and the have no food or furniture I am not going to talk about parenting, I am going to go and get some food and get some furniture.

She described how she forthrightly maintained her role as a Māori worker who uses Māori practices, and challenged her organisation to accept that. Another participant described how some of her main challenges as a Māori social worker are around non-Māori lack of support or awareness of Māori customs and concepts. She spoke about how she identified these colleagues and highlighted the support of Māori workmates.

So some of the only real challenges are with the non-Māori colleagues who do not understand tīkanga Māori (*customs*) and do not want to understand. But that is easy to identify, either through verbal or non-verbal communication, the facial expressions so you look for those indicators when you communicate. I think one positive is that Māori are scattered throughout the organisation.

One participant described how one colleague approached her regarding not wanting to work with Māori families and she told of how she coped with the situation.

I had a letter from a social worker once saying very clearly that she had a bad example of a Māori family and a Māori social worker once and she would never work with Māori families again. But she said that working with me was very different and it was an eye opener for her to work with a Māori advisor. But I was talking to her and said, well, that's your job. Whether there are Chinese, or Māori or not, that's your job. I could say the same about Pākehā (*non-Māori*) families but I'm not. I just think, oh well, never mind, that's just that particular family. But she said she had a break down. I said, but you've got to get through those experiences and be strong now. It's your job to protect the children.

The following participant explained not how non-Māori challenged her, but how she challenges them to adopt anti-discriminatory practice.

Lena Dominelli's korereo around anti-discriminatory practice is we're adapting to it but I don't see tauiwi (*foreigner*) adapting to it. It's a one-way street as far as I am concerned. And that's what I think, for kaiako (*teacher*) at a kura (*school*), is we also have to challenge non-tangata whenua (*indigenous*) people to say hey, this isn't just our mission, this is your mission as well. And if you get to positions of management and decision-making, are you going to constrain my practice or are you going to be supportive of my practice.

Another participant raised the issue of further education for social work staff because of the challenges she faced as a Māori social worker.

Improvements that could be made… More social workers that are Māori, which is problematic as there just isn't the numbers down here. Also, having more education for staff and other social workers within the organisation, so that social workers that are Māori are not so isolated and continually challenged.

The following participant worked in a much different environment from the participant above, where there are a number of Māori workers employed at the organisations. Even though the next participant experienced challenges to her processes, there was sufficient support for her from her Māori team.

I suppose I feel quite supported within Māori health, I don't know, I don't really work with tauiwi, so I don't know how they perceive us at all. I know there is one lady out there who says, "why do we even have to do Māori for Māori?" so there is that argument out there, she wants to know why I have to be out there solely visiting Māori when I could be in mainstream visiting everybody. But I know I am supported.

The final comment in this section is from a participant who experienced a variety of levels of support from her colleagues and described a number of issues on the topic.

Some colleagues are less supportive than others. Some are all about 9-5, getting the job done and getting out of there. Some are interested in personal development expecting us to educate them or insulting without meaning to by asking things like "why do I have to do this, karakia (*prayer*)" or something. It is so basic but so insulting, you know, I'm thinking, wasn't that a blast from the past, a comment you'd hear ten years ago. There are some colleagues that are in the closet with their opinion on working with Māori, it's either in the too hard basket, or they're a wee bit racist. You can see them sigh or cringe, that's even worse.

From Social Worker to Educator

One of the most common coping mechanisms for this difficulty was the educating of colleagues about Te Ao Māori (*the Māori world*). Some participants took on the role of the educator while others recommended that the organisation or the training institutes take on a stronger role. The first extract is from a participant who questioned the depth of training of Te Ao Māori from social work training institutes and organisations.

One thing that could be improved about working here is staff morale and education. Everyone needs to be trained on Māoritanga (*Māori culture*) so that they can get used to it and there would be a lot more understanding in the workplace. Then they wouldn't look at us as if we are in a different system, some of the staff do know more but there are some who haven't caught up with the play.

Another participant tells how she coped with the cultural environment of her team when she first started working there, having to adapt to it and slowly including her Māori practices into her team.

> Well when I first started I struggled with the culture of the team. It was very dominant Pākehā, and I was viewed as so 'out there' you know, I believe in awhi (*help*) and manāki (*embrace*), and all those lovely things that belong to us. And they were thinking, "Oh, who is this one!" And in the notes there are these big long words and I would say to the pediatrician, "why are you swearing at me?" but I had to tell them "what's the word that I need to tell mum? If I can't understand it then how will mum understand it?" So that's how I slowly got through those early days. And now I do it differently, I do all the whakawhanaungatanga (*to develop relationships*).

One participant talked about social workers being educators. She recommended being strategic about where Māori social workers should put their efforts and that management and training institutes should be more aware of their responsibilities to educate.

> I think sometimes our people get put in the role of teacher, when that's not what we asked to do, we're social workers. We get drawn into teaching our colleagues and then who is there with our Māori whānau? I think management needs to take on the responsibility for educating staff, doing it themselves or finding an outside source, someone who is actually a trained teacher and knows Māoritanga… It's tokenistic otherwise and a drain on our resources. So we need to be fussy, say no when we know it's someone who is too lazy to do it themselves, and then say yes when you know it's for the right reasons.

One participant gave an example of how she has managed to educate her team about a Māori worldview and how she now has a work environment where her colleague is supportive of Māori practices. Nonetheless, she described how she did not feel that Māori belief systems, such as wairuatanga (*spirituality*), were widely understood within her organisation.

> And now with the team, we work together and I always say to them it's not about us it's about delivering the best service to them. And when it got really bad I would say "well every child that was born with a "disability" (their word), we are getting paid for them to be here so the pay should go back to them. I think we have come a long way. When I started we were talking about strategies, well now I am in a position to use those strategies with my team. There are some things that get in the way of writing what I feel in the report and I talked to a child psychologist about one family and I wanted to put in the report that the wairua (*spirit*) was dead, and she said you should have. But that report goes around to all the nurses and they wouldn't understand what I meant by that comment.

Other participants made shorter comments in this area; one stated, *"It's either ignorance or lack of interest. Either way colleagues who are not educated properly put a drain on our efforts to adequately support our Māori whānau."* One Māori social worker, when referring to the Treaty of Waitangi, said, *"I have two responses for people who don't know anything*

about the Treaty and who ask. I say, do you want the long answer or the short?" then follows on to describe how the long answer involves him becoming the educator. Another participant gave his comments on how he deals with people who do not support Māori social work, *"My way is to concentrate on Te Ao Māori, what our people need. How can I best work to serve the needs of our people? So that's where I focus, not on people who aren't making the effort."* Listening to this discussion was another Māori social worker who also contributed to these comments, *"I agree, that's why I go to the hui (meetings), support the people, talk to them, I guess it's called 'networking' but really, that's what it's all about."* Another participant provided an insight into why non-Māori workers have been highlighted as an issue for Māori*, "There are a lot of educated tauiwi who support us and who work outstandingly with our people. It's the uneducated ones whose voices we hear. Here, we focus on the positives and work with the supportive tauiwi to achieve the best for our clients."* One final comment was from a young Māori social worker, that said, *"When it comes to those cultural challenges I just put my head down, play the 'innocent Māori'. I don't have time for that so I do my job by Māori for Māori, just ignore anyone who doesn't like it."*

Being a Part of the Assessment

Many of the social workers that were interviewed described the importance of gaining access to Māori families during the initial assessment as one of the most important stages for whakawhanaungatanga. Moreover, it is an important stage for those working within the medical model, in order to prevent incorrect diagnoses or referrals. Many of the participant's difficulties were with regards to this issue and thus, have many various ways of coping with this problem.

> But you see a lot of our clinicians don't get it so they'll ask the whānau first. And the whānau feel whakamā (*shy*) and say "oh, whatever". For me it's about trying to get their heads around the importance of whanaungatanga (*kinship relationships*). If you know the whānau is Māori just try and see if you can get me to sit in on the assessment. You don't just ask them. That connection, whanaungatanga gets lost. If you can get a brown face into that assessment then we can make that connection. If further down the track they don't want Māori involvement, that's fine. But it's trying to get the clinicians to understand the importance of having Māori at the initial assessment.

Another participant described why it is so important to have a Māori worker involved with the Māori family. She followed on to state how at times the western systems are not adequate for Māori families and how they need proper Māori processes.

The Pākehā system does not always work for our Māori families. I noticed, when you are doing the triage, a lot of our Māori whānau are slipping through the system in the assessments. We give them a lot of phone calls and they aren't returning them so the file is closed. Then the whānau are presented again with more health issues and it's that system of '3 strikes then you're out'.

One participant described the issue from her point of view:

We have the same problem when we have a referral; we have the basic questions, 'what is your ethnicity?' You get a Māori whānau that come in, then you get clinicians that ask the whānau "would you like a Māori support worker and kaumātua (*elders*)?" this does not always work, we don't always get to meet the whānau. My argument is if we can sit on the first assessment then that is the best thing. But the clinicians say we should just ask them, but no, it's not that simple.

The following participant described how he felt about the issue and the approach that he has taken within his organisation.

When a Māori name come up, or a whānau that I know of I always take it, or I ask to be part of that work when my caseload isn't too full. But we're pushed for it here, not enough Māori staff for the amount of whānau coming in. the main thing for me is getting the Tauiwi social workers to ask them to see me or the other worker at least once. It shouldn't be a choice in my opinion, but that's just me.

One participant explained her argument when she tried to convince colleagues to include her in the initial assessment.

If we get other ethnicities do we get to decide, whether or not we are going to get cultural support for them? We shouldn't have to ask, it should just be there from the beginning.

The following comments are by a participant who has gained access to every initial assessment of Māori clients within his organisation and described how he managed to put this into place.

I am constantly challenging my boss, making suggestions, bringing things to meeting and backing it up with evidence, research, and all the rest. And it took a while but now everyone knows to bring in cultural support as a given so the family doesn't need to make that call, it's there already for them. Not just Māori, PI (Pacific Island), Middle Eastern, Asian.

Finally, there is an example of where changes within the organisation have made the overall situation better for this Māori social worker in terms of having access to Māori families.

It was never like this before, I was always approaching the old manager and pushing for it. But then we got a Māori manager and now there are no worries. Things like meeting with Māori families, yeah, when you're not the worker, just to see if they need cultural support, having a hui, it's all supported now.

Another participant described how her experiences have influenced her as a social worker and how she has gained skills from some of the difficulties with the western organisational systems.

> I guess one of the positive things that working for the DHB (District Health Board) has taught me is around resilience and things that I'm not prepared to give up. It has shown me what I'm not prepared to give out to Pākehā or to the system. Here, I am making some strong decisions around where I want to go and what I want to do.

Therefore, some of the difficulties have given her the opportunity for growth and self-evaluation. Although the situations have been different for all the participants, nonetheless there are still a variety of coping mechanisms and personal issues that are faced by Māori social workers.

Theme six - Current issues for social workers from a Māori perspective.

The following section is a conglomeration of a variety of issues. The issues raised did not fit under any of the particular sections above, and therefore, are presented together under the above title. This does not make them less significant; however, they are issues that were raised by five or more participants in this research. Moreover, the following comments provide an insight into the contemporary issue that are currently being experienced and discussed by Māori social workers.

Non-Māori Support

This section comprises of a number of comments where the participants described positive and supportive relationships with non-Māori colleagues and/or supervisors. Although the section is not large enough to justify its own theme, such as the above section where the lack of support from non-Māori is present, it is nonetheless important for this research. A participant who has a particularly positive work environment gave the first comments below.

> We've got supervision, even though he is Pākehā, he is very mindful of himself being Pākehā. And he is very supportive of anything Māori, and they are very happy to leave us to do Māori stuff… Like if there is any Māori stuff happening, they allow us to go to the training, conferences, they are very supportive and they allow us to have our own autonomy. We have our own consultation services with some of the non-Māori staff having to consult with Māori so we are autonomous from the Pākehā nurses who are the main discipline in this service. I think our organisation supports us very well, they provide us with good supervision, we can attend tangi (*funeral*), when the Māori Queen passed away they approached us all to say we could all attend the tangi if we wanted. So we do have autonomy in what we do.

The following participant's workplace management also chose to support Māori social work development perhaps in a similar manner to the previous supportive environment of the participant above.

> Before I came here it was very much a Pākehā organisation at the NGO (non-government organisation) but I was lucky with my CEO (chief executive officer) and colleagues from all over the world who were in line with Māori concepts, hence the trust developing Māori positions.

This participant described how, even when the organisation is 'Pākehā' in culture or in structure, the member of that organisation can still be respectful and supportive of Māoritanga. The following participant added a comment that reflected this type of situation.

> This organisation is very western, you know - the management systems, protocols and all that. But I still feel very supported by many of my colleagues. Yeah, there are some who are completely in their own worlds, but a lot of them are always learning, always respectful, they know when they are not the right person for the job and when they are and they go with it, not just with working with our whānau, but with all types of cultures and situations. Like for example we had a situation where the family needed some spiritual guidance, they weren't Māori but my colleague brought me on to work with them because she didn't feel that she could do that part of it properly, the way the family needed, so that was all good.

Another participant who had adequate support from her non-Māori colleagues made reference to the importance of asking clients and whānau if they would like to see a Māori social worker/kaumātua.

> And it's been good to have people on board who are non-Māori but are in line with our kaupapa (*philosophy*). So there are about 4 or 5 non-Māori that are coming onboard and coming into this way of thinking and supporting it form the top. So now we are getting non-Māori workers who are asking the whaiora (*client*) would you like a kaumātua or kuia (*old woman*). We have a kuia who is going to be doing .5 with us and .5 as a kuia. So if there is any kaumātua or kuia on the wards, if we can't get hold of the chaplain, there are many things, tīkanga things that they are needed for and we might have to come in and do that.

Therefore, the support of non-Māori colleagues during the initial assessment is once again highlighted. The following participant talked about the importance of non-Māori colleagues learning about Māoritanga and having a good understanding of what Māori workers mean when referring to specific principles.

> How long has the director been here? She's been here 4 years. Having a Māori manager but also a Pākehā supervisor who is very respectful, he's done training in Te Reo (*the Māori language)* but he's not whakahihi (*arrogant*) with it. He's got a good understanding of where I'm coming from with it, when I speak about things Māori he knows I don't use it as a weapon. So, if we are talking about tino rangatiratanga (*self determination*), tino rangatiratanga is a tool to be shared with everybody, not a weapon to cut your head off. Which I quite often see, and I think, oh that's not tino rangatiratanga. I didn't learn that one.

So, it's really good. They have changed my supervisor, and I also have a Māori supervisor outside the agency that I have access to once a month that the agency pays for.

The above comment alludes to the next section when the participant described how some Māori workers use Māori concepts as "a weapon."

Māori Challengers

This section combines comments by some participants about other Māori colleagues who, at times, make their jobs more difficult. The following comments were from participants who felt that non-Māori were not always the ones to hinder Māori social work development and that particular issues between Māori and/or iwi (*tribes*) are worth noting. A participant who described this issue in terms of ANZASW competency tests gave the first comments.

> What I did feel quite oppressed about at times was from my own Māori themselves. We were talking about how many Māori are doing the competency test through the Pākehā system rather than the Māori because their view is that the Māori one is a lot harder. But it's not. It's a lot easier; it's a process that is based on tīkanga values, kanohi ki te kanohi (*face to face*) rather than on paper. So it sometimes our own people that can be a barrier for us as Māori, they are the barriers!

The following participant talked about the issue of Māori being problematic for other Māori and she referred to applying for organisational funding. This participant described how this is a character of the particular city she lives in.

> Back when I started working there was more community support and less competitiveness in terms of contracts and competition for clients. It has changed a bit since then. [City] can have a tight Māori unity but can also be a community that blocks each other.

The following participant also found Māori to be critical of each other and she described her experiences of this.

> I also find it hard with our own people. When we are criticised by our own it is really hard. And you know if I can make a change with at least one family or two families then I am really proud of that. I don't need another Māori social worker coming and saying I should have done it like this, when the outcome was a good one.

In much the same way as the above participant found Māori being critical of each other a difficult thing to deal with, the following comments are given by a participant who felt that sometimes Māori are making things harder for themselves and for Māori in general.

> You know, sometimes one of the things I'd like changed is the attitude Māori have towards their own people. It's one thing to be staunchly supporting tino rangatiratanga, but when you become a 'dragon' (I call them) and knock anyone's head off who doesn't do it your way, it's

like becoming 'the coloniser' in some ways. I don't mean they are becoming Pākehā, I mean they are enforcing their views in a negative way and oppressing others, including their own people. Sometimes Māori can be just as individualistic as anyone else, then they wonder why no one supports them… playing the blame-game with no self-awareness.

Another participant gave a similar response with examples of where this issue can be detrimental for clients and whānau.

It is unfortunate really, some of our Māori colleagues are actually fighting a battle everyday against the coloniser, against other iwi, sometimes it's just a basic fact of having a grumpy face, you know, a hard way of talking, which is very Māori. I can see it from both worldviews really; they are being themselves, brought up hard. Not compromising their tīkanga, their belief systems and that's kei te pai (*good*). However, when our tauiwi colleagues don't want to approach them, even our other Māori colleagues don't want to! Then it is the whānau who miss out, they have a person in a role that isn't doing their job properly because that whānau needs cultural support and isn't getting it.

The final comments came from a participant who also identified this issue and talked about the importance of Māori being supportive to each other in order to have cohesive development for Māori in general.

From my experience it is a form of tokenism. There is a lot of stuff some really compassionate individuals that work really hard to put things in place and to make it work for Māori and then there are other Māori that contribute to colluding with the organisational structure that actually disadvantages us more so. So you're working with Māori with other ethnicities and then you've got Māori and Māori that appear to not be rowing in the same direction in terms of Māori development or strategic planning or forward planning for Māori. A lot of the kōrero is quite divided and so before we even move on there are a lot of barriers that are already presenting rather than looking at the outcomes or what is our vision or where do we want our people to be in 5 years time.

Accountability

This section contains the comments by participants on the topic of accountability. It described the many issues that concern Māori social workers in terms of to whom they are accountable currently, and to whom they should be accountable. The first comment is from a participant who felt strongly on the topic of accountability and was keen to discuss the various nuances of this area. In this discussion he referred to management and organisations that follow a western perspective when he says 'they'.

They are caught up with work and 'professional development' but not what we would call professional development –without the accountability… the third thing is that they do not see it as relevant. At the end of the day social work is what I do and what I get paid for but a Māori is who I am. So the two are inextricably separated. And koinā tērā (*that's really what it is*), you talk about changing the paradigm, if we take that one, social work is what you do, lets add something in with that and say, social work is a profession if you are doing it right you

are doing yourself out of work. That doesn't logically follow for a lot of people because mehemea pērā, kāore utungia koe (*if it's like that you don't get paid*)! Because they say I don't want to lose my pay... So why would they stick to that model. Mehemea he Māori, he rerekē te kōrero mō tērā (*what is said about that is different if you are Māori*). Tōu rourou, tāku rourou ka ora te tangata (*with your efforts and my efforts the person is cared for*).

The same participant followed on to make further comments regarding the issue of accountability. Here he described the various forms of accountability and how Māori can manage these forms of accountability.

> As Māoris for being who we are, we don't get paid for that the scrutiny, it is much different and yet we still have the same pressure. By our iwi, by our whānau, and they have certain expectations on being us. In the same way that we have supervisors in our whānau, iwi, mahi. They have certain expectations to achieve certain things. And the whole thing is that some of our people and this includes as many Māori as you like, see it as accountability, and we only allow ourselves to be accountable to a certain point.

The next participant talked about the various forms of accountability present at her workplace and in particular for her Māori manager. She mentioned how Māori are accountable to the Māori community, whether or not by choice.

> That's the director of this agency. She is tangata whenua / mana whenua (*trusteeship of land*) and has some knowledge and knows that it's her job to fight for Māori, and it's hard for Māori, because we answer to many other organisations such as this, and we answer to pākeke (*elder*) and kaumātua out in the community. A lot of our older ones look at me and call me a girl, and I say: "oh thanks" because I'm not a girl. But they keep track of how things are going.

Another participant referred to how social workers have a unique form of accountability.

> And one of the things that tauiwi tells us about social work is that you have to be accountable for "best practice" for "safe practice" accountability to our organisation, to our client and to our profession. And how many people who mahi in that kind of world have that kind of accountability? Not many. Social Workers do, that's our requirements. It's a huge pressure to put on people but it's a good pressure because if you want to be grounded.

The next comments discussed how important accountability is for Māori in managerial roles and how this added pressure could affect ones work ethic and responsibilities.

> But what we expect of our managers who are tangata whenua who have achieved that is some kind of advocacy and keeping those gates open and shut. You know if you are talking about Paolo Friere's kōrero, you know are they gatekeepers or are they allowing for that information to keep flowing up and down. But what we find is that people are so busy 'covering their arse' that they don't want to take on that advocacy role. Because it could mean that they'll be sidelined, it could affect their pay packet it could affect their budgets and their whānau, and so people are covering their arse. And I think that it's an organisational

management, it's where you perceive yourself to be. But it's hugely influential in the ways in which we practice.

Another participant discussed the issue of accountability by giving an example of one colleague who, for one reason or another, was not fulfilling the requirements of her role and therefore, not being held accountable. In this extract she raised positive suggestions for how to solve this issue.

> We have got a Māori advisor, Māori consultant and I think that she needs to resign… some of the positions have been around for a long time and the people in those positions. I think they need to think about reviewing some of those positions. They need to do performance appraisals a lot more often because there are some people who have been in positions for years and are really outdated…

> We need someone with vision, with a bit of spark and passion and we've lost a lot of opportunities, funding, and staff because of the wrong people in that role. Māori staff positions have gone because she hasn't fought for them. That is why we need someone with a lot of motivation in that role… So I think some of the systems need to be looked at so that they are more accountable. I mean even as a social worker we have a lot of autonomy and we really self-manage so with that work style the only accountability is the supervision part of it. And we are lucky to have supervision; some of the health promotion staff doesn't have supervision.

The following participant also commented on the issue of accountability in terms of how to measure the workload and input of a kaumātua.

> However, when he [a kaumātua] sits on the assessments and does his mihimihi (*greetings*) and karakia there is no way of logging what he does and to ensure that it is really relevant for working with Māori whānau. I struggle with the staff up there because the staff doesn't understand him. He's always thinking in Te Ao Māori, and he's a kaumātua, he doesn't have any clinical experience, so when we do assessments his role is doing a karakia, mihimihi, and whanaungatanga, that kind of thing. So, I am kind of the meat in between management, the kaumatua and staff. It gets very tiring and I get very hōhā (*annoyed*). The team just doesn't get it really.

One participant described her experiences of 'Key Performance Indicators' and how this can make the workplace development difficult in terms of accountability requirements for Māori.

> I can't really say that they are supportive of Māori going to hui or wānanga (*series of discussions*) because it's that stuff that we talked about, about measuring the KPI's key performance indicators. Having to justify why Māori are having a wānanga and not just that they're asking us that question but they want to know what your objectives are down to your learning goals and write reports. Because I'm a strong believer in accountability but they have to give strong reasons as to what is their purpose and what is their process and is it consistent? One for all and not just for us as Māori?

Finally, the comments below are from a participant who felt that managers of a social service organisation need to be accountable in the same way that Māori social workers are. She talked about the difficulties she has experienced within her organisation with regards to accountability.

> It's quite strategic I think. The organisations actually put things in place that are directed to a certain outcome that is from a colonising point of view. They are very strategic when aligning things, and planning. For example I am a PSA delegate which is a Public Service Association delegate and during my three years as a delegate I've seen twelve kaimahi (*worker*) Māori go through personal grievances and when I looked at it and discussed it with my supervisor there were some things that were just happening for Māori. And explaining that to other Māori within management they were also not aware that those things were happening for Māori and we were trying to find some resolutions or move things forward for Māori. It's not possible to try to do on your own, it needs to be a united stand where Māori actually identify that it is a problem.

Employment of Māori Social Workers

The next topic being presented was very widely discussed by the participants who were interviewed and involves the issue of Māori social workers moving from one job to the next, their positions changing, whether it is in name or in responsibility and the roles being disestablished. This section could have perhaps fitted under the organisational issues, however deserves comment in its own right. The first contribution is from a Māori social worker in a generic social work position who has experienced many changes in her workplace.

> We have a kaumātua there and we also had a Māori coordinator and she was the reason why I got the position. That worked really well for a year. We had a Māori clinician here in [this team] and one in [another team] and I got the job in here, and I was supposed to work across both teams. But it got to be too much and our teams got split up. The Māori social worker at [the other team] she left. A year later the Māori coordinator left on maternity leave, and was meant to come back after a years' leave but never came back. After that last year I decided to try at [a different social work] role. I was getting really hōhā with management because they didn't want to replace [the Māori coordinator's] position. I was feeling all isolated, and in time they restructured, as they do. A new manager came in with a new portfolio, and they weren't really keen about having a Māori coordinator sitting across that rope.

One participant described how the organisation she works for also attempted to change her role and how this can be detrimental to Māori social work employment and support levels.

> I've been here about a year more than [the Māori social worker] and before he came on board they wanted to change my position to Māori social worker and I declined that. One of the reasons is that you can get extra Māori in there; you don't want to lose that role of having a

Generic Māori social worker so I thought if they hired another Māori for that role then there would be two of us.

This participant, as well as the one who made the following comments, point out the importance of having Māori employed throughout the organisation and that the more Māori that are hired for generic positions, the more supported they are in general. The next participant talked about how although she has a large number of Māori colleagues, she preferred to have more within the organisation she works for.

> I think they have the support in the structure here. I have easy open access to our Māori staff. There are about twelve Māori in our service and that's health promotion, Māori social workers and Māori community workers. We need more workers, well it would be good if we got more positions, like there is a social work position at the moment going, so what I like to do is recruit Māori in that position, even though it's a generic position, it's about having more Māori in the organisation it's always good as far as I'm concerned. We all get on quite well all our staff.

The next participant described how her role expanded to meet the many varied needs of the organisation she works for and how the organisation has employed Māori at management level, which provides her with added support. Nonetheless, this participant said how her role contained a large amount of responsibilities that she must fulfill within a 20 hour week.

> Under this organisation they have finally got a kaiwhakarite (*administrative officer*) that walks in line with the director. So, we have the legal board, which has responsibility for all things and anything that goes wrong. Then it comes down to the director and the Māori Advisor, and I advise all the organisations as well as the board. So, it's quite a big job within only twenty hours. I've been here seventeen years, I used to go out to families but now families all come to me. They actually looked at my position and realised I was doing a big job. I was also training people on the Treaty and doing ACC counselling on tīkanga processes and the job was getting bigger and bigger. So with us is a Pacific Island advisor, she advises everyone else regarding Pacific peoples. I think this is one of the first agencies where we were actually on the structure.

Another participant gave feedback on how other Māori within the organisation have supported her role but how this has been affected negatively by changes in management and restructuring. Her comments reflected the way Māori positions are often changed, disestablished, and/or restructured as previously mentioned by other Māori social workers who participated in this research.

> I am very envious of your mahi, your kaupapa is straight up, and for me I used to try and have a kuia or a koro (*elderly male*) coming with me in the area I work in. I must say that I have introduced to my team leader and my team many processes Māori, not that they are written down mind you, they are all verbal, I don't see it written that we can take a kaumātua out with me, I don't think it would happen, But we do have a Māori provisional advisor. The last one just left, but he was hands-on which meant that we could take him out with us. It's a shame

because what's happened is that we have a new one and he's gone up a level in management we no longer have that hands-on support. But he has his role to look at initiatives and feeds those through to our team leader and has that influence there through that channel.

The final contribution is by a participant who chose to change his role or place of employment on a regular basis.

> I guess you can always improve on everything. Sometimes you do something for a long time and it becomes stale. I think that's the challenge to people then, to try something different. You know that whole thing about "If you always do what you've always done then you always get what you've always got." So if you're bored or stale with how things are done then try something different.

Urbanisation

Urbanisation or urban Māori were discussed as an area of importance currently for Māori social work development. Many participants describe the issues around urban-born clients and whānau, as well as social workers, managers and colleagues. These comments were varied from the importance of educating and 're-connecting' Māori with their tribal heritage, to the emergence of a new Urban-Māori social worker who are 'tūturu' (*authentic, true*) in their own right. The first comment, and perhaps a typical situation experienced by many Māori social workers is described by the participant below.

> But the whānau, and this I think is a huge issue, who have been brought up in urban environments, who have been brought up as Tauiwi, let's put it that way, are themselves mystified by Māori practices, or tangata whenua practices. So as tangata whenua practitioners in our contact with tangata whaiora and their families, if they haven't been brought up within tīkanga of their areas as te Ao Māori, they're also at 'logger-heads' when we say to them "how would you like to open this whānau hui? Would you like to open it with a karakia?" they say "what? We don't have time for that shit we just want to get on with the process." And so already your practice is being constrained and almost jeopardised by the fact that a lot of our people have been so colonised. That they, themselves, don't know what the tīkanga of tangata whenua is or are. So, our contact with our tangata whaiora (*client*) and their families is also constrained by that huge notion of urbanisation.

A further participant described how he has worked with Māori clients and families who have lost their connections with their iwi and how he chose to work with them using Māori processes of whakawhanaungatanga.

> A couple of clients that I've found in the city that were lost, they had nobody, nothing taking them back up the coast to their marae (*meeting place of whānau or iwi*). I set all that up and met their koros and nannies at the marae, which I think is a Māori way of doing things. People in the cities sometimes get lost and mainstream organisations never think of taking them home.

The following comment is from a social worker who described some of the issues of urbanisation and working with clients who are not from the particular rohe and who have lost touch with their iwi.

> We get a lot of Māori down here who moved away from their rohe (*region*), for work, some getting away from their whānau apron strings. Sometimes it's the generations after that move that become isolated, they don't know their whakapapa (*genealogy*) or Te Ao Māori and they start showing up here. Nowadays the talk about it being the mana whenua's job to support those urban Māori, but they're only really about supporting themselves really. We have to set up those iwi and hapū connections to make those relationship last.

Another slant on this topic is where social workers themselves identify as Urban-Māori. The following extract is from a participant who described the situation in his workplace and how they are predominantly urban born.

> We're all urban at our workplace and it's a bit of a joke really, because even our kuia, who is really grounded, obviously, I think she stayed on her marae for only a few years as a kid then they moved to the cities. So none of us can whakapapa to this area. But it's not an issue with our clients, it's only a problem when you have hui with mana whenua and they expect other mana whenua to do the processes.

One participant described the situation in the area she works and talked about urban-Māori as social workers.

> We get a lot of young Urban Māori coming out of the training institutes with their certificate. Some of them don't know much about Māoritanga, only what they learnt at school, but boy they're keen. And so these are the future Māori social workers that we have to nurture and hold under our korowai. Not push them out there where they get it wrong, but teach them through the job, how to work with tangata whenua.

Another participant described the issues for Urban Māori social workers and gives his perspective on the current situation for them.

> From my point of view you don't have to be raised on the marae to be good at working with Māori whānau and knowing those processes we use. Some would disagree, but I've seen some awesome kaumātua and you'd never know they grew up in Parnell or the CBD (central business district). Sometimes it's the kaumātua who weren't allowed to speak te Reo and only learnt it in their 50s and now they are who we all look up to. So these young urban Māori who are still learning te Reo, they should know that none of us know everything as soon as we started working, it's a long road for us to be schooled in social work and mātuaranga Māori.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Te Tiriti o Waitangi (*the Treaty of Waitangi*) was highlighted by a number of participants as a fundamental aspect of their work and therefore significant in their view of Māori social work development. The first extract is from one participant who related how her childhood education has influenced her and her practice today.

> And part of my younger life in the Hokianga with my grandparents was my grandfather would always talk about te tiriti. I remember how passionate he was about it and how te Tiriti was going to lead us and stay with us through government policies. So that's a little bit of my background. Hence, I am now writing and lobbying. I got into a management role where I was able to do some policy changes and development, social change and social justice.

Another participant talked about how important the Treaty is to him in his practice and how it should be just as important to his colleagues, Māori and non-Māori.

> The Treaty does not belong to us; it belongs to everybody in Aotearoa (*New Zealand*), as long as they follow the principles. Some social workers want to opt out. They say, "I don't have any Māori clients, why should I be doing the Treaty" and I say, all the more reason you should be doing this and applying the treaty in your mahi. What does it say in terms of partnership and participation?

One participant continued in the discussion on the Treaty of Waitangi and described her opinion on how it should influence social work in general, as well as Māori social work practice.

> I think te Tiriti is a written thing but it isn't a practiced thing. The Tiriti is not a living document in the practices of the hospital, it's in the policies here but it isn't written in the Manawa of the place. Applying te Tiriti to this organisation, the agent is article one and Counties DHB is very much the agent. They have a responsibility to allow Māori to practice our processes through tino rangatiratanga and have equity. And have equity, not equal but equity in terms of article three. Based on tīkanga processes, wairuatanga, and mohiotanga (*knowledge*). Article 4 is very clear. So it's all written, but Māori have a different view of how it is permeated through their thinking. *Who needs to? Māori? Management?*

A final comment on the Treaty is give by another participant who argued around the topic of writing the Treaty into policy or having it as an everyday commonality.

> Well, I don't know if it's a hindrance, I think it is, however they don't see it as one. Because when we talk about te Tiriti o Waitangi, that's our principles, one, two, three and four. So I don't think that if we have at pōwhiri (*welcoming ceremony*), it's not a policy, it's already been written. The partnership between Māori and Pākehā, so by right we are allowed to practice it. But people want it written up as a policy. So I wrote an addition to it, and I said, it's not a preference, because it is a right. Not a policy. But everyone believes that it should be that policy, but it's not for us, just for Māori.

Age

A small number of participants discussed age as an issue that social services and/or training institutes need to be aware of when considering the role of a Māori social worker. Although this topic was not widely discussed, the ideas are equally as valid and provide insight into the views of new and relatively young social workers. The first comments are from a Māori social worker that has been practicing for many years but reflected on what it was like in her first years as a social worker.

> I have always been in a mainstream social work role but even from day one colleagues would come up to me and expect me to lead things Māori. They would consult with me about things Māori and in the early stages I was going "Gee, I am only a baby as far as my knowledge of tīkanga Māori goes" so I had to give advice just from my point of view. And I always made it quite clear that this is my thought, I am not talking on behalf of all of Māoridom. This is just from my understanding and my perspective and so I think that's kept me safe.

Much like the comments above, the following participant described what it was like for him while he was training and now as a social worker that identifies as Māori.

> It's a bit of a laugh; people see me and think I'm a skinny 'white-boy.' I actually had someone say that about me once, "why is this skinny white-boy telling us how to do a pōwhiri" well, they didn't say it to me, but it got back to me. But it's mainly because I look pretty young and I don't go blabbing about being able to kōrero Māori. So at first they look past me when they need some Māori advice, and then if they find out I'm Māori, all of a sudden I'm an expert and am expected to do the bloody whaikōrero (*formal speech*).. Got to think in terms of Māoridom, not just keeping the manager happy.

Therefore, this participant described some of the issues he faces, not only with colleagues assumptions about Māoridom, but also about his role as a young Māori male within a social service organisation. The following participant makes similar comments about being young in the role as a Māori social worker.

> One thing I've always struggled with is working with our kuia and koro, as a young person. Yeah, I've got the social work badge, but some of them, these are my kaumātua and I'm expected to do this role? I find that really hard eh. What I've had to do was really make it like a whānau relationship where I am giving them support because I am their whānau and doing it for them, but if I can't get that whānau feeling, well then, that's where it's hard. The biggest thing for me is to listen and to be humble, that's what I've learnt.

The final comment is from a long-term practitioner who talked about the issue of young Māori social workers from her point of view.

> Our young ones, our young social worker haven't quite got there; they don't know it [legislation] so well just yet. I guess a lot of it is wisdom, age, time and knowledge. Knowledge is very powerful. That will come to our younger ones, with time. Because if you speak and you know what you are talking about people will listen. As long as it's given in a

way that is 'hearable'. If it's given in a way that's chucked at people, it doesn't matter what you are saying. With our young social workers I say, if you need support I will hold your hand, I've been down that road, don't look at what you've done wrong, don't look back, it's what are we doing now, what have we got to do today that we need to look at.

Conclusions

Although New Zealand has undergone many changes in terms of 'race-relations' particularly between tangata whenua and tauiwi, this research shows that one of the difficulties faced by Māori social workers is around their relationships with non-Māori colleagues. While some Māori social workers reported particular non-Māori staff being very understanding and supportive the majority spoke of these relationships as being one of the major difficulties in their work. Suggestions were made in relation to ongoing education for non-Māori staff around Māori practices, history and especially the Treaty of Waitangi, as this would ensure greater cultural understanding. However, at the same time Māori social workers are often taking on the role of educating colleagues and are overworked as a result of the added responsibilities.

Being part of the initial assessment was one of the fundamental aspects of Māori social work practice. Many participants mentioned the importance of being involved in the whānau work from the start and how they go about ensuring they are there. Other issues that were raised were about how sometimes it can be Māori that make the workplace difficult and that accountability is fundamental to the job. Māori social workers reported changing jobs regularly. Some of the reasons behind this were linked to the 'restructuring' that often happens in organisations due to funding constraints and whether the position is deemed a 'Māori' position or a 'generic' one. Workload was obviously an influential factor as well as the level of support for their work. Age was also a key variable for their work. For Māori social work to develop effectively, a stronger process around support from experienced Māori social workers to new and young Māori social workers is necessary. According to this research a 'tuakana-teina' (*older sibling-younger sibling*) process needs to be implemented regardless of which organisation practitioners are working for.

Te Whakapuāwai o Te Matapakinga[25]

Constructing Tangata Whenua[26] Discourses

Introduction

This chapter aligns the research findings with literature and theory. This discussion presents the main arguments that relate to Māori social work practice and experiences within organisations. The data is further analysed by a newly formed Kaupapa Māori (*Māori philosophy*) and Narrative framework. The framework, which has been called here the 'Kōrerorero (*conversations*) Framework' combines the key principles of both Kaupapa Māori and Narrative approaches. It utilises a coding system to analyse the key themes, while ensuring that the kōrerorero was kept as a distinct form of discourse (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). This analysis takes into consideration that the majority of the research participants were long-term practitioners with vast experience and knowledge of both Māoritanga (*Māori culture*) and social work. None of the participants were school-leavers, as mentioned in the methodology, but had entered social work from the community and therefore the following discussion values the authority and depth that life-experience brings to the kōrero (*narrative*). This chapter suggests a Māori social work practice framework, which has been synthesised from Māori social workers' practice and experience, together with literature and theory.

A Kōrerorero Framework

> What happens to the research when the researched becomes the researcher? (L. T. Smith, 1999a, p. 183)

The development of Kaupapa Māori approaches to research has resulted in a shift occurring in the collection and interpretation of Māori knowledge. Linda Tuhiwai Smith indicates that Māori have created a new 'space' for themselves, one where Māori researchers "conceptualise Māori knowledge" (Nepe, 1991, p. 15) within a context of Aotearoa (*New*

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[25] The development of discussions and dialogue

[26] Indigenous

Zealand) and Papatūānuku (*earth mother*) (Pihama, 2001). It is evident from the research findings that Māori social workers have created a space within the social work context of Aotearoa, with the foundations of this space being firmly set on tīkanga Māori (*Māori customs*). In an attempt to answer the question above, I have aligned myself with Eketone's comments when he states: "[Kaupapa Māori] is about Māori constructing their own theory, explanations and outcomes" (Eketone, 2008, p. 10).

I did not wish to recreate Kaupapa Māori or Narrative theory but instead devised the framework to enable the data to be analysed and presented using a combination of the two approaches. The framework is intended to simplify the process of analysing Kaupapa Māori data with a focus on the narrative aspects of the kōrerorero (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997).

In this discussion, parallels are clearly drawn between the research findings and principles of Kaupapa Māori and Narrative theory. First, the Kōrerorero Framework (*table one)* contains a selection of both Kaupapa Māori and Narrative principles. These principles (discussed in chapters 1, 2 and 3) are key characteristics of both Kaupapa Māori and Narrative theory. They are presented on the vertical axis of table one below:

- Tino Rangatiratanga (*the principle of self-determination*)
- Taonga Tuku Iho (*the principle of cultural aspiration*)
- Ako Māori (*the principle of culturally preferred pedagogy*)
- Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga (*the principle of socio-economic mediation*)
- Whānau (*the principle of extended family structure*)
- Kaupapa (*the principle of collective philosophy*)
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi (*the principle of the Treaty of Waitangi*)
- Āta (*the principle of growing respectful relationships*)
- The expression of emotions, thoughts and interpretations
- The construction of the 'self', through language and 'voice'
- Self and reality construction

On the horizontal axis are the six themes that were presented in the findings chapters (4, 5, 6 and 7):

- theme one (*Māori perspectives on becoming a social worker*)
- theme two (*Identifying Oneself – Being Māori and a Social Worker)*
- theme three (*Processes for Positive Outcomes*)
- theme four (*Social Service Organisations*)
- theme five (*Working with Non-Māori: Coping Mechanisms for Māori Social Workers*)
- theme six (*Current issues for social workers from a Māori perspective*)

Weaving Principles throughout Themes

Much like the rāranga (*weaving*) process, the principles were "weaved" through the research findings in a way that identified overarching themes. The framework contains a colour-coding system, where certain principles related to certain themes. Some principles related to certain themes strongly, while other principles were not particularly relevant to the particular theme. Also, some principles were somewhat relevant to the theme and so were in the middle of the spectrum.

Table One
The Kōrerorero Framework

	Theme 1 Becoming a social worker	Theme 2 Identity	Theme 3 Processes	Theme 4 Orgs	Theme 5 Non-Māori	Theme 6 Current Issues
Tino Rangatiratanga		Stood out		Stood out		Relates
Taonga Tuku Iho			Stood out			Relates
Ako Māori	Stood out			Stood out		
Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga			Stood out			Stood out
Whānau	Stood out	Stood out	Stood out	Relates		Stood out
Kaupapa			Stood out			
Te Tiriti o Waitangi				Stood out	Stood out	
Āta	Relates	Stood out	Stood out	Relates	Relates	Stood out
The expression of emotions, thoughts and interpretations				Stood out		Stood out
The construction of the 'self', through language and 'voice'	Relates	Stood out	Stood out		Stood out	
Self and reality construction		Relates	Stood out	Stood out		Relates

Key

Principles that stood out in this theme	(purple)
Principles relate in some way	(blue)
Principle is not highly relevant in this context	(white)

Colour Coding System

The colour coding system has three colours; dark purple represents where principles strongly relate to themes. An example of a 'dark purple' section is tino rangatiratanga within theme two (identity). When participants talked about their identity, they predominantly talked about self-determining how they identify and how it relates to being Māori and a social worker. Therefore, the participants have a strong notion of autonomy when they reflect on their identity.

'Light blue' is used on the framework to show where principles related in some ways to themes. For example, tino rangatiratanga relates to some aspects of the current discussion theme, however not to all aspects, by all participants. The box is left empty 'white' where the principles were not relevant to the theme for these participants. This simplistic colour coding system shows how some principles stood out strongly within the participant's conversations in some themes, more than others.

Emerging Topics

Topics appeared where principles stood out as being particularly relevant to the theme. For example, as stated above, the principle of tino rangatiratanga was evident when participants talked about how they identify, as Māori and as social workers (dark purple). It was evident that Māori social workers are taking ownership of their identity and therefore the topic '*Challenging the notion of 'Māori'* developed. The principle of tino rangatiratanga is about power and autonomy and this is the approach that Māori social workers are using when they talk about who they are and where they come from, or what they are doing.

Tino rangatiratanga was also emphasised in comments about their organisations. Tino rangatiratanga relates to challenging power systems and authority for individual or collective rights. Topics that stood out were: *Organisational Learnings* and *Unique Organisational Issues.* These topics relate to the participants comments on how organisations can be improved.

Other discussion topics in this chapter that emerged through this analysis process were '*Brown-face burnout'* because it was noted that burnout was a common topic of discussion throughout the findings and can be analysed using many of the principles. Whānau stood out as fundamental to all aspects of Māori social work development, therefore '*whānau – ki mua, whānau ki muri'* is discussed here. Also '*From Theory to Practice'* contains the key points in this research about the diverse nature of Māori theories and practices being currently used. These key topics are discussed here using the principles of the kōrerorero framework.

Therefore, the following discussion includes the five themes here with the principles weaved throughout, connecting the findings to the literature and theories.

Challenging the Notion of 'Māori'

> …the notion of 'Māori' the māori with the lowercase 'm' was 'common'… I have an issue with that because I think that 'māori' implies that we have a similar cohesion.
>
> - Research Participant.

The explicit critique of the terminology that is used to describe a group of people as 'Māori' is one of the major discussions to come out of this research. It is relevant to tino rangatiratanga discourse at a 'whānau' level; it is about self-determining or defining the 'self' in order to be able to know and be comfortable with ones identity. It is also highly relevant to the narrative notion of constructing the 'self' through discourse and experiences of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a). Throughout New Zealand social work literature, the term 'tangata whenua' is commonly used, as well as 'Māori' and an 'iwi' affiliation. These research findings confirm the notion that tangata whenua should 'own' the naming process and determine the label others use to identify them. This research also asserts that Māori social workers within the social services are already doing so.

Social workers, such as Hinewirangi (with Sonia Hibbs) have a history of challenging the use of the term 'Māori':

> I am not Māori because that word is a 'Pākehāfied' word that says 'native'. I have to know who I am. I am *Ngāti Kahungunu* and I'm *Ngai Tamarawaho* from *Tauranga Moana* and I am *Ngāti Porou Tamanuwhiri*… who gave us that word 'Māori'? You know colonization decided that we had to be lumped all into one (NZASW., 1995, p. 10).

Barbour describes how 'Foucauldian discourse analysis' is concerned with the role of language in the construction of social and psychological experiences (Barbour, 2008; J. A. Smith, 2003). In this case social workers are critiquing the language that they use to describe themselves as well as how others are describing them. The terminology that is used to define one's self is described in a way that emphasizes ones connections to their ancestry, kinship group and authenticity (the concept of 'authenticity is discussed later in this chapter). The difference between the Foucauldian analysis and other discursive psychology is that it acknowledges the strategic "role of the discourse in wider social processes of legitimation and power" (Barbour, 2008, p. 24).

> Our language can be seen as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, and of houses with additions from various periods; and this surrounded by a multitude of new boroughs with straight regular streets and uniform houses (Wittgenstein in Gergen & Gergen, 2003, p. 19)

Identifying as either Māori, tangata whenua, or as belonging to their whānau, hapū iwi all have intrinsically different meanings that are equally important to the individual's identity. The danger, when discussing identities, is the temptation to compare and make assumptions about the authenticity of each '*term*' or '*label*' that is used. Wittgenstein provides an analogy of language to that of building a city overtime; the words that are currently being used have been built/constructed by the ancestors of these research participants and will continue to be built upon, while maintaining semblances of the past (Gergen & Gergen, 2003). Pōhatu (2005, p. 4) states that Māori knowledge comes from the language itself and that the language fulfils many roles; that of a 'guardian of knowledge', a 'template of the past' and the cement that embeds Māori theory in everyday activities. Therefore, with Pōhatu's discussion in mind, the terms that are used reflect the individuals' understanding of themselves, of the Māori people and the connection to the past.

Theorists have challenged the notion of there being such a thing as a 'fixed identity' and describe commonalities between 'subject positions' (Parton, 1996). Implicit in any fixed identity is the notion that one term (such as 'Māori', 'tangata whenua' or an 'iwi' affiliation) implies a deeper connection to Te Ao Māori.

> "We have those values from Te Ao Māori…a belief in protecting our taha Māori, valuing te reo, our tino rangatiratanga and decision-making…"

- Research Participant.

Participants also used the phrase 'tūturu' (*authentic, real*) in relation to being 'Māori', 'tangata whenua' or affiliated to their 'iwi'. The term 'tūturu' can be also defined as '*trustworthy*' and '*permanent*' (Ryan & Reid, 2008, p. 352). There are multiple layers to the notion of authenticity; many of which are described by Markula as artificial interpretations of the 'truth' by 'the West' and are merely "nostalgic ideas of the authentic culture [that] maintain the present system of dominance" (Markula, 1997, p. 220). However, in these 'insider' discussions of authenticity, the interpretations can be both 'nostalgic' and 'true' to that individual and their surroundings. Another interpretation is that the findings indicate a key aspect for Māori about being a social worker is being true/loyal to their culture and in their identity (as opposed to the notion that it is about being 'pure') so that they can then pass on that sense of tino rangatiratanga to the whānau they work with.

> "[tino rangatiratanga] is about taking responsibility and trust in that relationship…allowing the whānau to take responsibility in that so they have tino rangatiratanga".

- Research Participant

Therefore, role modeling of this autonomy is why Māori social work by Māori social workers is considered vital in assisting the self-emancipation of clients. Another aspect of the identity dialogue was around being "the namer of names"; the one with the power to name and define themselves and/or others (Keenan, 2008). These research findings argue that it is not always the 'self' that has the power to self-describe their identity in every given situation: *"I also think that if you work from a client-centred framework that you would be more inclined to be 'defined' by your clients" (Research Participant)*. Munford and Walsh-Tapiata take a structural analysis viewpoint when they describe the notion of different identities and link it to exclusion and marginalisation:

> One is not able to always move out of one subject position into another and many individuals do not have a choice about which subject position they take on and how this position is given meaning (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001, p. 29).

In other words, it is not always within ones power to determine how their identity is 'labelled' by others, this label is a reflection of how the 'other' individual constructs identities and difference using their own understanding of the world.

> "They [tangata tiriti, non-Māori Treaty partner] have a responsibility to allow Māori to practice our processes through tino rangatiratanga and have equity, not equality, equity".
>
> - Research Participant

Alongside the question of how one identifies, is the conception that one definition implies a certain meaning and that each persons' understanding of that meaning will be identical, e.g. the term 'tūturu Māori' could encompass someone that is a native Māori speaker by some people and not others.

Ruwhiu (2001, p. 61) presents a Bi-Polity analytical framework for understanding the collective, yet diverse, nature of identities and relationships between Māori and non-Māori and also among Māori. In this framework the two treaty partners are presented at a macro level, followed by a description of the diverse realities within each group. Ruwhiu presents a variety of identities at the meso level: tangata whenua, iwi, Māori, half-caste /bicultural and New Zealander. He then follows this with an important question for social workers; "what does all this mean for non-Māori social workers dealing with Māori clients?" and responds to the question by stating:

> The fact that you are dealing with those indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand raises the importance of having to understand what it means to cope with postcolonisation trauma. Likewise, any ethical dilemmas about your own power relationship with tangata whenua will require attention (Ruwhiu, 2001, p. 61).

Ruwhiu then raises the important issue that is particularly relevant to this research, that Māori, as well as tauiwi, have diverse realities, e.g. some Māori identify as New Zealanders, while others identify strongly with their iwi.

Many of the younger participants commented on issues relating to their age.

> They would consult with me about things Māori and in the early stages I was going "Gee, I am only a baby as far as my knowledge of tīkanga Māori goes"…
>
> - Research participant

Age and ability can also influence the reality of practice for young Māori social wortkers. This can also be relevant to the topic of how workers learn 'on the job.' Younger social workers are not always as adequately prepared to deal with some situations as more experienced social workers. More experienced Māori social workers tend to be more relaxed about speaking on behalf of Māoridom, in other words, they believe their views could be considered orthodox or generic to Māori society. In contrast, their younger Māori colleagues are more likely to choose to represent their own beliefs only.

A key component of this is around the importance of storytelling in traditional and contemporary Māori society. Holmes (2003) believes that there are distinct differences in the ways Māori use storytelling and construct their stories compared to non-Māori in contemporary New Zealand society. She states that often "Māori use non-verbal forms of communication more readily" than non-Māori, as well as silence, where non-Māori might feel compelled to verbalise their thoughts (2003, p. 155). She follows on to describe how while Māori may verbalise less in certain situations they could also be inclined to make issues clear, where Pākehā may be "less explicit" (2003, p. 135). However, she did conclude that older Māori participants in her research were more inclined to use these characteristics than younger Māori. This is particularly relevant to Māori social work because it relates to the different methods of communication. While it is acknowledge that there are differences within Māori communities with regards to how the story is told, the key point here is that it is important for the potential development of Māori social work for the stories to take place. In this research young participants commented that they are at the beginning stages of their journeys and would benefit from experienced Māori social workers passing on their knowledge and experiences workers.

> I don't think I'm up to that yet. I think there are those things you learn with age that gives you that mana, knowing your whakapapa and all that.
>
> - Research participant

Diverse Realities

While the question was posed to participants *"Would you define yourself as a Māori social worker or a social worker who is Māori?* It is tempting to place people on some form of a continuum between Māori and non-Māori, it is evident, however, that identities do not fit on a basic continuum, nor are they a binary concept. Kelly and Sewell (1988, p. 12) describe '*different logics for different judgements*' and states that:

> If we can expand our thinking to more than one pattern, we can also expand our ability to respond to different people and to the different judgments they make. Locked into one logic or pattern of thinking, we make and accept judgments solely on the basis of what is familiar, whereas with an "open mind" we are open both to new ideas and to the way we process those ideas: we are capable of thinking about thinking (Kelly & Sewell, 1988, p. 12).

They follow on to describe a range of logics, one in particular 'a trialectic logic' is particularly relevant to these findings as it is described as "a logic of wholeness" (Kelly & Sewell, 1988, p. 13). Māori social workers' identities are each diverse and ever-changing and are perhaps more appropriately displayed as a set of 'trialectics' as opposed to being on a binary scale. Three factors are contributing to a trialectic, each is of equal status and the task of the trialectic is to contain a sense of 'wholeness' from the relationships between the three. In Kelly and Sewell's discussion they present the 'head, heart and hand' as three important factors of human capacities and interaction (1988, p. 23), however, the following set of trialectics (*see figure one following page*) presents a set of diverse realities of Māori social workers, that are flexible and ever-changing. Some of the labels, such as 'tūturu', may apply to those that identify with being tangata whenua, Māori or with their iwi. The following is a different form of trialectic. Rather than each form mediating and modifying each component of the trialectic, the basic axis goes from tūturu or being culturally as well as ethnically Māori, to being bicultural or urban. This range is then mediated or influenced by another factor. These other factors could include being rural, urban, ones age, the influence of religion, a commitment to social justice, gender, sexuality and whether or not someone is mātā waka, living in another tribal area, or mana whenua, living in their own tribal area. While this is not a trialectic in the sense that Kelly and Sewell intended, it is another way of viewing the variables that influence identities and thus, modify actions, beliefs and how a worker relates to their community.

Figure One:
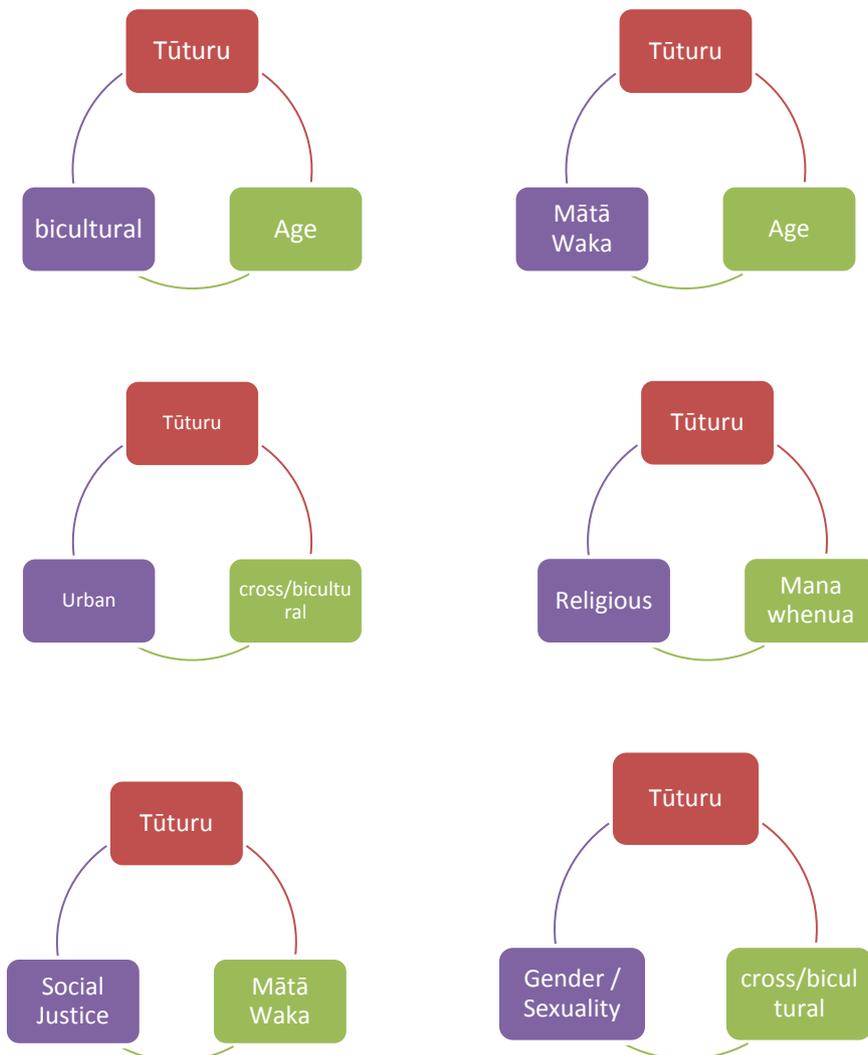
It is difficult to chart in simple diagrams, what is in fact a journey that is dynamic, where influences and identities flow, change and develop. In some cases progress could be made in one direction before it is abandoned when it does not meet the needs of the identity that is being constructed or new learnings trim off old practices. These factors can be influenced by numerable external factors, ones age, their birth order and this can change with the addition of new responsibilities or the death of a parent, a kaumātua or even an older sibling.

Theoretical Interpretations

Social construction theory and the integrated practice framework define that social workers are informed and guided by who they are as individuals and socially constructed people (Berger & Luckmann, 1971). It is therefore essential that social workers know and understand

themselves and where they come from before, and during their work with the client (Keen cited in Walsh-Mooney, 2009, p. 70).

In the above comments Walsh-Mooney (2009) introduces the link between theory, practice frameworks and ones identity when being a social worker. In her comment she draws attention to the social construction of knowledge and the importance of social workers 'knowing themselves' when working with whānau and clients. Social constructivism has been closely aligned with Kaupapa Māori theory: "Constructivism in a practical sense can allow social workers to maintain an holistic view of the individual or family, validating the clients' knowledge" (Hollis, 2006, p. 24).

Eketone (2008) in his discussion of the *Theoretical underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori directed practice* describes how Kaupapa Māori practice is underpinned by two, sometimes competing theoretical perspectives; Critical Theory and Constructivism. Eketone acknowledges the role of Critical Theory as a fundamental aspect of Kaupapa Māori at this stage of Maori development but sees a Constructivist perspective as having a better long term future to support Maori advancement. While it is evident that both Hinewirangi (with Sonia Hibbs) (ANZASW, 1995, p. 10) and the research participants' comments reflect elements of Critical Theory, they also show a Constructivist approach in that they encourage Māori to self-determine and take ownership over the terminology. This indicates that Māori have 'shifted' in terms of their present stage of decolonisation; to one where efforts are being directed to a focus on the advancement of Māori community goals and aspirations, as opposed to being focused on power imbalances, particularly with those that have moved from 'grievance mode' to 'development mode'. This is conceivably a further step toward tino rangatiratanga and aligns with Moana Jackson's comments that the 'naming' of indigenous peoples has always been an element of the colonial processes of oppression and dominance:

> Colonisers have always presumed the right to name the people they wished to dispossess. Sometimes, the re-naming altered the very idea of self by purportedly identifying 'real' or 'full' Māori according to the pseudo-scientific and racist notions of a 'blood quantum'. At other times, re-naming was simply used to change the names of peoples and places as a means of imposing the new colonizing order (Jackson in Keenan, 2008, p. 7).

Therefore, the current literature and research findings indicate that the process of 'naming' indigenous peoples is no longer being 'owned' by the coloniser, but is a significant stage of the decolonial process.

A key characteristic of this research is that the participants are predominantly experienced practitioners that learnt on the job. They are also long-term practitioners and have stayed in the job despite any difficulties they have experienced along the way. This accumulated knowledge-base has implications for future social work development in many areas. While this is further discussed in chapter nine, it is important to point out here that the participants in this research provide insight into what is needed to keep new and emerging Māori social workers in the profession in the long-term. One of these key points is being tūturu in themselves, whether it is in relation to their iwi, being Māori or being urban Māori. This could be critiqued in relation to whether one can be tūturu and urban, however, according to these Māori social workers they are both tūturu and urban. Another key point from this section is around their constant learning and adaptation to organisational changes, while maintaining what is important to them and their diverse realities.

What are the complications?

"Tino Rangatiratanga is a tool to be shared with everybody".

- *Research Participant*

Variable impediments arise when one attempts to generalise based on narratives, particularly when related to one's personal identity and/or culture. In fact the meaning behind how people identify can only be fully interpreted through understanding where they came from and also how they put their understanding of 'self' into action. One of the key principles of Narrative analysis is the understanding that the kōrerorero is shaped by the environment in which it is spoken; it is changeable, multifaceted and depended upon the participants' understanding of self within their community at the time (Denzin, et al., 2008a). Moreover, the way they describe their cultural membership is key to how they describe the 'self'.

One of the obvious limitations of this study, but also its strength, is that the researcher sought out participants who self-identify as 'Māori social workers'. A significant observation of this research in relation to identity was that all the research participants acknowledge being Māori through their whakapapa (*genealogy*) and also through their values and beliefs. In other words, none of the participants denied their cultural heritage, even though they described various understandings of it. It was also evident that no participants came forward that were 'genetically' non-Māori but were whāngai(ed) (*caring for a child of a relative*) by whānau Māori. The unintentional exclusion of these diverse groups resulted in findings that

represented the views of Māori that predominantly would consider themselves tūturu Māori and therefore have a high level of cultural capability.

It is important here to note that the very act of describing their identity caused them to reflect further on themselves and could potentially change their identity as a result. Therefore, this research is a 'snapshot in time' that describes the identities in one particular place and time for each participant. It is anticipated that they will continue to reflect and perhaps their identities will evolve and develop from what is presented here.

Whānau ki mua, Whānau ki muri

> I decided that I needed to make changes in my life that would put our whānau in a better financial situation and outlook on life.

- Research Participant

As this quote indicates, whānau is fundamental to the lives of Māori social workers and is the focus of their practice for achieving Māori aspirations in the future. The concept of whānau being both 'ki mua' and 'ki muri' (*in front and behind*) refers also to the notion of being whānau-focused, family being a priority of one's efforts, resulting in the maintenance of the whānau over generations. The term 'mua', (*in front*) can also be used to refer to as: 'ko ngā rā o mua' (*the days gone before*) and the word 'muri' (*behind*) can also be used as 'ko ngā rā o muri mai' (*the days following*). These terms have been used here because of the connotation that whānau is both in front and behind the development of Māori social work.

> Māori walk backwards into the future, looking forwards for support and direction from the past as each event occurs (S. M. Mead, 1986, p. 64).

Whānau is all encompassing for Māori social workers and therefore this discussion has two sides. First, whānau as a collective group is/are instrumental in shaping Māori social work development and the lives of Māori social workers and second that it is a key priority area of Māori that work in the social work field (whether it be working with whānau to establish whānau, hapū and iwi connections, or the development of the *Whānau Ora Programme*).

Defining Whānau

> Ko te whānau ko ahau, ko ahau ko te whānau
>
> I am the whānau and the whānau is me
>
> (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 8)

Encompassed within this discussion is the notion that 'whānau' is not an unvaried entity. Many theorists have acknowledged that whānau is not a direct translation of '*family*' and that

"a plurality of forms exist and to a greater or lesser extent fulfill the functions of familyhood" (McCarthy, Durie, & Te Whāiti, 1997, p. 21). Some people use the term *Whakapapa Whānau* when they are referring to whānau; a family that is related through genealogy that refers to a wider extended family over several generations (M. H. Durie & Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand., 1999; Tomlins-Jahnke, Durie, & New Zealand. Families Commission., 2008). Another use of the word 'whānau' is whānau whanui (*wider family*) and is summed up by the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives as "a multi-generational collective made up of many households that are supported and strengthened by a wider network of relatives" (Taskforce, 2009, p. 13). Other writers describe a *'kaupapa whānau'* that describes a group of people that have developed connections to each other through a shared issue or kaupapa (Borell, 2005). It is also integral to the concept of whānau that it is understood within the context of the hapū and iwi and that Māori practices of whāngai are integral to understanding diverse Māori whānau (Thompson, 2009).

Whānau ki muri

> Once I got here I found a lot of family and all that, it's been a bit of a journey and that's cool. That whānau journey is good; it's a powerful journey because whakapapa is a powerful thing.

- Research Participant

'Whānau ki muri' refers to the influence whānau have on Māori social work development in Aotearoa New Zealand. The previously mentioned types of 'mana' can be used to explain the way whānau is positively influencing Māori social work development.

First, mana Atua (*spiritual connections*) explains the connection between the 'living' and the 'ancestors'. In the quote above 'whakapapa' is the spiritual dimension that describes the connection for Māori with their ancestors and with Atua (*Gods*). Many Māori social workers acknowledged the influence of spiritual dimension and the importance of acknowledging their whakapapa and the influence it has on their everyday lives. The following quote describes the spiritual influence on Māori peoples:

> Māori generally acknowledge that human beings are born with te ira atua, divine spirit that endows them with tapu. People also have mana atua, and this "power" stems from this divine spirit that is in each of us. We therefore have tapu atua, which is the precursor to mana atua (Edwards, 2005, p. 90).

Contained in this discussion is the notion that either explicitly or implicitly one's life is influenced by whānau and their whakapapa. This could manifest for the participant above in the decisions s/he made that resulted in becoming a social worker because s/he was

surrounded by whānau, or s/he was overtly 'steered towards' a career path by whānau members. Traditionally tohunga (*specialists*) or kaumātua (*elders*) watched young children and identified their strengths in a similar way to this.

Mana tangata (*strength of people*) can be used to interpret the influence Māori whānau have on the career paths of their members. Nearly all Māori social workers mentioned having family members notice something in them that indicated they would make a good social worker. This reflects the 'principle of kaupapa' (*collective responsibility*) where whānau encourage their members to pursue a career that will benefit whānau, hapū and Iwi and fit their character (Bishop, 1995; Makereti, 1986).

Finally, mana whenua (*trusteeship of land*) refers to ones connection to the earth and connection Māori have to their maunga (*mountain*), awa (*river*) and whenua (*land*). Therefore, according to Māori creation stories, Māori not only come from the earth (Papatūānuku*, the earth mother*) but they also return to the earth (Hine-nui-te-pō, *Goddess of death*) (Tawhai, 2007). This belief was common among Māori social workers and they sought to re-connect whānau back to their mana whenua.

Whānau ki mua

> It is about whakawhanaungatanga; making those connections so they feel more comfortable and actually open up and let you know what is really going on.
>
> - Research Participant

According to this research, whānau are the primary reason that Māori social workers keep practicing; for the betterment of whānau they are working with. They acknowledge 'taonga tuku iho' (*legacy passed down*) such as whanaungatanga (*whānau connections*) and kōrero (*narrative*) that enable them to develop trusting relationships with Māori whānau. While Māori in other professions directly address iwi or 'macro' issues such as treaty claims and resource management, Māori social workers strive towards helping whānau at a 'micro' level to build their connections back with whānau, hapū and iwi.

> It is best to get background knowledge on the whānau you are dealing with. If I don't already know I sometimes go and see the local kaumātua and ask them about the whānau concerned to get an understanding of that whānau whakapapa and āhuatanga (*characteristics*). I now have a better understanding of the whānau and can break down barriers through interlinking their whakapapa to their area and smooth the whanaungatanga process.
>
> - Research Participant

This shows that the focus is not only on making the connection between the worker and the whānau but also between the whānau and other whānau, hapū and marae (*meeting area of whānau or hapū*). There are many considerations involved in the reestablishment of connection between the whānau (and perhaps a few individuals) and their wider hapū and iwi. Moeke-Pickering neatly defines aspects of a contemporary Māori identity that need consideration (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). The first aspect is associated with whakapapa (*genealogy*) and the importance of identifying with tribal structures and cultural practices.

The second characteristics that Moeke-Pickering describes are: "those characteristics that emerge out of the current ecology such as socio-economic and lifestyle characteristics" (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 3). This relates to the impact of the Pākehā (non-Māori) ecology on Māori identities and describes how Māori culture and identities have proved a resilience to survive over time (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Ritchie, 1978).

Theoretical Interpretations

> 'Because I am Māori first and foremost I see my role as an educator as far more important for Māori culture than my role as an artist…. For me personally this commitment is a cultural obligation' (Jahnke cited in H. Smith, Solomon, Tamarapa, Tamati-Quennell, & Heke, 2007, p. 3).

Whānau is a fundamental aspect of both Kaupapa Māori theory and Māori social work practice. In fact, with the 'whānau' principle in mind, Māori social work is strongly underpinned by Kaupapa Māori theory. Smith describes the importance of the 'whānau' principle in relation to research that can also be applied to social work. She states that through the alignment with Critical Theory one can see that "whānau remains as a persistent way of living and organizing the social world" for Māori, and that whānau has become a significant part of Māori ethical practice (2005, p.187). She follows on to state that whānau is a way of "giving voice" to Māori, of distributing tasks and utilising strengths. This key point reiterates that the unification of whānau is a fundamental driver for Māori social workers; where individuals have separated from their whānau, hapū and iwi due to colonisations and urbanisation:

> The philosophy of this organisation is that the family will be directed back to family. At the end of the day there is no one stronger than their whānau. So that is the philosophy, regardless of whether they are working with Pākehā or Māori workers.

> - Research Participant

The whānau, hapū and iwi structure is predominant in the minds of Māori social workers and organisations, whether they are at rūnanga (*tribal council*) based social services or other health and social service organisaitons. It is evident that Māori social workers are expressing their own views on the importance of whānau in their discussion, thus constructing an image of 'self' not as an individual but as a part of a collective (Staniforth, 2010).

What are the complications?

> I see my role as supporting that whānau, with whatever it was that they needed support with.
>
> - Research Participant

Difficulties may arise when Māori families do not wish to be re-connected to their wider whānau, hapū and iwi. As previously discussed in the literature review and from the comments of these participants, the whānau is the "foundation of Māori society" and plays a "central role in the wellbeing of Māori individually and collectively" (Ministry of Health, 2001, p. 1). While it is acknowledged that many families are ranging from being connected to their whānau, hapū and iwi to being disconnected it is not necessarily anticipated by social service organisations that they would not want to be reconnected to their whānau. Māori families may see social workers when they are in a 'crisis situations' and some may have purposefully 'disconnected' themselves from either their Māori whānau (or community connections) or their cultural identity. Therefore, there is a cultural assumption that being connected and active in your extended family lives will result in positive outcomes for Māori. Once again, this research is limited by the range of participants that came forward and also by the fact that it did not include Māori clients, whānau and community members that are involved with these organisations.

Brown-face Burnout

> I think sometimes our people get put in the role of teacher, when that's not what we asked to do, we're social workers. We get drawn into teaching our colleagues and then who is there with our Māori whānau?
>
> - Research Participant

'Brown-face burnout' has two important components; first it is about Māori social workers being overworked and generally unhappy about their workload. The second and most important point is that this 'burnout' is associated with their ethnicity; being Māori. It is evident from the research findings that organisations have differing approaches to the

implementation of bicultural practices. While there are many ways to approach this issue, it is evident that suggestions on bicultural procedure for organisations would enable Māori social workers to avoid burning-out because of their culture. The following discussion includes 'procedural equality' and 'substantive equality' to analyse the implementation of bicultural practices in organisations. Within this section are the issues of being 'cultural experts' and the extent to which Māori social workers accept additional tasks in order to implement tīkanga in the workplace.

Theoretical Interpretations

Smith and Lusthaus (1995) describe equality within the workplace as being implemented either procedurally or substantially using the terms 'fair play' for procedural equality and 'fair shares' for substantial equality. 'Fair play' describes the way procedures are adapted to ensure they are promoting equal opportunities to services for all cultural groups. In this context this would involve an organisation making itself 'open' to all/any cultural group, including Māori clients, whānau and communities through adapting its procedures to suit their needs. Gibson, cited in Smith and Lusthaus (1995, p. 380), states that 'fair play' can be implemented superficially or generously "Stingily applied, the fair play ... model represents a stern and unsympathetic form of rugged individualism. Generously applied, it can accommodate a considerable measure of humanitarianism" (Gibson, 1990, p. 63). It is evident that the extent to which procedural equality or 'fair play' has been implemented in relation to Māori whānau differs substantially depending on the organisation. In order to implement procedural equality in relation to Māori whānau, an organisation would need to do a number of things; present itself in a way that would indicate to Māori whānau that they will be accepted, supported and respected by the organisation, while implementing tīkanga processes throughout the interaction with whānau.

> They are more open and there are a number of things for Māori health like developing the tīkanga and recommended best practices.

- Research Participant

Using this theoretical approach, this would indicate that some organisations that sparingly apply 'fair play' in relation to Māori whānau are also not implementing the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi within their organisation. While those organisations that implement the principles of the Treaty through tīkanga Māori are more substantively applying 'fair shares'.

'Fair shares' or substantial equality is described by Smith and Lusthaus (1995, p. 380) "as a more expansive form of equality which promotes the collective welfare of all members of the

community, regardless of their ability to compete in "life's race."''. This approach indicates that equality has been addressed in a substantial manner when the organisation focuses on 'equal outcomes' of their services, ensuring that the welfare of the client, whānau or community has been enhanced. Smith and Lusthaus argue that if only procedural equality is implemented without substantial equality then "disadvantaged individuals will still finish last, if they finish the race at all" (1995, p. 380).

Being Cultural Experts

One of the ways organisations attempted to implement procedural and substantive equality was through the employment of Māori social workers. However, one of the reasons for Māori social workers being 'burnt-out' was because they were viewed as 'cultural experts' by their non-Māori colleagues and sometimes managers. Māori social workers reported that it was a common occurrence for their organisation to make assumptions about their knowledge, skills and values around tīkanga Māori. As a result of this research, the following discussion includes some of the ways that tīkanga has been implemented within organisations, alongside ways that the processes could be improved:

- *Saying a karakia – Implementation of Wairuatanga*

According to the research participants, while many social service organisations acknowledged the importance of karakia (*prayers*) as a part of Māori customs (as well as some non-Māori), there are a number of issues with its implementation. The karakia is often used as a way to begin meetings, gatherings, before eating and also as a part of the farewell process of a get-together. The following points are suggestions, based around the research findings, or organisations to use the karakia:

- ° First of all, is it a 'karakia' that is appropriate or a 'prayer'? Who decides?
- ° If a karakia is deemed appropriate, what type? Should it be formal, traditional, addressing Ranginui (*sky father*) and Papatūānuku? Acknowledging the landmarks of the iwi represented at the hui, or should the speaker use a prayer from a particular group, e.g. Christian, Rātana or Ringatū faiths?
- ° Is it more appropriate for the spokes-person to be Māori or non-Māori, a manager or worker, or perhaps a kaumātua?

It is important to note that there is no 'one correct procedure' that suits every organisation, but that the organisation needs to have a set of kawa (*protocols*), that reflects the mana whenua, for how they undertake the karakia. When people are about to eat they may decide that a karakia spoken informally by anyone in English or Māori is appropriate, however if the

organisation is welcoming a visiting group the most appropriate person to undertake the karakia may be a kaumātua, cultural advisor or the manager of the organisation.

- *Welcoming groups to the organisation*

The questions an organisation needs to ask itself when they are welcoming a group are quite similar to those involved with a karakia. Many participants described the implementation of tīkanga Māori being 'tokenistic' around welcoming people to their organisation. Tokenism in this context is evident when an organisation may hold a powhiri, which is the most formal welcoming process, for some visitors and not others. The organisation might attempt to implement only certain aspects of a pōwhiri (those that are 'easier' or cost less financially) such as having a cup of tea rather than a hākari (*feast*).

This research shows that it is important for organisations to develop a welcoming policy so that staff members clearly know what is expected of them. The kawa (*processes*) around the welcome then becomes a normal part of the organisation. In order to develop the policy the organisation needs to ask themselves:

- o When is a pōwhiri appropriate to use within this organisation? Alternately a 'mihi whakatau' (*speech of greeting*) or a karakia (*prayer*) may be more appropriate. Who decides?
- o What roles are needed for a pōwhiri, who has the capabilities to undertake these roles? Consider whether they are Māori or non-Māori, a manager or worker, or a kaumātua?
- o Who ensures that tīkanga is implemented appropriately?

In order for the organisation to address these issues they need to consult widely so that their tīkanga and kawa reflect that of the mana whenua (*local iwi*). They also need to ensure that their policies are appropriate for the knowledge, skills and values of the workers they employ and if they do not, then additional training may be required.

- *Education within the workplace*

Finally, this research showed that within many organisations Māori social workers are treated as 'cultural experts' by being asked to answer these questions. Māori social workers are often asked to educate their colleagues and managers both formally: being asked to run workshops for colleagues, or informally: being asked to answer questions about Te Ao Māori (*a Māori worldview*) or tīkanga (*customs*). However, Māori social workers are not necessarily cultural

experts, they do not gain this form of cultural expertise when they complete their social work training, nor are they born with it. Nonetheless, many Māori social workers develop the knowledge that is needed because of the nature of the issue. In order for organisations to educate their employees around Te Ao Māori or tīkanga they need to ask themselves:

- ° What is it about Te Ao Māori or tīkanga that management and social workers need to know within this particular organisation? Are there different levels of knowledge, skills and values? Are different types of training needed for management, social workers, Māori and/or non-Māori?

- ° Who is the most appropriate person to do this training? Should it be a local kaumātua, cultural advisor or an educational institution?

- ° In an informal capacity, how much does the organisation rely on the skills, knowledge and values of individual Māori social workers?

These questions that were derived out of the research findings could be useful for organisations to begin to address these issues themselves and with their communities.

What are the complications?

> I am really sorry I haven't got a brown face, but I am the Māori social worker, can I help you?

- • Research Participant

Complications arise when assumptions are made about the authenticity of Māori social workers. The above quote indicates the type of issues that can arise when colleagues have expectations about what a Māori social worker should look like, as well as act like. McKinley (2005 p. 448) describes the impact of colonial worldviews on the way Māori are both perceived and also understand their own identities:

> The legacy of the 19th century discourse of ''blood'' could be traced.... when many of the Māori women scientists described themselves in terms of the amount of ''Māori blood'' they had and connected this to both their ''skin colour'' and their authenticity as Māori.... The desire to transform one's visibility comes with ambivalence for many of the women. The women almost apologize for being ''inauthentically'' Māori, as there is some pressure today to no longer ''pass.''(McKinley, 2005 p. 448).

McKinley follows on to describe how having 'Māori blood' was seen to be 'polluting' to 'white blood' and that along with this view there was the notion that 'Māori blood' resulted in people being less reliable and more prone to drunken behaviour than others with 'white blood'. She states: "Through her fair skin and her withholding of conversation on the ancestry marker she reinforces the hegemonic assumption that she is 'white'" (McKinley, 2005 p. 448; Te Rito, 2005). Much like in McKinley's research, this research finds that

assumptions are still being made about the authenticity of Māori and generalisation are being made about what their skin colour implies. In the quote at the top of this section, the Māori social worker is being questioned by a colleague as to whether or not she is Māori, because she has 'fair skin'. The assumption here is that she cannot be authentically Māori because of her skin colour and perhaps has less knowledge, skills and values than a darker-skinned social worker. Organisations need to think critically about the role of Māori social workers and to be clear about them, not only in terms of creating policies but also about how they view 'difference' with respect and understanding. However, once again this research is limited by the fact that it did not include non-Māori participants in the research. Therefore, as it states above, the comments regarding authenticity are based on assumption as a result of the experiences of Māori social workers.

Organisational Learnings

One of the major aims of this research was to identify how the three 'types' of organisations (Governmental, non-Govermnetal and Maori and Iwi) in this study could learn from each others' strengths in order to improve the work experiences of Māori social workers. Many participants had been employed within each of the three types of organisations and were able to draw comparisons between them, from which their strengths are identified. It is important to note that while certain strengths have been identified within one context, that this may not be able to be generalised across all organisations within that 'type'.

The following key points were identified as the five most important characteristics for working environments for Māori social workers. They will be discussed in more depth in the following pages:

- Community involvement
- Relationships with non-Māori colleagues
- Relationship with management
- Permanently established Māori social work positions
- Implementation of tīkanga and other Māori practices

Theoretical Interpretations

> In the community [organisations]… we would know who we were referring out to so we were able to network and form some really good relationships.

- Research Participant

Three of the five environmental characteristics above refer to the development and maintenance of relationships. The first relationship is between the organisation and its community. According to Soanes and Stevenson (2009, p. 289) 'the community' can be defined as being the 'people' of an area or a collective with similar belief systems, joint interests, attitudes or ownership over a place. While it is found that Māori social workers that are involved in communities are more likely to have better working relationships with both whānau and other organisations (Barnes, 2000); merely being involved is not enough.

> The Māori community workers, employed by the Trust, were seen as central to the success of the programmes. They belonged to their communities and were effective deliverers of the messages. In the case of the Tu BADD worker, this was described as having 'street credibility'(Barnes, 2000, p. 23).

Barnes relates that having 'street credibility' is a fundamental aspect of developing positive relationships in communities and therefore resulting in positive outcomes for families. In this scenario being Māori was a significant aspect of the development of street credibility. So to, with this research, being Māori and practicing Māori processes (such as: whanaungatanga, whakapapa or other tīkanga processes) result in Māori social workers that are able to develop 'street credibility' through whānau and community connectedness.

As mentioned in other chapters, the relationships between Māori and non-Māori colleagues/social workers have a significant impact on the ability to implement appropriate support for Māori whānau. In order to address the issue of working with non-Māori colleagues, Campbell et al. (2007) provides some suggestions. In their community development study in a remote Aboriginal Australian setting, they describe some of the issues for organisations getting involved in indigenous communities:

> This study demonstrates that despite health professionals committing to a community development approach, after recognizing the limitations of a top-down approach to child growth, they were unwilling to share control of health-related decisions with Aboriginal participants (Campbell, 2007, p. 156).

Campbell et al. (2007) continues to describe how the sharing of power around decision-making relates to 1) the selection of the 'issue' that will be addressed, 2) the definition of the problem and 3) the strategy to be implemented in the community. This approach can be transplanted to any shared programme where two groups are attempting to collaborate. Reflecting on the findings of this research, they would indicate that 'step two, the definition

of the problem' is just as, if not more, important than the strategy itself. This is because it ensures that the two groups, community and social workers or between the social workers themselves, have built a trusting and collaborative understanding of what they are working on; the aim or objective of the strategy. This research reiterates that social workers need community involvement and 'know-how' in order to make appropriate decisions alongside the whānau they are working with. This knowledge of the community would include Māori and non-Māori services, community resources and options.

Smith-Ring and Van de Ven (1992) related that another important aspect of relationships within the community is around 'risk and reliance on trust'. They state that risk and trust are inseparable for achieving positive relationships within communities, between organisations and, in this context, with whānau. Trust has been defined as "a willingness to rely on an exchange partner in whom one has confidence" (Moorman, 1992, p. 315) and has been treated as a feature of a relationship quality alongside satisfaction, opportunism (Crosby, 1990), reciprocation (Levinson, 1965) power, communications and goal compatibility (Anderson, Lodish, & Weitz, 1987). Trustworthiness is viewed (alongside believability and honesty) as a fundamental aspect of an organisations or individual's credibility and therefore influences the perception of the organisations' service quality (Parasuraman, 1985).

This trustworthiness is vital in relation to the following issues raised by research participants:

> Sometimes even I feel sad because I don't want to refer them [whānau] on to a particular organisation but I cannot hold them back.

Another comment was:

> There are too many people here in this city, people who hold powerful positions, working with families, our Māori families, that shouldn't be. When we know about it, that puts us in an awkward position, where I don't want to refer that person over.

These comments show that some practitioners experience ethical dilemmas when they know about issues or difficulties that exist in the lives of other social workers or organisations. With this knowledge they do not necessarily want to refer families to them but need to do so in some cases.

The improvement of relationships between Māori and non-Māori (as well as between Māori) social workers can only result in positive outcomes for Māori whānau if it is founded upon notions of trust and reciprocation, where each has 'risked' something for the needs of the group. In Staniforth's (2010) research she presents comments by Māori social workers on the

ethical issues surrounding confidentiality and individualism versus the 'collective' (the community/organisation). She describes how ANZASW addressed issues surrounding confidentiality through their Code of Ethics by saying that if an individual Māori client requested that their information was not divulged to their whānau, there was an acknowledgement that the social worker could still consult with the whānau within technically breaching the code (NZASW, 1993 cited in Staniforth, 2010, p. 135)..

Another key aspect of forming positive relationships was identified by participants that felt a stronger form of organisational training or evaluation was necessary:

> There needs to be programmes around teaching NGO or other Organisations how their organisation can use Māori practices within their organisation even though the funding and requirements come from a tauiwi (*non-Māori*[27]) structure and funder.

- Research participant

While this issue will be further discussed in chapter nine, an important connection was made between building cultural understanding and the development of indigenous programmes. Mataira (2010) describes the development of *SEER, Strengths-Enhancing Evaluation Research*, an indigenous system of evaluating community organisations through the use of storytelling. In a 2010 video Mataira states:

> One of the critical concerns that indigenous peoples have about research and about evaluation in particular is that there doesn't seem to be an opportunity for their voices to be heard… most evaluations focus on data and evidence, but there's a lot more to it than that when it comes to working with people in communities and obviously it's the same with other cultures... there's a need to reflect more the voices of people (Mataira, 2010).

This emphasises the participant's desire for Māori processes and systems that can improve their organisation's Māori practices in ways that gives Māori a voice, while enhancing relationships. One participant expressed the need for there to be a system in place for organisations to include Māori practices throughout, without putting strain on Māori workers. The utilisation of external experts could address this issue, members of the Māori community that have knowledge of both Māori communities and social work systems. This could improve the overall respect and understanding of Māori practices within all organisations.

The final two characteristics; *permanently established Māori social work positions* and the *implementation of tīkanga and other Māori practices* are both linked to the organisation's

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[27] Tauiwi is translated as *foreigner* by Ryan and Reid but in this context is used in a way that refers to *non-Māori* structures and funders.

commitment to the implementation of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. In order for the organisation to adequately ensure that it is achieving substantial equality and acknowledging the Treaty of Waitangi, it needs to ensure that it does not disestablish Māori, positions. Māori positions need to be incorporated into organisational policy to ensure that positive changes can be maintained. At present these positions often depend on the attitude of senior managers, rather than organisational policy. Throughout many areas, not only the organisations where Māori social workers are employed, Māori designated positions are vulnerable to criticism. This research identified a large number of Māori social workers that were concerned about the designated Māori positions being disestablished. Throughout this research it was found that the role of the designated position is to ensure the organisation employs one (or more) person that is focused completely on the outcomes of Māori clients, whānau and communities. While it is assumed that all social workers, irrelevant of their ethnicity or culture, should also be interested in the outcomes of Māori, it is clear that they would not be focused specifically on this without the designated position. It is also clear from this research that workers would not necessarily be required to have a high level of competency for working with Māori without the designated positions.

Finally, the section on the implementation of tīkanga and other Māori practices is fundamental to Māori social work development and positive whānau outcomes. However, the message from this research is relatively straightforward. Māori social workers are perceived to be the 'experts' in this area while many other social workers do not value positive Māori outcomes to the same extent. However, in order to comment fully on this topic further research is required where non-Māori social workers are included in the conversation.

Characteristics of Positive organisations

Five key characteristics of positive organisations have been identified. These characteristics are deemed positive for working with Māori whānau and improving Māori outcomes. They are:

1. Community involvement
2. Relationships with non-Māori colleagues
3. Relationship with management
4. Permanently established Māori social work positions
5. Implementation of tīkanga and other Māori practices.

Table Two explains some of the ways social services organisations are currently described in relation to the five key characteristics. It gives an impression of how Māori social workers perceive their organisations in their current capacity. *Table Three* follows on in a similar way to suggestions ways the organisations could improve with regards to the five key characteristics. These tables clarify first, what organisations are currently doing and second, how they could improve.

Table Two

Organisational Issues Arrising

Characteristics of positive working environments for Māori Social Workers	Organisational Issues Arrising
Community Involvement	There is a range of involvement with whānau in communities, as well as other social service organisations in the community.
Relationships with non-Māori colleagues	Some communication issues as well as a feeling that some non-Māori colleagues are not actively participating in Māori practices (such as pōwhiri, karakia)
Relationships with Management	Māori in management positions is a positive when the manager is supportive of Māori social work practices. Some non-Māori managers are supportive and open to Māori processes. Endemic negative view of non-Māori management not understanding or implementing tīkanga, resulting in a feeling of being stifled. Some organisations describe a strong feeling of support from management. Some have a feeling of freedom, where management is interested in nurturing employees.
Permanently established Māori social work positions	Māori designated positions are not always secure, often disestablished, which results in Māori workers changing positions often and being 'transient'.
Implementing tīkanga and other Māori practices	According to some participants, some organisations are supportive of Māori protocols and involvement in Māori community events, while others are less flexible. Some organisations regularly change protocols around use of pōwhiri, karakia, mihi to guests and whānau. In some instances, individuals are asked to undertake roles in Māori hui because of individual strengths, not because of ethnicity. Sometimes there is an inappropriate use of Māori staff – viewing Māori as 'experts' and making assumptions around 'authenticity' of worker and practices.

Table Three

How the organisations could improve

Characteristics of positive working environments for Māori Social Workers	How the organisations could improve
Community Involvement	Need to work on developing relationships with other organisations encouraging mutual respect. Need to be more involved in communities and know organisations they are referring to.
Relationships with non-Māori colleagues	Need to work with other organisations and within communities. Need to ensure non-Māori workers are educated in tīkanga and not overly relying on Māori staff skills and knowledge. Ensure relationships are collegial and reciprocal.
Relationships with Management	Need to ensure a trusting relationship is created between management and workers, where systems are understood, respected and supportive of tīkanga Māori.
Permanently established Māori social work positions	Need to ensure Māori advisor and Māori social worker positions are maintained permanently.
Implementing tīkanga and other Māori practices	Need to be aware of whānau diversity and the use of Māori and non-Māori processes with whānau. Also need to realize the position of Māori social workesr as role-models of positive tīkanga within the workplace. Need to be clear on organisational Māori protocols – education for all staff and ensure that all have the skills and knowledge to implement it. Ensure that the protocols are adhered to.

Unique Organisational Issues

While there were insufficient numbers of participants involved in this study to make generalisations about the findings, there are particular comments about some organisations that make them unique from the participant's perspectives. In particular, Māori and iwi organisations were described in a way that was substantially different from the descriptions of non-government and government organisations. First, it was noted that within Māori organisations, social workers described a high level of cultural autonomy to develop their processes for working with Māori whānau in an unhindered manner.

> The level of support and freedom that I have received has allowed me to have a mindfulness and insight into my practices and also the approaches of other indigenous and western cultures… I believe this has come about because it is an organisation that has been founded and works from a Kaupapa Māori foundation.
>
> - Research Participant

It is important here to note that Māori social workers report the development of both Māori and non-Māori practices, for the benefit of Māori and other families. This suggests the importance of cross-cultural skills and methods for all social workers, not only for Māori workers or organisations. This flows into the second key point that was mentioned, that Māori social workers in Māori organisations also use non-Māori practices. The use of non-Māori methods by Māori practitioners could result from their ability to adapt to the variable needs of Māori families, because not all Māori families participate in Māori cultural practices or maintain what could be loosely reffered to as tradiaitonal Maori valeus. However, it could also stem from the worker's personal bicultural approach and comfort with using Pākehā social work methods. The pluses here relate to the workers' ability to adapt and work in many different cultural situations. A negative aspect of this could be perceived as the 'watering down' of Māori methods, with non-Māori methods dominanting social service organisations. Further research is necessary around the extent to which Māori and non-Māori processes are being used throughout social service organisations.

The third issue or observation about the research findings is that very few negative comments were made about Māori organisations. It is important here to acknowledge the role of qualitative research in valuing the depth of the kōrero rather than the breadth and that the findings are respected as they are, but they may have had a reluctance to criticise Maori organisations in a forum (this thesis) open to Pākehā scrutiny. A research limitation is that quantitative research would have been more effective in gauging the extent to which Māori social workers are feeling supported within Māori organisations around the country, not just

in this group. Another limitation is that the kōrero is a "snapshot" of a particular place and time, and that views are constantly adjusting. With the same regard, few positive comments were made about government social service organisations.

From Theory to Practice
Another key point was around the '*eggs*' model and it's use for social work understanding and analysis (Shannon & Young, 2004). In chapter five the values, theories and methods of the research participants are discussed in accordance with the eggs model. The following *table four* shows the research participants' comments presented within this model. It is anticipated that while this model is ideal for use within the chapter, it is important to acknowledge the connection between Māori values (in the first egg) and Māori social work practices (in the third egg). A puely constructivist perspective could view it as cyclical, which is that the outcomes of the practices inform the values; however that is beyond this research.

A key characteristic of this discussion is that the key points are relevant throughout each stage of Māori social work practice. Whanaungatanga can be described as a value (S. M. Mead, 2003), but has also been described by participants as a theory. Whakawhanaungatanga is a fundamental part of the interaction with the whānau, and with the philosophical approach from Te Ao Māori, once the whānau connections are made through the use of whakapapa, those relationships are never-ending. Therefore, if the process is implemented in accordance with tīkanga then the relationship between Māori social workers and whānau /clients will be never-ending, the only thing that changes is the kaupapa of the relationship.

This research emphasised new theories: tīkanga Māori theory and tino rangatiratanga theory. Tīkanga Māori theory was not mentioned specifically by the research participants, however it was evident in their kōrero that tīkanga underpins their practice in the same way a theoretical approach does. Participants introduced the notion of tino rangatiratanga theory and this is about taking an approach to their work that fosters the development of tino rangatiratanga for their client and whānau. Further research would also be needed to expand on these theories.

Table Four

Māori Social Work – the Egg Trialectic
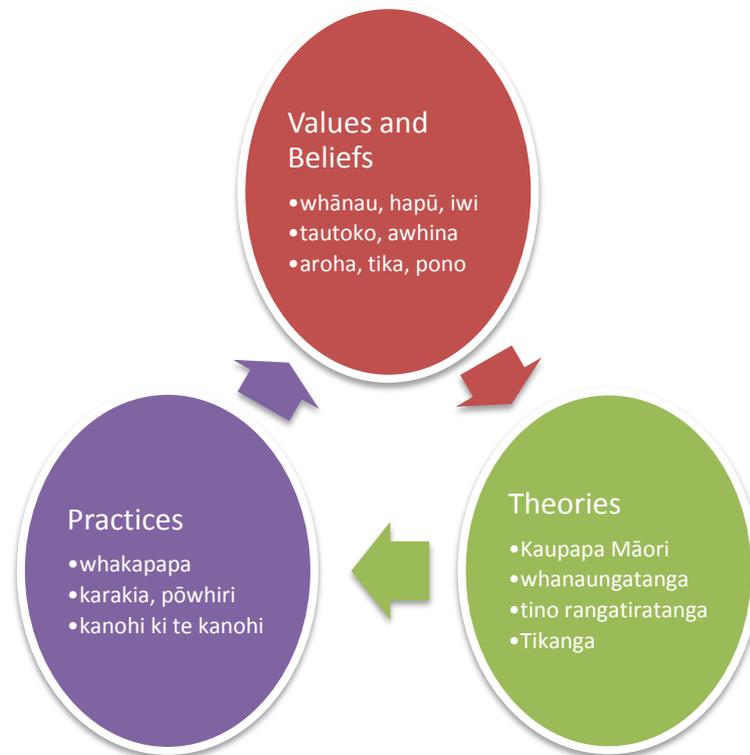
Conclusions: A Framework for Māori Social Work Development

McNicholas, Humphries and Gallhofer in their article on the experiences of Māori women within the accounting profession conclude that "unless effective policies and strategies are developed to address the needs of Māori women, the similar needs of Māori clients might also not be met" (2004, p.57). This chapter concludes the same point, that a framework for Māori social work development would enable social service organisations to meet the needs of Māori whānau and communities. Without adequately addressing the needs of Māori social workers, social service organisations will not be able to fully meet the needs of Māori whānau.

The framework presented here (*table five*) provides the key points identified by Māori social workers across organisations and reflects their suggestions as to how to further develop Māori social work practice. The first 'box' presents a summary of some of the key characteristics of Māori social work, from the perspective of Māori social workers. The first point, 'being Māori' summarised the need for Māori practitioners to self-define who they are and what being Māori means to them. In order to empower whānau Māori to strive towards tino rangatiratanga, Māori social workers also self determine in order to be empowered themselves. The second point here is tīkanga Māori. This research shows that tīkanga is fundamental to the practices of Māori social workers and is the core of their mahi (*work*). The third aspect is whānau, 'whānau ki mua, whānau ki muri' is about whānau behind Māori social workers, support them in their work and is also in front of them as their aim and kaupapa of their mahi. This research shows that whānau plays a significant role in Māori social work as they strive towards re-connecting those whānau that have become 'disconnected' back with their whānau, hapū and iwi.

Finally, connections in the community are fundamental for positive Māori social work. The second box presents important characteristics of an organisation that supports Māori social work practice. The first point is ensuring that positions are maintained that allow for Māori whānau focused work. The second point is around organisations needing to establish appropriate policies around their own tīkanga and kawa and how the organisation will implement tīkanga Māori throughout its environment. The third point is about organisations ensuring that they maintain and promote 'whānau' type relationships among their employees, ensuring that there are positive relationships between Māori and non-Māori as well as with

management. The final point is about organisations needing to maintain positive relationships with other organisations in order to make sure Māori whānau receive the best quality services and referrals from every service. This model is by no means complete and is presented here with the hope that it may be further developed through future projects.

Table Five

Māori Social Work and Organisational Development

• Permanent Māori positions

Tūturu Māori

• Organisation tikanga and kawa

Tikanga Māori theory

Community Connections

Whānau focus

• External collegial relationships

• Internal collegial relationships

9
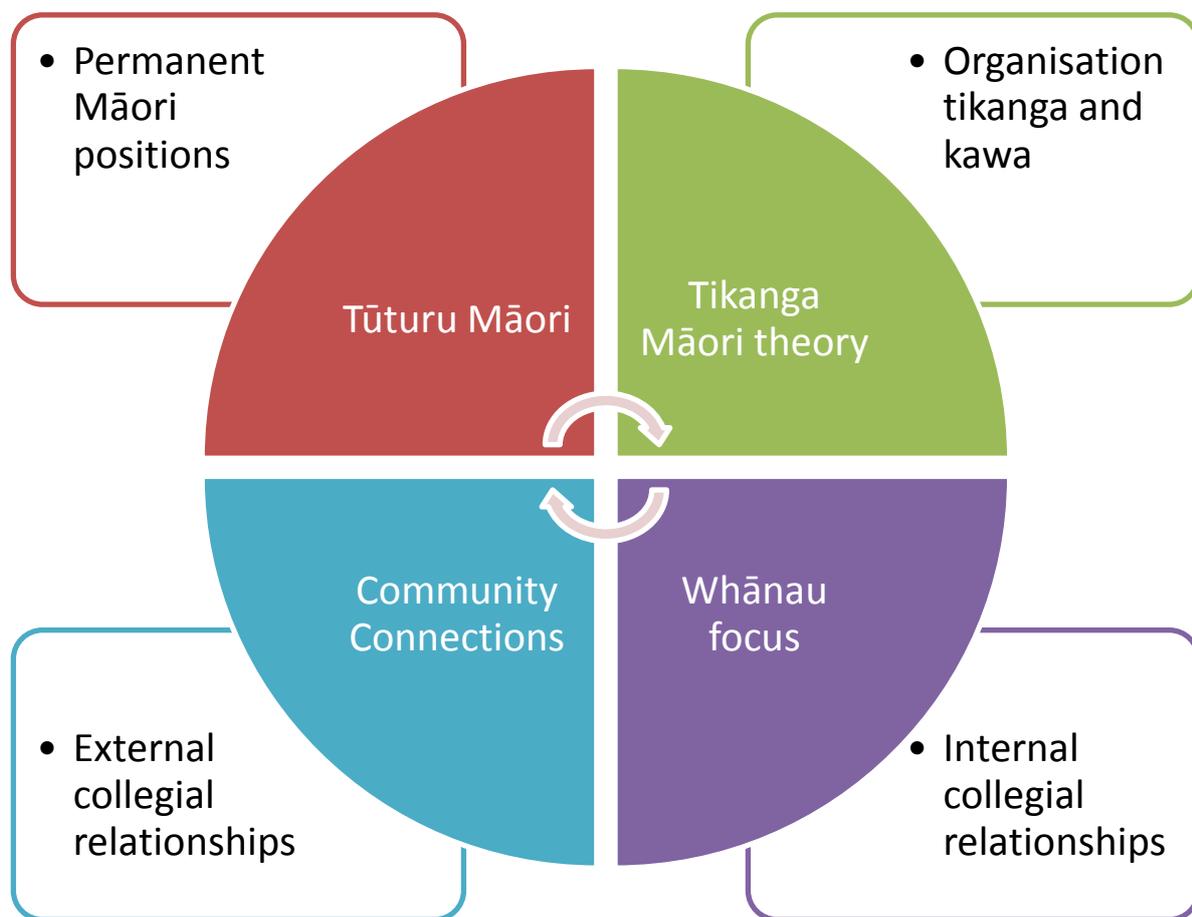
Ka Kohi Te Toi, Ka Whai Te Māramatanga[28]

Concluding Statements

Introducing Concluding Statements

This final chapter draws together the themes of this research, on the experiences of Māori social workers within social service organisations. There were two fundamental inquiries guiding this project. The first concerned Māori social workers' use of Māori practices in social service organisations, with both clients and colleagues. The second inquiry concerned the types and quality of support given to Māori processes and protocols within the organisational environment. This chapter summarises the research methodology, together with the 'research findings' and limitations. The implications of this research are described. Finally, suggestions are given regarding areas for further research.

The Literature Review addressed two main areas. The first chapter established a context for understanding Māori social work in New Zealand. Key topics included colonisation, the Treaty of Waitangi, social policy development and social work theory and practice in New Zealand. The second chapter examined a range of organisational types and theoretical underpinnings, spanning Māori, indigenous and western approaches.

The research was driven by four research questions:

1. What is the present state of Māori social work practice from the perspectives of Māori social workers?

2. How are social service organisations supporting Māori social work practice?

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[28] If knowledge is gathered, enlightenment will follow (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 1).

3. What organisational issues exist and effect Māori social work development?

4. What are Māori social work practices that Māori social workers deem to be successful?

Kaupapa Māori and Narrative Research

Kaupapa Māori theory constituted the methodological 'backbone' for this research. These principles informed and underpinned the entire research process (Graham Hingangaroa Smith, 2002), from topic formation, through participant interview processes, to the analyses of data. A Narrative theoretical approach was also employed in conjunction with Kaupapa Māori theory. This related particularly to the presentation of the kōrero (*narrative*) in the interviews and the subsequent development of a '*Kōrerorero* (conversations) *Framework*' to analyse the findings. The Narrative approach foregrounds the participant's stories. It analyses the comments within their context, while seeking to value their use of words and emotion (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). These qualitative methods enabled respectful interaction with individuals and groups. The participant's statements about reality are valued as substantial and unique experiences, as opposed to the quantity of times they were stated (Holliday, 2007).

Māori Social Workers: Journeys and Identities

The Māori social workers involved in this research were all significantly influenced by their whānau (*extended family*) and by their life experiences. None of the participants were 'school-leavers'[29]. It was also notable that many had started a family before choosing to become social workers. Most were encouraged into social work because of their whānau or by an acquaintance. Some even worked alongside whānau members as social workers. The majority of participants identified as 'Māori social workers', however, the preferred terminology varied somewhat. Some participants used the terms: tangata whenua (*indigenous*), tūturu (*authentic, real*) or their iwi (*tribe*). Finally a few participants called themselves 'social workers that are Māori.' These tended to be younger or less experienced practitioners. One interesting outcome was that some participants felt their identity had been

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[29] Social workers who went straight from high school to social work training and from then straight into practice.

determined not by themselves, but by the organisation and clients where a Māori identity was almost imposed, or at least expected.

Processes for Positive Outcomes

Māori social workers used tīkanga Māori (*Māori customs*) to describe the positive processes they used in practice. They claimed that these processes are underpinned by the values and beliefs of Te Ao Māori (*Māori worldview*). Many of the terms used to describe Māori social work were described as values and practices. An example of the dual interpretation is: tika (*correct, accurate or valid*) and pono (*truth, valid, honest*). These Te Ao Māori values encapsulate principles of honesty, integrity and respecting tīkanga. However, these values are also transformed into 'verbs'. They are translated into actions by the social worker taking the required care to be truthful and honest with whānau and clients.

Māori social workers also regard several other practices as successful. This includes Māori processes at locations such as a marae (*meeting area of whānau*), utilising the skills of Māori experts, such as kaumātua (*elders*), and engaging with the pōwhiri process (*formal welcome*). Some Māori social workers use established 'models' such as *te Whare Tapa Whā* or *te Poutama.* Others have created models that are appropriate to their current place of employment, such as *Tīkanga Best-Practice*.

Experiences within Organisations

A major finding is that Māori social workers in government organisations report very few examples of organisational support for Māori practices. Some of these participants reported that they had the feeling of being 'under surveillance.' Furthermore, there was a common concern that positions designated for Māori would eventually be disestablished. Participants expressed the view that working more closely with non-Māori colleagues would improve these colleagues ability to support Māori whānau. In addition, it would address a major challenge, the perceived lack of understanding of colleagues about the role of Māori social workers and tīkanga Māori.

Māori social workers' experiences within non-government organisations were varied. Some organisations attempted to create culturally supportive atmospheres. Conversely, others relied heavily on Māori social workers to undertake the implementation of tīkanga in the workplace. As with the workers in government organisations, these participants shared the concern that Māori positions would be disestablished. Furthermore, they felt that non-government

organisations should be wary of becoming tokenistic in their implementation of tīkanga Māori.

Māori social workers within Māori and iwi-based organisations reported predominantly positive workplace experiences. They thought that the organisation supported the use of tīkanga among colleagues and with clients or whānau. Access to Māori experts and the use of Māori processes and locations were commonplace. Participants' suggestions for the improvement of Māori organisations revolved around their relationships and communication with other organisations. Māori social workers felt that better relationships would enhance the use of resources and improve the referral process for Māori whānau. Finally, these participants recommended that Māori organisations ensure their practices were improving and staying up to date.

Current Discussions

Māori social workers reported that working with non-Māori colleagues is a major difficulty. Problems arose when non-Māori colleagues challenged the use of Māori processes, due to ignorance, disagreement or disapproval. Participants reported that they were often placed in a position where they had to educate their colleagues. They suggested that mandatory training for all workers would improve the workplace support for Māori practices. Other issues that affected the experiences of Māori social workers were the 'restructuring' of organisations (changing their position) and the individual frequently changing jobs. The age of the worker also influenced their practice.

Constructing Tangata Whenua Discourses

The following section is a discussion of the research questions in relation to the research findings and analysis. This enables an understanding of how this research addressed the questions it sought to answer.

What is the present state of Māori social work practice from the perspectives of Māori social workers?

Some of the key discussion points were that in contemporary times Māori social workers are *challenging the notion of 'Māori'*; what it means to be Māori and how this influences their social work practice. Māori social workers have diverse realities and are influenced by a variety of factors: being urban, having Pākehā influences, being mātā waka as well as many

others. Because the participants are predominantly long-term practitioners, they have evidently developed techniques to avoid 'burn-out'. One technique was moving jobs fairly regularly, they also built strong foundations for their practice, based upon tīkanga Māori and they are well supported by their whānau. It was found that whānau were fundamental to Māori social work development and so a discussion of the extent to which whānau influences social work practice was argued. This was called '*whānau ki mua, whānau ki muri'*.

How are social service organisations supporting Māori social work practice?

Through a discussion of the research findings, it was concluded that in order to adequately support Māori clients and whānau, social service organisations need to begin with meeting the needs of Māori social workers. Each participant's experiences within their organisations were different, however they described some key factors that organisations did or could do to positively support Māori social work. They were: community involvement, relationships with non-Māori colleagues, relationship with management, permanently established Māori social work positions, implementation of tīkanga and other Māori practices.

What organisational issues exist and effect Māori social work development?

Many suggestions were made about issues that affect Māori social work development. One key issue was about the additional work Māori social workers are undertaking because they are Māori, and the consequence of this leading to burnout. In this discussion it was noted that many Māori social workers were asked to undertake additional tasks relating to Māoritanga (*Māori culture*) and they discussed how they dealt with this issue. Many other issues were present in organisations and not one issue was isolated to one specific type of organisation. Finally, the discussion concluded with '*organisational learnings'* and ways that each type of organisation could learn from this research and develop the way they support Māori practices. *What are Māori social work practices (that Māori social workers deem to be successful)?*

The majority of the practices that Māori social workers described were around the use and implementation of tīkanga. Very few participants described a specific theory that underpinned their practice, however many describe tīkanga as being that theory. Values and beliefs were commonly described as being influential for working with whānau and finally many practices that reflected these values were mentioned. While the participants did not discuss non-Māori practices as explicitly in their kōrero as they did Māori practices, it was

evident that Pākehā culture inevitably affects Māori social work. Nonetheless, their practices are clearly set upon a tīkanga framework that reflects Te Ao Māori.

Research Limitations

This study only reflects the views and experiences of the participants, and to a lesser degree, those of other Māori social workers. The sample of participants spanned New Zealand, ranging from Dunedin to Auckland and across to the East Coast of the North Island. However, this was not a demographically reflective sample of the number of Māori social workers or of the Māori population of those areas. Nonetheless, there were a large number of participants in an 'older' age group with the majority mostly coming from the North Island. One unexpected issue that influenced this research was that several participants had either worked for all three types of organisations (government, non-government and Māori /iwi-based) or two out of the three types, giving them unique insites into organisational practice as it related to Māori social work..

Implications of this Research

Māori Social Work Development, Organisations, Education, ANZASW and Research

The consequential outcome of this research is the building of knowledge and understanding of how to further develop Māori social work for the benefit of Māori clients and whānau. For that reason, the majority of the implications are for Māori social workers. However, they also pertain to social service organisations, educational institutes, ANZASW[30] and future researchers.

Implications for Māori Social Work Development

A cardinal point is that Māori social workers need support in developing their cultural knowledge in order to continue critically integrating concepts of identity. This involves each Māori social worker strengthening their ability to articulate and express their identity. This increases their ability to justify practices based on a Māori worldview. A clear outcome is those organisations' expectations of what it means to be a Māori social worker, do not align with the expectations of those very workers. For instance, Māori social workers applying for

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[30] The Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Work.

positions must be able to express clearly what additional Māori tasks they are willing to undertake in order to avoid the 'brown-face burnout' issue.

Implicit in this research is the diverse realities of Māori families and the diverse knowledge, skills and values needed to work with them. Māori social workers need to develop their skills to a level that enables them to meet the needs of all types and kinds of Māori whānau. This research validates Māori social work practices and can provide insight into how Māori social workers practice in contemporary Aotearoa. Māori social workers need to have confidence in their methods, knowing that their processes do lead to positive outcomes for Māori whānau.

Age was a variable that influenced the social workers' confidence in using Māori practices. One implication for Māori social workers that are 'tūturu' (*true or authentic*) in their use of tīkanga and kawa (*protocols*) is that they need to take on the role of a tuakana (*older sibling*) with their younger Māori colleagues and support them in the development of Māori practices in the workplace. While these workers are often asked to do additional duties, it is important that their organisations and themselves included prioritise this type of support over other duties. This is to ensure that younger Māori social workers can learn at an early stage, how to juggle the new social work variables, while maintaining tīkanga practices. A suggestion would be for Māori social workers to implement a 'tuakana – teina' (*older sibling, younger sibling*) mentoring system within organisations or with other organisations in the community, which should be supported financially by their organisations. This would avoid burnout in younger practitioners and strengthen the development of Māori social work practice.

Implications for Organisations

While the major 'learnings' for organisations are discussed in chapter eight, there are a number of implications for social service organisations generally. While many social service organisations have made considered efforts to implement the Treaty of Waitangi and other culturally appropriate practices, Māori practitioners have experienced a variety of environments, some that are supportive of tīkanga Māori and some that are not. In order for organisations to be aware of their level of cultural capabilities – as an organisation, not reliant on individual employees – they need to establish a system of organisational review. An example of this is participating in the *Te Wana Quality Improvement Programme* which is a quality improvement programme for "Māori, Pasifika, Youth, Primary Health, Mental

Health, Community Social Service organisation or an NGO [non-government organisation]" (Aotearoa, 2010, p. 5). The establishment of this type of system could enable the organisation to continually review their internal processes around implementing tīkanga and through this, adequately support Māori social workers.

Implications for Education

Māori social workers would benefit in the long-term from increased education on Māori social work methods. An implication of this research for educational institutions is to note that Māori and non-Māori students may require substantially different types of education. Some Māori students that are studying social work may have substantial knowledge of tīkanga Māori and the use of Māori processes. They would then benefit from a session on implementing tīkanga within a social work context, extending their skills to iwi variations perhaps as well as working with non-Māori colleagues. Māori students that have some or little knowledge of tīkanga would, therefore, benefit from a deeper session on tīkanga and Te Reo Māori in social work practice, what that means for them as Māori.

An implication for educational institutes is that social service organisations can differ to the extent that all social work students would need to be prepared to work in an organisation that either implements tīkanga Māori confidently throughout the workplace or has little implementation. Students, therefore, must be taught the importance of tīkanga in order to advocate for this and actively be involved as social workers for the benefit of whānau.

Implications for ANZASW

As previously stated, Māori social workers need time to build relationships in their communities and to become involved in ANZASW. The implications of this research for the ANZASW are a myriad of opportunities for growth. While the discussion on identities can inform the association generally about its Māori social worker members, the association can also learn from the comments from younger social workers that are Māori and the Tangata Whenua Takawaenga Caucus (*indigenous caucus*) is a potential forum to facilitate these needs being met.

Implications for Research

While there are many research projects that use a Kaupapa Māori methodology there are many areas within the social work arena where further research could be undertaken. Some of the potential topics for further research are:

1. Non-Māori social workers experiences of Māori /iwi social service organisations

2. Māori processes for positive outcomes from a client /whānau perspective

3. Implementing the Treaty of Waitangi in social service organisations

4. Developing a greater understanding of how tīkanga underpins social work methods

5. Age and its' effect on how Māori social workers identify and use their Māori knowledge and skills in practice

6. The difference between rural and urban, North and South Island Māori social workers' experiences

7. How necessary cultural capabilities are over and above being ethnically Māori

Alongside these suggestions is the potential for further use of the Kōrerorero Framework for analysing qualitative findings as well as quantitative studies on some of the same topics; such as the percentage of Māori social workers that feel isolated, marginalised, tokenised and overworked.

Summary of Recommendations

With the above implications in mind, recommendations are now made from the perspective of both the participants and the researcher. This research has shown that there is a limited body of knowledge around Māori social work practice, theory and experiences within the organisational context and what that should 'look like'. It is anticipated that the following recommendations can support the further development of Māori social workers for the benefit of Māori, non-Māori practitioners and clients /whānau. While some recommendations may seem 'far-fetched' in the current political climate it is anticipated that these recommendations may serve as ambitions for those interested in improving the wellbeing of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand through the social services.

1. That there be further research into Māori social work development within social service organisations, focusing on Māori /iwi organisations as examples of positive

experiences. Further consultation is needed with wider Māori communities in order to gauge opinions on the most worthwhile research areas from a Māori perspective.

2. That social service organisations ensure that dedicated Māori positions are permanent, filled and working with Māori whānau.

3. That social service organisations support Māori social workers to participate in ANZASW activities, meetings and conferences, especially the tangata whenua branch. They should also pay for membership fees and encourage Māori social workers to complete their competency through the tangata whenua option.

4. That social service organisations ensure their staff (Māori and non-Māori) are continually undertaking training in the Treaty of Waitangi and working with Māori whānau.

5. That management of organisations establish a relationship agreement with local mana whenua (*trusteeship of land*) and maintain this relationship in accordance with local kawa (*protocol*).

6. That training institutions establish specific opportunities for Māori social work students to learn detailed Māori social work methods from theory to practice, in English as well as in Te Reo Māori. This should include organisational theory and tips for working with non-Māori colleagues.

7. That training institutions offer all social work students the opportunity to critically analyse the history of New Zealand including the Treaty of Waitangi, colonisation, Pūao-te-Ata-tū and Māori social work methods. This should include an awareness of the experiences of social workers within organisations and their role (whether it is as Māori or as non-Māori) in participating in tīkanga in the workplace.

8. That every social service organisation participate in a tīkanga performance review process, such as the *Te Wana Quality Improvement Programme* in order to ensure they are substantially implementing the Treaty of Waitangi within the organisation.

9. Māori social workers defining or "naming" their supervision, choosing their supervisor and deciding on the model or processes involved.

10. Each social worker has a Personal Development Plan that includes areas that are not only relevant to their position or organisation but that are important from a Māori worldview, such as: community networking, ANZASW Tangata Whenua involvement, access to Te Reo Māori me ngā tīkanga.

11. That there be greater publication of Māori social work methods by practitioners so that teina can have a greater understanding of the scope of Māori social work methods.

Appendicies

Glossary

(Translations predominantly from Ryan and Reid, 2008).

A

Ā te wā	-	in the future
Āhua	-	character, form, appearance
Āhuatanga	-	character, aspect
Āhurutanga	-	warmth
Ako	-	learn, teach
Aotearoa	-	New Zealand
Āta	-	the principle of growing respectful relationships
Atua	-	God(s)
Awa	-	river
Āwhi(na)	-	help, assistance, provide relief, embrace
Āwhiowhio	-	whirlwind
Aroha	-	love, sympathise
Au	-	me, I (singular)

E

H

Hākari	-	feast
Hape	-	deformity, disability
Hapū	-	sub-tribe
Hara	-	crime, faults, wrongdoing, offence
Hāngi	-	food cooked in an earth oven

He aha te mea nui o te Ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata   -   *What is the most important thing in the world? It is people, it is people, it is people.*

Hīkoi	-	step out, pace, a protest march
Hinenuitepō	-	goddess of death (*also Hine-nui-i-te-Pō*)
Hoa haere	-	companions
Hōhā	-	annoyed, bored, nuisance

Hokianga	-	an area on the northern part of the North Island
Hui	-	meeting, gathering
Hui Taumata	-	Economic Development Summit 1984
Huritau	-	birthday, anniversary

I

Ihi	-	the essential force, invoking awe
Iho	-	important person
Io	-	God
Iwi	-	tribe

K

Ka kohi te toi, ka whai te māramatanga -   *'if knowledge is gathered, enlightenment will follow'*

Kai	-	food
Kaiako	-	teacher
Kaikōrero	-	speaker, orator
Kaimahi Māori	-	Māori worker
Kaimoana	-	seafood
Kaitiaki(tanga)	-	guardianship
Kaiwhakarite	-	Māori administrative officer, organiser
Kai Tahu	-	tribal group (*also called Ngāi Tahu*)
Kahungunu	-	tribal group (*also Ngāti Kahungunu*)
Kākano	-	seed
Kanohi kitea	-	a face seen e.g. at an event
Kanohi ki te kanohi	-	face to face
Karakia	-	prayer, chant
Karanga	-	welcoming call
Kare	-	dear (*a term of endearment*)
Kaumātua	-	elders
Kaupapa	-	context, purpose
Kaupapa Māori	-	Māori philosophy, strategy (*also a research approach*)
Kawa	-	protocol
Kei te pai	-	good, fine

Kete	-	basket
Kia ora	-	hello
Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga	-	*to assist to alleviate disadvantages in Māori communities*
Ki mua	-	in front
Ki muri	-	behind
Kingitanga	-	Kingship, sovereignty
Koha	-	donation, gift
Koinā tērā	-	'that is really what it is', 'indeed it is that'
Ko ngā rā o mua	-	the days gone before
Ko ngā rā o muri mai	-	the days following
Kōrerorero	-	conversations
Kōrero	-	narrative
Koro	-	grandfather, elderly man
Kōrero Tāwhito	-	ancient stories
Korowai	-	mantle, cloak
Kotahitanga	-	unity, solidarity (*also refers to the tribal systems of runanga and inter-tribal meetings to develop a post-war response to Pākehā*)
Kuia	-	old woman, grandmother
Kūmara	-	sweet potato
Kupu	-	word
Kura	-	school
Kura Kaupapa Māori	-	Māori language total immersion primary school

M

Mahi	-	work
Mana	-	status, integrity, charisma, prestige, status, power
Mana atua	-	spiritual connections
Mana tūpuna/tīpuna	-	ancestral /whakapapa connections
Mana whenua	-	trusteeship of land
Manāki	-	help, embrace
Māoridom	-	all Māori society
Māoritanga	-	Māori culture, perspective

Marae	-	meeting area of whānau or iwi
Mātauranga	-	knowledge
Mātāwaka	-	original canoes, founding settlers, kinsfolk from ancestral canoe.
Mātua whāngai	-	caring for children of relatives
Maunga	-	Mountain
Mauriora	-	awareness, life principle

Mehemea pērā kāore utungia koe -   *'if it's like that, you don't get paid'*

Mehemea he Māori, he rerekē te kōrero mō tērā -   *'what is said about that is different if you are Māori'*

Mihimihi	-	greetings, telling others who you are
Mihi whakatau	-	speech of greeting
Mirimiri	-	traditional massage
Moana	-	sea, ocean
Mōhiotanga	-	information, knowledge
Mokopuna	-	grandchild
Mua	-	in front
Muri	-	behind

N

Noho	-	stay

NG

Ngā	-	the (*plural*)
Ngā hau e whā	-	name given to an urban mare in Christchurch, literally 'the four winds'.
Ngā take o te wā	-	current topics for discussion
Ngā take pū	-	principles

Ngāti (Nati)-   a colloquial expression for people of Ngāti Porou decent

Ngāti Kahungunu	-	tribal group
Ngāti Porou	-	tribal group
Ngāti Pōneke	-	name given to an urban marae in Wellington, literally, 'the people of Wellington'.
Ngāti Tamarawaho	-	tribal group

O

Ora	-	well, wellbeing
Oriori	-	lullaby

P

Pākehā	-	non-Māori, European, Caucasian
Pakeke	-	elder
Papatūānuku	-	Mother Earth (*also Papa-tū-ā-nuku*)
Pāremata	-	Parliament
Pēpe	-	baby
Pēpeha	-	tribal saying, proverb, motto.
Pono	-	truth, valid, honesty
Poroporoaki	-	closing ceremony, farewell
Pounamu	-	greenstone (*pendant*)
Poutama	-	steps pattern (*often found on Māori artwork*)
Pōwhiri	-	welcoming ceremony
Pū	-	precise, originate

Pūao te Āta tū - daybreak (*a report by the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare*)

Pūrākau	-	story, myth, incredible story
Pūtea	-	funding, budget, finance

R

Rangatahi	-	modern youth
Rangatira	-	chief, leader
Rangatiratanga	-	sovereignty, chieftainship
Ranginui	-	Sky Father
Rāranga	-	weave mats
Raruraru	-	trouble, problem
Rātana	-	a religion
Reo	-	language
Ringatū	-	a religion
Rite	-	alike, same

Rohe	-	territory, region
Rōpū	-	group
Rongoā	-	medicine
Rūnanga	-	council, assembly, board

T

Taha Hinengaro	-	thoughts and feelings aspect
Taha Māori	-	Māori aspect
Taha Tinana	-	physical aspect
Taha Wairua	-	spiritual aspect
Taha Whānau	-	family aspect
Tāke	-	topic, reason, cause
Tāke pū	-	principle
Tāmanuwhiri	-	tribal group (also Ngāi Tāmanuhiri)
Tamariki	-	children
Taniwha	-	powerful person, chief, water monster, ogre
Tangata	-	person (*also tāngata – people*)
Tangata Tiriti	-	non-Māori treaty partner
Tangata whaiora	-	client
Tangata whenua	-	indigenous, local people, aborigine, native
Tangata Whenua Takawaenga	-	the name of the Māori caucus of ANZASW

(*Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers*)

Tangi	-	funeral, to mourn
Taonga	-	treasure
Taonga tuku iho	-	legacy passed down
Tapu	-	forbidden, confidential, restricted
Tauira	-	student
Tauiwi	-	foreigner, non-Māori, immigrants
Tautoko	-	support
Tauranga Moana	-	tribal group (*Tauranga Harbour*)
Te Ao Māori	-	a Māori worldview and/or the Māori worldview
Te Ara Whakaora	-	the pathway to wellness
Te ihi me te wehi	-	dignity and worth / the life force invoking awe
Te Kōhanga Reo	-	Māori language total immersion pre-school

Te Punga - Report published by the Department of Social Welfare (1994) 'Our Bicultural Strategy for the Nineties'.

Te Puni Kōkiri - Ministry of Māori Development

Te Reo Māori/Te Reo - the Māori language

Te Tiriti o Waitangi - The Treaty of Waitangi

Te whakapuāwai o te Matapakinga - the development of discussion and dialogue

Te whare tapa whā - a Māori model of practice

Tēina - younger sibling

Tika - correct, accurate, valid

Tīkanga - custom, practices

Tino rangatiratanga - self determination, sovereignty

Tīpuna / Tūpuna - ancestors, grandparents

Tohu - an academic qualification

Tohunga - specialist

Tōu rourou, tāku rourou ka ora te tangata - *'with your efforts and my efforts the person is cared for'*

Tuakana - older sibling

Tūhoe - tribal group (*also Ngai Tūhoe*)

Tukutuku - ornamental panels

Tūturu - real, authentic

U

Urupā - cemetery

W

Waiata - song, chant

Wairua - spirit

Wairuatanga - spirituality

Wānanga - series of discussions, learning, seminar,

WH

Whāea - mother, aunt or older female

Whaikōrero - make a speech, oration

Whaiora - client, literally to pursue well-being

Whānau	-	extended family
Whānau Ora	-	family wellbeing
Whanaungatanga	-	kinship, relationships, group dynamics
Whāngai	-	adopted child,caring for a child of a relative, nourish
Whānui	-	wider (*wider family*)
Whakamā	-	shy, embarrassed
Whakanoa	-	free from tapu (*restrictions*), make ordinary
Whakapapa	-	genealogy, family tree
Whakaaro	-	opinion, idea
Whakahīhī	-	arrogant, officious, opinionated, smug
Whakataukī	-	proverb
Whakatauākī	-	proverb attributed to someone in particular
Whakawātea	-	make way for, liberate
Whakawhanaungatanga	-	to develop relationships, kinship
Whare	-	house, sometimes an abbreviation for wharenui, a traditional meeting house
Whare Wānanga	-	school of higher learning (*also tertiary institute*)
Whenua	-	land

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