



Malatest
International

**Kaupapa Māori responses
to violence suffered
by wāhine Māori**

2019



Acknowledgments from Malatest International

This report is based on in-depth interviews with kaiwhakahaere, kaiāwhina and kahukura who support whānau at very difficult times in their lives.

We wish to thank all the participants for their candid discussion and for supporting this mahi.

We also acknowledge that you made time to see us, even though your schedules were more than full. During our travels, it was not unusual for you to have multiple visitors and we are grateful that you welcomed us into your services.

Me kore ake koutou hei whakaako mai i a mātou.

Background to the commissioning of this report from the Chief Victims Advisor

This report was commissioned to explore Kaupapa Māori agencies' challenges supporting wāhine Māori harmed by violence.

We have avoided using the term 'victim' and 'offender' as much as possible acknowledging that many whānau Māori prefer not to use these terms. Sometimes these terms are used when it makes more sense in relation to the criminal justice system.

A comment on the term 'victim': That's one of the things that we need to understand is that any victims – I don't like calling them victims – whānau, that have experienced this, we need to encourage them to be the designer of what they want to happen.

Providers are actively working to repair the damage done to whānau because of generations of colonising influences.

I think that the difference is as a Māori person, dealing with experiences of domestic violence and the oppression of being Māori, on top of the judgement around experiencing violence, is something they don't need to explain when they come to a Māori service. Because we already know that.

Limitations of this report

It is important to note that the focus of this work is the views of service providers rather than of victims. The study is also limited by the small numbers of participants. However, interviews provided rich data from the extensive experiences of service providers in supporting wāhine Māori harmed by violence.

The Chief Victims Advisor would like to acknowledge the work done to peer review this report.¹

¹ The Chief Victims Advisor's office acknowledges that Kaupapa Māori peer reviewers, Dr Denise Wilson (Professor Māori Health, AUT University) and Ngaropi Cameron (Director, Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki), have given the report mixed reviews. This report needs to be viewed as a limited attempt from the Chief Victims Advisor's office to respond to requests to explore whether the justice needs of wāhine Māori were being met. As the Chief Victims Advisor's office is not Te Tiriti-based, this research did not have the full advantage of having a Kaupapa Māori research supervisor within the Chief Victims Advisor's office to help guide and develop this work. Furthermore, it should be noted there were concerns expressed in the literature that many social policies, strategies and interventions are based on research that is framed within a conceptualisation of violence that is based on a dominant Western paradigm and therefore peer reviewers supported the call for a dedicated national Kaupapa Māori research agenda developed by Kaupapa Māori researchers. The Chief Victims Advisor's office supports this call. Despite the limitations, this report has been published in the hope that it can contribute by showing the importance of having Kaupapa Māori NGOs and organisations supporting wāhine Māori.

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1. Executive summary

Introductory statement

At every stage of the criminal justice system Māori are represented disproportionately, highlighting the need to establish more culturally effective responses to wāhine Māori harmed by violence. There is, however, little research to show how kaupapa Māori services and programmes benefit wāhine Māori who are harmed by violence. This lack of evidence has led to a gap in resources for providers and policy makers who are considering how to provide for the justice needs of wāhine Māori.

What is the problem?

The purpose of this report is to explore how kaupapa Māori services support wāhine Māori affected by violence. We reviewed the literature about kaupapa Māori responses to violence to wāhine Māori, and meeting their justice needs. Over the course of three months in 2018, we also interviewed 15 kaupapa Māori service providers who support wāhine Māori harmed by violence across nine organisations. We explored five key objectives:

- To understand the justice needs of wāhine Māori harmed by violence
- To understand how the needs of wāhine Māori affected by violence can be addressed using whānau-based wellbeing frameworks
- To document iwi and hapū level innovations in services and responses to wāhine Māori needs
- To establish a set of wāhine Māori informed outcome measures that could be useful to support future kaupapa Māori responses to wāhine Māori experiencing violence
- To discover simple and applicable options for evaluating local innovations for their effectiveness with wāhine Māori.

We also sought to explore the motivators, enablers and challenges in delivering a kaupapa Māori programme or service addressing violence.

What are the key insights?

Five key themes emerged from speaking with people and service providers:

- Kaupapa Māori services are best placed to support Māori victims, perpetrators and whānau because they understand Māori realities and have whānau-centred, strengths-based responses to justice needs.

- Recognition of Kaupapa Māori services for their vital role interfacing with victims and the justice and other systems.
- Inclusion of the specialist knowledge of Kaupapa Māori providers at an operational level is important, for example in court. Kaupapa Māori providers who work with wāhine Māori harmed by violence should have a voice at local, regional and national collaborations to ensure representation of wāhine Māori victims.
- Incorporate Kaupapa Māori values and ways of working into contractual measures and outcomes.
- Enable Kaupapa Maori-led outcomes frameworks to be developed by Kaupapa Māori providers, wāhine, and whānau that align with provision of adequate funding.

2. Background

The prevalence of violence against wāhine Māori in Aotearoa remains high despite decades of plans and programmes and the efforts of frontline services. Māori clinical practitioners have long argued that a kaupapa Māori response enhances whānau, victim, and perpetrator wellbeing in a way that mainstream responses cannot.

The over-representation of wāhine Māori harmed by violence,² together with the extreme scale and devastating impact this violence has had on whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing is an epidemic.³ A critical factor in the transmission and maintenance of intergenerational cycles of violence is the extent to which violence toward wāhine Māori has been normalised and entrenched through several generations of learned behaviour and practice⁴ as in children's and youth's exposure to violence and abuse.^{5,6}

Any violence towards whānau has been described as the *compromise of Te Ao Māori values, and is the absence or disturbance of tikanga*;^{7, 8} and there is nothing in te ao Māori (the Māori world) that promotes or encourages the use of violence towards wāhine Māori or whānau.⁹

In traditional Māori society, violence and abuse towards whānau, and towards women and children were not tolerated,^{10, 11, 12} because women and children were held in high esteem and greatly valued.¹³

There is no one single cause of violence occurring against wāhine Māori, the issues being a complex combination of historical and contemporary factors,¹⁴ that impact on whānau, hapū and iwi.

² Ministry of Social Development. (2014). *Ethnic Identity and violence in a New Zealand birth cohort*.

³ Kruger, T., Pitman, M., Grennell, D., McDonald, T., Mariu, D., Pomare, A., Mita, T., Maihi, M., Te Aho, K. (2004). *Transforming Whānau Violence - A Conceptual Framework*.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Cooper, E., & Wharewera-Mika, J. (2009). *Māori Child Maltreatment: A Literature Review Report*.

⁶ Wilson, D. (2016). Transforming the normalisation of intergenerational whānau (family) violence.

Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing, 1(2), 32-43. Retrieved from

<https://journalindigenousewellbeing.com/media/2017/12/84.81.Investigating-M%C4%81ori-approaches-to-trauma-informed-care.pdf>

⁷ The Māori Reference Group. (2009). *E Tu Whānau-ora: Programme of Action for Addressing Family Violence 2008-2013*

⁸ The Taskforce defines tikanga as the process of practicing Māori values; tikanga prescribes acceptable and unacceptable behavior from a specifically Māori value base

⁹ Kruger et al. (2004)

¹⁰ Durie, M. (2001). *Mauri Ora: The dynamics of Māori health*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

¹¹ Kruger et al. (2004)

¹² Jenkins, K., & Philip-Barbara, G. (2002). *Arotake Tūkino Whānau: Literature Review on Family Violence*.

¹³ The Māori Reference Group. (2009)

¹⁴ Grennell, D., & Cram, F. (2008). Evaluation of Amokura: An indigenous family violence prevention strategy. MAI Review.

Colonisation and its ongoing effects,^{15, 16, 17} and assimilation policies such as urbanisation eroded cultural practices and traditional sanctions for transgressing tikanga. Pākehā institutions legislated, resourced and imposed their definitions of social norms and standards, restricting the ability of Māori communities to exercise their rights to enforce sanctions on their own people.¹⁸

The changes in social norms moved the collective responsibility of all Māori to ensure the safety of women, children and the whānau as a whole moved into the private domain of men's homes. The Native Schools system and missionary teachings further undermined Māori structures in relation to the reconstruction of gender roles and the shift of whānau to nuclear family structures.¹⁹ Poverty, social marginalisation, racism and structural stressors (such as unemployment),²⁰ institutional racism and 'imposter' tikanga²¹ have exacerbated these changes in Māori society.

Affirming whānau is able to challenge the entrenchment of colonial construction of gender and family into Māori structures.²² Although whānau can be a system of healing^{23, 24, 25, 26, 27,} it is important to note that contemporary whānau relationships can be complex, and therefore, attention to safety within the whānau is crucial.

In a broad sense, kaupapa Māori is 'a Māori way'.²⁸ This project acknowledges that there is no single definition of kaupapa Māori and there are many different approaches to delivering services to address wāhine Māori harmed by violence. Service providers and individuals throughout the country are delivering kaupapa Māori responses to wāhine Māori harmed by violence. However, there seems to be no definition of kaupapa Māori services that clearly exists in government funding models, little allowance for collective approaches to supporting whānau, and little research to show how these programmes and services benefit whānau and individual victims towards whānau.

¹⁵ Balzer, R., Haimona, D., Henare, M., & Matchitt, V. (1997). *Māori family violence in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Te Puni Kokiri.

¹⁶ Kruger et al. (2004)

¹⁷ Dobbs, T., & Eruera, M. (2014). *Kaupapa Māori wellbeing framework: The basis for whānau violence prevention and intervention*. New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse.

¹⁸ Balzer et al. (1997)

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Dobbs, T., & Eruera, M. (2014)

²¹ Kruger et al. (2004)

²² Pihama, L. (2001). *Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices. Mana Wāhine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework*.

²³ The Māori Reference Group. (2009)

²⁴ Kruger et al. (2004)

²⁵ Te Puni Kokiri. (2010). *Arotake Tukino Whānau: Literature Review on Family Violence*.

²⁶ Te Puni Kokiri. (2010). *Māori Research Agenda on Family Violence*.

²⁷ Pihama, L., Jenkins, K., & Middleton, A. (2003). *Literature Review: Family Violence Prevention For Māori Research Report*. Auckland: University of Auckland.

²⁸ Smith, G (2004). *Mai i te maramatanga, ki te putanga mai o te tauritanga: From conscientization to transformation. Educational Perspectives. Indigenous Education, 37(1), 46-52.*

Literature is sparse on the justice needs of wāhine Māori who are affected by intimate partner violence²⁹. This highlights a critical research gap despite the significance of the issue. When contrasted against the range of literature in other areas, gaps are further highlighted, for instance:

- the needs of Māori victims of crime³⁰
- tikanga Māori based legal systems³¹
- access for wāhine Māori, their whanau and their communities to substantive justice³²
- wāhine Māori and the implementation of Indigenous sentencing courts³³
- kaupapa Māori designed therapeutic jurisprudence for offenders³⁴
- the distance between government policy and front-line service delivery of culturally specific care for victims of family violence³⁵
- Aotearoa New Zealand government obligations under Te Tiriti o Waitangi and international law to consult on initiatives that impact on wāhine Māori harmed by violence³⁶
- restorative justice³⁷
- institutional racism in the criminal justice system.³⁸

This lack of evidence contributes to the gap in resources for providers and policy makers who consider the justice needs of victims within the context of whānau centred service.

²⁹ Recent research in the area includes Wilson, D. (2016). Transforming the normalisation of intergenerational whānau (family) violence. *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing*, 1(2), 32-43.

³⁰ Cram, F., Pihana, L., & Karehana, M. (1999). *Meeting the Needs of Māori Victims of Crime. A report to Te Puni Kokori and the Ministry of Justice. Executive Summary*. The University of Auckland: International Research for Māori and Indigenous Education.

³¹ Toki, V. (2009). Are Domestic Violence Courts Working for Indigenous Peoples. *Commonwealth Law Bulletin*, 35(2), 259-290.

³² Wickliffe, C. (2005). Te Timatanga Māori Women's Access to Justice. *Yearbook of New Zealand Jurisprudence*, 8(2), 217-263.

³³ Burt, G. (2011). Can an Alternative Sentencing Practice Reduce the Rate that Māori Women Fill Our Prisons - An Argument for the Implementation of Indigenous Sentencing Courts in New Zealand. *Waikato Law Review*, 19(1), 206-218.

³⁴ Toki, V. (2009)

³⁵ Haldane, H. J. (2009). The provision of culturally specific care for victims of family violence in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Global Public Health*, 4(5), 477-489.

³⁶ Jo Contesse, J., & Fenrich, J. (2009). *It's Not OK: New Zealand's Efforts to Eliminate Violence against Women*. Fordham Law School.

³⁷ Schmid, D. J. (2003). Restorative Justice: A New Paradigm for Criminal Justice Policy. *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review*, 33, 91-134.

³⁸ Brittain, E., & Tuffin, K. (2017). Ko tēhea te ara tika? A discourse analysis of Māori experience in the criminal justice system. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 46(2), 99-107.

Concurrently, justice, social sector agencies, and the judiciary are focussing on responding to the harm caused by violence towards whānau by supporting initiatives at various levels within iwi and hapū.

The Chief Victims Advisor contracted Malatest International to undertake research into kaupapa Māori responses to wāhine Māori harmed by violence, and meeting the justice needs of wāhine Māori victims. We explored what that approach looks like, and the benefits and challenges provided by a kaupapa Māori response.

3. Research objectives

The objectives of the research were:

1. To understand the justice needs of wāhine Māori harmed by violence.
 2. To understand how the needs of wāhine Māori affected by violence can be addressed using whānau based wellbeing frameworks.
 3. To document iwi and hapū level innovations in services and responses to wāhine Māori needs.
 4. To establish a set of outcome measures informed by wāhine Māori that can be used to support kaupapa Māori responses to wāhine Māori affected by violence.
- To discover any simple and applicable options for evaluating local innovations for their effectiveness with wāhine Māori.

The study also:

- Explored the motivators, enablers and challenges associated with delivering a kaupapa Māori programme or service for wāhine Māori affected by violence.

4. Methods

We reviewed the literature about kaupapa Māori responses to wāhine Māori affected by violence and meeting their justice needs. Appended to this report is the complete literature review.

We sourced information for this report from interviews with 15 kaupapa Māori providers to wāhine Māori affected by violence across nine organisations. Data saturation began to occur after interviews with 13 participants.

In collaboration with the Ministry, we drafted a list of possible interview participants and identified other participants using a snowballing approach.³⁹ We sent an information letter and sheet to potential participants. We obtained verbal, informed consent from participants before interviewing. Providers invited to take part in the research included: a Police programme, Māori Women's Refuges, iwi-mandated and other kaupapa Māori social services, and an E Tu Whānau kahukura.

Three providers did not respond to interview invitations. One provider declined an interview because she considered the researcher inappropriate to examine her work properly. Other providers were supportive of the mahi but time poor.

Interviews were mainly conducted kanohi ki te kanohi, with a few by telephone, and began with whakawhanaungatanga. Most interviews were one to two hours in duration. Interviews followed a semi-structured interview guide agreed with the Ministry. The semi-structured interview guide allowed participants to introduce new topics of importance for them into our kōrero. Some interviews were audio-recorded and notes taken from the audio-file, and others had notes taken of the kōrero.

We used a spreadsheet to record interview data. We undertook preliminary analyses to identify emerging themes, including points of alignment and differences between interview participants. The emerging themes were workshopped with the Chief Victims Advisor and the Ministry. A final draft was then prepared.

³⁹ Liamputtong, P., & Ezzy, D. (2005). *Qualitative research methods* (2nd ed). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

5. Findings

5.1. Introduction - discussing ideas of 'victim' and 'kaupapa Māori'

The findings presented below that relate to the five research objectives can be better understood in the context of interview data that relates to identifying 'victims' and what it means for a service to be 'kaupapa Māori'. In fact, the findings suggest that Māori' victimisation and victim outcomes can only be understood in the context of a discussion about identity and kaupapa Māori practice. This discussion and relevant data lead this section.

5.1.1. Who are the adult victims of violence towards whānau?

When we asked participants about the justice needs of adult victims of violence towards whānau, they explored the meaning of being a 'victim' within whānau, community and national contexts. Three themes emerged from this kōrero including colonisation; the past, present and future victims of violence towards whānau; and the deficit language in relation to the word 'victim'.

Historical and contemporary contexts that whānau live within were seen as critical in understanding what it means to be a victim of violence towards whānau. Discussions included land confiscation, colonisation and state care of tamariki Māori. The ongoing effects of dispossession of land, language and culture and socioeconomic disenfranchisement, alongside a colonised 'impostor tikanga' has created an unsafe environment for many whānau, with systemic violence and violence towards whānau permeating everyday life.

Participants described undermining of the traditional roles of wāhine and tāne by colonisation and the Christian values introduced by the colonisers. European patriarchy dismissed the importance of men as nurturers, instead positioned them as providers. For many, family units replaced extended whānau connections, with men becoming the head of the household. Notions of ownership of women and children by men replaced the collective care of children by, and accountability to, the wider whānau and hapū.

Our men have taken on values where they are the provider, the one in charge. They used to look after children. Children were cared for by the whānau, hapū. Not individual parents.

Christian values that were introduced like 'spare the rod and spoil the child'.

Christian values created pressures for whānau, exacerbated by the high numbers of Māori taken into state care as children. Participants shared many stories of men who had themselves been victims of violence as children in the care of the state.

The common denominator is that that all of these men have suffered various forms of abuse as children – mainly whilst in care of the state. They then go to revisit this violence upon others.

When participants reflected on violence towards whānau, they viewed perpetrators and victims holistically in that past, present and future were included in the way that providers looked after them. Experiences of violence as a child or young person may have influenced becoming a perpetrator or victim in their adulthood. For example, an adult perpetrator may have been a victim of violence within their whānau or by others when they were a child. An adult victim might have internalised the power and control exhibited in their past and current relationships. Child victims could go on to continue the violence in their future relationships.

The thing done when the child is powerless - until the venom is released, it will haunt you. Once addressed you are free to move on.

Who is the next victim? If Mum doesn't want to make that transformation, then the next victim is the children. And then, if they are tāne, then it's whoever they're with. If they're wāhine, likewise...and so we're creating a world of victims that become perpetrators.

What came out of it, is that the perpetrator was a victim himself of his parents – formative family violence. His mother was the victim who took everything from the father. And so, he has just perpetrated.

Sometimes grandparents were perpetrators of violence towards whānau and participants were seeing increasing numbers of grandparents seeking support or attending their mandated programmes.

...Two grandparents ended up hitting their moko, and so they've come in. Even though they're perpetrators, they've actually still brought in other whānau, like their own kids and sort of saying, 'Hey, I needed help to deal with the moko or, in those sorts of situations.'

...some grandparents they've got a heavy load with their moko, because the parents aren't functioning as parents themselves. We've had quite a few Oranga Tamariki where they've taken kids off parents and placed them into grandparent care.

Participants were mindful of the language used to describe victims of violence towards whānau and the effects this language could have on perceptions of 'victim' labels. When the word 'victim' came from a place of blame and deficit-based language, whānau were less likely to engage with services, but might feel better able to examine their behaviours when strengths-based approaches taken:

They might not see themselves as victims because of the deficit words. Giving words can change language. Empowering them to see they are not a deficit... [but a] survivor, thriver, flourishing.

That's one of the things that we need to understand is that any victims – I don't like calling them victims – whānau, that have experienced this, we need to encourage them to be the designer of what they want to happen.

5.1.2. What does it mean to be a kaupapa Māori provider or service?

Before exploring the kinds of support that kaupapa Māori services provide to wāhine Māori who experience violence, we asked participants what it means for them to be a kaupapa Māori provider or service.

A number of themes came out of this kōrero: connection with other Māori; a shared understanding of being a Māori person engaging with systems; whanaungatanga; manaakitanga; working kanohi ki te kanohi; tenacity and trust; accountability beyond funding contracts; and a holistic approach to wellbeing that went beyond the presenting issue of whānau violence.

Connection

Participants described an immediate recognition and connection with other Māori that started at the first moment of engagement, even before whakawhanaungatanga. Māori were not seen as 'other' but part of the same group. This instant recognition and sense of belonging came with the responsibility for kaupapa Māori providers to empathise and connect with whānau.

The difference is when we see perpetrators, victims, whānau, that could be our uncle that could be our son, our brother. She could be our daughter, sister.

...we are all Māori, we all identify as Māori and we all live and breathe it, it's intrinsic, it's just in the way that we are and you can't bottle that and sell it.

...we are interconnected and we all benefit from each other's wellbeing or success. So, we all have a vested interest in doing well.

Shared understanding

Alongside intrinsic recognition and connection came a shared understanding of what it is like to be a Māori person in Aotearoa. Although not every person experiences the world the same way, there were similarities in their worldviews and resistance to Western paradigms, privileged in mainstream society. Participants described the journeys of whānau to a place of violence. The systemic violence towards whānau that Māori face was linked to colonisation. Providers were actively working to repair the damage done to whānau relationships because of generations of colonising influences.

I think that the difference is as a Māori person, dealing with experiences of domestic violence and the oppression of being Māori, on top of the judgement around experiencing violence, is something they don't need to explain when they come to a Māori service. Because we already know that.

Being here we privilege Māori ways of being, which have been normalised to disappear. Our Māori ways of being are not 'attached' to therapy.

Whanaungatanga

The process of making connections and building relationships was critical for kaupapa Māori providers to engage meaningfully with their clients. Whakawhanaungatanga took time, and participants described the importance of taking this time to get to know whānau before they started working together. Whanaungatanga meant sharing whakapapa and other aspects of life such as sports teams, schools and other community activities that could provide a common ground. This sharing created a space to start talking about the kaupapa of the organisation and the needs of the whānau. It allowed whānau to be part of something positive, and to have a trusted person walk alongside them.

We don't just sit there and ask Pāhekā questions to them, we talk about the kaupapa. Well, we're going to just sit down and have a conversation. Let's build a relationship with each other, do that proper whanaungatanga.

So once you do that whanaungatanga and then that establishes relationships and rapport and then comes the trust.

Manaakitanga

Manaakitanga started at the first engagement with whānau. Participants described the importance of the kaikaranga, the first person to welcome whānau into their service. This might be by telephone, or by being warmly greeted by a person who makes them a cup of tea and connects them with the team.

It is who we are tika, pono, aroha. Our whare is set up mindfully, it looks like a house, a nurturing, caring environment.

The manaakitanga which is the embracing – the cup of tea, the biscuits, and then there's the sharing of information and then there's the sessions that begin – it's who we are in the way that we relate to people – it's the tika, pono, aroha is the kaupapa of who we are as a service

Manaakitanga meant caring for whānau, sharing karakia, kai and other day-to-day interactions.

Our perception of kaupapa is not only that we deliver kaupapa Māori programmes – we do the smaller things like, have kai with them, we break bread with them.

You can connect to your clients without blurring boundaries or professionalism, don't get me wrong. We're not all going to each other's birthdays or family reunions or anything like that.

Tikanga and working kanohi ki te kanohi

One participant described a welcoming environment that began for whānau before they walked in the door of the service.

I think it also means our practice is driven by tikanga, and we sort of bring that alive ourselves. So, this morning, every morning before work, we start with a mihi, we start with a karakia, we do whanaungatanga rounds, we sing waiata to connect us first. And then, when we have our whaiora come in..... So, we welcome all of our whaiora in, we set the ground, we set the environment up for people to actually kōrero.

Working kanohi ki te kanohi was important to kaupapa Māori providers, although sometimes particular situations meant support had to be delivered over the telephone. For the most part, sitting together in the same room was a critical part of engagement.

Continually we're face to face kōrero. Whereas I find in a lot of mainstreams, they hide behind notes of things....'oh well, we'll send you a note'.

Tenacity and trust

Kanohi ki te kanohi engagement was part of the tenacious and assertive outreach approach of kaupapa Māori providers. Participants described not giving up on whānau, and having the ability to keep checking in. Kaupapa Māori services established strong community links that well-positioned them to connect with so-called 'hard-to-reach' whānau.

Let's just start building that relationship with her, we'll just consistently go back, and go back...we just go and we continue to be there all the time until she says, 'enough is enough'.

Developing relationships with a range of whānau resulted from this tenacity and trust, and the kumara vine that vouched for the trustworthiness of the services throughout communities of the trustworthiness of the services.

Accountability

Participants said their greatest accountability was to victims, whānau and to their communities. They discussed accountability and responsibility to wāhine and their whānau in terms of supporting those wāhine who were often held accountable for the aftermath of violence.

Accountability reached beyond the present, encompassing accountability to those from the past and future generations. Kaupapa Māori providers were mindful of continuing the work of their tūpuna while making sustainable changes for future generations. Kaumātua and by their tūpuna guided participants, which helped ground them in their mahi.

Our tūpuna -we need to make them proud. You need to look back to go forward.

Most services are struggling to get Māori in. Māori vote with their feet. They love bringing their families in here. We get a lot of self-referrals. We respond to need.

Working holistically with whānau

Kaupapa Māori services approached each whānau holistically. This meant looking at the whole picture of whānau needs rather than simply addressing the presenting issue of violence towards whānau or the needs of an individual. Behind the violence could be several historical and present needs such as alcohol and drug addictions, employment, education or health issues. Participants noted that in particular, methamphetamine (or P) profoundly affected whānau by exacerbating paranoia and violent episodes.

...it's not just working with the presenting issue which is obviously family violence or domestic violence – it's about looking at the whole picture cos sometimes it could be the alcohol, the drugs that is triggering off major escalations in families, it could be family dynamics, it could be toxic environment.

Some participants talked about whānau who disclosed other trauma after they had built trust in their service. For example, adult victims and perpetrators of violence sometimes disclosed childhood sexual abuse once they felt comfortable with a kaimahi or counsellor. In establishing strong relationships with whānau, providers were then able to look after these wider needs or accompany whānau to other specialist services they may require.

Barriers in supporting whānau

Participants described barriers when interfacing with other agencies and statutory authorities:

- **Regional collaborations:** There were local collaborations between statutory and other agencies in different regions to reach whānau affected by violence. Although services could work well together, sometimes kaupapa Māori specialist services focused on violence towards whānau were not included in out of regional strategic groups and collaborations. Participants were unclear about the reasons for this were. The representation of the voices of victims was less likely when kaupapa Māori providers did not contribute to inter-agency or cross-sectoral collaborations.
- **Lack of integration of services funded by different agencies:** In contrast to the holistic approach of kaupapa Māori provider organisations, some other agencies and providers focused support on individuals. This could result in duplication of support where the kaupapa Māori provider may have whānau

referred to them after another service has assessed them. This meant that victims had to tell their stories repeatedly to multiple agencies.

They do an assessment but no interventions. They send them to us for counselling, parenting courses. We have an issue with that. You know, another car up the driveway.

- Inappropriate referrals: Another challenge that kaupapa Māori providers and services faced was inappropriate referrals from agencies, who sent whānau to kaupapa Māori services when there was nowhere else to send them. Other organisations knew that kaupapa Māori services would not turn them away. Referrals often took place late afternoon on a Friday.

Two organisations brought families to us at 4.30 right before Easter. The mum had been at WINZ, a four-hour wait but there was no emergency accommodation. The kids were starving. We gave them some sandwiches -you should have seen them wolf them down. We needed to put them in the safe house, find enough food over the Easter break, and clean clothes.

- Bureaucratic barriers: Coming up against 'red tape' and legislative barriers when supporting wāhine Māori victims. Examples included protracted processes with paperwork to secure a benefit, or complex navigation through the Oranga Tamariki system to gain custody or access to children.

There is legislation that hinders women accessing housing, food, heating, healthcare, education. For example, Housing New Zealand.

A woman has had her kids uplifted. She has a protection order. The partner told Oranga Tamariki she has mental health problems. Oranga Tamariki took the kids. They gave the kids to him, an abusive partner with a protection order against him. She has worked really hard to get them back. She did all the programmes, domestic violence, budgeting, counselling. She got a house, she got a job. He is still doing all this violence with his new partner...and he still has the kids.

Barriers in supporting whanau - Exclusion from court processes and prison programmes

Kaupapa Māori providers encountered the justice system excluding kaupapa Māori providers from contributing to court processes.

...we can get into Family Court, but if the other side objects and the judge upholds the objection we're not even allowed to go in to Family Court. We absolutely are not allowed to say anything. We are not to speak one word. So, we just get to sit there and hold her hand, as such, which can make a real difference for her.

Justice needs includes safety, equity and fairness, and victims having their voices heard. It was difficult to disentangle the justice needs of wāhine Māori victims of violence, from other needs. Adult victims often had a myriad of pressing needs. These could include treatment for addictions, trauma and other mental health issues, support for physical ill-health, poverty, lack of food, housing, employment and the fear that children would be uplifted.

One participant highlighted a gap in hearing victims' voices while in the justice system, and by outlined how her organisation was well positioned to provide information to Courts, but were never given the opportunity:

I'd really like for some kind of opportunity for judges to ask: 'What does Women's Refuge think? Has Women's Refuge been working with this whānau? I'd like to hear from Women's Refuge on the matter'. They ask Oranga Tamariki around children, they ask court psychologists, you know what I mean? Why on earth wouldn't you ask Women's Refuge?

Participants identified barriers in being able to provide family violence programmes for women in prison. Some participants had tried to introduce these but had not been successful. Providers often supported whānau who had the mother of the family in prison and participants saw this as an excellent opportunity for women to learn about violence towards whānau and their own journeys.

Because, what we are aware of is that most of the women who are incarcerated have an experience of domestic violence. In fact, we have women write us letters from prison, saying, 'When I get out, I don't want to go back to my abusive partner. 'What can I do?'

There is little for women in prison. All the therapy tools are North American and male. In prison there is only one programme for women. Men have many. But in the community, there are many programmes for women and nothing for men.

Barriers in supporting whanau - Gaps in funding

The lack of sustainable funding is a challenge for kaupapa Māori providers. They described operating *on the smell of an oily rag* and relied on donations of food, clothing, bedding and furniture. Participants described spending a great deal of time applying for funding or reporting on funding. Funding for programmes did not meet demand, for example, one provider funded to provide a programme for 18 victims of violence had already seen 200 women. At the time they were not yet halfway through the year.

There were many examples of successful programmes where funding had ceased. Securing sustainable funding is an ongoing struggle for providers, and some participants highlighted inequitable sharing of resources for Māori services.

Funding and over-deliverables -we are moving towards change. We don't want to be cap in hand all the time. We want to get on with doing the business. We don't want to have to think twice before going to training.

...it needs to start at policy and sharing of resources.

5.2. Research objective 1 – understand the justice needs of wāhine Māori victims of violence - safety, equity and being heard

5.2.1. Safety

Primary justice needs for wāhine Māori harmed by violence were identified by participants as immediate safety and planning for their future as well as food, clothing and medical attention, and immediate practical support of a safe place.

Having a safe place to live. Safe-housing, emergency housing. Sometimes they are safe but homeless, or in a gang house, or their family don't want them.

Protecting the whānau, making the home safe with personal alarms, stays on the windows.

Participants thought between 60-80% of the wāhine Māori they worked with chose to stay together with the partner who harmed them. Safety was paramount for victims, but the whereabouts, wellbeing and commitment of the partner who harmed them to change was also important.

...it's easy to say you're sorry. What we're interested in is, what is he doing that's different? And, when you ask her that, often she'll say, 'Actually, the behaviour has not changed but he's developed the language of sorry'. But, we're not interested in sorry, we want to know what he's doing differently.

For their own safety, it was important for wāhine Māori to know what was happening for their partner who harmed them. Participants described perpetrators often having nowhere to go after Police had attended an incident of violence towards whānau.

Police turn up, he is off. She goes to refuge. Men end up on the street. This is not likely to change his behaviour.

It is not enough to get a protection order and then say see you later. No change has occurred.

As well as immediate support, wāhine Māori needed support in planning for a future as a safe whānau – whether living together or apart. This included identifying other adults in the whānau or community who could provide support. It was a lot to ask an individual to take on the responsibility of safety alone, but by including others in the safety plan shared this burden and created a circle of safety around wāhine Māori and tamariki.

'Who is around you Mum, that these tamariki can go to when they're feeling unsafe?' So, creating a safe space, safe whānau for them to go to.

So, you're talking about safety, how do you keep the children safe? How do you keep you safe? So, in that design, they talk about, 'what safety do you have in place?' But, then we talk about, 'what future do you have for your children, your mokopuna? What does the

future look like?’ We can talk about the past, and all the traumas, but we also need to talk about what’s happening in the future.

5.2.2. Equity and fairness for victims

Justice needs for wāhine Māori affected by violence included responding to the indirect effects of violence. Many of these effects require responses beyond the justice sector into other areas of the social sector such as housing and Oranga Tamariki.

Providers described how wāhine Māori were left to pick up the pieces from damage to property caused through violence, which could be costly.

When a tane smashes up the house, he gets taken away and the wāhine is left with the bill. Damage is expensive to fix. It can cost up to \$75k. Where does she get that kind of money?

The ongoing effects from these kinds of financial costs could follow adult victims for years to come. Damage caused to a Housing New Zealand property affected the ability of tenants to move into other properties. This meant that wāhine Māori were forced into the private rental market, which could be prohibitively expensive. Alternatively, wāhine Māori and their tamariki had to stay in overcrowded dwellings with whānau members, sleep in tents or cars, or motel accommodation.

Women can’t get into a Housing New Zealand house until she has paid all the bills. So she has to go into a more expensive property. So she ends up stranded in facilities like motels if she is lucky.

All participants described a lack of affordable, warm, comfortable housing in their rohe. Even wāhine Māori who are exemplary tenants, were almost always at the bottom of the list and seen by landlords as unappealing tenants. This could be due to prejudice against Māori, sole parents, or sometimes because the violent partner caused trouble by intimidating the landlord.

For parents, the pressures of finding and keeping accommodation, alongside providing basic needs for their tamariki and fears that there was perceived neglect of their tamariki were compounded by having Oranga Tamariki in their lives. Participants provided examples of wāhine Māori having to undergo hair testing for drugs, when their abusive partner did not. In some cases, these tests could hold up the process of access to their uplifted children.

Some feel economically disempowered. The responsibility is placed on her. She is trying to ensure the children are not taken away.

5.2.3. Victims’ voices heard

It could be difficult for wāhine Māori victims to talk about the abuse they were experiencing and ask for help. Participants provided many examples of wāhine Māori victims not being listened to by Police, Courts, Oranga Tamariki and other

organisations. There were also examples of wāhine Māori victims struggling to be heard and understood by their whānau and community.

She always says we are the only ones that would listen. Even the police were sick of her.

Because, they (wāhine Māori) don't only fear the perpetrator, they fear the perpetrator's family, they fear their own family about the talk, and the community that they live in. You know, 'what did you do that for? He's a good man, he provides for you'. Yeah, but 'at home he beats me', and that's not okay.

However, wāhine Māori victims were able to articulate their justice and other needs to kaupapa Māori providers. Kaupapa Māori providers put the needs of victims first, and supported them in communication and safety plans with the rest of the whānau. The needs of wāhine Māori victims and their whānau changed over time and continuity of their relationship with providers meant the voices of wāhine Māori victims were heard, and they received support with information, advocacy and group work to have their needs met.

They (wāhine Māori) have been really isolated. Being in a group reduces that isolation and creates networks.

Sharing commonalities in the group creates synergy. They can support each other beyond the group and in the community.

All participants described the hardship experienced by the wāhine Māori and their whānau they supported, and difficulties in accessing support from government agencies. Wāhine Māori and their whānau were often turned away when they asked for help from Work and Income, Housing New Zealand, hospitals and other agencies and organisations. Unsafe engagement with services diminished their mana through being ignored at reception, having their name and names of their tamariki pronounced incorrectly, or being asked to leave by security due to their appearance. This contributed to a mistrust of government agencies and services.

We already know that it's especially difficult to be Māori, and experiencing violence, and it's especially difficult to reach out to services for support and having your mana stay intact.

Many wāhine Māori struggle with reading and writing. This made their engagement with agencies difficult, particularly understanding of justice processes for victims and perpetrators of violence.

Many of our people have literacy problems. That is a major barrier.

Feeling excluded by the types of documents and brochures.

5.3. Research objective 2 – understand how kaupapa Māori responses to wāhine Māori experiencing violence meet their needs

Participants described a range of activities and services they provide for wāhine Māori victims of violence. These activities and services included:

- information and practical support such as food, clothing, emergency housing;
- interfacing with other agencies;
- advocacy, relationships and trust; and
- programmes for wāhine, tāne, tamariki, couples and whānau.

5.3.1. Practical support to meet basic needs

After ensuring the immediate safety of wāhine Māori, participants stressed the importance of practical support so that they could have their basic needs met. There was little benefit in victims and perpetrators of violence attending programmes when they lacked necessities such as food, shelter and settled children. Whānau are more able to focus on therapies and learning new skills from violence prevention programmes when their basic needs were met.

The programme on its own is good but we need interventions. 'My power is cut off' 'we had an argument.' People need help with budgeting, food, getting their kids back, becoming drug free, getting a job, a car, a house. Sometimes it is easier for them to give up.

We will also advocate with employers, whoever is holding her tenancy if there's stuff going on there, people she may owe money to. Like, we'll even get on the phone with her permission and talk to those idiots in the red trucks (bailiffs)...

anything that is kind of sitting on top for her that, until there's some peace around those issues...she's not in a position to make any other decisions around her safety.

Kaupapa Māori providers helped wāhine Māori to become ready to attend a programme, and plan their future. Participants talked about their ability to short cut 'red tape' and respond to wāhine Māori needs very quickly and thoroughly. This was because they were used to assessing and responding to needs and were prepared, with resources such as food, clothing and shelter. They were knowledgeable about navigating systems and sourcing identification documents, such as copies of birth certificates or driver's licenses, which could be overwhelming for wāhine Māori victims with no access to their belongings.

Networks between organisations were useful in speeding up processes. For example, the connectedness of refuges throughout the country, so they were able to move wāhine Māori nearer to their whānau supports, or to get away from an abusive partner.

Being a refuge, we can refer women to other refuges around the country for support. Sometimes they say no, they don't need to be picked up by anyone at the other end but often they will call the refuge a few weeks down the track if they need help.

Because it's quite a small service we're able to really do the safety plans incredibly well and we're able to link in with other services... there is no red tape, we can act quickly.

5.3.2. Programmes and interventions

Kaupapa Māori organisations supported wāhine Māori victims through programmes and interventions to address their practical needs, build confidence and tools to live as a safe whānau. Participants described a range of different programmes that their organisations provide. Some whānau self-referred to the programmes because they wanted help, and others were court-mandated to complete a programme.

At the forefront of programmes were positive Māori development and building on whānau strengths. Kaupapa Māori programmes celebrated all things Māori. They engaged in decolonisation by sharing mātauranga and cohesive and respectful Māori ways of living pre-colonisation before the introduction of European gender roles.

To be able to do what we do, Māori ways of healing are privileged. It is real, in front of you. From pre-birth to the grave. Wrap around service. Totality of it celebrating life, wellbeing.

In our kaupapa, there is equality in the relationship. We talk about how the tane has a role, and it's not the hunter-gatherer model, highly Westernised model that came from the bible... there's equality in the responsibility of a whānau.

Participants described delivering one-on-one counselling and wāhine, tane, tamariki, couples and whānau programmes. They used different tools such as pūrākau, Te Kawa o te Marae, korowai, tukutuku and rākau with wāhine, tane and tamariki. Whānau who participated in the programmes were able to learn how to be safe, to deal with anger, to communicate and make good choices.

It's about kind of really rebuilding self-esteem, that identity stuff, future goals, understanding about a good relationship, a healthy relationship, and how will I know that it is.

In addition to programmes being grounded in identity and Māoritanga, many programmes appealed to whānau because they had a tangible, kinetic element such as weaving, using bricks to represent challenges and opportunities, drawing, singing and physical movement.

Māori people are not particularly into someone talking to them, or just listening to them. They want to be doing something, so while you've got their hands working, you've got their minds thinking and every function every part of their being is working at that time.

Those people running programmes and providing wrap around support for whānau were a pivotal part of the service as role models. Their mana and aroha were living examples of what was possible for whānau.

To have active pathways you need the personnel to get through life changes. Our kaimahi are so important.

We were the first male/female partnership. Role modelling effective communication between men and women.

One provider described bringing older couples into their programmes as guest speakers. These octogenarians would share their life stories together, challenges they had faced, and the ways they worked out their differences.

...actually, each one of them had a disagreement in their conversation! But, we talked to them about how you can have a disagreement. So, role modelling.

In addition to personal growth, those who attended group programmes built connections with each other. These connections provided potential ongoing networks and support in the future.

They can support each other in the group and in the community - like a 12 step programme.

It's still really valuable for her to have that time alone, with other women, with a shared experience putting some stuff together.

Providers ensured that programme participants were able to attend sessions. They took care of transport, food and childcare instead of adding such expectations onto the whānau. This then provided whānau with the space to participate meaningfully in a programme without distractions.

When running the programme we take away the barriers. Pick them up, feed them, provide childcare. Our facilitators are paid. We provide certificates when they complete the programme, which they love.

One provider had been unable to run their programmes for a few years due to a lack of funding. They hoped to run future programmes with funding from the Department of Corrections.

5.3.3. Inclusion of perpetrators

Providers recognised that some punitive responses to violence, such as removing the perpetrator were critical for immediate safety, but had limited scope in improving long-term outcomes for wāhine Māori. Rather than the Western construct of family that is comprised of autonomous individuals, whānau are a collective. Isolating the perpetrator from their whānau was not a sustainable solution. Violence against wāhine Māori might be the presenting issue, but kaupapa Māori services looked at the wider issues faced by whānau including addictions, trauma and poverty.

Some providers had been working with wāhine Māori suffering from violence for decades. They saw value in supporting the whole whānau to address the violence and wider challenges in health, housing, nutrition and education. Both victims and perpetrators need appropriate therapies and supports so all can build on their strengths.

It's (prosecution) put a band aid solution on a bigger problem that it's a real deep mamae, that has done nothing. It has just healed at the top. It's like that iceberg, it's just sitting right under there and it's festering and festering and festering. And, when they get out [of prison] it pops.

That is why we are working with women and men. This is the new big picture. Some families we see year after year and there is no change. Obviously we need to work with men. Our women are moving forward but the men have stayed at the start.

Almost all participants described moving towards inclusion of perpetrators in accountability and rehabilitation. For some, this meant providing activities for perpetrators such as fixing broken windows and walls, moving furniture, building fences and planting gardens. Contributing positively to the community in this way helped to build confidence and uplift their mana, and this in turn promoted positive relationships.

Taking care of not just the individual's behaviour, but it's their full mind, their āhua - changing it, shifting it. Because, I think sometimes we look at the prosecution and then the sentencing, as the solution...It's just the beginning of another journey.

You take them to the marae, get them to learn whaikōrero. Dig the graves, lay hāngi, cook a feed, catch a fish. It fills them up with mana. It is mana enhancing.

One Māori Women's Refuge had developed a men's programme for tāne on day release from prison:

They wanted us to go into the prison and talk about family violence. We thought bigger. What would actually help them, help our women?

From the providers' point of view, the programme was hugely successful having safe and comfortable accommodation assisted victims of violence. By fixing whare and moving furniture, men were engaged in tangible, practical tasks that helped them to face the damage and mamae caused by their violence, and helped them to rebuild their self-respect and mana. The providers saw changes in the men's ability to communicate and grow positive relationships with each other, whānau and with refuge workers.

5.4. Research objective 3 – interfaces between kaupapa Māori providers and other agencies and organisations

Kaupapa Māori services interface with other organisations and agencies in their advocacy work with whānau. Positive relationships with other providers and statutory agencies were important for kaupapa Māori services to work successfully within their communities.

Relationships with other providers and agencies also facilitated opportunities for kaupapa Māori services to train other services in safe ways to engage with Māori whānau affected violence, and helped identify champions within other services able to work innovatively with whānau.

Kaupapa Māori services also worked with iwi, although one provider said their local iwi and hapū focussed on issues other than violence towards whānau.

Kaupapa Māori providers encountered challenges in their engagement with statutory agencies. These challenges include legislative barriers in carrying out support services; being left out of multi-agency collaborations; excluded from court processes and prison programmes; inappropriate referrals from statutory agencies; and significant gaps in funding.

Building effective relationships

To better support whānau, kaupapa Māori providers recognised the need to build effective relationships with hapū and iwi, other health and social sector agencies and statutory authorities.

Figure 1 below, shows the different relationships that kaupapa Māori providers have within the overarching system. In the left-hand boxes are justice sector and other agencies that refer, fund or receive referrals from kaupapa Māori services. Whānau Ora and E Tu Whānau provide a foundation for all services reaching whānau.

Whānau Ora comprises three initiatives: whānau integration, innovation and engagement; provider capability building; and integrated contracting and government agency support for the initiatives. It aims to give whānau the support and services necessary to make positive decision-making to achieve their aspirations.⁴⁰ Whānau Ora has been evaluated as achieving positive changes in outcomes for whānau.⁴¹

E Tu Whānau is based on the principles of the Whānau Ora initiatives, particularly the strengths of te ao Māori. The Māori Reference Group (MRG) for the Taskforce for

⁴⁰ Sourced from: <https://whānauora.nz/>

⁴¹ Te Puni Kokiri. (2018). *Whānau Ora Review: Final Report to the Minister for Whānau Ora*. Retrieved from: <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/docs/tpk-wo-review-2019.pdf>

Action on Violence within Families⁴² was responsible for implementing E Tu Whānau in collaboration with central government and iwi, hapū, and whānau nationwide.

The first E Tu Whānau-ora Programme of Action for Addressing Family Violence – 2008-2013 provided a framework for addressing issues of violence for Māori over this period. The principles underlying the implementation of the programme were that it was Māori-led, a whole of whānau approach, strengths-based with a tikanga foundation, and must be inclusive, innovative, sustainable, evidence-based, and able to be regionally diverse and collaborative.

E Tu Whānau kahukura (community change agents) and kaiāwhina facilitate and inspire a wide range of community activities that mobilise communities in diverse ways to promote behaviour change. The breadth and depth of E Tu Whānau community actions throughout the country are too numerous to list in this report. Community activities include developing partnerships, innovative community action, extensive print and digital media, events and festivals, and whānau sports. Kahukura meet the unique community needs. One example is providing whānau a voice in preparing court reports. Kahukura and kaimahi also celebrate the successes and strengths of hard-to-reach whānau such as gang families.⁴³

⁴² E Tu Whānau sits in parallel with the work undertaken by the wider Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families. The Taskforce was active from June 2005 to July 2015. It led and co-ordinated interagency action to address family violence, including abuse and neglect of children and older persons.

⁴³ E Tu Whānau. (2019). *E Tu Whānau Mahere Rautaki: Framework for Change 2019-2023*. Retrieved from: <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/work-programmes/initiatives/family-and-sexual-violence/e-tu-whānau-mahere-rautaki.pdf>

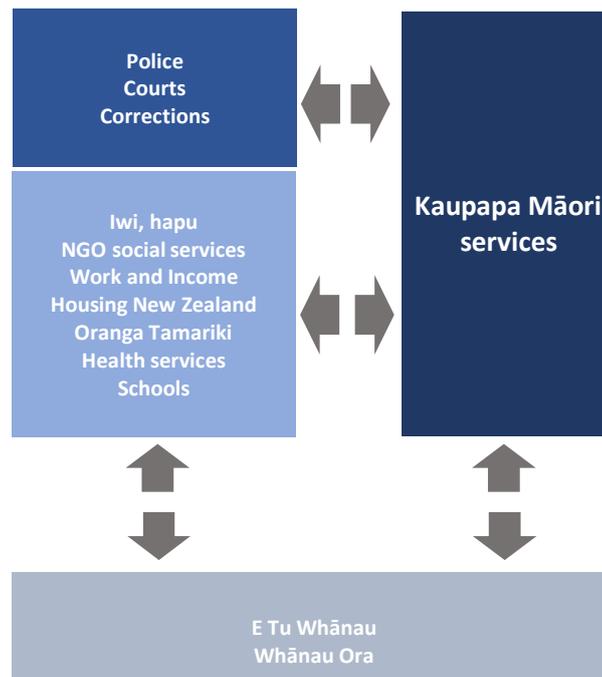


Figure 1: The overarching system and the interface between kaupapa Māori providers who support wāhine Māori victims of violence

Participants described relationships with other organisations as important to ensure that agencies knew how to work effectively and safely with wāhine Māori. An example of the benefits of good working relationships was being able to feed back to Police about critical safety issues for victims.

We do heaps of training in the community - Police, DHB and WINZ...We have worked hard to win the confidence of the community...We keep building on our strengths, the community hears that.

Police - we make sure we know them. We tell them things we are not happy with. We treat them respectfully - all partners together. We need their help...They have coffee with us and we always keep on them about the way they respond to our clients.

Additionally, by nurturing relationships with other agencies, providers could identify individual champions within government agencies who ‘get it’ (violence towards whānau) and could make a positive difference to individuals and whānau across communities. Providers shared stories about individuals who went the extra mile for wāhine Māori and helped make a positive change in their lives.

There was a really good cop who was already doing that. He was all about the practical solutions. One of our wāhine had an 18 year old son who was mucking up. He had a few convictions and couldn't get a job. He was sitting around at home all day and causing trouble for his mum. The policeman got him a job - arranged a job for him and talked the employer into overlooking his previous convictions. That boy is no trouble now. He is a young man who has pride in his work, he has something to get out of bed for each day.

Interface with iwi

E Tu Whānau had worked to ensure that commitment to reducing violence towards whānau was prioritised by iwi. They provided iwi with resources and information to develop strategies for addressing social issues.

Iwi support for reducing whānau violence is important because the locus of change is towards whānau, hapū and iwi. Iwi play a pivotal role in leadership and communication.

Participants were from providers either mandated by iwi or working with iwi. In one rōhe, iwi and hapū received the resources and mandate to focus on eliminating violence towards whānau. One urban provider was still developing a relationship with their local iwi. Another provider who was actively participating in the local marae did not think that violence towards whānau was a major focus of their local iwi and hapū.

Most participants were experts in family violence and working with whānau, expertise recognised by iwi. Participants described reciprocity that occurred with the iwi health and social services who often referred whānau to refuges or other kaupapa Māori services for specialist family violence support, and refuges in turn, referred whānau to iwi for other expertise. For example, kaupapa Māori services understood the powerful, positive influence of identity and they referred whānau to iwi for help in linking whānau with their own hapū and iwi.

Sometimes going back to their whakapapa and who they are as Māori and accepting their identity is incredible...because if you've been stripped of who you are and put down for being Māori...going back to the core belief actually to be Māori is awesome and enhancing attributes is absolutely essential to their wellbeing.

People are dislocated from whānau, hapū, marae. They don't know how to speak the reo. That makes them smaller and smaller and then they are invisible.

If you don't know where you come from, how can you pass that on?

Interfacing with the justice system to ensure safety for wāhine Māori violence

Kaupapa Māori services interface with the justice system to navigate protection orders, court appearances and both mandated and non-mandated programme attendance. Wāhine Māori victims faced barriers in being seen and heard when they required help, a limitation shared by justice and other government agencies. Kaupapa Māori providers acted as a bridge in helping victims to access the justice system.

We do need to go with her when she goes to Work and Income, she can't go to that appointment on her own. We won't let her deal with court, Police, Oranga Tamariki, any of those kinds of institutions without us there.

We use the legal aid services as best as we can to get them supports. There is a high frustration around that, because it's very limited and they're very hard to get to.

Participants also worked alongside wāhine Māori and their whānau to create safety plans that were victim and whānau-led.

So, they still created a safety blanket...the family determined what the outcome would be to provide that safety. Not just for the victim that had the knife to her throat but to the children, to the mokos that were there.

5.5. Research objective 4 – measuring the success of kaupapa Māori responses to wāhine Māori experiencing violence

5.5.1. Outcomes for wāhine Māori towards whānau based wellbeing frameworks

It is clear from our study findings that there are important elements shared by kaupapa Māori providers in responding effectively to wāhine Māori experiencing violence, and importantly in ensuring these positive changes are sustainable in the long term for whānau.

We identified inputs, activities, outputs and outcomes undertaken by kaupapa Māori providers, wāhine, whānau and perpetrators. We designed a logic model that reflected the strengths based and whānau-led approaches participants described to us.

Almost all participants talked about using Te Whare Tapa Whā as a framework throughout their assessments and work with whānau, suggesting a way to measure the justice needs of **wāhine Māori** and their whānau. For instance, Hua Oranga, a validated tool, uses the four Te Whare Tapa Whā domains of wellbeing.

The logic model (Figure 2) provides a starting point for discussing addressing the needs of **wāhine Māori** towards whānau based wellbeing frameworks. The co-construction of appropriate outcome measures should involve kaupapa Māori providers and whānau.

Durie's Te Whare Tapa Whā wellbeing framework has been used and adapted for over thirty years. Using the four-sided whare (house), Te Whare Tapa Whā represents the four pillars of wellbeing: te taha whānau (extended family network), te taha wairua (spiritual), te taha tinana (physical), and te taha hinengaro (psychological). These four pillars underpin kaupapa Māori providers' holistic approaches to supported whānau. Contemporary Māori health and development discourse extends these pillars to the

land the whare stands on, thereby acknowledging the external influences that impact the wellbeing of whānau, such as socio-economic oppression and racism.^{44, 45}

A further strength of Te Whare Tapa Whā is the assessment tool, Hua Oranga, developed by Te Kani Kingi.⁴⁶ Used in conversations with wāhine Māori victims and whānau, enables mapping changes in wellbeing over time. Conversations can also include concepts identified by kaupapa Māori providers in this research, such as safety, accountability and having wāhine Māori victim voices heard.

The whare itself is also used by some kaupapa Māori providers as a therapy and learning tool. For example, Te Kawa o te Marae was described by one participant as a physical, tangible model that whānau could pull the roof off and look inside. Concepts within the whare, such as tapu and noa, were easily relatable for whānau within Te Kawa o te Marae, and one provider noted that this tool was able to reach both Māori and non-Māori.

Establishing a set of wāhine Māori informed outcome measures for use to support future kaupapa Māori responses to violence against wāhine Māori to help address their needs.

To measure the success of kaupapa Māori responses to wāhine Māori suffering from violence, informed outcome measures need to be co-designed with wāhine Māori, whānau and kaupapa Māori service providers. It should be noted that participants came from kaupapa Māori provider services. While this research has not sought the voices of wāhine Māori victims directly, their voices must be heard for robust and meaningful evaluation that establishes whether wāhine Māori and their whānau's needs have been addressed.⁴⁷

Kaupapa Māori responses to violence can provide a different outcome for wāhine, whānau and perpetrators. Figure 2 brings together findings from this study. It provides for a starting place for discussion with kaupapa Māori providers to design a logic model that aligns with outcomes measures. It is important for evaluation to include the breadth of different ways kaupapa Māori providers support wāhine Māori and their whānau.

⁴⁴ Reid, P., & Cram, F. (1999). Connecting health, people and country in Aotearoa New Zealand. In K. Dew & P. Davis (Eds.) *Health and Society in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp-33-48) Melbourne: Oxford University Press

⁴⁵ Warbrick, I., Dickson, A., Prince, R., & Heke, I. (2015). The biopolitics of Māori biomass: towards a new epistemology for Māori health in Aotearoa/New Zealand

⁴⁶ Durie, M. & Kingi, T. K. (1999)

⁴⁷ Recent research in the area includes Wilson, D. (2016). Transforming the normalisation of intergenerational whānau (family) violence. *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing*, 1(2), 32-43.

The logic model begins with the roles and responsibilities of kaupapa Māori providers. These include influencing factors such as legislation, changes to processes such as the Family Court and Oranga Tamariki, funding capability, resources, and support from the community. Participants described ongoing challenges in securing funding, and the literature showed a paucity in evaluations that demonstrate evidence of the value for money in the work that kaupapa Māori services provide.

Yet, kaupapa Māori providers in this study are heavily audited. Insufficient funding meant some kaupapa Māori providers were unable to commission evaluations, although some funded their own evaluations to show their achievements.

The logic model is broken into three groups but the groups themselves are artificial and somewhat fluid with the division of whānau into victims, wider whānau and perpetrators. We found it was difficult to define 'victims' over time, with past victims sometimes becoming perpetrators. Therefore, people could move in and out of each of the logic model boxes.

The logic model examines activities in the responses to violence. Kaupapa Māori providers in this study described whānau-led, strengths-based approaches to their work. The emphasis is on immediate safety for wāhine Māori and their whānau, and also wider practical support such as safe housing, protection orders and engaging with other agencies. Kaupapa Māori providers had important relationships with the agencies in their communities, and this was critical in being able to access support for whānau, and in providing specialist training to police, Work and Income and Oranga Tamariki.

Wāhine, wider whānau and perpetrators share the same positive outcomes. The Hua Oranga tool can be used to measure if wāhine and whānau can live safely with enhanced mana and participate confidently in the community, as positive outcomes. At the forefront is safe individuals, whānau and community. The Hua Oranga tool can also capture challenges participants in this study described, such as the isolation experienced by wāhine Māori victims of violence. Often, they are cut off from their friends, whānau and communities. One participant said some abusive partners prevent wāhine Māori from leaving the house and are only able to meet with refuge workers at childcare centre pick-ups or WINZ appointments.

Measuring the wairua, tinana, hinengaro and whānau aspects of wellbeing can occur at the activity stage using Hua Oranga. The first activity for kaupapa Māori provider is listening to wāhine Māori. This seems an obvious activity when victims engage with any service. However, this study demonstrates wāhine Māori struggle to have their voices heard, and in many cases had been turned away when they asked for help from Police, Work and Income, Oranga Tamariki and Housing New Zealand. Being listened to was a vital first step, whether it is in developing a safety plan or wāhine Māori knowing what to expect as they navigate the justice system.

Having access to counselling and whānau violence prevention programmes is crucial for wāhine Māori to build their confidence and be informed when making choices

about the long-term safety of them and their whānau. Programmes described by participants are grounded in positive Māori development. Such programmes go beyond stopping violence messages to include celebrating Te Ao Māori, and included decolonisation.

Activities for wider whānau centre on their ability to have input into and support the choices of the wāhine Māori suffering from violence. As shown in the literature, most whānau are loving, nurturing and able to articulate and plan for a safe future. One example from this research showed grandparents moving next door to provide a cloak of wellbeing for their son, daughter in-law and grandchildren. However, the literature, and participants in this study also described how whānau relationships are complex. Not all whānau are able to make good choices and attention to safety within the whānau is crucial. Kaupapa Māori providers are able to hear the needs of wāhine Māori and support them in identifying safe and reliable whānau members.

Activities for perpetrators mirror those of wāhine Māori and their wider whānau but include accountability and responsibility for their use of violence. This also requires appropriate counselling and programmes to heal and move forward across all four domains of wellbeing. Kaupapa Māori providers offer perpetrators support alongside supporting wāhine Māori and their whānau choices and safety plans.

Key outputs for kaupapa Māori service providers are robust safety plans for wāhine Māori victims and whānau, and the delivery of programmes and interventions. Outputs for victims and whānau includes safety plans, attending programmes and counselling where required and having their justice needs met. For perpetrators, this extends to rehabilitation and accepting responsibility and being accountable for past actions.

Participants in this study stressed that whānau could not participate meaningfully in counselling or group work without their basic needs met. Therefore, interventions such as food, shelter and transport were also part of the outputs provided by Kaupapa Māori services.

For kaupapa Māori providers, high-level outcomes drive services that enhance wāhine Māori and whānau safety, strength and mana. Importantly, these benefits for wāhine Māori and whānau are sustainable in the long term and reach across all four wellbeing domains.

Figure 2: Proposed logic model for discussion with providers to establish outcomes for victims and whānau involved with kaupapa Māori family violence services

A proposed kaupapa Māori victim services outcomes framework

Outcomes based on justice needs for **Safety, Equity and fairness, Voice, Participation**

Adapted from Te Whāre Tapa Whā and Hua Oranga⁴⁸

| | | Adult victims | Wider whānau | Perpetrators |
|---|---------------|---|--|---|
| Te Whāre Tapa Whā Four domains of Māori wellbeing | Taha Wairua | Strong in their identity. Value themselves as a person. | Strong in their identity. Value as whānau. | Strong in their identity as a whānau member. Value themselves as a person. |
| | Taha Whānau | Confident in relationships with whānau and others. Understand the impact of violence towards whānau. | Confident in relationships with each other. Understand the impact of violence towards whānau. | Confident in relationships with whānau and others. |
| | Taha Hinengar | Tools to manage trauma, fear and unwelcome feelings. Safe from violence towards whānau. | Committed to safety from violence towards whānau. | Tools to manage trauma, fear, unwelcome feelings. |
| | Taha Tinan | Good physical health. | Good physical violence health. | Good physical health. |

Kaupapa Māori provider roles, responsibilities and activities

- Listening to and support for individual victims and whānau
- Understanding need for holistic support across all four Te Whāre Tapa Whā dimensions of wellbeing
- Safety planning
- Programmes and interventions
- Counselling
- Rehabilitation
- Advice and information
- Advocating for individuals and whānau with justice sector and other social service agencies and providers
- Support to find accommodation, food, transport, education and employment

Outputs for individuals and whānau resulting from kaupapa Māori provider activities

- Safety plans
- Attending programmes
- Attending counselling
- Reading information and listening to advice
- Making choices and decisions

High level justice outcomes for individuals and whānau that should result from kaupapa Māori victim services

- Safe
- Mana enhanced
- Confident to participate in the community
- All four Te Whāre Tapa Whā domains are improved

⁴⁸ Kingi and Durie's original Hua Oranga tool was designed to measure the effectiveness of mental health interventions for individual Māori. This proposed framework adapts the tool for justice purposes and expands it to include outcomes for other whānau members and perpetrators.

5.6. Research objective 5 – evaluating local innovations

5.6.1. Māori evaluation of Māori services

The literature review conducted for this report (see Appendix) highlighted the shortage of evaluations of kaupapa Māori services, both in terms of the programmes they offered and the outcomes they achieved for whānau. Participants described having multiple government agencies and representatives regularly visiting them and collecting information. However, this was often from a consultation, audit or contract management perspective and kaupapa Māori providers felt agencies do not always value the work of their services. One provider likened their funders to abusive partners, with power and control over the NGOs.

There is a need for robust evidence about the work of kaupapa Māori providers. It is essential that any evaluation of this work is co-designed alongside providers to ensure the evaluation design and the measures used align with the organisations' mahi and way of doing things.

Evidence showing the effectiveness of services is an important element in competition for funding. Robust evidence of effectiveness supports funding bids and in the absence of such evidence, kaupapa Māori services can miss out.

Our literature review showed that although there is a growing body of knowledge and literature around family violence for Māori, there is a paucity of literature focused on violence towards wāhine and their justice needs.⁴⁹

Kaupapa Māori research and evaluation are important in violence towards whānau prevention strategies because they reinforce and promote kaupapa Māori iwi-based initiatives,^{50,51}. Māori models are opportunities for transforming the current context of family violence for Māori.⁵²

Whānau and collective responses to violence should be a priority research area because these are viewed as key intervention and

⁴⁹ Wilson, D. (2016). Transforming the normalisation of intergenerational whānau (family) violence. *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing*, 1(2), 32-43.

⁵⁰ Jewkes, R. (2002). Violence: causes and prevention. *The Lancet*, 359, 1423-1429.

⁵¹ Grennell, D., & Cram, F. (2008). *Evaluation of Amokura: An indigenous family violence prevention strategy*. MAI Review.

⁵² Te Puni Kokiri. (2010).

*transformative approaches to current experiences of violence within and towards whānau. Concerns expressed in the literature were that many social policies, strategies and interventions are based on research that is framed within a conceptualisation of violence that is based on a dominant Western paradigm.*⁵³

*It is argued that much of the existing research takes the form of evaluations carried out through contracting processes which are not intended to gain knowledge or information. However, these studies do have value for gaining insights into programmes and practitioner/provider practice. There is a need for a clear Māori research strategy on family violence.*⁵⁴

Effective use of service provider administrative data, service descriptions and measuring outcomes is essential in knowing what to fund and in adequately funding kaupapa Māori services. It is also essential that any evaluation align with the kaupapa of providers. For example, properly engaging with Māori by welcoming and connecting through whanaungatanga and manaakitanga takes time. Participants in this evaluation described engagement processes that took much longer than a quick assessment and referral. To meet the myriad of needs that whānau may have involved transport, advocacy and flexibility. Acknowledging these ways of working and recognising the benefits of holistic support recognised is essential.

5.6.2. Measures and outcomes– alignment with holistic services

Providers thought their contractual measures did not capture the essence of their mahi with whānau. Some recorded their own measures of success in separate databases, and one provider described funding their own evaluations:

That's a really good question because we've got two definitions of success – we've got the Ministry who draw up the contracts and say success are these indicators which are in our contracts, which we support against. And then whānau will have their own measures of success, and then as a service we have our measures of success.

We have a database that does capture kaupapa Māori approaches...so when we want to measure success with our clients we have...things like aroha, hinengaro, manaakitanga, tika, pono, aroha, wairua, whakapiripiri, whānau.

Other participants felt that there were limitations to what could be 'measured' from their mahi:

Example, how do you measure āhua? Because, in our programmes we talk about āhua. We talk about their mauri; we talk about their ihi and their

⁵³ Kruger et al, (2004).

⁵⁴ Te Puni Kokiri. (2010).

wehe. How do you measure that? There is no measure of that at the moment, and a lot of what we do is that.

We asked participants what success looks like for them, and how they know that their service works for victims and whānau. Examples were given of successful programmes, and successful outcomes for different whānau. One participant described the measures of success for a women's programme:

The participants came from the Police top 10 red flag victims list. It was a big success. Only two from the list came back. None of the rest of those women needed our service again. The two that came back did so for other reasons, things that they could not control.

There had been no funding to continue this programme, and it had not been delivered for three years. This was not an isolated example and providers described other examples of pilots and innovative initiatives that did not attract further funding.

Successes were many and varied. For some wāhine Māori, building confidence, living a life free of violence and being surrounded by positive support was a success.

One of our wāhine, there was abuse in the family. Nobody worked but as a volunteer she got to talk to women who gave her motivation.

We always encourage our women to get out there, do some volunteer work at the food bank. One of our clients went on to get a social work degree.

For other couples, learning to communicate and manage anger was a success.

You know, like when shit goes down and one of the parties is extremely angry, it's like how do you manage that riri – that anger appropriately?... And so, when guys are trying to walk away, and the partner is sort of thinking, you know, you're just walking away again... So, it's just educating partners as well, in that when your partner is asking for space he just needs to cool down, so he doesn't end up lashing out either verbally or physically.

Participants described positive shifts in whānau, for example couples who had decided to stay together, learning to enjoy each other's company, sharing a meal together and spending time safely. For those living apart, success could be a stress-free handover of tamariki when they spent the day with Dad. For one provider, success encompassed financial decisions such as budgeting for school uniforms. For grandparents raising grandchildren, success might be learning different parenting techniques and identifying/accessing respite care.

Participants also described successes in seeing whānau grow, for example contributing to a community project enhanced mana, or when a whānau, were stuck at home and disengaged from their communities, were able to find employment.



6. Discussion

The original objectives of this research were to understand the justice needs of individual wāhine Māori experiencing violence and any other adult victims experiencing family harm, and how kaupapa Māori service providers meet and measure these needs. The methodology allowed findings to surface, which highlighted key elements of family violence practice in kaupapa Māori services that existed outside the scope of the original research. This raises two questions for readers of this report:

- What insights are available if the findings do not appear to answer the original questions?
- How can I use those insights, if any, to influence the relationship between government and kaupapa Māori service providers?

Kaupapa Māori providers advocate at the interface between whānau, justice and social sector agencies, ensuring hearing the voices of people living within the collective concept of whānau, and the historical and colonising influences that continue to disadvantage whānau. This work is important as the justice system and other systems that victims of whānau violence must navigate, privilege individual autonomy. For example, the Victims Code⁵⁵ focusses on the rights of individuals, but many Māori do not experience the world in this way.

Kaupapa Māori providers believe that the personal safety and positive growth experienced by victims of violence towards whānau as a result of being supported by them is only sustainable when individual victims are recognised as part of a collective. Kaupapa Māori responses to violence towards whānau include wider whānau members. It is important that they too are safe and able to access programmes and other specialist support that address underlying issues such as poverty, addictions and isolation. This kaupapa enables the past, present and future whānau needs and aspirations to be acknowledged, and achieving the wairua, tinana, hinengaro and whānau pillars of wellbeing.

An obvious insight from these findings is that if agencies need to connect funding for kaupapa Māori services to outcomes, then the greatest chance of successful investment is for service users to determine the measurements of success.

The logic model outlined above is multi-dimensional because the nature of the outcomes are multifaceted. Excellent individual outcomes are only possible in a matrix that makes them dependent on other individual outcomes and visa versa.

The framework presented here is a rough sketch into which detail can be added through kaupapa Māori-led service providers and other community change agents, such as kahukura, because they are specialists in this area.

⁵⁵ <http://www.victimsinfo.govt.nz/assets/Publications/VictimsCode.pdf>

7. Key insights

Kaupapa Māori services are best placed to support Māori victims, perpetrators and whānau because they understand Māori realities and have whānau focussed, strengths based responses to justice needs.

People who are part of kaupapa Māori services have an intrinsic connection with other Māori and they understand Māori realities. Their holistic approach to supporting whānau who experience violence enables looking beyond the presenting issue and creating sustainable plans for positive whānau development. This strengths based approach includes supporting the perpetrator and the victims, and is accountable to past, present and future generations.

Kaupapa Māori services listen to victims of violence towards whānau. They build trust with whānau in a way that other services cannot, enabling them to articulate justice and other needs such as immediate safety and practical support.

Kaupapa Māori services should be recognised for their vital role interfacing between victims and the justice and other systems.

Adult victims of violence towards whānau struggle to have their voices heard within the justice sector and other systems. Kaupapa Māori services walk alongside whānau to interface with systems. They meet basic whānau needs and enable better engagement with Work and Income, Oranga Tamariki, Housing New Zealand, Police, Courts and Corrections.

Kaupapa Māori services build relationships with their local police, Courts and Corrections, as well as other agencies. These relationships enable kaupapa Māori providers to deliver specialist training, and the ability to identify champions within organisations who actively respond to whānau need. Champions lend their expertise to violence towards whānau programmes, help troubled whānau members find employment, and ensure that others in their organisations had a good understanding of violence towards whānau.

The specialist knowledge of Kaupapa Māori providers should be included at an operational level and have a voice at local, regional and national collaborations so that Māori victims of violence towards whānau are always represented.

Kaupapa Māori providers are specialists in dealing with violence towards whānau. They are in a good position to speak alongside or for wāhine Māori or other whānau at court appearances and should be allowed the opportunity to contribute to proceedings. Kaupapa Māori providers should also have opportunities and resources to contribute to local collaborations, and provide their specialist knowledge at regional and national levels.

Contractual measures and outcomes should take into account kaupapa Māori values and ways of working

There are challenges at the interface because of the different ways of working that are not adequately taken into account by measures and outcomes defined by funders. Kaupapa Māori ways of working with multiple whānau members take time and this should be acknowledged when services are funded. Manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga underpin establishment of lasting relationships with whānau. Building these relationships and trust is critical to successfully respond to justice and other needs.

Outcome frameworks that are Kaupapa Māori provider and whānau-led are needed and an alignment with the provision of adequate funding.

Cultural imperatives including whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri, and mana, potentially inform wellbeing in intimate partner and whānau relationships, transform behaviours and provide alternatives to violence. This prevention work and supporting whānau in their engagement with the system must be properly resourced. Outcomes frameworks should be led by Kaupapa Māori service providers and whānau.

Appendix 1

Literature review:

Kaupapa Māori responses to violence suffered by wāhine Māori

2019



8. Key messages

- The purpose of the literature review is to consider the evidence available about kaupapa Māori responses to violence towards whānau and meeting the justice needs of adult victims. The review supports primary research on the topic completed for the Ministry of Justice.

Kaupapa Māori approaches

- There are multiple meanings, understandings and interpretations of kaupapa Māori that are defined by context and content across a range of political and service sectors. However, there is general agreement that:
 - The notion of whānau is central to kaupapa Māori knowledge, pedagogy, discipline and curriculum.
- Kaupapa Māori approaches have the potential to provide elements for effective transformation because:
 - Kaupapa Māori theory explains the social change or intervention elements that are common across many different sites of Māori cultural struggle including within the educational sites of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori
 - It has the capacity to more effectively address Māori social, economic and educational crises than approaches developed for other ethnic groups
 - It is derived, in part, from other intervention mechanisms but transcends them in its ability to identify particular structures and processes important for success

Application to the justice sector

- The application of kaupapa Māori approaches in the justice sector has the potential to improve outcomes for Māori, but there is little information to inform policy development and implementation.
- From the limited literature, adult victims of violence towards whānau respond to programmes that come from a kaupapa Māori base. Concepts of whakawhanaungatanga, whakapapa, manaakitanga, te reo Māori, karakia, mana, mana wāhine, mana tāne, aroha, tapu, noa, mātauranga were important to both the content and delivery of programmes.

- Challenges to the implementation of kaupapa Māori in policy sectors include understanding how to implement kaupapa Māori.

9. Purpose of the literature review

This literature review seeks to identify kaupapa Māori responses and approaches to violence towards whānau. The literature review will inform a project commissioned by the Chief Victims Advisor to Government at the Ministry of Justice. The project involves exploring kaupapa Māori responses to violence towards whānau and meeting the justice needs of adult victims. The work will inform the implementation of the Māori Justice Outcomes (MJO) Strategy to embed a coordinated approach among justice sector agencies to decrease the harm produced by violence towards whānau. The single target measure for the Strategy is to reduce Māori reoffending. The Chief Victims Advisor is directed to ensure that the voices of victims are also present throughout this work.

Concurrent responses by Justice, social sector agencies and the judiciary focus on supporting initiatives aimed at decreasing harm caused by violence towards whānau within iwi and hapū.

The objectives of the research are to:

- Understand the justice needs of wāhine victims of violence towards whānau
- Understand how the needs of victims can be addressed towards whānau based wellbeing frameworks
- Establish a set of victim informed outcome measures that can be used to ensure all Kaupapa Māori responses to violence towards whānau address victim issues

The study will also:

- Explore the motivators, enablers and challenges in delivering a Kaupapa Māori violence towards whānau programme

9.1. Method and key search terms

The New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse library database, Scopus, Research Gate and Google Scholar were searched using the following key search terms:

- Kaupapa Māori
- Whānau violence and victims
- Whānau violence and justice needs
- Kaupapa Māori and family violence
- Kaupapa Māori and whānau violence programmes
- Kaupapa Māori and family violence programmes
- Kaupapa Māori research and theory.

The literature search included academic and grey literature. A full list of titles and/or abstracts was obtained from the search. Full text publications were accessed electronically and viewed for titles and abstracts that were relevant to this project.

10. Kaupapa Māori: towards intervention and social transformation

10.1. There are diverse meanings of kaupapa Māori

There are multiple meanings, understandings and interpretations of kaupapa Māori, that are defined by context and content across a range of political and service sectors such as education, health, law, social services (Durie, 2012; Mane, 2009), community-based initiatives (Eketone, 2008; Mane, 2009), kaupapa Māori research (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2008, Grennell & Cram 2008, Walker et al, 2006), kaupapa Māori evaluation (Grennell & Cram, 2008; Carlson et al., 2017), and theorising in academia. Although developments around the kaupapa are diverse in terms of different settings and adapting to their needs, the kaupapa of Māori advancement remains the same (Mane, 2009).

Within te reo Māori there are indicators of cultural philosophies from which meanings can be determined. The term kaupapa can be understood in the following ways:

***Kaupapa:** defined as philosophies or ways of thinking about issues*

***Kaupapa:** includes: level surface, floor, platform, layer, plan, scheme, proposal (Williams, 1985)*

***Kaupapa:** contemporary usage such as policy, scheme, subject, theme (Māori Language Commission, Te Taura Whiri, 1996)*

***Ka:** can represent tense, in particular present tense*

***U:** can be seen as a woman's breast, a process of holding firm, to arrive, to reach a limit, bite*

***Ka u:** process of holding firmly and connecting to the foundation of (Māori) existence, to Papatuānuku*

***Kau:** also refers to the notion of seeing for the first time or disclosure (Taki, 1996)*

***Papa:** has a range of possibilities including reference to Papatuānuku, the earth and to layers and foundations*

Each of these definitions connect to the notion of kaupapa as philosophy and foundation. The term kaupapa can be a process of holding firmly to one's foundation (Pihama, 2001).

The academic and community voices of kaupapa Māori in the literature

The work of Māori academics has been critical in forging kaupapa Māori within academic institutions in New Zealand ... because it articulates approaches from culturally specific epistemologies, rather than from approaches of Western origin. (Mane, 2009)

Discussions by Māori academics about kaupapa Māori research and theory and kaupapa Māori evaluation are significant contributions to the critique of Western knowledge and the explication of kaupapa Māori theory and praxis (Carlson, Moewaka-Barnes, McCreanor 2017; Walker, Eketone, Gibbs 2006; Pihama, Cram, Walker, 2002; Mahuika, 2008; Smith, 1997; Mane, 2009; Eketone, 2008).

However, Eketone (2008) notes that having worked in Māori communities for twenty years, academic descriptions of kaupapa Māori did not correspond with his own experiences of kaupapa Māori services and approaches. In contrast to academic circles where kaupapa Māori usually refers to a Māori philosophical or theoretical approach with a focus on challenging well-established Western ideas about knowledge, many Māori communities understand kaupapa Māori as a group or organisation using Māori cultural values and language in their work, such as Kura Kaupapa Māori. Eketone continues that Māori communities are more likely to use the term tikanga Māori, rather than kaupapa Māori, based on what they understand as a distinctly Māori cultural foundation, driven by Māori world views and values.

Creating space for community voices

Kaupapa Māori developments operate from within Māori communities, despite often situated within academic discourse. This highlights the importance for Māori academics that discussions on kaupapa Māori are contextualised to Māori communities. Although the literature is limited, there is a need to clarify the extent to which academic discourse is relevant to community approaches, and the importance of having a strong community voice to articulate their initiatives alongside those of Māori academia (Mane, 2009).

There is a paucity of literature on practical approaches to relationships, power and collaboration within kaupapa Māori contexts, and practices between Māori researchers and Māori iwi organisations (Carlson, Moewaka-Barnes, McCreanor 2017).

10.2. The transformative role of kaupapa Māori

The political, social and economic contexts for kaupapa Māori occurred against the backdrop of Māori political discourse on Māoritanga in the 1960s–1970s, biculturalism and Taha Māori in the 1980s–1990s and the Māori renaissance in the late 1970s and 1980s (Pihama, Cram, Walker, 2002). Throughout the 1980s, two key issues advanced were Māori economic development (following the Hui Taumata economic summit in 1984) and the development of a political ideology that critiqued colonialism and gave expression to the dislocation and impoverishment of Māori (Durie, 2012).

In the early 1980s, as kaupapa Māori was being refined as a theory of liberation, Māori language, cultural practices and values were rejuvenated through the establishment of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and similar Māori culture-based

institutions (Smith, 1995 in Mahuika, 2008). The emergence of kaupapa Māori as an educational intervention strategy restored the ideas of conscientization, resistance and transformative praxis (Smith, 2004), and affirmed Māori cultural philosophies and practices; and the legitimation of being fully Māori (Pihama et al., 2002).

11. Whānau and family structures

Whānau affirms roles and responsibilities as a collective group

Understanding the difference between whānau and family is critical in terms of any prevention and intervention practices, policies and legislation. Family is a Western concept, isolating parents and children as an autonomous unit. Families may have links to extended relatives such as grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins but expectations of dependencies among families and communities vary (Sevenhuijsen, 1998⁵⁶).

Whānau is a cultural structure embedded in whakapapa that establishes connectedness and relationships and provides a mechanism of nurturing, education, and sustenance on all levels, within all the four domains of Te Whare Tapa Wha. The roles of whānau in kaupapa Māori initiatives are essential in that the roles and obligations that Māori have as a collective group are affirmed (Pihama et al., 2003). Therefore, a healthier goal for whānau is interdependence rather than independence (Durie, 2001).

The affirmation of whānau can challenge the entrenchment of colonial construction of gender and family within Māori structures (Pihama, 2001). Whānau is about birth right involving responsibilities and obligations to its members and the whānau as a collective unit. This is the manifestation of social responsibility for Māori. Whakapapa places responsibility on the whānau to become involved when violence occurs, whether members talk about it or not (Kruger et al., 2004).

Although whānau can be a system of healing (Māori Reference Group, 2009; Kruger et al., 2004; Te Puni Kokiri, 2010; Pihama et al., 2003), it is important to note that whānau relationships are complex and attention to safety within the whānau is crucial.

Whānau take collective responsibility to assist and intervene

The extended family structure of whānau emphasises the relationship between social factors and Māori family life. The collective whānau provides a shared support structure that can work to alleviate and mediate social and economic difficulties, parenting difficulties, health difficulties, and issues. The whānau takes collective responsibility to assist and intervene. While the whānau structure implies a support network for individual members there is also a reciprocal obligation on individual

⁵⁶ SUPERU. (2018). *Families and Whānau Status Report*

members to invest in the whānau group. In this way, parents' cultural "contract" is to support and assist in the education of all children in the whānau (Smith, 2004).

12. Whānau violence is the absence and disturbance of tikanga

Studies agree that family violence is caused by multiple complex factors and is inextricably linked to issues of power and control. For Māori violence towards whānau has added layers of complexity of the ongoing effects of colonisation and the subsequent loss of protective cultural identity, connection and practices that provided behaviour boundaries and social responsibility. The Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence (the Taskforce) explains violence towards whānau compromises of te ao Māori values, and thrives in the absence or disturbance of tikanga. The Taskforce stressed there is nothing in the Māori world that promotes or encourages violence towards whānau (Kruger, et al., 2004).

The over-representation of Māori as victims and perpetrators of violence towards whānau (Ministry of Social Development, 2014), its extreme scale and the devastating impact it has had on whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing has been described as an epidemic (Kruger, et al., 2004). A critical factor in the transmission and maintenance of intergenerational cycles of violence is the extent to which whānau violence has been normalised and entrenched through several generations of learned behaviour and practice (Kruger, et al., 2004; Wilson, 2016), particularly when tamariki and rangatahi are exposed to violence and abuse (Cooper & Wharewera-Mika, 2009).

The increased likelihood of violence towards whānau can be attributed to the loss of cultural identity, isolated and fragmented family systems, weakened traditional mechanisms for support, loss of land, language and self-determination (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Māori also continue to experience significant social and economic disadvantage in relation to income levels, employment, health, education and housing (Ministry of Social Development, 2007). These disparities are regarded as major contributing factors to the high rates of partner violence within the Māori population (Robertson et al. 2008; Koziol-McLain et al. 2007). More than twenty years ago two key reports raised these same issues and challenged the failure of New Zealand society to respond appropriately to disparities facing Māori people (Cram and Pitama, 1997).⁵⁷

In traditional Māori society, whānau, wāhine and tamariki were highly valued and violence and abuse was not tolerated (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Durie, 2001; Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002; Kruger, et al., 2004; Māori Reference Group, 2009).

There is no one single cause of violence towards whānau, the issues being a complex combination of historical and contemporary factors (Grennell & Cram, 2008). Specific links between colonisation (Balzer et al., 1997; Kruger et al., 2004; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014) and urbanisation gradually eroded cultural practices and traditional sanctions by as Pākehā institutions legislated, resourced and imposed their definitions of social

⁵⁷ Pūao Te Atatū and The Royal Commission on Social Policy reports

norms and standards, and changed gender roles. This established a climate of institutional racism and ‘imposter’ tikanga (Kruger et al., 2004), and the ongoing effects has resulted in poverty, social marginalisation, racism and ‘structural stressors’ such as unemployment (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Furthermore, it diminished the ability of Māori communities to exercise their rights to enforce sanctions on their own people (Balzer et al., 1997).

12.1. Historical factors contributing to whānau violence

Gender norms

The Native Schools system and missionary teachings promoting ‘the model’ of civilisation within Māori communities undermined Māori whānau structures by reconstruction gender roles and shifting whānau to nuclear family structures (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). This contributed to the fragmentation of whānau (Te Puni Kokiri, 2010).

Māori gender roles and relationships pre-colonisation were complementary and reciprocal in nature:

The relationship between mana wāhine and mana tāne is about complementarity (sic) and reciprocity. For example, strictly speaking, a man cannot go onto a marae without a woman, and a woman cannot go onto a marae without a man, simply because of the complementary roles that men and women play in the ritual of encounter on our marae. Te kawa o te marae embraces and upholds both mana wāhine and mana tāne. (Rimene et al. 1998).

An increase in violence against Māori women came with colonisation (Robertson et al. 2008; Smith, 2005; Smith, 2008). Following Pihama et al (2003), Robertson and Oulton (2008) argue that:

Colonisation introduced a patriarchal ideology, redefined the roles of women and undermined certain cultural practices which were protective.

Māori women were an intrinsic part of whānau, hapū and iwi. Colonisation ‘disordered’ the role and status of Māori women (Mikaere, 1995). Colonial structures and ideologies supplanted Māori structures, and in particular knowledge embedded whānau, hapū and iwi (Smith, 1992). The positioning of women as submissive to men and placing men in positions of power and authority impacted Māori social structures, including the formation of intimate partner relationships (Rimene et al. 1998).

Patriarchy and non-Māori notions of masculinity

The high status of many Indigenous women was problematic for colonisers who imposed notions of patriarchal and individualistic gender roles. This led to devaluing the position women held in whānau, hapū and iwi (Balzer et al, 1997).

Dominant non-Māori forms of patriarchal masculinity influenced Māori men. Mataira (2008) discusses a new Indigenous approach to decolonizing masculinity and male use of violence through validation of indigenous cultural ways. This is achieved through an appreciation of ngā mātauranga Māori to support meaningful education and mentoring group work for Māori men.

Yuen and White (2007) noted that *a space can be opened to deconstruct dominant forms of masculinity*. Supporting young men from minority and marginalised cultures in New Zealand to move from violence to non-violence being involves them identifying positive values and connecting them to important figures in their families, histories, or culture.

Risk factors for children

Most Māori children are not maltreated, but loved and nurtured (Te Puni Kokiri, 2010). Achieving Māori whānau well-being (whānau ora) is challenging when children are exposed to family violence and risks perpetuating intergenerational cycles of violence. Although it should be noted that exposure to violence does not always predetermine violence.

13. Kaupapa Māori responses to whānau violence

The causes of violence towards whānau are complex and are born of historical and contemporary factors. Therefore, it is not surprising that Western, deficit-based approaches have not responded adequately to addressing violence towards whānau. Multi-level, strengths-based approaches to prevention and intervention of violence towards whānau are more likely to achieve the best results (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014).

13.1. Programmes that restore whānau and iwi

A disconnect between Māori communities and mainstream interventions exists for addressing violence towards whānau. Currently, mainstream services often respond to people as individuals in isolation of their families, communities and social context. One reason for this is the emphasis on the assessment of individuals' pathology and deficits. Māori service providers working in the area of violence towards whānau have identified that the application of a mainstream framework to violence towards whānau policy and services:

- Fails to recognise the negative impact and ongoing effects of colonisation on whānau, hapū and iwi
- Endorses interventions focused on concepts of individual harm, as opposed to whānau, hapū and iwi development and well-being
- Creates barriers to flexibility within programme provision;
- Fails to recognise the importance of addressing issues such as systemic violence and the endemic nature and acceptance of family and violence towards whānau within communities
- Fails to value prior learning amongst Māori providers; and
- Does not recognise the value of Māori methods and models (Cram, 2013)

Kruger et al. (2004) note nothing will change if the delivery of interventions for violence towards whānau from a Pākehā conceptual and practice framework that isolates, criminalises and pathologies individuals continues.

Many Indigenous-specific programmes and models have developed because of the inadequate mainstream responses (Cripps et al. 2008; Kruger et al. 2004). Among responses to the widespread and disproportionate prevalence of violence occurring towards whānau and its devastating impacts was a call to support the elimination of family violence through culturally responsive initiatives and programmes that restore whānau and communities (Cram 2012; Te Puni Kokiri, 2010; Balzer & McNeill, 1988 in Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Kruger et al., 2004).

Eruera, Dobbs, et al. (2010) emphasise the need to:

- Acknowledge the failure of Western frameworks when working with whānau living with violence
- Contextualise violence in whānau, hapū and iwi within the history of violence within Aotearoa, New Zealand and the ongoing effects of colonisation
- Address current structural risks and barriers for Māori that increase the likelihood of violence
- Consider other frameworks and models that address violence towards whānau that are based on strengthening whānau rather than approaches that address only the needs of individuals or couples
- Recognise the importance of a structural analysis of family violence alongside the endorsement of culturally responsive programmes/initiatives

Three initiatives stood out in the literature as leading kaupapa Māori responses to whānau violence. These are the Mauri Ora framework, designed by the Taskforce (Kruger et al, 2004), E Tu Whānau Programme of Action for Addressing Family Violence (The Māori Reference Group, 2009) and the Amokura Family Violence Prevention Strategy (Grennell & Cram, 2008).⁵⁸ Other kaupapa Māori initiatives such as Whānau Ora, while responsive to whānau needs and aspirations and addresses , aspects of whānau life that may contribute to the occurrence of violence, do not have a specific whānau violence focus.

13.2. Mauri Ora – a Kaupapa Māori framework

The Taskforce⁵⁹ developed the Mauri Ora framework (Mauri Ora) to address the impacts of historical and contemporary factors that contribute to violence towards whānau, and the failure of Western models to address violence towards whānau. The Mauri Ora framework explores traditional Māori concepts to improve outcomes for whānau, hapū and iwi. Mauri Ora contains an analysis of the impacts of colonisation and identifies the environmental and contextual influences affecting Māori contemporary realities. It also acknowledges the diversity of Māori and the wide range of processes used to achieve and sustain wellbeing. Mauri Ora is the goal of the framework, working towards achieving whānau ora (wellbeing) and has been defined as the wellbeing of whānau (while acknowledging individual wellbeing within the collective whānau), hapū and iwi.

⁵⁸ Only the frameworks that have been published are referenced here. Please note that many other kaupapa Māori approaches are being used within communities that have not been directly referenced.

⁵⁹ Refer footnote 1

A multi-level approach to violence prevention

Multi-level approaches are likely to achieve the best results in violence prevention (Grennell & Cram, 2008). Mauri Ora supports a multi-level approach to the analysis and practice of violence prevention for Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities.

This approach to prevention of violence towards whānau is:

- Strongly aligned with current Indigenous approaches to violence prevention, many of which use ecological frameworks to analyse, report and practice.
- Founded on cultural constructs
- Requires the inclusion of historical perspectives, which are necessary for accurate understanding the current context for working with Māori and Indigenous peoples.

13.3. Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium: an example of the use of the Mauri Ora framework

Amokura provided strategic leadership using a whole of population approach to address the prevention of violence towards whānau through four project areas: community awareness and education; research; advocacy; provider development and training. In providing an alternative kaupapa Māori framework to address violence towards whānau, the Consortium achieved the successful collaboration of government and iwi.

The Consortium's values included:

- Being the leading advocate for issues related to zero tolerance to violence within Māori whānau in Te Tai Tokerau
- Focusing on the “positiveness” of promoting zero tolerance to whānau violence and the need for quality services that are appropriate, affordable and available to all
- Maintaining good practice and aspire to best practice in service delivery
- Providing credible, honest and accurate information.
- Recognising the value of each individual and respect diversity.

The Mauri Ora framework underpinned the work of the Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium in working towards the goal of whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing. Some practice examples of how the Mauri Ora framework (elements in bold) informed Amokura's activities to promote wellbeing and reduce violence towards whānau included:

- **Dispelling the illusion: Whānau and community awareness**

‘Step Back’ was the Amokura whānau violence prevention message, which was communicated primarily through the medium of radio jingles, music (predominantly

hip-hop, which was the most popular genre with young people) and community concerts (one attended by 1600 people). 'Step Back' invited people to step back and think before acting, and to take responsibility for the choices they made. 'Step Back' encouraged young people's participation in asserting that violence towards whānau is unacceptable and provided messages with positive alternatives to violent behaviour.

- **Removing opportunities: Strengthening whānau wellbeing**

The production and use of the Aroha in Action resource book for used by whānau, professionals and NGOs with information on:

- how to provide a safe and nurturing environment for all whānau members, especially children
- the impact of violence and abuse
- how to enact the belief that violence is unacceptable and not culturally valid
- how to act and know if violence has occurred.

- **Transformative practices: kaupapa Māori approaches**

The frameworks strongly affirm that tikanga Māori and te reo are valid and legitimate and provide the conceptual understandings and practices to achieve change for Māori (Kruger et al., 2004; Grennell & Cram, 2008; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010; Ruwhiu et al., 2009). Mauri Ora suggests three elements that bring about transformation:

- Te ao Māori (the Māori world) includes six cultural constructs to be applied to practice: whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana
- Te ao hurihuri refers to the contemporary influences within today's society that undermine the practice of te ao Māori cultural constructs – the most significant is colonisation and its associated outcomes
- Transformative elements involves applying te ao Māori constructs into te ao hurihuri for navigating the environmental and contextual influences of society today (Kruger et al., 2004).

- **Workforce development**

Amokura offered a range of Kaupapa Māori wānanga and workforce training for practitioners and volunteers working with whānau affected by violence in response to need. The aim was to provide quality professional development to Māori and practitioners. The objectives were:

- Volunteers, whānau and community empowered to participate in family violence prevention and early intervention

- Increased capability of the non-dedicated workforce to practice early intervention and prevention across all areas of service delivery to whānau
- Increased pool of dedicated whānau violence workers
- Increased capability of providers in identified priority areas of evaluation and supervision (Grennell & Cram, 2008).

Kaimahi, volunteers, kaumātua, and kuia were identified as being in positions of recognising first signs of family violence and able to respond, and were offered training (Amokura FVPC, 2004). More than 80 Māori practitioners throughout Te Tai Tokerau gained a qualification endorsed by Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi (Social Services ITO).

The kaupapa Māori training, and its development, was based on the cultural imperatives: whakapapa, wairua, tikanga, tapu, mauri, mana. This training was delivered with providers, often on marae, and linked to community occasions.

Evaluation of the Amokura FVPC was an important process and is summarised:

The evaluation of Amokura as a Comprehensive Community Initiative has facilitated the acknowledgement of the 'ripple-out' effects of Amokura project initiatives – from individual and whānau participants to the whole of the Northland community. This approach sits well with an understanding that the prevention of whānau violence needs to include strategies for changing community norms to ones of zero tolerance for violence (Jewkes, 2002; Pouwhare, 1999). The Consortium's commitment to the Mauri Ora framework also means that the fundamental task of 'dispelling the illusion' is sourced from within the Māori world but offered as a koha (gift) to the whole of the Tai Tokerau community (Kruger et al, 2004).⁶⁰

13.4. E Tu Whānau Programme of Action for addressing Family Violence: Collaboration with the wider community

The Māori Reference Group (MRG), set up within the Ministry of Social Development, provided advice and a Māori voice to the government Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families in 2007. Its membership consisted of a wide range of people with expertise in the field of whānau violence. The overarching aim of the MRG was to develop a Programme of Action (POA) to address violence towards whānau and provide a mechanism for Māori and government to work effectively together and independently, while being aware of the critical roles of each.

Based on the same strengths-based kaupapa for Māori as the Whānau Ora government initiative, E Tu Whānau is a collaborative initiative between Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Social Development and the Ministry of Health (The Māori Reference Group, 2009) and supports the Mauri Ora framework.

⁶⁰ Amokura was closed in 2011 due to government funding re-appropriation.

The first E Tu Whānau-ora Programme of Action for Addressing Family Violence – 2008-2013 provided a framework for addressing issues of violence for Māori over this period. The underlying principles of the implementation of the programme of action were it was Māori-led, a whole of whānau approach, strengths-based with a tikanga foundation and was inclusive, innovative, sustainable, evidence based, regionally diverse and collaborative.

The first five priority areas were leadership; changing attitudes and behaviour; ensuring safety and accountability; effective support services; and understanding and developing good practice.

The 2008-2013 progress on the programme of action reported in the 2013-2018 E Tu Whānau Programme of Action for Addressing Family Violence identified:

- Increased numbers of iwi nationwide incorporating and prioritising issues and solutions around violence into their strategic planning documents; the Iwi Leaders Group discussions of E Tu Whānau actions and solutions, and a wide range of community actions around violence occurring at whānau, hapū and iwi levels
- Development of E Tu messaging into a series of resources for generating discussion at community levels
- Growth of Kahukura, leaders, role modelling change and success towards whānau, hapū and iwi
- Māori providers and practitioners moving to whānau-based delivery models grounded in tikanga

However, the interactions with key government agencies needed to improve. The 2013-2018 Programme of Action noted:

- Past and current interactions between whānau and mainstream government agencies were problematic suggesting cultural misunderstanding, systemic bias and a lack of knowledge about whānau dynamics and values.
- Evidence suggested that some Māori choose not to engage with mainstream agencies, even when they are in serious need.
 - The high levels of under-reporting of family violence incidents by Māori were well-known.
 - Family violence data from a number of government organisations, including Child, Youth and Family and the New Zealand Police, highlighted the ongoing seriousness of this issue.
 - Suggested that Māori need to be working closely with these agencies to find ways to turn these figures around.
- Attempts had been made to make systemic improvements in some areas, and the Māori Reference Group welcomed the opportunity to contribute to these in future.

- Despite interventions within some government agencies, the family violence figures for Māori remained alarming.

14. Justice needs of adult victims of whānau violence

Literature on the justice needs of adult victims of violence towards whānau is very sparse. This highlights a critical research gap not only because of the significance of the issue but also when contrasted against the range of literature on for example:

- the needs of Māori victims of crime (Cram et al., 1999),
- tikanga Māori based legal systems (Toki, 2009),
- access of Māori women and their communities to substantive justice (Wickliffe, 2005),
- Māori women and the implementation of indigenous sentencing courts (Burt, 2011),
- therapeutic jurisprudence for offenders (Toki, 2009),
- the distance between government policy and front-line service delivery of culturally specific care for victims of family violence (Haldane, 2009),
- NZ government obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi and international law to consult on initiatives that impact on Māori affected by family violence (Contesse & Fenrich, 2009),
- restorative justice (Schmid, 2003), and
- institutional racism in the criminal justice system (Brittain & Tuffin, 2017)

A search of the literature revealed only one report that offered insights into the needs of victims. Although these needs focused on cultural needs, the report indicated the types of justice needs that require addressing. Other reports focussed less on justice needs and more on whānau wellbeing programmes for victims (Robertson et al, 2013) and perpetrators (Brown Research Ltd, 2017; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009) of violence towards whānau.

Evaluation of Programmes for Māori Adult Protected Persons under the Domestic Violence Act 1995 (Cram et al. 2002)

The Domestic Violence Act 1995 provides programmes for those with Protection Orders. The Department for Courts contracts with approved organisations and individuals to provide programmes for Adult Protected Persons. The Programmes for Adult Protected Persons contribute to the legislation's primary objective of providing greater protection for the victims of domestic violence.

The goals for the programmes are set out in The Domestic Violence (Programmes) Regulations 1996 and specify that Māori values and concepts (Regulation 27) needing to be included. These acknowledge the value of Māori concepts while leaving leeway for provider interpretation of the meaning of these concepts.

Two Māori programmes evaluated for Māori Adult Protected Persons under the Domestic Violence Act 1995 assessed whether the programmes are *promoting the protection of those persons from domestic violence* (Regulation 28(1)).

The two provider programmes were:

1) Tu Tama Wāhine o Taranaki, New Plymouth. This programme had a rural and urban focus. They worked with groups and with individual female Māori Adult Protected Persons and offer a children's programme linked with the Adult Protected Persons programme.

2) Te Whare Ruruahu o Meri, Anglican Social Services, Otahuhu, South Auckland. This large, well-established agency provided a range of services to whānau, including programmes for both Adult Protected Persons and respondents. They received referrals from all Auckland Courts, with most referrals from South Auckland. Although Te Whare Ruruahu o Meri were approved to provide both group and individual programmes, they worked largely with individual female Adult Protected Persons. From November 1998 to October 2000, 22 Adult Protected Persons referred through the Courts participated in the one-to-one individual female programme.

One of the evaluation objectives was to examine the extent to which the programmes met the needs and values of Māori participants. Both programmes included each seven key Māori values and concepts in their programmes, based around tikanga Māori.

Participants in the Tu Tama Wāhine programme found that the kaupapa Māori content and strong Māori focus provided a foundation from which to explore identity and a cultural view through which they could re-evaluate their own situation. Important aspects of the programme for participants was being listened to, not being judged, being accepted, and being able to share their experiences with other Māori women with similar experiences.

Having a Māori facilitator was important for participants in the Te Whare Ruruahu o Meri programme. The programme aimed to help families identify who they are and where they are from. This is a process of reintroducing whakapapa and acknowledging the importance of whakawhanaungatanga. All programmes offered by Te Whare were holistic and supported the whole whānau in their healing process.

Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga underpinned the programmes. This principle includes the valuing of tradition and culture and the recognition of the importance of ritual (eg, karakia) and ceremony (eg, pōwhiri).

Another principle of best practice for working with whānau living with violence is kaupapa Māori solutions. Providers and participants talked about programmes needing to come from a Māori foundation, that is kaupapa Māori. This foundation is described as holistic, compared to a western (or Pākehā) model that addresses the needs of the individual in isolation from their family. Providers, participants and key

informants spoke of whanaungatanga, strengthened by whakawhanaungatanga, whakapapa, manaakitanga, te reo Māori, karakia, mana, mana wāhine, mana tāne, aroha, tapu, noa, mātauranga. These concepts do not exist in isolation but are interwoven within a cultural mosaic of tikanga informing the content and delivery of the programmes. It is from a cultural foundation that strong kaupapa Māori programmes operate, creating a base that Māori can reach out to other forms of healing.

Individual and collective healing both essential parts of these programmes, which extended to the whānau, hapū and iwi. Although in South Auckland the focus was largely on the individual and their whānau.

Kaupapa Māori based programmes ensure opportunities for the healing the mamae for Māori. Healing involves strengthening identity and decolonisation processes to understand how violence entered into whānau Māori. For real change to occur there must be mechanisms in place whereby participants can be involved in, and importantly, direct the process of healing.

15. Kaupapa Māori violence towards whānau research and evaluation

Debates and Indigenous theoretical development on the disproportionately high levels of violence within Indigenous communities and prevention strategies began in the late 1980s (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010).

There is a growing body of knowledge and literature in the area of family violence for Māori, however there is little material focused on either family violence for Māori or violence towards whānau (Te Puni Kokiri, 2010).

Whānau and collective responses to violence are a priority research area because these are viewed as key intervention and transformative approaches to current experiences of violence within and towards whānau. Kaupapa Māori iwi-based initiatives reinforce and promote whānau and collective responses to violence (Jewkes, 2002; Grenell & Cram, 2008; Pouwhare, 1999 in Dobbs & Eruera 2014), aided by Māori models that provide opportunities for transforming the current context of family violence for Māori (Te Puni Kokiri, 2010). Māori academics, health, welfare, education and justice professionals all argue that models of analysis and intervention methodologies based on Western or mainstream thinking have been consistently ineffective for Māori.

The strengthening whānau-based strategies contribute to the development of new definitions about individual and collective experiences, and helps to clarify understandings and explanations necessary for creating new Indigenous frameworks (Grennell et al., 2008). This reinforces the need for Indigenous research projects in the areas of violence and violence prevention that are informed by cultural frameworks.

...the attitudes and expressions of violence and its dynamic variables are embedded in learned, transgenerational, cultural values rather than evidence of individual pathology Indemaur et al., 1998.

Key informants working in the field of violence towards whānau stress the importance of having an Indigenous lens for explaining the determinants of violence (Cripps, K., et al., 2008). Similar findings are found in literature by other Indigenous and First Nations peoples' literature (Burnette, 2018; Sivell-Ferri, 1997; Varcoe et al., 2017)).

Gaps in research

Concerns have been expressed that many government-funded social policies, strategies and interventions are based on research that is framed within a conceptualisation of violence that is based on a dominant Western paradigm. (Kruger et al. 2004)

It is argued that much of the existing research takes the form of evaluations carried out through contracting processes which are not intended to gain knowledge or information; however, these studies have value for gaining insights into programmes and practitioner/provider practice. There is a need for a clear Māori research strategy

on family violence (Te Puni Kokiri, 2010). A serious change of approach is needed which incorporates measures of accountability to Māori, against which progress is regularly assessed.

A 2007 literature review undertaken by Amokura (Erai et al., 2007) notes that the gaps in research are significant because each of their identified 'priority' areas requires in-depth research attention: violence and Māori; violence and Indigenous peoples; violence and early intervention and prevention; violence and youth; violence and practical activity-based models; and violence and traditional healing.

These omissions in the research are supported by Te Puni Kokiri (2010) who noted that although collective responsibility through whakapapa and whanaungatanga have invariably been raised over a long period of time, yet no literature or research on family violence for Māori focuses on these issues had been undertaken.

The Te Puni Kokiri literature review identified research gaps that should be undertaken with whānau to gain an understanding of the wellbeing of the whānau collective and individuals within the collective. A survey or research with Māori practitioners and providers in the field is a process that can ascertain other priority areas (Te Puni Kokiri, 2010). Grennell (2008) calls into question the paucity of research, inadequate resources to enable Māori to explore violence towards whānau and impact of exclusion from decisions that influence their future:

How can it be when Māori are so disproportionately represented that there was insufficient time or expertise to include us? How can it be that recommendations for future action can be made, recommendations that will impact on us without our involvement?

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Glossary

āhua – character

Aotearoa – New Zealand

aroha – love, compassion

hangi – traditional meal cooked in an earth-oven

hapū - sub-tribe

hinengaro – mind, intellect, awareness

ihi – charm, charisma

iwi – tribe

kai – food

kaiāwhina – helper

Kahukura – role models and leaders who inspire positive change in whānau and communities

kaikaranga – caller, woman who summons and welcomes visitors as onto a marae

kaimahi – staff, employee

kaiwhakahaere – advisor, advocate

kanohi ki te kanohi – face to face, in person

karakia – prayer

kaumātua - elders

kaupapa - ideology

kaupapa Māori – a Māori approach

koha – gift, offering

kōrero – talk, conversation, interview

korowai – cloak

kuia – female elder, grandmother

kura - school

mahi - work

mamae – pain, wound

mana – prestige, status, strength of character, divine authority

mana tāne – the mana held by men

mana wāhine – the mana held by women

manaakitanga – hospitality, kindness, support

Māoritanga – Māori culture

mātauranga – knowledge, wisdom, education

mauri – vital essence, life force

mihi - greeting

mokopuna (moko) – grandchildren

noa – freed from restrictions of tapu

Pākehā – New Zealand European

pono – truth, integrity

pōwhiri – welcoming ceremony on a marae

pūrākau – myth, legend, story

rākau – tree, stick, challenge stick

rangatahi – youth, young person

reo – language

riri - anger

rohe – region, area

Taha Māori – the Māori identity

tamariki – children

tane - man

tāne – men

tapu – sacred, prohibited

te ao Māori – the Māori world

Te Kawa o te Marae – Marae protocol
te reo Māori – the Māori language

Te Whare Tapa Whā – four-sided
house – metaphor for holistic
wellbeing that encompasses physical,
spiritual, mental and family health

tika – correctness, truth, fairness

tikanga – protocol

tinana – physical body

tukutuku – ornamental lattice-work

tūpuna - ancestors

wāhine - woman

wāhine – women

waiata – song

wairua – soul, spirit

wānanga – meet, deliberate, learning
forum

wehe – sense of delight

whaikōrero – formal speech

whaiora - clients

whakapapa – genealogy, ancestry

whakapiripiri - togetherness

whānau – family

whānau ora – family well-being

whakawhanaungatanga – process of
establishing relationships

whanaungatanga - relationship,
kinship, sense of family connection

whare – house, building